

14.33 hrs.

MOTION re SIXTH FIVE YEAR PLAN
—Conted.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up further consideration of the motion moved by Shri S. B. Chavan on the Sixth Five Year Plan. Shri Chitta Basu will continue his speech.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Sir, I am happy that you are there when I am resuming my speech.

MR. CHAIRMAN: That has nothing do with this. You better carry on.

THE MINISTER OF PLANNING (SHRI S. B. CHAVAN): It is a charge against the Chair.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: No, it is not a charge.

Sir, as you will remember, yesterday I was referring to the crisis of the Sixth Plan. Now my endeavour would be to identify that crisis. As I have mentioned earlier, the total investment in the Sixth Plan period was Rs. 1,72,210 crores. Out of this, the investment in the public sector is Rs. 97,500 crores. It is reported that the public sector investment, which has been calculated on the basis of the price index of 1979-80, has to be enhanced by about Rs. 10,000 crores, if we want to fulfil the target already fixed. This amount of Rs. 10,000 crores additional investment would not be adequate in view of the fact that there is no guarantee that there would be no further escalation of price. If there is further escalation of price, necessarily the additional resources required for the fulfilment of the target under the public sector would automatically increase. So far as the trends are discernible, the trend of rise in prices still continues and it is not likely to be arrested. The upward trend of rise in prices is markedly noticeable today. If additional resources are not adequately mobilised, it may not be possible to cope up with the price escalation and

the prospect of the fulfilment of the targets laid in the Sixth Five Year Plan would be bleak.

We are also told that there are chances of increased resources. The Government claims that there might be increased resources mobilisation more than anticipated and these areas of increased mobilisation, according to the Government, are larger surpluses in the public sector earnings than anticipated, larger borrowings from the market, larger accretion from small savings and larger external assistance. I do not know whether the Government is satisfied that this increased mobilisation of resources as mentioned just now would be adequate enough to meet the escalation of price and fulfil the plan target as anticipated in the document.

So far as the Budget provisions for the Plan expenditures are concerned, you know that the last three Budgets including the States' Budgets amount to Rs. 54,000 crores which means about 55 per cent of the total projected expenditure. Now, if the price escalation is taken into consideration, then the net investment in real terms would be nothing more than 45 per cent. The real problem, therefore, is that 55 per cent of the total investment in the public sector remains yet to be completed during the coming two years.

Sir, I do not know whether you would agree with me that with the tempo of development and with the constraints of the resources, it would not be possible to expect the remaining 55 per cent of the total anticipated expenditure during the coming two years. And if we expect, I would only mildly say that it would be nothing more than desiring for moonshine.

So far as the reality of the inflationary trend is concerned, we are to admit that the wholesale price index started rising again from May last after registering temporary decline during the period beginning from last November to April. Therefore, again there

[Shri Chitta Basu]

is the trend of rise in prices. Of course, I admit that there has been a slight decline in September. But that is not an adequate guarantee that it will be continued and there will be no further price rise. Sir, the Government may resort to deficit financing. As far as I remember, so far as the Plan document is concerned, it put a limit on the deficit financing. During the period of five years a limit was imposed that there should not be more than Rs. 5000 crores as deficit financing. I think you will agree with me that more than Rs. 3000 crores mark has already been reached and so far as the current year's anticipated deficit is concerned, it was calculated to be Rs. 1,371 crores for the year 1982-83 and it has already crossed that figure and nobody knows what will be the other limit to which the deficit for the current year will reach. The deficits of the States are also on the increase. Of course some new arrangements have been made by the Government of India by way of overdraft. The result would be only to increase the burden of the Central Government on the Reserve Bank of India. What does it actually mean for the States Budget? The State of West Bengal provides a classical example. By the new arrangement for the coming two years there will be no investment in planning. There will be complete stoppage of investment in the State of West Bengal because of the new arrangement which has been made. It is not only in the case of West Bengal alone. It applies to all other States. As a matter of fact the State Plan will be dropped. West Bengal has cut its Plan drastically. This is the ultimate consequent of the new arrangement which has been made by the Government of India. This ultimately retards the progress of the Plan.

Now I raise a question and I want an answer to that. Government wants that there will be additional Rs. 10,600 crores in the public sector. How does the Government propose to raise this additional Rs. 10,000 crores even accepting for the time being that there

will be no fresh price increase? Indications are already there and these indications have got disastrous effect Government has already decided to raise the administered prices and they have also decided to reduce the subsidies. These are well known recipes of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Therefore, these steps have already been taken.

The issue price of rice and wheat has already been increased. There has been further increase in railway freight and fare. There has been fresh increase in the price of fertilizers and other petroleum products. This also adds to the price increase. Therefore, here lies the crisis. You increase the administered price, thereby giving fresh impetus to the price rise. There is a vicious circle and thereby the Plan gets retarded. If you understand the nature of the crisis, then you will be able to take effective measures.

Now I come to the question of growth of the national income. The Sixth Plan document envisages 5.2 per cent annual increase. What is the actual graph? In 1979-80 it declined by about 5 per cent. In 1980-81 it increased by 7 per cent. The net increase during the two years was only 2 per cent. In 1981-82 the rate of increase was 4.6 per cent. If you take the average for the last three years the rate of increase in the national income has in reality been of the order of 2.2 per cent per annum. But you want to attain a growth of 5.2 per cent. If this present trend continues, it will not be possible to achieve the target of 5.2 per cent increase in national income. That will be unattainable. That will be the result of the crisis of the Sixth Plan. There are two major components for the national income. One is industrial production and the other is agriculture. The Plan target is to achieve 7.5 per cent to 8 per cent annual increase in industry and in agriculture about 4 per cent. In 1980-81 the rate of increase in industry was 10 per cent and in agriculture 4 per cent.

In 1981-82, it increased by 8 per cent. In 1982-83, it has declined. As a matter of fact, in December, the index was 180.9. In June, it has come down to 164.0. Therefore, there is a definite decline in the industrial rate of production and already some quarters say that it is the sign or symptom of recession. Anyway, of course, somebody has said that this is limited to certain specific sectors. But nobody can deny that there is no trend or symptom of recession.

Coming to the question of agriculture, let us only take the figures for the last four years. In 1977-78, the foodgrains production was 13.2 crore tonnes. In 1978-79, it was 11 crore tonnes. In 1980-81, it was 13 crore tonnes; in 1981-82, it was 13.2 crore tonnes. The target of food production, according to the Plan document, in 1984-85 is 15 crore tonnes. If you want to attain that target, by this year, we should have attained 14.2 crore tonnes. But, there is a great doubt raised by all whether it would be possible to attain 14.2 crores during the current year because of the drought, flood and cyclone. As a matter of fact from a reliable estimate, it is found that there will be a shortfall of more than 20 million tonnes of foodgrains. Therefore, there is no possibility and no chance of attaining that 14.2 crore tonnes of foodgrains. Therefore, even in the agricultural field, it will not be possible to attain 4 per cent annual increase. Naturally, the Government may have to resort to import of foodgrains. If you resort to import of food naturally there is another crisis. So far as the import-export trade is concerned, the profile is:

In 1981-82, our import bill was of the order of Rs. 1,300 crores and the balance of trade was Rs. 5,700 crores.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: We do not know the exact position in the current year. But what cannot be denied is that the foreign reserves have already

declined and the Government is going in for the next instalment of the IMF loan. The Sixth Plan may ultimately end in crisis even if by any stretch of imagination everything goes as they wanted. The annual growth cannot under the circumstances exceed 3.5 per cent as in the previous years. Therefore, Sir, the Plan is in crisis.

I would only urge upon the Government to take corrective measures if they want to salvage the Plan.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member's time is up.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: I would only take one minute from you.

I remember the Finance Minister, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee sometime ago remarked that they had entered the International Monetary Fund not on a stretcher but on their own legs. Sir, the crisis of the Sixth Plan which I have just now mentioned indicates the deep crisis, not only in the Plan but in the entire economy. Whatever might be the pretension of the hon. Finance Minister, the economy of India is diseased and is sick. It is not to be carried by a stretcher but it is already in the hospital bed. You may not require to be carried by a stretcher but you are relying on the crutch. Crutch has become a part of your system. You cannot leave the crutch. If you abandon the crutch, you will fall. Therefore if the Government even at this late stage want to salvage the Plan, a fundamental policy orientation and policy instrument are necessary. Since you have not been pleased to give me additional time—of course, you will agree to give—I am unable to indicate what can be the long-term measures and the fundamental policies in order to salvage the Sixth Five Year Plan and by that to salvage the economy of ours.

PROF. NARAIN CHAND PARASHAR (Hamirpur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, a discussion on the Sixth Five Year Plan is also an occasion to reiterate our commitment to planning. It was the

[Prof. Narain Chaid Parashar]

Indian National Congress which even before the dawn of Independence exercised its commitment to planning and it was the year 1931 when in the Karachi session the Indian National Congress accepted the concept of planning and the duty of the State for economic and social programme. 9th February, 1938 is a red-letter day in the history of Indian National Congress because on that day, the President of the Indian National Congress, Shri Subhash Chandra Bose in his Presidential address gave a commitment to the nation that the future national Government will set up a Planning Commission to eradicate poverty and to ensure the development of backward regions in the country. That Address is a marvellous document for the future economic thinking and, on the basis of that, he set up the first National Committee on Planning with Shri Jawaharlal Nehru as the Chairman and it had such eminent economists as Shri K. T. Shah and others on it. That Committee sub-divided itself into 21 Sub-committees. There are reports on education, communications, railways, transport, energy, industry, every thing. So, that is in miniature what we were able to envisage before the dawn of Independence. This shows that there has been a continuity of thinking. Rather there has been streamlining thereafter. The setting up of the Planning Commission and the launching of the First Five Year Plan was also hailed by the nation. The architect of modern India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, launched upon the reconstruction of Indian economy and launched an attack on poverty also through these Plans. They are the documents which show the history of India on the road to progress.

Coming to the Sixth Five Year Plan, some doubts have been cast that the Plan has been eroded. There is no doubt that the price escalation has dealt a severe blow and the Planning Commission in the Mid-term Review has been forced to ask for Rs. 10,000 crores more. The earlier public sector outlay was Rs. 97,500 crores has not

been considered to be sufficient because it was based on 1979-80 prices. The price have now gone up. Naturally, therefore, the targets have not been achieved in many core sectors also. If you take the various Departments of the Government of India, the Railways are in trouble because they want rehabilitation, the renewal of track and rolling stock. Similarly, more power is to be generated and more money is to be required. In education too and in communications too, more money is required. Therefore, I do not find anything wrong with the Planning Commission demanding an additional pumping in of Rs. 10,000 crores into the Plan allocation because that alone can salvage the Planned enable us to envisage a period by which the targets can be achieved.

It is not the spending of money. The Plan is not for spending Rs. 97,500 crores. The Plan is for achieving certain targets. If those targets cannot be achieved, then more money has to be allocated. Therefore, it is in the fitness of things that the Planning Commission has come forward with a plea for more allocation because now every Department, every Ministry, wants more money. I would request the Minister of Planning who is also the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission to look into the demand because as a Member of the Railway Convention Committee, I have been able to find out the erosion of various programmes of the Railways. There is no money for carrying on the projects on schedule; new railway lines are to be constructed and much more important is the rehabilitation of the existing stock. Therefore, they require more money. I would plead for more money for these two vital sectors, the railways and the communications, which have not been included in the core sector. I fail to understand why. Unless there is a communication network in the country, the people cannot be linked up to the national line-up in Delhi and the States and districts and blocks and the various Gram Panchayats have to be brought into the mainstream.

Is it not an irony of fate that even after these many years of planning, there are so many Gram Panchayats in villages which do not have even a single Post Office, let alone the talk of a telephone? Telephone is a far cry and India is very much backward in the number of telephones per thousand as compared to other nations like Japan and USA. But, even in the case of Post Offices, even in Himachal Pradesh alone, there are 500 Gram Panchayats, which have not even a single Post Office in them. Look at the allocation. The Planning Commission gave certain targets to the posts and Telegraphs Department and, on the basis of that, in the annual plans, for three districts one Branch Post Office was sanctioned this year. You can think of this poor planning and the importance that we are giving to the poor sections of society! I plead for more allocations in the Sixth Five Year Plan out of the additional pumping of resources, for tele-communication and railways and for education.

The problem of resources comes into view. Of course, it has been thought that only 50 per cent of the resources have been raised by the States in the current year which they were expected to raise. So, they should be in a position to raise more resources. But more than that we should have a realistic planning and attack on poverty must also have a realistic assessment of what poverty is and what poverty-line is. Formerly, we had the economic approach of income. Then we came over to expenditure approach. This much is the expenditure per family, and therefore this is the poverty line. Now I am happy that the Hon. Minister has answered a question today on the floor of the House saying that there is a Committee now, which will look into the new concept of poverty-line and that is consumer index type. All the other things like Health, Education and other things, would also be taken into consideration and, then poverty line would be determined. Otherwise, thinking of poverty line in terms of values of calories of nutrition taken by a person and the family

or income, is a fallacious line of thinking and, therefore, it is not realistic. When that realistic line of thinking is achieved, our planning would have a sound basis and, therefore, would be able to give us a correct index.

Planning from the bottom, from the grassroots, is also very important. That we must always take into consideration. Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, was more keen to develop the villages. And, therefore, Mahatma Gandhi thought of rural development and the programme of Community Development was launched on his birth-day some years ago.

Hence we must think of planning at the block and district-level. But so far, Plans have come from the top, the Government and the States. I am happy that the Minister in answer to Question 3801 today has given the composition of Working Group to prepare guidelines of planning at district-level. I hope it will not take a long time and before the Sixth Five Year Plan is out, these guidelines will not only be formulated but also implemented. Because if at the district-level, the needs are not assessed, at the State-level they are not likely to be taken into account and at the national level, they are likely to be forgotten and some sort of a wage pattern is likely to emerge which will ultimately to ruin the Plan.

We have thought of various things that have disturbed the implementation of the Plan and, as has been suggested rightly earlier also, price rise is one of the major factors that has stood in the way. Efficient implementation of the schemes is a very important thing because if projects are started and if there is no monitoring and if there is no evaluation, then, we cannot expect better results from our Plan goals and targets.

It is in this context that one of the world economists Mr. Mahboob-Ul-Haq has referred to this that in the context of developing nations the

[Prof. Narain Chand Parashar]

Achilles heel has been the lack of a proper and sound evaluation machinery. I would suggest to the Hon. Minister that if Plan implementation is to be ensured and streamlined, then the evaluation Cell, or the Evaluation Machinery, not only at the national, but also at the State, district and block-level has to be ensured. Because schemes are floated, projects are started and then half-way they are forgotten and new projects are started, the result is that the old projects cannot give us results, the new projects cannot be floated and the projects which are promised cannot be initiated and started! Therefore, evaluation is one of the most important things that must be taken into account. Without that, we cannot have the results.

15 hrs.

Coming back to the attack on poverty, we had about 31.60 crores of people living below the poverty line in 1980 according to an earlier definition, and our planning document envisages that, by 1985, the number would be reduced to 21.50 crores. That is a good thing if it happens, but I am afraid it will not happen because by the time the due date arrives, that is, 1985, more people would be below the poverty line than we could think of. Hence, some effective steps should be taken to ensure that this 'poverty line' is defined many programmes like the TRYSEM, and also that the factors which contribute to increasing poverty are removed.

One of the most important things that is haunting the planners is unemployment. Unemployment today is a big dragon that is going to devour most of our programmes. We have so many programmes like the TRYSEM IRDP, NREP and so on and with these we are trying to attack the problem. But this is not the point. The point is that, unless we revise the policy of issue of industrial licences and we force the industrial houses to set up industries in backward areas, nothing will

come out. I will give a concrete example. There is a place near the Bhakra Dam, the great temple of India, known as Neilla. Five times a licence for setting up a newsprint factory there was given and five times it was cancelled because after two or three years the party would say that they are not interested. Why can we not take some step by which either we force them to have this project or we cancel all their other licences? What happens is that they get a large number of licences and they put up industries in all those areas where they find it profitable or remunerative, where there is easy approach, where there are communications and infrastructure. But when it comes to setting up industry in backward areas, they keep the licence with them for a number of years and by the time they think that their projects in forward areas are in an advanced stage, they say that they are not interested and the licence is cancelled. Mere cancellation of the licence is no solution to the problem. The backward areas are clamouring for industries based on raw materials that they have. Limestone from Himachal Pradesh has been carried to Punjab and Haryana and the hills of Himachal Pradesh have been denuded of limestone. Now cement factories are coming up, and they should come up soon. Similarly, grass and other materials like pulp, etc., for producing newsprint are being carried away, and the entire State is being denuded, but no project or newsprint factory is coming up in Himachal Pradesh because the industrial houses give some lame excuse after three or four years that they are not interested and the licence is merely cancelled. As I said, mere cancellation of the licence by Ministry of Industry or the Government of India is no solution to the problem. All these firms should be black-listed and they should not be given any future projects or they should be forced to take up some projects in backward areas. I would request the hon. Minister for Planning to prepare a list of the backward districts in the country and see how many such licences have been cancelled and for what

reasons and what steps have been taken against those firms which had failed to set up industries in such areas. Utilise the local raw materials and set up industries there. Then the problem of unemployment can be solved.

In addition to the problem of unemployment, we have also the problem of creation of infrastructure. The irony of India is that the States which are rich in raw materials, local produce, are lacking in infrastructure and the States which are having the infrastructure are lacking in raw materials. There is a big guardrangle, Delhi-Calcutta-Madras-Bombay, where more than 60 per cent of the expenditure is made by the Indian Railways. But most of the raw materials in the north or south or east or west lie scattered beyond this guardrangle and the infrastructure is not there. We are, therefore, unable to have any major industry in the north-west or north-east or extreme south or west or east. We should have the national map of India before our eyes when we think of planning. We are not planning for one State or one district or one place where raw materials are not there but the infrastructure is there or for a place where the infrastructure is not there but raw materials are there. There should be a coordinated thinking in this respect, a coordinated approach between the Ministry of Industry and the other Ministries. This should be taken into account by the Planning Commission while formulating such scheme. Then the problem of unemployment can be solved.

I would refer to my own State of Himachal Pradesh. In the Sixth Plan it has been given an outlay of Rs. 560 crores. Himachal is rich in flowing water. Dr. Parmar, the founder of our State, used to say that we have this flowing gold but we are unable to have many hydro-electric projects because we are lacking funds. And when we combine with the other States, the other States impose their own conditions. They force us either to postpone the projects or to hand over these projects to them on very hard

conditions. So to such States which have projects—you can say instated projects for hydel generation and irrigation—due care has to be given by the Planning Commission.

I will refer in particular to projects like Kol Dam and Nathwa Jakri and others which can create so much of electricity that the entire north India can be illuminated like Diwali. But what happens is that Himachal Pradesh is starved of funds. When it comes to the question of railways—there is that Nangal-Talwara line—well, Himachal Pradesh is having areas difficult to cross and they are unremunerative and, therefore, no funds. When it comes to big industries, you say that Himachal Pradesh is unapproachable by roads or rail transport and therefore, other areas are preferred. You kindly take this into account and give us money for Himachal Pradesh for afforestation conservation of the surface soil in the Himachal region and for preservation of the environment. These will also benefit other States. There will be no floods. There will be plenty of rains if the forests are saved in Himachal Pradesh. If the water potential is tapped in Himachal Pradesh and if electricity is generated in Himachal Pradesh and if irrigation is given to other States, Himachal can prosper.

There is an interesting thing. Sir, if we want to lift from our own river one cusec of water, we are called upon by the Bhakra Management Board to give Rs. 21. Rs. 21 is charged for one cusec of water for irrigation in Himachal Pradesh from the rivers flowing in Himachal Pradesh! This should be understood that if the rivers belong to the nation, they also belong to Himachal Pradesh. Why is then Himachal Pradesh being forced to pay money? Is it simply because at an earlier time Himachal Pradesh was a Union Territory and as for a minor some arrangement was made by the Government of India with the Governments of Punjab and Haryana? And should Himachal

[Prof. Narain Chand Parashar]

Pradesh be made to suffer? We should not be made to suffer because Bhakra Dam was created. The problem of oustees is there and they are being driven from pillar to post Haryana and Rajasthan and other States and they have no shelter. Even now 26 years or 30 years after the creation of Bhakra dam, people in Haryana have not been given ownership rights of the land. Under the 20 Point Economic Programme no Himachali oustee who has settled in Haryana or Rajasthan can get loan from a bank because land does not get transferred to his name. So he is asked to go to Himachal and all that. So there are problems. You build big dams. It is very good but under the shadow of dams people are ousted and the problems of those people are to be looked after. The human aspect due to the erection of the dam is much more important than the engineering aspect. The engineers have come and gone, but the people who have been uprooted from their soil have their problems still to be solved.

So, Himachal Pradesh needs a massive assistance for the projects that are under execution—whether it is the railway line or it is a hydel project or it is an industry or things of that type and I will request the hon. Minister to be generous to Himachal Pradesh because if all the projects are started in the remaining years of the Sixth Plan and completed in the Seventh Plan there will be no shortage of electricity and there will be no black out and no tripping of power either in Delhi or Rajasthan or even in Haryana or in Jammu & Kashmir and we are in a position to supply power to the whole of north India, but you give us the money.

Similarly, with regard to irrigation, we can irrigate the whole of Himachal. There are big valleys and there are small rivers which eat into the soil and a project has been formulated by the State Government and sent to the

Centre and that should be cleared. Thereby Himachal also can export grains.

I will not refer to many other things but I will refer to the efforts made by the State Government which is doing its best for the development of the State and we are grateful to the Government of India that they have been giving us good central assistance. I will refer to the figures. In 1980-81 the per capita assistance Himachal Pradesh got was Rs. 223. In 1981-82 it was Rs. 230 and this year it is Rs. 250. So on that score we have no complaints but we would like it to be enriched further and liberalised further and here I speak for all the Hill States and for all the backward States. Let the rich soil, let the rich raw material of the State be utilised for the benefit of the people, the coming generations in those areas and let them not wander from pillar to post in search of jobs. That would be, in my view, a first major step for eradication of poverty and that would be the realisation of the dreams of Subhash Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru.

15.10 hrs.

(Dr. Rajendra Kumari Bajpai in the chair)

श्री चरण सिंह (बागपत) : सभापति महोदया, मेरा इरादा था कि देश की आर्थिक स्थिति इतनी क्यों बुराव है, क्यों गरीबी और बेरोजगारी बढ़ती जा रही है और क्यों एक व्यक्ति और दूसरे व्यक्ति या एक वर्ग की आय में इतना अन्तर बढ़ता जा रहा है, इसके क्या कारण हैं और उनका क्या समाधान है मेरी बढ़ती के अनुसार और मेरी पार्टी के अनुसार वह बताता। लेकिन मुझे अफसोस है कि ऊपर की बेंचें खाली पड़ी हुई हैं। मैं जानता हूँ कि इधर की बेंचें भी बहाना भरी हुई नहीं हैं। लेकिन जिम्मेदारी गवर्नमेंट बेंचें की है यह जानने की कि

उनके अलावा दूसरा पक्ष भी कोई और है कि नहीं। तो जो खाली बेंचें हैं उनसे क्या बात करूं, क्या समझाऊं? न मेरा मन लगेगा, और सुनने वाला कोई नहीं है तो उनके मन का भी सबाल उठता नहीं है। इसलिए बहुत बहुत धन्यवाद, जब मैं यह डिसेजन ले रहा हूँ तो मेरा और कोई इरादा आपका आमान करने का नहीं है। इसलिए हम सदन से वाक आउट करते हैं।

(Shri Charan Singh and some other hon. Members then left the House)

श्री राजनाथ सोनकर शास्त्री (संदपुर) : हम सभी वाक आउट कर रहे हैं, और यह सबाल बारबार उठता है.....

(व्यवधान)

सभापति महोदय : आपका जाना हो तो जा सकते हैं।

आचार्य भगवान बेव (अजमेर) : आपके पास गोलने का कुछ नहीं है और हमारा समय बरबाद करते हैं। कोई योजना नहीं है, कोई विचार आपका नहीं है, कोई प्लान नहीं है।....(व्यवधान)

श्री उगदाल सिंह (हरिद्वार) : हाउस चल नहीं सकता है, आप बाँलिए....

(व्यवधान)

श्री रमोद मसूब (सहारनपुर) : सभापति महोदय, कोरम नहीं है हाउस का।

شری رشید مسعود سپہا پتی
 مہرک کون نہیں ہے ہاؤس کا

सभापति महोदय : आप अपना स्थान ग्रहण कीजिए।

इस समय हाउस में कोरम है अतः श्री चन्द्रलाल चन्द्राकर अपना भाषण जारी रखें।

श्री चन्द्रलाल चन्द्राकर (दरग) : सभापति जी, आज छठी योजना पर विचार

करने का मौका सदन को मिला है। मैं समझता हूँ हर एक मंत्रालय में चिन्तन करने की आवश्यकता है, और इसका जरूरत भी पड़ती है लेकिन इस मंत्रालय को विशेष चिन्तन करने की आवश्यकता है, और कर भी रहा है। योजना मंत्रालय धन को किस किस काम में लगाएँ जब यह तय किया जाता है तो बहुत गम्भीरता से विचार किया जाता है कि एक, एक रुपया कैसे खर्च किया जाए, और यह सही भी है। देखना है कि जो पैसा खर्च किया जाता है उसका सही सही उपयोग किया जाए। आज हमारे यहाँ जैसी व्यवस्था है उसके अन्तर्गत हमारे देश में जो बजट पेश किया जाता है वह 28 फरवरी को किया जाता है और यह प्रथा अंग्रेजों के समय से चली आ रही है जिसमें आज परिवर्तन करने की आवश्यकता है। जो भी बजट 28 फरवरी को पेश किया जाता है पाय होने के बाद वह हर एक जिले में 15 अप्रैल तक पहुँचता है खर्च करने के लिए। आप अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं कि हमारे देश में वर्षा 15 जून में शुरू हो जाती है। तो ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में जितने भी निर्माण कार्य होते हैं, चाहे ताँध हो या सड़क निर्माण का कार्य हो जो कि देश के विकास के लिए आवश्यक है, वह सब काम 15 जून को रुक जाता है और पहली दिसम्बर तक करीब करीब बन्द रहता है। जो पैसा दिया जाता है, वह मुश्किल से दो महीने खर्च होता है। उसके बाद धन कई अन्य गदों में खर्च होता है। आफिसरों के पास पैसा रहता है, काम नहीं रहता है। जिस काम के लिए पैसा दिया जाता है, वह उसमें नहीं खर्च होता है। इसलिए आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि हमारे देश का बजट नवम्बर के पहले सप्ताह में आना चाहिए। इसका कारण यह है कि हमारे देश में जितनी भी वर्षा होती है, उसी पर हमारे देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था निर्भर करती है। हमारा देश कृषि प्रधान देश है। वर्षा के होने से अन्दाजा लग जाता है कि कितनी फसल होगी और नदियों में कितनी पानी होगा, जिससे बिजली उत्पन्न होगी। इसमें व्यापारियों को अन्दाजा लग जाता है कि उनके पैसों

[श्री चदलाल चन्द्राकर]

की वसूली हांगी या नहीं हांगी। इसलिए मेरा अनुरोध है कि जो बजट प्रस्तुत करने की व्यवस्था अंग्रेजों के समान से चली आ रही है कि 28 फरवरी को पेश किया जाएगा, उसको बदल करके नवम्बर के पहले हफ्ते या उसके आगे-पीछे किसी एक दिन रखना चाहिए। जिससे जो भी पैसा देश के विकास कार्यक्रमों के लिए दिया जाता है, उसका सही उपयोग हो सके। इसलिए मंस सुभाव है कि बजट को पेश करने की तिथि को बदला जाए।

दूसरी समस्या, जो कि सबसे बड़ी समस्या है, वह है बंराजगारी की। इसको ले कर बहुत से कार्यक्रम बनाए खास तौर से हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम के अन्तर्गत हर ब्लाक के अन्दर काम देने के कार्यक्रम बनाए गए हैं। हम सभी संसद सदस्यों को यह विचार करना चाहिए कि हर परिवार में कम से कम एक व्यक्ति को नौकरी मिले। सभापति जी, आप स्वयं जानती हैं कि बहुत से ऐसे परिवार हैं, जिनमें पांच-पांच और इससे भी ज्यादा लोग अच्छी मशीनरी में हैं। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश में बंराजगारी की समस्या एक भयंकर समस्या है। जिसका निराकरण करने के लिए हमें कोई न कोई क्रान्तिकारी उपाय अवश्य ढूँढना चाहिए। नहीं तो हमारे जितने भी लोकतन्त्र के विकास हो रहे हैं, ये सब एक न एक दिन अंतरराक स्थिति में पहुँच सकते हैं। लोग कभी भी भूखें तो नहीं रह सकते हैं। इस वजह से कई जगह प्रदर्शन होते हैं। उन को नौकरी न मिलने से उनका धैर्य टूट जाता है। मैं इस बात को कहना चाहता हूँ कि कम से कम एक परिवार में एक व्यक्ति को नौकरी मिलनी ही चाहिए।

तीसरा सुभाव यह है कि हमारे देश में संविधान के अन्दर हम ने सब तरह के अधिकार दिए हुए हैं, जैसे बोलने का अधिकार है, लिखने का अधिकार है, अपने विचार रखने का अधिकार है, आज हम इस बात पर भी क्यों न सोचें कि

हर व्यक्ति को काम करने का अधिकार भी मिले - राइट-आफ-वर्क दिया जाए। मैं इस बात का मानता हूँ कि इस में बहुत सी दिक्कतें आएंगी, सरकार को भी दिक्कत आएगी और दूसरों को भी आएगी। आज जो लोग बिला-पावर्टी-लाइन हैं, वे 30 करोड़ हैं या 40 करोड़ हैं, कितने हैं मैं नहीं कह सकता, लेकिन उन को काम देने की समस्या है। इस लिए यह कोई सरल काम नहीं है, लेकिन एक बार सरकार निर्णय कर ले, विरोध-पक्ष के साथ विचार-विनिमय करके उन को राइट-टु-वर्क का अधिकार दिया जाए -- क्या इस पर अब विचार करने का समय नहीं आ गया है?

हमारे बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम के अधीन सरकार को यह नीति है कि प्रत्येक गाँव में पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था की जाए। लेकिन आज भी बहुत गाँवों के अन्दर पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था नहीं है। हमारे योजना मंत्रालय और हमारी प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने भी इस बात की ओर प्रत्येक राज्य सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित किया है कि पीने के पानी की हर गाँव में व्यवस्था की जाए। लेकिन आज जिस ढंग से यह काम हो रहा है या जिस ढंग से इस दिशा में प्रगति हो रही है उस से ऐसा कहीं भी अन्दाज नहीं लगता है कि 10 या 15 वर्षों में भी यह काम पूरा हो जाएगा। यह ठीक है कि हमारी सरकार की नीति इस काम को प्राथमिकता देने की है और राज्यों में भी प्राथमिकता देने का प्रयास किया जा रहा है, लेकिन जो काम करने की मशीनरी है उरा के काम की जांच करने की व्यवस्था नहीं है। जैसे भोग जिला दुर्ग है, दुर्ग जिले में 1822 गाँव हैं, इन में से कितने गाँवों में पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था हो गई है। इस बात की जांच करने के लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार की तरफ से कोई मशीनरी है या नहीं है, मैं नहीं जानता। कितने गाँवों में व्यवस्था हुई है -- इस की जांच होनी चाहिए और गाँव वार केन्द्रीय सरकार के पास जानकारी आनी चाहिए।

हमारी प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी जी ने बिजली उत्पादन तथा सिंचाई की

व्यवस्था को सब से अधिक प्राथमिकता दी है। इस में कोई शक नहीं है कि देश की बेरोजगारी दूर करने के लिए सब से बड़ी जरूरत सिंचाई और बिजली की है बिना इनके देश का उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ सकता। देश की बेरोजगारी और मंहगाई को दूर करने का एक ही उपाय है, चाहे कृषि क्षेत्र हों या औद्योगिक क्षेत्र हों, इन का उत्पादन बढ़ाया जाए। इसी लिए हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने इस वर्ष को, 1982 वर्ष को, उत्पादन वर्ष कहा है.....

उद्योग तथा इस्पात और खान मंत्रालयों में राज्य मंत्री (श्रीमती राम बलारौ सिन्हा): उत्पादकता वर्ष कहा है।

श्री चन्दा लाल चन्दाकर : यह प्रोडक्शन और प्रोडक्टिविटी की बात है, उत्पादन और उत्पादकता की बात है। लेकिन एक तरफ तो सरकार की ओर से कोशिश होती है कि उत्पादन बढ़ाया जाए, कारखाने चलाए जाएं, लेकिन दूसरी ओर कुछ लोग लगातार प्रदर्शन करने, बन्द करने, कारखानों को चलने से रोकने की चेष्टा कर रहे हैं। इन कामों में तरह-तरह के अड़गं डालने के कारण कई जगह जितना उत्पादन होना चाहिए था, उतना नहीं हो पा रहा है। इस में कोई शक नहीं है कि ऐसी बहुत सी शक्तियाँ हैं जो इस काम को कर रही हैं और हमारे विरोध पक्ष के कुछ लोग ऐसी कार्यवाहियों को बढ़ावा देते हैं, ताकि वे लोग औद्योगिक भूगड़ों व लाक-आउट में फँसे रहें। वैसे तो ऐसी चीजों को रोकने के लिए बहुत से नियम और कानून बने हुए हैं लेकिन उन पर सही तरीके से अमल नहीं होता है। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि उन कानूनों पर कड़ाई से कार्यवाही होनी चाहिए। आज यह भी देखने में आता है कि स्कूलों में छोटी-छोटी बातों को लेकर हड़ताल हो जाती है। शिक्षक भी छोटी-छोटी बातों को लेकर हड़ताल कर देते हैं। कोशिश यह की जानी चाहिए कि ऐसी चीजों को गन्द किया जाए, तभी देश का उत्पादन बढ़ सकेगा। बिजली की कमी के कारण गांवों में विकास

के कार्य नहीं हो रहे हैं। आज समूचे देश में बिजली की कमी है और मैं समझता हूँ कि बहुत कम ही ऐसे भाग्यशाली राज्य हैं जैसे केरल, जहाँ बिजली की कमी नहीं है। बाकी बहुत जगहों पर बिजली की कमी है और इस कारण वहाँ पर जो किसानों के पम्प लगे हुए हैं या ट्यूबवेल लगे हुए हैं, उन को बिजली नहीं मिल रही है। इस के कारण भी बहुत सी जगहों पर फसलों को बहुत नुकसान पहुँचा है और बहुत जगहों पर अकाल पड़ गया है। इस के कारण अनाज के उत्पादन में कमी हो गई है लेकिन इस में कोई शक नहीं है कि हमारे देश के किसानों ने जितना अनाज के उत्पादन को बढ़ाया है, उस के लिए उन को जितना श्रेय दिया जाए, वह कम है। हमारे देश में किसानों का ही एक ऐसा वर्ग है, जिस ने 35 वर्षों में परिश्रम कर के देश के अनाज के उत्पादन को बहुत अधिक बढ़ाया है लेकिन अभी भी किसानों को बिजली मिलने में तड़ी कठिनाई है। रात को उन को बिजली दी जाती है और वह भी 2-3 घंटे ही उन को मिल पाती है। इसलिए मेरा यह निवेदन है कि ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों के लिए ऐसी व्यवस्था करें, जिस से उन को अधिक बिजली मिल सके।

गांव में हमारे यहाँ ग्राम पंचायत है। हम यह देखते हैं कि गांवों में पहले कुछ पढ़ने लिखने का काम चलता था लेकिन जब धीरे-धीरे पढ़ने लिखने का काम बन्द हो रहा है, जो कि एक अच्छी बात नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस पर योजना मंत्रालय विचार करे कि क्या वह संभव है कि हर एक ग्राम पंचायत में एक पुस्तकालय हो। एक पुस्तकालय की व्यवस्था वहाँ पर हो, चाहे वह भारत सरकार की तरफ से हो या राज्य सरकार की तरफ से हो। और उस में ऐसी पुस्तकें हों जैसे पंचवर्षीय योजना, उद्योगों के तिलसिले में पुस्तकें, कृषि के सिलसिले में पुस्तकें। इस तरह का साहित्य उन पुस्तकालयों में हो। लोगों को कर्ज कहां से मिले, इस की जानकारी वाली पुस्तकें भी वहीं पर हों। मैं

[श्री चन्दा लाल चन्द्राकर]

समझता हूँ कि अब सगव आ गया है कि हर एक ग्राम पंचायत में एक पुस्तकालय हो और उसमें ऐसे विषय की पुस्तकें हों, जिन को पढ़ने से लोगों को फायदा हो, और युवकों को अच्छी पुस्तक पढ़ने का मौका मिले। आज तो होता यह है कि गांवों में सिनेमा का साहित्य मिल जाता है या युवक हरीद कर उस को ले आता है जबकि उनको हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के बारे में महीने के बराबर जानकारी होती है। इसलिए हर एक ग्राम पंचायत में अगर एक पुस्तकालय की व्यवस्था हो सके, तो इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि इससे वहाँ के लोगों को बहुत बड़ा लाभ होगा।

एक बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूँ। हमारे बहुत से संगठन सदस्य विदेशों में जाते हैं और वे यह जानते हैं कि वहाँ पर हमारे दूतावासों में जो हमारे अफसर हैं उनको वहाँ के बारे में पूरी जानकारी नहीं रहती है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि हमारे यहाँ एक आई. एफ. एम. यानी इन्डियन फॉरेन सर्विस है और उसी सर्विस के कर्मचारी विदेशों में आते-जाते रहते हैं। इसका परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि उनको केवल विदेशों के बारे में जानकारी रहती है और अपने देश के बारे में बिल्कुल जानकारी नहीं रहती है और परिणाम यह होता है कि जब उनकी इस देश के बारे में कोई जानकारी देनी होती है, तो गलत जानकारी दी जाती है। उनको वहाँ की पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के बारे में जानकारी नहीं रहती है। क्या इस पर सोचने की आवश्यकता नहीं है? जब हमने अपने गृह एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन संभाला, तो आई. ए. एम. से शुरु किया, आई. एफ. एस. शुरु की और पुलिस सर्विस शुरु की। क्या अब इस बात की आवश्यकता नहीं है कि इन सर्विसेज में से और साइटिस्टों का भी बाहर भेजा जाए और जो आई. एफ. एस. के लोग हैं वे हर 10 साल के बाद एक बार कम से कम 3 साल भारत में रह कर ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में काम करें। उनको चाहें आप कमिश्नर

का पद दें या और कोई पद दें, हर 10 साल के बाद 3 साल भारत में रह कर वे ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में काम करें ताकि उनको वहाँ का अनुभव हो जाए। कैसे उनको यह काम दिया जा सकता है, इसमें सबसे कुछ कठिनाई आ सकती है। बहुत सी समस्याएँ इसमें सामने आएंगी और बहुत किसम के दबाव भी पड़ सकते हैं लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि अब सगव आ गया है जबकि 10 साल के बाद तीन साल तक इन लोगों को भारत के उत्तर, दक्षिण, पूरब, पश्चिम में, जहाँ भी भेजा जाए, जिससे उनको देश के सम्बन्ध में पूरी जानकारी रहे। मैं समझना हूँ कि यह एक ऐसा विषय है, जिस पर हमारे योजना मंत्रालय को गंभीरता से विचार करना चाहिए और विचार-विनिमय कर के कोई ऐसा रास्ता अपनाया जाए, जिससे हमारे देश के प्रतिनिधि, आई. एफ. एस. के अधिकारियों को भारत के सम्बन्ध में पूरी जानकारी रहे और दूसरे देशों के लोगों को वे भारत के सम्बन्ध में जानकारी दे सकें।

इतना कह कर मैं समाप्त करता हूँ और आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आपने मुझे बोलने का समय दिया।

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat): Madam Chairman, of course, the hon. Planning Minister has made it quite clear at the outset that he is not in a position to give to the House any mid-term appraisal of the Plan. Therefore, I suppose he has cast a responsibility on the Members to suggest points for appraisal. That is no excuse for him for making such a complacent speech in the beginning. He could have at least admitted that the Plan has run into very rough weather and the gravity of the crisis should not be underestimated, otherwise there is no point in having this debate. The debate has come very late and after a lot of agitation from the opposition that we should be given an opportunity to discuss this very important subject.

All my sympathies go to the Minister because none of the senior Ministers, who are vitally concerned with

different aspects of planning, whether it is steel, oil, railways, commerce, industry or anything, has bothered to stay here to hear our opinions. Anyway, I do not propose to walk out in a huff as Chaudhry Charan Singh has done because by now we have become accustomed to speaking in an empty House. It is no use going on repeating the same thing that because of inflation and because of the terrific price rise, there has been a steady erosion in the actual value of the outlay of the Plan. It is bound to be there and as a result of that the physical targets of the Plan cannot be attained. These things are well known and they can be illustrated by so many figures.

As far as inflation is concerned, the Minister has again claimed that the rate of inflation has been brought down substantially. Well, we can go on arguing about this, but the point is that as far as the common people of this country are concerned, even if one admits for arguments sake that statistically the inflation rate has been brought down to some extent, the fact remains that the cost of living index and the wholesale price index are going up all the time. The Planning Commission in its wisdom should give us some explanation of how this happens. In one year ending 9th January, 1982, the wholesale price index increased by 6.9 per cent, but the retail prices have gone up much more sharply. For industrial workers, the index showed 12.4 per cent increase, for urban non-manual employees 11.4 per cent increase and for agricultural labour 14.4 per cent increase. Therefore, the people for whose benefit the Plan is devised will not be satisfied by knowing statistically the rate of inflation is going down because the prices are going up all the time. And that is bound to be so as long as this huge amount of black money is circulating in the economy over which nobody has any control; nobody can detect it. The Government has failed completely to set in motion any kind of strategy against

black money except for Mr. Venkataraman's Bearer Bonds Scheme, which brought a very niggardly amount in exchange for freeing these people from any obligation for paying any taxes and all that.

Now, the point is that there is a big shortfall in resources. That has been admitted by the Minister himself. Physically speaking, there is a big shortfall in foodgrain production also. This year it is going to be very serious because of the natural calamities. Against the target of 154 million tonnes — there must be something. I do not know what it is due to, — if you see the figures for the last two-three years, it seems we have stuck up at 130-132 million tonnes. We are not able to break this barrier. How you will realise the target of 154 million tonnes, I do not know. Again you have started importing wheat and all that because of what the conditions are this year. And the Land Reforms have been given a go-by as far as I can see. Originally the idea of the land reforms was that the surplus amount of land which was identified should be taken over and distributed among the landless people or among the marginal farmers. That idea has practically been sabotaged and tarped altogether because bulk of the land which is identified is outside the physical control of the Government. It has either got stuck up in litigation in law courts or in any case it has not been taken over by the Government and distributed to the landless and marginal farmers.

Then so many Members referred to power shortage. There is tremendous shortfall in power generation. The new projects which were to be completed in the last two years have not yet been completed. I am told that out of 51 such thermal projects, only one was completed; and out of 65 hydro-projects only two have been completed.

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

In steel production it is claimed that it is going up, but a few months ago in this very House the then Minister, Shri Charanjit Chanaana had admitted that a revised target of 6.3 million tonnes of steel which was worked out is incapable of being achieved because of the infrastructural inadequacies. Here a Cabinet Sub-Committee for dealing explicitly with the infrastructure had been set up. That was a good step and then we were told that the things will be all right. But we are told now that even that revised target of 6.3 million tonnes of steel cannot be achieved because of deficiencies in the infrastructure. What is it due to, you should tell us. We would like to know whether it is due to inadequate coal supplies or railway movements not being up to the mark or due to the power shortage? Whatever the reasons may be, there does not seem to be much improvement. According to the SAIL Chairman, one and a half million tonnes of Steel is lying unsold with the Steel mills and at the same time steel structurals and other steel products are being imported. Main consumers of steel, I believe, in this country are the Railways and the engineering industries. I would like to know from the Hon. Minister whether these unsold stocks of steel reflect any difficulty on the part of the engineering industries to consume the steel because of their falling production? In this morning's paper, I have seen a statement by the Engineering Industries Association saying that production in the engineering industries has been falling. Then all the steel plants without exception are complaining of unsatisfactory performance of the coke-oven batteries. One reason why they cannot achieve the steel target is because the coke-oven batteries do not function properly. Is it because of the quality of the coking coal or the supplies of the coking coal in our country are inadequate? We read

in papers that you are going to import coal also from abroad. So, I would like to know whether there is any crisis in the production of coking coal? What is the trouble? Can't you step up the coal production if that is the case? There is no use saying that because there are specific types and varieties of coal which are required for different purposes, that is the reason why there is a shortfall in steel production. There is a shortfall even in the renewals programme of the railways for which a huge investment was budgeted in the Plan. For example, for renewing the Railway tracks, we are now told that out of about 14,000 kilometers of tracks which are required to be renewed, so far in the Plan period, which is nearly three years past now, only about 1400 kilometers have been re-laid. That means that roughly 10 per cent of the total target of new tracks have been laid in a period of nearly three years of the Plan. What is the trouble? Is it because they cannot get steel? But SAIL says that stocks of steel are laying unsold. Apparently, there is some kind of a gap and planning is not being co-ordinated properly.

I would have thought that the Minister would at least have pointed out that since the Plan was first formulated, certain new developments had taken place, which were not accounted for in the Plan at all. They are subsequent developments. To what extent those have seriously distorted and thrown the Plan out of gear— I hope you will assess when you come to make your midterm appraisal. There is no mention of it in your opening statement.

First of all, there is this appearance—may be, only in some sectors: I do not say that it has appeared all over—in the field of engineering industry. But, nevertheless, in some sectors, there have appeared the so-called recessionary symptoms. You had not bargained for it when you

originally formulated the Plan. The Reserve Bank has given a lengthy explanation. It has said: Don't call it a recession; call it a fall demand. why is it there? Somebody says that the demand pattern may have changed. Somebody says it may be due to more access than was available earlier, to imported goods.

Then the question arises: how far is this import liberalization policy contributing to this? We do not know. But there is the appearance of recession.

Then there is a fear expressed in many industrial quarters—including the small scale industries quarters—that this new liberalization of imports policy may result in some unhealthy dumping in our country, of foreign goods which cannot be sold in their own countries abroad. To what extent all these things are producing this so-called recessionary symptoms, is something one which you should throw more light. Anyway, this is a factor which has developed.

The second one which I consider very important was the fact that in an unobtrusive and quiet way, the old Industrial Policy Resolution has been drastically changed. I cannot quote now, because of lack of time; but your colleague Mr. Tiwari's speech at the meeting of the Central Advisory Council on Industry, of which I happen to be member, on the 23rd August, makes it quite clear that the object of industrial policy now is going to be something very different from the original priorities which were fixed. I am not referring to the priorities of 1956. At that time, we talked about the commanding heights of the economy, and how the public sector must be made predominant. But even what we were doing for the last few years, is being changed. I should say that this industrial policy means a virtual end of the MRTP Act and the Foreign Exchange Regulations Act.

In respect of the big business houses, these were the two statutory weapons with which you wanted to control them, viz, the MRTP Act and the FERA. Now, what you have undertaken amounts to a virtual scrapping of these two. So, there is a goodbye to planning, as far as private sector is concerned. In my opinion, there can never be any effective planning, when you have such big houses outside your control. These two weapons which have a limited capacity, are sought to be whittled down, and scuttled.

What has Mr. Tiwari said here? Now, the large houses are going to expand outside the industries which were listed in Appendix I. We all know the Appendix I industries, the whole annexure is there. Now, they will be permitted to expand, even outside this Appendix I industries into those fields of production where their entry was formerly prohibited and banned in the interests of other sectors.

Secondly, the definition of dominance for MRTP purposes has been changed. It is now related not to current production, but is going to be related to the licensed capacity. But production for export purposes has been excluded from licensed capacity. Your licensed capacity will be calculated leaving out, minus, whatever you produce for exports and the unlicensed capacity which have been allowed to go on from year to year, all this time when goods were being illegally produced and marketed, those have been regularised. Some industries have been totally exempted from MRTP; and certain industries which are now referred to as 'priority industries' they are going to be allowed foreign equity holding, if necessary up to 51 per cent! All this time, we were saying that these companies will have to bring down foreign equity to 40 per cent. Now, 51 per cent they can hold! That means the majority holding. Already in the case of Hindustan Lever it has been done. On what ground "Oh!

[Shri Indrajit Gupto]

They are exporting to much!" I have no time, Madam, just now to explain the export mechanism Hindustan Lever practises. And again it is a big hoax and the whole thing is deception. They are makers of soap and dalda vanaspati and their high technology has impressed the Government so much that they are to be allowed 51 per cent foreign equity holding. So this is the first factor. This one was the appearance of recessionary symptoms. The second one is the change—sweeping change—in the industrial policy. The third is the IMF loan to which many friends have already referred. I am only referring to it for this purpose, that this loan is taken on the plea that we will use it in order to meet our huge balance of trade deficit. But from what we understand, the conditionalities attached to the loan are such—if you are going to observe them—the trade deficit will not be alleviated at all. The trade deficit will become more aggravated. Because it compels you to go in for liberalisation of imports whereas the corresponding rise in our exports is not possible; because we cannot enter the markets where the protectionist measures are being imposed against Indian exports to other developed countries.

The Chairman of the EEC Commission is in Delhi—I do not know if he has left, he has been here for the last two days—he has said quite plainly, that whatever concession we have given for the entry of Indian exports into the EEC countries is enough; we cannot make any further concessions; we have given you enough opportunity. If you want to enter into our markets, the Indian exporters should show a better performance, better quality, better product mix, more timely delivery." He has lectured on all these things. With all these things, how can we enter their markets? And we cannot—get any further concessions. The EEC imports into our country are going up. It is stated in your Economic Survey that imports from these countries, from the OPEC countries, from

EEC countries, from Japan, from Singapore, from USA—that means all hard currency countries are going up. That means more and more, your debt obligations will increase, and the more you will have to find dollars to repay, to pay back. But, on the other hand your imports from those countries which are dealing in rupee trade with you, those are going down? Your exports are going up to those countries because they have no protectionist measures. They are willing to help us to take whatever you can give. But you are not prepared to take imports from those countries.

There was a meeting going on here for the last few days between the representatives of FIOCI and the Soviet trade people. It has come in the news papers. The Soviet people have said that "for goodness sake buy some more things from us also. You are only selling to us. We are taking whatever you want to sell but you do not buy anything from us." When it comes to buying, then all the fascination and love is for the hard currency area and that goes on adding to your debt obligation. I do not know what kind of like and the IMF loan is not for planning is it if you cannot control these people. They are free to do what they. Even if you draw the whole of it, it will be over after a time. Then what happens after that? Either you go in for a second loan. I do not know whether they will give it or not. Other wise they have already hinted that you will have to go for private commercial borrowing from foreign commercial banks where the rate of interest is almost double. We know that these rates of interest are kept artificially high in order to make things more difficult for poor countries and developing countries. The matter has been exposed recently quite boldly by President Lopez Portillo, the President of Mexico when he nationalised the banks in Mexico. He made it quite clear that the international financial institutions, these foreign commercial banks the main weapon they use in order to dominate over the economies of the de-

veloping countries and to keep them poor are these high rates of interest and then where are you going to go after this.

The fourth thing which I do not blame the Government for, but it is nevertheless a factor which has come now is this year's drought and floods and natural calamities and all that. But, surely, it will entail responsibility on the Government for a more extended public distribution system, atleast in those affected areas where people have been so hard-hit by drought and flood and have nothing to eat. They will have to be supplied with some minimum amount of foodgrains at subsidised rates and there I would like to know whether you are prepared to subsidise to save those people from starvation or death or whether the conditionality of IMF loan will prevent you from increasing the subsidies or even maintaining the existing subsidies. So, Madam I think I do not really want to say more because there is no appraisal from the side of the Government and certainly it is not possible for us to make an appraisal without the necessary data and the material which is not available to us at the moment. Let us hope that on some future occasion we may get an opportunity of this type. So, on the question of resource mobilisation now, as far as the public sectors contribution is concerned, I am firmly of the opinion that production and productivity in the public sector can be improved and their contribution can be increased but it can only be done on the basis of enlisting the conscious co-operation of the workers in the public sector and that can only be done by following a proper industrial relations policy and not the policy which is being followed at present. I do not want to go into more details. All these talks by Mr. Chandrakar my friend, that they are only interested in strikes and nothing else. But biggest strike is now going on, not there but somewhere else and one strike is going on for ten months and not much seriousness has been shown in trying to settle

it making the whole thing a matter of prestige who will talk and who will not talk, and ten months have passed. It is unthinkable in any country that a strike of such big dimension can be allowed for ten months causing so much loss to everybody, in the productivity year. I would suggest that the planners should also consider the question because if they are interested in raising more resources from the public sector, it is essential that the workers there should be made to feel some sort of commitment to the public sector, not by just delivering lectures but by a method, a procedure by which they really feel that there is some genuine interest on the part of the managements to associate them and involve them in the actual operation of that public sector. At present, I am afraid, many of the managements have got no public sector culture at all. They behave sometimes even worse than the private sector. In that way you cannot increase production.

The other thing is about raising taxes. I do not know how much scope is left for that. As far as the administered prices are concerned, if you go on raising them, as it has become a very easy method, it will only be adding to inflation. This time you have increased the price of fertilizers cement, aluminium, controlled cloth, handloom cloth, mill cloth, 170 bulk drugs and 1,000 drug formulations. All these prices, which are controlled, which are administered, have been raised, and this only makes things more difficult for the people. I do not know how much money it gets for you.

Here I would like to quote one example, and that is the excise duty on tyres, which has been raised to 66 per cent ad valorem. The tyre production in this country is more or less controlled by a few big companies, whose names are well-known. Since 1977-78 they have been given price increases more than 14 times. Their profits have increased by 400 per cent in 1981-82 over 1977-78. Their inputs like synthetic rubber, carbon black and processing chemicals have been given excise duty relief. But, has there been

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

I do not know what the Bureau of Industrial Costs and Prices has been doing. Every year they allow them an increase of 8 to 11 per cent. What does it mean? It means higher transport costs. The more the cost of the tyre, the higher the transport cost; and the more the cost of transport, the more the price of the commodities which go into the market, and this adds to the inflation. We hear about the other bureau, the Bureau of Public Enterprises, which is trying everywhere to see that the demands of the workers for wages and all that in the public sector are kept within their check, rigidly controlled, and not allowed to be raised more than 10 per cent all told, which is causing a big crisis in labour relations in the public sector. But, in the case of the other bureau, the Bureau of Industrial Costs and Prices, every year the top management, whether it is automobile manufacturers or tyre manufacturers, go to them and talk to them and they are allowed an increase. This has an escalating effect on the whole transport structure, and so the people have to pay for it directly.

So, there are many things one can point out. My point is that after three years of the Plan, there is no doubt that it is seriously out of gear now and that you will not be able to fulfil the Plan. That does not matter; sometimes there may be a shortfall. But the point that we are very seriously worried about is that there is no planning in the sense of control and direction; that has gone out of your hands and you cannot control it. May be, the Sixth Plan is virtually the end of planning in this country, because there is no use having a paper plan, a nice printed fat book given to us. The Seventh Plan is also being prepared.

The Minister says that by the end of this Plan only 30 per cent of any benefit passed on to the consumer?

the people will remain below the poverty line. I would like to know how he says that. When unemployment is growing, when the number of landless people is growing, then who are those people who will go above the poverty line? I am told there is a Committee at work, set up to re-define "poverty line" itself, perhaps to re-define it in such a way that more people can be shown as being above the poverty line, rather than below it. In that way, you can bring down the people below the poverty line to 30 per cent.

It is true the national income is rising, but that is only the average figure. It is the distribution of that national income that matters. The national income figure hides the fact that a small section of the richer people are getting the benefits of whatever growth there is and, on the other hand, the purchasing power and purchasing capacity of the vast mass of the people is going down. This, surely, is the antithesis of planning, I should say. I think it is a very serious situation, a critical situation. Perhaps that is why you have avoided having a discussion in this House all these days—not you personally; I do not mean that; I mean the Government as such. Today there is a discussion so that you can say in the future "We had a discussion already on the 3rd November 1982; so, no further discussion is required". May be, in that case, God may help the Plan because we can certainly do nothing about it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, the question is that the time allotted for this discussion is up to 4 O'Clock. It is to conclude at 4 O'Clock.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: We began the discussion at 2.30 today.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The time allotted for discussion of this motion today is up to 4 O'Clock.

SHRI GIRDHARI LAL VYAS (Bhilwara): It should be extended.

MR. CHAIRMAN: What is the sense of the House?

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: It should be extended.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF WORKS AND HOUSING AND IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI H.K.L. BHAGAT): Madam Chairman, my suggestion is that the Bill to amend the Salary, Allowances and Pension of Members of Parliament will have to be taken up now because we will have to report it to the Rajya Sabha. So, that can be taken up now. Therefore, I say that the Bill may be taken up now.

SHRI SUNIL MAITRA (Calcutta North-East): At the same time it was agreed that today's Session will last up to 7 o'clock.

MR. CHAIRMAN: All right first we take up this Bill. Then we again take up the discussion of the motion as the Minister suggested.

(Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND WORKS AND HOUSING (SHRI BHISHMA NARAIN SINGH): It would not take much time.

SHRI A. K. ROY (Dhanbad): Planning cannot be deferred for allowances of Members and all such things.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is no question of deferring. We are not deferring it. This will have to go Rajya Sabha after it is passed. It will take only half an hour perhaps. We can allow it and again the discussion on the Sixth Plan can continue as you like, as suggested by the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: Madam Chairman, I beg to.....

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Is he raising a point of order?

MR. CHAIRMAN: He is moving the Bill. After the Bill, we will again take up discussion on the Sixth Plan.

16 hrs.

SALARY, ALLOWANCES AND PENSION OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (SECOND AMENDMENT) BILL

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF WORKS AND HOUSING AND IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT): Madam Chairman, I beg to move.*

"That the Bill further to amend the Salary, Allowances and Pension of Members of Parliament Act, 1954, be taken into consideration."

As the House is aware the Joint Committee on Salaries and Allowances of Members of Parliament had made certain recommendations for providing additional facilities to the M.Ps. In the course of discussion on Shri Mool Chand Daga's Bill, the Members of Parliament had also requested for implementation of the recommendations of the Joint Committee.

The Government have considered the various recommendations and it has been decided to amend the Salary, Allowances and Pension of Members of Parliament Act, 1954, with the view to provide the following additional facilities to the Members of Parliament:—

(i) Increase in the rate of Road Mileage from Re. 1/- per kilometre to Rs. 1.30 per kilometre or at

*Moved with the recommendation of the President.