

12-04 hrs.

**BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE
FIFTH REPORT**

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Sa. ya Narayan Sinha):
Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House agrees with the Fifth Report of the Business Advisory Committee presented to the House on the 24th August, 1962."

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That this House agrees with the Fifth Report of the Business Advisory Committee presented to the House on the 24th August, 1962."

The motion was adopted.

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12-05 hrs.

**MOTIONS RE. THIRD FIVE YEAR
PLAN**

Mr. Speaker: Now, the House will take up further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri Nath Pai on the 22nd June, 1962, namely:

"That this House takes note of the serious shortfalls in the targets of the Third Five Year Plan and the growing misapprehensions in the country about the implementation of the Third Five Year Plan."

Shri Nanda has to continue his speech. But, there was one thing I was thinking over. Shri Morarka has given notice of another motion. He has just informed me that he may just move his motion. After that the hon. Minister may continue and I will allow an opportunity to Shri Morarka to make his speech after that.

Shri Morarka (Jhunjhunu): Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House takes note of the progress of the Third Five

Year Plan as indicated in the statement laid on the Table of the House on the 22nd August, 1962 and generally approves of the measures being taken to ensure its successful implementation."

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That this House takes note of the progress of the Third Five Year Plan as indicated in the statement laid on the Table of the House on the 22nd August, 1962 and generally approves of the measures being taken to ensure its successful implementation."

Both the motions are now before the House.

Shri Nanda.

The Minister of Planning and Labour and Employment (Shri Nanda): Mr. Speaker Sir, 2 months have passed since the House considered Shri Nath Pai's motion on the Third Plan and I am glad it has been possible for the House to devote time during this Session to a fuller consideration of problems relating to the implementation of the Plan.

It is a matter of deep regret to me and my colleagues on this side, and I am sure to the entire House, that Shri Nath Pai is not able to participate in the discussion on this occasion. We all hope that he will be soon back in the House, fully restored to health.

Sir, speaking two months ago, I explained the various factors which could be a source of imbalance in different parts of the economy under the stress of developments under the Third Plan. So far as the past was concerned, I submitted that the country's achievements had been good; but, in relation to our growing needs and our high aspirations, these

achievements were by no means sufficient. In the course of my remarks, I explained the situation in respect of foreign exchange, agricultural production, shortages in transport and power, progress of the fertilizer programme, supply of cement and the price trends. I stressed the need for very great effort on the part of the country to achieve the targets of the Plan in agriculture, in industry and transport and in exports; and called attention to the importance of economic discipline and firm action at the political and administrative levels in the implementation of the Plan.

I also referred briefly to the great deal of thought which was being given during the past few months to various pressing problems and to improvements which were being effected in the quality of planning. In view of these on behalf of the Government, I felt justified in expressing confidence in the success of the Plan.

You will recall, Sir, that although Shri Nath Pai had referred to what he felt were failures or weaknesses, his real object in moving the motion was a positive one. He desired an assurance from Government that the Plan and its vital sectors would remain intact and he wished to know how the Government propose to deal with the difficulties which had arisen on different fronts. For many months, and more especially, since the new Government was formed, in co-operation with our colleagues in the Central Ministries, the Planning Commission has been engaged in an intensive and continuous effort to locate difficulties and find appropriate solutions.

We know only too well how a country like ours, striving for rapid development, has to contend with many difficulties. Some of these may be traced to decisions and developments which have occurred in the past. Some may be due to our own inadequacies in organisation, in personnel and even in our knowledge and under-

standing of the many complex and uncertain elements which are involved.

There are also factors which may be beyond our control and difficult to anticipate. However, in the light of the work that has gone on over many months and the action initiated in different directions, without for a moment making light of the many obstacles ahead I have no hesitation in saying that the Third Five Year Plan will be successfully implemented and that its basic and vital objectives will be achieved. We shall not be found wanting in effort and in determination to overcome whatever difficulties may confront us today and in the future. My purpose today is a limited one, namely, to acquaint the House with the measures which have been taken during the past two months and to place before the hon. Members, Government's present appreciation of the situation in relation to the Third Plan, especially in the matter of foreign exchange resources. In recent months considerable anxiety has been expressed about the foreign exchange situation. Our preliminary study of the subject has just been completed. Briefly, the position is that if we use with utmost economy our own foreign exchange resources and such aid as we hope to secure and make the fullest possible efforts to develop our exports, there is no reason why we should not be able to fulfil all essential programmes in the Third Plan. The foreign exchange requirements of the projects included in the Third Plan were estimated as a minimum at Rs. 2030 crores. This estimate related to the Plan involving a total investment of Rs. 10,400 crores, and an outlay by Government of Rs. 7500 crores and not to the larger physical programme which we keep before us in implementing the Third Plan. Against Rs. 2030 crores we reckoned payments during the Plan period of Rs. 1900 crores. Our recent study shows that allowing for increases in foreign exchange allotments under power and transport of Rs. 120 crores

[Shri Nanda]

which has become necessary in the interest of the Plan as a whole, the amount needed for payments during the third Plan would be Rs. 2150 crores. We shall try to find this additional amount as far as possible through a systematic and a more intensive programme of imports substitution on account of maintenance imports.

The Third Plan envisaged a total external aid, apart from P L. 480 of Rs. 2600 crores. Commitments for aid as distinguished from payments have to be larger because, just as Rs. 400 crores of aid for the Second Plan projects was carried over to the Third Plan, there would be a similar carry over from the Third to the Fourth Plan. When the Third Plan commenced, the total external assistance available was about Rs. 700 crores of which about Rs. 330 crores represented assistance specifically for Third Plan projects. Since then external assistance amounting to about Rs. 700 crores has been authorised and allocated for various purposes. As a result of the recent discussions in the World Bank Consortium a further amount of Rs. 490 crores has been promised but formal agreements in respect of this amount have yet to be signed. Altogether, the total external assistance available for the Third Plan now amounts to about Rs. 1890 crores of which about Rs. 1450 crores has been or is proposed to be allocated for project requirements and about Rs. 440 crores for non-project purposes. Allowing for the carry-over of aid to the Fourth Plan to the extent of about Rs. 400 crores, the total additional aid required is of the order of Rs. 1100 crores. The generous assistance which we have received from the World Bank and from friendly countries has already given a good start to the Third Plan and I would like to say how much we value and appreciate the help at the present stage of India's economic development. Since a substantial amount of aid recently promised has yet to be

assigned to specific purposes, it is not possible immediately to present a complete picture of the extent to which the different sectors in the Plan may be said to be covered by aid. It may be stated, however, that the bulk of the programme for power and substantial proportions of the programmes for transport, industry and minerals already have or will shortly obtain the necessary foreign exchange. However, there are a number of programmes which are not at present fully covered by aid. There are also several individual projects which are of the greatest importance for the growth of our economy such as the Bokaro steel plant and the Durgapur tool and steel alloy plant which do not at present have the necessary foreign exchange. In the use of such further aid as becomes available to us, we propose to give priority to these two groups of projects, other projects being considered for the allotment of foreign exchange after these needs have been met.

In Government's view, both in the public sector and in the private sector, the available foreign exchange must be utilised to secure the maximum results possible, keeping in view all the time that the vital needs of rapid economic development and of the building up of a self-reliant economy should not suffer on any account.

I would like to say a few words on the position regarding internal resources. Thanks to the support of this House, the Central Government had already given a good lead in the matter of raising resources. But there was some concern about the corresponding effort on the part of the States. I had mentioned earlier the Planning Commission's discussions with the Chief Ministers of States. The Planning Commission has recently completed a series of discussions with the States in which with the help of the State Finance Ministers we have

reviewed the financial situation in each State.

The efforts made by State Governments this year have been indeed heartening and deserve the support of all those who desire rapid economic progress in every part of the country. The tax effort undertaken by States this year is expected to yield about Rs. 47 crores, although in a full year, it should provide about Rs. 70 crores. As the House is aware, the States have to find Rs. 610 crores by way of additional taxation during the third Plan. In the first two years they have undertaken taxation sufficient to provide Rs. 370 crores over the five year period. Taking the Centre and the States together, the tax efforts in the first two years assure us over the Plan period of over Rs. 1,200 crores as against Rs. 1,710 crores additional taxation stipulated in the Plan. However, experience in the first two years shows that it will be necessary to strive even harder to achieve the targets under loans, small savings and surpluses from public enterprises.

I shall now refer briefly to certain developments pertaining to power and transport and to measures being taken to step up industrial and agricultural development. On the last occasion, I had explained how about the middle of the second Plan period, the brunt of the cuts in foreign exchange fell on power. It was recognised that this would bring problems in the future. It was for this reason that the target for power development was raised from 11.8 million kilowatts in the Draft Outline of the third Plan to 12.7 million kilowatts in the final report, involving an increase of Rs. 114 crores in the allocation for power. Since the Plan was finalised, we have agreed to a further stepping up of the power programme by 500,000 kilowatts. An additional generating capacity has been sanctioned in a number of States, both in the public and in the private sector. The power situation in the DVC area and in the coal-

fields has been studied carefully and remedial action taken to the extent possible.

For instance, the available surplus power from Rihand project will be fed into the DVC system to be used for meeting the requirements of collieries. Supplies have also been arranged from the Hirakud system. Additional generating capacity to the extent of about 1,40,000 KW has been sanctioned in West Bengal. These various measures will undoubtedly prove helpful. However, it takes time to establish new generating capacity, and out of 6.5 million KW. of additional capacity to be set up during the third Plan, in the first three years, we expect about 2.4 million KW and the balance only in the last two years of the Plan.

A great deal of concern has been expressed in respect of transport, specially for movement of coal. The Government and the Planning Commission share this concern. We are conscious that the economic effects of transport shortages are far-reaching and that the demands for transport tend to rise faster than what our estimates may always allow for. In referring to this subject on the last occasion, I stated my belief that transport was going to improve, but there would be stresses and these should be borne in a rational manner and so managed that vital sectors did not suffer. The House will recall that the goods traffic carried by the railways increased by 68 per cent from 91.5 million tons in 1950-51 to 154 million tons at the end of the Second Plan. During this period, in terms of ton miles, the increase was in fact about 100 per cent. The target for the Third Plan is 245 million tons, an increase of 59 per cent; the increase in terms of ton miles will be even greater. In 1961-62, the railways carried 7 million tons of traffic more than in 1960-61, and this year they are expected to carry an additional 15 million tons. Despite this steady expansion, there are indications that a still more rapid rate of growth in capacity is called for.

[Shri Nanda]

On the recommendation of the Planning Commission, the Government have already approved of an additional allocation of Rs. 145 crores for the Railways—Rs. 120 crores for works and rolling stock related to the movement of coal, Rs. 10 crores for line capacity works required to meet the increase in the target of movement of general goods and Rs. 15 crores for works for facilitating coal movements in the early period of the Fourth Plan. A series of steps have been initiated for increasing the utilisation of the available capacity on the railways through measures such as the organisation of movement of coal in bulk in full rakes of BOX wagons and four-wheelers and increased loading on Sundays and holidays. Various measures are being devised for reducing the overall turn-round time of wagon stock from the present level of 11.2 days to 9.5 days and in the case of BOX wagons to 9 days. An inter-departmental working group on coal transport set up by the Planning Commission has been working on detailed field-wise programmes of production and movement for coal. Further development of other means of transport for coal are also being considered. The programme for the production of wagons within the country has been stepped up already from 11,964 in 1960-61 to 19,115 in 1961-62 and to 23,469 in 1962-63. The five-year targets for rolling stock have been raised by about 42 per cent for wagons and by about 19 per cent for locomotives.

These and other measures which are now in hand will progressively ease the transport situation. It needs to be appreciated that under present conditions, the Railways have an extremely difficult task to accomplish. I believe myself that they will succeed in carrying out the various improvements which have been planned and I hope that the necessary cooperation from the coal industry, from State Governments and from others will be forthcoming. Problems of transport planning are likely to become even more complex in the future.

Therefore, in cooperation with the Ministries of Railways and Transport, the Planning Commission hopes shortly to establish a technical group which will work on a full-time and continuing basis on transport problems related to future requirements and to regions and areas of key importance in the country's economy.

In his speech, Shri Nath Pai had referred at some length to shortfalls in steel, fertilisers and cement. The House is aware of the series of steps taken recently by my colleague, the Minister of Steel and Heavy Industries, to reorganise the management of steel plants, speed up production and arrange for advance planning for the Fourth Plan. In regard to nitrogenous fertilizers, every effort is being made to ensure that the target for capacity of 1 million tons and for production of 800,000 tons in terms of nitrogen are realised. On the whole, the public sector projects are well under way and it is hoped to reach a capacity of 6,70,000 tons before the end of the Third Plan. There is some uncertainty in respect of a part of the capacity licensed in the private sector. The parties concerned are being pressed to complete their arrangements and the question of setting up a plant in the public sector in lieu of one originally approved for a private party is under consideration. So far as cement is concerned, our main effort at present is to ensure that the target for capacity of 15 million tons and for production of 13 million tons is realised as speedily as possible. Efforts are being made to secure a higher rate of production on the basis of existing capacity and to complete the approved programme with the utmost speed. In our view, it is important that future expansion of the cement industry should be based, as far as possible, only on indigenous machinery, and the proportion of imported components should be further reduced.

It is not only in respect of fertilizer and cement that it is necessary now to direct the energies of the private

sector into fields which have high priority from the point of view of the national economy as a whole. The Government have recently reviewed progress in licensing and in the grant of foreign exchange for all industries in the private sector and have come to the conclusion that in a number of fields which are vital for growth and for which targets have been laid down in the Third Plan, the present rate of progress is inadequate and must be stepped up. It has, therefore, been decided that, in future, licences for industries in the private sector should be issued strictly in accordance with a scheme of priorities which has been drawn up. It has also been laid down that new licences for the setting up of industrial units should be granted on the basis of utilising capacity at least to the extent of two shifts. The import requirements of various industries for spares and components will be scrutinised strictly so that they are reduced to the absolute minimum. A Technical Panel is being set up under the chairmanship of Shri G. L. Mehta to make early recommendations for import substitution over a wide range of industries, specially in relation to maintenance requirements.

Turning next to agriculture, which is and will remain our most crucial sector, all our efforts are directed towards the achievement of a large and rapid growth in production. The vagaries of seasons conceal to some extent the growing impact of these efforts, but I should add that in every branch and at each level there is need for still greater intensification of our various activities. Since the House last met, Government have focussed special attention on increasing the production of cotton and oilseeds and on the programmes for minor irrigation and soil conservation. The Planning Commission and the Ministry of Food and Agriculture jointly convened a conference at the end of July of leading specialists in cotton and oilseeds and a series of new measures are now in hand. These include the strengthening and extension of plant protection, intensive cultivation of cotton and oilseeds in certain selected areas

on the basis of 'package' programmes, larger supply of fertilizers and steps to divert increased proportions of irrigation, specially new irrigation, to the growing of cotton and oilseeds. There are other measures also for crops like castor and groundnut. As regards minor irrigation and soil conservation, it has been decided that the Plan targets of the total area to be benefited from these programmes should be increased by 20 per cent. For this purpose, an additional allocation of Rs. 50 crores is being made available over and above the State Plan ceilings, and the detailed programmes are now being worked out in co-operation with the States.

I have already spoken briefly about measures for increasing employment opportunities in the Third Plan beyond the estimate of 14 million jobs given in the Planning Commission's Report. For the information of the House I may add that the rural works programme has been extended this year to 228 development blocks. State Governments have been asked to strengthen their technical and administrative organisations for expanding this programme four-fold by early next year. The programme is devoted specially to the strengthening of the agricultural effort through the better utilisation of rural manpower.

In the note on the progress of the Third Plan which was laid on the Table of the House three days ago, I have already drawn attention to a new programme of great importance which is being launched in the near future. I refer to the programme of rural industries projects. We are beginning this year with 46 projects, each covering an area of three to five development blocks. The areas are now being selected by State Governments, and a programme of orientation and training for project and survey staffs will commence in September. This programme aims at developing a reasonably diversified and balanced economy in each of the selected areas, and will be steadily expanded.

[Shri Nanda]

On the last occasion, Sir, I spoke about the need both for better administration and for better planning. We have been pursuing these objectives and I would like to state the main directions of our effort. In this connection, the House would be interested to know that Shri V. T. Krishnamachari's Report on the organisation of administrative services in the States in relation to Third Plan needs and on administrative problems at the district and block level arising from the introduction of Panchayati Raj has been received by us and will shortly be made available to hon. Members. Apart from problems of general administration, the most critical area in the implementation of the Third Plan is that relating to public enterprises and construction projects. Here, there are many problems to which sufficient attention could not be given in the past, such as, the question of delegation of powers and responsibility, development of cost and budgetary controls, control of inventories, personnel policies, preparation of projects and development of design and research organisations. These and other questions are now being followed up in a systematic manner.

The House is entitled to expect that our public enterprises will progressively yield the surpluses needed for development, and it is as much a condition of rapid economic growth as it is an obligation resting upon the managements of these enterprises, that the highest possible levels of efficiency should be attained. Another aspect of implementation is that relating to reduction of construction costs. The Planning Commission is shortly establishing a Cost Reduction Cell whose special responsibility it will be to ascertain the construction component of projects and to follow up with Ministries and States the recommendations of a high-level expert Committee for Reduction in Construction Costs which is now being set up. It is also proposed that in each major project or group of projects, the management

should be assisted by well-equipped cost reduction units.

The Planning Commission is also engaged in improving the systems of reporting on progress, both in respect of major projects and the programmes of the Central Ministries and the State Governments. The Planning Commission hopes to submit to Government its own assessments every quarter. The Review of the Second Five Year Plan and the Progress Report for 1961-62 are also in an advanced stage of preparation.

I need say only a few words about the directions in which we are now endeavouring to improve the present techniques of planning. Considerable attention is being given to the building up of adequate statistical and economic information. This is an essential step in the study of inter-relations between different parts of a growing economy. We are trying to improve our methods for annual planning. Efforts are being made to secure greater continuity and advance action in planning projects in sectors such as industry, transport, power, technical education and scientific research which involve long periods of preparation and gestation, and to obtain better data and estimates regarding supply of and demand for key commodities.

The Committee of Natural Resources, which was set up by the Planning Commission a few months ago for assessing available information regarding the country's natural resources, identifying gaps and recommending measures concerning the conservation, utilisation and development of natural resources, has initiated a series of studies relating to land resources, water resources, energy and minerals. These studies are related mainly to the requirements of a long-term plan of development. The Commission has also taken up the systematic study of economic conditions in areas which are specially backward and State

Planning Departments and Statistical Bureaus have been asked to obtain information for these areas in accordance with a set of indicators of regional development which have been communicated to them. Steps are being taken to work out a programme for co-operative research in basic problems of economic planning and development in collaboration with five leading institutions.

Sir, as I come to the end of my remarks, I would like to express my gratitude to you and to the House for bearing with me in the long account I have given of the measures which have been taken and are being taken in order to deal with various problems which had come to the surface in recent months. In the main, they are problems of growth; they arise from a variety of conditions, some of which it was difficult to anticipate or even to avoid. I hope I have said enough to convey to the hon. Members the sense of the real effort which is being made at every level in the Government, both here and in the States, to realise the targets and objectives of the Third Plan. I have been able to touch only upon certain aspects of the Plan. There are other aspects as well, and these are no less important. I trust that in fulfilling the various tasks before the country, discussions in this House will serve to strengthen the sense of confidence, enthusiasm and determination, which will help us, as a nation, to reach our goals.

Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi): He has not said a single word about transport and shipping. Is that not a part of the Plan?

Shri P. K. Deo (Kalahandi): Sir, this statement may be circulated.

Mr. Speaker: We are discussing it just now.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): It is likely to continue on Monday also.

Mr. Speaker: Yes, it might be done.

Shri Nanda: It is possible to do so.

Mr. Speaker: That will be done.

Now we shall continue with this discussion. I have got such a long list of hon. Members who want to speak—it is natural that they should discuss it—that I will have to place some time limit on speeches. The time limit, I think, should be 15 minutes ordinarily but 20 to 25 minutes in the case of leaders of groups. Is that agreed upon?

Some Hon. Members: Yes, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Indrajit Gupta.

Shri Morarka rose—

Mr. Speaker: I rather thought that because the hon. Minister has spoken just now, Shri Morarka might support him after some time.

Shri Morarka: As you please.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Jalore): Sir, how will this debate proceed now? Hon. Members will now participate in the discussion but at the end of the debate who is going to cover all the points in reply? Now that the hon. Minister has spoken do I take it that the hon. Prime Minister or the hon. Finance Minister will do that?

Mr. Speaker: That is for them to decide, but even if the hon. Minister of Planning wants to reply, perhaps as a special case I will give him an opportunity to do so because in the beginning it was only Shri Nath Pai's motion that was before us but now we have a positive motion also. Therefore if he wants to reply, I will give him a chance to do so.

Shri Indrajit Gupta (Calcutta South West): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have followed with great interest the quite lengthy exposition given by the hon. Minister of Planning on the previous

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

occasion as also today regarding this motion of my hon. friend, Shri Nath Pai. Of course, today we have two motions before us, one expressing concern and the other expressing satisfaction. I am afraid, I can only lend my support to the one which expresses concern and I am not yet in a position to express satisfaction. The concern that I feel on behalf of my group is, of course, somewhat deeper than the concern expressed by the hon. Mover of this Motion. Now, I have not got much time at my disposal. It is a very vast subject. All the difficulties have been admitted by the hon. Minister himself, and I am glad that he has admitted them quite frankly; and I do not wish to repeat them.

He indulged, I think, in a somewhat sterile sort of controversy with the Mover of the motion as to whether the achievements should be best seen in relation to the targets or in relation to the past out of which we have produced our Plan. I do not think that that sort of abstract argument is going to help us very much, because, after all, when we take into account the technique of planning our economy, targets must have a certain definite meaning. Either the Planning Commission should now come forward and say that targets are not very important in themselves or they are unreal or they are only notional things, and, therefore we should not bother much about the degree of our approximation to those targets, or they should state quite frankly that there have been considerable shortfalls, and that is a matter of very serious concern.

I cannot help just mentioning one or two facts even in relation to the hon. Minister's claim that we have advanced quite considerably, if we look behind us and not so much in front of us. It is true that we all share the satisfaction of the hon. Minister, to that extent, that certainly if we look behind us to where we were ten years ago or fourteen years ago, the country has advanced considerably. And certainly, it is also true—I have no quarrel whatsoever

with the hon. Minister on that point—that had it not been for the planned economy and for our taking recourse to the methods of planning, we would not have been able to advance even to the extent that we have done. On this point, we have common ground with the hon. Minister, and I do not wish to cross swords with him on this point.

Nevertheless, we have to take a realistic attitude, and the fact remains that even after 1-1/2 years of the Third Plan, we find that targets have not been fulfilled yet, which should have been fulfilled during the Second Plan period, in respect of some very vital sectors, so that even if we look behind us, I do not think there is altogether cause for undiluted satisfaction.

For example, the Second Plan target for finished steel was 4.4 million tons; in 1961-62, according to the figures circulated by the Ministry itself, we have achieved only 2.9 million tons. The Second Plan target for iron ore was 12.7 million tons; in 1961-62, we have achieved only 12.1 million tons. In cement, the target in the Second Plan was 13.2 million tons, but we have achieved only 8.2 million tons. In coal, the target was 61 million tons at the end of the Second Plan, but in 1961-62, we have reached only 55.2 million tons. Therefore, not only in relation to the targets before us, but also in relation to the targets that we should have left behind us, we have to measure the real extent of the shortfall, and I think that if we do so, there is cause for serious concern. I am not a subscriber to this theory that by not hiding the facts, we shall spread a sort of alarmist atmosphere in the country, and that will be very bad and so on and so forth. If you want the people to gear themselves up really to accept this Plan as their own and to work hard for it, you must tell them the truth. And they know the truth, because they see it in their very daily life; it expresses itself to them in their very requirements and needs, and the way in

Plan

which the Plan is able or not able to meet those needs. So, it is no use hiding the facts.

Then, I find that the *AICC Economic Review*—these are not my contentions, but these are the contentions in the *AICC Economic Review* of the 7th August—has properly highlighted the serious crisis of foreign exchange, to which I think the hon. Minister replied or made a reference in a very casual manner indeed, as though it was only one of the many different, what he calls, imbalances and stresses and strains and pangs of growth; incidentally, one of them is this question of foreign exchange. That is how I have understood it. But the *AICC Economic Review* says:

“In the last week of July, 1961, for the first time till then, India's foreign exchange reserves dipped to the low level of Rs. 98.04 crores. But for the IMF credit of 250 million dollars to our rescue the normal transactions of international trade....”

—this is a point which I wish to emphasise—

“...might have become rather difficult, if not impossible for us”.

This was the stage to which we had to come. Subsequent to this, it has again stated that in the last week of June, as we all know, our foreign exchange reserves for the first time since the country achieved Independence, fell below Rs. 100 crores.

Then, the hon. Minister has also referred, for example, to the question of our export target not being achieved to the extent that we would like it to have been achieved. This is another question which is very intimately bound up with the question of foreign exchange, and our balance of trade. Here also, I would just like to present a small quotation from the *AICC Economic Review* itself, which says:

“It is interesting to compare India's export performance with

that of the world during the last decade. The world export trade almost doubled, while India's share in it declined from 2.1 per cent in 1950 to 1.1 per cent in 1960”.

This is what the *AICC Economic Reviews* says. So, here, there seems to be an absolute decline or fall, not in terms of the actual quantum of value of our exports but in relation to our share in the total exports in the world trade. I do not wish to harp upon this point much, but I would humbly advise the Minister to shed all complacency, because there is no point in debating this issue with which we are all vitally concerned, if there is going to be an attempt by means of presenting certain facts and statistics to try and minimise in any way the seriousness of the situation before us; for, unless the malady is properly got hold of, we shall not be able to devise the remedy.

I have nothing much to say about all the various measures which are now being taken. Especially during the course of the last two months, we have been reading about them in the newspapers, about the measures which are being taken to correct to some extent, I suppose;—what are called—these imbalances, stresses and strains. I dare say that some of those measures are quite good; and some of them may be able to have some corrective effect also. But I would say that they do not want to go to the root of the problem. At the most, they are only what I might call palliatives. They are in the nature of administrative measures and technical measures. You take a little allocation from one sector and divert it to another sector; or you say that you are going to decentralise some of your administration in the public sector enterprises, or that you are going to go in for a certain system of priorities. Of course, priorities should always have been gone into from the outset, but anyway, it is better to be late than never. These are all good measures in so far as they go. No doubt,

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some of them may help a little bit, partially, to remedy the gross imbalance which has taken place in certain sectors. But what I would like to emphasise today is that the real basic problem is what I would call the twin pillars of this present crisis. I call it a crisis. I do not know if the hon. Minister is prepared to call it a crisis or not. I say that this crisis rests on two main pillars. One is the pillar of this foreign exchange question, and the other is the pillar of internal resources. Both these pillars, in my opinion, are more than a little shaky today. The crisis is deepening in my opinion, and will deepen further, unless these twin pillars are got hold of, and tackled in a basic and fundamental way. But I regret that the hon. Minister, in his very lengthy speech on that day and also today, has really not suggested any basic solution to these two problems.

I suggest that this foreign exchange crisis is entirely a man-made one. The weather may not be within our control; or accidents on the railways may not always be within our control; I do not know, but sometimes they may be. But, certainly, this foreign exchange position is a very serious one, and if we do not tackle it properly, it may vitiate the whole basis of our Plan. No basic remedy has been suggested at all for this. I want to know whether it is not a fact that certain policies, certain measures, which we are following and have been following all along are themselves responsible for creating a crisis of foreign exchange. Until we give up those policies we are not going to get out of the woods, however much we may tinker superficially with administrative measures or some system of priorities and so on.

There are so many examples one can give. For example, there is the

question of shipping, which is worrying my hon. Friend Shri Raghunath Singh. It worries me too. We are paying something like Rs. 80 to Rs. 130 crores per year in freight charges, and Indian shipping is not able even today to carry more than barely 10 per cent of India's total trade. Where we are entitled, if we had the capacity, to carry 50 per cent, we are not in a position to carry even 10 per cent, and we are paying freight charges of between Rs. 80 and Rs. 130 crores a year. What the amount of drain for the country is can be quite easily calculated. Nevertheless, we continue. Even the other day, the hon. Minister of Shipping in reply to a question stated that Government was encouraging private ship-owners to purchase more secondhand ships from abroad, which will mean, of course, further expenditure of foreign exchange. But despite this huge drain from year to year, can we say that we are making any serious attempt to develop the ship-building capacity in our country? When we raise the question of ship-building capacity, the question of resources is brought up—a contradictory position—and yet Rs. 100 crores is going out every year simply under the head of freight charges being paid to ships belonging to foreign countries.

There is the question of automobiles. Only the other day, the Minister of Heavy Industry had occasion to tell the big manufacturers of automobiles in this country that if they did not do something quickly to reduce the proportion of foreign components which are still being imported by them, so many years after the development of their production in this country, Government would have to take measures to either restrict production or to restrict their licence, or something like that. I do not know what they intend to do, if anything at all, but it is certainly a sad commentary that even after 14 or 15 years, the big business houses which have gone into automobile pro-

duction are not able today to develop indigenous manufacture, and are dependent so heavily on foreign components. The drain continues. There are a hundred ways in which it is going on, and we are unable to do anything about it.

In his speech the other day the hon. Minister, with some amount of satisfaction, referred to the fact, for example, that as far as raw jute production is concerned, we have already achieved the target which we were meant to achieve at the end of the Third Plan. So far so good, I agree with him, but he did not say at the same time that because jute is exported—jute goods are one of our main exports—and the control of the industry and export trade has been left in the hands of the big business interests, neither on the one hand are prices being fixed in a way which will ensure that the peasants continue to step up jute production from year to year, nor are we able to check the loss in foreign exchange which everybody knows—it is an open secret, it is going on—is due to large-scale under-invoicing of these jute exports. What measures are being taken, I want to know, to tighten the working of the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act, and to give some deterrent penalties to people who are found guilty of this under-invoicing. This under-invoicing takes place only in the case of our trade, multilateral trade, with the Western countries. It does not take place, and cannot take place, in our trade with the countries of eastern Europe, because payment there is made in rupees, not in a currency which can be covert. Therefore, there is no incentive to under-invoice in our trade with Eastern Europe, but as far as our multilateral trade is concerned, this is going on. Lakhs of rupees are being lost to us as foreign exchange. The Minister did not say anything about it. I would like to know from him whether any measures are contemplated.

Then, regarding licensing of industrial capacity, the Minister said just now that some priority system was going to be devised at this late hour, but is it not a fact that it is the Government itself which has gone in for over-licensing all this time? The targeted figure for the entire period of the Third Plan for licences involving foreign exchange, that is licences for firms who could only carry out their projects with the assistance of foreign exchange, was Rs. 450 crores, and we find that already out of that, Rs. 400 crores worth of licences have been issued. But mere licensing does not mean necessarily that those plants are coming up, or going into production, as the Ministry very well knows. So, this over-licensing is going on.

Then, our imports have been, of course, tied up to a very large extent with loans and credits. He did not tell us exactly how much of this aid from the world consortium is tied, and how much untied. Yesterday we were supplied with a small document with the compliments of the Minister of Works, Housing and Supply, called the summary of the Annual Report for the year 1962-63 of the India Supply Mission, Washington. It is very interesting. It shows that our Supply Mission in Washington placed contracts worth Rs. 137.45 crores during 1960-61, and in the next year, 1961-62, the value of the contracts has gone down to Rs. 95.99 crores. On the face of it, it seems that we are spending less, but the next sentence says that food purchase dropped substantially during the year, and that the purchase of capital equipment financed from U.S. Government and other agencies, loans and credits went up three-fold as compared to the previous year. There was a fall in the purchase of foodgrains, but because we have got tied-up credits and loans with strings attached, we have no alternative but to step up import of capital goods by the extent of three times. And the same document says later on—I am glad the Minister of Supply who supplied it is here—that

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out of 250,000 tons of cargo, which this India supply Mission had purchased and which was shipped out from the United States to our country, 34,000 tons were shipped in Indian vessels. That means roughly one-seventh; six-seventh had to be shipped as usual in foreign ships. The result was that in respect of cargo shipped in Indian vessels freight was paid amounting to Rs. 41.47 lakhs, while the freight paid for the other portion which was carried in foreign vessels came to Rs. 14.76 crores. How are we to stop this drain? We may get any amount of loans and credits—I do not know how much we are going to get, and I do not want to pre-judge because both the Prime Minister and Finance Minister are probably departing on another mission very soon, as it appears the earlier mission which was said to be valuable has not been as successful as we hoped it would be. Anyway we may get some more loans and credits, but the point is how do you take measures to stop the simultaneous drain which is taking place at a heavier pace?

The other day we heard a strange thing, that some barter agreement had been entered into whereby our manganese ore is going to be bartered for terylene fabric. I am told, I do not know, that a certain very big business house is behind this inspiration of the Government, a concern which is interested in getting terylene fabric. I do not know if we are going to build our basic economy on the basis of terylene and things like that, but certainly I think our manganese resources could be put to better use. Is this not a wastage of foreign exchange? I do not know. The Minister can enlighten us.

As we see, world prices of raw materials have slumped. We are primarily an exporter of raw materials. Raw material prices have very nearly reached rock bottom, whereas the prices of capital goods and equipment are going up steadily. Therefore, we are the losers. If the pattern of our

trade remains basically the same, with an overwhelming portion of the trade carried on with certain countries of the West, this result will inevitably follow. Rs. 20 crores a year is being spent by us simply on purchasing and bringing this 400,000 tons of wheat under P.L. 480 that we are compelled to buy under that agreement. I do not know whether we are trying to get out of it to some extent or not. But there it is, the drain goes on.

13 hrs.

Therefore, I have given these few examples only to emphasise one thing that this foreign exchange crisis which is, I believe, a legacy of the past, which is a legacy of the pre-independence days, which is a legacy of the status in which Indian economy was placed under imperialist rule, we have not taken basic and fundamental steps to liquidate this legacy, to break that up and to break new ground. We are going on with the same old heritage and internally, inside the country, in the name of socialist planning, the Government is depending more and more on the big capitalists. If this is the way they want to build up socialism, well, I have got no quarrel with them except that I do not like that name to be misused in this way. Some other name can be used.

Here, I would just make a present to the hon. Minister—and I am sure he must, probably, have seen it already—a very interesting observation at the 42nd Convocation of the Nagpur University, in January this year, by Prof. D. R. Gadgil, a well-known economist. I am just quoting a few sentences only from his Address.

“Excepting a limited field reserved for the public sector, industrialisation is sought to be brought about through operations of private capitalists . . . Whatever the financial skill of the capitalist, his success and progress are mainly due to conditions created by State policy

and maintained at public cost. Even so, no attempt is made by Government to acquire control, to introduce an element of public ownership or even to do anything to facilitate such a process in the future. Cumulation of gains and the rapid increase of economic resources and power in particular private hands can thus be described as a deliberate objective of official policy."

Another notable feature of the existing policy, Prof. Gadgil says:

"is its declared reliance on capital formation in the private sector. This apparently simple decision becomes a loaded weapon in the present Indian situation."

"Relying on savings of corporations and capitalists means no more than fixing the level of prices and protection at such a level that industrialists are enabled to obtain a large savings margin. Thus, not only are selected capitalists enabled by Government policy to establish themselves in particular sheltered fields but also their conditions of operation are so regulated that they command, over and above a normal profit margin, a large savings potential."

"The result is that the existing group of capitalists is assured of the monopoly of large expansion opportunities in the future and a continued and increasing concentrated hold on the industrial economy."

Prof. Gadgil has dealt with this matter in great detail, and he concludes:

"The dominance of this resurgent group of large capitalists is the most important and significant change in India since Independence."

I have no time to quote more from his speech. It is precisely this group

of capitalists to whom Government has subordinated itself as a political client by means of that permissive legislation which was passed by this House enabling them to donate funds to political parties. It is, therefore, I suggest that apart from this crisis of foreign exchange, we find a crisis of internal resources because the way Government tries to solve the problem it is faced with is to make a series of concessions, one concession after another precisely to this group of big business houses and capitalists.

Only a little while ago a question was asked by my hon. friend, Shri Tantia, during Question Hour, about the licensing of private firms in the heavy electrical industry, which was reserved under Schedule A of the Industrial Policy Resolution. The question was asked, whether, in terms of that Resolution, Government had taken steps either to assure the majority participation by the State in the capital or other policy measures to control the concerns, the reply given was that neither was there capital participation nor was there any policy measures undertaken except seeing to it that the prices at which these goods are sold will be regulated by Government. If that is the meaning of section 8 of the Industrial Policy Resolution, then, certainly, there is cause for very serious misapprehension and concern in our minds at least.

The hon. Finance Minister has referred to the hoarding of gold worth Rs. 4,000 crores. Could we know anything about these hoards? I do not know how our hoarded resources are going to be mobilised by taxation notwithstanding the fact that the bulk of the taxation is indirect taxation, which is leading to savings in consumption by a rise in prices. A rise in prices, ultimately, upsets the Plan itself. All the projects, the cost estimates of everything, and the Plan itself are getting upset by increasing reliance on indirect taxation. By resorting to loans and deficit financing the situation is not going to be solved. The great interest charges which are accumula-

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ting on the basis of heavy loans which the Government has taken are having a damaging effect on the capacity of the public sector enterprises themselves to contribute to development resources. If such heavy interest charges are to be paid, they have to be taken from the State enterprises, then, wherefrom will the development needs come out of these State enterprises?

In conclusion, I would just like to say that we do not believe that this kind of measures which have been taken suggested here can have anything but a very limited value. What we require is that the basic and the fundamental defects in the system of Planning should be remedied. For that, the Minister had said on the first day that some ruthless measures—I have not got the quotation here—are to be taken. He always talks about democracy. Ruthlessness is alien to our Government. I would only warn the Minister that if some amount of what he calls authoritarian measures are not taken and if the Plan fails and founders on the rock of these obstacles, then, a much worse form of authoritarianism will come to this country. If we are to save the Plan and if we are to save democracy, then, this kind of tight-rope walking, this kind of depending on foreign countries and their aid, their strings and internally on these big business houses must be given up and new ground must be broken so that the internal resources may be mobilised by taking over productive assets in the hands of Government and we build up the development resources that we need.

Shri Himmatsinhji (Kutch): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I must first of all thank you for having given me this opportunity to speak. I was glad to hear from the hon. Minister for Planning that all the Plan projects would be fulfilled; and he has given that assurance. But, when we look at facts, we find that we are in a vicious circle of bottlenecks and shortfalls. And, it is not only a vicious circle, but, as

my hon. friend who just spoke said this was a malady. This disease, which is a chronic disease has to be treated and treated drastically so that we have a permanent cure.

As far as the Plan targets are concerned, we can see that there are so many shortfalls. We have seen and we have heard hon. Members quote so many figures. So, I shall not again go into these figures; but I will confine myself to the matter of food production and agriculture which the hon. Minister described as the most crucial sector.

Sir, as far as the policy of a socialistic pattern of society is concerned, we have seen that Government is laying stress on cooperative farming. If we consider the future of cooperative farming in this country, we will see that it is very bleak indeed. As Mr. Krushchev himself has admitted. I shall read out a letter which was written to the Editor of *Mysindia*.

“Speaking in Bucharest on June 20th, the Soviet President, Mr. Khrushchev admitted that Communism had difficulties in persuading the peasants to accept collectives.”

13.09 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Now, in a country like ours where 80 per cent of the people are illiterate or backward, how can this policy succeed? I will give another example nearer home. There is a place in Gujarat where people were told that if they start a farm on a cooperative basis, they will benefit by it in future. They were promised that they would get great benefits in future. After the project was worked for a time, people found that the project did not give them any benefit; they were disillusioned and when they wanted to put an end to this venture, they were told that they could not do it and that the only thing that could be done was to give them an assurance that they

would get some kind of a certificate saying that each farmer was a member of the co-operative and was entitled to a share, whatever the share was. How will people have any faith in such ventures? Supposing we have embarked upon this venture, we should at least go about it in a way as to create confidence of the people in that system. Not that I am in favour of co-operative farming, but that is how one should proceed with it. It is beyond my comprehension how this idea of co-operative farming will succeed here. In countries like Russia and Poland, the communes are being disbanded; people are given more incentives to produce more food by holding their own land and nearer to our country, take the instance of China. The great leap forward resulted in a big somersault backwards as far as food production was concerned. All this shows lack of constructive approach as far as our food production is concerned. Then again, chemical fertilisers are being given to farmers and they are advised that a certain amount of fertilisers should be applied to certain crops. That advice is given without any thorough analysis of the soil. How can people know which inorganic fertiliser should be applied without knowing the contents of the soil? The Indian Agricultural Research Institute has done very valuable research work and I must congratulate it. It is necessary that more allocation should be made to this kind of institutions. Let us have more laboratories and let us have more soil testing equipment all over the country so that the farmer gets proper advice to grow more food. In many places, the farmer uses the chemical fertilisers, not very successfully and so he has to give it up. Of course, many people are taking to inorganic manures and the demand will increase manifold if proper advice is given.

Then I come to soil conservation. Whenever you go in our country, the top soil is getting washed away because the forest wealth of the country is indiscriminately cut. There are vast

areas like the Rann of Kutch which could be reclaimed and utilised for growing more food. I am mentioning this not because it is my constituency but there are millions of acres of land like that all over the country which could be utilised for producing food-grains.

Animal husbandry also requires a lot of attention. We need more veterinary hospitals. Practically the whole of our cattle wealth, it is said, will be inoculated against certain diseases by 1963-64. I am glad it is going to be done but it is a herculean task and I have my doubts whether it could be fulfilled. There are projects such as the cheese manufacturing project which are quite unnecessary. The common man will never be able to eat that cheese but the representative, as an hon. Member here says, of the common man can eat it but that is not enough. 80 per cent. of our population live in villages; some of them cannot even afford two square meals a day but we embark upon cheese manufacture. We have the Aarey milk colony in Bombay and another at Anand. The milk is taken away from the villages and it is given to the city population. The cheese factory is going to be erected near Banni in Kutch. The cattle there are mainly kept for producing draught animals. There are thousands of cattle; the cows there are not milch animals and they yield much less than the average yield. The milk produced there is fed to the small calves in the form of *chach* or butter milk; and milk also is given to them. When the cheese factory is set up, the milk which just now is fed to the calves will go into the factory for manufacture of cheese. A better purpose would be served if the Rs. 30,000 or so proposed to be spent on the cheese factory are spent on increasing the milch yield of the cattle there. Those concerned have no idea of dairying, animal husbandry, or for that matter, even about our poultry, and that is why these projects are wasteful.

Then, as far as agriculture is concerned, we have got certain demonstra-

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tion farms run by the State Governments. If you just go across the hedge and see the crops grown by the farmers you will find they are much healthier and much better than the crops grown in the demonstration farms. What is the reason for this? The reason for this is that the people who are entrusted with the work are not interested in it. They are just interested in their pay, the dearness allowance and other allowances that they get. They are not interested in the work that is entrusted to them. Another reason is that the agricultural graduates or the experts who are employed do not have practical experience. Send them abroad and give them some practical experience even in our own country and then entrust such work to them. Why spend the nation's money on such projects which are wasteful?

The shortfalls in agricultural production are explained away by saying that the shortfalls are due to the vagaries of Nature. I do not know whether it is the vagaries of Nature or the vagaries of human nature which has also a big part to play in these things. When we set our targets, why should we consider these vagaries of Nature? Why not set the targets with a margin? Perhaps that is not done. That is why we find these shortfalls and so on.

There are irrigation projects which we have taken up. I can give many instances where the dams are built but the canals are not built. There are instances where sluices need repair and that work is not done for some months together. I can go on giving such examples. There was, for instance, a sheep farm to be established in a place in Rajasthan. A research centre was to be established there. The land was taken away from the people for this purpose. One monsoon passed and they were not resettled anywhere else. The question of compensation that has to be given for the land that was acquired is also pending settlement. I believe the sheep

have not come and the land is barren. If we embark on such projects without thinking, what will be the result?

There is another instance which I can quote. There is a dam recently built—the Rudramata Dam—near Bhuj. There was a bridge by which the people used to go across that river. Though the dam is built, they did not consider the question of laying a bridge across so as to cross the river, because, after all, when the dam was completed the water level rose on one side, and that little culvert was inundated and the people have had to go seven or eight miles in a detour to get to their villages. The people going to the villages do not own cars or jeeps. 80 per cent. of the population, as I said are poor. They have to go in bullock-carts and some on foot. If proper thought is not given to such small things, what about the hardships that the people have to undergo?

There is, for instance, the question of the development of the Kandla port. The refugees, after partition, of the country, poured into this part of the country as everywhere else. Some land was given to them near Kandla to settle down. A township called Gandhidham came into being. Subsequently, work on the port of Kandla was also taken up. But it was not planned to have industries, to have the means of employment for the people who came there to settle. The result is that the people are migrating elsewhere. They are leaving the place. A serious situation like this should not arise.

I would request the Government, through you, Sir, to see that without any delay a free trade zone should be established there so that it would give an incentive for industries, small and big, to grow up there and to give employment to the people. If Government desire, they should also co-operate with the Government of Gujarat and set up some industries in the public sector. For that, cheap power is required. Water facilities

will also be required. I would suggest that as there is a dearth of water in that area, the question of extending the Rajasthan Canal to Kandla should also be taken up for consideration. I believe that this suggestion was mooted in this House by my hon. friends here. I believe Shri Karni Singhji also mentioned this once.

Shri Karni Singhji (Bikaner): Several times.

Shri Himmatsinhji: My hon. friend says that this has been mentioned here several times. Not only will that solve the problem, if at all it is possible, of water-supply for the port of Kandla and the development of that area, but it will also help reclaiming the Rann of Kutch, because if this canal goes to the Rann, it will help to stop the flow of water from the sea into the Rann during the monsoon months. Thirdly, it will help the irrigation of land for growing more cash crops and food crops. There are lakhs of acres of land lying fallow. They could be utilised for the production of food. I would request the Planning Commission and the Government that they should allocate adequate sums for this project, and even if it is not there, they should consider this point very seriously.

With these words, I resume my seat, and I thank you again for having given me this opportunity for making my maiden speech.

Shri Morarka: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the hon. Member Shri Nath Pai who raised this debate, said in the course of his speech that the main purpose of raising this discussion was to focus the attention of the Government on the Five Year Plan and he wanted this House to show its determination—that the House was determined—to have the Plan executed. But his motion, as it is worded, conveys a different impression. With your permission, I shall read his motion:

“That this House takes note of the serious shortfalls in the tar-

gets of the Third Five Year Plan and the growing misapprehensions in the country about the implementation of the Third Five Year Plan.”

It is quite clear from his speech that the hon. Mover of this motion did not suffer from any such misapprehensions, because in his speech, he said that the Plan should not be pruned at any cost. He said it should not be cut down and the targets should not be reduced. As a matter of fact, he took the *Financial Express* to task for suggesting certain cutting down of the Plan.

There are two views about our Five Year Plan. One is the critical view and the other is the practical view. I will first take up the critical view. Here the people feel that these plans have been failures and they have not done much for the people. In fact, they have only brought misery and hardship by increasing taxation, raising prices and mounting unemployment. Then they feel that though the national income has increased, only few persons have been benefited. They also say that educational facilities have been extended, but the standards have gone down. They say that the Third Plan begins with an unemployment of 9 million people and it is expected to end with 12 million people; the volume of basic consumption is still pitifully low; there is appreciable expansion of industries, but a substantial portion of the capacities remain idle and this contributes to the wastage of investment, aggravates shortage and increases the cost of production; agriculture continues to depend on the vagaries of nature and uncertain monsoons and then there is a feeling that there is unrestricted growth of bureaucracy and ill-planned expansion of the public sector.

These critics quote the Planning Minister who is reported to have said that the shortage of steel, cement, power and transport have been of such a magnitude as to jeopardise industrial growth seriously. In short, these

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critics say that because of all these, there is more planning than prosperity, more preaching than production and more bureaucracy than democracy.

Then, there is another view, which I call the practical view. These people straightway admit that there is a shortfall in the targets, but they want us to appreciate the actual achievements during the last decade of planning. They point out that agricultural production has increased from 53 million tons to 80 million tons; industrial production has increased from an index of 100 to 194; our production of finished steel has increased from 1 million tonnes to 2.9 million tonnes; our coal production has increased from 33 million tons to 56 million tonnes; the installed capacity of electricity has increased from 2.3 million KW to 5.7 million KW. They also point out that the net area irrigated has increased from 50 million acres to 68 million acres. The Railways today carry about 170 million tons of freight as against 91 million tons at the beginning of the decade. Our roads, both surfaced and unsurfaced, have increased from 250,000 miles to 400,000 miles and the number of students has increased from 2.35 crores to 4.35 crores. In support of their contention, these people quote the World Bank report. The world Bank Mission, in the concluding part of its report says:

"The upturn in agricultural production and the continued dynamic expansion of industry afford solid grounds for confidence, though there are still dangerous weaknesses in fuel and power and to a lesser extent in transport.

The budget for the first year of the Plan demonstrates the Government's readiness to take unpopular measures to mobilise additional internal resources, and the buoyancy of domestic revenues in the past two years tends to support the view that rupee finance as such is unlikely to prove a

major limitation on the execution of the presently proposed investment programme."

The views of the International Monetary Fund and IDA also subscribe to the view that the Indian economy is on a sound footing. But apart from these, if there is any need of practical evidence about the soundness of our economy, it is found in the fact that today private foreign capital is prepared to come to this country as equity capital. Government to Government loan is a different thing, but when private people are prepared to bring money here and invest in new ventures, that proves the soundness of our economy and the stability of our political system.

A few days ago, President Kennedy said the great enemy of truth is very often not the lie—deliberate, contrived and dishonest—but the myth—persistent, persuasive and unrealistic. I am sorry to say that in this country also, we suffer from certain myths. The first myth is that the entire Government—Central and State—is corrupt and that money invested is money wasted. The second myth is that the Government is big and bad and steadily getting bigger and worse. The third myth is that our Five Year Plans have achieved nothing and they have only brought hardship to the people through increased taxation and high prices. These are, in my humble opinion, bald generalisations and they appeal only to those people who want to save the trouble of thinking, though they are prepared to pay the price of being in error constantly.

The hon. Member who succeeded the Planning Minister—the spokesman of the communist party—made a grievance of the fact that he did not refer to the problem of foreign exchange fully. With your permission, I would like to deal with the foreign exchange problem in somewhat greater detail. Mr. Gupta said that our Plan is going to founder on the rocks of foreign exchange shortage. He said that both

foreign exchange and internal resources are shaky pillars and unless something is done about them, the Plan is bound to fail.

As you know, our total requirements of foreign exchange are for Plan projects Rs. 1,900 crores; components and balancing equipment, etc. Rs. 200 crores; maturing obligations, i.e., repayment of our loans, interest, etc. Rs. 500 crores, thus making a total of Rs. 2,600 crores, plus Rs. 3700 crores for maintenance imports, i.e., raw materials, components, etc. So, the total comes to Rs. 6,300 crores of foreign exchange. The point to remember is that out of this amount, Rs. 2,600 crores required for the plan projects and repayments were to be obtained entirely by way of foreign aid from foreign countries. Our planners proposed when they framed the Plan, and this House did not object to it when it approved the Plan, that the entire amount of Rs. 2,600 crores was to be raised by way of foreign aid. Nobody can dispute the fact that our Plan leans so heavily and is dependent to such a great extent on foreign aid that there is bound to be an element of uncertainty. One cannot say that the entire amount of foreign exchange would be available to us at the time when we want it and on the terms that we desire.

Fortunately in May, 1961, the Aid India Club held a meeting and gave us an indication that for the first two years of the Plan, a sum of Rs. 1164 crores would be available to us. Later on doubts were created about this foreign aid being available. Some thought it was due to our action in Goa and the proposed MIG deal. I do not think that this was entirely due to that. I feel that the loaning countries had their own difficulties. France was heavily committed to her African colonies and was concentrating her attention on building the European Common Market and making the African countries as associates. The revaluation of the German Mark cre-

ated a domestic problem. It confronted German economy with rising costs and falling reserves. In her international payments she moved from a fat surplus to a small deficit. The United Kingdom expressed her inability to help us more than what they had already committed because of her commitments to the rest of the Commonwealth and because of her own difficulties. The surplus of Belgium and Switzerland were also declining. Japan had clamped on import controls because of her internal difficulties. Canada was obliged to raise its tariffs on many items from 5 per cent to 15 per cent just to bolster its sagging dollar. The position of United States of America, which is the richest country in the world, was hardly better. The drain on gold reserves—today the gold reserves of U.S.A. are the lowest for the last thirty years—did not leave the senators there very enthusiastic to give much of foreign aid. Even Premier Khrushchev of the USSR expressed difficulty. He said that USSR did not have enough resources to run in the nuclear race and, at the same time, undertake any development works to raise the standard of living of the people.

This was the background against which our Finance Minister went abroad to get some more foreign exchange. The prospects were bleak, and it required some persuasion, some explaining to get the results which were announced by the Aid India Club recently. Today, the position is that out of Rs 2,600 crores of foreign aid that we want, Rs. 1,126 crores have almost been given, have been committed and the agreements have been finalised through the Aid India Club. Rs. 373 crores have been given to us by USSR, Poland and Switzerland, and Rs. 375 crores we have got as a carry over balance from the Second Five Year Plan. These make a total of Rs. 1,874 crores. That is to say, out of a total requirement of Rs. 2,600 crores we already have Rs. 1,874 crores leaving a balance of Rs. 726 crores to be covered in the remaining three years. So I do not think

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that so far as the Plan projects are concerned the position of foreign exchange is worrying or dismal at all.

Our real problem of foreign exchange is for our maintenance imports. We expected to get Rs. 3,700 crores through our exports. But, unfortunately, our exports are not picking up. They are not showing any signs of improvement. Therefore, we had to resort to a standby credit of 100 million dollars from the International Monetary Fund.

Shri Indrajit Gupta said something about tied loans. It is quite true that no country in the world today is interested in giving us, what we call, free loans or untied loans. These loans sometimes are tied to specific projects, sometimes they are tied to specific countries and sometime they are tied to both. The reason why they give these tied loans is that each loaning country wants to ensure her exports to be expanded. The United States of America, which is the biggest country giving the largest amount of loans, expects that 80 per cent of the total loans given out by her would be returned to that country in the form of payments for exports from USA. This is the expectation not only of United States of America but other countries also.

From the point of view of the lending countries, there is another justification for giving tied loans. Before they give a loan they want to be satisfied about the economic merits and the financial soundness of the project for which they sanction the loan. Sir, in developing countries projects are often sanctioned not only on the economic merits but also on political considerations. The foreign countries do not want to make a poor investment and involve themselves in investing more in the rescue operations if the project fails.

Recently, Sir, I had occasion to visit one of our projects in South India—the Bhadra Hydro Electric

Project. It is a small project. But I was surprised to find that even for that small project the equipment was to come from eight or nine different countries. The hydraulic turbines were to come from France, the generators from Japan, the transformers from Italy, the circuit breakers from Sweden, the lightning arrestors from USA, the switch boards from England, the switch gears from Italy, the carrier equipment from Switzerland and control panels from Denmark. I am not suggesting that it is always in our interest or it is advantageous to buy equipment from so many different countries for a single project. But, yet, the fact remains that our freedom to buy from the most competitive market, from wherever we like, to buy the equipment we like and at the price at which we want to buy is curbed when the loans are tied.

In this connection, I must express my sense of appreciation for the speech which our Finance Minister made at the meeting of the U.N. Economic and Social Council in Geneva recently where he propounded a new principle. He said:

"Most of the countries which are today making available credits to help developing countries, insist, in order to safeguard their own balance of payment that these credits should be tied to purchase in the lending countries. An extension of the same principle would suggest the conclusion that when these loans are repaid, the repayments should be tied to purchases from the borrowing countries."

In other words, Sir, our Finance Minister suggested that when we repay these loans, the repayments should be accepted in our exports; not in gold, not in foreign currency, but by exporting our goods. If this principle is accepted, I am sure most of our troubles with regard to foreign exchange would be over.

I would, briefly, now say what is the attitude of foreign countries towards the development of India. We were more worried about the change in the attitude of America. Yesterday, of course, we read the statement of President Kennedy. But even before that, on 10th July 1962, Dean Rusk said that it would be calamitous if the President's freedom of action for rendering economic aid to India were curtailed. He said:

"The basic fact is that there is a country of 450 million people...."

He was referring to India. He said:

"The basic fact is that there is a country of 450 million people which is the largest constitutional democracy in the world that the world has ever seen, more people going to the polls in free, orderly elections that we have ever seen anywhere with basic commitments with which we are familiar..... They have maintained the democracy in the face of some grave difficulties..... a dozen or more major languages inside the country, no common language throughout the country, and yet they have made a constitutional system work along democratic lines. Now we still disagree on certain subjects. There is no reason why we should not. India is not a satellite of ours and we are not a satellite of India. We have great and vital interests all over the world. So we will have our own differences, but we also have great common commitments that are important. It would be a great mistake, I think, if we did not take an active, even though just a small, part in the Indian development programme."

Sir, I will quote only one more person, and that is Mr. Duncan Sandys, the Commonwealth Secretary. While answering a question in Parliament about aid to India, he conceded that the success of India's Five Year Plan was vital to the future of the Commonwealth and the survival of

democracy in Asia and possibly in the Far East.

This is the attitude of the foreign nations, of the foreign democratic countries. In view of this, I do not think we should worry much about the foreign aid so far as the Plan projects are concerned. But, when I say this, I do not minimise the importance of increasing our exports. Unless that is done, I am sure the capacity of our industries would remain idle to a sufficiently large extent.

The World Bank has given us 321 loans aggregating to 6,673 million dollars.

Would you be surprised if I were to tell you that India is the biggest recipient of loans from the World Bank, both from the point of view of number of loans and from the point of view of amount? India has received 30 loans totalling 846 million dollars. Next to India comes Japan which has received 24 loans totalling 488 million dollars. Not only from the World Bank but even from the International Development Association, which is an affiliate of the World Bank, out of the total amount given more than 50 per cent has been received by India. That is to say, India has received 122 million dollars out of a total of 235 million dollars.

But there is a danger, a positive danger, in our getting this foreign aid on this scale, and that danger is that this borrowing from abroad may be substituted for the earnings from abroad. When Japan was developing she was forced to slash her price to push her exports to earn foreign exchange. But we are not slashing the price or increasing our export because we get whatever foreign exchange we want just for asking by way of foreign aid without much trouble. That is the reason why we say that foreign aid on this scale is creating demoralisation in our export economy.

Talking about exports, I will give only one example, and that is about

[Shri Morarka]

tea, which is the largest single item in our export list. Our export of tea to United States, which was 13,670,000 kilograms in the year 1951, has now fallen to 9,719,000 kilograms, whereas the export of tea to the same country over the same period from a tiny country like Ceylon has increased from 12,766,000 kilograms to 19,029,000 kilograms. Ceylon has increased her exports by more than 50 per cent whereas we have cut it down by almost 50 per cent. The same is the story with Canada. Our exports have come down from 8,854,000 kilograms to 6,433,000 kilograms, whereas Ceylon's exports have increased from 7,229,000 kilograms to 8,788,000 kilograms.

It can be said that in these days, so far as export is concerned, we require not only competitive prices but also the goodwill of other nations. It is really surprising that the well-developed, well-advanced countries while, on the one hand, give us massive monetary help, economic aid, for our development, at the same time, on the other hand, organise themselves into economic unions, different economic associations and make our exports more and more difficult. If we have to repay all these loans and if we have to develop our country on sound economic lines, we will ultimately have to depend on our exports and not on this foreign aid.

I would now like to say a few words about our industry, that is about the broad features of our industrial development. Our industrial strategy has been (a) to develop the basic and heavy industries and (b) to develop more import-saving than export-promoting industries. There is no doubt that the industrial pattern is increasingly diversified, the total production of our industries is increasing and the import-component of the manufactured goods is decreasing. But it is equally true that the development of our industries is imbalanced with the result that a substantial portion of our industrial capacity even today remains idle.

Another important feature of our industrial development is that though there have been no pronounced changes in our Industrial Policy Resolution yet, in its actual application, more and more flexibility is shown. In fact, in the recent past, Government have been more hospitable to the private sector proposals in the fields of fertiliser, coal, iron, oil and even electric machine tools, as Shri Indrajit Gupta has pointed out.

There is one field, in my humble opinion, in which the Industrial Policy has failed, and that is in the field of prevention of concentration of economic power. The very instruments which were designed to prevent concentration of economic power have helped the aggravation of that. Here I am referring to the Industrial Regulation and Development Act, the Companies Act, Capital Issue Control Act etc. All these Acts, the very system which is followed, the forms which are designed to make application etc. they have a built-in bias towards people who already have resources, who already possess a lot of industries. I am not blaming any one. It is your system which is wrong. Unless you change the policy radically and unless you say that a person shall not hold more than a certain maximum number of industries, I do not think the mere passing of these Acts or Resolutions will achieve your avowed objective of socialist pattern.

So far as the Third Plan is concerned, we have been told that the industrial production during the period will rise by 70 per cent, that is, 14 per cent per annum. In spite of many difficulties, the overall industrial development has been a matter of satisfaction. Here I am quoting again the opinion of the World Bank. In their Report, the World Bank had the following to say:

"The increase in industrial production has been achieved despite import restrictions, acute shortage of raw materials, transport and

power bottlenecks and continued licensing and other controls. There are grounds for believing that the import content of domestic production has declined."

Recently, a survey was made of 44 industries in the private sector. What was the result of that survey? It revealed that out of these 44 industries 21 industries are not in the vicinity of their targets. Another 12 industries will have to increase their production by 200 per cent to reach the target. Three industries could just reach the target and out of 44 industries only eight industries could exceed the target. This is the position of the private sector.

Now what are the difficulties? Briefly, the main difficulties are irregular supply of raw materials and intermediates, shortage of power and lack of adequate transport. Here my only suggestion is that unless our existing capacity is fully utilized, please do not invest more capital, more foreign exchange, in creating new capacities which you are not in a position to utilize. This rule, to use a word from the speech of the hon. Planning Minister, must be "ruthlessly enforced". Unless he does that, I have no doubt that new industries will be licensed.

There is one more point about our industrial development. While our industrial production has expanded, two things have suffered—the cost of production as well as the quality of production. Because you have a protected economy, nobody cares whether they are producing the right quality; nobody even cares whether they are producing at competitive prices. Whatever they produce and whatever prices they ask for, the things are generally sold. It is because there are no imports, because the money income of the people has risen and, therefore, there is more of demand.

So far as power is concerned, even according to the figures quoted we still have to attain 5.6 million kilowatts. We have still to achieve this capacity and unless some herculean

efforts are made, I am afraid, in the next three years it would not be possible to achieve that.

14 hrs.

So far as coal is concerned, as Shri Gupta pointed out, even in the second year of the Third Five Year Plan we are not likely to achieve the targets of the Second Five Year Plan. In fact, our production of coal in the year 1961-62 is slightly less than that of 1960-61, that is, the previous year. As against 55.5 million tons, it is 55.2 million tons. I earnestly appeal to the hon. Minister of Planning and the hon. Minister of Mines and Fuel to see that the supply of coal is regulated and the bottlenecks of transport and production are both cleared; otherwise, the shortage in the production of coal is likely to upset the entire appccart.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri Morarka: Since you have rung the bell, I will only say this, about steel. Though during the Second Five Year Plan we did not reach the production target, the capacity target was achieved. I am afraid, in the Third Year Plan we would neither achieve the production target nor the capacity target unless you immediately start implementing the expansion programme and sign your documents about the Bokaro plant. Another dismal feature about steel is that at the end of the Third Five Year Plan there is likely to be a bigger gap between supply and demand than what it was at the end of the Second Five Year Plan.

Planning no doubt presupposes certain difficulties. It means regulation and control, involves hardships and sacrifices, causes strains and stresses, price rises, scarcity conditions and imposes high taxes, compulsory savings and so on. But in a democratic set-up, planning becomes still more difficult because it has to be implemented with the willing co-operation and voluntary savings of the people.

[Shri Morarka]

Self-sufficiency is China's magic formula. Central State planning is Russia's mantra. The Marxian approach is State ownership of the means of production. The Western system advocates private ownership and free competition. We have tried to take the best of all these systems and as a result have evolved our own individual pattern of development.

China's imposed self-sufficiency has culminated in starvation for millions. Khrushchev's dictatorship has achieved an orderly scarcity. President Kennedy under democracy is plagued by the chaos of plenty. We should not, therefore, be disheartened if we have our own share of this transitional difficulty.

In conclusion, I would only say that as soon as these various projects—irrigation, power, industrial and others which have now reached the stage of maturity—start yielding dividends, our economy would be rejuvenated. I have no doubt that we have almost reached the shores of prosperity and with our continuing efforts, we are bound to make a safe and happy landing.

Shri U. N. Dhebar (Rajkot): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I do not share the diffidence of Shri Nath Pai on the question of the progress of the Third Five Year Plan but I would be failing in my duty to the hon. Planning Minister if I do not also point out some of the points which create concern in the mind of everybody including himself.

Planning is a continuous process. We are all happy that to the extent it has progressed it has progressed according to our Plan substantially. But then it has revealed some of the features which must be given due consideration from now onwards. One of the features that it has revealed is that the effort planned by us so far, measured in terms of the rate of growth, is not proving adequate. As

a matter of fact, we were thinking, when we were drafting the Third Five Year Plan, in terms of a 6 per cent rate of growth because the paucity of resources will reduce it to 5 per cent. Half of this rate of growth is dependent upon agriculture.

The figures given in the statement of the hon. Planning Minister the other day reveal that the last year's production is more or less of the order of the production of the year before. That means, excluding pulses we produced about 67.2 million tons of foodgrains in 1959-60 and we are somewhere near 67.2 million tons of foodgrains in 1960-61. I do not ascribe this to any dereliction on the part of the Food Ministry or the State Governments. But I emphasise the fact that we are still dependent upon the vagaries of the monsoon. This is not the first time. In the 11½ years of planning this is the fourth time that nature has warned us once again that we are still dependent upon her. But to say that it will not affect the course of our planning is to hazard something which no planner can do.

A rise of 6 per cent in agricultural production, as it was conceived, will I think be of the order of 2 per cent this year. That means a shortfall of 4 per cent and in terms of the rate of growth it means a shortfall of about 1½ per cent out of 5 per cent. What does this 1½ per cent mean in the shortfall in the rate of growth in a country which is living, if I may say so, on the borderline of economic viability?

As I have just now said, we were envisaging a rise of 6 per cent. We came down to 5 per cent because of paucity of resources. At that time we were thinking that that would be the minimum. But now it appears that what was considered to be the minimum, that is 5 per cent, in terms of rate of growth is going to be our maximum in terms of rate of growth for the purposes of the Third Five

Year Plan. Can that situation be factious?

We are a country where we have got nearly 60 per cent of the people, as the figures recently given show, earning incomes below the national *per capita* income. I have some figures here. The first deciles, that is, the lowest group of the population has a *per capita* income per month of the order of Rs. 9.6-0, that is 9:6 *per capita*. In the second decile, that is, consisting of people who earn a little higher than that, it is Rs. 12 6; and in the third deciles, it is Rs. 15:2; that is, nearly 30 per cent. of the people are earning incomes nearabout and below Rs. 15 *per capita* per month.

Shri A. C. Guha (Barasat): Per month or per year?

Shri U. N. Dhebar: Per month.

If we were to look at the consumption standards against the distribution from the national production of 2:4 per cent, in the first decile, that is, the lowest group, the percentage distribution of consumption is 2.98. Even the barest minimum is not sufficient to make the two ends meet. I am not placing any responsibility for this state of affairs on the Planning Ministry—I should not be understood as saying that—because this is a state of affairs that we have inherited. What I am saying is this. Can we afford any shortfall in the rate of growth in this state of affairs? I feel that a stage has come when a Planning Ministry, and the Government of India, and the ruling party, if I may say so, have to take the responsibility to face the facts squarely.

The fact of the matter is that if we want to ensure the national minima to all the citizens of the country, we have to think in terms not of 5 per cent. rate of growth of 6 per cent. rate of growth, but of 7 per cent rate of growth and above. I know that there are so many difficulties in our way. I

am not disheartened so much by difficulties. his country has faced so many difficulties in the past. I am sure that if Government go before the country with a true picture of the conditions obtaining in the country without mincing matters, without adding colours to the picture, the country is humane enough to support any endeavour that Government want to make. The fact of the matter, as I said before, is this. Do we envisage a state of affairs within fifteen years—and that is a sufficiently long time—when we can ensure to every citizen in the country the barest minimum of existence in the country? If we fail in doing that, shall we be able to uphold democratic planning as a successful experiment before the people? I doubt very much.

We are today standing on the twelfth year of planning. It is a crucial year for us. It is a crucial year for those who believe in democratic planning. The answer that we are to give to that question is that it is possible within the framework of democratic planning to ensure, within a period of fifteen years, at least that much income which will ensure to every citizen in the country the barest minimum of life. I do not express any dissatisfaction over the endeavours that we have made so far, but those very efforts have revealed this lacuna in our planning, or the condition that is obtaining in the country, if I may put it that way, that our efforts fall short of ensuring to the people within a reasonable space of time that much income which will ensure to them the barest minimum of life. It is for the Planning Commission to work out the figures. It is for the Planning Commission to work out a programme. It is for the Planning Commission to place before the country the need for successfully implementing these programmes. We are looking forward to the Planning Commission to do that.

There is another aspect of the matter. We are placing, in my opinion, emphasis upon industrial development of the country. That is

[Shri U. N. Dhebar]

very important. I do not, for a moment, want to under-rate the importance of the industrial sector. But, if within the limitations of India, we want to ensure those standards to the citizens of the country, we shall have to tap to the fullest the rural economy, the potential resources in the rural economy, because even with 7 per cent or 8 per cent rise in the rise of growth, it will not be possible for us to ensure that standard of living to the people. It may be that we may raise the income in the third decline, from Rs. 15.2 to somewhere between Rs. 20 or Rs. 22. But even then, the two lowest rungs of the ladder of our economic life will remain; those who are getting a per capita income of Rs. 12 or Rs. 12.6 and Rs. 9.6 per month will still remain. If we want to lift them up from the morass of poverty and indigence in which they live today,—I have been repeatedly saying it here on the floor of the House—the only way to do it is to concentrate upon agriculture.

No amount of industrialisation in the country, no amount of prosperity will ensure percolation of wealth to those regions, for two reasons. Firstly, they are so remote from the periphery of the country's economy, and secondly, they have not the resources to absorb still the benefits of industrialisation. What have we been doing in that sphere? Our minds are concentrated upon agriculture. Our minds are concentrated upon irrigation. Our minds are concentrated upon wells, artificial manures, chemical fertilisers etc. I would suggest humbly that there are still potential resources in the rural areas, which if tapped, and tapped with the energy that is necessary, and tapped with the faith that is necessary in the rural population, can give at least one per cent additional rate of growth to the nation. They are firstly, animal husbandry and secondly, exploitation of the minor produce in the forests. Today, forests are being denuded of their fuel wealth. We have not still realised the import-

ance of what is called minor produce. The foreign Power styled it as minor produce, but it has a vast potential.

So, the main things are animal husbandry and afforestation. The third item is the programme of soil conservation. In a country which has to depend upon monsoon, in a country which lacks humidity, the importance of soil conservation cannot be under-rated. Here is both an opportunity as well as an investment that must necessarily help ultimate production in the field of agriculture.

Therefore, I was suggesting for the consideration of the Planning Minister, these two things. Firstly, a stage has come when the Planning Ministry, and the Government of India should take the country into their confidence and tell them that what we have been doing so far, though we have considered it to be satisfactory, is not enough; if it is the object of the country to ensure the barest minimum standard of living to the people within twenty-five years or thirty years of planning and independence.

Secondly, there is this field of rural economy which can be tapped, and in my opinion tapped with reasonable success provided there is the necessary urge to do it on the part of the State Governments, on the part of the officers engaged in the rural sector and on the part of those who come here and day in and day out criticise the Government.

With these words, I endorse what the Planning Minister has said in this House this morning, with this addendum that we should look forward to the responsibility that lies ahead of us because what we have been able to do so far has not proved adequate.

श्री बाड़े (खारगोन) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरे माननीय मित्र श्री नाथ पाई ने जो प्रस्ताव रखा है उस के लिये मैं उन को धन्यवाद देता हूँ क्योंकि भ्राज जो प्लानिंग के ऊपर और प्लान के ऊपर टीका टिप्पणी करने का

योग आया है वह योग केवल उसी मोशन की वजह से आया है ।

पिछले सेशन में जब मैं ने माननीय मंत्री श्री नन्दा का भाषण सुना और उस के ऊपर विचार करने लगा तो मैं ने पाया कि उन का ज्यादा लक्ष्य हमारे काश्तकारों की तरफ या गांवों की तरफ न होते हुए केवल इंडस्ट्रीज की तरफ होता है । उन्होंने अपने भाषण में ऐग्रिकल्चर के बारे जो कुछ कहा है और जो कि मुझे मिले हुए उन के भाषण के पृष्ठ ११ पर है, उस पर तो मैं बाद में कहूंगा, लेकिन उन्होंने प्लैनिंग के पहले वर्ष के लक्ष्य पूरे क्यों नहीं हुए उस का जो विश्लेषण किया है, उस में कौन कौन से ड्रा बैक्स हैं, कौन कौन से डिफेक्ट्स हैं, उस के बारे में कहूंगा । माननीय मंत्री जी ने पहला विश्लेषण यह किया है कि देअर इज रिअल चैलेंज इन इम्प्लिमेंटेशन । उन का जो भाषण आया है मेरे पास, उस के बारे में "लिक" के नाम से जो अक्षरबार निकलता है उस में थोड़ा सा छापा गया है । उस में लिखा है :

"The Third Plan document, in fact, has said this of the whole of our Plan in pointing out that difficult as the question of resources is, the real challenge is implementation."

इम्प्लिमेंटेशन करने में डिफेक्ट यह है कि जितने कार्यकर्ता हैं, इम्प्लिमेंट करने वाला जो स्टाफ है, वह बराबर काम नहीं करता है । आप ने यह पहला कारण बतलाया है । जब मैं अपने डिस्ट्रिक्ट में जाता हूँ और जहाँ मुझे बड़े बड़े अफसर मिलते हैं तो वे कहते हैं कि हम ने अपना कार्य कर दिया है । वी हैव उन अवर ड्यूटी जब इस तरह से वे कहते हैं तो आखिर प्लैन को इम्प्लिमेंट कैसे करना है ? उसे इम्प्लिमेंट करने के लिये उत्साह का निर्माण कैसे करना है ?

That is the duty of the Ministers and of the Congress Party.

इस तरह से वे कहते हैं । यानी इस का कारण यह है कि आप के जितने काम करने वाले बाबू हैं जब वे गांवों में जाते हैं पैट्रॉन वृशशर्ट पहन कर तब जो लोग गांवों में रहते हैं, पंचायत के जो लोग हैं, गांव वाले जो काश्तकार हैं, उन के साथ वे समरस नहीं होते और उन में उत्साह पैदा नहीं करते क्योंकि उन में खुद ही उत्साह नहीं है । इस का कारण क्या है यह माननीय मंत्री जी ज्यादा समझते हैं क्योंकि मैं कोई एकानिमित्त नहीं हूँ । माननीय मंत्री जी प्लैनर हैं और तीसरी प्लैन चला रहे हैं, उन्हें देखना चाहिये कि बीमारी का कारण कहां है, कौन से लोग प्लैन को इम्प्लिमेंट करने में कोअपरेट नहीं करते हैं । उन्होंने जो यह कहा कि उन का स्टाफ पूरी तरह पर एजुकेटेड नहीं है, वह कोअपरेट नहीं करता, उस से मैं बिल्कुल सहमत हूँ । मैं ने देखा है कि जब मैं देश के गांवों में जाता हूँ, जो कि गांवों का देश कहलाता है और जहाँ पर २ या ४ परसेन्ट लोग ही इंग्लिश पढ़े हुए हैं, जहाँ हिन्दी भाषा चलती है या रीजनल भाषा चलती है, वहाँ जब हम योजना के बारे में लोगों से कहते हैं तो वे कहते है कि वहाँ पर जो बाबू लोग जाते हैं वे केवल अपने बारे में कहते हैं, उन्हें यह भी मालूम नहीं कि यह झाड़ू कौन सी है और बीज किस चीज का है । स्टाफ के लोग वहाँ पर जा कर कहते हैं उन के पास ऊपर से आर्डर आया है इस लिये उन को यह सब करना पड़ रहा है । तो जो कुछ माननीय मंत्री जी ने कहा वह बिल्कुल सत्य है, लेकिन तुम ने दवा दिया है, तुम ही दवा करो । जब आप ने प्लैन को शुरू किया है तो आप को ही उस की दवा करनी चाहिये कि वह क्यों पूरी नहीं होती है । इस के लिये जो हमारे यहां के वाइस प्रेजिडेंट हैं उन्होंने अपने भाषण में कहा :

"The key to this change lies in the officials' own hand. They can bring it about through self-education. What constitutes this self-education is best seen in the Vice-President's own words:

[Shri Bade]

'In the expanding democratic life of this country, there is not much room for people who find their greatest satisfaction in imposing their will on others and in demanding and receiving unquestioning compliance. The administrator today has to work among people who after long years of sullen, unquestioning compliance have at last come into their own. The basis of that compliance' has radically changed . . . Unquestioning obedience has to give place to intelligent and understanding acceptance.'

अभी हाल में जो हमारे इस हाउस के लीडर हैं, जो हमारे देश के प्रधान मंत्री हैं, उन्होंने कहा कि यह चीप मेंटैलिटी है, इसे कम करना चाहिये क्योंकि हम को आगे बढ़ना है। आप देखिये कि हमारे यहां ब्लॉक डेवेलपमेंट आफिसर्स जाते हैं, वे क्या करते हैं। आप देखिये कि हमारे मध्य प्रदेश के बजट में कितनी जीपें खरीदने के लिये प्राविजन रखा गया है। इस लिये जब तक चीप मेंटैलिटी को खत्म नहीं करेंगे, जब तक हम गांवों को आगे नहीं बढ़ायेंगे तब तक हमारी प्लानिंग सक्सेसफुल नहीं होगी।

जो हमारे ड्रा बैंक्स हैं उन का मुख्य कारण क्या है ? वे कहते हैं :

We have done the planning, they should execute the planning.

इस के बजाय यह होना चाहिये :

We have done the planning and we will execute the planning.

जब ऐसा किया जायेगा तभी काम हो सकता है। लेकिन इस उत्साह के निर्माण के वास्ते जो बातें चाहियें, उस के वास्ते काम करने वालों के लिये जिस कन्वीनिएस की जरूरत है वह लोगों को नहीं मिलती है। छोटे छोटे लोगों को जो पगार मिलनी चाहिये वह नहीं मिलती हैं, बड़े बड़े लोगों को, आफिसर्स को

पगार मिलती है। ब्लॉक डेवेलपमेंट आफिसर्स वहां जीप पर जाते हैं और चक्कर लगा कर लौट आते हैं। उन्हीं पर हम ने सारा काम खीड़ा हुआ है। गांवों में प्लानिंग के सक्सेसफुल न होने का यही कारण है।

दूसरी बात मैं ने देखी है फटिलाइजर और सीमेन्ट के बारे में। लोगों को फटिलाइजर अथवा खाद मिलती नहीं है। सीमेन्ट के बारे में मैं ने देखा है कि वह लोगों को मिलता नहीं है। सीमेन्ट के बारे में मैं ने देखा है कि अपने भाषण के पेज 3 पर माननीय मंत्री महोदय ने कहा है :

"Of course, there was shortage of cement. But what was the position, say, in 1950-51? In 1950-51 we had 2.7 million tons; now it is 7.97 million tons at the end of the tenth year, apart from the increase which occurred in the current year. This is also a way of looking at the position."

मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यह सेल्फ कम्प्ले-सेन्सी नहीं है, सेल्फ प्रेज नहीं है कि आप ने दस सालों में सीमेन्ट को २.७ मिलियन टन से ७.९७ मिलियन टन इन्क्रीज किया और वह भी इतना टैक्स लगा कर। यह कोई विशेष तारीफ की बात नहीं है। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि हालांकि आप ने ७.९७ मिलियन टन तक सीमेन्ट का प्रोडक्शन बढ़ा दिया है लेकिन आप दिल्ली की मार्केट्स में चले जाइये और देखिये कि वहां पर क्या हालत है सीमेन्ट की। आज किसी को सीमेन्ट मिल नहीं रहा है। यहां पर जंगपुरा सीवेज लाइन्स के लिये गड़बा खुदा हुआ है। मैं ने लोगों से पूछा कि आखिर तुम ने यह गड़बा क्यों खोदा, तो वे कहते हैं कि हम क्या करें, हमारे लिये सीमेन्ट पाइप्स आते ही नहीं हैं। साल भर या छः महीने गड़बों को खुदे हुए हो गये लेकिन वे बीसे ही पड़े हुए हैं क्योंकि सीमेन्ट पाइप्स नहीं मिलते हैं। छात्रावास बनाने के लिये सीमेन्ट नहीं

आता है। सरकार कहती है कि उस ने इतना सीमेंट का प्रोडक्शन बढ़ा लिया है लेकिन छात्रावास के लिये भी सीमेंट नहीं मिलता है। यह कहते हुए भी कि सीमेंट का प्रोडक्शन बढ़ गया है, वह हमारे देश में इतने डेफिसिट में है कि उस की आज जरूरी कामों के लिये भी कमी है। कहते हैं कि हम ने २.७ से ७.६७ मिलियन टन बढ़ा लिया है, और कौन सा कोटा था। थर्ड फाइव इयर्स प्लान में सन् १९६१-६२ में कितने सीमेंट का निर्माण करना था और कितना डेफिसिट हो गया, इस के फिगर्स में आप को थोड़े में बतला देना चाहता हूँ। देखर इज ए पेपर "लिक"। वह आप के हो फेवर का पेपर है। उस में लिखा है :

"But the production of cement did not keep pace with the increase in demand caused by the higher tempo of construction activities; against the effective demand of 90 lakh tons, production was about 80 lakh tons though the industry's installed capacity was 91.6 lakh tons. Even in 1962-63 production of cement is expected to be short of the anticipated demand."

यह लिक ने खुद कहा है कि सन् १९६१-६२ में जितना प्रोडक्शन होना चाहिए था उतना नहीं हुआ है और इसका कारण माननीय मंत्री जी ने अपने भाषण में नहीं बताया है। उन्होंने सेल्फ प्रेज में कहा है कि हम ने १०-१२ साल में २-७ मिलियन टन से ७.६७ मिलियन टन सीमेंट का उत्पादन बढ़ाया है।

इसके बाद मैं नेशनल इनकम की ओर आता हूँ। इस के विषय में मैं ने एक पेपर पढ़ा है जिसमें लिखा है कि नेशनल इनकम घटती जा रही है। उस में लिखा है :

"The target for the Third Plan is 30 per cent which means an average annual rise of six per cent."

लेकिन बढ़ा है ३.६ पर सेंट। "दी हिन्दू

वीकली रिव्यू" में लिखा है कि सिर्फ ३.५ पर सेंट राइज है, सन् १९६१-६२ में। उस में लिखा है :

"NATIONAL INCOME—3.5 per cent. rise in 1961-62.

The national income has risen by about 3.5 per cent in the first year of the Third Plan, namely 1961-62, according to provisional estimates made by the Planning Commission.

According to these estimates, the national income for 1961-62 was Rs. 14,690 crores compared to Rs. 14,200 crores which is the rough figure for 1960-61, the last year of the Second Plan.

The national income increased by 20 per cent during the Second Plan and the target for the Third Plan is 30 per cent which means an average annual rise of six per cent.

These provisional figures are given in a note which was circulated to members of the consultative Committee of M.P.'s which met in New Delhi on June 22."

तो ३० पर सेंट टारजेट था थर्ड प्लान में नेशनल इनकम बढ़ाने का, इसलिए एक साल में ६ पर सेंट बढ़ना चाहिए था लेकिन बढ़ा है केवल ३.५ पर सेंट। इसके बारे में माननीय मंत्री जी ने अपने भाषण में कुछ नहीं कहा है।

फारिन एक्सचेंज के बारे में माननीय मंत्री का भाषण हुआ है। उस में पेज ४ पर उन्होंने कहा है :

The real difficulty lies in the shortage of foreign exchange.

"But in the case of the Second Five Year Plan the major obstacle arose, the obstruction to progress was due to external factors, the foreign exchange."

मैं कहता हूँ कि फारिन एक्सचेंज के बारे में इतनी बातें कहते हैं लेकिन जो फारिन एक्सचेंज

[श्री बड़े]

मिलता है उसका उन्होंने अच्छा उपयोग नहीं किया है। जो फारिन एक्सचेंज मिलता है वह कितना एरियस में है इसके बारे में माननीय मंत्री जी ने हाउस में कुछ नहीं कहा है।

श्री नन्दा : क्या नहीं कहा है ?

श्री बड़े : फारिन एड जो आपको प्राप्त हो चुकी है वह आपने सारी लगा कर समाप्त कर दी है या नहीं या इस में कुछ बाकी है यह नहीं बताया गया है। इसके बारे में २१ अगस्त के स्टेट्समैन में एक कड़े एमोनेंट एकानामिस्ट श्री रंगाचारी ने बहुत सुन्दर कहा है। उनका कहना है कि जो फारिन एड मिलती है उसका प्रापर उपयोग नहीं होता और जब ड्राबैक आते हैं, जैसे कि तीसरी प्लान में काम बराबर नहीं हुआ, तो आप एक लेम एक्सक्यूज देते हैं कि हम को काफी फारिन एक्सचेंज नहीं मिलता है। इसके बारे में मैं श्री रंगाचारी की राय आपको सुनाना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने लिखा है :

"A credit of Rs. 9.5 crores for drug projects (May 1959) has not been used and only a token provision for drawing on it is being made in the Budget each year, presumably because of delays in preparing the projects."

यह जो ९.५ करोड़ डॉलर के लिए मिला था उसके लिए बजट में एक रूपया टोकन दिखाते रहे लेकिन उसका अभी तक उपयोग नहीं किया गया। इसके बाद उन्होंने कहा है :

"Quite early in June 1958, as part of the efforts to save the core of the Second Plan, the U.S. Export Import Bank granted a credit of Rs. 71.43 crores (150 million dollars) to help procurement of equipment for a wide range of projects, including some in the public sector: only about Rs. 50 crores had been used up by the end of last year and a second Eximbank credit of Rs. 23.8 crores

(50 million dollars) authorized in January, 1961, is untouched."

इसके बारे में मंत्री जी को क्या कहना है ? मैं एक गांव का कार्यकर्ता हूँ और जब लोग यह भ्रम पड़ते हैं तो मुझ से पूछते हैं कि क्यों इतना रूपया अनयज्ड रह गया और उसका उपयोग क्यों नहीं किया गया।

इस के बाद श्री रंगाचारी ने कुछ ग्लेयरिंग केसेज बताये हैं और कहा है :

"There is no reason to believe that the conditions governing these were so inflexible as not to permit readjustments and re-allocations to projects which could have used up the foreign exchange but were probably starved."

फिर बाद में कहा है :

"The other main source of American assistance was the Development Loan Fund (now converted into U.S. Agency for International Development). Of Rs. 194 crores authorized for the second Plan, Rs. 77 crores were utilized for it before March, 1961."

यु० एस० ए० एजेंसी ने जो १९४ करोड़ रूपया दिया था उस में से केवल ७७ करोड़ का उपयोग हुआ है, बाकी पड़ा हुआ है। इस के बारे में श्री रंगाचारी ने कहा है :

"Of the balance, to which more has been added since, it has been possible to use about Rs. 50 crores as a good portion of the assistance was given for imports of capital equipment etc."

तो मेरे कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि आप जो कहते हैं कि हम को फारिन एक्सचेंज मिलता नहीं है यह बात गलत है। आप को जो आलरेडी फारिन एक्सचेंज मिला हुआ है उस को आप ने उपयोग नहीं किया। रशिया से जो एड मिली उस का कोई उपयोग

नहीं किया गया। अमरीका से जो एड मिली उस का भी पूरा उपयोग नहीं किया गया।

इस के बाद जापान से आप को लोन मिला था सन् १९५८ में उड़ीसा की आयरन और माइन्स के लिए। उन के बारे में श्री रंगाचारी ने लिखा :

A Japanese loan for Iron Ore Mines of Orissa, 1958, for which there was a supplementary contribution of 20 million dollars from the U.S. President's Asian Economic Development Fund has not been used at all.

तो इस प्रकार की समस्या है। इस के बारे में एक बहुत एमीनेंट इकानामिस्ट श्री रंगाचारी ने बहुत अच्छा आर्टिकल लिखा है।

उस के बाद मिनिस्टर साहब ने कहा है कि अगर एग्रोकल्चर में अच्छा प्रोडक्शन हुआ और मानसून ने फेवर किया तो हमारा प्लान अच्छा हो सकता है। यह बात माननीय मंत्री जी ने अपने भाषण के पेज ११ पर कहा है। उन्होंने कहा है :

"All pressures are to make it bigger. Everywhere pressures are to make it bigger. I believe it can be made bigger if agriculture responds."

इवर मिनिस्टर साहब यह कहते हैं और उधर एग्रोकल्चर के मिनिस्टर पाटिल साहब कहते हैं कि सन् १९६१-६२ में एग्रोकल्चर में बराबर काम हो रहा है। उस में प्लानिंग के अनुसार काम हो रहा है और कोई गलती नहीं है।

यह तो मैं जानता हूँ कि The whole budget of India is a gambling in monsoon. लेकिन इतने साल के एक्सपीरिंस के बाद तो आप को इस के लिये मारजिन रखना चाहिये था। हम ने देखा है कि पांच साल में तीन साल मौसम अच्छा रहता है और दो साल में खराब रहता है। तो इस के लिये तो आप को मारजिन रखना चाहिये था। यही तो प्लानिंग का उद्देश्य है।

इसके अतिरिक्त आपकी गन्ना बोने की पालिसी गलत है। जहाँ गन्ना अच्छा पैदा होता है वहाँ गन्ना बोना चाहिये, जहाँ अच्छा पैदा नहीं होता वहाँ नहीं बोना चाहिये। लेकिन ऐसा किया नहीं जाता। मैं ने इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ आंकड़े एकत्र किए हैं। एक सवाल पूछा गया था :

"Will the Minister of Food and Agriculture be pleased to state:

(a) the average sugarcane yield per acre Statewise during the last year; and

(b) the average sugar content in sugarcane produced in each State of the country?"

उस के उत्तर में बताया गया था :

"Average sugarcane yield per acre in 1961-62:

	(in tons)
Andhra Pradesh	29.16
Gujarat	21.19
Kerala	16.13
Madhya Pradesh	10.39
Madras	30.71
	etc."

मेरा सर्जेशन है कि जिन प्रदेशों में गन्ना अच्छा पैदा होता है वहाँ गन्ना पैदा किया जाय और जिन प्रदेशों में कैंस क्रॉप्स जैसे काटन और ग्राउंडनट अच्छे पैदा होते हैं वहाँ वे पैदा किये जायें। हम देखते हैं कि दक्षिण के प्रदेशों में गन्ना अच्छा पैदा होता है। सरकार की नीति यह होनी चाहिये कि गन्ने के उत्पादन को नियंत्रित करे। जहाँ गन्ना अच्छा पैदा होता है वहीं गन्ना बोया जाय और जहाँ कैंस क्रॉप्स जैसे काटन और ग्राउंडनट अच्छे पैदा होते हैं वहाँ उन को बोया जाय। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं है और कार्तकार उसी पुरानी पद्धति पर चल रहे हैं और वैसे ही बोलते हैं। उन के बोलने की पद्धति में कोई फर्क नहीं आया है और न ही उन को किसी ने सिखाया है। हमारे मध्यप्रदेश के जो मिनिस्टर्स हैं वह उस की तरफ कोई

[श्री बड़े]

ध्यान नहीं दे रहे हैं और किसानों को इस की कोई ट्रेनिंग नहीं दी जा रही है कि कौन सी क्रीप किस जमीन में बोनी चाहिये।

प्लान के क्रीप टार्जेट पूरा न हो सकने का एक कारण उन्होंने ने यह एलेक्शनस भी बताये हैं। अभी हाल में जो आम चुनाव हुए हैं उन के कारण भी टार्जेट पूरा होने में बाधा पड़ी है। इस के बारे में कहा गया है :—

"I am sure in my mind that because the first year of the Third Plan was an election year, that might also have affected the performance in some way. It did affect, but I believe that it also carried home to all of us what the people want, and how dissatisfied they would be if things do not move quickly, and what risks there would be for the political stability of the country, if things are not moving properly. It is not an ordinary situation that we are facing. It has, therefore, to be met by extraordinary measures, and we can secure the success of the Third Plan only on that basis."

सन् ६१-६२ में प्लान के मुताबिक जो नतीजा आने वाला था वह नहीं आया है। लेकिन मेरा अपना खयाल है कि चूंकि राज्यों में स्टैबिलिटी नहीं है सलिए प्लान फेल हुआ है। हमारे मध्य प्रदेश में काफी समय से झगड़ा चल रहा था। डा० काटजू और श्री मंडलोई का झगड़ा चल रहा था और उस के फल-स्वरूप प्लान के टार्जेट को पूरा करने की ओर मध्यप्रदेश के मिनिस्टर्स और अफसरों ने कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया। सात महीने तक मिनिस्टर्स आदि केवल अपनी कुर्सी की प्लानिंग करते रहे कि काटजू आयेंगे या मंडलोई आयेंगे। अभी जा कर वह सात महीने से चला आ रहा काटजू और मंडलोई का झगड़ा खत्म हुआ है। राजस्थान में भी

यही बात है। वहां पर इसी तरह की गुट-बाजी और झगड़ा चलाआ रहा है। पंजाब और उत्तर प्रदेश की भी यही हालत है और वहां पर भी आपस के झगड़े चल रहे हैं . .

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय सदस्य का समय समाप्त हो रहा है।

श्री बड़े : मैं केवल पांच मिनट का समय और चाहूंगा। एक महत्वपूर्ण प्वाइंट मेरा रहा जाता है। उस को कह कर मैं समाप्त करूंगा।

श्री नरेन्द्र सिंह महीडा (आनन्द) : यहां हाउस में किसी ग्ल्स का नाम नहीं लेना चाहिये।

श्री बड़े : Everybody knows there are two groups काटजू और मंडलोई का झगड़ा काफी समय से मध्य प्रदेश में चल रहा था और वह किसी से छिपा नहीं है। मैं वहां मध्यप्रदेश में था और मुझे मालूम है कि क्या झगड़ा था। अब श्री नंदा जी ने जो यह कहा कि एलेक्शन को वजह से टार्जेट पूरे नहीं हुए तो यह बात भी गलत है बल्कि असली कारण जैसा मैं ने बतलाया राज्यों में स्वयं सत्ताधीश पार्टी में आपस की गुटबाजी और झगड़ा है।

इसी तरह से हम देखते हैं कि पावर में भी टार्जेट के हिसाब से कमी आई है सन् ६१-६२ में जितना इलेक्ट्रिकेशन होना चाहिये उतना इलेक्ट्रिकेशन नहीं हो पाया है। इस के अलावा दिल्ली में जो पावर फलयोर हुआ वह कोई आश्चर्य की बात नहीं है। बिजली दिल्ली क्या अनेक स्थानों पर फेल होती रहती है। मेरे पास एक स्टेटमेंट है जिस में कि इलेक्ट्रिकेशन के बारे में ब्योरा दिया हुआ है। उस को

देखने से मालूम होता है कि जितना इलेक्ट्रिफिकेशन होना चाहिये या उतना नहीं हो पाया है। गांवों में अभी भी बिजली लगाने का काम पूरा नहीं हुआ है और इस सम्बन्ध में गांवों की स्थिति विशेष कर असन्तोषजनक है। सैंकेंड प्लान पीरियड में गांवों के इलेक्ट्रिफिकेशन के बारे में जो स्टेटमेंट है वह उस को देखने से मालूम होगा कि आंध्र प्रदेश में ४०० गांवों में बिजली पहुंचनी चाहिये थी लेकिन सन् ६१-६२ में यानी थर्ड प्लान के फर्स्ट इयर में केवल १८७ गांव इलेक्ट्रिफाई हुए हैं। इसी तरह से आसाम में जहां ४० गांव इलेक्ट्रिफाई होने चाहिये थे वहां केवल ४ गांव में ही बिजली पहुंची है। गिहार में जहां ४०० गांव में बिजली पहुंचनी थी वहां केवल २४६ गांवों में ही पहुंची है। गुजरात में १६० विलेजज इलेक्ट्रिफाई होने चाहिये लेकिन ११५ में ही बिजली पहुंची है। केरल में २०० गांवों को बिजली पहुंचनी थी लेकिन ११५ गांवों ही इलेक्ट्रिफाई हो पाये हैं। मध्य प्रदेश में २०० गांव इलेक्ट्रिफाई होने चाहिये थे लेकिन केवल ८० गांव ही इलेक्ट्रिफाई हुए हैं। यह आंकड़े एक प्रश्न के उत्तर में मंत्रीमहोदय ने दिये हैं और मैं उस को एक कोपी ले आया हूँ और उसी में से मैंने यह फीगर्स दी हैं।

स्मोल स्कैन इंडस्ट्रीज के लिए मेरा कहना है कि इन को आप गांवों में खोलें तो बेहतर होगा। यह खेद का विषय है कि सरकार की ओर से इस बारे में अभी तक गांवों की उम्मेदारी नहीं हुई है। हमें यह कदापि नहीं भूलना है कि इस देश की करीब ८० प्रतिशत जनता गांवों में बसती है और केन्द्रीय सरकार को विशेषकर इस बारे में सतर्कता बर्तनी चाहिये और गांवों को उन्नत करने की ओर अपना ध्यान केन्द्रित करना चाहिये। हमें अपनी इस उम्मेदारी को त्यागना होगा और खाली हमदर्दी दिखा कर ही चुप नहीं बैठना है बल्कि उस की अपलिफ्ट के लिए सक्रिय कदम उठाने चाहिये और उन की उन्नति हम गांवों में स्मोल स्केल

इंडस्ट्रीज खोल कर कर सकते हैं। इस से उन की आर्थिक अवस्था सुधर सकती है। आज हमारे गांव वाले गरीब लोग काफी असन्तुष्ट हैं। उन की रोजी रोटी का समुचित बंदोबस्त नहीं है और जब इस पर उन पर आये दिन टैक्स लगते हैं तो वह और भी परेशान और गुस्सा होते हैं। जब हम उन को यह समझाने की कोशिश करते हैं कि आज अपनी सरकार है और उस को प्लानिंग करने के लिये रुपया चाहिये इसलिये वह अतिरिक्त टैक्स लगाती है तो चूँकि उन को खाने का मिलता नहीं है इसलिये वह आप की प्लानिंग उन की समझ में आती नहीं है। व तो कहते हैं कि यह योजना मरने की योजना है। हम लाख उन को समझाते हैं कि भाई यह तो जिंदा रहने की योजना है यह मरने की योजना नहीं है लेकिन वह इस को नहीं मानते। टैक्स जता तो उन पर लगते जाते हैं और खाना पीना उन को मिलता नहीं है इसलिए वे यही कहते हैं कि यह तो मरने की योजना है यह जिंदा रहने की योजना नहीं है। उन को यह कनविस कराना बड़ा कठिन हो जाता है। यहां पर अग्रजी की यह कहावत चरितार्थ होती है :—

"An old Negro preacher was praying with great oratory in the midst of violent hurricane in the Southern United States. As the earthquake and the Heavens roared, he cried, 'Oh, God, send us the spirit of the Children of Israel, send us the Children of Moses, the Children of the Promised Land.' Another Negro with less oratory but more directness said, 'Oh, do not send anybody; come Yourself; this is not the time for children'."

We also say in the villages, 'Lord come Yourself; this is not the time for Children'. यहां पर बिल्डिंग की जगह मिनिस्टर्स हैं और मिनिस्टर्स से कुछ काम होता नहीं दिखाई देता, भगवान आप खुद ही आइये।

[श्री बड़े]

This is not the time for Ministers. Lord, come Yourself and save us.

मध्य प्रदेश में गांवों की हालत दयनीय है। वहां पर कोई इंडस्ट्रीज नहीं हैं। शहरों में बड़े बड़े कारखाने होते हैं, बिजली के पंखे होते हैं और डामर की पक्की सड़कें भी हांती हैं लेकिन गांवों में कच्ची सड़कें होती हैं और जिन में कि बीच बीच में काफी गड्डे रहते हैं। मैं मंत्री महोदय से कहना चाहता हूँ कि your planning is good but the execution of the Plan is bad. The way to Hell is paved with good intentions.

मैं सरकार को चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि समय भ्रा गया है जब वह गांवों गांवों के प्रति उपेक्षा की नीति को त्यागें क्योंकि उसे यह नहीं भूलाना है कि इस देश की ८० प्रतिशत जनता देहातों में बसती है। केवल ४५ या १०, १५ प्रतिशत हशहरी जनता को खुश करने से काम नहीं चलेगा और न ही यह प्लान सक्सेसफुल होगा। सरकार को गांवों की दशा को सुधारने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिये और उन की आर्थिक अवस्था सुधारने के लिये उन की रोजी रोटी का समुचित प्रबन्ध करना चाहिये। वहां पर स्मोल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज स्थापित करनी चाहियें। ऐसा करने से ही आपकी योजना सही मायनों में सफल हो पायगी।

Dr. K. L. Rao (Vijayawada): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, India is trying to build a new social order based on equality and prosperity for all. In this difficult but noble endeavour no step taken by her is as effective as the Plan. And, in the face of the hon. Minister's comprehensive statement of the various steps taken by him, it is very difficult to suggest an more. Nevertheless, I want to submit for the consideration of the hon. Minister some measures which may be of help in trying to rectify those factors which cause or which tend to cause shortfall in our Plan

The largest propelling force to move this car of Juggernaut, that is the progress of India, is electric power. Electricity is invisible; and so are the appreciation of the difficulties of achieving the power. Dogged efforts and very sustained efforts are necessary to achieve the potentials that are aimed at for power. In the Third Plan it may be assumed that we are going to develop seven million kilowatts of power, 4 million thermal and three million hydro. In the first year of the Third Plan as against 0.7 million kws, a very small target in itself, we have had a shortfall of 20 per cent. Before I deal with the causes for the shortages, I would like to emphasise one aspect. For the four million kws. of thermal power, we are spending by way of foreign exchange. Rs. 230 crores on the equipment, Rs. 20 crores on foreign consultants service, and Rs. 100 crores for facilities of coal mining, and transport services. The total comes to about Rs. 350 crores. As against this, for generating 3 million kws. of hydro electric power, we require only Rs. 75 crores of foreign exchange. In the very difficult circumstances we are with regard to foreign exchange it is essential that we should go in as far as possible for hydel power in the next Plan. The reasons are quite apparent. About thermal power, we do not yet produce any type of equipment in this country and we cannot also prepare the designs etc. as the countries that aid us insist upon the appointment of foreign consultants right from the beginning for doing even such simple work as the drawing up of a project report, etc. Whereas in the hydro power sector we have achieved a certain standard about the quality and the capacity to do the design ourselves. For instance in the case of Gandhi Sagar Dam or the mighty Shravati Project which is the biggest hydro power station in the country, a million kws. station, there was no foreign consultant at any stage. So too in the Pamba which the World Bank is financing, there was no insistence by the World Bank upon any kind of foreign parti-

icipation or foreign personnel. We are thinking of adding 12 million kws. in the Fourth Plan; twice as much foreign exchange as at present would be needed; it will be anything like a thousand crores of rupees. So, if it is hydel power it will be possible to achieve this with Rs. 400 or Rs. 500 crores of rupees.

Now, the shortage in power is not accidental; there are substantial reasons behind it. It is for us to appreciate that these projects take anything 6—8 years before commissioning in our country. In foreign countries they take only half the time. For instance in Niagara in 1958 a project was started with a capacity of 45 megawatts and in 1961 it was commissioned. In the same year we have also as an emergency measure sanctioned the Chandrapur project in the DVC. It has not been commissioned so far; it is going to take another three years; at the earliest, it will 1964 when it will be commissioned. This is because in our country there are a lot of difficulties; we have got to appreciate those difficulties. First of all, for a thermal station, we have got to have a consultant appointed according to the wishes of the World Bank or other organisations. He does only the sort of supervisory checking and we have got to prepare the specifications, etc. Then again, the purchases take quite a lot of time. For instance in the Plan for Delhi we have planned to instal a 150 megawatt set in the Third Plan. I do not know where the papers are held up but for the last one year it was not possible to finalise appointment of a consultant as yet. Not only that. A thermal station requires a lot of water for cooling. The water required for the Delhi station is not yet thought of. Where are we to get water from?

Then coal is needed. Planning about all these has not been done. On account of these various difficulties, there will be shortfall. Unless matters are taken up, actively it is difficult to achieve or set up the 150 megawatts station which we want to instal at Delhi. I can give a few more illustra-

tions. For instance for the Satpura station in Madhya Pradesh, which is a very big station, we have not planned anything about coal mining. At Pathratra in Bihar we have to build a big dam in order to give water supply for cooling purposes but we have not so far decided about the transport of coal in spite of the fact that there are coal fields nearby. These are the kind of difficulties and indecision that affect the progress of these projects. The Srisaïlam project in Andhra Pradesh provides for a 330,000 kw. station and Nagarjunasagar, for a 100,000 kw. station. On account of the Krishna Godavary dispute, it is not moving. Like that there are a number of instances where these power schemes are not moving because of one difficulty or the other. The steel required for such purposes as the transmission towers and sub-stations is not supplied as per requirements. Recently, another shortage has come up—shortage of explosives. At the very first stage of construction of these powerhouses, explosives are required before laying foundations. Unless all these difficulties are solved, the mere fact that we are able to get some foreign exchange will not carry us far. I submitted during the last session that in order to overcome these difficulties, there should be a Ministry of Power separately. We can do at least one thing; we can create a Central Board of Electricity on the analogy of the organisations that we have in other countries and it may be authorised to design and prepare specifications and to make purchases for the whole country. It can be economical and it can be done without much difficulty. The States can do the actual construction of the works. We can build up a Corporation like the National Projects Construction Corporation for setting which the hon. Minister was responsible. There can be some organisation like that for undertaking these projects; or we can expand the NPCC itself to undertake the power projects. They are specialised works for which we pay a very heavy sum of money in foreign exchange for the foreign personnel. All this can be avoided if there is some special

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organisation built up. If we want to achieve the power targets, we should organise an authoritative body like the one I mentioned and give it all the necessary powers so that it can go ahead. In the thermal sector, because we are shy a bit, we can go in for two or three American or any other foreign personnel who are specialists in thermal field and employ them in the Central Board for a few years. This has got a number of advantages. They can train our own people in three or four years. Secondly, the World Bank and other people who are insisting upon foreign consultants for whom we are paying a lot of foreign exchange would no longer insist on that. All these designs will be done in the country. This kind of set up is not costly compared to what we pay now. We had to pay about Rs. 50 lakhs for a single power station of 100,000 kws. The amount spent on such an organisation will therefore not be much compared to this. I would, therefore, submit that the hon. Minister should take early steps in this direction.

Then again, in this Plan, two-thirds of the money is to be spent by engineers and that comes to more than Rs. 6,500 crores. There should be the best training facilities for these engineers and technicians. In all these public undertakings and in many other sectors too, I am sorry to say there is a sort of a blind development. I know that in many cases even the calculations are not shown to the Indian engineers. For example, in the steel plants, none of our people knew anything about the details. I do not want to mention any names, but recently I happened to visit a project, a public undertaking. I asked the Indian engineers whether they knew what the calculations were and why they had to build certain structures. They said they did not know. They did not know even what the pressure on the soil was. Projects are being done on what is called the turnkey system. Otherwise, things will not improve at all. Unless the structures are built with the Indian experience, it is no

use. An empty sack cannot stand erect unless it has got some substance. We should utilise the great opportunities that are afforded to us and thus bind up technical knowledge in this country.

15 hrs.

We are sending a lot of people for training unnecessarily to other countries. In fact, we are not doing anything like planning in that regard. We are simply sending a number of people abroad for being trained for different organisations. At Bhopal, we have simply sent hundreds of people without any plan, and apparently without much use. The work there is not moving at all.

So, I would like to submit that what is required is this: for example, the technical personnel can be classified into four categories, and they are, the specialists, the engineers, the technicians and the mechanics. I know the Indian engineers are among some of the best in the whole world. I can say it with confidence as I have travelled over most parts of the world. I know personally also that the Indian mechanics are some of the finest men. All that we require is that you must give them a chance to work and learn; a chance for getting experience; they must get encouragement and they must get confidence to do the work. But that is what we are not doing. We are not giving any special training for the specialist class. We are unfortunately just mixing up these categories, putting some in one field and putting some others in another field of work. We are forced to do that because there is no planning about it. So, I would like to insist upon the Planning Commission to organise a specialist organisation of cadre, and get these ranks filled up. That is very necessary. A specialist cadre must be built up in the country. The mere opening of engineering colleges and technical schools is no solution for the dearth of technical personnel at all. That is only a basic beginning.

What we want is a specialist cadre at the various levels. That is to say, a turbine requires such and such an operator; the boiler requires an erector. In other words, when the machine comes here, it has to be erected, and for erection we are spending several lakhs of rupees by getting foreign personnel. It is a simple work in a way. For example in one of the power-houses under construction—I do not want to mention the names of persons, etc.,—there was a European erector who was in charge of the work. He told me very plainly that there was an old mechanic from Bangalore who did the work; the whole erection work had been done by him, and he was an uneducated man. We must find out the actual requirements of public undertakings.

Take, for instance, the National Coal Development Corporations. We must find out what are the categories of personnel we want. I do not want to be very plain because it is very painful to say these things. I met one of the officers who had been abroad, and I was surprised to find that he learnt of a belt conveyor only when he was abroad. The belt conveyor is a fundamental piece of equipment which every engineer ought to know. But he learnt of it only by going to the foreign country. So, what we should do is to find out our requirements at the various levels and then we must have institutes to train our people, and then, we may select a few, and, if necessary, they may be sent abroad for further training.

This is a special responsibility which our Planning Commission has got to discharge, because at the moment, training of technical personnel is the most important thing. The opening of engineering colleges is no solution at all. It is absolutely no solution for that.

Then, on the food front, the problem is sought to be tackled and production increased by two processes: firstly, by a vertical projection, that is, by supplying fertilisers, good seeds and

pest control and economic storage; secondly, by irrigation. I have analysed the figures in regard to irrigation.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The hon. Member's time is up.

Dr. K. L. Rao: I would like to have some more time.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He may take two or three minutes more. The number of Members wishing to speak is very large.

Dr. K. L. Rao: I was mentioning about irrigation. The other day, I was looking into the figures. I was surprised to find a very interesting coincidence. That is to say, at the moment, we are having 78.8 million acres of land under irrigation and I also find that the quantity of foodgrains that we are now producing is also 78.8 million tons. It is an interesting coincidence. Now, I found that this coincidence also extended further. That is to say, our aim is to irrigate 100 million acres of land. Our project is also to produce 100 million tons of foodgrains. That is another coincidence. Now, from the study of statistics and an analysis of the figures, I find that irrigation is the most important factor in the production of food. On the food front we must fulfil our requirements because otherwise there is always a gap of Rs. 100 crores or so. Indeed, we are spending every year Rs. 100 crores on the importation of food from outside the country. That must be stopped.

We are depending on major irrigation sector and the minor irrigation sector. For the major irrigation sector, we want to bring in 13 million acres in the third Plan. I shall show by examples where we may fail in regard to this target. In respect of Nagarjunasagar, we have planned to bring 9 lakh acres under irrigation at the end of this Plan. But the cost of the project has gone up from Rs. 90 crores to Rs. 140 crores. The amount of money allotted is sufficient only to bring under irrigation 5 lakh acres. The canal system can draw up to 5

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lakh acres only. With the money that has been allotted, it is not possible to stretch it further than 5 lakh acres. By adding Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 crores, it will be possible to irrigate 9 lakh acres. The dam will be ready but the canal system will not be there under the present arrangements. What I submit is, it is essential to accelerate some of the projects when you realise that there is an increased cost and desired targets cannot be reached.

Similarly, take the Gandak project. We are planning to spend about 30 crores. On the other hand, if we add another Rs. 10 crores, the project will bring in more acres of land. In Gujarat there are three projects—the Mahi, the Ukai and the Narmada projects. On these we have to spend Rs. 120 crores. We have provided in the third Plan only Rs. 22 crores. This amount will not do. On the other hand, if we add another Rs. 30 crores for the Narmada project it can be completed. The Narmada project is a key and pivotal project meant for the prosperity not only of Gujarat but the whole of India. It will bring under irrigation many lakhs of acres under valuable crops like cotton. It will irrigate a mighty portion of the whole of Gujarat State. That being the case, I would add Rs. 30 crores more to Narmada project and see that that project is completed in the third Plan. That is a physical possibility.

So, I would like the Government to have a Rs. 100 crore acceleration fund in order to see that the benefit of all these projects accrues to the country. We are now spending Rs. 100 crores by way of foreign exchange. Why should we not spend Rs. 100 crores to make up the present gap and thus accelerate the progress of these projects? With Rs. 100 crores more, and stretching the amount between some projects, for these projects, we can see that all these projects are finished and begin to benefit the country in this Plan itself.

I would point out cases where there are some difficulties. Take Bhakra.

We are irrigating 25 lakh acres at the end of second plan and then 11 lakh acres are being added. But we must note that 8½ lakh acres are meant for fodder grass and not for food crops. I do not know whether that area has been deducted or not. If that has not been deducted the net area will be only 3 lakh acres and not 11 lakh acres. Similarly, take Ramganga, under which scheme we are to irrigate 2 lakh acres. It has just started and the whole work has got to be done. The dam will take three or four years to be completed and you cannot count 2 lakh acres for the present. Similarly, Kosi: the barrage is to be completed only next year. The western canal has yet to be started. The Nepal Government are not giving us the 22-mile length which is needed for the project, and therefore, the canal cannot be ready soon. Therefore, it is very difficult to get 9 lakh acres under irrigation. Similarly, we may take the Mahanadi delta in Orissa. We are thinking of getting 6 lakh acres. There also there is this difficulty. We have not got sufficient amount, and definitely that project is not likely to bring under irrigation 6 lakh acres of land in the plan period.

So there are several examples to show that there is going to be a shortfall in our target and you have to make up for these shortfalls by starting an accelerated process in some projects.

In this connection, I want to bring in one more criterion. When we take up a national project, we must fix the programme of the project in such a way that, when the barrage or the dam is completed, a portion of the canal system is also completed, the value of food produced plus revenue of the project annually must balance at six per cent. Then, there will be no national loss. We should also insist that the distributing system is done by the people. This will make the people feel that they are partners in the projects. At the moment, the Government only is doing the work and the people are not feeling that they are partners.

Also, the distributing cost comes to as much as 10 per cent. If it is done by the people, the extra expenditure on the project will be saved to that extent.

Coming to minor irrigation, we have estimated that there will be an addition of 13 million acres of land under minor irrigation during the Plan. There is a lot of uncertainty about this. Nobody can say really how many acres are brought under minor irrigation. Only calculations are made based on assumption. Thus for one well five acres are assumed as irrigated. Thirteen million acres is a very big target and if you want to have a very effective realisation of it, there must be a separate Chief Engineer and one complete department for minor irrigation in every State. Unless this is done, I am sure the money will be mis-spent. There will be no complete benefit coming out of it and the result will be shortfall in our food targets.

Lastly, I come to coal. Coal is a very precious commodity formed out of forests buried under pressure for millions of years. Let us remember that we do not have extensive coal resources; we have got about 60 billion tons only, as against the world's figure of 7,300 billion tons. What we have is just enough for us to go through another 300 years, by which time we must utilise the advantages of atomic energy. We are producing at the moment 55 million tons a year. Assuming that one-third of the energy is supplied by other sources and two-thirds by coal, it means we require 300 million tons a year. From 55 million tons, we have got to work up to 300 million tons. Serious thinking is required at this stage, because we have planned to produce annually 100 million tons at the end of this plan, 200 million tons at the end of the fourth Plan and 300 million tons afterwards for sustaining the activities and progress of this country.

That being the case, for transporting 300 million tons of coal annually, we have to begin making arrangements right from now. I have got two suggestions in this regard. For the south

zone, make a Singareni coalfields, i.e., the Godavari fields valley coal as the main source. There are 4,900 million tons of proved coal. You should develop it—whether it is done by the State or by the Centre is a small matter—and the whole of the south must be fed out of that. Now you are proposing to raise the production there from 3 million to 6 million tons. But this is not sufficient you should increase the target to 10 million tons. At the moment, we are sending 2 million tons by rail and 1 million tons by sea to South India by giving a lot of subsidy. This can be obviated if you make Singareni as the main base and supply the whole of South India from that. No coal except for any special reasons should go to the south from the north; all the coal must be supplied from Singareni. Why do you want to take coal there from the north causing heavy transit bottlenecks?

So far as the north is concerned, I read in the papers that Government are going to try carrying coal by lorries, rivers and so on. All that kind of handling will make coal costlier. I have got a suggestion. Connect the Maithon reservoir with the pond formed by Farrakka barrage by digging a navigable canal—it is only 120 miles. Then right from the coalfields you can take the coal right up to the Ganga. If thermal stations utilising coal are built on the banks of Ganga, the transport problem will be solved. I am not thinking so much of the situation today, but of the extensive coal transport which we will have to arrange when we deal with 200 or 300 million tons a year.

In conclusion, I want to say that this third Plan is a very big and gigantic task undertaken by what we may call the Indian socialist tortoise. The Minister in charge of Planning is one of our most sincere and hard-working leaders of the country and that is a great factor which will enable us to get through this Plan. We must also remember at the same time that the fulfilment of the Plan may be an economic achievement, but a sizeable shortfall in it will not only be an eco-

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conomic failure, but also it means, as some other Members have said, failure to achieve socialism through democratic methods. If we remember that and if we develop a spirit of earnestness, urgency and coordination, I am sure this Plan will be got through.

Shrimati Gayatri Devi (Jaipur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, we have just heard several long discourses on the economic aspect of the third Five Year Plan. I would like to speak a little bit on tourism, because it seems to me that in this third Plan we are lacking a lot of foreign exchange and therefore, it seems extraordinary to me that our sixth highest foreign exchange earner, namely tourism, has been comparatively neglected in the third Plan. I believe we earn more than Rs. 20 crores annually through tourism in this country and experts are of the opinion that if tourism is promoted, we can earn as much as Rs. 50 crores. Japan earns Rs. 60 crores a year on tourism. Many countries flourish on tourism and many of them have met their deficits by promoting this trade of tourism.

We read in the reports of the Transport and Communications Ministry that several tourist offices have been opened in America and other countries of Europe to encourage tourists to come to this country. But in fact, when they come here, what do they find? They do not find adequate accommodation, adequate transport and other comforts which they are used to. After all, these tourists who come to our country are willing to pay for their comforts. Why should we not provide those facilities to them? We will have to spend Indian rupees to give them the comforts they require, but in exchange we shall earn foreign currency. I feel this matter ought to be looked into and tourism should be given more importance in India.

Tourism has been placed under the Ministry of Transport and Communications. Probably that Ministry has so many subjects under it that it is not

able to give proper attention to tourism. I would like to suggest that the Ministry of International Trade should take over this department, because after all, they are also dealing with foreign exchange and maybe they will be able to give more time and attention to tourism if that department is brought under them.

Probably it seems to most Members of this House that tourism is a subject to luxury and pleasure. It must not be brushed aside frivolously, especially when it brings to our country such a lot of foreign exchange which we so badly need. Instead of going about with a begging bowl in our hand, why do not we ask people to come here and spend money in this country?

Sir, the people who come here undoubtedly enjoy their visit to India because they enjoy the local colour, they enjoy looking at our natural beautiful sceneries, they enjoy looking at our natural beautiful sceneries, they enjoy looking at our ancient and historical buildings and they enjoy our culture. At the same time, they go back dissatisfied with the arrangements that we have made for them. They are the people who advertise to their friends and relatives abroad. We are judged by what they say about the arrangements here.

It may be said that Rs. 40 crores is not a big amount. When we are in such a great need for foreign exchange, we should explore every possible source for earning foreign exchange. We should tap every possible source, however small the amount that it brings in may be. For instance, I was recently in Europe. There I found to my amazement, and jealousy as a matter of fact, that Thai silk was sold in large quantities in the market. Not only in England but in Europe and America yards and yards of Thai silk are imported by the people there for their clothing and things like that. Indian silk is far superior in quality. If only something substantial was done to export Indian silk in large quantities, that would have brought in a lot

of foreign exchange. It may not be crores and crores of rupees, but it would have brought in quite a lot of foreign exchange. We can easily do it if only somebody would take the trouble of going into the details of it and finding out the needs of foreign countries.

I feel, Sir, that our Trade Commissioners abroad are not really doing their job properly. It is the duty of our trade representatives abroad to find out what are the things that we can export to those countries. I know, for example, that in one foreign country—I do not want to mention the name because I do not want to get anybody into trouble—one dress manufacturer wanted to order from India yards and yards of raw silk and other varieties of silk. When he approached the Trade Commissioner of this country there, he got such a negative reply, such a discouraging reply that he dropped the idea of getting it from India. He was given the impression that Indians were trying to discourage the exports of their goods instead of trying to encourage them.

Having said this much about foreign exchange, I would like to touch upon one or two aspects of the Plan. Many hon. Members have spoken about the shortfalls in the Third Five Year Plan on the economic basis. I would like to look at it from another point of view. The Plan has also fallen short in its objective so far as education is concerned. After all, when we prepared this Plan, whom did we plan for? We were planning for the future of India. But it seems to me that we take such a lot of interest in the technical side and also in the economic side—of course, they are very very necessary—that we forget to think as to whom we have planned for. Who are the people for whom we have planned? Sir, the most important investment that we have in this country is the future citizens of India, the children of India. Therefore, we must give to these children all over India the right kind of care, the right kind of food and the right kind of health fac-

ilities, no matter who they may be. Statistics show that there is a considerable increase in the number of schools and school-going children in this country. There are more and more schools coming up in this country. This is a very good thing, because it would solve the problem of illiteracy. But it raises a very important problem and that is the problem of adequate teachers. I know that many many institutions have been started to train the teachers who are to teach these small children. But it is not enough if they have the requisite qualifications or the degrees. To be able to teach these small children they must be really good teachers. I know this is a matter under the State Government, but I would earnestly request the Union Government to impress on the State Governments that they should be very very careful in selecting the teachers who are to teach the small children. They are our future citizens, and all this Plan and our being in this House etc., is all because of them.

There is one other thing. I find that in India each State Government has its own policy with regard to education for children. I think there should be a uniform policy. As you know, in Gujarat recently they introduced a law by which English is not taught till the eighth standard. The result of this would be that the boys and girls of Gujarat will not have adequate knowledge of English to take higher examinations. For instance, the U.P.S.C. examination are conducted in English. Even though the candidates can now answer in Hindi also, there are few Gujarati boys and girls who are so good in Hindi. Therefore, there must be a uniform policy for education in India. We find that in some parts of India the students are more backward than in other parts. Therefore, until Hindi replaces English completely, English must be given proper importance in all the States.

Another reason why I am pleading for uniformity in the policy of our education is that it will help to build up national integrity in this country.

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As you will agree, our children have to be taught to be Indians first before being taught to be regional minded. What I mean is, the Bengali children, the Gujarati children, the Madras children and others have all to be taught that they are Indian subjects. If there is a sort of cementing force like education or a language in which they can communicate then I think it will go a long way. I am not saying that the regional languages should not be encouraged. In fact, I have come from Bengal, and I think it would be a very sad day if the Bengali children are not able to read and appreciate the wonderful literature in Bengali. What I am saying is that a uniform policy of education and language will act as a cementing force.

There is one thing which I think is very dangerous and very wrong. I find that politics is creeping into the lives of school-going children. This is not correct. This is absolutely wrong and this should not be encouraged. Indian children must be brought up to be Indian citizens first. They should not have any party affiliations. They have got nothing to do with the political life of our country. They must be kept free from politics until they come up to an age when they are able to make up their minds for themselves whether they want to go in for politics, whether they want to join any party, whether they want to have any political affiliations. They must be able to decide whether they want to have any party affiliations or remain as ordinary citizens. After all, there are so many in this country who do not belong to any political party. At the recent elections I was really disgusted to find that little children were made to shout party slogans, carry party flags etc. Sometimes they were used to make a crowd when somebody was speaking and enough people were not there. All this is very wrong.

Sir, I hope you will excuse me for expressing my view-points on the Plan. After all, everybody has been talking of the economic aspect of the

Plan. But, as I said, these children are very very important for us, and we must plan with great care for their health and for their education.

That is all, Sir, that I have to say. I only want to conclude by saying that many of us feel that those who are responsible for planning seem to have forgotten one thing, that the Plan is for the people and the people are not for the Plan.

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee (Ratnagiri): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, Shri Nath Pai's motion says: "This House takes note of the serious shortfall..." On this point I would like to submit my difference of opinion. I think that the Plan is an integrated whole and, therefore, the success or failure in individual sectors in themselves cannot really be judged. We must judge the attempt of the Government to carry out the Plan as a whole. Our main objective is to raise the living standards of our people, the 450 million people, to give them equal opportunities for education, for employment, for medical care, upbringing of the young etc.

The Plan is a strategy, an economic strategy, for India's future development. It is strategy to make the best and maximum possible use of our resources of land, man-power, capital and natural resources. However, there are some limiting factors which are inherent in our country, in our people, which we must take into account. There are certain social, religious and traditional conventions and beliefs which we have to admit. There is also the fact that, for some reason, perhaps due to long years of subjugation, perhaps because our land is beautiful and the climate is good, we are not capable of producing the same output of work as we find in other countries. The output per man-hour of work here is less than, for instance, in a country like Japan. So, when we make national plans, when we take into account certain conditions, we must also realise that the plan cannot be worked out in every

detail. There are certain constraints, certain pressures, economic constraints and political constraints. Just as in life every wish cannot be satisfied, so in a Plan every target cannot be reached. So, I would say that the Planning Commission and the Government have achieved much, though I would also say that they have much to achieve. There are some essential things, things which are *sine qua non* for our economic progress, things like steel, cement, coal, power, reliable communications etc. which we must take into account because they are essential for our plan and for our future economic development.

Now I come to the progress of the Plan. The first year of the Plan has gone by and we admit, judging by the performance, that the aggregate of 30 per cent increase in national income at the end of the Third Plan will probably not be reached. We also admit the serious situation of our external balances, the lack of co-ordination which has brought about confusion in transport, coal and power, that our agricultural production, which should have increased at the rate of eight per cent. has increased only by three per cent, that there are serious short-falls in production of cotton where while in 1960-61 we had a production of 54 lakhs of bales, in 1961-62 the production is only 40 lakhs bales and that the production of foodgrains has not made the progress we expected of that. But to the credit of the Government one can say that it has provided wider educational facilities, there has been an industrial expansion and that there have been substantial increases in the installed capacity of several important industries like aluminium, industrial machinery electrical equipment, fertilizers heavy chemicals and cement.

Here I would like to say that while we are concentrating on rapid industrialisation, we are forgetting our rural economy. 85 per cent. of our population lives in rural districts. There are 500,000 villages and only about 15 per cent. of the population

lives in urban areas. Therefore, it is of utmost importance to improve the living standards of the people in rural areas. I further maintain that the industrial progress is in metropolitan areas and that this progress will in no way provide any kind of economic progress for the hinterland, nor solve our employment problem. Here I would like to give certain figures. During the last ten years we have had an increase of 50 per cent. in our industrial output. Whereas in 1950 only 6.5 per cent. of our national income came from industry, in 1960 about 9.1 per cent. of our national income came from industry. But what happened to our agriculture? Whereas in 1950 about 50 per cent. of our national income was from agriculture, in 1960 only 49.6 per cent. was from agriculture. And this in spite of the fact that 85 per cent. of our people live in rural areas. Here I would like to point out as I have no later figures available with me. In 1950 while 2.6 per cent. of the labour force was in industry, 72 per cent. were engaged in agriculture. Further, industries have a tendency to grow round metropolitan areas like Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. So, they neither absorb the labour force of the surrounding districts nor do they provide economic progress for the surrounding areas. Industrial development, unless it is previously balanced by economic development of the rural areas, will not provide an all-round improvement in the living standards.

How are we to do this? Greater industrialisation, I do not think, is the answer for it will not reduce the hardship of the average man. In fact, it is estimated that with the annual population growth of two per cent, in 1965 unemployment will reach 28 million. Therefore, in order to improve rural economy, we must improve our agriculture. But agriculture by itself cannot provide a decent standard of living if the *per capita* output is not high enough. In India the ratio of land *per capita* is low and the method

[Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee]

of agriculture is uneconomic. Therefore, the farmer has no surplus from his agricultural income to exchange his agricultural goods for his consumer needs. So, if we want to improve his lot, we must provide small industries in rural areas. By that I do not mean cottage industries, because I do not think that cottage industries in themselves are an answer; I mean industries like foot-wear or consumer articles which he uses. This has been tried in Japan where 25 per cent. of the total production from technical industries comes from small industries. Therefore, unless we have decentralisation of industries so that the industries grow in the rural areas, I am afraid that mere large-scale industrialisation will in no way solve our unemployment problem, nor raise the standard of living of the masses. Since the farmers are the chief consumers, unless their income level is raised, unless economic and industrial development is provided for them, industrialisation cannot automatically raise their standard of living.

Even if the Third Plan is worked out in every detail which it seems is not likely at this stage, I do not think that the unemployment problem can be solved. I am afraid, we rather have a tendency for following the pattern which prevails in Europe and America, but in Europe manpower is at a premium and therefore they require mechanised industries for future standardisation and automation. In our country our main problem is to provide enough employment and unless we provide some kind of economic growth in the rural areas, just industrialisation will not be of any help.

I am glad to hear that the Rural Industries Planning Committee which had been set up a few months ago has taken on about 46 areas and is going to look into this so as to do something about the development of small industries in the rural areas.

It is my sad experience to see: that around Bombay which is a big indus-

trial centre benefits of the Plan hardly reach the people. They have no communications. Employment is non-existent. Agricultural return is very little. I am afraid, the people there resent the obvious and unjust disparities. They resent the lack of employment opportunities when they compare their lives with those of the city-dwellers. I do not know what the answer is for this imbalance between the rural and urban areas. I am not an economist, I am afraid. But the Planning Commission is assisted by many experts and technical people and can find out a solution for this. My commonsense point of view tells me that until you improve the living conditions in the rural areas there can be no progress for the country and for the people as a whole.

Next I come to the resources for the Plan. Here I think the States must realise their responsibilities regarding the raising of resources and must also avoid inter-State jealousies. Whether economic conditions and local resources justify it or not, every State wants to have a big industry. The policy of the Planning Commission, I believe, is that in backward areas where it is uneconomic they will still go out of their way to provide a big industry. My point is that big industries in themselves are no solution at all. We must concentrate on smaller industries. That is probably the only way by which we can bring up the living standards of the people in the rural areas.

Regarding exports, the target is Rs. 1400 crores at the end of the Fourth Plan. It does not seem impossible. It has been done in such countries as Yugoslavia, Japan and a good many of the Western countries over a period of a decade. But our total exports instead of going up have gone down. In 1959 it was Rs. 729 crores and in 1961 it was only Rs. 623 crores. As against that our imports have gone up. One salient fact is that while the world trade has been expanding, India's exports have been

stagnant. About this I quote the Planning Commission itself:—

"In terms of volume, exports were higher in the Second Plan by 9 per cent; but this was not fully reflected in larger export earnings on account of less favourable unit values. It may be added that during this decade, while total world export trade doubled, India's share declined from 2.1 per cent. in 1950 to 1.1 per cent in 1960."

I am sorry, this was quoted earlier on.

The reason for our not being able to compete in the world market, I feel, is that some new competitors have come into the field. In jute we have Pakistan to cope with, in lac Thailand and in tea East Africa and Ceylon. They have increased their share in the UK market. In manganese ore also we have lost in the world market. We depend on export where world trade is expanding only slowly. Also, domestic consumption is fast catching up with production. Therefore we have less to export. Nearly half of our exports still consist of three traditional staples, namely, tea, cotton textiles and jute. Therefore I suggest that there should be some change in our export policy. Unless we go in for some revolutionary changes in our export trade, I am afraid, we will not be able to compete in the world market. Not only must we export at a lower price but we must also increase the quantity. Iron ore, coffee, fish, vegetable oils and invisible exports, like, tourism, as Her Highness Maharani Gayatri Devi suggested, would be very good. I feel that we must overhaul our Plan and we must be more realistic about our social and economic conditions. We are liable to be very idealistic in our notions. We must remember that we are an agricultural country. We must first of all improve and rationalise agriculture, encourage small industries in rural areas and decentralise industrialisation. Secondly, we must increase our export trade.

In conclusion, I would like to say that we are not only a rural society but that there is also in us, ungrained traditionalism and some very old and rigid social customs which we cannot escape from. We must keep this in mind. We must also remember that the people are much more politically awakened today than they were a decade ago. They are well aware of their rights and privileges. Large-scale unemployment is very risky. Government can no longer evade their responsibility and can no longer afford economic ill-successes.

It is suggested that we need not have a plan because we do not keep to a plan. I am afraid, I cannot agree with this because a plan at least gives us some clear ideas. We know our aims and objects and even if we do not achieve those objects we can consider where, how and why we have gone wrong. An unplanned economy is like an uncharted voyage, uncertain of direction and uncertain of destination.

With these words I do commend the effort that the Planning Commission and the Government are making. I also realise the difficulties that they face. With this I support the Plan.

Shri Kashi Ram Gupta (Alwar):
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, this time I have decided to speak in English because I want to bring to the notice of my brothers and sisters from the South the fact that sometimes their attitude towards Hindi in this House is not upto the mark. Whenever an hon. Minister tries to speak in Hindi, they try to put a check upon him. It means that they may allow we ordinary Members to speak in Hindi but they do not like that an hon. Minister should speak in Hindi. If these things go on, I am afraid, Hindi can never come up to the level of English in this House. That is the reason why I have decided to speak today in English.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Why is the hon. Member speaking in English?

Shri Kashi Ram Gupta: I am speaking in English, in order that I may be understood by those who are from the south, and who complain that the Hindi speaking people are not understandable to them.

Now, I come to the main points. I think that for the successful implementation of the Plan, five conditions should be necessary. The first is clean and efficient administration; the second is a thorough analysis of the factors that are expected to govern the implementation of the Plan with particular care about the hurdles to be met with. The third is avoidance of political use of the Plan and its proper implementation. The fourth is that the ways and means of implementation of the Plan should go to strengthen the integration of the country rather than its disintegration. And the fifth is that false motions should not be there in the minds of the leaders.

I could give one or two examples about each. So far as the question of clean and efficient administration is concerned, everybody in this House should admit that it is far below normal. We have had past experiences and recent experiences as well. In the past, there has been the Bhakra-Nangal scandal of engineers and so on and so forth. Only recently, we had the scandal about the Rajasthan Canal material. Although our Prime Minister often says that corruption is at the bottom and not at the top, we have already emphasised it more than once that corruption is all round. So long as corruption is there, the implementation of the Plan must be facing difficulties. So, I would request the hon. Minister to see how far he can tackle this point.

The second point is about the analysis of the various factors. I might quote the example of cotton and oilseeds. It is said that the vagaries of weather are there. Naturally, this is the most important

item to be taken into consideration. And if this has not been taken into consideration, where then can we say that we have actually thought of the factors governing cotton production and oilseeds production? Cotton production is at its brink; on the one side, while this thing is going on, on the other side, sugar production has gone up, but the consumption is not there, and we are facing the difficulties of exporting it. Naturally, within three years, we have failed to plan the balance between the two, and no argument can satisfy us on this point.

The third thing is about the means of strengthening the integration of the country. It may not be strictly relevant here, but I think that if we see the far-reaching effect of certain things going on in India, we must admit that we have not thought of the effect of that on the Plans. From the south, a movement has started. There are hon. Members in this House who say that the south is to be separated from India, although at the present moment, they are not here in the House. That is what the DMK people say. They say that the southern culture is different, and they have nothing in common with us. They also say that if we fail to give them independence, they will go to the UNO. This is the position. We may laugh at them now. One day, we were laughing at the people who were demanding Pakistan. They were in the minority at that time. If those people who are to day in a minority become a majority tomorrow, what will happen to the whole Plan? The whole will be upset. So, I have thought of bringing this also to the notice of the Minister of Planning, although he may not be directly concerned with this.

Then comes a false notion. The other day, on 15th August, the hon. Prime Minister in his speech on the Red Fort said that the life expectation of the people of India had increased because people were having good food. This reason does not hold

good anywhere. The life expectation has increased because there have been other steps taken for preserving the health of the people, like checking epidemics etc.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf (Jammu and Kashmir): He did not say good food alone, but something more.

Shri Kashi Ram Gupta: No, Sir. The main thing was good food alone. Good food, I may say, is far from the reach of the poor people in this country. It may be within the reach of Members here, in the sense that they get pure ghee here, but it is far from the reach of the people in the villages and cities, far from the reach of the people here. Even the officers I think do not get good food even if they pay much for it. Otherwise, why was there so much hue and cry the other day about adulteration and so on?

Now I come to the targets. First I take coal, and the transport problem. This very morning we were told that coal production last year had not been even as much as that of the previous year.

15.57 hrs.

[SHRI MULCHAND DUBE in the Chair]

At the same time, the transport problem has become more acute. As I have mentioned earlier, when we do not visualise what factors govern the whole problem from the beginning, these things come about. We had fixed a target of two million tons to be carried by ships. That has totally failed. The reasons are not given now. They say that the vessels were not available, or the shipping charges are very high. More than one reason is given for that, but could they not visualise it earlier? They ought to have visualised the whole thing. Now they are trying another thing, to carry it by road and then by river to Allahabad, 700 tons a day they say. I am unable to understand how these tit-bit methods can go to solve the problem.

Then about the rail transport itself, 50 per cent of the whole transport system of the railway is used for our steel plants. On the one side, our demand for coal is increasing they say, but we do not know where and in what sector the increase is. Whether it is a planned or an unplanned increase in demand we have to ascertain. There are no figures given for that.

Then we say that furnace oil should be used in areas near the sea. Formerly, shipping was to be used, now furnace oil is to be used. I fail to understand how it can replace coal all of a sudden in so many factories.

Last of all, I say there is no co-ordination between these steps at all. If there had been co-ordination, the difficulty of transport would not have been as acute as it is.

Now, Sir, I come to the agricultural side. The other day I read in the papers that in U.P. last year 100 crore maunds of sugarcane was produced as against about 99 crore maunds the previous year, but the yield was much less than that of the previous year. It means that instead of increasing the per-acre yield of sugarcane, we have failed and it has decreased. If this is the position, it naturally means that the acreage under sugarcane cannot be easily reduced. Otherwise, there will be a shortfall in the production target of sugar. So, we are badly failing in our targets on the agricultural side also.

As pointed out by Shri Dhebar, animal husbandry and the agricultural side of the rural area is more or less neglected in comparison with what we are doing for industries.

So far as rural industries are concerned, I may frankly say, and it may not be liked very much, that it is a big hoax played on the people. We have seen how the Khadi Commission has been working the village industries schemes in the villages, for the last 15 years. There has been no

[Shri Kashi Ram Gupta]

evaluation of it. If an evaluation is made, we will cut a very sorry figure indeed. Now, comes the addition, the rural industries programme. Unless we materially and basically change our concept of rural industries we may not have any rural industry in the rural areas at all. I do not know what are the classifications. This is a very simple question that should have been dealt with; but it has not been done.

16 hrs.

Production of khadi has been going on in the same old way. New spinning devices have not been invented nor are they being allowed to be invented because of the taxation question and excise duty and all that. All these factors are there. Hence, I say the rural industries programme is nothing but a slogan and a hoax. It will prove so if we go on like this.

They are creating department after department, a Central department, a State department, a department at the district level and so on. But the industries are not to be found anywhere.

They have tried to have surveys of 46 areas. I do not know what these surveys mean. These surveys should have been carried out much earlier than now. The rural areas have been there. As Gandhiji said, people live mostly in the villages and they must be looked after first. Why this survey after such a long time? The hon. Minister himself is a Sarvodaya man and he must have done it long before.

About power. The Rihand project is there. Five generators have been set up and only one is being used and 4 are not being used. They say that transmission lines have not, as yet been, drawn up. If this is the way of planning, I do not know how we can use any other word for waste.

Coming to the question of roads, on the one side, we are building up our

roads and extending them and having new roads. On the other side, we are totally neglecting them. Everybody knows that if there is a road constructed, there must be bitumen treatment after 2 or 3 years. Thousands of miles of roads must be there where traffic is going on and where roads are becoming waste because there is no bitumen treatment.

I will give you a nearer example. There is a 20-mile road in Rajasthan; 8 miles of it have not bitumenned. And, that does not find a place in the Third Five Year Plan. The result is that every year Rs. 25,000 are being spent from the pockets of the poor by way of increase in motor fares because this is used for purchasing tyres. On the one hand Rs. 25,000 is coming from the pockets of the poor people, the passengers of buses, and, on the other, foreign exchange is being lost. These tyres which should have been used for other purposes are being used for this because of this malady.

Then, after 5 years these roads will have to be reconstructed. Anyway, Rs. 2 lakhs extra would be spent by way of new construction. But now there is this waste. What else can be a more glaring example of misuse and unplanned way of working?

Then, I come to the problem of Rajasthan. My colleagues from Rajasthan here must be knowing that Rajasthan is in a very peculiar position at present. I may say that we are rather going back here. The Plan may be curtailed by about Rs. 50 crores. This is the latest information. Why? Because there have been overdrawals there. Why was this allowed and on what basis? Simply because a political issue was there? As I have already mentioned, they wanted the election to be fought and if they had not done that they could not have formed the Government. In spite of spending so much of overdraft,

they have shown such a poor performance of the Government acting there. But for that, I think the Government would not have been formed there. That is the position in Rajasthan. Everywhere there is going to be a cut. Unemployment is increasing. Why was such a Plan formulated when the resources were not there? The Planning Commission has to look into these things, if a State Government does a thing in the wrong way.

Lastly, the people's car episode is there. For the last so many years we have been told that a people's car was coming up for the ordinary people. They say that foreign exchange is available and the foreign firm is available. But steel is not available and raw materials are not available with us and so we cannot give priority. Having done so much propaganda earlier, we decide to drop it. Does it bring a good name to us? What will that firm think? They had done the best they could; they offered the best terms. This is glaring example of bad planning.

About employment in the rural areas, I may frankly say that the methods that have been adopted till now do not at all give any employment to those people, whatever appears on paper. It mostly lead to corruption because the statistics shown are not correct; they are more or less false. I have also to lay stress on the proper functioning of the political party in power. Unfortunately, I have examples where the party uses the Plan for its own purpose. In my own district rural electrification was done that was not provided for in the Plan—from areas where two ministers were fighting the election. Both were defeated; that is another matter. But they took electricity to their areas without caring for the results of the Plan as a whole; nobody questioned them about it.

Shri Ansar Harvani (Bisauli): It continues even after their defeat.

1611 (Ai) LSD—8.

Shri Kashi Ram Gupta: It is more or less forsaken now the same speed is not there.

Fixing the targets of fulfilling them does not mean that the Plan is successful; it is successful only when it gives results. Common people do not realise that they are getting any benefit of the Plans. There is the glaring instance of electricity failure in Delhi. That has led every one to the conclusion that there has been no planning so far as Delhi is concerned. That is, we must remember, the capital city. The transformer plant here is owned by the Punjab Government and we cannot say anything about it. We have to depend upon them. The inter-State link is also there. If that is the fate of a Plan for the capital city of Delhi, what to say of rural areas? Dr. Rao referred to these things and his whole speech resulted in one thing: there are so many gaps in the Plan. He is an experienced hand; and he himself points out these gaps. So, our planning is defective to a very large extent. If we examine these things, or, if an examiner is there to examine these things, I do not think he will gave more than a third division mark for all this planning. So, if we require a second or a first division, the implementation of these plans should be very practical.

With these words, I close.

Shri K. C. Pant (Naini Tal): Mr. Chairman, Sir, we have before us a subject which is of great interest not only to hon. Members of this House but to a very big audience outside. The third Plan is already a year and a half old and there are nearly three and a half years to go. The country is anxious to know how it is progressing and what its ultimate size and shape is going to be like.

The hon. Member, Shri Indrajit Gupta and the hon. Member who spoke before me had a few hard things to say about the way in which our Plan targets are formulated. I need hardly say that planning is a

[Shri K. C. Pant]

continuous exercise which has to take into account numerous variables over some of which the planners themselves do not have complete control. As such, there is nothing like a perfect plan with immutable targets. It is true, on the other hand, that if targets tend to be too wide of the mark, they lose all meaning and sanctity. So, the Plan targets have to be formulated with great care and scientific objectivity and after taking into account all relevant factors. This is so obvious that I was greatly surprised to find the hon. Member, Shri Nath Pai, saying in the course of his speech that the shortfalls and failures of the second Plan were not taken into account while formulating the third Plan.

It is true that all the 1960-61 figures contained in the tables of the third Plan document relate not to actual performance but to Plan targets. The reason for that is obvious: that the plan document was prepared two years before the end of the second Plan. Once the second Plan came to an end both its successes and failures were laid bare and there was no question of ignoring the shortcomings of the second Plan. However, I would submit that at that stage, the planners were faced with a very difficult choice whether to scale down the Plan targets in order to accommodate the failures of the second Plan or to proceed on the assumption that with greater effort and the gathering momentum of the third Plan, the backlog of the second Plan would be made up in the course of the third Plan. In my humble opinion, the compulsions of the economic situation did not permit any scaling down of the third Plan targets at that stage. The colossal problem of unemployment, the high rate of increase of population, the rising aspirations of the people, the growing demands of defence and, above all, the need to maintain a steadily spiralling tempo of development dictated a rapid and sizeable growth in the economy. It is against this back-

ground that we have to view the formulation of the targets of the third Five Year Plan.

I am glad that the hon. Member, Shri Nath Pai, also stated categorically that he did not consider the third Plan to be overambitious. In fact, he expressed himself strongly against any pruning of Plan targets. This would lead one to expect that he considers the targets to be within reach. However, he goes on to contradict to himself by casting doubts on the feasibility of attaining those very targets.

It appears that Shri Nath Pai's doubts stem from the modest performance in the first year of the third Plan. He may or may not be right in drawing the conclusions that he did, but I would like to point out that all our plans started slowly and they picked up the momentum only as they progressed. The first Plan, for instance, did not really get into its stride before the middle of the Plan period, whereas the second Plan reached its peak in its fourth and fifth years. Even so, I would not like to underplay the serious difficulties which are now confronting the Plan.

The results of the first year of the third Plan have been frankly disappointing. Agricultural production has gone up by 1.6 per cent as against the target of 6 per cent. National income has increased by about 3 per cent as against the target of 6 per cent. The problems of coal, transport and power have proved to be difficult nuts to crack, thereby casting a shadow of uncertainty upon the future. With no final decision about the Bokaro steel plant and with no orders placed for the expansion of two of the three steel plants, the outlook on steel is also rather bleak. This is a matter for concern, because shortage of steel will have a widespread effect on the Plan.

Another regrettable factor is that despite the setback in agricultural targets, the target of nitrogenous fertili-

sers in the third Plan has been reduced from 800,000 tons to 650,000 tons whereas the demand at the end of the Plan period is estimated at one million tons. It has to be examined very carefully how far this reduction is going to effect the attainment of our agricultural targets.

Along with heavy industry, agriculture constitutes the back-bone of this third Plan. It is a matter of gratification that we are now concentrating on cash crops like oil-seeds and cotton. This is indicative of the fact that we have confidence that we have already got over the hump in the matter of food production. As regards cotton, there are certain varieties—the long staple variety—which we have not been able to manufacture in adequate quantity in this country so far and for which crores of rupees of foreign exchange have to be spent every year. I understand after talking with those who are experts and who know, that a part of this foreign exchange—20 to 30 per cent—can be saved if the long staple cotton is substituted in part by synthetic fibre to be manufactured inside this country.

I now come back to the main question raised by Shri Nath Pai, i.e. whether or not the third Plan targets are going to be reached. I heard the Minister very carefully this morning and I have gone through many of the pronouncements of his colleagues in recent months. It is becoming increasingly clear from official pronouncements that there are going to be certain targets which are not going to be reached in the course of the third Plan. That has got to be accepted and we find ourselves in a similar position as the one which existed in the second year of the second Plan. Once again we have to draw up a list of priorities and fashion out the core of the Plan.

I now turn, briefly, to the matter of implementation, which is really the most important matter. The Government is constantly seized of this problem, and there have been sev-

eral recent announcements of useful measures which have been taken or are to be taken. To my mind, the basic task before us is to create a burning sense of urgency at all levels in the machinery entrusted with the implementation of the Plan. Unfortunately, this cannot be done merely by appealing to patriotic sentiment. An element of ruthlessness must enter into the method and manner with which we deal with matters like inefficiency, corruption and failure to deliver the goods. Both the State and society must react with greater vigour against those who, whatever their field of activity or position in life, act in a manner which is prejudicial to the public good.

Sir, there is another aspect of implementation on which I wish to touch very briefly. Another test of a good administrative set-up which is necessary for implementing the Plan is the speed with which it reacts or responds to a crisis or emergency. The other day, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, our Minister without Portfolio, mentioned the need for having something like the control room at a factory as the nerve centre of the planning apparatus. That idea appealed to me very much, and I would wish that such a control room did exist, though not like one of the control rooms in the railway yards at the moment. But, judging from the fact that out of Rs. 1,150 crores of foreign aid that was available to us during the Second Plan period as much as Rs. 350 crores were allowed to spill over into the Third Plan, one does not think that any such control room exists at the moment.

Now I wish to touch, briefly, on certain aspects connected with the Plan which, to my mind, deserve attention. One aspect which is coming increasingly and, if I may say so, menacingly, to the fore is that under the pressure of having to find ever larger resources for financing succeeding Five Year Plans the States are casting their eyes on resources which so far had been within the firm and unchallenged grip of

[Shri K. C. Pant]

the Central Government. Assam, for instance, put its foot down in the matter of oil royalties. Now Bengal is seeking to establish its claim over coal deposits lying within its area. I do not wish to comment on the merits of these cases, one of which is pending before the Supreme Court. Moreover, in case there is any apprehension, I have every sympathy for Bengal and Assam which have many problems of their own. But I feel strongly that at this moment, at this stage in our development, the reins of the economy must be firmly in the grasp of the Centre, particularly in view of the centrifugal forces that are putting at the States.

Another aspect of the same problem is the manner in which the States canvass for the location of industrial units within their boundaries. Very few among the States scruple to use political pressure to influence decisions which should be based purely on techno-economic considerations. Take the case of the policy decision of the Government to locate one fertilizer factory in every State. I fail to understand the principle behind this policy, and I do not know how it can be justified on techno-economic grounds. It would be an unbelievable coincidence if every State in India were to offer identical techno-economic advantages for the location of fertilizer units. It is far more scientific to locate large giant fertilizer units at places which offer the maximum techno-economic advantages and to locate smaller fertilizer mixing units within agronomical zones which can take into consideration the soil, crops, rainfall etc. these smaller units could manufacture tailor-made combinations of fertilizers to cater to the specific and particular needs of the zones within which they were located. In my humble opinion, this would serve the long-range interests both of the farmers and of the country very much more than the present arrangement.

Having said all this, I would like to add that though one may criticise one

aspect of the Plan or the other, I think it is not proper to create an atmosphere of scepticism about the whole Plan in general. These Five Year Plans are very much more than masses of statistics or collections of projects. They have, in fact, come to symbolise the faith of the people in the future of India. It would be no exaggeration to say that the Five Year Plans have saved democracy in this country. It is no secret that though democracy has taken firm roots in India, it has passed through periods of acute public scepticism, particularly when China announced its era of leap forward and Pakistan in the first flush of military dictatorship, trumpeted its success in curbing prices and anti-social activities. But the success of the Five Year Plan has sustained and strengthened the faith and belief of the people in the process of planning and in democracy itself.

In the end, I would like to say that to the people of India the Third Plan is a charter of hope, of promise, of fulfilment; it represents the concerted and unbending will of the nation to march forward with courage, with dedication, with determination and with perseverance to achieve its cherished and chosen goal.

With these words, I support the motion standing in the name of my hon. friend, Shri Morarka, and I thank you for giving me this opportunity.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (बिजनौर) :
सभापति महोदय, तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के कुछ महत्वपूर्ण अंगों को स्पर्श करने से पूर्व मैं कुछ सामान्य सुझाव इस योजना के सम्बन्ध में देना चाहता हूँ। पहली बात जो विशेष रूप से मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि प्रायः यह देखा जा रहा है कि जितनी भी सुविधाएँ सरकार की ओर से योजनाओं के अन्तर्गत दी जा रही हैं वह सब गांवों से सिमट कर

शहरों की ओर आती चली जा रही है। इस का परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि हर पढ़ा लिखा व्यक्ति आज गांवों को छोड़ कर शहरों की ओर अपना मुंह उठा कर चल रहा है। यदि इसी प्रकार की प्रवृत्ति बराबर बढ़ती रही तो मेरा अपना अनुमान है कि बस वर्षों के पश्चात् धीरे धीरे गांव खाली हो जायेंगे और वह इस देश की योजना के लिए और इस देश के शासकों के लिए भी पर्याप्त चिन्ता का विषय बन जायगी। इसलिए हम अपनी योजनाएं बनाते समय इस बात को भूल न जायं कि हमारे देश का एक बहुत बड़ा भाग गांवों में रहता है। इसलिए जो सुविधाएं और व्यवस्थाएं इस योजना के अन्तर्गत चल रही हैं उस का उसी अनुपात से गांवों को भाग मिलना चाहिए जितनी संख्या में कि इस देश में गांव हैं।

दूसरी बात जो मैं विशेष रूप से कहना चाहता हूं वह यह है कि द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में हम ने बेरोजगारी को समाप्त करने के लिए जितनी संख्या निर्धारित की थी दुःख है कि हम उस में सफल नहीं हो पाये। तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में भी हम ने कुछ संख्या निर्धारित की है लेकिन पहली और दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में बेरोजगारों की समस्या का समाधान करने के लिए जो हम ने पग उठाये थे उस में जितनी कम सफलता मिली है उस आधार पर मेरा विश्वास है कि तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में भी हम अपने निर्धारित लक्ष्य तक नहीं पहुंच पायेंगे। यदि बेरोजगारों की संख्या इसी प्रकार देश में दिन-प्रति-दिन बढ़ती चली गई, तो हमारी ये योजनायें हमारे लिए बहुत बड़े संकट का कारण बन जायेंगी। मेरा अपना अनुमान यह भी है कि हमारे देश में बेरोजगारी की समस्या जो बहुत बढ़ती चली जा रही है, उस का एक बहुत बड़ा कारण यह है कि हमारे अपने मस्तिष्कों में, और विशेषकर हमारी शिक्षा में, श्रम की प्रतिष्ठा का सर्वथा अभाव होता जा रहा है, लोग मेहनत से

बहुत दूर हो रहे हैं और कुरसियों पर बैठ कर हुकम चलाने की प्रवृत्ति बढ़ रही है। इस प्रकार सरकारी सविसों की ओर झुकाव हो रहा है। यही कारण है कि हमारे देश में बेरोजगारों की समस्या या यह कहिये कि देश में लोगों को नौकरियां मिलने की समस्या बहुत गम्भीर रूप धारण करती चली जा रही है।

जहां तक समन्वय का सम्बन्ध है, मैं एक आवश्यक निवेदन यह करना चाहता हूं कि दो योजनायें समाप्त कर अब हम तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना की ओर बढ़ रहे हैं, लेकिन देखा यह जा रहा है कि आज हमारे देश में तीन वर्ग स्पष्ट हैं, जो कि एक दूसरे के साथ समन्वय करने और कन्धा लगाने को तैयार नहीं हैं। हमारे देश में एक वर्ग तो है जनता का है, दूसरा सरकार का और तीसरा सरकारी कर्मचारियों का। सभापति जी, अगर आप मुझे आज्ञा दें, तो मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि इस देश में एक चौथा वर्ग नेताओं का भी है। दुर्भाग्य से इन चारों वर्गों में आपस में किसी प्रकार का समन्वय नहीं है। जनता अपने को सरकार से पृथक समझती है। इसी प्रकार सरकारी कर्मचारी भी अपने को सरकार से पृथक समझते हैं। इस का परिणाम यह है कि हमारी जितनी योजनायें हैं, उन में समन्वय के अभाव में पर्याप्त सफलता नहीं मिल रही है। जहां तक पहले तीन वर्गों और चौथे वर्ग में, जो कि देश का नेतृवर्ग कहलाता है, उस में समन्वय और सहयोग की परम अपेक्षा है, वहां एक बहुत बड़ी अपेक्षा यह भी है कि हमारे शासन के विभिन्न विभागों में भी समन्वय हो।

उदाहरण के लिए कृषि मंत्रालय और विद्युत मंत्रालय की ओर ही मैं आप का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं। मैं एक ऐसे निर्वाचन क्षेत्र से सम्बन्ध रखता हूं, जिस में गांवों की बहुत बड़ी संख्या है। वहां इस प्रकार की विषम स्थिति उत्पन्न होती रहती है कि जिस समय किसानों को खेती के लिए विजली

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

की आवश्यकता होती है, तो विद्युत मंत्री की ओर से आदेश तथा निर्देश दूसरे ढंग के निकलते हैं, जिस का परिणाम यह होता है कि कृषि को, जिस का विकास होना चाहिए, समय पर पानी नहीं मिल पाता है। इस सम्बन्ध में मेरा सुझाव है कि कृषि मंत्रालय और विद्युत मंत्रालय को एक बनाना चाहिए, क्योंकि इन दोनों को पृथक रखने की आवश्यकता नहीं है।

इसी तरह शिक्षा और वैज्ञानिक अनुसंधान मंत्रालयों को पृथक पृथक दो स्थानों पर रखने की आवश्यकता नहीं है, क्योंकि दोनों एक जैसे ही विषय हैं। उन में परस्पर समन्वय न होने के कारण उन में कार्यभिन्नता होती है और काम में हानि भी होती है।

जहां तक उद्योग मंत्रालय और परिवहन मंत्रालय का सम्बन्ध है, उद्योग मंत्रालय अर्थात् उत्पादन करने वाला विभाग दूसरा है और उस उत्पादन की ढुलाई करने वाला विभाग अर्थात् परिवहन मंत्रालय दूसरे हाथों में है। नियोगी समिति ने जो रिपोर्ट दी थी, उस में भी उस ने इस ओर संकेत दिया था कि परिवहन के क्षेत्र में जो विकास हुआ है, वह उद्योगों के साथ ताल-मेल नहीं खाता। इसलिए मेरा विचार है कि यदि उद्योग मंत्रालय और परिवहन मंत्रालय को भी एक कर दिया जाये, तो अच्छा है।

इसी प्रकार सांस्कृतिक-कार्य और सूचना तथा प्रसारण के मंत्रालयों के एक होने से दोनों को परस्पर बढ़ने और विकसित होने का अवसर मिलेगा। मेरा तात्पर्य यह है कि समन्वय की भावना जहां जनता और जन-नेताओं में अपेक्षित है, वहां प्रशासन में भी अपेक्षित है।

सभापति जी, मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हम ने अपने संविधान में प्रतिज्ञा की थी कि पंद्रह वर्षों में हम अपनी भाषा में

अपना कारोबार शुरू कर देंगे। नहीं कहा जा सकता कि उस समय हमारे मस्तिष्कों में जो पवित्रता थी, वह आज क्यों समाप्त हो रही है। सच्चाई तो यह है कि जब तक जनता का कार्य जनता की भाषा में नहीं होगा, देश का विकास और प्रगति करने में हमें अधिक सफलता नहीं मिल सकती। अभी चार पांच दिन की बात है कि हमारे पब्लिकसेन्स काउंटर से, जहां से सदस्यों को लोक सभा की ओर से या सरकार की ओर से छपने वाली कुछ सामग्री दी जाती है, एक पुस्तिका सदस्यों को दी गई, जिस में यह बताया गया है कि गांवों में सस्ते मकान कैसे बनाये जा सकते हैं। वह पुस्तिका अंग्रेजी में छपी हुई है। अब आप ही बताइये कि कितने गांव वाले इस पुस्तिका को पढ़ कर इस से लाभ उठा सकेंगे। जब मैं जनता की भाषा में जनता का कारोबार करने की बात कहता हूँ, तो मेरा आग्रह विशेष रूप से हिन्दी के लिए ही नहीं है, बल्कि मैं क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं के प्रोत्साहन की भी इच्छा रखता हूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश का कारोबार हमारी अपनी भाषा में बढ़ाना चाहिए और उस के विकास का शीघ्र से शीघ्र अवसर मिलना चाहिए। सभापति जी, आप मुझे इन दुखभरे शब्दों को कहने की अनुमति दें कि संविधान बनाते समय हमारे मस्तिष्कों में जो पवित्रता थी, दुर्भाग्य से वह पवित्रता आज हमारे मस्तिष्कों से हिल चुकी है। इस का परिणाम यह है कि जिस सात्विक भाव से हम ने व्रत लिए थे, आज हम उन को उस सात्विकता के साथ पूर्ण करने के लिए उद्यत नहीं हैं।

इस के बाद मैं अपने देश के नैतिक स्तर के विषय में कुछ शब्द कहना चाहता हूँ। आज हम अरबों खरबों की योजनाएँ तो बना रहे हैं, लेकिन दुर्भाग्य है कि हमारे देश का नैतिक स्तर गिरता जा रहा है। इस के लिए उपाय किये जाते हैं पुलिस प्रशासन के द्वारा,

गुप्तचर विभाग के द्वारा और दूसरे अन्य विभागों के द्वारा, लेकिन जब तक हम अपने देश में नैतिक स्तर को ऊंचा उठाने के लिए उन भावनाओं को फिर से नहीं जगायेंगे, जिन भावनाओं की पृष्ठभूमि में पहले हमारे पूर्वजों ने, हमारे ऋषियों और सन्तों ने, इस देश का नैतिक स्तर ऊंचा उठा रखा था, तब तक हम अपनी योजनाओं को पूर्णतया सफल नहीं कर पायेंगे। वह भावना है अपने देश में परमात्मा का विश्वास जगाने की प्रवृत्ति। आप उस को दूसरी भाषा में कुछ भी कह सकते हैं, लेकिन तथ्य यह है कि आज हमारे देश में धीरे धीरे नास्तिकता बढ़ती जा रही है और आस्तिकता से हमारा देश धीरे धीरे दूर होता जा रहा है, जिस का परिणाम यह है कि आज देश में भ्रष्टाचार और इसी प्रकार की अनेक बुराइयाँ फैल रही हैं, जिन के कारण हमारी योजनायें पूर्णतया सफल नहीं हो पाती हैं।

हम ने अपनी तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना बनाते समय इस बात का ध्यान क्यों नहीं रखा है कि मूल्यों में जो वृद्धि हो रही है, उस पर किस प्रकार नियंत्रण रखें। जिस समय हम इस योजना पर विचार कर रहे थे, उस समय यह स्थिति थी कि २७ अप्रैल, १९६२ को समाप्त होने वाले सप्ताह में मूल्य-सूचक अंग १२४.७ था और मई को समाप्त होने वाले सप्ताह में वह १२७ हो गया, जबकि अप्रैल में पहले ही १.५ की वृद्धि हो चुकी थी। योजना आयोग का कहना इस सम्बन्ध में यह है कि तीसरी योजना में मुद्रा में तीस प्रतिशत तक वृद्धि से कीमतों पर कोई बुरा प्रभाव पड़ने वाला नहीं है। लेकिन मैं आप का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ जब इस सदन में बजट प्रस्तुत होता है और नये नये कर लगाये जाते हैं, तो उस के साथ ही देश में मूल्यों में वृद्धि हो जाती है, जिस का परिणाम यह होता है कि हमारे देश के निम्न वर्ग और मध्यम वर्ग दोनों मूल्य-वृद्धि से कठिनाइयों में फँस जाते हैं कि यदि योजना बनाने वालों

ने योजना बनाते समय इस बात का ध्यान नहीं रखा, तो आगे चल कर इस के और भी कुपरिणाम हो सकते हैं। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि तृतीय पंच-वर्षीय योजना को कार्यान्वित करने से पूर्व आज हम इस बात पर गम्भीरता से निर्णय लें कि हम मूल्यों में वृद्धि को किस प्रकार रोक सकते हैं।

जहाँ तक परिवहन-सुविधाओं का सम्बन्ध है, मैं ने पहले भी नियोगी समिति के इस कथन का उल्लेख किया है कि उद्योगों की जरूरतों और परिवहन सुविधाओं के विस्तार में आपस में ताल-मेल नहीं है। उस का परिणाम यह है कि हमारे देश के उत्पादन पर भी प्रभाव पड़ता है और उत्पादकों में भी निराशा की भावना फैलती है। १९६१ में हमारे देश में लगभग दो करोड़ टन माल की दुलाई की सुविधा नहीं मिली। उत्पादन पर उस का प्रभाव पड़ना स्वाभाविक था। इस योजना के अन्त में राष्ट्रीय आय १९,००० करोड़ रुपये करने की प्रतिज्ञा की गई है, जबकि शुरू में वह १४,५०० करोड़ रुपये थी, अर्थात् इस योजना में हम राष्ट्रीय आय में ३१ प्रतिशत की वृद्धि करने जा रहे हैं। राष्ट्रीय आय में १ प्रतिशत की वृद्धि पर परिवहन-सुविधा ढाई प्रतिशत बढ़नी चाहिये और इसलिये अगर हम राष्ट्रीय आय में ३१ प्रतिशत की वृद्धि करने जा रहे हैं, तो स्वाभाविक है कि परिवहन-सुविधाओं में ७८ प्रतिशत की वृद्धि होनी चाहिये। लेकिन योजना आयोग ने जो योजना प्रकाशित की है, उस को देखने से यह प्रतीत होता है कि रेलवेज की तरफ तो उन्होंने कुछ ध्यान दिया है कि किस प्रकार से वैगन्ज बढ़ायें और कैसे दूसरी सुविधाओं का विस्तार किया जाय, लेकिन पानी के द्वारा परिवहन और सड़क-परिवहन की सुविधाओं की ओर ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर इस योजना में कुछ इस प्रकार की त्रुटियाँ रह गई हैं, तो

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

बुद्धिमत्ता इसी में है कि हम समय पर उन को सम्हालें ।

आयात और निर्यात नीति के सम्बन्ध में भी कुछ विशेष रूप से इसलिये कहना चाहता हूँ कि १९६१-६२ में १०७० करोड़ रुपये का आयात हुआ, लेकिन उस में से केवल १५० करोड़ रुपये की मशीनरी का आयात हुआ । मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जब हम अपने देश को अपने पैरों पर खड़ा करना चाहते हैं और हम यह चाहते हैं कि उत्पादन की दृष्टि से हमारे देश को दूसरों को मुंह न ताकना पड़े, तो हमारे लिए यह आवश्यक है कि आयात में हम केवल इसी प्रकार की चीजों का आयात करें, जिन से हमारा देश अपने पैरों पर खड़ा होने में समर्थ हो सके और उस को इस विषय में परमुसापेक्षी न होना पड़े । इस दृष्टि से उपभोग्य वस्तुओं के आयात को हम जितना कम कर सकें, उतना ही अच्छा है । दूसरी बात यह है कि आयात नीति को जिस समय हम निर्धारित करें तो निर्धारण से पूर्व एक साथ ही बिना सोचे उस की घोषणा न कर दिया करें । अभी ऐसे हुआ है कि आयात नीति की हम ने घोषणा की और उस में पचास प्रतिशत की कटौती की लेकिन पचास प्रतिशत की इस कटौती के पश्चात् फिर आप को उस में सुधार करना पड़ा और एक्स-रे फिल्मों के सम्बन्ध में तथा किताबों के सम्बन्ध में कुछ रियायतें देनी पड़ी । ये तमाम बातें ऐसी थीं जिन के बारे में आप को पहले ही सोच लेना चाहिए था ।

अपने वक्तव्य को उपसंहार की ओर ले जाते हुए और एक बात आवश्यक रूप से मैं कहना चाहता हूँ । जहाँ तक सरकारी क्षेत्र का सम्बन्ध है, उस में हमारे देश की गाढ़ी पसीने की कमाई का पैसा तथा विदेशों से लिये गये ऋण का जिन को सरकारी उद्योग कहा जाता है, उन में फंसा हुआ है ।

१९६१ तक सरकारी क्षेत्र के उद्योगों पर ६०५ करोड़ रुपया हमारा देश लगा चुका था । मार्च १९६३ तक २६३ करोड़ रुपया इस में और लगने को सम्भावना है, ऐसा निश्चय किया गया है । इस का परिणाम यह होगा कि ८७० करोड़ रुपया उस में लग जायगा और इतना अधिक रुपया लगाने के पश्चात् भी जो आय उससे होगी वह केवल ३ करोड़ २२ लाख अर्थात् ४ प्रतिशत ही होगी । जबकि हमारा देश आर्थिक दृष्टि से इतना दुर्बल है और हम विदेशों से पैसा मांग मांग कर अपने देश का निर्वाह कर रहे हैं, इतनी भारी मात्रा में पैसा फंसा देना जिस से आय इतनी कम हो, मैं समझता हूँ कि कोई बुद्धिमत्तापूर्ण पग नहीं होगा ।

जहाँ तक कृषि का सम्बन्ध है, तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में यह निश्चय किया गया है कि दस करोड़ टन अनाज के उत्पादन का हमारा लक्ष्य होना चाहिये । लेकिन देखने से प्रतीत ऐसा होता है कि कृषि के अन्दर दस करोड़ टन का जब हम ने लक्ष्य रखा है, तो कृषि के उपयोगी साधनों को जहाँ हम को बढ़ाना चाहिये था, कृषि के उपकरणों को जहाँ हमें बढ़ाना चाहिये था, वहाँ हम यह देख रहे हैं कि हम बहुत कुछ निर्भर कर रहे हैं इस बात पर कि रासायनिक खाद अधिक से अधिक जितना हमें प्राप्त हो सके हो, ट्रैक्टर अर्थात् और कृषि में भी मशीनी युग आरम्भ हो । इस सम्बन्ध में मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हम अपने देश की पुराने कृषि सम्बन्धी परम्पराओं से इस मशीनी युग में सर्वथा दूर न होते चले जायें । यह यही है कि उत्पादन के मामले में खास कर इस प्रकार के उत्पादनों में जो मशीन के द्वारा होते हैं, हम मशीनों पर निर्भर करें लेकिन जहाँ तक कृषि उत्पादन का संबंध है, उसके लिये हम को विशेष रूप से अपने देश की उस शक्ति पर भी निर्भर करना पड़ेगा जो हमारे देश में बैलों की शक्ति

कही जाती है तथा उन के द्वारा उत्पन्न होने वाली हरी खाद पर भी निर्भर करना पड़ेगा। आज अमरीका तथा दूसरे देशों का अनुभव इस बात का साक्षी है, कि हम रासायनिक खादों पर सर्वथा निर्भर नहीं कर सकते हैं। अगर मैं भूल नहीं करता हूँ तो इस साल मैं अमरीका के कृषि सम्बन्धी विवरण पढ़ते हुए देखा था कि अमरीका में जिस धरती पर रासायनिक खाद का निरन्तर प्रयोग किया गया कुछ वर्षों के पश्चात् वह जमीन धीरे धीरे बंध्या होने लगी और उन लोगों को निश्चय करना पड़ा कि रासायनिक खादों का प्रयोग एक निर्धारित मात्रा से अधिक नहीं करना चाहिये। हमारे देश में देखा जा रहा है कि पिछले पंद्रह वर्षों में बैलों की शक्ति का, गाय की शक्ति का जितना विकास होना चाहिये था, उतना विकास नहीं हुआ है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस और आप का विशेष ध्यान जाये।

सभापति जी, कृषि सम्बन्धी इस बात को कहने के पश्चात् मैं एक और बहुत आवश्यक बात आप के सामने रखना चाहूँगा। अभी हमारे पन्त जी निदेश दे रहे थे कि कल परसों बंगाल के लोगों ने अपनी कुछ समस्या केन्द्रीय सरकार के सामने रखी, असम ने भी अपने तेल की रायल्टी का सवाल हमारे सामने रखा, मध्य प्रदेश की गवर्नमेंट ने भी इस प्रकार की कुछ समस्याएँ रखीं। यह जो प्रान्तीयता की भावना धीरे धीरे बढ़ती चली जा रही है, अथवा यह जो पृथकतावादी मनोवृत्ति धीरे धीरे बढ़ती जा रही है, उस में कहीं ऐसा न हो कि हमारी जो योजना है, उस के नीचे इस प्रकार का कोई विस्फोट कर दे जिस से सारी की भारी योजना खी रह जाये। हमारा सीमाय है कि हमारे पास अभी पुरानी पीढी के कुछ इस प्रकार के नेता हैं जिस से सारा देश कम से कम ऊपर से एकता के सूत्र में बंधा हुआ है। परमात्मा न करे कि कल को उन का हाथ हमारे सिर पर न रहे तो क्या होगा? लेकिन अगर

कहीं ऐसा हो गया तो यह जो पृथकतावादी मनोवृत्ति है इसी प्रकार बढ़ी तो हमारी जो अखंडता है वह खंडित हो जायेगी और हम छोटे-छोटे टुकड़ों में विभक्त हो जायेंगे, जो कि हम में से कोई भी नहीं चाहता है। इस लिये यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि समय रहते देश को सम्भाला जाय, ऐसी मनोवृत्ति पर रोक लगाई जाय। चेतवनी के रूप में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम अपन देश की एकता को अगर सुरक्षित रखना चाहते हैं, तो इस पृथकतावादी मनोवृत्ति के ऊपर हम नियंत्रण करें, और इन पृथकतावादी मनोवृत्ति पर किसी प्रकार का प्रतिबन्ध लगायें। ऐसा करने के लिये हमें क्या करना चाहिये, कौन से उपाय काम में लाने चाहियें, यह एक दूसरा ही विषय है, जिस में मैं जाना नहीं चाहता हूँ।

अन्त में मैं यही कह कर अपने वक्तव्य को समाप्त करता हूँ कि हमारी योजना चौराहे पर खड़ी है, इस के लिये थोड़ी बुद्धिमत्ता के साथ हमें पग उठाने की आवश्यकता है।

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Sir, I heard the speech, so eloquently delivered by my hon. friend, Shri Morarka. He has practically supported every aspect of the Plan and criticised the very wording of the motion brought forward by my hon. friend, Shri Nath Pai.

I am a supporter of the Plan and I know that the success of the Plan should be there and we should do our best to see that the Plans succeed. A careful perusal of the First Five Year Plan, the Second Five Year Plan and, now the Third Five Year Plan, will reveal that much of the things which were promised during the Plans have not been achieved. I do not want to tire the House by mentioning the same statistics which have been mentioned either against certain achievements of the Plan or for the achievements of the Plan. After all, I view the entire

[Shri S. M. Banerjee]

thing from the viewpoint of the common man.

What is the feeling which is prevalent in the mind of the common man? What does he think when he is taxed to the bone and is asked to pay more and more taxes, either by the Centre or by the State Government or even by some corporation or municipality in the name of planning?

An agitation is going on in most of the States against additional taxation. It may be said in this House by the ruling party that this agitation has been started by those who belong to the Opposition parties and those parties do not want the ruling party to succeed. But a careful study of the taxation proposals of the Punjab Government or of any other State Government will clearly reveal that this taxation was not necessary at all.

The question may arise, 'What will happen to the Plan?' After all the Centre cannot give more money to the State Governments for their own plans. And, naturally, the State Governments have to augment their resources and, in order to do so, tax the poor people.

What has happened in the Punjab in the name of taxation, in the name of planning? A new tax has been levied there called the profession tax. I do not know how they could possibly justify this taxation. A question was put in this House to the Planning Minister whether he had any consultation with the State Chief Ministers or the Finance Ministers and whether some advice was given to the State Ministers to levy this taxation or to have additional taxation. Sir, I put a question to the hon. Minister whether there is strict opposition to these taxation proposals or the taxes levied by the State Governments and whether the Central Government proposed to hold another meeting of the Chief Ministers to know . . .

Shri A. N. Vidyalkar (Hoshiarpur): This is a State matter and a

State matter cannot be discussed here. The State is independent to levy taxes.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Probably, the hon. Member was not here when this question was asked. The Deputy Minister replied to this question. I am simply mentioning what was answered in this House. I am not mentioning about a State subject at all. A conference of the Chief Ministers of all the States was held here in Delhi and the Planning Minister also attended it. There, the taxation proposals were discussed. I am only referring to a question which I put whether a similar meeting would be held to discuss why there was so much agitation in the various States. The hon. Minister replied that this is not the intention of Government. The agitation is there. I do not want to tell the House about it. My hon. friend Shri Nandaji for whom I have the greatest regard because he is a sane planner is laughing, and he says that there is no opposition. There is opposition.

Shri Nanda: I have been misunderstood. I said that we want tax revenues for the Plan.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: But the question is whether the money realised from the people has been utilised correctly or not, whether the Plan is made for the people or the people for the Plan, whether the standard of life of those people who are taxed has gone up or not. These are basic questions which we have to answer when we go out to the people. It is said that the standard of life of the common people has gone up: statistics show that a man who was getting Rs. 1 before now gets Rs. 1.5, and so his purchasing capacity has gone up. But in this House only the wholesale prices are quoted. I do not think even a Minister, much less a common man, or a Member of Parliament purchases things at wholesale rates. I have never seen a common man purchasing five maunds of wheat or rice; we generally buy in seers or kilos. Now,

it was admitted by the hon. Deputy Food and Agriculture Minister, Shri Thomas, that the difference between wholesale and retail prices was about Rs. 2 per maund; that was the minimum; in certain places it was about Rs. 4-5, Rs. 3 can be taken as the average. Why is this difference? Government has miserably failed to check the soaring prices and it is said that in an developing economy that will be the position. Who is going to check the prices? When we demand a price stabilisation committee to check the prices and to assess the situation properly, that is denied and no such committee is appointed. If the Plan has to succeed the workers have to give their best. But whether it is the Pay Commission or the wage boards for the industrial workers, they do not at all consider the realities of life. I am still quoting that figure and I shall go on quoting that figure as long as I am in this House or even outside: I am yet to see any rural or urban area in this country where 32 ounces of commodities can be got for 56 nP. That is what the Pay Commission has given to its employees; that is what is given to the textile worker and the sugar worker and the bank employee. Their reports are all based on that wrong statistics of 56 nP: that was given by one eminent economist Dr. Patwardhan. What does it get? 15 ounces of wheat or rice, three ounces of pulses, four ounces of millet, six ounces milk, 1.5 ounces of sugar or gur, 1.5 ounces of ghee and butter and one ounce of groundnut. If I go to any shop and say to him: This is the Pay Commission's formula and so please give me 32 ounces of commodities for 56 nP, I am sure he will hand me over to the police saying that I am a mad man, The Pay Commission's recommendations have unfortunately become a bible for the wage boards and other people. If planning has to succeed in this country and if the worker has to give his best for that purpose, this formula has to be changed. Let us accept the minimum wage agreed to by the 15th Labour Conference: that the worker has a right to live: that

the people who work should have a place in society. Tell them frankly and fairly "You are entitled to so much money, but we are unable to pay." I can understand that frankness; I can understand that honesty. But in the name of planning, a section of the people should not be wronged.

The question about extravagance arises. What has happened in this country? In Punjab, where Rs. 8 crores are being levied as additional taxation, in Chandigarh itself I have seen that a lake has been constructed at a cost of Rs. 18 lakhs. That amount could have been spent on the construction of houses for Harijans on whom a levy has been imposed now. As a result of this, there is going to be a division among Harijans and non-Harijans, and that goes against the canons of justice and secularism. That should not be done at all. But this extravagance is there.

Then, take the question of foreign exchange. What is happening? I had a balance-sheet with me. That would show what the company previously known as the National Jute Company was doing. They are exporting jute goods, or rather, jute carpets. Jute carpets have a great market in the United States. Under-invoicing is going on. When they are caught and fined, immediately, orders are issued from the Central Government to the effect that the jute goods should be allowed to go! I saw the balance-sheet and I was surprised to see that when the sale was about Rs. 1.5 crores, the profit was about Rs. 2 lakhs. Then, when the sale rose from Rs. 1½ crores to Rs. 2 crores odd, the profit was Rs. 13 lakhs. But when the sale went up to Rs. 6 crores, the loss was Rs. 6 lakhs! This is surprising. When these goods are being sent, under-invoicing is continuing in this country. The powerful IJMA is powerful enough to check the customs officers. I have in my possession several cases which will reveal what this IJMA is doing and what these jute magnates are doing, and because of under-invoicing they are saving money.

[Shri S. M. Banerjee]

What about foreign assets? What is happening in this country when this country is short of foreign exchange? When jute has become a good foreign exchange earner, under-invoicing is going on. I request the hon. Prime Minister and the hon. Finance Minister to see to this and also see that underinvoicing is checked and the people are punished heavily.

17 hrs.

A question was asked in this House about the Mahalanobis Committee. Also, on the issue of licences, a pertinent question was asked by me. I wanted to know how many licences were issued during 1961 and how many of them were issued to a particular group known as Birla group. The hon. Minister, Shri Kanungo, said, "I have no information". Then, another question was asked by another hon. Member. I think it was Shri Morarka—I do not remember. The question was whether there was a concentration of income or not. The hon. Minister, Shri Kanungo, said, "No." I raised a point of order and said that the Planning Minister admitted in this House in his own sweet, nice way that there is something wrong and there is some concentration. If there was no concentration of wealth in the hands of a few people, there was no need of appointing a committee and asking Mr. Mahalanobis or anybody else to see to it. One Minister says there is no concentration. In the matter of licences, I want to know whether it is a fact that a secret letter has been sent by the Planning Commission to the Commerce and Industry Ministry that all those people who do not fulfil the conditions and who have been issued licences should be given show-cause notices. I think on the 28th—2 or 3 days after—licences are going to be issued. I want that complete details should be laid on the Table of the House showing how many houses have got licences. My information is, more than 60 per cent of the licences are issued to some groups of houses. If licences are issued to

some groups, does that not indicate that there is concentration and there is bound to be concentration which will defeat our concept of socialism, as we envisage in our country? I would like to know all these details.

In the end, I would once again assure the Planning Minister and through him the Prime Minister that we, on behalf of the working class, will do our best to help this country . . .

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad (Bhagalpur): We also represent the working class. (*Interruptions.*)

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I do not say you do not represent the working class. All of us, including Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad and Shrimati Renuka Ray, represent the working class.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: The Congress Party represents the working class.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: The Congress Party does represent the working class, but I am afraid they do not represent the working class in Kanpur. Otherwise, a man like me could not have secured the highest vote in Kanpur.

I wish to assure the Minister that the working class is out to help the planning in this country. The working class is going to defeat the ideas put forward by the Swatantra Party or by communal organisations who are out to sabotage our Plan. But at the same time, we do not want butter on both sides; we want at least a hot meal every day. If that is assured to the working class, I am sure the Plan will succeed in this country.

17.03 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, August, 27, 1962/Bhadra 5, 1884 (Saka).