

done within a short time, but that has not been done yet. So, the minister should look into the matter and see that these bureaucrats do not spoil the atmosphere by refusing their due increments and other benefits, creating chaos thereby. That should be looked into so that the workers may also get enthused to produce more after the nationalisation of the coal industry.

16.00 hrs.

SHRI P. M. MEHTA: Sir, nationalisation is not an end in itself it is only a means, an instrument, for the social good. I hope the Government would not use this instrument only for political popularity and with an eye on the elections. After nationalisation we find, especially in my part of the country, that there is an acute shortage of coal. In my own home town workers in many industries are laid off for shortage of coal. The price of coal is also going up because of shortage of coal. The first thing that requires the attention of the Ministry is adequate supply of coal.

It is a matter of regret that immediately after nationalisation 5,000 workers of Bihar coalmines were retrenched for no fault of theirs. Either they must be taken in the very same mines or they must be provided alternative employment.

Then you would be surprised to know that a social security scheme like pension has been stopped in some of the mines after the nationalisation of coalmines. In spite of the repeated demands of the workers for the continuance of the pension scheme, the management has turned a deaf ear to their requests for pension even after putting in a service of 30 or 35 years. This must be rectified by the management. It is a matter of shame for the Government that after nationalisation they have stopped a benefit which the workers were enjoying prior to nationalisation.

The hon. Minister has said that there is a proposal under consideration for transport of coal by sea. If coal is transported by sea to the port towns, it will solve the problem of shortage of coal to some extent. But since the transport cost

by sea is higher than that by land, the industry will not be able to afford it unless some subsidy is given for transport of coal by sea. I hope the Minister will consider this point.

SHRI T. A. PAI: Sir, I have already answered most of the points that were raised in the subsequent debate. I know in Gujarat there has been shortage. As pointed out by hon. Members, most of our problems of transport would be solved only by having a total approach to the transport problem. I know that railway transport is cheaper because it is subsidised. We shall try to see that a system of transport rates is worked out which is fair to all. I have already pointed out that the needs of the power plants, the steel plants and the industries, both large and small, will be given priorities. So far in the matter of brick-burning coal and the soft coke required by the majority of the people the consumer has not been given enough importance. Recently in a conference with the railways we have come to the conclusion that this must be given some priority.

I never said that the coal prices are fair. I never commented on the prices. I only pointed out that I am aware that the prices are high in the market and it will be our endeavour to see that we take steps as soon as we can to have dumps built up, and sufficient stocks, so that we might be able to maintain prices and see that consumers are able to get it at reasonable prices.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

"That the Bill be passed."

The motion was adopted.

16.06 hrs.

MOTION RE: APPROACH TO THE FIFTH PLAN—contd.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, we take up further consideration of the motion to consider the 'Approach to the Fifth Plan'.

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

Before I call Mr. Bhagwat Jha Azad who was on his legs on the last occasion, I do not know how the House propose to deal with this. We have less than 2 hours today. Tomorrow is the last day. I am sure, many Members have many things pressing on their minds. However much they try to unburden themselves, the official list from the Congress party contains 62 names without the Opposition and I really do not know what to do. Anyway, we shall proceed with it.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad to continue his speech.

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD (Bhagalpur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, for three days being on my legs, I started wondering whether Mr Dharma and Mr. Raghu Ramaiah are serious about planning. I was criticising in my opening speech that the people have been proposing to have a Plan holiday. But here, we find, after being decided by the House that it shall devote three days on the Plan, we are now at a place where we find that all other items of business are being got into and the Plan being relegated to the back side. I hope, this is not in the mind of Mr. Dhar and Mr Dharma....

THE MINISTER OF PLANNING (SHRI D. P. DHAR): I fully share the hon. Members anxiety as well as his complaint.

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD I am happy that Mr. Dhar, like his pronouncements in the Approach Paper, is making one more pronouncement and I hope he means what he says

I welcome this Plan, as I said the other day, as a good economic document in objectively because it spots both an island of affluence and an ocean of poverty. It says that 50 per cent of the population, nearly 22 crores, in this country shall have 50 per cent of their consumption raised during the course of the Plan. That means, they will have more food, good housing, adequate clothes and other things. It is stated that this will be achieved by deducting 5 per cent of consumption of the upper strata,

of 30 per cent of the population. It shall be a miracle for Mr. Dhar to see how he would like to achieve this. I welcome this that there must be a cut of 5 per cent, rather more, in the consumption and expenditure of the affluent society which is like a small island of prosperity in the vast ocean of poverty in this country.

I am happy to find that it is stated that growth will also go with social justice. Up till now, I would say, in the three Plans and upto the Fourth Plan, never before poverty was attacked directly. In the First Plan, we had a strong foundation, supposed to be so; in the Second Plan, we had a wide-based; with socialist pattern of society; in the Third Plan, we had been frustrated by two wars and in the Fourth Plan which is only a few months to go, we are lagging behind all the targets.

I think, for the first time it is being said that social justice and growth will go together. This myth, that if we have growth in this country, allow everything to go private, let there be private sector and everything will take care itself over-whelmingly, that only the Plan be planning the planning sector, is now being exploded. I hope, there will be growth and social justice going together.

I am happy to find that this Plan emphasises two important points, employment and basic needs. These two things will be given special emphasis in the Plan. The first point is about basic needs: five basic needs, that is, adequate food, adequate clothes, good housing, education and medical facility. I hope, these basic needs of the people will be taken care of in this Plan.

16.10 hrs.

[SHRI K. N. TIWARY in the Chair]

The second point on which emphasis has been put is about employment. We shall see in due course what they do in the course of the Plan. I welcome this Plan much more for the candid and forthright statement of Mr. Dhar that "the Fifth Plan has evolved a decisive break-through with the present and prevalent values".

I underline 'social value'. "It is to generate a new ethic." I underline 'new ethic'. Will Mr. Dhar be able to find out or codify 'a new ethic, an ethic of discipline of equality, of dedication?" I hope, this new ethic will be evolved by the Planning Commission, by the Government and by Mr. Dhar.

He is saying that the journey through the Fifth Plan is difficult and arduous, we are not on a picnic. I am happy, I agree with him, that we are not on a picnic. So far we have had many picnics in the Plans, we have had many forced Plan holidays; I hope here will be no Plan holiday, there will be no more picnic, as the Minister says, and we shall have a real and forthright, implementation of the Plan.

Now it is to be seen whether we have got the achievements in order to justify all these pronouncements and hopes of the Minister. We know the achievements. I would not say that they are mean achievements. This country, which had hardly anything when it started, has gone a long way to have a diversified economy in agriculture and industry, to have a good base in transport, in irrigation and power. But my question is—and I rush to that question—whether they are adequate, whether they are in commensurate with the financial targets. I am sure, and I underline this, that in this country we had a bureaucracy, an administration which only knew how to fulfil the financial targets of the Plan, that is to spend as much as was provided in the Plan and in the march, loot every year. Never was it seen that the physical targets were in commensurate with the financial targets.

Only seven months are there to go for the Fourth Plan to be over, and what do we find? We find that there is a great difference between preaching and performance, we find a great difference between precept and practice. What do we find in respect of growth? Compared to what had been promised, we have got only 1.6 per cent growth in the year 1971—in 1972-73 I hope it will not go beyond zero—whereas a small country like Pakistan claims to have achieved 6.5 per cent growth in the last year. They also had a war. We had a winning war

and they had a losing war. The question is, why has this happened. It is because there has been distortion in policy and the implementation has been slow. The distortion is very much there.

For any Plan to go on the road of success, what is important is that price line must be held to that point from where we start our investment and production. And what do we find here? Mr. Dhar has very rightly said that "inflation is inconsistent with the objectives and strategy of the Fifth Plan." I wholeheartedly support him. The Fifth Plan cannot be allowed to go as the other four Plans had been allowed to go. When inflation invades the land, as he says:

"...it tends to accentuate inequality, discourages exports, induces avoidable imports and pushes the resources into socially unwanted areas."

The whole statement of the Minister is correct. The question is, how shall we see that this inflation, the monster, will be stopped from eloping the rider, the Plan and the Planning Minister. See our performance. In April and May this year, in only two months, we had drawn from the Reserve Bank Rs. 523 crores. On the one side there is the Planning Minister's statement which is forthright, straightforward, which is very correct—every word of it. But on the other side, in two months, we have drawn from the Reserve Bank Rs. 523 crores. From April last year to April this year, the commercial banks advanced Rs. 900 crores. And what did we get?

The Planning Commission expects that with the expansion of money, there should be expansion of production and economy. I agree. Everybody agrees. But, actually, what do we find? We find that after drawing these credits there is no requisite increase in investment and production in the economy of the country. In 1970-71, savings out of profits for investment was 29.9 per cent. It has decreased in 1971-72 to 25 per cent. Investment goes down to 25 per cent. But the profit goes up and that profit is distributed and is not invested. Where does it go? What happens to those profits that go up? The Reserve Bank Governor himself has said:

[Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad]

"The commercial banks advance credit which was used for purposes not desirable for the society."

This is the statement of the Governor of the Reserve Bank, that they advance monies for such purposes which are not specially desirable. Who is responsible for this kind of investment in the country? Is it the entire economic policy of the country? The question is that we have to find out the ways.

There are two kinds of inflation in this country; one, inflation of money and the other, inflation of inefficiency which has come in the way of our plans to be fully implemented.

With regard to the credit policy, banks have been nationalised. We all wanted it. We were fighting for it for years and years, some of us on this side. In the Jaipur Congress as long as two decades ago, I moved an amendment. But I got only five votes in the AICC. But, now, the banks have been nationalised. A good step, a very good step. I want to ask the question. What is the frame-work of the credit policy of these nationalised banks to-day? Mr. Dhar himself said that "credit is available on a highly selective and highly restrictive basis." This is the statement of the Planning Minister. I want to know as to who is responsible for this credit policy. It is a brilliant statement, a good statement, a statement of facts. Then, why after the nationalisation of banks, we could not have a real credit policy in this country? For this who is responsible? To-day, the credit that is available is not invested for modernising the production. The private sector does not care for it. Why? It is because Mr. Dhar is Planning Minister only for the public sector. He is not the Planning Minister for the private sector. I want to ask the Minister, Mr. Dhar when we talk of mixed economy, is it that the Government should plan only for the public sector and not for the private sector? It should be an integrated whole plan. To-day you are not planning for the whole economy. You are planning only for the public sector. Why do you allow the private sector to invest their

resources in non-priority lines? Why do you not see that the profits earned are invested again?

To-day, we find that the mixed economy does not carry us any far. This mixed economy must be substituted by—if you fear the word 'totalitarian', I will say—an economy where the whole plan should be a plan for both public and private sectors and their adherence to the social priorities must be taken note of and properly kept. We find that to-day, as you said, we are trying to emphasize the core sector. The important point made in this Plan Approach Document is that Mr. Dhar said that we shall emphasize the core sector. I wholly support him. But he himself said in Gandhinagar:

"A crime was committed that in 1965, 1966 and 1967 the core sector of the economy was ignored."

I ask the question here. You have made a statement. So, I ask the question: who is responsible for this?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: The Congress.

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD: The core sector, you are emphasizing rightly. I support you. We shall go with you. You have yourself made a statement. I want to know, Mr. Dhar, Mr. Minister, how this core sector can be strengthened now which could not be done in the past in spite of our strong adherence to it? Therefore, I thought it is necessary that we should see that the core sector is implemented.

I want to know what you mean by core sector. I suppose you have put steel, fertiliser, oil, coal, power, non-ferrous metals, etc. I want to know whether education comes in this or not?...

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM (Srinagar): That is the hard core.

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD. What about our social objectives? What about our promises that education of all children between the ages of 6 and 11 will be all-through free in the Fifth Plan and 75 per cent of the boys between the ages of

[Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad]

11 and 14 will be given free education? Will you be able to achieve this or not?

Then I come to the next point—our employment policy. Mr. Mabaonobis said that the strategy of the Second Five-year Plan was to achieve full employment during the course of ten years. But what happened? You may calculate how many years have passed. In 1961, in the public sector, 70.50 lakhs were employed and in 1966, 93.78 lakhs were employed, and in 1972, it was 111.89 lakhs. Of course, employment in public sector increased, not according to availability of hands for jobs. But, let us see the private sector. In the private sector, the figure was 50.40 lakhs in 1961, 68 lakhs in 1966 and 57.5 lakhs in 1972. Profit grows; dividend grows; distribution grows; but employment is coming down in the great private sector! This is a sector which is being emphasised by my friends who talk of plan holiday! Sir, whom does the investment and credit and profit policy of these people benefit? It is a handful of people in this country who live in affluence, who cannot be touched by the law whereas our hungry millions suffer. I am not a supporter of palaces, neither about their destruction nor about their protection, but one thing must be understood that no more storeys should be built on these palaces till the crying huts by the side come up to them.

There have been distortions in the field of foreign exchange as has rightly been mentioned earlier. We export textiles for Rs. 100 crores. But what do we import for them? Rs. 113 crores of long-staple yarn. We are importing collaboration and dye and that is for Rs. 50 crores. Why should this distortion be there in foreign exchange? You have got collaboration for bush-shirts, collars, neckties, cosmetics, jewellery, wood furniture, and they specialise in collaboration of undergarments of ladies and gentlemen! Why should this collaboration be there? This is what we have to understand. I quote Mr. Dhar himself who said:

“Imports were permitted for the manufacture of goods which were meant for so few, and to that extent, our

drawals on Foreign Exchange were not judiciously made.”

Who is responsible for this? I feel that the direction of our economy is going the other side than what we really want to do.

Now, what about the industrial houses? They have gone up from 75 to 93 with Mafatlal leading with 283 per cent. 75 monopoly houses today control 53 per cent of the assets of the non-banking private corporate sector. Our preference for giving licence to the monopoly houses continues. Large scale percentage of LIC loan is given to private sector.

What about distortions in the rural sector? What about the rural land ceilings? Who is responsible for distortions in land ceilings? Who is responsible for the unspeakable sufferings of the landless labourers and toiling small farmers, who live in the rural parts of our country? We find that there are increasing disparities and the monopoly is actually growing. Many things have been said about what is called black economy. I would not call it a parallel economy but a parallel administration, a parallel polity. It must be done. I would like to know why it is so?

तू इधर उधर की बात न कर,
ये बता कि काफिला क्यों लुटा,

मुझे राहजन से गरज नहीं,
तेरी रहबरी का सवाल है ।

You will please tell us who are the robbers, who are the sharks, who twist our arms? Therefore, let us say:

“लौट चलना है यहीं से,
मुत्तु ग्रमीरे कारवां,

तू जहाँ ले जा रहा है,
वह मेरी मन्जिल नहीं” ।

Let us come back from the monopoly houses and go back to the farmers, who are the pillars of the country. I would say that the parallel black money economy must be stopped. Demonetise hundred rupee notes as has been recommended by the Wanchoo Commission. For whom

[Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad]

are you keeping hundred rupee notes— for the blackmarketeers? Let them be demonetised. I would say that pruning the twigs and plastering the gums won't do. Let us have an operation extensio. Let the credit for this go to you. You must remember:

ऋषियों को भी सिद्धि नहीं मिलती है
केवल तप से,
जब कि पहरे पर स्वयं धनुर्धर
राम खड़े रहते हैं।

Why don't you use the laws like the Industrial Act, D.I.R., M.I.S.A. etc., against the offenders? I would end by saying that we must have a package deal for a good import policy—a good rational import policy. We must have the minimum utility-oriented collaboration in this country. We must see that the social priority is being adhered to. We must see that full utilisation of idle capacity is made. Stop repatriation of foreign capital and profits. Tell them that we shall not be able to give them any more repatriation of all foreign capital and profits for the present. In the end I am saying that it is but necessary to implement all this. The last and the most important point is about the administration. Who will implement this Plan? From the First Plan to Second and from the Second to Third Plans the emphasis was on integrity and efficiency. But, in the Fourth Plan I find that the word 'integrity' is missing as also efficiency. It devotes its attention to efficiency and economy in the construction of projects like Kosi. In Bihar a few Officers in Gudda Samagrah Vikas Samiti—Development Commissioners, Deputy Commissioner of the Planning Board and Chairman, Electricity Board want to loot the whole money of our country. What kind of officers are they? I want Mr. Dhar that if you want to implement the plan, you will have to overhaul the entire bureaucracy. You will say that this is a hangover of the British period. Therefore, I say you please overhaul the bureaucracy. You must have Rs. 5,000 crores more in the agricultural sector so that you may have self-sufficiency in foodgrains. It will take

a long time for you to do that. Therefore, I would say that since your Plan— Fifth Five Year Plan—is based on a positive faith in the potentiality of the people of India, the plan has got to succeed. We cannot afford to lose. I would end with this couple of warning:

समय शेष है नहीं पाप का अपराधी है व्याध,
जो तदस्य है, जो पदस्य है,
समय गिनैगा उनका भी अपराध।

SHRI K. HANUMANTHAIYA (Bangalore): Sir, on reading the Plan Approach document, I find it very well written—it is in simple language and has an effective approach. No other Draft that I have seen has pleased me so much as this. On page 5, para 8, begins that some two-thirds of the population are engaged in agriculture. They have described the importance of agriculture very effectively. If two-thirds of the people are well employed and earn properly and live happily, the whole nation would have come up in prosperity.

In the Plan allocation, the Fourth Plan made a provision of 20.7 per cent of the total outlay for agriculture. But in this Plan, this has actually been reduced by one per cent. The description of the importance of agriculture contained in the Plan is not in harmony with the allocation made. My plea is that agriculture must get higher allocation. Even today, the Plan document accepts agriculture as the base not merely for making a living but for our industrial prosperity also. It is a big mistake to under-rate the importance of agriculture in Plan allocations. I would like that it should be raised to at least about 30 per cent.

It does not matter even if we suffer a little in other sectors. Unless we make agriculture self-sufficient to meet the needs of our country, we shall not be able to bring satisfaction to the people, however much production we may have additionally in other sectors. Some of the African, Asian and South-Eastern Asian

countries are not industrially so progressive as India. People more or less are happy in these countries because they have plenty of food to eat. That is the case with Pakistan also.

In order to bring satisfaction to the people, I would urge that agriculture must still receive two-thirds importance which it deserves. If, as my hon. friend Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad has said, the national output is greater in Pakistan, it is merely agricultural output, and it is not industrial output. From the point of view of the people, if we provide them with two items at cheap rates, clothing and food, the rest of the items will take care of themselves a little later. That is the thing that we have to remember.

I would propose an out-of-the-way or a revolutionary idea as one may call it, namely that I want agriculture to be freed from all taxes and all inhibitions and controls. The idea that some people are growing more and they are getting rich and, therefore, they have to be treated with contempt should be given up. After all, if you reason out, you will find that the small farmer will not be able to sell in the market much because he himself needs it. It is only the big landlord who is able to grow more and supply the bulk of it, to the people. It is not that I encourage them but it is no use laughing at them and then depriving the country of the needed quantity of foodgrains. By all means, tax them in some other manner. I do not want any landlord to become richer and richer. But we must give, as we say in tariff policy, the most-favoured-nation treatment. Everybody understands it. I want the most-favoured treatment to be given to agriculture among all the 19 items that have been included in the Approach to Plan.

A few years ago, I had to quarrel with the then Finance Minister because he had imposed some additional tax on diesel oil and pumps and all that, thereby increasing the production cost of agricultural produce. How will you be able to make things cheap for the poor unless the production costs are brought down? In one

way, you increase the cost of production while in another way, you want the prices to be brought down to manageable proportions. I want a revolutionary approach to agriculture. Instead of giving subsidy to the consumer, make the subsidy available to the grower. Then this country will have plenty of foodgrains to eat and even to export. All agricultural production should be treated in this most favoured way and the plan allocation for it must be raised from 19.7 to 30 per cent.

I will speak on one more item only. It is impossible to deal with all the items for want of time. The hon. Minister of Planning was a long time in Moscow and I am sure he has imbibed realistic ideas of implementation of plans and achieve national progress. It was Lenin who said that electricity is the basis of all their progress. It not merely helps agriculture and industry but various other sectors. No doubt, in the plan allocation they have raised it from 14.62 to 16. But that is not enough. The requirement of the country is such that you have to make it at least double in the Fifth Plan. Unless you have electricity in sufficient quantity, you will not be able to raise agricultural and industrial production to the desired level.

There is one sorrowful feature of approach. Government speaks of cutting down expenditure by Rs. 400 crores. I will give you an inside picture of the way electricity undertakings operate in the country. In the last 25 years, investments made in this industry were as projected, even higher, but there has been a significant shortfall in physical achievement averaging about 35 per cent. High capital expenditure on power projects and continuing low standards of performance is another curse of the electricity departments. I was in Parliament when the Electricity Act was passed under which Boards were brought into existence. By experience, I see that no Board has been able to work satisfactorily and with efficiency. Most of them have not been able to pay even the interest on capital and

[Shri K. Hanumanthayya]

most of them are running at a loss. Therefore, the pattern of autonomous boards or whatever they are called, has not, by result shown, done better than the departments of the old days.

The magnitude and trend of energy losses in transmission and distribution are even more disconcerting. The latest estimate of losses is as high as 18 per cent whereas in European countries it is only about 5 per cent, sometimes with inefficiently managed units it may go upto 12 per cent. But here it is 18 per cent loss in transmission. If you save one per cent, it will amount to Rs. 5 crores. The loss in transmission and shedding and other inefficient methods is 18 per cent. If you make it 5 per cent average as in the western countries or a little higher, we will be able to save Rs. 50—60 crores annually. Nobody thinks of these things. They merely talk of Ministers reducing their travels and snacks being cut out while serving tea. These are the funny and ludicrous ways of effecting economy in administration,

SHRI B. V. NAIK (Kanara): They are also symbolic.

SHRI K. HANUMANTHAIYA: We have all the time been satisfied with symbol and the symbolic approach.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): All this is symbolic planning any way.

SHRI K. HANUMANTHAIYA: One of the most serious weaknesses results from inadequate training of directing and operating staff. Most of them are not properly trained, are not properly controlled. Operational efficiency in India is so bad that the result is this huge loss. If this one item is rectified by the Ministries concerned, I am sure we will be able to have Rs. 60—70 crores and it may be made available for further progress in this area.

The Electricity Boards in various States have to be co-ordinated, have to be directed properly. I am sure there is a Cell in the Planning Commission. I do not want to suggest another Commission for

this purpose; more Commissions and more Boards mean, that we have found by experience—more delay and more expenditure. When the Electricity Boards were brought into existence, I was under the impression that the staff in the Secretariats and the departments would be appropriately reduced. But after 20 years and odd, all that staff remains. Doubled staff has become the pattern. This is the result of the examination that I made as Chairman of the Administrative Reforms Commission. This idea of Boards and Commissions is not a solution in itself for our difficulties. Therefore, the Planning Cell must be strengthened by appropriate personnel with powers to see that all the electricity-producing and distributing agencies in this country properly co-ordinated and directed.

Sir, one of the omissions in the Plan, I notice, is a reference to environmental pollution. I am sure the hon. Minister knows its importance. Our Prime Minister who attended an international conference lately has made significant contribution towards the solution of this problem. As an ascent country in the matter of industrialisation, we are in a happy position to take appropriate steps at the very beginning. Along with industrial progress, preventive measures in respect of environmental pollution should be adopted. I hope that will be done. It is not merely a question of what is called a fad. Take Japan. If you read the international magazines, you will find that in Japan—maybe they have gone sky-high in the matter of national output and per capita income—but in fact their lives have become almost miserable. It is a sad story to read how they are suffering from want of sunshine, from the pollution of water and pollution of air. Therefore we have to take appropriate steps from the very beginning to see that environmental pollution is effectively prevented.

There is another omission; maybe it is not a serious omission in the view of some people. Efficiency has been emphasised in the Plan document, but not honesty. What is corroding our administration and

our national life is dishonesty and corruption. Maybe the Plan document takes it for granted that people should work with honesty and integrity. But the fact is that dishonesty and inefficiency are widespread. They are really the two evils that are impeding our national progress.

I will give you one factual information. I made far-reaching recommendations through the Administrative Reforms Commission, for the Secretariat to be reorganised. The Government have also accepted many of those recommendations. Lately, I learn that in one of the Ministries, the Section Superintendent or the Deputy Secretary—maybe the Deputy Secretary—issued a direction redistributing the work so as to make for better efficiency.

Nobody implemented it in that section. Nor was the officer in a position to ask why it was not implemented, because in Government service, in the Secretariat the union activities have become so great that people are afraid to supervise and people are being encouraged by union activities to do whatever they like. It is not that I grudge remuneration to the employees. I wholeheartedly support need based minimum wage of Rs. 196 or even Rs. 200; I shall vote for it, but I want honesty and efficiency. I studied in the Administrative Reforms Commission the problem of overtime allowance. It was recommended by the Second Pay Commission report. In the beginning, it amounted to Rs 8 crores; progressively it went up to Rs. 30 crores a year. I find that 90 per cent of this is bogus. Sometimes people do domestic and personal service to their various masters and get it as a gift. If you make overtime allowances at least to have a ceiling, you will be able to save about Re. 20 crores annually. I have described in the Administrative Reforms Commission the various ways in which it has been abused. Nobody is able to take courage in his hands to stop this malpractice. When I did it in the Railways, people began murmuring and some of the unscrupulous monopoly newspapers began publishing information given by aggrieved or selfish employees. That is how even the newspapers opposed the introduction of efficiency and honesty under

the mistaken impression that they are helping the poor and downtrodden.

Administrative efficiency is one thing that is being talked of all the time by every one of us. We have not been able to implement it. Even the plan recognises the importance of Administrative Reform and Reorganisation. But whether it will seep into every level not only in letter but in spirit is the real question.

I propose only two ideas and if those ideas are implemented you may be certain that you will be able to make a success of your plan. I recommended the introduction of performance budget, so that people may know not merely what the expenditure is but what work has been done. But even that performance budget has been made a mockery. If you read the performance budget write-up you will not understand anything. Though they accepted the idea, it has neither been made intelligible nor has it served the purpose for which it was intended. In all the public undertakings you must introduce the idea of performance. Promotion and emoluments must be linked to performance criteria. It may be that some of my friends will not be able to agree with me. In public undertaking, there should be no question of being paid as usual, the salary, bonus, pension and all kinds of other benefits, should be made to depend on performance. Every public undertaking must be asked to adjust the salary and emoluments strictly according to the income earned. If this one principle is introduced in all the public undertakings you will see a marvellous improvement. Some people called it a miracle; the punctuality of trains.

16.50 hrs.

[SHRI SEZHIYAN *in the Chair*]

The punctuality of trains was not achieved by any threat or inducement. I merely linked every one concerned whatever the level, whatever the sector or department to performance. Punctuality was linked to performance and performance was linked to promotion and prospects.

[Shri K. Hanumanthaiya]

If in a particular zone, trains ran late, the General Manager would suffer not only in the matter of promotion but also in that of his very position becoming uncertain.

SHRI MADHURYYA HALDAR (Mathurapur): What will happen to the minister?

SHRI K. HANUMANTHAIYA: I will tell you later. I am happy that the Planning Commission has accepted the idea of the ARC that there must be assessment. For that, you have to have separate personnel to judge whether the performance of a particular ministry or unit or public undertaking has been commensurate enough to earn not only promotion but even the current salary. I do not know whether any of us will have the courage to introduce this principle of linking promotion and prospects with performance. Today any undertaking can incur any amount of loss and still the personnel will be able to get as usual the salary and promotion. This is one real lacuna in our administrative structure which needs looking into.

So far as ministers are concerned, I will narrate not a story but what actually happened. I came to Parliament again in 1962. I was very particular that the trains should run punctually. At the very first party meeting I told Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, "Under your leadership, trains do not run punctually. It is a reflection on your ability. He was very much upset and called the Railway Minister—I do not want to name him because it will take away the worth of my argument—and angrily said, "You have to see that the trains run on time" Then fifteen days passed. There was no improvement and I took up the matter again in the party meeting. Pandit Nehru got so wild that he said in a huff, "If you are not able to run the trains punctually according to the present Time Table, if necessary, extend the time and run the trains punctually." The Railway Minister went to the Railway Board and appropriately increased the time by half an hour to one hour for every train. This is not a story; it is on record. I think I will write about it all in my biography. But

still the trains did not run on time even though the running time was extended. I did not leave it at that. At the next meeting again after a month I raised it. Pandit Nehru sadly said, "I asked him to extend the time. Even then if he is not able to run the trains punctually, what am I to do?" Such kind of ministers last for life. Just now one of my senior friends was telling me, "If you merely subscribe your signature to the notes written by the officers, you are safe for life. But if you do something original and try to overrule the Secretaries, your period will be cut short."

But I do not blame the Secretaries alone. My experience as Chief Minister and as Minister here with your goodwill is that I cannot blame any Secretary. It is usual to blame the bureaucracy for everything that goes wrong. I know that if the Minister is intelligent, honest and efficient these people will do their work with the utmost efficiency. I had occasion to differ with the Secretaries many a time. If you have the intellectual equipment to write a better note, the Secretary will accept it. But if you merely tell him orally to do this or that without being able to write a good note, he will try to find many ways to go against you.

I would emphasize that there should be improvement of efficiency and honesty in the administration at all levels. If the Minister is honest and efficient, he will be able to bring to bear on the administration what is called response which the people require and need.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) Can you tell us how many Ministers are honest in the present lot?

SHRI K. HANUMANTHAIYA: I could name them. But it will serve no purpose because I am not the Prime Minister to appoint or remove anybody.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Why can't you become the Prime Minister?

SHRI K. HANUMANTHAIYA: I can only say that with the support of Shri Mody I cannot become the Prime Minister.

Even as this document is written in simple and effective language, let the performance be sincere and effective. The planners must summon the much needed courage to link promotion and prospects with performance.

SHRI VIRENDRA AGARWAL (Moradabad): Sir, planning is considered to be the most effective instrument for ensuring economic prosperity, social transformation and cultural change. But it is unfortunate that Shri D. P. Dhar's planning has landed the country, particularly the poor, in a mess. It has resulted in a near-paralysis of the governmental machinery that is charged with the responsibility of ensuring economic growth and social justice. It is really an ungovernmental situation that is prevailing in the country today, and the common man is being suffocated in a debris of shattered hopes and unfulfilled promises. The faith in the capacity of the Government to deliver the goods has been shaken. Discontent has virtually gone to the streets. The citizen of the country wants to be treated as adult, while the Government is determined to treat even the parliamentarians as school boys. The Government should realise that every unfulfilled promise enlarges the credibility gap.

What has the Government done during the last twenty-five years and what is the result of planning? We know that the prices have gone up by 25 per cent in one year while the joblessness is going up at the rate of 36 per cent. The rupee value has eroded by more than 75 per cent, even the Finance Minister has conceded that the rupee value is not more than 35 paise.

17.00 hrs.

We also know. Prof. Dandekar, a few years ago had estimated that 40 per cent of the population in this country lived below the poverty line. But today, I can say that the percentage of people living below the poverty line has gone up, from 40 per cent to 55 per cent. The poverty line was estimated at Rs. 40 earlier and, today, it is Rs. 60 because of galloping prices. By the end of 1979, it may reach

Rs. 80. That means, the percentage of people living below the poverty line will exceed 70 per cent by the end of the Fifth Plan.

The *per capita* consumption of all essential commodities has gone down.

We talk so much about growth rate. But it has already reached zero growth-rate. The planners often consider it as a temporary phenomena and they claim that an era of plenty is around the corner. I think, this sense of complacency has misled the Government. It clearly shows that the power has made the rulers blind to the hard realities of life. The planners should know that they are doing nothing but planning a planned chaos and disorder in the country.

Planning is neither decentralised nor it is at grass-roots. The Planning Minister often talks so loudly about the participation of the people. But we know that planning in this country means over-politicalisation, over-bureaucratisation and over-centralisation. These are the essential virtues of Indian planning. Air trips to the Soviet Union constitute the sheet anchor of their even thinking. We know that even Russians do not approve of our planning.

Planning has defeated practically all the national objectives because it has squandered our meagre resources on current consumption and unproductive expenditure. In no case, it can be described as democratic planning. No democratic country can call it a democratic planning. It is largely a totalitarian and regimented planning. It's technique, concept and strategy of which the Planning Minister talks so loudly is nothing but to perpetuate poverty. It has created economic inequality. If it is allowed to grow at such a rapid pace, I can assure the House that it will result in nothing but to perpetuate poverty. It has violent revolution. I think, this planning is responsible for all this. Let us be clear about it.

[Shri Virendra Agarwal]

The question is being asked: Who is responsible for deteriorating economic situation? Who is responsible for the present economic situation? I know that the moralists will define it as the crisis of character; the poor will define it as the crisis of leadership and the planners will talk of the crisis of management. But it is neither crisis of leadership nor the crisis of character or mismanagement. It is the crisis of planning. It is the crisis of programmes and policies. It is the crisis of the Planning Commission.

I have had a tremendous respect and admiration for Mr. Dhar when he assumed the office of the Planning Minister. But I feel now that he has proved to be a flop. I think, today, he has done a great harm to the Indian economy; he has destroyed Indian economy. He is one man who is responsible for the entire economic destruction. We must point a finger at him. He is responsible for the present crisis and he must get out of office if he is sincere to himself. I feel, Mr. Dhar's place lies either in Moscow or in Peking as our Ambassador, rather than in Yojna Bhavan.

The crucial question which is being asked today is: Do we want an economy of plenty or we want to create further scarcities? Is our planning meant to eradicate poverty or is it actually directed against the poor? Has our planning resulted in poverty or in prosperity? For the last 23 years, we are talking of self-generating economy. We have not yet crossed the stage of take-off. What is this? This means that we really do not understand exactly what we mean by planning. The Planning Minister and the Planning Commission are busy formulating the Fifth Plan with an outlay of Rs. 51,000 crores. But, we know, the galloping prices the population growth and poor execution have marred all prospects of success of any plan.

Plan holiday is being described as anti-national. But I know, the Planning Minister is determined to impose a Plan holiday on this country. I know, the

Planning Minister has got proficiency in employing phraseology to hoodwink the whole nation and to mislead the House. He has recently stated that the Fifth Plan will be given a new dimension in quantitative as well as financial terms in view of the steep rise in prices. Such pompous declarations are neither enlightening nor do they carry much conviction. If planning is to be fruitful, there must be some close relationship between the premises and assumptions of planning and the actual economic realities. There is no evidence that the operational policies of the Government and the activities of its executive agencies are at all governed by the obligations and discipline of the planning process. This state of affairs is precisely what amounts to a Plan holiday. Whether you admit it or not, I say, the Plan holiday is already on. What happened in 1966? Why the Government took two years to declare the Plan in 1968? It is a very simple question. We know that Mr. Dhar has already started throwing hints to the Press that the crucial sector of the Plan would suffer because of financial difficulties. He has made six statements which should convince the whole country and particularly the poor that the Planning Minister is determined to declare a Plan holiday at a little later stage: (1) The Power target has been lowered; (2) as against 12 new fertiliser plants proposed to be started during the Fifth Plan, the revised target is being put at no more than five fertiliser plants; (3) the proposal for a new heavy machine building plant has been rejected; (4) the proposal for a new refinery at Goa has been dropped; (5) in respect of cement, new capacity is created only in the private sector—the public sector is finished; and (6) in respect of foodgrains, during the Fourth Plan the original target was 128 million tonnes, in the mid-term appraisal in December 1971 it was brought down to 122 million tonnes, and the target for 1973-74 has been further lowered to 115 million tonnes, which is also not likely to be achieved. These are clear indications that Plan holiday is being gradually imposed on the country. The Planning Commission always starts with bold targets and allows them to be gradually eroded. That has become a deeply established tradition of the Yojana Bhavan.

Resources are raised in the name of development but are being wasted on unproductive and non-Plan items. We know, in the Union Budget, they talked of a deficit financing of Rs. 75 crores, but we know that the deficit financing has crossed the limit of Rs. 380 crores in the first three months of the current fiscal year. That is a clear indication where the country is moving. Inflation is the biggest enemy of planned development. There can be no development so long as prices are allowed to gallop at 25 per cent a year. What do we need today? We need a plan for price stability. That is the need of the hour. All efforts of the Government need to be concentrated entirely on holding the price line. Let us be very sincere about it. The question is how to contain the inflation. That should constitute the sheet-anchor of the Annual Plan for 1974-75. Development will have little meaning if prices continue to rise like this. The economic crisis which we are seeing today is nothing but an accentuation of man-made inflationary pressures which have been building up in the country for the last 15 years.

Mismanagement of economy as symbolised by the fiscal indiscipline and anti-production controls are the real causes of our economist stagnation.

I would like to place before you four or five points which should be the guidelines as a blue-print to revive the economy:

(1) The Government should not try to invest what it does not really save. What is not mobilised through taxation, surpluses of public sector and loans subscribed by the non-banking sector are not real resources and should be clearly recognized as such by the Government leaders. A resort to deficit financing to step up the rate of investment is the main cause for disruptive inflationary situation prevailing in the country to-day.

(2) Controls as operating in India to-day cannot lead to socialism. They help only the rich and the present scarcities have produced the highest dividends to the rich. Controls give more to those who already have more.

(3) Production is the key to economic prosperity and if we are really keen about economic revival, then all anti-production laws must go. Incentives are co-terminous to production and here I would say that the Plan priorities need to be so re-arranged that priority is given to irrigation and power and consumer goods industries. They can go a long way in checking the inflation.

(4) Fourth is the fuller utilisation of the all unutilised capacity whether it is in the case of industry or agriculture. I know in the case of public sector units alone, we are able to utilise only 30 per cent of the installed capacity which has proved to be a great drain on our national economy. In agriculture, at present 40 per cent of our resources are being utilised. We know. That is why I say that while the Government is talking so much of an economy of Rs. 400 crores by having a cut of 10 per cent on all unproductive expenditure, I feel that whatever little—I know of the Government's functioning—this will never be Rs. 400 crores. We also heard Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari in this House claiming that he would introduce an economy of Rs. 100 crores. I can bet with this Government that they cannot even produce an economy of Rs. 20 crores. What to talk of 400 crores of rupees economy? This is a loose talk, it is an irresponsible talk which is being made by the Government leaders. It is just impossible. It is just a show, it is just a stunt, a political stunt which is being displayed to the country.

To-day, what we need is the enforcement of the Essential Commodities Act which is a must and I feel that those who are known as hoarders and black-market-eers and saboteurs should be dealt with rather severely. Exemplary punishments need to be awarded to all those anti-social elements which are largely responsible for hoarding and black-marketing.

I would also suggest a multi-pronged plan which needs to be enforced if we are really keen that our economy should be revived.

Lastly, I will say that the Government should immediately formulate and evolve a wage-income-price policy which, I feel, is very necessary for checking the growing inequalities in the country.

[Shri Virender Agarwal]

Finally, I will say that the decisive battle of the Indian economy is the battle against inflation. Whether it is social justice, whether it is increase in investment, whether it is the problem of allocation of resources or whether it is inflation, unless prices are stabilised, our efforts in everyone of these directions are sure to be frustrated. It is not a forecast. It is a lesson from our past experience.

The economic crisis, the Government leaders claim, is the result of the Indo-Pak confrontation, the influx of refugees from Bangla Desh and drought. But I would differ with the Government, Sir. It is not because of Indo-Pak confrontation or influx of refugees or it is not because of the drought. It is a crisis of faulty planning, wrong strategy and poor execution.

My function and my purpose to-day is to help you to revive the economy. But, if you are determined to move towards your funeral, what can I do? All I can do is to join the condolence meeting.

I can assure you, Sir, that the future of our motherland is bright. No one of you can destroy or mar the future of the motherland. This is only a temporary phase and the dark clouds spread by you are sure to be blown over and the country will produce a new leadership, a dynamic leadership, to build a new India.

डा० कैलाश (बम्बई दक्षिण) : सभा-पति जी, मैं पांचवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना की रूपरेखा पर अपने विचार रखने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि श्री श्रीम मेहता साहब से कि जब मैं बोल रहा हूँ तो वह प्लानिंग मिनिस्टर से बातें न करें। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि योजना मंत्री धर साहब बड़े चतुर व्यक्ति हैं, बड़े कर्मठ हैं, और उसी प्रकार हमारे राज्य मंत्री बड़े व्यावहारिक हैं, चतुर हैं, कशल हैं, लेकिन शब्दों से ही रचना कर के किसी पंचवर्षीय योजना को बना कर मोहवे से पंचवर्षीय योजना नहीं बना करती है। मैं देख रहा हूँ इसमें शब्द बड़े अच्छे अच्छे काम में

लाए गए हैं। ऐसे सुन्दर शब्दों को काम में लाया गया है कि शायद लोग इस से भ्रम में आ जाये। लेकिन मुझे इसमें कहीं आत्मा नजर नहीं आई, मुझे इसमें कहीं जान नहीं नजर आई। आखीरी पन्ने पर आप लिखते हैं जहाँ इन्वाल्वमेंट और इम्प्लीमेंटेशन की बात करते हैं—यै उद्धृत कर रहा हूँ।

“There is need for active involvement of people in the formulation and implementation of the Plan.”

मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ धर साहब से और धारिया साहब से कि फारमुलेशन में आपने जनसाधारण को कब साथ लिया है? किन व्यक्तियों या संस्था को आपने उसमें साथ लिया है? अगर फारमुलेशन में उन को साथ नहीं लिया है तो मुझे कोई आशा नहीं है कि इम्प्लीमेंटेशन में जनसाधारण को साथ लिया जायेगा। जिस प्रकार पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना फेल हुई, दूसरी फेल हो गई, तीसरी फेल हो गई, और चौथी का भाग्य भी वैसा ही होगा क्योंकि आपने जनता को साथ नहीं लिया, कहते जरूर हैं। मगर कारण क्या बताते हैं जो पूर्णतया ठीक नहीं है कि चीन का युद्ध आ गया, सूखा पड़ गया, बाढ़ आ गई, पाकिस्तान का युद्ध आ गया, लेकिन सत्य यही है कि आपने डेमोक्रेटिक डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन को दुतकार दिया। अगर आपने जिला परिषद को फिर से जन्म नहीं दिया, पंचायत समितियों को फिर से जन्म नहीं दिया, आपने ग्राम पंचायतों को साथ नहीं लिया, तो मैं मानता हूँ कि जितनी बातें आपने लिखी हैं वह कभी आप से पूरी नहीं की जा सकती क्योंकि वह पीपल्स प्लान नहीं होगा।

मैं एक उदाहरण जरूर देना चाहता हूँ। मोहन धारिया साहब को मैं बहुत दिनों से जानता हूँ मोटर में जैसे ऐन्सीक्टर को जितनी तेजी से दबाया जाय उतनी ही तेजी से वह दौड़ने लगती है। इसी प्रकार

अतिना धारिया साहब को कार्य दिया जायेगा, उतनी ही तेजी से वे कार्य को पूरा करने की कोशिश करेंगे। मेरी समझ में नहीं आया कि अभी तक इन योजनाओं में आपने व्यूरोक्रेसी पर अर्थात् जिन कलेक्टरों पर विश्वास किया, तहसीलदारों पर विश्वास किया वही कलेक्टर और वही तहसीलदार, वही प्लान बनाने वाले आज भी बंटे हुए हैं दफ्तरों में, उन्हीं के द्वारा इम्प्लीमेंटेशन की बात होने जा रही है। मैं ऐसा मानता हूँ कि यह प्लान पूरा नहीं हो सकेगा।

मैं एक और उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। आज आप प्लानिंग कैसे करने जा रहे हैं। जहाँ 280 करोड़ रुपये अफसरों को मोटर गाड़ियों के लिये लोन देने के लिए क्यों रखा है? यह कहाँ की योजना है? अगर मैं सेक्रेटरी, डिप्टी सेक्रेटरी, ज्वाइंट सेक्रेटरी हूँ तो मुझे बैंकों के पास जाना चाहिए, इतने पोस्टल बैंक देश में हैं, वहाँ से ले सकते हैं। मैं जब मोटर गाड़ी खरीदने के लिए बैंक में जा सकता हूँ तो 280 करोड़ अफसरों के लिये क्यों रखा? कहाँ से रखा? आप ने बंटे ही उनके लिये भूकान बनाने के लिए 75 हजार रुपये प्रति व्यक्ति लोन देने के लिए रखा है। वे एस० आई० सी० में क्यों नहीं जा सकते हैं?

हम बात करते हैं सोशललिस्टिक प्रोग्राम की, हम जनसाधारण को ऊपर उठाने की बात करते हैं, लेकिन प्लान बनाते समय व्यूरोक्रेसी का सिर्फ ध्यान रखा जाता है। उसे व्यूरोक्रेसी करती है बेसा ही होता है। यह दुर्भाग्य है।

मैं आप के सामने अब कुछ बातें रखना चाहता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि घर साहब और धारिया साहब कम से कम उस पर विचार अवश्य करेंगे। मेरा अभी तक विश्वास रहा है कि वहाँ पर आपका ज़रूर होना है, वह छप

भी जाने हैं लेकिन पढ़े उन्हीं के जाते हैं जिनका राजनीतिक बल पड़ता है, या कुछ और दबाव पड़ता होगा। लेकिन हमारे सुझाव शायद रहीं की टोकरी में जाते हैं। ऐसा मेरा ख्याल है। जब भी हमने कोई सुझाव दिया है उस पर कभी ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता। इस लिए अब आप कृपा कर के जो भी मैं दो चार पांच बातें बता रहा हूँ उन पर ध्यान देंगे तो बड़ी कृपा होगी।

आप ने हेल्थ प्रोग्राम के लिये, इसमें कोई शक नहीं, थोड़ा रुपया बढ़ाया है। अब आप ने 940 करोड़ रुपया रखा है जो टोटल-आउट-ले का 2.7 परसेंट है। आप सारे गांवों में जाने की बात कर रहे हैं। शहरों के अन्दर तो स्वास्थ्य सेवाएँ मौजूद हैं, लेकिन गांवों में नहीं पहुंच रही हैं। हम ने एक नेशनल रूरल हेल्थ स्कीम बनाई थी, उस पर चर्चा हुई, सेमिनार हुआ, लेकिन अब वहाँ पहुंचने की बात तक नहीं हो रही है। अब आप कहते हैं कि तीन वर्षों का कोई डिप्लोमा कोर्स, डाक्टर तैयार करने के लिये अभ्यास क्रम, बनायेंगे, उस से निकलने वाले डाक्टरों को गांव में भेजा जायेगा मैं पूछता हूँ हमारे गांवों के आई-अहिलों ने क्या कम्प्लेंट किया है, उन के लिए बे तीन साल के पढ़े हुए अक्षरकचरे डाक्टरों को वहाँ भेजा जाये। तीन साल के बाद जब वे पढ़ कर निकलेंगे, तब तक आप गांव वालों के लिए क्या योजना बनायेंगे, भ्रमचान ही जानें और यह भी पता नहीं मैडिकल कान्सिल आफ इण्डिया ऐसे पाठ्यक्रम को मंजूरी भी देगी या नहीं। आप एक बहुत बड़ा खतरा उठाने जा रहे हैं—यदि आप ने यह तीन साल का कोर्स बना दिया। तीन साल में तो एम० बी० बी० एस० भी इतने डाक्टर मिल जायेंगे तथा गांवों में वे सेवा करने की तैयार हो जायेंगे। तो फिर 3 साल वाले डाक्टर क्यों?

[२६० सौभाग्य]

में चाहता हूँ कि स्वतन्त्र वर ७४० करोड़ बनाना जो बाँके रखा है जो मोटर प्लान काउन्सिल के २.७ परसेण्ट है, इस को कम से कम ३ परसेण्ट कर दिया जाना चाहिये। काम इस को कैसे कर सकते हैं—सुझाव है कि २६० करोड़ रुपया जो मोटर के लिये खोल रखा गया है वह स्वास्थ्य प्लान से रख दीजिये। जिस का मैंने अभी जिक्र किया है, क्योंकि उन को तो बैंक से भी रुपया मिल सकता है। जो लोग इस तरह का कर्जा लेते हैं, पता नहीं वह वापस भी देते हैं या नहीं, लेकिन बैंक तो सीधा इन्स्टालमेन्ट मांग लेता है।

बैल-फेयर स्कीम के लिये ग्राम ने १.५ परसेण्ट रखा है जो प्लान आउट-ले का १.५० परसेण्ट होता है (अवकाश) . . . श्री सतपाल कपूर कहते हैं, हमने जो सोशलिस्ट कहते हैं, मैं जब कम्प्लेक्स को मोटर के लोन पर बोल रहा हूँ तो जायद उन्हें अच्छा नहीं लग रहा है, खरी लिये वह मजाक कर रहे हैं। बड़े बुद्ध की बात है, हमने जो नीजवान बतलाने वाले, सोशलिस्ट बतलाने वाले, जब मैं फजुल खान पर बोल रहा हूँ तो वह उनका मजाक बनाते, यह जाना मैंने उन में कमी नहीं की थी।

मैं विवेक कर रहा था—१.५ परसेण्ट ग्राम ने सोशल वेल्फेयर के लिये रखा है। जब ग्राम सोशल वेल्फेयर की बात कहते हैं तो उस का उद्देश्य जनसाधारण को ऊपर उठा कर ले जाना है—ऐसे महत्त्वपूर्ण काम के लिये पैसा कम रचना, मेरी समझ में नहीं आ रहा है। ग्राम ने कुछ ५२० करोड़ रुपया इस के लिये रखा है, जब कि ग्राम उस को पांच भाग्यक बकरतें देना चाहते हैं—जो बैकिक निविदा में हैं, उन को पूरा करने के लिये ५२० करोड़ रुपया रखा गया है—यह हिस्सा कहां से लयया है, मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है। मैं ऐसा

मानता हूँ कि ग्राम को १.५ परसेण्ट के बजाय २ परसेण्ट इस के लिये रखना चाहिये। इसके लिये बकरतों के बजाय मैं न दायें।

ग्राम में कुछ सुझाव रखना चाहता हूँ— एक रिज्यू कमेटी जिस तरह से ग्राम ने इन्फ्रास एक्शन के लिये रखी थी और मुझे खुशी हुई थी कि ग्राम ने प्लानिंग के लिये एडवांस एक्शन के लिये रुपया रखा था, लेकिन मैं घर साहब से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जो रुपया ग्राम ने इस कार्य के लिये रखा था, उस को किस तरह से खर्च किया गया, क्या क्या एडवांस एक्शन ग्राम ने लिये और उस के क्या नतीजे निकले और उन अनुभवों से ग्राम ग्राम क्या करने जा रहे हैं?

ग्राम ने ग्राम ग्राम मिनिस्ट्री में कुछ स्टडी ग्रुप्स रखे हुए हैं, मैं चाहता हूँ कि उसी तरह की कमेटिया स्टेट्स में भी होनी चाहिये, जो हर ६ महीने के बाद प्लान किस प्रकार चल रहा है उनको रिज्यू करें। उस का अध्ययन सीफ-मिनिस्टर हो। उसी तरह से केन्द्र में भी एक हार्ड पावर कमेटी होनी चाहिये जो प्लान की स्कीमों का रिज्यू करती रहे और उस की अध्ययन प्रारंभ मिनिस्टर हों।

प्लान में लेक् रिहायन्स की बात कही है। ली क्वी कीरन-पेट्रोस-कम्पनी का तुरन्त नेशनलाइजेशन नहीं किया जाता। वह ही सकता है डेकॉर्ड-वेनेन्ट के बाजार पर। इस में पोलिटीकल-डर की बात नहीं करनी चाहिये। अगर ग्रामको पार्षदों को हटाया है, ग्राम सेल्फ-रिलायंस की बात करे है—तो इस प्रकार का कथन ग्राम को भी उठाना चाहिये और तमाम पेट्रोस कम्पनियां, इन्डुस्त्रियल बीयर, बिटालिया विस्कुट और तमाम ऐसी विदेशी कम्पनियों का राष्ट्रीयकरण जल्दी करें।

I shall not take more than two minutes.
 I will read out:

"Kindly complete quickly the minor, medium and major irrigation projects."

It will also be my request that you will kindly establish the thermal power projects all over the country because we know that in your priority you have given to agriculture a sufficiently high priority. Irrigation should also be given a higher priority. Then alone this plan will succeed. And Sir, no more generation of Hydro-electricity.

As regards the nutrition programme, the Planning Minister had kept it at Rs. 500 crores. The same amount is continuing in Fifth Plan. In the Fifth Plan, they have not indicated anything more. Hence, I would request the hon. Minister to allot some more amount for nutrition for the Fifth Plan.

Then, he should stop all foreign collaboration.

घाप देखें—अब तक 4 हजार फौरन-कोलाबोरेशन किये जा चुके हैं। जो हर वर्ष बढ़ रहे हैं। जैसा अभी अभी हमारे मित्र श्री भागवत झा प्रजापद ने बतलाया था—ये कोलाबोरेशन किम प्रकार हो रहे हैं, किन चीजों के लिये किये गये हैं—नकटाई के लिये, कारखानों के लिये, या इस प्रकार की अनावश्यक वस्तुओं के लिये, जितने कोलाबोरेशन इस तरह के लक्ष्यारी मुद्दम के लिये हुए हैं, मैं घाप से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि ये कैसे हुए। मेरा सुझाव है कि सिर्फ पब्लिक सेक्टर में तथा वैज्ञानिक इन्फ्रस्ट्रक्चर के लिये हो। दूसरी चीजों के लिये तो-हाऊ के माध्यम पर नहीं लेने चाहियें। इस तरह के फौरन-कोलाबोरेशन बन्द कर दीजिये।

घाप में इस डाक्यूमेंट में इन्डीकनस टैक्नीकल रो-हाऊ को उद्घाटन देने की बात कही है—कृपा कर के उन को भी उद्घाटन दीजिये। या सिर्फ यह लिखने के लिए ही लिखा गया है।

समय बड़ा कम है, इसलिए मैं अपने सुझाव घाप को लिख कर भेजूंगा, मैं आशा करता हूँ कि घाणिया माहब उन्हें पढ़ने तथा विचार करेंगे।

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN (Madras South): The hon. Planning Minister, while commending his motion, had made it clear that the draft Plan was almost ready in Yojna Bhavan. It is an irony that while the Draft Plan is about to be ready, this House is discussing about the approach to the Draft Plan. I think that this is a serious matter. I consider that it is an insult to the House and to its Members. I do not blame the hon. Minister for this, because in this country the entire planning has been going on at the executive level without any legislative backing, in an informal way. The Planning Commission came into being by a resolution of this House. Now, the Planning Commission has grown into a monster, and this monster has even pushed Parliament and the Finance Commission to the backstage. While bypassing the Constitution, the Planning Commission does well, but regarding other functions, I am sorry to say that the performance of the commission is really miserable.

Mr. Lester Pearson, who headed the World Bank Commission on International Development once said:

'India is a pioneer in planning'. He also said that our experiments helped to make planning respectable all over the world. The Planning Commission might have earned respectability but I am sorry to say that our planning has lost all its credibility with the people.

Over the last few months, Mr. Dhar has been changing his stand as often as possible. During the last session of the Rajya Sabha he stated heroically that there would be no change in the Plan as a result of the prevailing inflation. But a few weeks later at Srinagar, later, he said that planning had to be compressed. Finally he admitted that with the

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best of his efforts and intentions, only the core of the Plan could be saved.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN (Wandi-wah): What happens to the rest?

SHRI D. P. DHAR: The rest is in his lap.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Like the common man, the Government also seem to be shocked at the deepening economic crisis, perhaps unparalleled in our recent history. But the hon. Minister seems to be not sure of himself. I understand that the hon. Minister is an incorrigible optimist. That is why we attribute more meanings to his fore-bodings. Just now, Mr. Agarwal had said that it looked as if there was a plan holiday around the corner. We are not suicidal maniacs to wish for a plan holiday. But what is the position? All the assumptions on which he has based his approach document have been knocked out. How is he going to save the situation?

Take, for example, the question of prices. The hon. Minister said the other day that 'invasion of high prices from abroad had taken place on our domestic economy.' Advocates like Dr. Kailas say that the price-rise was due to the Indo-Pakistan war. It is not true. As Mr. Azad has said, the growth rate is higher in Pakistan than in India. Then, take the case of price rise also in Pakistan as compared to that in India.

Between 1963 and March 1972, the price rise in Pakistan was only 45 per cent whereas in India it was 95 per cent. I am told that people in Pakistan are economically more prosperous than we in India.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: They say otherwise.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: You have better knowledge about that. Anyhow, prices are high here and the growth rate is lower here.

SHRI PILOO MODY: They fought one war, we fought two.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Prices are high not only in comparison to Pakistan. Among the countries of the world, the price rise is the highest in India. I have got details. In Thailand prices rose between 1965 and March 1972 by 21 per cent, Iraq 25 per cent, Iran 28 per cent, Ethiopia 32 per cent, Mexico 35 per cent, Sri Lanka 36 per cent, W. Germany 32 per cent, Canada 33 per cent, the USA 35 per cent, Australia 37 per cent, France 43 per cent, Japan 55 per cent and UK 56 per cent. These are the latest figures given by ILO.

Next I come to the value of the rupee. Mr. Agarwal said it is going down. Since June 1966, the internal value of the rupee has declined by 75 per cent. The pre-war rupee is now reduced to less than 9P. Mr. Agarwal said that another devaluation is round the corner. I do not think it is the opinion of the Jan Sangh alone. There are certain genuine fears. In fact, I got this idea that another devaluation of the rupee is round the corner from a journal *Round Table* edited by our friend, Mr. Dinesh Singh. Therefore, you should not accuse us alone of entertaining this genuine fear. I think it is the duty of the hon. Minister to dispel this fear. The rabi miracle did not happen with the result that we are going to import foodgrains of the value of Rs. 500 crores foreign exchange. How are you going to correct the situation? Are you having any mysterious source of foreign exchange?

Very often, foreign countries have correct statistical data about Indian output and needs. How is it that even six months ago the World Bank sources could predict our food shortage? Did our Krishi Bhavan not understand our statistics? That is why I would urge with all the emphasis at my command that Indian food statistics needs an urgent parliamentary probe. It is time they stopped misguiding the people of India. Yojana Bhavan also cannot disown the responsibility. I would ask: are we under centralised planning? If so, is not forecasting an important function of the planning mechanism? If so, how is it that a steep price rise, Latin-American

style of inflation, food and other shortages have overtaken us?

You say that high liquidity has taken place. Like Mr. Azad, I would ask who is responsible. I want to give only one example. Additional bank credit for non-productive expenditure of the Central Government has increased in 1971-72 alone to the extent of Rs. 1025 crores. During the First Plan, the amount was Rs. 60 crores; during the Second Plan it was Rs. 277 crores; during the Third Plan it was Rs. 264 crores and now in one year alone, additional bank credit for non-productive expenditure of the Central Government has increased to Rs. 1025 crores. Does this not need a parliamentary probe?

We cannot get these details in the budget papers. I would say this is deficit financing by the back door. I say this is the greatest fraud perpetrated on the Constitution. Without parliamentary sanction you are getting a liquidity for non-productive expenditure to the extent of Rs. 1025 crores and that too in only one year. What did the Planning Commission do? Why were they closing their eyes to it? Now the Planning Commission has attained a status along with the Planning Minister. It is the Economic Cabinet of the nation. I want to fix the guilt on the doors of the Planning Commission also.

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF PLANNING (SHRI
MOHAN DHARIA):** How is it that the Planning Commission is guilty?

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: States do not have the security press. Actually then nationalised banks are at your back and call. They never oblige the State Governments nor the municipalities. (*Interruptions*). That is why we have doubts.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Muvattu puzha): Adjustment of overdrafts.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Every State is like that. We are coming here with the begging bowl. We have no financial resources. The same is the position in Kerala. The Planning Commis-

sion is turning its Nelson's eye to all these problems and that is why the people ask the question and say that the name of Yojna Bhavan should be changed into Sojana Bhavan, that is, sleeping bhavan.

The very basis on which the Plan Approach document has been written is unreal. For example, at page 13, it says, "Now that self-sufficiency has been achieved in foodgrains" You have taken it for granted that there is self-sufficiency in foodgrains. But that is not so. We are importing food. Secondly, there is also a yawning gap between the physical terms and the financial outlays. This document is not a realistic document. To the common man who is already disillusioned with slogans, this approach document gives a false impression. The previous document, when Mr. Subramaniam was here as the Planning Minister—the document called "Towards an Approach of the fifth Plan—proudly proclaimed that the total outlay would be twice the size of the Fourth Plan. A Himalayan amount of Rs. 51,000 crores has been provided, but you cannot get the same kind of enthusiasm among the people even though you have proclaimed that a huge sum of Rs 51,000 crores has been allotted for the next Plan. It is twice as big as the fourth Plan but it is not so in real terms. In real terms, the proposed investment outlay in the fifth five year Plan cannot be much more than about 50 per cent over the fourth Plan period. Dr. K. N. Raj says it will be even less. So, you have not given the real picture to the public because all the figures, all the statistics, are based on 1971-72 prices and we are far away from the price level. While the latest price level is available, why should the Government plan at 1971-72 prices? That is my question. That is why this document is completely blind to the prevailing price level. Like King Canute you cannot control the prices by your wishes.

There are ways to overcome this difficulty. I am told that one way is to assume a certain annual rate of price rise and calculate the Plan projects on this basis. I am also told that a country like

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Brazil follows this procedure. Then, after having fixed the total outlay, the document says that the growth rate has been fixed at 5.5 per cent, that is, the average annual growth rate.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Brazil may do it, but the Soviet Union does not do it. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: This document says that a higher rate of growth means earlier removal of poverty. Why should not the Government or the Planning Commission accept 6.5 per cent of growth rate? They themselves have given the answer. If they aim for 6.5 per cent it will not reduce the consumption level of the richest 30 per cent. Yes, we accept the objective. If you aim at 6.5 per cent of growth rate, the strains will happen to the foreign exchange resources. These are the reasons. So, they have fixed 5.5 per cent. As a layman, I want to ask a question: if you say a higher growth rate means earlier removal of poverty, why should you not plan for 6.5 per cent of growth rate minus those defects like the impossibility of curbing the consumption of the upper 30 per cent and the strain in our foreign exchange reserves? As a layman I have this doubt. It may not be beyond the ingenuity and skill of our economists to work out a model for higher growth commensurate with the goal of self-reliance and social justice. For a layman like me this seems to be an arithmetical jugglery. I remember a few years ago Dr. Minas was saying that in the last ten years the number of poor in our country had been reduced. On the other hand another great economist Dr. Pradhan said that in the last ten years the number of poor had increased. A bitter controversy went on between these two economists. They are experts in their own field. Finally they came to a conclusion... *(Interruptions)*. Dr. Pradhan got all his data from the agricultural sector whereas Dr. Minas got all his statistics from other government sources. There is always difference, because economics is not a sure science and there may be as many opinions as there are political parties.

You have fixed the growth rate at 5.5 per cent. It rings a familiar bell in our ears. From the second plan onwards we are sticking to the same growth rate accidentally or otherwise. Even this document sticks to the same 5.5 per cent growth rate. I do not know whether there is sanctity in this growth rate.

I am not an economist. When I consulted some, they say that you should give the basic assumption on which you have constructed this model. You have supplied technical papers and reports to some of the economists. Their conclusion is that they could not understand your arithmetical exercise for want of supporting data and information. At that stage you should have given all the materials and all your basic assumptions on which you have come to certain conclusions. You should have created a debate. At this stage any debate will be meaningless as we are having today. On the previous Plans, the critics asked: Why should you not plan for a more growth rate? You said that it was not possible and that is why you gave up the idea. Now the Planning Commission says we have not planned for higher growth rate because we do not want it, we have rejected it. I am reminded of the story of the Jackal and Grape in the Panchatantra. When the Jackal could not reach the grapes it started saying that those grapes were sour. The Planning Commission now tries to be clever and it says: it is possible to achieve a higher growth rate but we do not want it. So you have changed your strategy... *(Interruptions)*

What is your past experience? Your plans never achieved a growth rate of more than 3 to 3.5 per cent. Are you sure of this 5.5 per cent? If you invest Rs. 51,000 crores can you get definitely and assuredly a growth rate of 5.5 per cent? No. You have yourself doubts. You say that even if you put in Rs. 51,165 crores you can achieve it, given reasonable efficiency in the creation and the utilisation of capacity. That is what you say in page No. 16. Not only that. You have put another rider. You have not assured us that you will achieve 5.5 per cent growth with an investment of

Rs. 51,000 crores. You say that this can be achieved if certain provisions are there; hard decisions, rigorous discipline, major sacrifices. What are they? You have not specifically stated all these things. So, it is a doubtful document. There is a novel element in this. For the first time, after 20 years and four five-year plans, the Planning Commission proclaims to achieve the curbing of the consumption of the richest 30 per cent of our people. We have at long last identified the problem and found an answer to the question why the rich is getting richer and the poor poorer. If at all the Planning Minister and the Planning Commission ought to receive encomiums, it is only for the reason that the Plan aims at reduction of inequality. Redistributive justice is the pivot around which the entire scheme revolves. I congratulate the Minister, his colleague and the Planning Commission for having for the first time postulated this wonderful idea. But are you sure of achieving it? You should go to the people and say, "Yes. In this plan, we will achieve social justice and redistribution of income. We will see that the consumption of the upper 30 per cent of the rich is curbed." But you have your own doubts. This is the wonderful element in this document. I quote from page 21:

"It follows that even of the reduction of inequality that may be actually achieved during the fifth plan period is much less than postulated in the second variant, while it will substantially slowdown progress towards removal of poverty, the broad pattern of growth emerging from the preferred variant will not require major modification."

So, removal of poverty is not guaranteed in this. They themselves accept that a slow down of progress may be possible. Then once again they are ready to sacrifice the proposal of achieving social justice and redistributive justice at the altar of growth! This is an escape route for the Planning Commission. If things happen in a different way and if after five

years they cannot reduce poverty according to the plan, they will escape under this provision and say, "We have already stated that removal of poverty may be slowed down. But we have achieved the growth rates". So, once again you are going back from the so-called new economic theory propounded by our friends.

How are you going to achieve social and redistributive justice? There are two processes. One is levelling up and the other is levelling down. Whenever we hear the slogan that the consumption of the upper rich has to be curbed, we imagine the idle super-rich, who bask under the sun of conspicuous consumption and black money. But now the definition is different. These are not the only persons who come under this category of the upper rich of 30 per cent. Whoever spends Rs. 24.28 per month will come under this category of the rich. Top three deciles include not only workers, clerks, school teachers, peons, car drivers etc. but also the rich and upper income groups who form 5 per cent of our population. All these come under the category of upper rich. The factory worker does not represent the affluent class. It will be at grave danger if you ignore the requirements of this section. Dandekar and Rath have said that transfers are possible only from the highest 10 per cent. Now you have lumped together Birlas and pan-wallas, Tatas with factory workers, Singhanias and school teachers.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Dhar with the Dharias.

AN HON. MEMBER: Who is the rich man and who is the poor man?

SHRI D. P. DHAR: In this case it is the other way round.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: At the end of the Plan the consumption of this group of teachers, workers and also Birlas, the top 30 per cent, is going to be reduced from Rs. 84.82 per month to Rs. 80.38 for the rural rich and from Rs. 113.21 to Rs. 108.07 in the case of the urban rich. As we know very well, this group includes not only the rich but upper income group also. It is very easy to cut the consumption of the top 5 per cent

[Shri Murasoli Maran]

of the population. If you cut the production of luxuries and semi-luxuries it will be very easy for you to do that. It can be done very easily. But if it includes the other groups it will affect even people with a monthly salary of Rs. 50 a month or families of five members with an annual income of Rs. 3,000. If you are going to cut the consumption of the upper 30 per cent, there is a genuine fear in the minds of the poor that it will affect people with a monthly income of Rs. 50. If that happens by a distortion in the execution of the Plan, this Plan will be considered as anti-labour and anti-working class. The only result of such a plan will be that you will increase the number of the poor at the end of the next Five Year Plan. In any case their material comforts will be less after five years. I think you have got to accept it. The material comforts of the upper 30 per cent, which includes that teachers, working class and the middle class would be less at the end of the Plan. If I am wrong, I want to be corrected by the Minister because I am not an expert. We gather ideas only by talking to professors and reading technical journals.

Here we are only levelling down consumption. We are not reducing income. The upper 30 per cent of the rich will be having increments in their income. As the Plan document says, even though this is not your motto, you allow them to earn more. You increase their income but you reduce their consumption. What are the upper 30 per cent of the people going to do? They may not consume but their increment in income will be in their hands. Do you expect those people, the so-called rich, the school teacher, the factory worker and the white-collared clerks to invest the unconsumed money in productive assets?

AN HON. MEMBER: Taxation.

SHR MURASOLI MARAN: Taxation is only one of the weapons in their hands. The Plan document envisages that various incentives will be given to these people for saving. The saving function is explained in the document.

So, this 30 per cent of people are teachers, workers—all middle-class people. After getting an increment in their income, the Government expects that that kind of increment minus consumption should be saved. We know how this kind of people are saving their money. They will never invest their money in Unit Trust. We should take note of Indian situation. Rather, these people will invest their money in gold, in durable consumer goods, in diamonds, in buildings or in cars. This is the tendency. Are they productive assets? I do not think so. The Minister will also accept it. I am afraid, because of this exercise, India is going to be a smugglers' paradise during the next five years. This is my another doubt on which I want a clarification from him.

How are you going to effect the savings measure? You want them to save. Unless they save their money increment, it will not be useful to you. As Mr Malaviya pointed out taxation is one measure. But they envisage not only taxation but incentive for saving and other measures also. What are other measures? Are you going to give the workers less wages and more pension? Are you going to give the middle-class people their increase in salary in savings certificates? I want a clarification about this also.

Then, I want to refer the productive pattern also. You are going to control in-essential but expensive articles of consumption. Money will be there. Those expensive articles will not be available. But the demand will be there. So, if you impose physical controls, I think, there will be black market. If what I visualise happens, in the next five years, India will be a hunting ground for black marketeers. There is a proverb in Tamil. Even if one wants to tell a lie one should lie consistently....

AN HON. MEMBER: How much time is he going to take? (Interruptions)

SHRI D. P. DHAR: I think, it is a very illuminating speech. I will be grateful if he is permitted to go on.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He is within his party's time.

Now, I want to know the sense of the House. There are as many as 62 names from the Congress side and about 10 names from the other side. As per the agenda today, we should close our sitting at 6 O' Clock. Do you want the time of the sitting to be extended today, say, upto 6-30 p.m. or 7 O' Clock?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No, no.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: After he finishes his speech, we may adjourn.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH): You may just call a Congress Member and then adjourn the House.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: There is a proverb in my mother-tongue which says that even if you want to tell a lie, you should do it consistently. Otherwise, nobody will believe it.

We know that all the Plans are visions and dreams. Even in your dreams, there is no consistency. On the one hand, you want to curb consumption of the upper 30 per cent of the people, on the other hand, you say, by 1975, the small cars will be produced to the extent of 50,000 per year at a price of Rs. 12,000 each. How does it go? Where is the consistency? How are you going to control the consumption of the upper 30 per cent? On the one hand you say so, and on the other you are allowing them to produce 50,000 cars at a price of Rs. 12,000.

18.00 hrs.

The second operation in their programme of re-distributive justice is levelling up of the consumption of the lower 30 per cent of the population. After this important observation in this Plan document—increasing the consumption of the lower 30 per cent of the population—you say that the monthly consumption of those people would arise from Rs. 29.90 to Rs. 36.64 for the rural area and from Rs. 25.17 to Rs. 39.60 for the urban area. That means, after the Fifth Plan is over, i.e., in 1979, all the people in India will be getting consumption worth about Rs.

40 per month. This is a very good move. If it happens, we will be very glad. But how are you going to achieve this? Never in this document have you spelt out the way I think, even your own people do not believe in this postulation. If you believe that, by 1979, every body in India will be assured of about Rs. 40 per month, why do you not say so? What is your All India Radio doing? If you have belief in it, Mr. Gujral will not be keeping quiet; he will be hammering out with slogans morning, evening and in between. That is why, I say, you are in a self-doubting mood.

What is the real content of social justice? It is nothing but food, clothing and shelter. How are you going to give to 30 per cent of the population enough food, enough clothing and enough shelter? Not by charity, not as doles. You have to throw out jobs. I would say that social justice means employment, nothing but employment. Unfortunately, a policy of full employment has never been the aim of our Plans. And we have been evading the issue of the basic ingredient of growth and social justice. The total unemployment in India at present seems to be around 19 million. It means that the total unemployed in India is equal to the population of Australia, it is more than the population of Canada, more than the population of West Germany. According to Mr. B. K. Nehru, the number of unemployed goes up by 6,000 every day. 6,000 people are denied employment every day. Every fifth educated Indian is unemployed. How are you going to provide employment? How are you going to provide consumption facilities to these lower 30 per cent of the population? You cannot provide jobs for all the 30 per cent of the population in agriculture alone. So, Sir, what I would say is that you have not clearly stated your employment plan, how you are going to provide employment, how you are going to assure consumption facilities for the lower 30 per cent of the population.

There is a special chapter devoted to 'National Programme for Minimum

[Shri Murasoli Maran] Needs. This is one way of ensuring consumption to the lower 30 per cent of the population. You want to provide facilities to the weaker sections of the society in the form of education, health, nutrition, drinking water, housing, communications and electricity. It is proposed to make a provision of about Rs. 3,300 crores in the Fifth Plan for the Minimum Needs Programme. But my own fear is how you are going to allocate money to the States. Here the so-called advanced States and marginal States question the very basis of the "National Programme for Minimum Needs". A long time ago we had fulfilled in our State the Constitutional directive that children upto the age of 14 should be given free and compulsory education. In my State, education is free upto the Pre-University class.

Similar is the position in Kerala. They are in the advanced state of education. Because Tamil Nadu and Kerala have provided this minimum need of education to the poorer sections, are you going to penalise Tamil Nadu and Kerala for this by not giving even a single paise out of a provision of Rs. 3300 crores? I would say the needs of the States are different. On the other hand, the national programme of minimum needs will be changed to a special needs programme of the States because every State has its own problems. For West Bengal Calcutta is the problem. We have electricity demand. We have various other problems. We have housing problems. That is why I would ask the Minister to change it to the minimum necessities for the States.

Sir, in spite of four Plans and twenty years, our rank in the row of countries in the world has not risen. According to Jagdish Bhagwati in his book 'The Economics of Under-developed Countries', in per capita income we are occupying the 24th place of all the countries in the world....

SHRI PILOO MODY: Now we are 109th, since the book was written.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Up and above India come all the under-developed African countries.....

SHRI PILOO MODY: Because they do not have socialists there.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Take for example, China and India on the one hand and GDR and West Germany on the other. They all started their development career more or less at the same time. But, here, in Asia, China has achieved a rapid economic expansion while India is lagging behind. In Europe, West Germany is a giant whereas GDR is lagging behind. Why? I would say that ideology alone is not the reason for the rapid economic development of a nation. Let us compare India and China. 45 per cent of China's rapid expansion is due to greater investment. Then 55 per cent is due to greater efficiency with which they apply investment. Then 55 per cent is due to greater totalitarian country and can impose any ment. We may say that China is a the only reason. Even though it has a unitary constitution, they have found out that they cannot develop a country of a giant size by remote control planning. So, they have decentralised planning. Here, we aim at self-reliance of the entire country. In China, they aim at self-sufficiency for the commune, for the districts and for the provinces. Unlike in India, in China targets come from the Provinces to the Government. But, here, we are doing remote control planning. I would say it is a *Durbar* type of planning, sitting in Delhi and pruning the State plans. That is why I would say that you should decentralise the planning.

I would conclude by saying that though this document envisages growth and social justice, it will not get either.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Amrit Nahata.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA (Barmer) Mr. Chairman, Sir ...

MR. CHAIRMAN: You can continue your speech tomorrow.

18.08 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, September 5, 1973/Bhadra 14, 1895 (Saka).