

Revised Estimates for 1957-58 and Budget Estimates for 1958-59 under Capital, of the Air India International Corporation. [Placed in Library, See No. LT-931/58.]

12.02 hrs.

### CONVICTION OF A MEMBER

Mr. Speaker: I have to inform the House that I have received the following communication, dated the 15th September, 1958, from the Additional District Magistrate (Judicial), Gonda:—

"I have the honour to inform you that Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Member, Lok Sabha, was tried by me on a charge of Section 188, Indian Penal Code.

Today, after trial, I found him guilty under Section 188, Indian Penal Code, and sentenced him to pay a fine of rupees two hundred or in default to undergo simple imprisonment for one month.

As the amount of fine was not paid he was sent to District Jail, Gonda, for serving out the sentence in default."

12.03 hrs.

### MOTION RE: APPRAISAL AND PROSPECTS OF THE SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN—contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now resume discussion on the motion regarding Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, moved on the 17th September, 1958. Out of 10 hours allotted to this motion, 8 hours and 51 minutes now remain.

Shri Gulzarilal Nanda may continue his speech.

The Minister of Labour and Employment and Planning (Shri Nanda): Mr.

Speaker, Sir, I would in the first instance apologize to the House for having occupied a good deal of time yesterday in recounting the factual position in relation to the Plan and its reappraisal. I gave some information which was not to be found in the documents placed in the hands of the Members. But mainly my effort was to cull some of the data which might bring out the significant relationships between the various sets of facts and figures given in those documents.

12.05 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

It was also meant to show the relative impact of the changes on the various sectors and heads of development. I thought that it might help hon. Members in dealing with the issues which arise. Perhaps it was a mistaken idea and I hope that I would do better in future.

The information which the House has got now discloses a difficult situation. It poses a problem. The question now is whether this situation is a passing situation, whether it has arisen out of some accidental circumstances or whether it is some kind of a deep-seated malady and a more intractable problem. It may be said that developments in the international sphere aggravated our difficulties and we had a series of bad monsoons and that has brought about some of the trouble which we are facing. That might mean that, if there be a sequence of better years, our problems will be at an end and we can safely depend on nature for governing the pace of our development. I do not think so. So far as the future goes, I think we depend very much more on the scale of our effort for determining the rate of our progress in this country.

So far as this Plan is concerned, the lines of advance are very much clear now, although the quality of effort that we are going to make, the

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extent of our effort in the current year and over the next two years, is going to make a great deal of difference not only to this Plan but also to the future Plans. I can anticipate the course of discussion so far as this Plan is concerned. We will be told that a certain cut which we are contemplating in one direction or the other should be restored and that more provision should be made for social services. For every head of development there will be one or more advocates. When we look at these suggestions in totality, it will amount to that nothing should be cut. That is going to be the position when we will have scrutinized all the suggestions relating to the reallocations that are being suggested here. There will be some other suggestions also for increasing our resources. These suggestions will certainly be very welcome, but is it not a fact that the reappraisal itself also visualizes a stepping up of resources in certain directions? Some people feel that what the Planning Commission now expects the Centre and the States to do in the matter of further resources is too much. But there will be another school of thought, more outside than in this House; there may be a few hon. Members who will say that the taxes that have been imposed on the people of this country are too heavy already and might ask the question: where is the scope for additional taxation. Therefore, their counsel will be to moderate our ambitions.

Now, I may make it clear that we have already decided, and it has been made known to all concerned that there are going to be no new schemes taken up in the Plan. It is only the schemes which are nearing completion, which are in an advanced stage, which are inescapable, for which resources are going to be provided and it may be that there are urgent requests made. The Planning Commission is being pressed to make provision in another direction, and there is a figure

which has been mentioned, namely, additional Rs. 150 crores. That is, the Plan is not going to be of the order of Rs. 4,500 crores but Rs. 4,650 crores. It is not so. These are indications of pressing demands which should be thought of, but the Plan stands at Rs. 4,500 crores, unless more resources can be raised. If more resources are raised, more things can be done; not otherwise. This is our position. We have been told about the desirability of consolidating our efforts. That means, consolidation, rather than expansion. But where is the expansion now in this Plan? There are no proposals for expansion. Consolidation is a very welcome suggestion. We must make the best use of our resources and investments that have been made already. That is perfectly true, but so far as planning itself is concerned, I do not think there is any conflict between consolidation and expansion. Consolidation means that we must co-ordinate our efforts at all levels and there should be no waste. If in one direction we are going too far and in some other direction we are lagging behind, perhaps that means waste and certainly it means ineffective use of our resources; that should not be. But there should be no interruption in expansion for the purpose of consolidation. That question does not arise at the moment, because so far as the second Five Year Plan is concerned, certain schemes which have been only just started may not be pursued and certain other schemes may be delayed. It is not a question of expansion, but of not being able to carry out all that we have started.

Regarding the future and that is more important, I believe this House has a definite question before it. In the second Five Year Plan, a pattern of growth of incomes and investments has been laid down. It means that in the course of about 25 years, 1951—1976, there will be doubling of per capita incomes—a very high ambition. In 1951 the per capita income was

Rs. 281. This involves a certain raising of domestic savings. Are we going to make that effort or not? It may be said that the question does not arise today. But it does arise today, for the next Plan and later years, because the attitudes that we adopt, the view that we take of the situation and our analysis are going to affect the future course of events. Therefore, let us be clear about what we are thinking of our future, in what terms we are going to reckon both the efforts and the results that we are looking forward to.

I personally believe that the pattern that has been incorporated in the Plan is the very minimum and more should be possible, because if we do not do that much, the consequences will not be very pleasant. I may be told that whatever the consequences and whatever the desirability, if you have not got the resources, it is wishful thinking to have a big plan. But when we scrutinise that pattern of growth and the rate of savings involved, we do not find anything exceptional in it, objectively considered, because we think that what is being demanded of the people through the contemplated rate of savings and the additional incomes that are going to be drawn out for the purpose of investment are not going to be too heavy a burden on the people.

After all, other countries have advanced and they have also had their plans in the course of several years in the past. There is the experience of other countries as to what rate of progress is feasible in under-developed countries. Compared to that, what is being demanded in this Plan and the coming Plans is not going to be too heavy a sacrifice. We cannot forget the consequences if we fail to go ahead in the march of progress. I am thinking of the social stresses which are going to develop in the course of years if we slacken our efforts and do not speed up the rate of advance. All of us know that vast numbers in this country are being crushed under the weight of poverty and many people

are suffering privations. If we are not able to do anything considerable to reduce their sufferings and burdens, whatever we might say, that is going to have its own consequences.

Then there is the aspect of employment. If large numbers are not provided with something better in the course of these years, we cannot have social peace in this country. The second Five Year Plan, big as it was and as it is, what did it promise to do in terms of additional employment? This was one of the criticisms of the Plan. Even if it is fulfilled cent per cent, it did not aim at providing employment opportunities for all the new working force outside agriculture; and agriculture as we all know is over-burdened already. With the Plan remaining at Rs. 4,800 crores in financial terms, but the physical content diminishing and shrinking a fresh assessment was made and it was found that the employment content was reduced. Now with Rs. 4,500 crores, it goes down more. I would ask my hon. friends who give us the counsel of patience, what is going to be done about these things. These two things together will create strains on our democratic institutions. There is no escape from that. We cannot forget that fact and our wisdom and counsel of moderation will not avail us. Therefore, it is not that we have to think in terms of lessening our effort because of certain difficulties that have presented themselves. We have to face the stark realities. The difficulties of raising resources to my mind present less grim realities than those which have to be provided against in case of a failure.

What is the answer to it? In my mind, I have no doubt that we can make the effort and secure the necessary resources. Of course, if we think only in terms of certain figures that we have got now, it might look as somewhat difficult and impossible task. But we should try to understand the underlying factors in the situation. I

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am thinking of two aspects particularly: firstly, are we able to draw out of our existing production the rate of savings that is possible for it to yield? Secondly, is it not possible to hasten greatly the pace of production and to increase the rate of production? That means, greater production and greater productivity. These are the two factors on which the whole thing rests.

So far as savings are concerned, I think that it shall be possible to do better. I mean savings from existing production. We are not able to secure all that is possible, partly for the reason that we have not yet provided the institutional arrangements which can draw out more savings—through co-operatives, marketing arrangements and things of that kind. There will have to be much more in the direction of institutional savings than personal savings. Personal savings must increase, but institutional savings will have to increase very much more in the context of the new circumstances that are developing in this country.

There is another aspect of savings for the public exchequer, namely, taxes and other dues. They are not being paid fully. This is a source which can certainly be utilised much more than is being done at present.

There is another matter, and that is the question of economies in various directions. I am thinking of constructions, for example. We have provided for nearly a thousand crores of rupees for construction in the course of the Second Five Year Plan. My own assessment, or at any rate this is the advice that is being given by competent persons, is that 20 per cent can be saved easily in the costs of construction.

Shri Braj Raj Singh (Ferozabad):  
Even 40 per cent.

Shri Nanda: I have put it at a moderate figure. 20 to 25 per cent can be saved in that. There can be

economies in other directions also, both in private and public sectors, economies which will enable greater savings to be made for our development programmes.

Then there is also the aspect of prices. It is because of fluctuating prices that, I believe, the incentives for savings have diminished. All these are factors which can be dealt with and which could enable us to take a more optimistic view of the future; of course, only if certain things are done.

The second aspect which I mentioned is output and productivity. It is being pointed out to us that we are not making full use of our vast manpower. This is a source of great waste. Here, apart from the human aspect, there is also the economic aspect. It should be possible to do much better and it is really a matter of regret that about 25 per cent of the man hours available to us in this country are being wasted. Probably that is a rough estimate of the assessment. How much would that mean in terms of constructive efforts and assets available for utilisation? I would not go into the details of that question but it is possible to do it. It will need some more radical arrangements, something in the direction of organisation of institutions; something will have to be done about that.

Then there is the question of the assets which are being created and not being utilized. For instance, irrigation potential is being created. We are making efforts and we are succeeding progressively now in making better and fuller use of those assets. But it is a much wider question. It applies to a number of other things and, I believe, greater awareness and a greater vigilance is needed in that respect.

Then there is the level of productivity, which is very important, particularly in relation to our foreign exchange resources. It is also impor-

tant for our internal resources. A few awareness is required on this question. Since we are piling up debts, it calls for much greater effort here in this country to see that the cost per unit goes down so that we can compete with other countries, so that we can supply ourselves the wherewithal to meet the various obligations that are being created. Agricultural yields can be improved a great deal. In the sphere of industry also, we must show good performance, compared to average performance, because we have to achieve what has already been accomplished in other countries in similar conditions in the matter of industrial production.

Now we are being told that productivity is low in this country and for that labour is responsible. I must very quickly disabuse anybody who has that impression, that kind of wrong belief. In this country, as far as I have been able to gather from whatever statistics are available, judging the situation I can say that the increased costs are not in any way due to lack of effort on the part of labour so far. It is also not true that productivity has lagged behind real wages; it is not so. But it is also true that very much more is possible for labour to do, because the level at which things stand will not enable the working classes to have more wages and more welfare arrangements. They will have to put in much greater effort, and that will help in creating surpluses in the economy and also in dealing with the problem of foreign exchange resources.

A question is being asked, a suggestion is being made, that a part of our difficulties, a large part of our difficulties, are due to the fact that there is not enough enthusiasm among the people, that sense of urgency and devotion is lacking. It may be true. But it is not altogether true. Otherwise, we would not have had this much of progress. But it is true that the bigger question of the moral climate is very important, moral in-

centives for the people, apart from the material incentives.

Now, two things have been mentioned prominently in that connection — one is the rising prices and the other is the anti-social practices. So far as prices are concerned, I must acknowledge that we have made efforts and we are making efforts to hold the price line but we have not succeeded fully. Otherwise, instead of the figures which I gave yesterday of the rise in prices which has occurred the picture would have been different. Now various suggestions have been made to deal with this situation. We must try to stabilise the prices at a reasonable level, reasonable for the consumer as well as for the producer. There are various suggestions. One practical suggestion which I have in my mind is that the community should control a considerable part of the trade in commodities; not that the entire wholesale trade and the retail trade should be socialised; but a sufficient proportion of it should be in the hands of the community, both wholesale and retail, through co-operatives and other agencies, so that we can effectively control the price trends and to see that the price movements and changes are not abrupt or excessive. It is possible to do so if more effort is made in that direction.

**Shri Ranga (Tenali):** Then the community has to be more efficient and more honest.

**Shri Nanda:** That is the second aspect—anti-social practices. That brings me to the question of honesty. There is dishonesty now of various kinds practised by various people and we all wish that in its place there should be a greater sense of integrity all round. There has to be greater discipline in the nation. People who work have to do more honest work. There are various aspects of honesty. But there are other things which strike the eye of the people such as profiteering, hoarding and things of that kind. It is the same mechanism

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which will enable us to control the prices that will also help us in this direction. It is not a limited view that I am taking of the anti-social practices. I think that neither the administration nor the people can do it by itself. Both have to combine together in order to bring good results, satisfactory results in this direction.

When I have said all that, there is one other thing which I have in mind, apart from these two, and that is that there are a very large number of people who stand very low, at the bottom of the social and economic scale, and their conditions have to be improved. We have to increase their incomes. The impression in my mind is that we have not been able to do enough to create that feeling, that urge for self-help in those people who are under-privileged, those who are suffering more; they have not benefited to the same extent as others. That impression is there, and that accounts for a little of the difficulties that we are experiencing.

When I have mentioned all the difficulties, all the drawbacks and all the handicaps, let it not create the impression that we are not doing anything at all. Let us not belittle our achievements. We have made good progress and we are making a big effort. It is only when we compare with what we should do, we have to admit all this. But let us not forget that in various spheres much more is being done than was ever done in the past. Therefore, we should see things in the proper perspective. To achieve all these things, certain changes have to be made. I, of course, would not go into the details as to how to utilise our manpower more fully, how to control prices more fully, particularly the utilisation of manpower, which requires, if I may use that expression, "a revolutionary type" of change. Now what is a revolutionary type of change?

Acharya Kripalani (Sitamarhi): Which you lack.

Shri Nanda: We do not lack it. We may not be having enough of it, I must say, otherwise we would not have faced these difficulties.

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): It comes to the same thing.

Shri Nanda: What I am saying is that what it is which this revolution means. It does not mean throwing stones and using lathis. It means that we should have the means, the capacity and the courage to be able to make the fullest use of our resources so that we can quicken the rate of progress to the utmost possible. That is revolution. We are not doing that, we are not making the fullest use of our manpower and material resources so that the rate of progress can be speeded up very much.

I am not suggesting that very new and novel things have to be done. Our Plan, the Second Five Year Plan, contains all the directions in which we have to move. We have not possibly moved in these directions fully. One has to acknowledge the fact that there has been something lacking and that has to be made up, otherwise we would not have been encountering such difficulties.

Finally, I may say that the Second Five Year Plan, when it was launched, had the blessings and support of all sections of the House. I am sure that in this period of trial, this testing time and in all that remains to be done in order to secure the success of the Plan and to pave the way for future advance to the maximum extent, we shall all stand together and work together.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion moved:

"That the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five

Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, be taken into consideration."

There are substitute motions as well. May I know which of them are going to be moved? (After a pause). As I find from the hon. Members who have stood up, the motions, are Nos. 1 to 14, 16 and 19, I will treat them as moved provided they are otherwise admissible.

**Shri Arjun Singh Bhadauria (Etawah):** I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that Government should make radical changes in the Five Year Plan on the following lines:—

(1) *Utilisation of Indian resources*—

(a) to solve the food problem in the country a food army be formed by employing lakhs of unemployed agricultural labourers on waste land;

(b) a literacy army of educated unemployed youths be formed for completely eradicating ignorance and illiteracy from the country as early as possible;

(c) full utilisation of Indian craftsmen (masons) be made by limiting the use of automatic machines.

(2) *Industrial Policy*—

(a) Government should withdraw the emphasis being laid on private sector and pay more and more attention towards the public sector;

(b) the use of big machines be restricted as far as possible and production be carried on with small

machines driven by power, so that unemployed population of India may be fully utilised;

(c) production of luxury goods and imports thereof be totally stopped;

(d) parity between the prices of industrial goods and agricultural products as also the prices of commodities should in no case be higher than fifty per cent of their cost price;

(e) all the foreign capital invested in India be immediately nationalised and large sums of money going out of the country in the form of profits and salaries be used for the prosperity of the country.

(3) In order to make the Plan a success, substantial amounts that are being paid by the Government of India to the following non-Government bodies be stopped forthwith:

- (a) Bharat Sewak Samaj,
- (b) Bhartiya Sadhu Samaj,
- (c) Women's Welfare Scheme,
- (d) Bhartiya Yuwak Samaj, and
- (e) Other such bodies.

(4) Following steps should be taken to create enthusiasm among the people:—

- (a) total decentralisation of the State authority at four distinct levels;
- (b) the Plan should be divided into four main stages, i.e., village, district, State and country level.
- (c) the responsibility for the implementation of the schemes should rest with the representatives of the people and not with the Government officials who should only extend their co-operation and give necessary advice.

[Shri Arjan Singh Bhadauria]

(5) *Reorientation of policy—*

In order to make the various schemes beneficial to all and to establish a socialistic society,—

- (a) the ratio between the minimum and maximum income and expenditure should be 1:10;
- (b) more and more attention should be paid towards the villages;
- (c) until necessary means of communications are made available throughout the country, widening of roads at certain places for the facility of certain privileged classes and use of costly things like concrete etc. be stopped;
- (d) construction of expensive Secretariats be stopped till the country becomes self-sufficient;

(6) *Eradication of corruption—*

- (a) Anti-corruption Committees at district level be set up to put an end to corruption and their members should only be representatives of the people with sufficient powers vested in them;
- (b) necessary amendments in the Constitution be made keeping in view the above mentioned facts;
- (c) Regional languages at State-level and National language at the Centre be introduced immediately in our administration."

Shri M. R. Masani (Ranchi-East): I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects

of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that—

- (1) after the period of strain and stress to which the national economy has been subjected by the implementation of the Second Five Year Plan, the primary function of further planning should be that of consolidation and of securing for the people the fruits of existing investment and effort;
- (2) higher priority needs to be given and greater emphasis placed on agriculture, which is the foundation on which the entire structure of industrialisation has to be raised; and
- (3) the fullest opportunity and incentive should be given to the initiative and enterprise of the people in all walks of life so that the most rapid rise in productivity can be achieved."

Shri U. C. Patnaik (Ganjam): I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on May 8, 1958, regrets that there has been no attempt, so far, to integrate the defence organisation and expenditure with socio-economic planning, so as to ensure greater efficiency and economy in development as well as in defence spheres and recommends, *inter alia*—

- (1) That there should be an effective cell in the Planning Commission to coordinate defence with the formulation and implementation of plans.



## Plan

- (2) That the defence organisation should be provided with adequate education—and technical—training facilities, so as to supply the country's need for trained man-power while helping the absorption of ex-service personnel in civil life.
- (3) That the Military Engineering Service, the Engineer Corps and E.M.E. should be entrusted with specific irrigation work, flood embankments and roads in inaccessible terrain for construction, constructional and other allowances being duly paid to the personnel.
- (4) That the defence Science Organisation be brought up to its authorised strength (if possible expanded) and co-ordinated with research centres and Universities.
- (5) That the Directorate of Technical Development be re-organised with highly qualified science degree holders, to yield maximum result in design, development and inspection.
- (6) That the achievement of Ordnance Factories be reviewed by the Planning Commission from time to time.
- (7) That the Army Grow More Food Campaign be revived in an intensive form.
- (8) That Deep-Sea fishing projects be expanded with the cooperation of the Navy.
- (9) That Merchant Shipping be considered from the view point of naval defence and suitable provision be made in pursuance thereof.
- (10) That adequate and unified training facilities be given in drill and discipline to the youth of the country so as to canalise their enthusiasm into channels of national service.
- (11) That a cheap and suitable pattern of standard cloth be evolved so that the youth of the country could use it at their own costs to minimise the expenditure on the N.C.C., the A.C.C. and military training in general, as well as for sports and P. T.
- (12) That a National Service Organisation be evolved, by co-ordinating the activities of the defence with other Ministries and by utilising the grants and aids under different heads, so as to serve the country in normal times as well as in emergencies.
- (13) That the equipment lying idle in various Ordnance Depots for the last about 10 years may be made available to the various departments and educational institutions which so badly need them.
- (14) That there should be arrangements for creating a national Pool of Engineers, Doctors and other technical personnel from the Defence, Railways and other Union and State Departments to supply the country's shortage of scientific man-power.
- (15) That necessary investigation be made near Pampun—Than-kachin mudam to avoid the expenditure, delay and inconvenience of circumnavigating Ceylon in cruises between the east and west coasts of India.
- (16) That a Naval Dockyard be established early on the east coast to serve the Navy as well as merchant shipping in the Bay of Bengal.
- (17) That Rifles, Scouts, Flying, Glider, Swimming and other

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clubs, Talimkhanas, Sports and P.T. activities be encouraged, coordinated and utilised.

- (18) That the Lok Sahayak Sena and other organisations be given continuity or follow-up duties (organised through Gram Panchayats). The Village Leader Scheme and Village Fire fighting and emergency service units be integrated with the same.
- (19) That the Commission which charged with overall planning must be consulted before foreign purchase commitments and foreign exchange-involvements are made.
- (20) That Planning Commission must explore all avenues to utilise the trained and experienced ex-servicemen in development scheme."

**Shri T. Sanganna** (Koraput-Reserved-Sch Tribes): I beg to move:

(1) That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that the soil erosion schemes worked out in the tribal areas should be subsidised cent per cent as the tribal people are not able to contribute any amount as their share."

(2) That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year

Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that the Small scale industries in the tribal areas should be encouraged through the establishment of the multi-purpose co-operative societies."

(3) That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that the water resources in the tribal areas should be assessed so that the lands in the tribal areas can be brought under plough in the economic development of the tribal people."

(4) That for the original motion the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that the pattern of the multi-purpose Community Development Projects in the tribal areas should be reoriented to suit the genius of the tribal people of the country."

(5) That for the original motion the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that land donated under the Bhoodan and the Gramdan movements should be brought under the Co-operative farming."

**Shri B. Das Gupta (Purulia):** I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that—

- (1) the Government have not been able to create necessary enthusiasm amongst the people for the successful working of the Plan;
- (2) the administrative structure should be reconstructed in a decentralised way from the village to the Centre, with devolution of power and authority so as to form a strong and wide basis for the working of the Plan by the people and for the people;
- (3) except the commitments regarding the heavy industrial undertakings on the Public Sector, the resources should be drastically diverted towards increasing the agricultural production and improvement of the agricultural economy which should be made the real core of the Plan even now."

**Shri Naushir Bharucha (East Khadesh):** I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that, apart from other

efforts, supreme endeavour should be made to—

- (1) limit the outlay of the Plan to Rs. 4500 crores;
- (2) restrict the maximum deficit financing to Rs. 1,000 crores;
- (3) intensify food production and secure effective utilisation of food potential, among other methods, by a subsidised utilisation of irrigation facilities and a stricter control on procurement and wholesale distribution of foodgrains;
- (4) restrict rigidly imports for the unexpired duration of the Second Plan;
- (5) organise an all-out export drive, particularly by aiding conventional exports capable of immediate response, as well as exports of new promising lines;
- (6) extend relief to industries in the matter of crediting development rebates so long as concessions are ploughed back in developmental projects;
- (7) introduce a system of staggering of investments even within the 'core' of the Plan, with special emphasis on a 'go-slow' policy on such irrigation projects as are not in an advanced state of completion;
- (8) prepare a Plan for consolidation of the result so far achieved and for completing the 'left-overs' from the Second Plan."

**Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi):** I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memo-

[Shri Raghunath Singh]

randum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that—

- (1) higher priority needs to be given and greater emphasis placed on Indian Shipping which is the foundation on which the entire structure of overseas and foreign transportation is based and which is the earner of great foreign exchange as also the second line of defence of the nation.
- (2) higher priority should be given and greater emphasis placed on naval defence and development, repair and construction of naval establishments.

Shri Assar (Ratnagiri): I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

“This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May 1958, is of opinion that Government should take following steps in furtherance of the economic welfare of the people:—

- (1) The Planning Commission should be reconstituted and should consist of experts, not belonging to any political party.
- (2) The National Development Council should also be reorganised on all party national basis.
- (3) The Second Plan should be extended over a period of at least seven years.

(4) Agricultural Production and Small Scale mechanised industry should be given first priority.

(5) Heavy industries, except those which have been taken in hand and likely to be completed soon, should be deferred to a latter period.

(6) Public enterprise should strictly be confined to Schedule 'A' of the industrial policy resolution of 30th April, 1956. All other industrial schemes of the Central and State Governments should be transferred to the private sector.

(7) The Plan should be reorient-ed so as to develop India into more or less a self contained economy depending least on foreign help.

(8) The plan should make promise of work for all.

(9) Government employees drawing Rupees two thousand or over per month should be given National Plan Bonds for the amount in excess of rupees two thousand.”

Shri Mohamed Imam (Chitaldrug): I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

“This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that:—

- (1) First priority be given to all hydro-electric and irrigation projects by including them in the core of the plan.

## Plan

- (2) Further taxation should be stopped as it will be a great strain on the economy of the people and a burden on them.
- (3) Economy in non-plan expenditure and cost of administration be effected to the extent of Rs. 300 crores both at the centre and the states.
- (4) The policy of prohibition be revised so as to get substantial revenue for plan expenditure.
- (5) The Community Development Projects and the National Extension Service Block be reoriented and their management entrusted to local bodies.
- (6) A separate fund called 'plan development fund' be constituted both at the Centre and the States to which shall be credited all revenue derived from taxes levied during the plan period, borrowing and loans, external assistance, railway contributions, balance from revenue surplus and deficit financing which will be earmarked for plan expenditure."

**Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Hisar):** I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that the most reprehensible and almost criminal neglect in respect of animal husbandry has landed the country in great disaster resulting as it has in an annual decrease according to government statistics of production of

milk to the extent of more than five crores of maunds since the year 1951, and insufficient supply of good bulls (only one is there where 250 are required) and bullocks (the shortfall being over a crore from the number requisite for efficient agriculture and other operations).

The House further deploras that the Government is not even conscious of the tragedy involved in these figures as it does not so much as mention or hint at in their appraisal and prospects and re-appraisal reports, the appalling distress in the country to young children, expectant mothers and aged men and loss of production of food in the country except on pages 28 to 46 of the appraisal and reappraisal report on page 22—statements which are not reassuring and tell a doleful tale.

The House is clearly of opinion that the animal husbandry in the country requires the close and special attention of the Government which, if bestowed, is sure to earn very rich dividends in so far as the production of protective food and agricultural products is concerned."

**Shrimati Manjula Devi (Goalpara):** I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that there should be no reduction in social service programmes as they are very important for getting the full co-operation of the people for making the programme of the Five Year Plan a success."

**Shri S. L. Saksona (Maharajganj):**  
I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

“This House, having considered the Planning Commission’s Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958 regrets that there has been no attempt to keep to the original targets in the Second Five Year Plan by ruthless economising in the expenditure and avoidance of waste and by trying to raise further resources from larger loans abroad and inside the country, which is bound to have grave socio-economic consequences, and recommends—

- (1) That full use should be made of the irrigation potential which has already been created by finding out and removing the reasons for its non-use by cultivators and particularly by making irrigation facilities available at a lower cost by cheapening the rates of irrigation taxes.
- (2) That highest priority should be given to providing cheap and easy agricultural credit to destitute farmers for agricultural operations such as for ploughing the land, purchasing the seeds and carrying out other essential agricultural processes at cheap rates of interest so that they may be in a position to invest the necessary capital for raising crops on their fields.
- (3) That the required amount of fertilizers should be imported without the least possible delay to increase agricultural output per acre. Methods to increase night soil and farm yard manure in the fields should also be devised.
- (4) That top priority should be given for putting up new fertiliser plants in the country and for increasing the output to the maximum possible extent of the fertiliser plants already existing in the country.
- (5) That original expenditure on flood control schemes should be restored and floods should be fought on a war footing.
- (6) That the problems of scarcity areas like East U.P., North Bihar, etc. where the yield per acre is the lowest and where drought and floods cause wholesale devastation from year to year, should be thoroughly investigated by appointing a High Power Commission to investigate the causes of perpetual scarcity in these areas and to recommend ways and means to overcome them in the shortest possible time so that the yield per acre may increase several fold and flood and drought may become things of the past.
- (7) That a multi-purpose River Valley Scheme to control the river Ghagra, Rapti and Gandak with their tributaries should be immediately prepared and included for execution in the Second Five Year Plan itself, so that East U.P. and North-West Bihar may be saved from recurring floods and droughts and cheap electric power may be available for starting small-scale cottage industries in every village, and large areas may be brought under irrigation.
- (8) That money spent on import of foodgrains should be spent in helping the cultivators to grow more food by providing

them with liberal credit, cheap irrigation, fertilisers, good seeds and the results of latest agricultural researches for fighting plant diseases and raising the yield per acre.

- (9) That agriculture should be made more profitable by improvement in animal husbandry, poultry, dairying and milk supply.
- (10) That land should be redistributed village-wise so no person who lives by agriculture may be without land and co-operative farming be adopted in every village to overcome the effects of fragmentation of holdings as quickly as possible and this should be the main programme of Community Development and National Extension Service Blocks.
- (11) That as a result of these measures the target for production of food in the country should be raised to at least 100 million tons of foodgrains by 1961.
- (12) That a thorough enquiry should be conducted into the present organisation of our defence forces and ruthless economy should be enforced in it so that the maximum effective strength of the defence forces may be secured with the least amount of expenditure and efforts should be made to make the country self-sufficient in producing its defence equipment of the latest and most advanced Purchases of obsolete arms should be cancelled forthwith.
- (13) That compulsory military training for a period of two years should be provided to every Indian National.
- (14) That the army personnel should be employed in peace times for productive national work during specified hours.
- (15) That universal compulsory education upto the age of 14 as provided in the Constitution should be achieved by the end of the Second Five Year Plan by giving education top priority, by minimising expenditure on buildings and costly furniture and opening schools in every village immediately so that every child may have the opportunity of going to his village school and the most brilliant and promising students should be helped to obtain higher scientific education.
- (16) That heavy industries should be given top priority so that the country may be able to produce its own machines and industrial plants as soon as possible; and
- (17) That corruption must be rooted out ruthlessly from every walk of national life by exemplary punishment and people's co-operation."

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Now, about the allotment of time. Ten hours in all were allotted.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** The hon. Minister has taken more than an hour.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** That time was also included in the ten hours that were allotted.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** It will have to be doubled.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Then we shall have to sit after 5 o'clock.

**Several hon. Members:** Certainly, Sir.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** We can sit one hour extra today.

**Several hon. Members:** Yes, Sir.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** That will not suffice.

**Shri Bagnnath Singh:** It may be extended by another four hours.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** That we will see afterwards. We have a long way to travel.

**श्री रघुनाथ सिंह :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मिनिस्टर साहब ने एक घंटा और ४७ मिनट तो मोशन इन्ट्रोड्यूस करने में लिये। रेप्लार्ड में भी समय लगेगा। उस को देख कर टाइम बढ़ा दिया जाये।

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** उन्होंने १ घंटा और ४७ मिनट इस बात के लिये लिया कि मेम्बर साहबान को बहुत सुविधा हो जाय।

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta—Central):** Sir, I have listened with much care and even more patience to the long and laboured exposition of my hon. friend, the Minister of Planning.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The duration of the speeches would normally be fifteen minutes. Of course, the leaders of groups may take twenty to thirty minutes, but thirty minutes should be the maximum because there are very many speakers. I have got a list of about 70 hon. Members already, who wish to speak and there may be some others who have not sent in their names and would try to catch my eye otherwise. Therefore, they may keep in mind the difficulty that I would be experiencing.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** I have listened carefully and patiently.....

**Shri Sinhasan Singh (Gorakhpur):** There are groups in which there are only one or two men.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** There are no such groups.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The Chair shall have to take that into consideration.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** I have listened carefully and patiently to the hon. Planning Minister's exposition, but I am afraid I am not particularly impressed. I think it is necessary to say at the outset that though the hon.

Minister has put a brave face on the present posture of the Plan, he has underrated the seriousness of the situation and there are certain indications which have lately become rather prominent. We fear that there is not merely a crisis in regard to the Plan but something very like a collapse threatening its success. There has happened also something like a change, perhaps surreptitiously engineered in its qualitative character and the clear beginnings of a capitulation to interests that care little for planning and very much less for socialism.

Before the Second Five-Year Plan was finalised there had been joint consultations between Government and other parties and even though the Consultative Committee had no executive powers, I had an idea that certain benefits accrued from such consultations. Last year and this I have referred to this matter and occasionally the hon. Prime Minister appeared to agree that there should be consultations from time to time between Government and other parties in regard to the Plan, but no such thing has actually taken place. I feel that in Parliament discussion certainly is extremely useful and important but there is naturally a tendency to score debating points and therefore apart from discussions in Parliament which, of course, will continue there should be an implementation of the assurances of the hon. Prime Minister regarding serious consultations between Government and other parties specially when the Plan is in something like a serious posture of danger.

I do not wish to take up a "holier than thou" attitude. I do not want to say, "I told you so", but I find that in July, 1955, when the Second Plan frame was published, my Party, the Communist Party, had put in a memorandum to the Planning Commission in which certain warnings were promulgated. We had told the Planning



Commission, for example, that the projected Plan was linked with world capitalist market which was crisis-ridden and therefore we might have to pay the price pretty soon. We told them that there were no indications of Government intending to restrict the profits of monopoly capital and to give decisive importance to the agrarian reforms. We warned that there was no attempt at all-round strengthening of the national economy to take bold action against foreign capital interests and land-lordism in India, to curb monopoly capital and to improve the condition of the people, and we had said that the possibilities of development along capitalist lines, and that within the limitations of the present economic structure of India, were unquestionably limited, and, therefore, a point would arrive when Government would have to take a very much more drastic attitude in the direction of a socialist advance. So, what we find is that at the moment, there is a Commonwealth conference going on at Montreal, where the papers reported that the fear was expressed of communist trading and technical power expanding, and India and other countries getting into touch with those powers. But, as a matter of fact, it is very important that we should not remain yoked to the crisis-ridden economy of capitalism in decline and I fear that Government today has no realisation of that particular point of view.

The result is that in regard to food, in regard to employment, and in regard to the position in prices, and in foreign exchange and internal resources, we are today in a quandary. My hon. friend the Food Minister, Shri A. P. Jain was taking shelter the other day in the other House behind the coat-tails of the Prime Minister whom he described as a super-agriculture Minister. And I find that only a few months ago, in June this year, he was talking of exporting food in a few years, and then today, in a blue funk he suggests that land reforms,

if they cannot be implemented quickly, should be postponed, in order to increase production. This is a most amazing thing. This is in defiance of the Planning Commission's Land Reforms Panel. It is in defiance of the R. K. Patil Report and so many other things which Government has been committed to. I say also that the Ministry of Community Development which is run by a reputedly live-wire Minister, whom I find described in an official publication as being a young man not clogged by protocol or red tape, has been yet unable to show any mentionable result. And meanwhile, food imports total about Rs. 278 crores in the first two years of the Plan, and the budget provision for the third year is Rs. 111 crores.

Shri Nanda told us yesterday that in 1957-58 there was a decline of 9.8 per cent in food production. And the Planning Commission blames the weather for this particular phenomenon! Meanwhile, the irrigation potential remains unused because of burden, some bureaucratic obstacles and the poverty of the cultivators. But high officials explain that even in very advanced countries, irrigation potential created takes—a long time to be utilised. All this is very peculiar. The recent official shift to minor irrigation, though welcome is belated and is much too lukewarm to be taken seriously. Our people are in agony. They fight for food, as in the UP and West Bengal, and Government, except in rare flashes at Delhi, show neither understanding nor efficient prosecution of its job. No wonder the Plan founders on the rocks of food.

In regard to employment, I need not give the figures; these are very well known and are almost staggering. But it is rather ironic to remark that only a few years ago, the Prime Minister had said that this present generation was happily sentenced to hard labour, but our people today want work and they are receiving not work, not food, but stones instead. The backlog of unemployment is absolutely frightening, and the number of

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employment opportunities to be created is going to diminish under the new scheme of things.

About the position of prices, the Minister made certain references, and I said that it was absolutely a criminal matter that Government had failed completely in holding the price line. Government had given an assurance that that should be done in regard to coal and iron and steel and cement and such things. Government was in a position statutorily to maintain the price line, but Government did not do so. Whenever the employers wanted a price increase, Government gave them their pound of flesh, but whenever a worker wanted some improvement in the amenities, naturally the worker was described as being traitorous to the interests of the community. But this failure to hold the price line is something which certainly Government will have to answer for.

Then, in regard to foreign exchange, maybe, the Finance Minister who is now peregrinating abroad is not unhappy, he is obviously in a cheerful frame of mind, from the accounts which come, and I am not surprised because only the other day, the boss of the Forum of Free Enterprise was good enough to send us a speech of his on 'Two Years of Achievement', and he suggested that the two former Finance Ministers should be "impeached" in Parliament, but the present Finance Minister was showing some evidence of "the dawn of a little realism." This "dawn of a little realism" is rather dangerous, and I wish at least the Minister of Labour and Planning, Shri Nanda, is not taken in by this idea of a dawn of new realism. I am afraid that what we are doing now on the question of foreign aid is to mortgage our future development. We have to pay, as Shri Nanda told us yesterday, about Rs. 100 crores every year from 1958-59 to 1962-63 only by way of repayment of the loans which we have taken. Now, further loans are being added, which will

mean that for a long time our entire foreign exchange resources will be spent up in repaying the present loans. The terms of foreign aid also indicate a character which is not particularly wholesome; the interest is exorbitant, it is 5½ per cent plus one per cent commission on World Bank loans, which compares very badly with interest charged by socialist countries, for Soviet aid implies only 2½ per cent interest, and there is no question of a commission. American aid also means that we are compelled against the basic formulations of our economic policy to buy an enormous amount of the farm surpluses, and to find out money from American sources for overheads and also to allocate a large proportion of whatever aid comes from America to the private sector. Now, the Prime Minister has told us many times about the public sector controlling the strategic heights of the economy. But the public sector here occupies a very little fraction of our industrial organisation; 3.9 per cent or something like that was the figure which was calculated by Dr. Lokanathan recently. And the public sector is almost going to abdicate if the conditions on which American aid is given are going to be maintained.

In this connection the World Bank, about whose generosity to us we hear so much, has given us some advice which is particularly pernicious, and this advice possibly is almost by way of a command. In this advice, the World Bank tells us absolutely gratuitously,—and we are directors of the World Bank to a certain extent; how fantastic the position is, I do not know—

"India has already heavily mortgaged her future foreign exchange earnings, even before account is taken of the additional loans that may be sought for the completion of the Second Five Year Plan."

It goes on to say:

"India has pursued welfare at the expense of efficiency."

It is not for them to say so. Though they lend us money, we shall pay through our nose; we shall sweat and toil in order to pay them back, and it is not for them to tell us that we are pursuing welfare at the expense of efficiency. And they like about 'lavish social amenities usually associated with new Government factories'. Shri Nanda knows very well how lavish are the social amenities enjoyed by our workers. And they refer to a recent talk of a system of unemployment insurance for industrial workers, as if that is a piece of sin and a crime which the World Bank bosses are not going to tolerate in our country. They call for rationalisation. They want that there should be no proper housing in this country, and they say that the Government's policy of progressively reducing inequalities of income and wealth may be difficult to reconcile with the aim of rapid economic development. These are the mentors, these are the helpers, these are the people who will take us across the hurdles which we are facing all over the place. No more public sector—it is said,

"That State has played a vital role... now that this process is well under way, the Government would be well advised to avoid assuming new responsibilities, especially so far as investment in industry and mining is concerned."

They talk so about oil and mining. My friend the Minister of Mines and Oil is here. I know our Government is not going to abide by these things. I say it is a very dangerous portent when people on whom you depend and inexorably depend as you imagine, people to whose star you have hitched your wagon, are talking in this fashion so that they may have a strangle-hold upon the apparatus of our economy.

In regard to the British loan of £40 million which has been given to us, for which we are so effusively thankful, the British paper *Financial Times* said that this "hard-headed and useful piece of economic assistance" was really nothing very generous on the part of Britain because it was only 20 per cent of the annual rate of drawal on India's sterling balances of nearly £200 million which if continued would have meant a greater drain on Britain's resources than the £40 million which have been lent now. The *Financial Times* goes on to say something which is very noticeable. The most remarkable development "in the new Indian financing (of which the British credit is but a part), has been the way in which the World Bank has co-ordinated it". The Bank has been enabled, the *Financial Times* comments, "to exercise a supervision over economic policy, which would be an infringement of sovereignty if any Government were to attempt it". This comes from Britain. This comes from the United States. This comes from the people who engineered the miserable Suez crisis which cost us more than Rs. 20 crores according to the calculations made by the Planning Commission. This is the kind of advantage which the crisis-ridden economy of the West now wishes to enjoy over us. In spite of that, at Montreal what we are trying to do is to highlight our association with the crisis-ridden capitalist system and to low-light our association with the socialist world and to tell the world, so to speak, that we are very faithful followers in the camp of what is called western democracy. All this is extremely dangerous as far as the future of our plan is concerned.

Shri Nanda has talked about our planning being non-regimented, democratic, and all the rest of that sort of thing. It is all very good to talk about it. Who wants to be regimented if regimentation can be done away with? Who does not want absolute freedom to do whatever one liked? We hear a lot of talk about the way of life.

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We expound our democracy, our planning as implying a new way of life. Where are we going? When are we going to begin to deliver the goods? That is the point. We have heard people say often that the accent of Indian planning is on the attainment of positive goals, raising of living standards, enlargement of opportunities for all, creation of a sense of partnership among all sections of the community. What has happened? What has happened in regard to these objectives? What has actually taken place is so infinitesimal and the patience of the people is being so sorely tried and Government's dependence on the most dubious capitalist interests is becoming so much pronounced that naturally, the country has to warn the Government and ask the Government to cry halt to the pursuit of the present policies.

In regard to social services, we are now going to have a fairly substantial cut. Shri Nanda yesterday said that there is going to be in the social services "an unfavourable change"—I never knew my friend, Shri Nanda, who is fairly plain-spoken, as a master of euphemism in this way—"unfavourable change" in the direction of social services. But, the fact remains that in spite of Shri Nanda assuming that we are sticking to Rs. 4,800 crores, somehow or other, we shall do it, the physical targets are very much less than what we had anticipated when the Plan was formulated. I know we cannot have a rigid adherence to the targets. It may be, sometimes, targets are not fulfilled. But, there must be some understandable statement in regard to what the position is, in regard to how the position is going to be rectified. That has not been done at all. On the contrary, we find things are happening which show how dependent we are no capitalist interests where recessions and crises have made their appearance in a very serious fashion. Therefore, our partners in the Plan are such people as really cannot be depended upon.

In this connection, I would like to refer to the fact that there has been in recent years a rise in foreign business investments in our country, which is fairly substantial. At the end of June 1948, foreign business investment in India amounted to Rs. 287.7 crores. At the end of December, 1953, it was 419.5 crores. The latest figures available about the period at the end of December, 1955, is Rs. 480.7 crores. This kind of increase in foreign investment in this country shows a dangerous tendency, especially when we are not in a position to control it, not in a position even to control the remittance of extra profits. Therefore, this is a phenomenon about which we have to be careful.

In regard also to the rise in the estimates of expenditure about the steel plants and delay in construction, my hon. friend the Minister has tried to explain it away. But, I feel that it is rather important. This matter should not have been allowed to happen and I think, that with some care, perhaps, if we wanted to put our foot down as far as these foreign interests were concerned, we could have made sure that the estimates would not have risen so very much. The Rourkela estimates have risen from Rs. 128 crores to Rs. 170 crores. The Bhilai estimates have risen from Rs. 110 crores to Rs. 131 crores and the Durgapur estimates have risen from Rs. 115 crores to Rs. 138 crores. The progress of construction has also been delayed. This is a serious matter about which we should be very careful.

The Planning Commission, some time ago, supplied us with a document about foreign exchange resources and it said that Rs. 400 crores of outstanding foreign exchange commitments of the private sector cannot be described in any detail because the breakdown is not available. Something must be very fishy in regard to the activities of the private sector and our foreign exchange position. As much as Rs. 400 crores outstanding foreign

exchange in regard to the commitments of the private sector show no breakdown at all. That report also told us that the outstanding commitments on defence are "exceedingly heavy." Shri Nanda has told us that defence expenditure is likely to exceed our estimates by Rs. 225 crores. Last session my hon. friend Acharya Kripalani had drawn attention to this increasing expenditure on defence in a very serious fashion and he had referred to the traditions of our country. But, what I would like to say is this. We are all keen that the defence of our country should not be jeopardised the least little bit. At the same time, we know very well that under cover of talk of defence, a great deal of hanky-panky is going on. That has got to be stopped. Only the other day, a former Finance Minister Shri C. D. Deshmukh said that outmoded junk was purchased to his certain knowledge for military purposes and stores were purchased more or less in that fashion. Where is our statesmanship? When are we going to adopt a policy which will enable us to spend less on defence? After all, we depend for the defence of our country, not so much upon the weapons, usually the outmoded weapons which we get from our democratic friends, but upon the Non-hearted resistance of our people. If you alienate your people, if you lose affection of the people, if you make the people feel that the Plan itself is a peculiar proposition which brings no benefit to them even in the foreseeable future, surely something is very wrong indeed.

I would like also to say that when we think of the internal resources, a problem as such arises. It is most amazing that income-tax arrears, for example, according to Government statements, are rising from year to year. Two years ago, it was Rs. 180 crores—simply arrears: not the evaded amount of income-tax about which nobody is certain, which is fabulous. Merely arrears of income-tax amounted in 1957 to Rs. 180 crores. Then it came to Rs. 208 crores and the latest

figure given in this session of Parliament is Rs. 287.32 crores. It is most amazing that this kind of thing goes on and we talk of lack of resources. I feel that we have to change the direction or we are going to sink in the mud.

13 hrs.

I am glad that the Planning Minister says that in regard to taxation he is going to have enough money. If he can get it well and good. But I feel that the direction of taxation has got to be changed; the way in which the load of taxation has fallen upon the poor that has got to be changed and the administration of the apparatus of taxation has got to be changed. Evasion has to be prevented and better administration has to take place.

But what do we find? We find Ministers of Government, holders of Cabinet office, like the Law Minister, for example, writing publicly in the *AICC Economic Review* that income-tax collections were showing a falling off not because of the evading tendency of some of his friends, but because it was sapping the incentive of people to earn money either at the Bar or in other places. It is an amazing proposition to come from a Minister of Government who writes in the *AICC Economic Review* and such a sort of thing goes completely unpunished. I cannot understand a parliamentary set up where Ministers of Government make such pronouncements and go Scot-free. They do not get the order of the lash which they should from their superiors over there. It suggests how the taxation system that we have got today is so bad and it is sought to be changed in the direction in which it is antagonistic to the interests of the people. It is there that the Planning Minister has to step in; it is there that he has to step in; it is there that he has to say that this sort of thing has got to be stopped,—the retrograde taxation policy has got to be stopped.

Then extravagance has got to be stopped. Mr. Deshmukh has said only

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the other day that to his certain knowledge one hundred crores of rupees were frittered away in indiscriminate licences for imports. In the pamphlet supplied to us by the Planning Commission an unworthy attempt was made to defend this position. It said that "over-liberal import of consumer goods would have had a relatively small effect." It is most amazing for the Planning Commission to minimise this kind of thing. Morally it is most reprehensible; materially speaking also, it is extremely significant.

The Planning Commission has also lately told us that the expenditure on delegations, on buildings, air-conditioning and that kind of thing, is very trifling. Acharya Kripalani is here and I think he will support me in regard to this. It is not merely the quantum of the money that you are throwing away for no good reason that is important; it is the principle of the matter. We find the Railway Ministry is putting up a new building in Delhi and they say they are going to spend Rs. 78 lakhs. I can take a bet—it will come to more than a crore of rupees, there is no doubt about it. The Ashoka Hotel which is a scandal of dimensions that I do not wish to describe, cost us more than Rs. 2½ crores and it has cost us not only in money but in ignominy from day to day. Only the other day we had an answer in Parliament that more than Rs. 22 lakhs were spent in Delhi alone for air-conditioning purposes. All this added up come to a total which is large. From the point of view of quantum it is important, but from the point of view of principle it is even more important and it is very necessary that it is this kind of thing which Government should take into consideration.

I feel, therefore, that it is necessary that we change the direction. It is necessary that we told our people that we cannot go in in the way that we have done so far. It is necessary that we realise once and for all that the

continued dependence on foreign aid is extremely dangerous to the future of our country and to the freedom of India. It is more than time that we realise that the tackling of the food problem can be done successfully even without that kind of paramount dependence on foreign aid. Why don't we try first of all to increase the output of food and other agricultural products through a policy which has been, on principle, adopted by the party to which the Planning Minister belongs, the policy of land to the tiller and the organisation of peasantry? If you cannot organise cooperatives or collectives straightaway you can at least have a kind of mutual aid schemes to obtain the advantages of collective labour, despite individual farms. You can have State-trading in foodgrains and other major products to stabilise foreign markets. Thirdly, adequate development of heavy industry in the public and the joint public and private sector is extremely important. But for that purpose we should see to it that our link, our dependence, is not with the crisis-ridden countries of the capitalist world. To a certain extent their money is welcome, but we should not get so tied up, we should not get so entangled, as it appears that we have been entangled, that our future would be endangered.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member has taken half-an-hour.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** There is only one other speaker from our side.

**Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun):** He is saying something interesting! Let him proceed.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** I would suggest in regard to development of heavy industries, the assistance of socialist countries and other favourably-disposed countries, not countries which want to dictate financial and economic policies to us, which want to champion the cause of the private sector in India, might be taken from time to

time. But they must be taken with such reservations as are absolutely necessary.

Then we should try to prevent remittance abroad of excessive profits by foreign business operating in our country. We should try to immunise, so to speak, our economy from the effects of declining activities in the capitalist world through adequate development of mutually beneficial relations with the crisis-free socialist world. I have referred already to the question of taxation. That is important—the administration, the proper administration of taxation, and the elimination of tax evasion, taxation of the wealthy rather than imposition of tax burden on the poor. We can increase the surplus produce of the public sector by raising its efficiency, by extending it to other fields like banking, foreign and internal trading in food-grains, raw cotton, raw jute, major oil seeds, tea, sugar, coal, oil products, cement, fertilisers, and so on and so forth, so that our public sector might expand and might take a larger chunk of the national product and utilise them for the purposes of the Plan.

Then, Sir, reduction in Government expenditure and rationalisation of defence and civil administration are absolutely necessary. After that, I wish to suggest—especially because Mr Nanda is the Planning Minister, that we have to get ahead with the idea of labour participation in the management. Only the other day a question elicited an answer that only in eleven units so far labour participation in management has been introduced. This is wrong.

Then again we heard that there is so much smuggling of gold and there is so much smuggling of Indian currency to countries in the Persian Gulf area. Much of that could be stopped. And in regard to gold, gold could be turned into sinews of economic growth. We can tackle the security vaults. Government has got legislative power to see how much gold and other precious metals are secreted in the security vaults; but Government does not do it.

Compulsion, plus incentives, plus some kind of a clever manipulation of financial policy would certainly bring to surface a great deal of gold which is hoarded in this country and which is a continuing drag on our economy.

Then we want a proper import control. The export promotion schemes which have been advertised, smack too much of mere publicity and proper import control is not made because priorities have not been properly drawn up. I say this with some hesitation because I do not wish to suggest that our agencies in the Commerce and Industry Ministry are not doing their job. But I feel that on so many occasions things are imported and sometimes the justification is given that capital goods have been imported, but capital goods necessarily should not get an import priority. For example, if we bring here capital goods for the production of cosmetics, we certainly save some foreign exchange, but it may be that the production of cosmetics has a very low priority, if any place at all, in the scheme of things which my hon. friend Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri would prefer today. And therefore it is important that merely in the name of capital goods certain things should not be imported. For example, we are bringing in machinery because it is machinery.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He has exhausted his five minutes.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** That machinery perhaps could be manufactured in this country in a few years time by special, additional effort. I suggest, therefore, that on the question of import control and on the question of export encouragement something very seriously is done.

I have finished. My conclusion would be that first things need to be set first, and we have forgotten our first and basic duty, and that is to touch the emotional core in the hearts of our people. I had so many things to say and I am sorry I cannot refer to them for lack of time, but I would

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end up by referring to a Sanskrit sloka which has some relevance even to the name of our hon. Minister of Planning. Our Minister of Planning happily carries the name of Nanda, and there is that famous Sanskrit couplet which says:

सर्वस्तत्तु दुर्गानि  
सर्वो भद्राणि पश्यतु  
सर्वस्तद्वृत्ति माप्नोति  
सर्वः सर्वत्र नन्दतु ।

Let everybody everywhere be happy. In our own country let everybody everywhere be happy. Let Shri Nanda be the instrument for seeing that everybody everywhere is happy. Let that happiness come, but that happiness will not come unless Government basically changes its policies, because I fear that Government has taken to tread on the wrong path, Government has perhaps taken.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** This thing should not have come after the couplet.

**Shri Asoka Mehta (Muzaffarpur):** I am grateful to the hon. Minister for making available to us useful information. I listened to the speech of my hon. friend Shri H. N. Mukerjee, and I was surprised that while he began with a reference to the crisis and the danger of collapse of the Plan, all that he offered us was an aggressive Communist speech. He evidently accepts the Plan as it stands, the pattern he accepts. The Plan requires for its implementation Rs. 1,700 crores of foreign exchange. From where is it to come? If you do not want foreign exchange, if we are to sneer at foreign assistance in the manner Shri Mukerjee and his friends are accustomed to do in this House and outside, it is his responsibility to show us the alternative. The only alternative can be the stepping up of our exports at rates, which would put heavy burdens upon our people as is being done in China. In China, foreign exports are being subsidised by Rs. 110 crores a

year. If you want to get Rs. 500 crores more from foreign exchange, you will have to dump your goods in the foreign markets, and you will have to starve your people internally. It is very good for Shri Mukerjee to talk about things in an unconnected manner, but if he is planning-conscious he has got to face these things in a co-ordinated manner. But I have no desire to spend the little time that is at my disposal in refuting some of the most superficial and supercilious arguments that have been put forward by Shri Mukerjee. I shall confine my attention to four points: firstly, the foreign exchange problem in the country; secondly, the problem of internal resources; thirdly, the structure of the Plan; and lastly, the question of reorientation, the nature and the need of reorienting the Plan.

As far as the foreign exchange problem is concerned, none can gainsay the fact that the foreign exchange position in the past has been handled ineptly, that a considerable amount of foreign exchange was frittered away, but I shall not go into that because this is not the time for recrimination. But I would suggest that even now we must not relax our efforts. We are grateful for the assistance, for the massive assistance that friendly countries have given us, and we are entitled to celebrate the easing of the foreign exchange position, because we have been promised credit by March next year of 435 million dollars as against our estimated requirements of 350 million dollars. Therefore, we can say that the position has somewhat eased, but we must therefore not relax our efforts. I suggest that the problem of foreign exchange is going to be vital for the rest of the Plan and for the Third Plan period. Obviously, it would be unwise on our part to depend upon foreign credits and the generosity of friendly countries. That is the last thing upon which we should depend, but we have not become sufficiently export-conscious.



I am very happy Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri is here. More than once I have invited his attention to the fact that this export promotion business lacks the requisite awareness. For instance, what is the kind of pattern and structure of the foreign trade that we envisage in the years to come?

I would like to invite the attention of the Planning Minister as well as the Minister of Commerce and Industry to the recent report by the Royal Commission on Canada's economic prospects. In the course of that very interesting report, which I am sure the Planning Minister has seen, it is said.

"Demand will continue to be high for industrial raw materials. There may well be a buyers' market for foodgrains and manufactured goods."

What is going to happen in the world in the next five or ten years? There is going to be an increasing demand for industrial raw materials. India is not in a position to export very much either capital goods or the products of light industries. What we can hope to export in a large measure is ultimately industrial raw materials, agricultural produce and the mineral products from our country. It is this primary sector that needs to be attended to if we are to become export-minded. Not only for the purposes of food self-sufficiency is agriculture of vital importance, but even for the purpose of stepping up our export, agriculture continues to be the key sector in our economy.

Secondly, as far as export industries are concerned, very much more needs to be done. The textile industry—my hon. friend Shri Somani may or may not agree with me, but the fact remains, and I can say it with a considerable amount of knowledge and responsibility—is an utterly inefficient industry by and large, and hardly anything is being done to step up an industry that is protected, that is sheltered, that is permitted to grow under all kinds of controls favourable to the

industry. Nothing is being done to see that its internal efficiency is increased, and the result is that our export potentiality continues to be sluggish. Therefore, though the foreign exchange crisis has eased and as I said we are entitled to celebrate the occasion, this is the time when we should look ahead, we should plan properly, so that we may not be found napping a second time.

As far as internal resources are concerned, as the reappraisal points out, the central problem in the reappraisal of the plan is the magnitude of the internal resources that can be raised. Undoubtedly this is the crucial problem. Now I think there again the problem was well stated by the earlier memorandum when it said that the striking feature of the resources position over these years is that the balance available from current revenue has remained more or less around Rs. 140 to Rs. 150 crores. The budgetary resources available for our Plan have remained stagnant at Rs. 140 to Rs. 150 crores in spite of the fact that a big tax effort has been made involving an increase in our revenues during the Plan period of about Rs. 900 crores. Our revenues have increased to such an extent because this House has co-operated with the Government in putting newer and newer burdens upon the people, but the result has been that we have remained stagnant as far as the budgetary resources for the Plan are concerned. In the first three years of the Plan, though only 50 per cent of what we had planned to spend during the Plan has so far been utilised, only 44 per cent of the resources has so far come from budgetary resources, as was pointed out by the Minister himself yesterday. The position as far as the economy is concerned has been that though the Centre will be raising taxes worth Rs. 500 crores over the original Plan target—mind you Rs. 500 crores more, than we will be raising as targeted for in the Plan, when the Plan was drawn up—the expected benefit to the Plan is just Rs. 45 crores. The States were

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expected to find Rs. 20 crores a year from current revenue at pre-Plan rates. In practice, in the first two years, the States have been minus by Rs. 10 crores and Rs. 20 crores respectively. Expenditure outside the Plan is expected to be anywhere—I do not know—between Rs. 600 crores and Rs. 800 crores.

Now, we are told that as a measure of economy, we will cut down expenditure by Rs. 80 crores. We permit our expenditure to rise by a few hundred crores and then decide, of course midway in the Plan, that we will be cutting it down. The whole difficulty is that we are not development-conscious. We are permitting our very limited resources to be frittered away in all kinds of non-developmental activities outside the Plan. Unless you are able to exercise a considerable amount of vigilance on non-development and non-Plan activities, I am afraid this problem of inadequate internal resources is bound to continue.

Even in this reappraisal, no thought has been given to the likely consequences of the recommendations of the Central Pay Commission. You can go through the reappraisal. We will have to wait for another reappraisal when the Report of the Central Pay Commission comes out. The impact of it will be felt upon the non-Plan expenditure.

These are things where it is useful to look ahead. It is no use calculating on the basis that we are going to cut down our expenditure by Rs. 80 crores. I am prepared to say that our non-Plan, non-development expenditure will go up by Rs. 100 crores in the next two years, if not by more. These are the circumstances in which we are placed. Therefore, it is no use bringing us in a reappraisal figures or calculations which are patently unrealistic.

There is one silver lining in the whole position and that is that Gov-

ernment borrowings now are not only larger, but the money market is very easy. There has been, as the *Eastern Economist* points out today a veritable revolution in the money market. Bank deposits have been shooting up. Bank deposits today are perhaps larger than the total currency in the country. The deposits-advance ratio has been falling and the result has been that the money market is easy. We are today entering an era of borrowing from strength, that is, borrowing in our own country, borrowing cheap. The money market is easy and I hope that the Government will be able to see that the monetary policies continue to remain such as will enable us to raise more and more loans because that is also a part of budgetary resources. These loans are also internal resources and the more we are able to take advantage of them, the better it will be.

Suggestions have been made about raising additional resources. Now, as far as the States are concerned, if you study carefully—as, I am sure, you have done—the two brochures that have been placed before us, the additional money that is to be raised is mainly to come from the agriculturists. The planners expect Rs. 95 crores to be raised from the agriculturists. As against that, Rs. 11.6 crores have been raised through betterment levy and the rest of it. I do not know whether in the difficult and unsettled conditions in which we find our agrarian economy because of our failure to vitalise, to energise, our rural sector, it is again realistic to hope that we shall be able to get about Rs. 100 crores over the Plan period as against about Rs. 11 crores for which provision has been made by additional taxation measures that have been levied by the State Governments.

A suggestion has been made—and I welcome that—for a special assessment of lands that have acquired an urban character. Yesterday the Minister drew our attention very pointedly to rapid urbanisation that is going on in the

country. As a result of rapid urbanisation, inevitably there will be newer and newer areas becoming part of urban localities and there will be unearned incomes. Immediate steps need to be taken to see that these unearned increments do not go into the pockets of a few privileged people but are made available for development of the country.

Then again, the planners have been repeatedly under-rating the requirements of the economy for maintenance and repairs. The Planning Commission's memoranda themselves admit that they have under-rated the requirements for maintenance etc. as far as foreign exchange resources are concerned. I say internally also these things are under-rated. Those of us who have applied our minds to the way some of the big irrigation projects have been costing find that one of the reasons is that the maintenance charges and other incidental requirements needed for development, for the full utilisation of the irrigation potential that is being created, have not been envisaged. I do not know why we keep on repeating these mistakes. Is it the idea that we want to go to Parliament and say: 'Look here, this is a big plan, but only so much resources will be needed' and then we find that we get into a jam? I suggest that a much more realistic method of planning is necessary so that we are not caught on the wrong foot, so that we may be able to convince Parliament and the people that this is the amount of effort needed. And if the people do not put forth the effort, then the consequences would follow.

The problem of tax evasion is there. There is also the problem of smuggling of gold. To both these, Shri H. N. Mukerjee drew our attention. I would only like to point out that as a result of gold smuggling, half per cent of our national savings are dissipated. The gold smuggling that we know of today—there might be something about it which we do not know enough—the extent of the gold smuggling that we know works out to over-pricing of our imports by 3 per cent and under-

pricing of our exports by 3 per cent—as if a 3 per cent commission on our entire foreign trade is being taken by somebody somewhere! I am not suggesting that our exporters and importers are behaving in that manner, but there must be a big leak somewhere. This leak must be stopped. Half per cent of our national savings is something very big. We are struggling to raise our rate of savings and investments by two or three per cent over the Plan period. Half per cent of that every year is something very substantial.

Therefore, there are so many aspects to this question of internal resources that need to be considered. I had hoped that the Minister would have given a little more attention to these, because he had said that 'this is the core of the Plan, this is the key problem, the rest of the material we have with us'. How do you propose to come to grips with this problem. If you want to raise these resources, then naturally the structure of the Plan must change. Do you want the structure of the Plan to keep on changing, as it has been changing so far? That logically leads me to the question of the structure of the Plan.

Due to additions to the Plan and price rise, the Plan has grown to almost Rs. 5600. If the old Plan with whatever addition is really sought to be implemented today, it would cost us in terms of money about Rs. 5,000 crores, while the resources that we have and what we are likely to achieve in fact are about Rs. 4,200 crores. 25 per cent of the Plan has been eroded. The Foodgrains Inquiry Committee had pointed out—whether the Committee was right or wrong, it came to this conclusion—that as far as food production is concerned, we shall be reaching only about two-thirds of the target. As far as the private sector is concerned, the Planning Commission themselves concede that on the overall view, it may roughly be said that about 70-75 per cent of the original targeted capacity will be achieved. Here again, I am afraid the Planning Minister is

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unrealistic when he said that our national income will increase more or less by 25 per cent as planned for and in other sectors of the economy we hope to make the progress that we have anticipated, except, as he said, in the private sector and in one or two places which he mentioned yesterday. I say we should realise that the utmost we are called to achieve is three-fourths of the Plan and if things are put in terms of physical targets, the Plan may be only just 2/3 of what we had planned for and hoped for when we embarked upon this great adventure of hope.

I know I am providing some grist to my hon. friend, Shri Masani, but I cannot help it. If you look at the increase in allotment needed to reach the Plan targets in the public sector as far as industries and minerals are concerned, the Plan targets have to be raised by 30 per cent; in the private sector by 24 per cent and in steel by 46 per cent. The foreign exchange component both in the public sector and the private sector has gone up by 31 or 32 per cent. That means that as far as the foreign exchange component is concerned, the rise in price is the same. The extent of undercalculation or the element of rise in prices works out to the same figure of 31 per cent for the public sector and 32 per cent for the private sector.

But, when we come to the expenditure to be met internally, we find that in the private sector over 24 per cent more money will be needed to reach the Plan targets and in the public sector we need 30 per cent more and in steel 46 per cent more. Why is it that we give an opportunity to the gentlemen who represent the private sector that they plan better, that they are more efficient?

Then, again, I feel that in coal as well as in fertilizers we shall be falling short of the targets which we aimed at simply because we permitted ideological considerations to come in the way of production. I say that

because the Treasury Benches have been saying over and over again that they are not doctrinaire, that they are production conscious and that they are not interested in ideological considerations. I say, 'if you are not interested in ideological considerations, at least see that production is there'. If the Government had not hesitated, if the Government had not wavered for two years on this question of coal production, I am sure the private sector would have been able to see to it that the targets are reached. Either you permit the private sector to go ahead; or if you do not permit the private sector, see that the public sector does not behave in the lame and limping manner in which the public sector is permitted to function in this country. I cannot understand an attitude where you are never able to make up your minds. The worst tragedy of this government is its inability to reach any kind of conclusion, a right conclusion or a wrong conclusion. What the country needs today is a decisive policy and I hope and trust that the Treasury Benches will at least realise that we are moving towards a crisis where decisiveness, courage and confidence are of greater importance than wisdom that comes out of wavering over the alternatives for all times to come.

**Acharya Kripalani:** They have decided to go wrong.

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** I would like to point out that inevitably the Plan has become much more industry conscious. On industry and transport we shall be spending 47 per cent of our total Plan allotment. And, social services have suffered. Please realise that unless more resources are found, that means that unless non-developmental expenditure is reduced to the minimum, kept to the minimum, unless additional resources are found and all kinds of loopholes are plugged, we shall find ourselves in an even more desperate position because

this is what the appraisal says on page 19:

"If in view of the resources position the Plan outlay cannot be raised to about Rs. 4,260 crores there will have to be a larger cut on social services."

I had warned on a previous occasion that the hard core is bound to eat into the soft substance around. How much are we spending on social services? Rs. 4 per head per year. That is what we are spending today. And, if that is to be eaten into further in order that the hard core may be put through, I think, it would be a dangerous thing. The only way it can be avoided is that we should be very vigilant about our resources and our expenditure.

The hon. Minister invited our attention to economy in the building activities. That would be a good thing. I have on more than one occasion pointed out that we are spending about Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,200 crores on construction activities. But how much are we getting by way of return in income tax etc.? Here is Shri Mahavir Tyagi who was entrusted with the task. I hope he will find it out and tell the House how much do we get in terms of income-tax revenue from that particular sector.

The food prices have increased. I think, something like 4 to 5 million tons of foodgrains are probably sold in the urban areas. Out of the sharp rise in food prices, I have no doubt that a number of traders have made considerable profit. Work out the amount of profits that people have made. How much of that flows back into the Treasury? If it flows back into the Treasury the inflationary rise in prices will have some counterbalance. What are the returns you are getting as far as the collection of revenue is concerned? This is the kind of intensive probe into our economy that has to be done. I hope and trust that the Planning Minister will not be satisfied with merely giving us the

glamorous, maxfactored picture of the Plan but will go into the very heart of the problem. (*Interruption.*)

I agree with Prof. Mukerjee that we have reached a critical point today because of the slowing down of the tempo of industrial growth. In 1957 there has been only a 3.5 per cent increase as against the 8 per cent in each of the two previous years. There is not just slowing down, there is loss of the ground gained. That is what the Reserve Bank report says:

"The unadjusted average of the index for January—April 1958 at 141.7 was, in fact, 0.5 per cent. lower than the average for the corresponding period of 1957."

We are actually retreating and what this House has to decide is, are we going to permit the retreat to continue or are we going to reverse that. We shall reverse that course and continue to move forward. Therefore for the future a great responsibility rests upon our shoulders.

We are told in the various amendments by friends whom I respect that we should now consolidate. Consolidation is a good thing, undoubtedly. But, I suggest, to be satisfied with consolidation would be a crime against future generations. We have got to move forward. In a developing economy, there is a critical point of investment. Unless you reach that—that is unless at least 10 per cent. of our national income is saved and invested, there is no future for this country. It is the essence of a developing economy that a strong national effort is made. Over and over again, Sir, it has been my effort to point out that we should break away from the traditional approach with which we are accustomed. Unless we are willing to shoulder the burden, unless we are willing to show imagnitiveness that is necessary to get over those forces today—and if we are going to slacken, if we are going to fall back on this process of consolidation alone—all that I can

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say is that we shall have to retreat more and more.

Attempts can be made to reorientate the Plan. Emphasis on agriculture, industries closer to agriculture, labour-using rather than labour-saving industries to be developed, slowing down of heavy industries etc. These are some of the suggestions made. Naturally, they need to be considered very carefully not only now but also when the Third Plan is drawn up.

But, personally I am not in favour of changing the investment grid as envisaged in the Second Plan. I say that, even though I am likely to be misunderstood by many persons in this House,—I say that because it is my considered opinion which I have reached after very careful deliberation—the large scale heavy industries constitute the most potent growth inducing sector in our economy and we cannot and we should not easily permit that sector to go down.

Please remember what was our grand strategy with which we started the Plan. It was assumed that food production and small production will be greatly increased by co-operative and organised efforts of the people. Lack of capital would be made up by larger input of organisation and enthusiasm. That was the grand strategy. Because we have failed on that front, let us not beat retreat on that front on which we are right. Let us try and see why we are failing and whether we cannot set things right. If we are conscious of the crisis, if we are aware that we have to get out of the rut we have got into—after all enthusiasm means willingness to work in a different manner and more intensively—move away from the traditional methods and manners of functioning and the habits. What happens when water reaches the farmer. The farmer's whole attitude has to change. That is why there is a certain amount of

time lag before water resources get utilized. The resistance comes because it is not easy for the farmer to adjust himself or accommodate himself to the new possibilities and new patterns and new demands that the irrigation facilities provide. Likewise, this great experiment of democratic planning should get over the hump and move forward whereby we shall be able to keep the momentum going and the accelerators will not get slowed down. It means an entirely different approach and an entirely different assessment of things.

The crisis is not so much economic; it is essentially political. It is in the political life today that we have reached almost the dead end. I think that the time has come for us to come out of this economic impasse and we should revise our thinking and reorientate our thinking as far as political functioning and practical behaviour are concerned.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** May I also solicit his attention?

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** I will be finishing in a minute.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I am not asking him to conclude; I am only soliciting his attention sometimes to this side also. He has been all along, I think, addressing Shri Mahavir Tyagi..... (Interruptions)

**Shri Tyagi:** I am his old admirer.

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** Sir, my difficulty is light comes from this side and whenever I have to look to the points, I have to turn this side. —

The last point that I want to make is this. The whole problem of economic growth and economic development is full of pit-falls. Economic theory has not advanced where it can provide us a kind of safe guidance. But much thinking is going on, and some tentative conclusions reached.

I would invite attention to just two of them. Pardon me, Sir, for indulging in theoretical hocuspocus. Theoretically, it is not the principle of social marginal productivity that is applicable to a developing economy but that of the marginal per capita reinvestment quotient, meaning thereby, if you are only thinking in terms of just output or just consumption, ignoring the whole problem of reinvestment quotient, then the development is bound to slow down. Then, certain rather startling conclusions follow which some of us may not like. For instance, in a very able article that was recently published in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*—a high-brow journal as far as economics is concerned—the conclusion drawn is this:

“A constant or decreasing returns industry may have a higher capital turnover ratio than an alternative increasing returns industry, but the increasing returns industry may in the long run make a greater contribution to national product.”

Sir, the whole question is this. Should we have, up to a certain period, heavy industry or should the heavy industry be jettisoned and pushed aside in the background? Shall we concentrate purely on industries that will yield immediate results? That is the first question of crucial importance and I say this question should not be decided lightly. I would beg of this House and of you, Sir, to see that this matter which is very vitally important to the future of our country must be guided by the best thought that can be given to this subject. I hope and trust that when we talk about the re-orientation of the Plan, we shall not permit our traditional ideas and our prejudices to come in the way but we shall face the problem in a manly manner as has been the tradition of this great and ancient country.

Shri Tyagi: Sir, my task has been considerably lightened by the two hon. Members who have already spoken.

So, I would not take the time of the House on these two issues: balance of payments and loans.

According to the figures given by the hon. Minister of Planning, our Plan deficit in balance of payments originally stood at Rs. 1,100 crores. Now, it is estimated to go up to nearabout Rs. 1,980 crores which is really a staggering figure. Efforts are being made to tide over the difficulties and I cannot say that the method of working of the Plan has been altogether disappointing. Best efforts, I think, are being made. While we are progressing and proceeding to build up the nation, there are apt to be some lapses no doubt. Whenever they are brought to the notice of the Ministry and criticised, if the Ministry is receptive to criticism, it helps the Ministry, whether the criticism comes from the Opposition or from elsewhere. Criticism opens our eyes and I think the Government has always been receptive to criticism. I am sure the Government is more conscious than any one of us here about the internal and external resources. However there is one thing that I want to emphasise—not that the Government is not aware of it. I think the Minister himself has confessed it. Is so much emphasis going to be laid on internal finances as it deserves? I am reminded of my personal friend, Shri Deshmukh, whom I admire so much. I was working with him as his assistant and I have found that he used to make a lot of scrutiny and every case underwent a thorough examination. The expenditure side was working rather very hard, looking into all the details. Over and above that, there was the Standing Finance Committee of the Parliament and that too had perhaps a very great effect on various projects' expenditure. All parties were represented on those Committees which were elected by means of a single transferable vote. Hon. Members could advise and enlighten and thereby enable the spending Ministries to exercise better care and thorough examination. I do not propose that the same Committee

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should be brought into existence now. The Government has already taken a decision. But my fears are these. Many hon. Members know and I have also heard that they are now decentralising the procedure of scrutiny and the Ministries are becoming autonomous once the expenditure is agreed to at the Budget time. I am afraid the Government will have to be still more careful in the matter because hereafter expenditure will be incurred by the Ministries independently and there may not be so much of co-ordination between different schemes as my hon. friend, Shri Nanda desires. There is a lot of expenditure which could be checked. According to the figures supplied to us during the Budget discussion, the expenditure on wages and salaries has gone to Rs. 518 crores in 1958-59 from Rs. 416 crores in 1956-57. It is rising higher and higher and the Government may have to look into this. With the progress that we are making with our planning schemes, naturally the expenditure on wages and salaries will also proportionately increase, but I would like Government to look into it whether it is not being disproportionately increased.

Then, Sir, a committee of the planning project had recommended a reduction of ten per cent. by changing specifications and designs and by omitting such buildings as are not very essential, such buildings as could wait for some time. Our expenditure on buildings is a substantial one in these Five Year Plans. I suggest that the Minister may be pleased to inform the House as to what has happened to the recommendations of that committee. I would like to know whether they have given effect to them, whether orders have been issued, or whether they are still being considered by the Planning Commission or the Government.

There was another matter which of course, has been lost sight of. I do not know whether Planning Commission is prepared to handle this problem.<sup>6</sup> It is rather unpopular, but it is quite a handy slogan, for, every big

man in the country talks about it—that is about the control of population. A capital is made of family planning, but I do not think there is anything substantial done in this line. This is one of the biggest questions facing the nation today. I propose that Government might take a bold action and, perhaps, consider the feasibility of encouraging sterilisation of men and women in cases where they have three or more children in a family. I do not say that any law should be made or any compulsion should be exercised, but I think that it can rightly be propagated. It is a reasonable thing and people must respond to it. If the Government does not always care to look into their activities from the angle of gaining popularity or incurring unpopularity, there are sometimes things which are unpalatable, but as a Government they have but to take them up. Let us try whether it will be done voluntarily. This is a poor country and there are thousands and thousands of families who would like to relieve themselves of additional burdens. Surely, it can also be said that they might observe celibacy or exercise control. That is also very good to say. But sometimes it becomes difficult. After all, they are human beings. Why not give them a security? So I thought that this may be included as one of your major items in the plan.

I must immediately come to the main problem which is troubling me personally, not because I am personally involved, but because I have been brought up in the environment of agriculture. The village problems are really going very bad today. My allegation is that, perhaps, we have not been able to do full justice to the villages, our planning up till now has been mostly having an urban bias and villagers are more or less neglected. There is agriculture, for instance. Although quite a lot of money has been allocated for the promotion of agriculture, perhaps, it still requires a re-thinking.



In the first place, as the House knows, there is the question of land management. Government have come to a decision with regard to a policy on land ceiling. That policy has also been communicated to the State Governments. The State Governments—also belonging to the same party—have fallen in line with the Central Government and they are taking up actively the question of management of land. The policy is that there must be some ceilings applied on land. And it has been prescribed for the State Governments to see that a holding must not yield over Rs. 300 net income per month or exceed 30 acres of land for a family. That is the ceiling that they are going to apply. A villager told me: "Sir, what you say to us is this: the Congress Government's rule is that a villager shall not be permitted to earn more than Rs. 300, per month because in villages there is no other profession than agriculture and there is a ceiling on agricultural holdings to the extent of 30 acres or not more than Rs. 300 net income per month for a family. That means our fate is sealed to Rs. 300". I could not answer his question, nor could I satisfy him. He said: "I have two children. I cannot send any of them to a college because the college expenditure per child will come to Rs. 100 or more and I will not be able to live. I cannot build a pukka house in my village because I cannot earn more than Rs. 300".

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Community Development (Shri B. S. Murthy):** I am very much surprised that Shri Tyagi could not reply to the villager.

**Shri Tyagi:** If you were in the village, you could know better.

**Shri B. S. Murthy:** I am of the village.

**Shri Tyagi:** That is what the villager feels. He says: "A villager shall never be able to build a pukka house. It is the law of urban rule that villagers shall not have pukka houses, because

no family can save enough money to build a pukka house; his income is limited to Rs. 300". If that is the shape of things coming in the villages, I think we should seriously reconsider it. I do want to record my opinion in this House that this policy has to be revised.

A graduate who comes from a university after passing his B.Sc. (Agriculture) will not be able to do anything in his village. If he wants to invest Rs. 50,000 or Rs. 60,000 in his farm or sink a tubewell, we will naturally advise him not to do so because he will not get more than Rs. 300 as return from his investment. Therefore, there will not be any investment on a large-scale. If you want to encourage agriculture, economic forces must be brought into play. The only method of encouraging agriculture is to encourage it by means of manipulation of economic forces.

I can understand if the whole village was to be formed into a co-operative farm. I would not object to that. I do not stand for individual capitalism or things like that. If by force or by persuasion the whole village can be turned into a co-operative farm and everybody be made to enjoy the fruit of labour, I would welcome it. Thereby we might increase our agricultural produce. But to say that that will not happen, they can have only individual farms and the individual farms will be small, I think it is uneconomic.

There is another slogan—we go mostly by slogans—raised today by a great man, Shri Vinoba Bhave, whom I worship. His record of *bhoodan* is very good, because for a person who gives *bhoodan* it is not only a sort of moral upliftment, it is also a spiritual upliftment. Therefore, it does a great good, no doubt. But the lands obtained out of *bhoodan*, I suggest, must be treated as a co-operative farm, one big co-operative farm rather than it being distributed to each one who has got no land. It is a very good slogan. To say that every landless man must have land. Everyone shall have.

[Shri Tyagi]

because it is after all a question of mathematical distribution, enough for one's grave and not for cultivation. Each one in the country will have, because our population is very big, a share just enough for his grave and not for cultivation. I do not believe that each man should own land. Why should not each man own industry also, and also other things? I think the lands obtained voluntarily through *bhoo-dan* must, if it is possible, be managed by State as either State farms or co-operative farms so that no uneconomic holdings are created. There is enough pressure on land today; let us not go on adding to that pressure.

Then, Sir, I pray that the Government might consider the question of giving incentives to villagers. It is no use giving slogans alone. From whatever height they may come, villagers are not guided by slogans. In western district of U.P. I find that the land is being fastly transferred from foodgrains to cash crops. No power on earth can stop us from doing that, because sugarcane crop pays ten times more. How can we forego sugarcane and grow wheat or any other grain on our land? We must grow the crop which will give us more returns. Under these circumstances, it cannot be said that we must grow more food because the country demands it, and also give it cheap.

14 hrs.

There is a lot of dearness in the country. The people are in trouble. But I would like to look at it from another angle as well. It is perhaps a blessing in disguise. Seen from the angle of the farmer, this dearness is the only incentive available to him today to grow more wheat, because he hopes that if the dearness continues, he will have good dividends. Perhaps this dearness alone is the only blessing in disguise which is just giving a sort of incentive to the farmer. Instead of depending on such sort of destructive incentive, I say, let the Government

give the farmers a substantial incentive, and say, if the farmer produces more than the average yield on his field, he will get an additional money, he will have some subsidy. Any farmer who produces more than the average yield in an area should be given some sort of cash subsidy or help by way of free use of fertilisers or free use of the canal waters. Some such incentive must be given to the farmer so that he may produce more food than at present.

On the other hand, when we talk of fixing a sort of floor price which could be Rs. 10 to Rs. 12, the peasant laughs at it. He asks, "What is this floor price, when my wheat can sell in the market at Rs. 26, 27 or 28 per maund? You are giving me a floor price of Rs. 10 or 12 or 14". He laughs at it, and he is nowhere. The incentive given must be a positive incentive.

At present, in Punjab, we are procuring rice at the rate of Rs. 16 per maund; in Andhra, at Rs. 15-8-0 per maund. Is that the incentive to a peasant? Do you expect him to grow more rice? When rice is ready, you go out and procure it forcibly at the rate of Rs. 16 per maund, and you expect him to grow more rice! This very rice in Uttar Pradesh is selling at Rs. 26 per maund, in Bihar at Rs. 28 per maund and in West Bengal at Rs. 28 to 30 per maund.

Then, in my opinion, planning of food has also been defective to the extent that once they fix the targets, they change them again and again. Well, I do not want to embarrass the House with figures as the Chair has rung the bell, but I just want to say that they have not been very accurate in their target. From 15 per cent, they raised the target to 25 per cent. At Mussoorie, when all the State Agriculture Ministers had met, they had recommended that the target may be fixed so as to have an additional yield of foodcrops to the extent of 25 per cent., and that Rs. 116 crores as extra

money be given to them. This was rejected by the Planning Commission. They fixed the target of 15.51 million tons additional yield which they had expected. It is on account of various items which they have mentioned in the book, saying that major and medium irrigation works will yield 2.3 million tons, minor irrigation will yield so much and fertilisers will yield so much, etc. But each one of them has not come up to the expectation. Take the target achievement and the shortfall. For two years, 42.1 lakh tons was the expectation. Achievement has been only 36.2 lakh tons. That is the achievement. The shortage is 5.9 lakh tons.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member's time is up. I know there is much to be said.

**Shri Tyagi:** I will cut short. I request that I may be given a few minutes more. There is the grow more food scheme. I must congratulate the Grow More Food Deptt. on what they have done. They have done a good job because they have fulfilled 48 per cent. of the target. But the Community Development and N.E.S. Blocks have not been able to do the full amount of the work entrusted to them especially in the minor irrigation works. In minor irrigation works, they could do only 20 per cent. of the targeted expectation. I would request him to see to it that the Community Development and N.E.S. Blocks fulfil the target and that this important function is not neglected.

There are the seed farms. I would suggest here that instead of opening so many state seed farms, it will be better if they notify an area for one type of seed and have effective control over it. Let a big area be allotted where a particular variety would be sown and developed, and no other variety allowed. By law all other varieties should be prohibited. They must see to it that one particular area, say, 2, 3 or 4 square miles, is sown with one type of seed so that the farmers and others can freely buy a

variety of that particular variety of seed from that area and so that there may be no adulteration.

There has been a great default in the matter of the supply of fertilisers. Last year the demand for fertilisers was 13.4 lakh tons, the Government supplied only 10.3 lakh tons. This year, the demand is 15.2 lakh tons, and I understand that they are not going to supply more than 8.4 lakh tons. If this is the way to deal with fertilisers, you cannot have any additional food, because, fertilisers are one of the important factors. Again, iron and steel is another important factor, as these materials are needed by industry and also the agriculturists. I know for a fact that States demanded—I had a talk with a State Minister—last year, 3.9 lakh tons, but they were given only 92,000 tons. That was the allocation made to them. The demand this year was 1.8 lakh tons, but only 52,000 tons are being allotted. This is what is happening on the agriculture front. In regard to these matters, I want to invite the attention of the Planning Minister and I would request him to look into these matters as well.

Then comes the question of tractors. I understand that tractors are not now coming from foreign countries for want of foreign exchange. The Central Tractor Organisation is soon going to be closed down. For a long time past they have been considering the establishment of some such factory as would be able to manufacture tractors or earth-moving machinery here.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** In the ordnance factories, with the aid of Japan.

**Shri Tyagi:** I understand that lately the Defence Minister was lucky,—I know,—to have an arrangement with a British firm known as International Harvesters. Some agreement was perhaps arrived at but later on, the parent firm in London refused to abide by that agreement, and that agreement

[Shri Tyagi]

was, of course, cancelled. But immediately after that, some other arrangement has been made with some Japanese firm to construct or build tractors and earth-moving machinery in some ordnance factories. I do not know why some other Minister should not have taken up this type of work, because the ordnance factory concerned could easily be transferred to some other Minister.

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

**Shri Tyagi:** I suggest that these things may be looked into.

14.09 hrs.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh (Sasaram):** I am not one of those who believe in celebrating the day when some loans are obtained. Loans can, at the most, be tolerated; they cannot be celebrated. The Planning Minister, a little while ago, said that about 25 per cent. of our labour energy is lying idle. I think that, rather than approaching foreign Governments for obtaining loans, we should reach our own people and get their energy utilised in a better way. In that way we will be serving our national cause in a befitting manner.

It is good that today some loans have been obtained and these loans, according to Shri Asoka Mehta, are to the extent of 435 million dollars. That can at the most come to Rs. 175 crores. In one front only we have lost about Rs. 175 crores, and that is the front about which Shri Tyagi just now referred in his very nice speech.

The Planning Minister also referred to unemployment. He said if something is not done in a few years, then our peace might be disturbed. He also referred to revolutionary touch. I think rather than telling Parliament about revolutionary touch, he should introduce that in his own sphere. He should introduce it in the Government sphere and see that a real

revolutionary touch is given to the Government and the Government machinery is geared up properly, so that efficiency is brought into Government. I claim that if efficiency is brought into our Government machinery, then there would not be any necessity for our Finance Minister to go either to U.K. or to the U.S.A., about which our learned friend, Shri Asoka Mehta, said that he was very proud and that we should celebrate this day.

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** I said it in regard to easing of the foreign exchange crisis.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** That crisis also can be solved.

Tyagiji referred to fertiliser and said today we are not meeting our demands. I can claim that if we succeed only in producing enough fertilisers—we may not be in a position to produce chemical fertilisers—but if we succeed in popularising green manure and compost making, then we can save Rs. 175 crores, because that would increase our agricultural produce to that extent and it would not be necessary that we should go on sending every month delegations to foreign countries, from one capital to another capital nor even ministerial delegations.

The Planning Minister also referred to institutional arrangements which have not been made. By that he meant co-operative and other institutions, *panchayats* or maybe the development committee, which he had introduced during his regime in our community development and N.E.S. blocks. To a larger extent they have been responsible for not creating the moral climate, to which he made reference. He said that we should create a moral climate in this country, so that a revolutionary touch may be given. But I say that the practice which he introduced in our development committee, in our community

development and N.E.S. blocks has killed public life in the country and the moral climate which you now aspire to create has been reduced to a larger extent. If you are really sincere in creating any moral climate in the country or giving any revolutionary touch, you should create it in the Government departments in charge of implementation of the Plan, rather than labour in lecturing in this House or outside.

Tyagiji has referred to agriculture. I wish to point out that if we pay sufficient attention to cattle programme also, that will help us in meeting our requirements in financing our Plan. On that front, cattle wealth has been totally neglected. Today we are importing about Rs. 8 crores or Rs. 9 crores worth of powder and condensed milk. We have completely neglected our cattle wealth. We talk of village and cottage industries, and by that we mean only spinning and some other things. I have nothing to say against that and I have full sympathy for our villagers who are engaged in that work. They should be given all encouragement and as much subsidies as possible.

But the biggest cottage industry in India is cattle-rearing, because the majority of our population, particularly the landless population, are engaged in cattle-rearing. There are the agriculturists also. One buffalo or one cow can maintain a family of three or four persons. What has the Government given for encouraging that village industry? They only talk of village industry and in financing, they give encouragement to those who are very vocal. But they have not so far understood the real demand of the people. You ought to understand that in a revolutionary way, devote your time in a better way and not in a superfluous way. I think even the speeches which are delivered in a professorial way are not going to render any service to the country. We ought to be more practical and find out what our requirements are. We

are mainly an agricultural country and our entire economy is dependent on agriculture. If agriculture fails, no plan can succeed however carefully it might have been framed.

For the last five years, we are having plans. One plan was very successfully implemented and we are in the third year of the Second Five Year Plan. What has happened to it? This plan was framed on a basis which was virtually Utopian so far as agriculture was concerned. At that time, all the learned professors were claiming that due to our development works, the agricultural production has increased. Now they say, no; the agriculturists were not in a position to utilise those facilities. But is this the reality? The truth is that they were not given an opportunity to utilise that. If you want to serve the country—I am directing that to the Opposition also—if you are really sincere, you ought to understand the reality.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** We have understood it.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** You might have understood it, but not all.

In our first Five Year Plan and even today, it is claimed that we have created by our river valley projects irrigation potential to the extent of 8.3 million acres. That was their target, but actually they succeeded in creating irrigation potential to the extent of 6.3 million acres. They were in a position to give irrigation facilities only in 4 million acres of land. According to their own statement, they could have given the facilities to 23 lakh acres of land more and had the villagers owning those 23 lakh acres of land succeeded in getting fertilisers and water facilities, they could have raised crops which would have been worth Rs. 175 crores. But that was not done, despite the fact that the National Development Council gave a contrary direction. Even in this report, it is mentioned that it was a great tragedy that this was not utilised. But what has been done?

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In 1956, they came to realise that because the prices are going up, we should increase our production. In the second Five Year Plan, they had fixed a target of an increase of 10 million tons of foodgrains. Later they increased it to 16.3 million tons. But the Agriculture Ministry fixed it only at 15.5 million tons. The point is that way they had receded the progress and the production has declined. I say this because you realised this fact in 1956 and today in 1958, you are not yet in a position to tell the House whether your full water potential is being utilised by the agriculturists or not. I do not want to hide my feeling that this is the greatest crime that had been committed against the country as a whole. You have invested the tax-payers' money and even loan money and hoards of people are going; the Planning Commission appointed so many committees and those committees have also gone and reported. But no action is being taken. Therefore, I want that the responsibility should be located. Who is responsible for that? Which Ministry and which particular officer?

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** The whole government.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Even if the entire government is responsible, we should see that the mistake is rectified. Because, what is the sense in going on discussing everything if we are not in a position to rectify the wrong which we accept we have committed in broad daylight.

Then Nandaji referred to democratic functioning of our country. What is democracy? Is this democratic effort? If this is democratic effort, then we should correct that effort and we should correct the meaning of democracy also. Democracy does not say that everybody should become a sharer in committing a mistake.

I am glad that Shri Tyagi has drawn the attention of the House to the ques-

tion of manure. In our country we use only 88 lbs. of manure per acre of land whereas other countries use much more. In Egypt they use about 88 lbs. per acre and in Japan 98 lbs. and Netherlands 156 lbs. per acre. May be that we are not in a position to do it because of foreign exchange shortage. But if we put 1 ton of fertilizer in one field, then it will easily increase your production by 2 tons of foodgrains. So, even if we start a programme of importing fertilizers, even when it is at the expense of the import of foodgrains, it will pay us in the long run. For instance, if we import 2 million tons of fertilizers, it will help us in increasing our production of foodgrains by about 4 million tons. Today we require about 4 million tons of nitrogen for our soil. We are meeting only a quarter of that by all sorts of manurial resources. Rather than importing other things, if we import another 3 million tons of nitrogen or chemical fertilizers from foreign countries, we will be saving a large amount of money on the import of foodgrains.

I do not know much about the river valley projects, but I know a little bit about the project which was recently undertaken in my area, the Sone Valley project. For the last so many years we have been demanding that you need not go on recklessly increasing the water charges and other things. Since 1953 we have been carrying on the agitation. In 1952 they raised the water rates. Today they have realised the position and reduced it to some extent in the case of water rates in the tube wells area. But that rate was raised in the name of constructing Sone barrage and a rail-cum-road bridge on Dehri-on-Sone. That barrage will be connected with the Rihand dam, and when the Rihand dam is completed it will be in a position to release 500 cft. of water every day. If that water goes there, the existing barrage would not be in a position to get it. Now the Sone canal is one of the biggest canals in

the eastern region, and there is no other canal system which is being run at a profit; that is the only canal. It has been ruined to a small extent, but still it is earning a lot for the Government. Recently I heard that the Planning Commission is going to stop the construction of that barrage, though they have increased the water-rate hundred per cent. in order to construct that barrage. So, I say that the Planning Commission should not commit this additional mistake of stopping the construction of that barrage. On top of that, they should do something to construct the Gantak barrage by which 17 lakh acres of land can easily be irrigated.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I rise to speak in support of Substitute Motion No. 2, tabled on behalf of the Independent Parliamentary Group, with the support of three other members who are not members of that Group. The documents placed before this House, both of them, are realistic and a fair assessment of the position. They are also, in broad outline, a very sound analysis of the situation that has been created so far by the effects of the Second Five Year Plan, and I for one have no difficulty in agreeing broadly with the appraisal and the reappraisal that have been made.

The hon. Minister, as has been his wont, was honest and frank with this House, and I would compliment him for not holding back the grim realities with which this country is now faced. Successive speakers who have followed him have all joined in striking a note of crisis and I think Shri Asoka Mehta rendered a public service by bringing into this debate a sense of urgency which, judged by the previous speech, we might have missed.

Now, what do these two documents and the statement made by the hon. Minister reveal? I do not wish to labour the point, because, as I said, we are all agreed on it. But I would like just to detail the nine links in the chain of reactions that the Second Five

Year Plan has set off, and each one of these is covered by these official documents themselves. First, a substantial dose of deficit financing, aggravating inflationary pressures; secondly, an increase in wholesale prices and the cost of living; thirdly, a stagnant living standard for our people and an actual set back in the standard of living of the middle classes; fourthly, a drop in savings; fifthly, a decline in agricultural production; sixthly, a decline in the rate of increase in our industrial production and, indeed, as Shri Asoka Mehta has shown from Reserve Bank figures, an actual drop in production itself; seventhly, the imperiling of our foreign credit; eighthly, the mortgaging of our future, and lastly—I would like to say a word or two about this—the additional taxation that has been inflicted in the last two or three years.

The Plan target stated that Rs. 225 crores was the extent of additional taxation which it would be safe to levy at the Centre and anything more than that would imperil the balance of our economy. The additional taxation so far levied for the five years comes to Rs. 725 crores, an excess of Rs. 500 crores over the safe limit prescribed by the Planning Commission themselves. What is sadder is that it is now admitted in the Appraisal and in the Re-appraisal and by the Minister that this money, which was meant to be raised for the Plan, has quite frankly been misappropriated and has been diverted to purposes for which it was never raised. As far as one can make out, about half of this taxation has been eaten up by non-Plan and non-developmental expenditure. Of that half which has been so diverted, half again has gone to defence and the other half to civil expenditure. Now we go to the people, asking them to make sacrifices for the Plan, and they ultimately find that what they have sacrificed for is not the Plan but the routine defence and civil expenditure of this country for which it was never alleged that this heavy burden of taxation would

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be imposed. Would it be too harsh to say that this is a fraud on our people.—that money is raised for the Plan and then two years later we are told that half of it has gone elsewhere, however legitimate the other purpose or the requirements of the case might be?

Let me now give a gross example of the kind of waste of these funds, the funds which should legitimately be utilized for the purposes of this Plan. I understand, and I am subject to correction—I hope the hon. Minister will correct me when replying if I go wrong on any detail, because we could not get accurate facts—but, as far as I understand, in the recent "Atoms for Peace" meeting at Geneva this country was represented by no less than 47 people, and they were not all scientists. I am told that even an accountant was taken along with them to Geneva to attend to those absent-minded scientists who would not be able to pay their hotel bills! I understand that the Finance Ministry objected to this extravagance, but that the Finance Ministry was over-ruled, and that this expenditure has in fact taken place. 47 passages at the rate of Rs. 3,000 comes to Rs. 1,41,000; a daily allowance at the rate of £4 per day which comes to £7,000 or Rs. 93,000; making in all a total expenditure of Rs. 2,34,000. Now, Sir, I do not deny that this country should participate in an Atoms for Peace Conference. But I want to ask whether five or seven or ten people would not have sufficed, and whether all forty-seven had to go including an Accounts Officer.

This, Sir, is the way in which money that is raised for the Plan through the hard sacrifice of our people, who are being over-taxed today, is being diverted to non-developmental expenditure.

The picture that the two Reports present and the Finance Minister has presented is a gloomy one. The question arises whether the lessons of

these set-backs have been learnt. While I agree with the appraisal, I regret to find that when it comes to prospects the same sense of reality or realism is missing. Ideological compulsions seem to drive the Planning Commission to decide against its own better judgment. We saw the spectacle of the Planning Minister admitting that the money was not there, admitting that it would be wrong to spend money that we do not possess, and then pointing to ideological and political factors and saying: "However it must be done".

Take two sentences from the Reappraisal, the last document given to us, which show this internal conflict in the mind of the Planning Commission—how they can see straight but do not follow through the consequence of their own vision. Take the sentence on Small Savings:

"In the first four months of the current year, the net receipts have not been encouraging, but it is hoped that the collections will improve in the later months."

Why? Why should it be hoped? There is no indication at all that the savings will improve.

When the budget was presented, in a speech I made in March this year, I took the liberty to say that after a few months we would find out whether your savings figures are justified or not. That fear has proved unfortunately to be true. Why should the Planning Commission hope against hope? Why should they hope unrealistically?

Again, on Agriculture, after the setback they have gone through, they say:

"... there is no inherent reason why the effort should fall short of promise and the targets of agricultural production as revised in 1956 should not be realised."



It is true there is no inherent reason. But if policies that have been found to be faulty, as previous speakers have made out, are persisted in, certainly they are real difficulties, even if they are not inherent. If false policies are persisted in, then bad results will follow. And yet the Planning Commission wishes to pursue the same policies and hopes for a miracle by which all this setback and these unfulfilled targets will suddenly be fulfilled.

Let us see how the structure of the Plan is sought to be shaped. The original target was Rs. 4,800 crores. It is now admitted that we have only Rs. 4,260 crores. One would imagine that the Planning Commission, brought to a sense of realism after two years of unsuccessful effort at Utopianism, would say: "All right, from now on we will spend Rs. 4,260 crores". The Finance Minister evidently went with some such kind of thought to the National Development Council meeting. But again, political considerations intervened, political influences were brought to bear, and quite contrary to the figures which he put before the National Development Council, the conclusion of the N.D.C. in May was that the plan should not be allowed to fall short of Rs. 4,500 crores, leaving an uncovered deficit of Rs. 240 crores. So the Finance Minister seemed to have lost out to the National Development Council.

Now what happens? Now the Planning Commission makes a further retreat. In discussions with the Central and State Governments the Planning Commission now says, through the mouth of its spokesman, that there is "to some extent unavoidable" additional expenditure which cannot be avoided I do not know what "to some extent unavoidable" means. Where there is a will there is a way, and things which one desires to avoid can be avoided, provided there is the will. But, again weakly, the Planning Commission gives ground and another Rs. 150 crores of outlay on industry and mining is being cheerfully undertaken. Therefore we have

a gap of Rs. 240 plus 150, that is, 390 crores. The original gap of Rs. 240 crores was sought to be filled by Rs. 100 crores of additional taxation—one does not know from where—, Rs. 60 crores from loans and savings, and Rs. 80 crores from other sources.

May I urge the Planning Commission to consider whether these are realistic expectations? Can they really hope to raise Rs. 100 crores more from additional taxation? Is it not a fact that the law of diminishing returns, according to the Law Minister, has already set in? The more you try to raise, the less you will in fact raise; the yield will go on falling; it will not rise. And the savings have already shown that the people will not go in for small savings when the incentives they need are not given. So, these assumptions that you can raise further taxation, that you can get more savings out of the people, that the price level will be stabilised and inflation halted,—all these are assumptions which have been proved by the history of the last three years to be thoroughly unjustified. For any body of planners to insist on going on making assumptions which have been proved to be unjustified, shows a lack of the spirit of planning. It shows wishful thinking, a life in a world of make-believe; and that is why our targets and our realities never coincide. Because, the world of planning has become a world of make-believe where we fool ourselves and we tell our people something which we know in our own hearts is no longer true. It is said that the ostrich tries to avoid facing facts by burying its head in the sand. One cannot help feeling, having read these two Reports, that the ostrich having seen a very unattractive picture, having seen a gloomy prospect, goes and buries its head in the sand by making assumptions which it knows cannot be fulfilled.

This country was on the brink of disaster. I do not use the word "bankruptcy" because emotionally it

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is resented in certain quarters. But who can deny that, if we had not received the massive foreign assistance that we have, this country was on the brink of disaster? Good friends in the U.K., U.S.A., West Germany and Japan have bailed us out. Let us be grateful to them. Let us, as Shri Asoka Mehta has said, show our appreciation and gratitude to them. But is this a position to which the country is going to be asked to revert a second time? I believe in foreign assistance. I believe in international co-operation, and I am grateful that people have given this aid without cavilling at our policies of which they indeed disapprove. That aid comes without strings in a manner which cannot come from elsewhere. We saw a few months ago what happened to Yugoslavia, how aid which had actually been committed was withdrawn physically when the Soviet Union found that the Yugoslav Government was not toeing the line a hundred per cent. So, while we appreciate it, let us also consider whether we want to be beholden to people; and even if we want to go to these people again, half-way through the Third Five Year Plan, are they going to respond again? Must we expect that they will sink their savings, because we insist on gambling with other people's savings?

Let us see what Mr. Sunder Kabadi, a very senior Indian correspondent in London, has to say in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 16th September. He says:

"..... the help already obtained should, as a matter of prudence, be used to make provision for the modification of the plan in the event of large-scale foreign aid being unavailable next year. Indeed, it is urged by people who are in close touch with the economic situation here that the wisest course would be to reckon on no aid at all. An opposite hypothesis is calculated to bring

disappointment. There are also now serious misgivings in this country" (that is, in Britain) "as to the fundamental soundness of the intensive development of heavy industry in India, while the extent to which expenditure is incurred upon armaments has come in for adverse comment."

With this kind of warning from our own people abroad, are we going to repeat these mistakes?

Mr. Dulles has been criticised in his international policy for brinkmanship. If this is not economic brinkmanship in which we are specialising, of going to the brink of disaster and of being dragged back by kindly friends, what else is it? We might well follow Mr. Dulles in another way, now that we are following him in brinkmanship: let us follow him in agonizing reappraisals, in a little searching of the heart, and admit before the country that certain policies which we have followed have been mistaken policies. I shall be asked, the Planning Minister will ask me: "Where do you say we have made mistakes? What are the correctives you wish to suggest?" And that is where our substitute motion comes in.

The first part refers to the fact that "after the period of stress and strain to which the national economy has been subjected by the implementation of the Second Five Year Plan, the primary function of further planning should be that of consolidation and of securing for the people the fruits of existing investment and effort."

I admire the speech made by my hon. friend Shri Asoka Mehta for its sense of realism and freedom from dogma. He was, however, very sceptical about the stress on consolidation which he had seen in our resolution.

Now, Shri Asoka Mehta worries about generations unborn. I suggest that we also owe an obligation to the

generation which lives in our own time. Other countries have experimented with dictatorship in the hope that, after the first two or three generations, the generations unborn will thrive. We have seen those hopes defeated in practice and still unfulfilled. Let us worry about our own country and our own people who are alive today. Certainly, let us take our country forward along the path of development but not at the expense of the happiness and the food and the contentment of the people who are today alive. We have no business to worry about unborn generations until we can give a better life to the men and women and children in the hundreds of thousands of villages of our country.

Then, Sir, consolidation does not mean sitting back. Consolidation, as we have pointed out in our Resolution, means working hard in the next Plan period. I am talking about the Third Plan because, as the hon. Planning Minister himself pointed out, the question now arises that there is nothing very much we can do with the mischiefs of the Second Plan but there is a great deal that we can learn about what to do with regard to the Third Plan, about which we are told studies are going on now in the Planning Commission; and I hope the Government will consider the views expressed here in regard to the planning of the Third Plan, its Plan-frame, if I may use that word.

So far as the Third Plan is concerned, what is essential for the next five years after these investments are made is to try and convert these investments into real things which mean something to our people. Our people cannot eat steel. They cannot eat even iron. We have got to convert the iron and steel on which we have over-invested in this Plan into the various things which mean something to the real life of our people—tools for the agriculturists with food following; transport—motor trucks, better roads and bridges; consumer goods, machines to make consumer

goods to give the people the hundred wants of daily life. Unless steel is converted into these usable values, which are human values, what is the use of steel? Soviet Russia produces steel, but it all goes for armament. Do we want to follow that pattern? What is the use of steel, unless it is convertible into things that mean something to our peasants, our workers and our common people.

**An Hon. Member:** What about America?

**Shri M. R. Masani:** America does know how to convert these into usable things. Therefore, it gives us aid which we need so badly.

Now, as I was saying consolidation (*Interruption*).

My hon. friends do not like it because they stand for Soviet Russia. We stand for India. (*Interruption*).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri V. P. Nayar (Quilon):** We are sitting. (*Interruption*).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** At least we ought to be sure that no conversions take place here.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Luckily, we are a free Parliament and a free country and they cannot gag their opponents which they would do if they had that power in their hands.

Have we the option to consolidate or to go ahead? Have we got anything to fall back upon? There is no sterling balances cushion left. You have taken all the cotton out of the cushion, the cloth now remains and the hard seat is felt by us. There is little room for manoeuvre. Between now and 1961 we need 900 million dollars or the equivalent of dollars to implement the core of the Second Plan. Our debt repayments will be very heavy in the early 1960s. With the Second Plan we have already mortgaged half of the Third Plan. Therefore, very little remains with us

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to expand with unless we indeed go on being bankrupt again. Therefore, whether we like it or not, the most profitable way in which we can focus our energies for the period of the Third Plan will be to consolidate the gains which we have made.

Also, after all our hon. Finance Minister has said that the Plan is "no ossified or petrified structure." He means that it is a live organism. I agree. But a live organism also needs its periods of arduous exercise and periods of rest. Every human body needs times of rest, to recuperate after going through violent exertion or a surgical operation. You cannot flog the horse all the time. You cannot make the army do forced marches all the time. As Napoleon said, the army also marches on its stomach. You have got to give our people, who have been made breathless with the advance of the Second Plan, a little time to relax and to enjoy the fruits of what they have already invested or saved. If we do not do that, then there is only one alternative—the end of democracy and taking up of the big stick with which to hit the people on the head. Since we have ruled out that alternative, we have got to go the democratic way of giving incentives. Whether we like it or not, whether Shri Asoka Mehta likes it or not, this country, if it has the wisdom to remain solvent, is going to have in the Third Plan to draw back from further expansion of a major kind, to consolidate the gains which we have already made.

Now, I come to the second part of our resolution and that is that "higher priority needs to be given and greater emphasis placed on agriculture, which is the foundation on which the entire structure of industrialisation has to be raised". I need hardly stress this point. My hon. friends, Shri Tyagi and Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, and others have already stressed these things. There are three fundamental reasons why agriculture must be the foundation on which the entire industrial

revolution can be accomplished. It cannot be accomplished in any other way. The first is that it gives food for our people without which we cannot survive. The second, as Shri Asoka Mehta pointed out, is that it provides this country with the only exportable surplus which we can ever hope to have for another fifty years and that is of agricultural produce raw materials and semi-processed raw materials for industrial purposes abroad. If we do not have an export from the land, then we have no export in the country worth the name. The third reason is that unless the peasant has some purchasing power, unless he has got a little more money in his pocket, there will be no market for the consumer goods which our factories will produce. So, for all these three reasons, the pride of place must be given in the Third Plan again, as it was in the First, to the needs of our countryside and its people over there.

We find that in the Second Plan these needs have been cruelly ignored. Not only that, but after the Plan was made, whenever a cut is made, it is not made in steel. We could have done with two plants instead of three, but we had to have all three, and because we had to have all three we had to sacrifice things that are nearer to our people. Instead of three fertiliser plants working during this Plan, only one will be operating during the Second Plan. Instead of there being 3.6 million kilowatts of power, the cut back will be to three million kilowatts of power. Instead of twelve million acres being brought under irrigation, only 10.4 million acres are being brought under irrigation, and road development has been cut back by 25 per cent.

Each of these is a sacrifice made by our peasantry for the sake of these monuments of steel plants which we are in such a hurry to import. May I say that I was shocked to read yesterday in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* a news item that I hope is false and I

hope the hon. Minister will correct it—that not content with the three steel plants, talks are going on in the United States for a fourth steel plant right away at the cost of £71 million sterling. I do hope that this is not true because, if it is true, it will mean that the path of adventurism is still going strong and the real needs of our people are in danger of being ignored further.

I come to the third point in our resolution and that is that "the fullest opportunity and incentive should be given to the initiative and enterprise of the people in all walks of life so that the most rapid rise in productivity can be achieved." I was very glad that this morning the hon. Minister talked about the need for increasing productivity. Productivity is to be understood a little. It is not just increasing the volume of production. If you double the number of men on a job, you will increase production. If you import new machines, naturally production will go up. Productivity is something quite different. Productivity is the getting out of a certain investment of men and machinery or land a larger output than was formerly achieved. If you have a thousand men working on a particular plant and if the same thousand people by better methods, by harder work and by more ingenuity can increase the fruits of production, then there is a real increase in productivity. Now, we are all painfully aware that productivity is terribly low in this country, whether in agriculture or in industry. It is not the fault of labour alone. It is not the fault of management alone. It is not the fault of the peasants alone. It is just that we are backward in our processes and in our techniques. Now, if productivity is to go up—and the Government have helped in forming the National Productivity Council, on which I have the honour to serve,—then we have got to be productivity minded. It is no good saying "let us be productivity minded," because the human being requires an incentive. You can either bludgeon him, as is done in totalitarian countries, or

reward him with gains for himself and his family and his children for which he has to put in extra effort.

What incentives have we given in the Second Plan? I am very glad that my hon. friend, Shri Mahavir Tyagi, drew attention to the disincentives that are being inflicted on our peasantry. He took the words out of the mouths of those who succeeded him. He quite rightly drew attention to the way in which we in the cities go on exploiting the peasantry, as Mahatma Gandhi said we had done for 200 years. I remember, Gandhiji used to say that for 200 years we have ridden on the backs of the peasantry and it is time that we in the cities made restitution for that. There is no sign of that restitution. We are still going on exploiting our peasantry by artificially trying to keep their prices down by not letting them have a fair price after all the years of denial or generations of denial through which they have gone. I think it is time that the peasant in this country has a fair deal. Let him get the price that he can exact from the town people. Let us realise that we have got to deal fairly with the peasant.

Again on the question of ceilings, what is the purpose of ceilings and artificially trying to keep down the standard of life of the village people to the lowest, when a similar ceiling is not put in other places? I am against ceilings altogether, because they are a disincentive to production as much in the villages as in the towns. And I am very glad that at least one Government, the Government of Uttar Pradesh, is fighting this reactionary policy of artificial ceilings. They have found a very much better way, and that is a progressive tax on agricultural incomes above a certain level. If a farmer makes a lot of money, certainly, let Government take a little of it as it does from all of us, but there is no reason to deny a man the right to make a better life for his children, to send them to school, and so on.

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In the world of industry, I do not want to repeat, but there is already heavy taxation. And then there is a question of controls and nationalisation. I shall be asked: "Where is the threat of nationalisation today?" I am glad that Shri Asoka Mehta, a socialist himself, drew attention to the way in which the development of the coal industry is being held back for purely doctrinaire considerations. Of the additional 22 million tons of production that the Second Five Year Plan contemplates, it was arbitrarily laid down that 12 million tons should be earmarked for the State. Why? If somebody falls short of lifting the allotted amount of coal, why should others be prevented from doing so? Now, the result is that the State quota is already short by two to three million tons, though private enterprise is making up for the shortfall by producing more than it was allowed to do. Now, is this a calamity or is this a blessing for the country? I hope Government appreciates the fact that when they fail to do their job, other people are there to deliver the goods. Or, is the Government going to adopt a dog-in-the-manger policy of saying: "We cannot produce coal, so you also do not do so." I do hope that a little more of realism and a more pragmatic approach will come into these things.

The Minister of Transport and Communications yesterday, while talking about shipping, quite rightly pointed out: "Why are we getting excited as if this country's life is going to end in three or four or five years?" This country has come through many many centuries and thousands of years of its civilisation, and I am sure there are thousands of more years in front of us. Everything does not end in the next five years. This is not a hundred yards' sprint where a man throws himself against a tape and collapses breathless. We do not want that our people should be thrown into a hundred yards' race where they fall against the tape and then collapse after crossing the mark. If I may say

so, this is a marathon, where stability, stamina and consistency are required. We want our people to have a fuller life, and we want them to exert themselves for many generations to come. To kill the vitality of the people, to drain them of their resources, and to impoverish them further by talking of economic development is not the path of real democratic planning.

Therefore, I hope that we shall learn to take a longer view, just as my hon. friend Shri Asoka Mehta has done, but in a different sense. Let us realise that progress can only come in the long run, and let us realise that we owe an obligation to those who are alive today before we worry about unborn generations.

Shri Dasappa (Bangalore): We have had very illuminating light thrown on the appraisal of the Plan by various schools of thought, and I hope this will materially contribute to a better appreciation of what we have got to do in the future. I do not think that any of the hon. Members who spoke before had anything in view except to contribute in a constructive way to what we have got to launch upon in the years to come.

After all, the First Five Year Plan was more or less a piecing-together of the post-war development schemes, and we cannot say that we were able within the short time before us to bring to bear upon it what we may call an integrated outlook. But, certainly, during the Second Five Year Plan, we have had the experiences of the First Five Year Plan, and I believe the fact that by and large, both the Houses of Parliament set their stamp of imprimatur on that goes to show that the planners were not very much in the wrong, but, on the other hand, they were very much in the right. Even so, there were certain words of caution thrown by certain hon. Members, and I believe that at the commencement of the Plan, the consequences of some of our policies were not properly envisaged by the concerned

Ministries. I agree that the moment we had such large commitments to face and such large gaps to be made up, Government as a whole should have tightened their belt and started on a course of austerity. But the most wonderful thing which I have experienced is that even today there is not that note of austerity in the country.

**An Hon. Member:** Certainly.

**Shri Ranga:** It is a flight away from austerity.

**Shri Dasappa:** Nothing of it is in evidence before me to say that Government feel that we have got to face a very serious situation, that every little move of ours should be bent towards mobilising of all the resources possible, and eliminating every chance of wasteful expenditure. I have been here for nearly five years and more, and I think the atmosphere that I see around me today is just the same that I saw five years ago.

I have struck in another forum a note of caution, and I have compared the present situation, that is, the situation during the last three or four years, to the situation that post-war England had to face. We are more accustomed to see the progress of events in U.K. than in any other country because of our long historical association.

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon (Mukandapuram):** And similarity of circumstances.

**Shri Dasappa:** What did Sir Stafford Cripps do when he was faced with this critical situation in his country? He did not hesitate to warn the whole nation that everyone, every man and woman, should help in observing a life of extreme austerity. And how did the people respond to his call? I think many hon. Members here must have visited U.K. during those years. To a man, the people also responded, and they responded quickly, because they were sure that Government meant well by the nation; they were con-

vinced that that was the only way of rescuing the country from what appeared to them to be a sure disaster.

15 hrs.

I know my hon. friend Shri Jaipal Singh—I do not know whether he is here; I am sorry he is not in his seat—may confirm it that all the whiskey in Scotland used to be exported to America. I may tell you, a couple of pegs of whiskey in England would cost the price of a bottle of whiskey that was exported. All the Harrison tweeds of Scotland used to be exported to American and other foreign countries. The British people went with patches on their elbows. That was the spirit with which that nation rose in order to re-build their economy.

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** The Labour Government lost the election. Don't forget that.

**Shri Dasappa:** I would like the planners to tell me whether such a climate obtains today in India.

**Shri Jaipal Singh (Ranchi West—Reserved—Sch. Tribes):** I hope I may be able to develop my spirit tomorrow.

**Shri Dasappa:** I want to tell Shri Jaipal Singh that I am not speaking on this in a light-hearted manner. I may say, there was no more than one egg supplied to an adult for a whole week; no question of sugar going round except in a couple of tiny cubes for a whole pot of tea. That is how they managed to recover. Do we see anything of that in evidence here? I am only saying that unless we import that spirit of extreme austerity and mobilise every pie that is with us, there is no way of getting over the hump as Shri Asoka Mehta said. I would say at the outset that the very attitude and outlook must undergo a radical change before we can think of the years ahead, of the Second Plan and the framing of the Third Five Year Plan.

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I am not inclined to quote all the various complicated figures. I think it is not necessary. The core of our economy, I agree with Shri Asoka Mehta, Shri Tyagi and other hon. Members, who succeeded, is agriculture. I can see no reason why we should in the least suffer so far as agricultural production goes in the country and be driven to the unfortunate position of having to import food-grains if only we tackle this agricultural problem earnestly, seriously and wisely and in a comprehensive way. The first thing is to get out of the cobwebs of theories and theoretical approaches. Let us know what the villager wants in order to develop agricultural production and do what he thinks is necessary for the purpose.

One of the first things, I would say, is with regard to the utilisation of the water that is already available before we think of launching on fresh projects, particularly major projects or bigger projects. I think the wisest course would be first of all to utilise the water from the huge reservoirs and projects fully before we think of any other major irrigation project. The second thing is with regard to the utilisation of water from minor irrigation sources. There is infinite scope for building up these minor tanks, taking up these minor irrigation schemes and also tubewells and so on. There is plenty of scope for this. In the old Mysore State, there were about 26,000 tanks in the 29,000 square miles. I am referring to the old Mysore State; I do not know what the figures are now. A large number of them are in disrepair. They do not require any foreign exchange. It is all very easy. With a few thousands of rupees for each of these, we would be able to bring under irrigation a large acreage.

Shri Tyagi: Has it not been done?

Shri Dasappa: The process is there. Just now, the Government of India

have woken up to the situation and they have promised any amount of help that they want. After all, the resources of the States, especially when the Centre runs away with all our primary resources like income-tax, excise and so on, are small and very little is left to the States. Not that I am finding fault with anybody; I am telling you the facts of the situation. That is an easy way of solving the food problem.

The other most important thing is finance. In America, in the U.S.A., in England, in the Scandinavian countries or anywhere else, the Agriculture Ministry is one of the biggest Ministries. You may say, America is a highly industrialised country and therefore, the Ministry of Industry is the biggest. No; it is the Agriculture Ministry. Very wisely that have done it and they have stabilised the prices, subsidised production and they see that the peasantry, the backbone of the country, is maintained in a very efficient condition. What are the poor villagers of India like and what is their own backbone today? I am afraid this important fact has not yet gone into the minds of those who are framing our policies.

Shri Ranga: The planners are opposed to that.

Shri Dasappa: I do not want those words to be put into my mouth. I am just now thinking whether those who have planning in their hands are those who have come out of the soil, who are in daily touch with the currents and forces that are operating in our villages. I say this because I heard recently a most extraordinary thing. The Reserve Bank of India was eager to advance credit to the villagers to step up production. It was a few lakhs of rupees some years ago. Then it rose to Rs. 5 crores and recently it went up to as much as Rs. 50 crores. They were inclined to go up to Rs. 100 crores.....



**Shri A. C. Guha (Barasat):** Thirty one crores is the amount given.

**Shri Dasappa:** .....through the bigger co-operative societies. I am saying this subject to correction, I am told, our wise planners told them, no, no, you shall not advance money to the bigger societies, you should only deal with smaller primary societies. I do not think the Planning Commission will be able to contradict me because I have it on very good authority that they are now thinking in a rather theoretical way, let us deal with the primary man who tills the soil or deal through the primary co-operative societies. How is it possible for the Reserve Bank to have dealings with endless primary societies or small societies? Far better we have one major society for each State, then through that the district societies and then it will be possible for them to more confidently advance money and recover the same. In fact, there has been no complaint about recovery of the loans that they have given. This very life line of the villagers and their whole economic existence is being jeopardised because of a theoretical idea of our Planning Commission. I am sorry I have to refer to it because, in this way, it is absolutely impossible for the people to make any headway. Minor irrigation is very important. I am only hoping that the Planning Commission and the Ministry have understood the situation and are trying to help the people and I hope they will not flag in that idea and determination of theirs.

Coming to industries, I have got to endorse my hon. friend Shri M. R. Masani's idea that the future should be more of consolidation than of entering upon heavy industries. Not that I am against heavy industries. In fact, my complaint has all along been that during the First Five Year Plan we should have started a major steel plant. They did not realise the significance of it then. They tried to make it up during the Second Plan, and in doing so, the pendulum has swung to the other end. It is a doubtful virtue

on their part. Now to think of the fourth steel plant. I definitely warn them against launching on any scheme like the fourth steel plant, because I am afraid it is the temptation of all Governments, I do not say our Government alone, to have things which are spectacular. A big scheme is a thing which strikes the imagination of the people, but I would say that in view of the paramount and crying need of the country for irrigation facilities, for fertilisers, for transport etc., we had better be careful in thinking of any further projects of steel. It is far better that we have more fertiliser plants so that we are able to meet the demands of the country in regard to fertilisers. I also think that there should be a certain spacing of these fertiliser plants.

I find the Planning Commission has taken up so many big schemes. They are prepared to spend a lot of money in order to complete those schemes, but when it comes to the crucial point of having that portion of the plant or machinery which will help the scheme to produce, there they stay their hands. I will give you a very fine illustration.

The case I have in view is that of the Sharavati valley hydel scheme. That is a scheme which will cost about Rs. 26 crores. We are spending during the Second Plan about Rs. 13 crores, and we can produce 1,80,000 K.W. of power. In my State there is not one K.W. to be given even for a heating circuit, and we have got the defence installations and other things which need power. Having spent Rs. 13 crores, we hesitate to spend Rs. 2 crores in order to produce 1,80,000 K.W. Here is my hon. friend Shri Hathi. He said the other that the foreign exchange component was Rs. 7 crores. I agree it is Rs. 7 crores, there is no doubt about it, but the payment that falls due during the Second Plan is only Rs. 2 crores. The rest of the Rs. 5 crores has to be paid during the Third Plan. Is it wise for us to invest Rs. 13 crores and not produce one K.W. of

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power for the sake of saving this wonderful Rs. 2 crores, when they are spending hundreds of crores in Durgapur, Bhilai, Rourkela and on so many other schemes? I say this is, to say the least, criminal. I am afraid there are so many other schemes of a similar character, but I have taken one notable instance where, because of lack of perspective, the Planning Commission is holding it up. I am glad the Ministry is in favour of it. I was told that even the Planning Commission was in a way for it, but the Finance Ministry came in the way or some such thing, but that is a thing which only the Government knows. In any case, I submit that in schemes of this type which are almost mature and which will go into production, the Planning Commission as well as the Government should have a better perspective and should not deny the people in the country the natural result that would accrue from a completion of the project.

This very reappraisal says that we must have a kind of over-all picture and a region-wise approach. Just imagine this kind of step-motherly treatment of certain regions. I am afraid it will have very bad repercussions. I therefore request that the Government will look to this and shape their plans accordingly.

**Pandit Munishwar Dutt Upadhyay** (Pratapgarh): We have now the other document also before us, the reappraisal. Up till now we had the appraisal and prospects of the Second Plan. Now the reappraisal has also come, and this reappraisal on perusal I find has created a little more difficulty.

I am glad to see that the picture that has been presented in these documents is really a true picture, and therefore there can be no complaint about suppression of facts or any such thing, but then from this picture we can now see what were our resources for the Plan, what were our targets and what have been our achievements.

As a matter of fact, as the hon. Minister said yesterday, our country at present is a special laboratory for a very big experiment, because in other countries where this kind of planning was gone through, there was control, there was a regimented economy; but here in a democracy to carry this Plan through, and to carry it on successfully on such a huge scale as we are doing in our country, is really a tremendous job. And then the attention of the entire world is focussed on us, and if our Plan fails, it must be a great blow to the democratic countries at least. So, it is not a very easy thing, it is not an ordinary thing that we have been performing at present.

As Shri Dasappa just now said, the serious manner in which we should have taken it up and the austerity that we should have observed have not been at least evident; really, I find there is an absence of them. The hon. Minister also did not feel that the picture was very much encouraging, but I go to the extent of saying that the picture is not only not encouraging, but is rather alarming.

There are two aspects of the Plan: the resources aspect, the outlay that is available for the Plan; the targets and their achievements. As regards the resources, encouraged by the success of the First Plan, we had put our figures very high. It was Rs. 4,800 crores although there was a gap of Rs. 400 crores. That means only Rs. 4,400 crores I should say. I do not know how they propose to make up that gap, but it was Rs. 4,800 and later on, after two years experience, we thought of reducing it to Rs. 4,500 crores. But then practical experience and the calculations that we had according to it, shows that it could not go beyond Rs. 4,260 crores.

Therefore, we have felt some difficulty. As a matter of fact, it was wise on the part of the planners that they did not think of reducing the allocations under certain heads as they thought, as it was likely to damage

our schemes under education, health, unemployment relief and others. But after this reappraisal I find that the amount has gone even beyond Rs. 4,500 crores. It is now Rs. 4,650 crores. How do they propose to make up the deficiency? The Planning Commission asked the States to raise it by taxation. Some of the States have already raised taxes more than they should have and there are others who could not raise any amount by taxation. So I do not know whether, in the existing circumstances, it would be possible for the States to raise much more by taxation, whatsoever might be the position.

About the resources position, I find that about 50 per cent. of it depends upon either foreign aid or deficit financing. I do not think whether any of these sources is a healthy one for any economy, country or plan to depend upon. Almost 50 per cent. of the resources come from these two sources. But then as at present, somehow or other we have been promised certain foreign aid and we think we shall be able to tide over the difficulty, although that aid too appears to be much smaller than what we really need at present. Even then, if we depend upon such foreign aid and if we want to carry on our Plan and make it successful on the basis of foreign aid, I think it would have a very sad end after all. Our liability is growing every day. Deficit financing, the other course that we may adopt, appears to be almost closed to us at present because in the economic conditions of the country today, it does not appear that we shall be able to raise much money from that source. The amount for deficit financing fixed was about Rs. 283 crores. I dare say that amount shall also have to go up now on account of the increase in the total outlay of the Plan. Whatsoever might be the position, even the figures that are given in the appraisal for the coming two years are, I think, not reliable, because we have tried to infer from the preceding two years. As I read through these figures, I do not find that the inferences that have been

drawn and the amounts that have been considered to be proper amounts for these preceding years are the correct ones. I am afraid these amounts may not be available.

If you come to loans and small savings which should, as I said before, be the best sources at present—because there are some good prospects from these sources—you will find that in 1956-57, it was Rs. 200 crores, but again it came down to Rs. 127 crores in 1957-58. Of course, in 1958-59, it went up to Rs. 217 crores, but we should not be sure that in 1959-60 it must necessarily go to Rs. 220 crores, as has been taken in these reports. It would take a good deal of time to explain this: otherwise, I would have gone through all these items and shown that in regard to any of these items, the figures that have been taken for the two concluding years would not be correct figures. If this is the position, I do not think the resources position is very sound. Then as I said, when our resources are only 50 per cent. and the remaining 50 per cent. has to come from deficit financing and external aid, I do not know whether such sort of financial position would be of any avail in the end even if the Plan, as it is, may be successful.

As regards reduction in some of these items, they are, as I submitted, likely to be harmful and so they should be avoided as far as possible. About raising of funds by States, I have to make one suggestion. In case an offer is made to the States that the Centre would help in proportion to the efforts made by the States, it may be that some of them might make efforts to raise funds by taxation. Otherwise, I do not think that the amount expected from that source might be coming forth.

As regards achievements, I think the most important item, as every hon. Member has admitted, is agriculture. The Minister has also assured us that so far as agriculture goes, he will see that funds will not be wanting under this head. So I would concentrate on

[Pandit Munishwar Dutt Upadhyay] this item of agriculture. The main sources for improved production in agriculture are: irrigation, improved seed, manures, fertilisers, land development and improved agricultural practices. You will find in the chart given on page 42 of the reappraisal document that the target for major irrigation was 30.2 lakh tons for the Plan and the achievement during the two years was only 4.4 lakh tons; for improved seeds, the target was 34 lakh tons, and achievement during the first two years was 1.7 lakh tons; under land development, the target was 9 lakh tons and 2 lakh tons is the achievement—I am not giving the fractions. As regards production of rice, you will find that in 1956-57, it was 28 million tons but in 1957-58, it was only 25 million tons. If that is the position of production under agriculture, I do not understand how really they propose to make the scheme a success. In three years' time they have produced less than half of the Plan target—much less than that taking the entire production under agriculture.

The difficulties that are there in the way of production have been mentioned in the appraisal itself. I would just read one or two passages and those portions by themselves are quite enough to convince anybody who looks into them that in the manner in which they are proceeding they shall not be able to achieve the target and they shall not be able to make it successful so far as agriculture goes. I would like to read only a few lines which might give the idea.

".....it was essential to pursue the agricultural production programme with a great sense of national urgency. The review of agricultural production during the period 1949-50 to 1956-57 placed before the Council showed that the results had been highly uneven as between States and that in several cases they did not reflect

adequately the large outlays incurred during recent years on agricultural production programmes. An increase of agricultural production by 2 to 2.5 per cent per annum, which has been so far achieved, is not sufficient to support a large plan of economic development."

The reasons they have given are quite clear. There is no natural calamity; there is no other hindrance; but the hindrance is of the working of the Plan and the machinery that has been set up to work out this Plan. They say:

"(i) There had not been enough concentration of effort on increasing yields per acre in irrigated areas and in areas with assured rainfall;"

Then again, they say:

"Progress in the utilisation of the irrigation potential created through major and medium irrigation schemes had not been satisfactory;"

That is why the target was not likely to be reached.

"The Committee noted that failure to utilise irrigation facilities wherever it had occurred, was due either to the canal system not being completed or to the smaller distributaries and field channels not being excavated or to agriculturists not being adequately assisted in adopting the new crop patterns through demonstration farms and other measures."

They have said these things. They have not said that even the high water rate stood in the way of utilisation of

these schemes. They have said ultimately that

"It was wasteful to spend large sums of money and then fail to derive full profit from them. This was true whether the schemes in question were large schemes or small local schemes."

These are given in the appraisal itself. I do not know what more can be said against the working of the machinery that is working the Plan.

They have said:

"...judged both by agricultural production and by the increase in production potential, the results over the first two years of Plan fall seriously short of the targets fixed for the plan period in 1956-57 after detailed consultation with the States."

They have further said:

"It is not possible to meet the increasing demand for fertilizers."

Everywhere they have said, it is not possible to do this; it is not possible to do that and it falls short and no efforts have been made. Then the results are obvious.

With respect to our national income, we find that the target was fixed at 25 per cent. and out of this one-third has to come from agriculture. If this is the position of agriculture, how can we expect that that can be achieved?

The other target was in respect of employment. In respect of employment we were expecting about 80 lakhs of jobs during the whole Plan period. And we thought that the candidates that would be there in the field for those jobs would also be about the same number, or about one crore. But, now, the resources of the Plan having been reduced, the number of jobs also has been reduced. It is not possible to have that magnitude of employment that we could have had under the Plan. So, unemployment also is likely to increase.

My submission is that these documents that have been presented really give a very true picture. They have said that all this is very difficult. The hon. Minister said that it was a laboratory where we are going on with experiments. We have invested large amounts of money, so many crores and the results we have been given are very much discouraging. The position is very unsatisfactory. It has to be looked into. The machinery that is working this Plan is mainly responsible for many of these drawbacks as I read out from the remarks in the appraisal document itself.

**Shri Morarka (Jhunjhunu):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, one of the most common criticisms that is made against our Plan these days is that it is over-ambitious. This criticism can imply one of two things. One is that this Plan intends to give us too much in too short a time; or secondly, that it has been formulated on the basis which we cannot afford.

Now comes the first one. In the words of the London Economist to raise the per capita income, the meagre income of the people by a tiny fraction cannot be called in any way ambitious or high ambition. Then, even the employment potential which our Second Five Year Plan would build up would be only for 8 million additional people. As we know, the growth of population is 5 millions a year on an average and over the Plan period it will be over 25 millions.

Then, our food production would hardly increase by 15 per cent and our industrial production by 11 per cent. more than the first Five Year Plan. So, looking to our needs and the Plan targets, one cannot say that the Plan is very ambitious.

If you apply the second test, whether according to the resources our Plan is an ambitious we see this. In the first instance, the resources which our Plan contemplated were Rs. 4,900

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crores out of which Rs. 4,000 crores were to be raised within the country and Rs. 800 crores were wanted from outside as foreign assistance. It would interest you to note what actually happened to these resources.

Some of the hon. Members who have preceded me have already referred to the efforts made both at the Centre and in the States, by taxation. We wanted to raise at the Centre Rs. 225 crores over the entire Plan period. As against Rs. 225 crores, we now feel we would be raising Rs. 725 crores. If you take the States also, as against our Plan target of Rs. 450 crores, we would be raising Rs. 950 crores. This, in the ordinary course, should have covered even the uncovered gap of Rs. 400 crores. But that is not what has exactly happened.

The only item where the expectations of the Planning Commission have been belied is the provision in the Plan wherein they took credit for Rs. 250 crores: for one item, unfunded debt and other capital receipts 250 crores. We find that at the end of the Five Year Plan it would be only Rs. 29 crores as against Rs. 250 crores. Neither in the Appraisal document nor in the Reappraisal document nor even in the speech of the hon. Minister do you find any explanation as to why in this particular item our expectations would be belied to this extent. This document which is so frank lacks hopelessly in telling us as to why in this particular item our expectations have been so belied, as to why, as against the target of Rs. 250 crores we would be able to get only Rs. 29 crores. An additional effort has contemplated only Rs. 60 crores.

Take another item of the resources. That is about external assistance. As against the Plan target of Rs. 800 crores we would be getting Rs. 1038 crores, that is, really Rs. 238 crores more than anticipated.

About deficit finance, our Plan target was Rs. 1,200 crores. As against

that, by the end of this third year we would have completed Rs. 917 crores and in the two remaining years we would be certainly completing the Plan target of Rs. 1,200 crores.

Take the contribution by the Railways. In the Plan our target was Rs. 150 crores; and, as against that we now expect to get Rs. 250 crores, Rs. 100 crores more.

As regards borrowing and small savings, the Plan target was Rs. 1,200 crores. From the results of the past two years we feel rather disappointed. The current year is a little more hopeful and we are expecting to get Rs. 217 crores. And, in the remaining two years, according to the expectations, we would be getting more; but still we do not hope to get the entire target.

I think, even from the point of view of resources, one cannot say that our Plan was a very ambitious Plan. Apart from this the question is whether the expectations about our tax resources would come true. This question becomes pertinent particularly in view of the recent development in our revenues. Our imports are drastically curtailed and so the import duties would be reduced. The Government have given a lot of concessions and abolished export duties and so the export duties should be reduced. Then, in excise duties, we have made a reduction. So, excise duties have fallen. Therefore, the revenue under excise would also fall. Similarly, the revenue from income-tax and other sources for the same reason, is expected to fall short of our expectations. So, on the one hand we have the danger of not realising our expectations of the revenue through the tax efforts and on the other we have to get more money by way of public borrowings and small savings. In small savings, as against Rs. 24.98 crores which we get during the first six months of the last year, we have got Rs. 47.93 crores this year, almost double the amount.

Now, the question arises: is there any difficulty for our Plan? If there is any difficulty, why does it arise at all? I dare say, there is difficulty, perhaps serious difficulty, for our Plan. In my opinion, the difficulty arises because of the following reasons.

First of all, the defence expenditure during the Plan period has risen substantially. Just before the Plan started, we used to spend about Rs. 172 crores per year on defence but in the current year our Budget is Rs. 278 crores—more than Rs. 100 crores per year. Similarly, for civil expenditure just before the Plan started, we allotted about Rs. 94 crores. For the current year, our Budget is Rs. 200 crores—an increase of more than Rs. 106 crores. If you take into account other items of civil administration, our Budget has increased from Rs. 199 crores to Rs. 346 crores, over the same period.

My main criticism is that the main difficulty for our Plan has arisen because of our unwise spending and extravagant and wasteful expenditure. It is neither the time nor the occasion to labour this point at length. I hope another opportunity would be given in this House when I would have something to say about the three steel plants and various other public corporations which would enable me to prove to you what I say. It is through the medium of public corporations that we have relaxed the financial controls and because of that our expenditure has been in a way wasteful and extravagant. The main purpose of these public corporations in other countries has been to just do away with the weak points or characteristics of the Government departments or departmental management. Unfortunately, in this country what happens is that these public corporations are used only to get away from the parliamentary scrutiny from the vigilant eyes of the Auditor-General and from the rules of the Public Service Commission. Excepting these, all the other departmental restrictions and red-tapism and the delay are just the same as in the Government department itself. So, our approach to

these public corporations shall have to be radically revised. Otherwise, the amount of money which we waste in these corporations or through these corporations—we will not be able to save.

Having said this I would like to say something about the physical achievements. The amount which we have spent is perhaps according to the expectations of the planners. But are the physical targets achieved according to the expectations or not? Here my criticism is that our idea is to measure all our physical achievements in terms of the money spent. We measure the success or the failure of the Plan according to the money that we have spent. We think that our Plan is successful if we spend the money according to the Plan irrespective of the fact whether we achieve the targets or not.

In the First Plan, our target of Irrigation was 8 million acres. Out of that our actual achievement was 6 million acres and the actual area brought under cultivation was only 4 million acres—that is 50 per cent of the Plan target. But so far as the amount was concerned, we had the notional satisfaction that our Plan was fully implemented. Take the Second Plan. Our food production target is 15.5 million tons. At the end of the third year, we would have achieved only 6.6 million tons though we have spent nearly Rs. 95 crores out of Rs. 170 crores. In irrigation, we have achieved only 3.81 million acres in place of 12 million acres while we have spent Rs. 236 crores out of Rs. 376 crores. Similarly, by the end of the third year, the power potential would have increased by .77 million out of 3.5 million KWs but we would have spent Rs. 243 out of Rs. 427 crores. Our planners have forecast that by the end of the Plan period, we would have produced two million tons of iron and steel; it still remains to be seen as to how much we would produce when our Plan period ends. Shri Asoka Mehta said this morning that

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so far as public sector is concerned, it is lagging behind in coal production. All that we know is that it contributed 2 million tons in the first year—the State collieries. The re-appraisal document does not say anything about the contribution in the second year or third year's likely contribution. In the second year, they have mixed the private and the public sectors. The entire amount allotted for shipping—Rs. 45 crores—has already been committed but as against 390,000 GRT, the achievement has been only 180,000 GRT—less than half. About the ports, road development, etc. the same thing can be said.

My point is that we spend a lot of money according to the Plan targets but when we come to see the physical achievements, we find our expectations are absolutely belied. What are the positive suggestions which should be followed in order that we may achieve our remaining targets so that we may not run into serious difficulties in internal resources or external finance?

My first suggestion is this. We must exercise stringent measures of economy at home. When I say this, I do not mean any economy in the daily administration or routine administration. My point is that in all the Plan projects that we execute, we must have a special machinery where we can spend money and exercise proper scrutiny, examination and investigation on the amount that we spend. We can also keep a careful eye not only on the amount we spend but also on the achievements which we have made.

Similarly, in the import-export trade also, we find that even today, when we say we face a crisis in the foreign exchange situation, a lot of things, which can be easily done away with, are imported. Take, for example, foreign cotton. From the figures supplied to us by the hon. Prime Minister sometime in March this year,

we find that foreign cotton worth Rs. 55 crores is imported every year. Some of this cotton is, perhaps, necessary for manufacturing yarn which we require for tyre making and other industrial purposes, but nothing would happen if this import is drastically curtailed and we do not import foreign cotton to this extent. Similar is the case with the import of crude oil. Today we import crude oil worth Rs. 70 crores to Rs. 80 crores. In a recent document published by the World Bank they have said that it was established several years back that there is enough oil in Assam and that this should have been developed long back. If the Barauni oil refinery had been established in time, certainly we could have saved Rs. 70 crores to Rs. 80 crores. We do not require an expert body like the World Bank to come here and make this criticism on us.

Before I conclude, Sir, I must say something about the opinion of the World Bank on the amount that we spend. Even they feel that the Government of India has not got proper machinery for spending this amount under the Second Five Year Plan on the various projects. In their report they say:

“The experience of the past two years has revealed serious deficiencies, in the organisation for planning at the Centre; the spending of individual departments has not always been properly supervised; and economic decisions have at times been unduly influenced by pressures from State Governments. At the same time the Central Government has assumed so many additional tasks and responsibilities in the economic field that the administrative machine is becoming dangerously overstrained. For example, the increasingly complex system of taxation and the administration of company law are imposing heavy demands on the civil service, while more and more senior officials are being



drawn into the management of government undertakings. The State has played a vital role in stimulating the process of economic development, but now that this process is well under way, the Government would be well advised to avoid assuming new responsibilities, especially so far as investment in industry and mining is concerned."

Sir, here again, I do not agree that people should say that we need not expand more. But what I say is, the time has come when you must set up a proper machinery which can supervise our spending.

Sir, our crisis is not a crisis of resources, our crisis is a crisis of spending. Unless we supervise and unless we take proper care in spending, we will not be able to do anything. There is a lot of wastage, and it is this wastage which will ultimately bring trouble on us. People would not be wanting in sacrificing and in contributing what we want. In the name of the Plan you have taken from them so much by way of additional taxation. But what do you actually find? Out of Rs. 500 crores additional resources, the Plan has got only Rs. 45 crores. That, in my opinion, is not very fair.

**Shri Anurobindo Ghosal (Uluberia):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, neither would I like to make an intellectual analysis of the Plan like Shri Mukerjee or Shri Mehta nor would I like to seize the opportunity of this grim national crisis to propagate any philosophy like Shri Masani; I would like to deal with the problems as posed before the ordinary man like me and see what is his attitude.

Sir, our Second Five Year Plan was started with high hopes and aspirations to rebuild rural India, to lay the foundations of industrial progress and to secure to the greatest extent feasible opportunities for weaker and under-privileged sections of our people, and also to secure the balanced

development of all parts of the country. Since then, more than two years have passed, and now we find that all is not well. We have been confronted with some problems.

Naturally, stock-taking has taken place twice in 1958—one in May, 1958 and the other in September, 1958—in the form of appraisal and re-appraisal. What is the main purpose behind a Plan? What does the people expect from a Plan? That is the main question. The main purpose is to have more food, to have more consumer goods, to have more employment and, in short, a better standard of living.

In the beginning of the Second Five Year Plan too much emphasis was laid on the industrial sector at the sacrifice of the agricultural branch of development. After two years, when food problem affected the economy of the nation, Government came to realise that unless there is a co-ordinated development of both the sectors it will not be possible to fulfil the targets of the plan.

We have heard from the Minister yesterday that the shortfall of Rs. 240 crores out of Rs. 4500 crores, which is now considered to be the total outlay of the Plan, will be explored by means of additional taxation of Rs. 100 crores, Rs. 60 crores from loans and small savings and Rs. 80 crores from economy in expenditure and collection of arrears of taxes etc. Now it is also to be seen what sort of taxation it should be, because in any case the consumers shall have to pay ultimately these taxes that would be imposed either in an indirect way or in a direct manner. As regards small savings, that also indicates the present financial condition of the people of the country. The small savings that is expected by Government in future is also not very hopeful. As regards economy in administration and realisation of the arrears, that is also not possible in the present bureaucratic set up of the Government. It is really

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difficult to reach the targets of such plans in a mixed economy as we have.

The private sector which covers a very wide field in our country has taken a double-edged policy, and all policies of the Government are being floundered on the rocks of bafflement. The national object is for going ahead, but because of this private sector it is not possible for the Government also to go ahead. Export has been reduced, production of consumer goods has come down, foreign exchange has been depleted, prices are increasing and unemployment is growing day by day.

The second handicap is the bureaucratic set-up, callous and indifferent officialdom and red-tapism have stood on the way of national urgency. Lastly, instead of instilling inspiration and enthusiasm in the minds of the people, a sense of frustration has permeated in their minds and aversion towards the Plan has been developed.

Now, Sir, my suggestion would be to lay more stress on the development of public sector, to democratise the functioning of the Plan projects and to evoke enthusiasm in public mind for having their co-operation.

The review of the achievements and targets in the memorandum really presents a dismal picture. Bad performance in almost all spheres of the Second Five Year Plan has made many of us apprehensive about its fulfilment, about the fulfilment of the target. In an agricultural country like India which has taken the task of industrialisation, there should be a co-ordinated development, a parity in the development of industry and agriculture.

16 hrs.

During the review of the Standing Committee of the National Development Council of agricultural production programme in January, 1958, it

was noted that over a period beginning from 1949-50 to 1956-57 the annual increase in agricultural production came from 2 to 2.5 per cent, although the target for additional production of foodgrains in the Second Plan period was placed at 10 million tons, that is, an increase by 15 per cent. So, the rate of increase in the first two years of the Plan has been really miserable. Further, the present decline in the year 1957-58 is 9.7 per cent in comparison with the previous year.

We know that the success of agriculture depends on several factors; for example, irrigation, both major and minor, fertilisers and manures, improved seeds, land development and also improved agricultural practices. As regards major irrigation, I submit that an area of 316 million acres of land was under cultivation, out of which only 18 per cent was benefited by irrigation facilities. Besides cultivable land, there are 61.6 million acres of fallow land and 86.5 million acres of culturable waste. About 40 per cent of our 87 million acres of land now classified as barren and unculturable can be cultivated if water facilities can be provided. So, India has sufficient water and land resources. The real problem is, to what extent and how best these basic resources can be utilised.

From the report of the Asoke Mehta Committee we come to know that more than 60 per cent of water of big irrigation projects remains unutilised for want of distributing channels. When the big irrigation projects were undertaken, I do not understand why the lay-out of distributing channels were not thought of. In such a planning, the cost of works, time involved and allied aspects of utilisation have all to be ascertained to strike a balance to meet the needs of a country as a whole.

The instance of the DVC should be an eye-opener to us. There is a rumour in the air that the Konar dam

which was built at a cost of Rs. 11 crores, cannot be utilised to its full extent. We are not going to utilise it to the proper extent, for, it was originally scheduled that 60 per cent power would be supplied and 40 per cent of irrigation water would also be supplied by it. But now we come to know that—there is a rumour—we will be failing to get any utility out of this project.

Another disquieting piece of information is also rumoured in the air regarding other dams also and projects too. As regards minor irrigation also, I can give some instances. The execution of the minor irrigation projects is entrusted to the States. The States are playing with these minor irrigation schemes and exploiting them in their party and political groups and to party advantage.

I shall give only one instance among other instances. An Amta drainage scheme was framed and an amount of Rs. 43 lakhs was allotted for it in the second Five Year Plan. By implementing it, we could have irrigated about one lakh acres of land and could have received 15 lakh maunds of paddy valued at over Rs. 3 crores every year. But in the interests of some interested people the State Government has recommended for a thorough modification by which the whole area is not going to be benefited from this project, after this modification.

My point is this. A high-power committee could be set up by Parliament to supervise the minor irrigation projects that have been entrusted for execution to the States, and to see if these schemes are really implemented or not. Now, the Government is thinking of transferring these minor irrigation works to the Community Development and NES Blocks. I do not know why the Government is enamoured of these useless and most inefficient agencies. This will be another colossal blunder. In our State, I know too much of officialdom and bureaucracy which produce corruption and

nepotism have frustrated the real purpose of these Blocks, though, of course, we receive from time to time, some sweet philosophical letters from our hon. Minister of Community Development.

If we look to the conditions of seed farms, in regard to our State, we will find that originally the West Bengal Government proposed to set up 200 seed multiplication farms in the second Plan period. But it was subsequently reduced to 100. In reality we find not a single seed farm has been set up till 1956-57. We were told that the DVC will generate so much power that it will be very difficult to find consumers, but in reality, we find that the quantity anticipated has not been produced as a result of which the whole area of Bandel and Bauria is going to be paralysed.

I do not know what progress have the village and small industry made. In spite of a small allocation made in this regard, the grant has been reduced from 4.2 per cent to 3.6 per cent. In my State, I find that for want of raw materials, owing to irregular supply, owing to the absence of proper marketing facilities, owing to keen competition with big industries over which the Government have no control, these small scale industries are dying out. The small engineering industry in the area of Howrah which used to be called as the Sheffield of India during war-time, is almost on the brink of ruination.

On the industrial side, the Planning Minister said yesterday that there has been slackening in production. The rise has been just 1.5 per cent. in 1957-58 as against 8.6 per cent. in the previous year. We find that big institutions in the public sector are year by year incurring huge losses. A shortfall in coal production is also apprehended to an extent of three to four million tons out of the plan target of 60 million tons. There are also some wrong

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selections of priorities. Some instances may be given, for example, the Howrah electrification scheme. It is not understandable why the electrification of the Howrah area was given priority over the Sealdah area which is considered to be the most congested and crowded station in the world. Proper attention has not been given to the real difficulties, and priorities have not been given to meet the exigencies of the situation. From the navigation point of view, the Hooghly river has become the most difficult river. We are told so by the Port Commissioners at Calcutta. No step has been taken to improve the port so that the work at the port may be maintained properly.

It has been said by the hon. Minister of Planning that the grant allocated to the social services sector has been reduced. In the land of the Sanyasis, health, education and social benefits have all along been getting priority in neglect. So, a heavy cut has been made in the expenses of that sector which go to a great extent to determine the improvement in the general standard of living.

Out of this Plan, what are the benefits the ordinary people are deriving? The Government is proud of a small increase in the national income. But in the atmosphere of general rise in price level by 16 per cent, in foodstuffs by 25 per cent and in consumers' index by 14 per cent and with the gradual shrinkage of employment, a small rise in national income is a misnomer.

In my State at present, there are 12 lakhs of unemployed people, out of whom one lakh are educated and skilled. I do not take into account the number of under-employed or mal-employed people. Education is in a confused state. High English schools, multi-purpose schools, basic training schools, primary schools, B Grade colleges, three-year degree course colleges have all been huddled together

at the same time. According to the Calcutta University survey, about 75 per cent of the students are suffering from mal-nutrition and other diseases.

On the top of all these domestic problems, shortage of foreign exchange which has now come to Rs. 187 crores, recession in inter-paternal market and doldrums in export have made the situation really grave and complex. So, I submit that instead of huddling projects together, these should have been timed and co-ordinated along with man-power. More industries should be allocated to the public sector. Precise and concrete plans with precise allocations and simultaneous layout for utilisation, proper costing and output on commercial lines, strict watch over the autonomous corporations, democratisation of workings, supervision over State projects, more emphasis on food front and over-all evoking of enthusiasm in the public mind are the only alternatives if the Plan is to be fulfilled at the present critical phase.

श्री राम कृष्ण (महेन्द्रगढ़) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सेकेन्ड फाइव इयर् प्लान की बाबत जो एग्जैजल पेश किया गया है, उस से पता चलता है कि दो साल के अन्दर कितना काम हुआ और बाकी तीन सालों में कितना काम करना है। इस से यह भी पता चलता है कि जो रिमोन्ड हमारे पास है वह इतने नहीं है कि जो काम बाकी है उसको पूरा किया जा सके। बल्कि यह बात भी साफ है कि सेकेन्ड फाइव इयर् प्लान में जो टार्गेट्स म्कुरर किये गये वे उन तमाम को पूरा करने के लिये ४८०० करोड़ रुपया काफी नहीं बल्कि और भी ज्यादा रुपये की जरूरत होगी। इन तमाम चीजों को देखते हुये हमारे सामने सब से बड़ा नसला यह है कि रिसोर्स के तमाम को कैसे हल किया जाय। इस के लिये मैं माननीय मंत्री जी के सामने शब्द रखती हूँ पेश करना चाहता हूँ।

मेरी सब से पहली तजवीज यह है जैसा कल माननीय मंत्री जी ने अपनी स्पीच में कहा कि स्टेट्स से यह कहा गया है कि वह १५० करोड़ रुपये बजटिये टैक्स इकट्ठा करने की कोशिश की जाय, मैं इस से मुतफिक नहीं, क्योंकि स्टेट्स के अन्दर जो टैक्स लगाये गये हैं और ग्राम लोगों पर टैक्सों का जो बोझ पड़ता है, उस के खिलाफ बहुत ज्यादा क्रिटिसिज्म हो रहा है और अगर और ज्यादा बोझ डाला गया तो उस के खिलाफ और भी ज्यादा नुक्ता चीनी होगी। इस के लिये मेरी छोटी सी तजवीज है कि जो बड़े बड़े कंपिटनिस्ट्स हैं, मरमायेंदार हैं, जिन्होंने मन् १९५७ के बाद बड़े बड़े इंडस्ट्रियल गेन्स किये हैं, उन की तरफ जो इनकम टैक्स का रुपया बाकी है उसे इकट्ठा किया जाय। अगर उस के इकट्ठा करने में हम कामयाब हो जायें तो मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि वह रुपया १५० करोड़ से कहीं ज्यादा होगा। जहा तक उस की सही इन्फार्मेशन का ताल्लुक है, उस के बारे में कुछ कहा नहीं जा सकता। क्योंकि इंडियन इनकम टैक्स एक्ट के सेक्शन ५४ के तहत यह तमाम बातें नहीं बतलाई जा सकती कि उन बड़े बड़े लोगों की तरफ कितना रुपया बाकी है, और जो इन्स्टालमेंट रखे गये हैं, उन को भी पूरा करने की कोशिश नहीं की जाती।

मेरी दूसरी तजवीज यह है कि नये टैक्स लगाने के बजाय जो टैक्स लगाये गये हैं, उन के अन्दर जो चोरी होती है, जो इवेजन होता है, उस को रोकने की कोशिश की जाये। जिसका नतीजा यह होता है कि जो टैक्स लगाये जाते हैं उन से जितना रुपया घाना चाहिये, उतना नहीं आता। इसके बारे में मैं एक मामूली सी मिसाल हाउस के सामने पेश करना चाहता हूँ। तम्बाकू पर जो टैक्स लगाया गया है वह तकरीबन १ रुपये की शेर है। मैं अपने हल्के की बात आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। आप किसी की नांव में जायें, किसी की किसान से तम्बाकू

खरीदना चाहें तो ३५ या ३६ रुपये में एक मन तम्बाकू मिल जायेगी। यह सीधा सा सवाल है कि अगर एक किसान अपने खेत में दस मन तम्बाकू पैदा करता है और वह ४०० रुपये टैक्स का दे दे तो वह कैसे दस मन तम्बाकू ३५० रुपये में बेच सकता है? दरअसल यह होता है कि जो आफिमर्स होते हैं वे उन लोगों से मिल जाते हैं और पैदावार दस मन के बजाय दो, तीन मन दिखला दी जाती है। कुछ फायदा अफसर को हो जाता है और कुछ किसान को, और नुकसान होता है गवर्नमेंट को। मैं यह बात इस लिये कह रहा हूँ कि इस के ऊपर कई बार जोर दिया गया है कि हमारे यहा रिसोर्सेज की बड़ी कमी है। रिसोर्सेज की कमी इस लिये है कि जो हमारा इन्तजाम है, खास तौर पर हमारे इनकम टैक्स का, उस के अन्दर बड़ा भारी नुकस है। अगर हम इस नुकस को दूर कर दें, इनकम टैक्स के जो एरियर्स हैं उन को इकट्ठा कर लें, और इनकम टैक्स की चोरी को खत्म कर दें तो मेरा ख्याल है कि न सिर्फ हमारी जरूरत का रुपया ही पूरा होगा बल्कि दूसरे मुल्कों की मदद की जो हमें इतनी जरूरत मालूम होती है वह भी उतनी ज्यादा नहीं रहेगी।

तीसरी तजवीज मैं यह रखना चाहता हूँ कि वेस्टेज को रोका जाये। इस वेस्टेज का मुख्य कारण यह है कि प्रसंग बलन मिनिस्ट्रीज में कोआपरेशन और को-आर्डिनेशन नहीं है। मुझे चन्द मिनट पहले मेरे साथी श्री मोरारका ने बतलाया कि हमारा टार्गेट था कि ८० लाख एकड़ जमीन को इरिगेशन फेसिलिटीज प्रोवाइड की जायें। लेकिन हम सिर्फ ६० लाख एकड़ जमीन को इरिगेशन फेसिलिटीज प्रोवाइड कर सके, जब कि ऐक्युधली सिर्फ ४ million एकड़ जमीन को पानी मिला। मैं आप से पूछता हूँ कि जिस २ million एकड़ जमीन को पानी नहीं मिला उस से देश को कितना नुकसान हुआ? यही

## [श्री राज कृष्ण]

कारण है कि इस देश के अन्दर अनाज की कमी है और हमें बाहर के मुल्कों से करोड़ों रुपयों का अनाज हर साल मंगवाना पड़ता है, जिस का हमारे फारेन एक्स्चेंज के ऊपर बहुत असर पड़ता है। मेरा यह खयाल है कि अगर हिसाब लगाया जाये तो एक साल के अन्दर हम 2 million एकड़ में इतना अनाज पैदा कर सकते हैं जिस की कोमत ५०० करोड़ रुपया हो। अगर इन तमाम चीजों को ठीक ढंग से किया जाता, अगर उतना ही पानी दिया जाता जितना कि काम में लाया जा सकता था, तो हमारा इतना नुकसान न होता।

इस के बारे में एक मिसाल और भी देना चाहता हूँ। बहुत से एन० ई० एस० ब्लाक्स के अन्दर छोटी छोटी सड़कें बनाई जाती हैं। गांव वालों से कहा जाता है कि आप कच्ची सड़कें तैयार कर दें, फ्री लेबर दे, फ्री जमीन दें, तो गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से पक्की सड़क बना दी जायेगी। भारत सेवक समाज की तरफ से भी इस चीज की कोशिश की जाती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि हम तमाम प्रोग्राम का एक ही मकसद है कि लोगों के अन्दर यह जज्बा पैदा किया जाये कि वह देश की तरक्की के लिये, सेकेन्ड फाइव इंधर प्लैन की कामयाबी के लिये काम करें और मेहनत करें। लेकिन मैं आप से पूछता हूँ कि अगर एक गांव वाले पांच मील लम्बी कच्ची सड़क तैयार करते हैं और उस को पक्की नहीं किया जाता, दो साल के अन्दर वह बरसात की वजह से बह जाती है, तो गांव के लोगों के दिलों पर उस का क्या असर पड़ेगा? माननीय मंत्री जी ने अपनी तकरीर के अन्दर कहा कि वह लोगों के दिलों के अन्दर एक रिबोल्यूशन पैदा करना चाहते हैं, जिस से कि यह सेकेन्ड फाइव इंधर प्लैन कामयाब हो। मैं पूछता हूँ कि जिस गांव के लोग रोजाना फ्री लेबर करते हैं, अपनी जमीन गवर्नमेंट को देते हैं, मैं इस किस्म की काफी मिसालें आप के सामने बेशक कर सकता

हूँ, अगर तमाम किया हुआ काम बारिश के कारण सराब हो जाये, पानी के अन्दर बह जाये, तो क्या वह उस पर काम करने को तैयार हो सकेंगे? इस लिये मैं खास तौर से प्रतीक्ष करूंगा कि ऐसे ढंग से इन्तजाम किया जाये कि जो तमाम रुपया वेस्ट हो रहा है, वह रोका जा सके। इस हाउस के अन्दर इस बात का भी जिक्र किया गया कि मैन पावर बहुत ज्यादा वेस्ट हो रही है, उस का एक यह भी कारण है। यह भी कहा गया कि दूसरे देशों के अन्दर काफी तरक्की हुई। यह ठीक है, जर्मनी की मिसाल हमारे सामने मौजूद है। जब १५ अगस्त, १९४७ के दिन हमारा देश आजाद हुआ, सब लोग तसलीम करेंगे कि हमारे देश की हालत हर तरीके से जर्मनी से अच्छी थी। लेकिन आज क्या हुआ? हमारे देश के बड़े बड़े नेता जर्मनी जाते हैं और कर्ज के लिये दब्बास्त करते हैं। इस का क्या कारण है? इस का सब से बड़ा कारण यह है कि वहां के लोगों ने देश की तरक्की के लिये कुर्बानी की, मेहनत की। मैं ने इसके बारे में एक किताब पढ़ी थी, उस में लिखा हुआ था कि वहां पर कारखानों के अन्दर जो मजदूर काम करते थे, उन्होंने दस, दस और बारह, बारह घंटे काम किया। लेकिन आज हमारे देश की क्या हालत है? हर आदमी परेशान नजर आता है। अगर आप यह कहते हैं कि सेकेन्ड फाइव इंधर प्लैन का यह मकसद है कि कितनी लम्बी सड़कें बनाई जायें, कितनी नहरें खोदी जायें, कितने कारखाने खोले जायें, तो मैं इस बात को तसलीम करने के लिये तैयार नहीं। सेकेन्ड फाइव इंधर प्लैन का मकसद यह है कि हम लोगों के अन्दर जज्बात कैसे पैदा करें। हमारा मकसद है कि हम इनकम की जो डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन है, बेच की जो डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन है, उन को कम करें। हम ने इन सालों में इस के लिये कितना काम किया है, इस की तरफ किसी का ध्यान नहीं गया। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस पर ध्यान दिया जाये।

सेकेन्ड फाइव इयर प्लान का इस बात के अन्दाजा नहीं लगाया जा सकता कि देश के अन्दर कितने ईस्मू, कारखाने और स्टील प्लांट्स बनाये जायेंगे बल्कि सेकेन्ड फाइव इयर प्लान का अन्दाजा इस बात से लगाया जायेगा कि इनकम और वेल्थ के अन्दर जो अन्तर बढ़ा भारी अन्तर नजर आता है उसको हमने कितना कम किया। हमारे प्लान का अन्दाजा इस बात से लगाया जायेगा कि जो अन्तर डेवलपड ऐरिया है, बेकवर्ड ऐरिया है, उसकी कितनी तरक्की हुई। मैं चाहता था कि इस मेमोरैंडम के अन्दर इस तरफ भी ध्यान दिया जाता और इन बातों का जिक्र किया जाता लेकिन जहाँ तक इन चीजों का तात्पर्य है मैं यह कहे बगैर नहीं रहूंगा कि हमें इस बात में जितनी कामयाबी होनी चाहिये थी, नहीं हुई। सेकेन्ड फाइव इयर प्लान का यह भी मकसद था कि मजदूरों को कारखानों के इंतजाम में हिस्सा दिया जायेगा। मैं माननीय मंत्री से यह बात पूछना चाहता हूँ कि तीन साल गुजर चुके, अब तक इसके लिये कितना काम किया? इस के अन्दर कितनी तरक्की हुई? मैं यह बात इसलिये कहना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि हमारे देश में आज तकरीबन एक करोड़ मजदूर कारखानों के अन्दर काम करते हैं। अगर उनके अन्दर यह अजबबा पदा हो जाये कि जो कारखाने बनाये जा रहे हैं जो ईस्मू बनाये जाते हैं उनका फायदा तुम्हें और तुम्हारे बच्चों को होगा तो मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि बे फी २ बंटें और अधिक काम करने को तैयार हो जायेंगे लेकिन वे यह महसूस करते हैं कि हमारी मेहनत की कमाई जो कि हम कारखानों के अन्दर काम कर के कमाते हैं, वह तमाम धामदनी बढ़े बढ़े अफसरान, धाई० सी० एस० लोगों या बढ़े बढ़े कैप्टलिस्ट्स, कारखानेदार और सरमायेदारों की जेबों में जायेगा तो उस से वह फस्ट्रेटेड होते हैं और काम नहीं करते। उसका देश के प्रोडक्शन के ऊपर असर पड़ता है। मैं उसकी एक छोटी सी मिछाल भी अपने जाती लक्ष्यों की बिना पर दे सकता हूँ क्योंकि खुस-

किस्मती से १५, २० माल से स्टूडेन्ट्स वर्कर्स और मजदूरों से मेरा तात्पर्य रहा है और मैं भी उन्हीं की तरह से हूँ। हमारे दादरी के अन्दर एक छोटी सी सीमेंट फैक्टरी है और जिसका कि इस हाउस में कई बार जिक्र भी हुआ है। आज से कोई दस साल पहले वहाँ के मजदूरों ने उस कारखाने पर कब्जा कर लिया और १८ रोज तक यूनियन के प्रमीडेंट बतौर मेनेजर के काम करते रहे और जो प्रोडक्शन उन १८ दिनों के अन्दर उस कारखाने में हुआ उतना कभी नहीं हुआ। वह प्रोडक्शन रेकार्ड प्रोडक्शन रहा है। यह बात मैं इसलिये कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस स्कीम को एम्पलीमेंट करने के लिये, सरमायेदारों की तरफ से और कैप्टलिस्ट्स की तरफ से जो एनिगेशन लगाया जाता है कि मजदूर ट्रेड नहीं हैं, पढ़े लिखे नहीं हैं, कारखानों का काम कैसे चलेगा। मैं इस चीज को मानने को तैयार नहीं। यही इन्जाम अंप्रैज लोग हमारे खिलाफ लगाया करते थे।

मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि अगर कारखाने का तमाम इंतजाम मजदूरों के हाथ में दे दिया जाये तो प्रोडक्शन बढ़ सकता है। आप इसको आजमा कर देख सकते हैं।

आज अगड़ा किस बात का है। आज वोनस का मंहगाई का और तनखाह का अगड़ा है। सरमायेदार तो यह कहता है कि जब मुनाफा नहीं तो मैं यह सब कहाँ से दूँ? मजदूर कहता है कि मुनाफा बहुत ज्यादा है। यह साबित करने के लिये कि मुनाफा नहीं हो रहा है वॉलेंस शीट बदल दी जाती है और हेरा फेरी कर दी जाती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर मजदूर और कारखानेदार एक साथ एक टेबल पर बैठ कर तमाम चीजों का फैसला करें, अगर वे कारखाने का मिलकर इन्तजाम करें तो यह तमाम शक व शुरुबहे दूर हो सकते हैं और हमारा प्रोडक्शन बढ़ सकता है।

मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि हिन्दुस्तान के मजदूर लोग दुनिया के किसी मजदूर के

[ श्री राम कृष्ण ]

काम करने में पीछे नहीं हैं। हिन्दुस्तान के मजदूरों के अन्दर दुःखिया के कृषी मजदूर ने देश के लिये काम जज्बा नहीं लेकिन जरूरत इस बात की है कि उस को कोनफिडेंस में लिया जाय। धातु उस को कोनफिडेंस में नहीं लिया गया है और उस पर विश्वास नहीं किया जा रहा है और इसीलिये हम देख रहे हैं कि जो हम उत्पादन बढ़ाना चाहते हैं उस में हम काम-याब नहीं हो पा रहे हैं। इसलिये मैं माननीय मंत्री से अपील करूंगा कि धातु इस सर्वेड फाइव इयर प्लान को कामयाब करना चाहते हैं तो सब से पहले जल्दी में जल्दी यह कदम उठाइये और तमाम कारखाने का इन्तजाम मजदूरों के हाथों में दे दीजिये। यह काम एसोसियेशन या कमेटी बनाने में नहीं चलेगा। एक सीधा सा सवाल है। एक मामूली सा कानून पास कर दिया जाय कि हर कारखाने के अन्दर गवर्नमेंट के नुमायन्दे, मजदूरों के नुमायन्दे और फॅक्टरी का जो मैनेजमेंट है उस के नुमायन्दे मिसकर तमाम चीजों का इकट्ठा फैसला करेंगे। इस में बड़ा भारी फायदा होगा।

धातु में कुछ अल्प बैंकबर्ब और अंडर-कल्पेड एरिया के बारे में भी कह देना चाहता हूँ। मैं जिस हल्के की नुमायन्दगी करता हूँ उस का ८० फीसदी एरिया बैंकबर्ब और अंडरकल्पेड है। यहाँ तो पानी की जरूरत का सवाल होता है कृतीबाड़ी करने के लिये लेकिन वहाँ पर पानी का सवाल लोगों के पीने के लिये है। पिछले दिनों धातुकी याद होगा कि जब दिल्ली में एक दो दिन के लिये पानी की कमी हो गई थी और उस के कारण दिल्ली वालों को बहुत ज्यादा परेशानी हुई थी लेकिन मैं सबन और सरकार का ध्यान उस इलाके की तरफ बिलाना चाहता हूँ जहाँ कि इस तरह की हालत हुयोषा बनी रहती है। पानी की वहाँ बहुत तंगी रहती है। इसलिये मैं मंत्री महोदय से अपील करूंगा कि सब से पहले हवें उन इलाकों की तरफकी

की तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिये जो कि अंडर इंडवल्ड हैं और उस के लिये मेरी यह तजवीज है कि एक कमिशन चुकरें किया जाय जो कि उस इलाके के बारे में जांच करे और फिर मॅटर की तरफ से उस इलाके की तरफकी के लिये फंड ऐलाट किया जाय क्योंकि स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को जो रुपया दिया जाता है वह उस अंडरवैलेज्ड इलाके पर खर्च नहीं किया जाता है।

**Kumari M. Vedakumari (Eluru):**  
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, this year is a year of crisis. We have had the food-grains crisis and the foreign exchange crisis. For the past two years we were facing a lot of crisis and the country is anxiously, agitatedly waiting to see how the Government will fare in the remaining years of the Second Five Year Plan.

Now I classify the conditions in the country into two parts—firstly, our past miscalculations and, secondly, things which lie beyond our control. I will now take the first thing, the basis of the Plan. This Plan is presented in a new way with statistical frame into which all other material is fed. There are so many equations which are so very decent and nice to look at, but there are some hideous things which are the alpha and beta which reveal the technical realities and the input and output ratios.

Even at the beginning of the Plan, when the Plan Frame had been presented to the Panel of Economists, they pointed out that while drawing the Plan the Planning Commission had ignored some of the technical realities which were then visible, before the Plan had been adopted. They clearly mentioned it, and I will quote here a few lines from the "Papers relating to



the Formulation of the Second Five Year Plan". They said:

"We are obviously not in a position to comment on the technical accuracy of the actual figures given under each head of investment; in fact, this cannot be determined except through a process of detailed examination at the technical level of the individual projects included in the investment outlay and we presume this will be done by the Planning Commission during the coming months."

This was clearly suggested by them. My argument is that had the Planning Commission investigated and thoroughly examined the real difficulties and the realities, the problem would not have been so severe as we are facing now.

From the economists' discussion as well as from some of the magazines that I read, I found that the Planning Commission had figures only for 27 industries. My argument is, when they adopted the Plan they should have taken into account the experience of the First Five Year Plan and the internal and external resources available and some of the peculiar conditions of the Indian economy. We are now faced with some of these difficulties. I would have very much appreciated had the Planning Commission done an investigation and examination of the projects and then submitted the report and then the Government had adopted the Plan. But there was no thorough investigation or technical examination of the Plan and we are faced with the inflated costs of the heavy industries now. Whether it is an ambitious plan or not, I am not going to argue. But when we are proceeding to plan we have to take all the features of the Indian economy. When they give us a statistical approach, their approach was two plus two will become four. That was the approach. They were caring only about investment and suggesting that according to the investment level, there will be rise of income. They

wanted to raise the national income from 11 per cent to 25 per cent. In order to raise the national income, they should have taken the real figures here.

When the Appraisal was presented, there were five points given. The first is a substantial increase in agricultural production. I will take them one by one. And the first reason for the present difficulty which we are facing is the miscalculation, which was visible in the first year of Second Five Year Plan. The existing situation, I believe, is definitely not due to the size of the Plan or due to deficit financing but is the result of our own failings.

Another thing which we are facing is the colossal, monumental failure in our handling of the foreign exchange position, and we are facing internal problems also here. The gigantic difficulties which we are facing were visible in the first year of the Second Five Year Plan. The mistake which the Planning Commission has committed, according to my humble knowledge, is that it ignored and overlooked some of the things which were visible, which it should not have done.

For instance, take the wholesale price level index. The wholesale price level index which had touched a low point, namely 10.5, shot up to 117.9. Why? Was any inflation threatening? But the employment figure shows there was no increase.

Another item which is a very important element in our cost of living index is cloth, which is showing a slump. If we think that only inflation is causing the difficulties, why are the other things not rising equally with the foodgrains? In our national economy agricultural produce, foodgrains, occupy a very important place. Unless the agricultural base is consolidated, there is no use of developing heavy industries on a very big scale.

The Planning Commission has rightly laid down some of the conditions.

[Kumari M. Vedakumari]

We have taken up the first condition. But when we have given the irrigation facilities, we have never tried to see simultaneously that the irrigation potential is used to the full extent. It seems even in the British regime also, when the irrigation facilities were given they were not fully utilised. So we have to educate the cultivator. He may be ignorant of utilising the irrigation facilities offered for cultivation, or due to his poverty the peasant may not buy the water. We have therefore to take simultaneous steps to see that the irrigation potential is fully utilised.

We say the farmers in Community development are not doing what we expected of them. My humble submission is that in this Community Project areas, the small peasant is polarised and the increased facilities that we offer will go to the rich and the poor is becoming poorer. This is like a classical example where the internal steps are paved with good intentions. Unless we build up a very good agricultural base, there is no use of our doing other things.

We may not be able to control natural calamities. But I want to put this direct question: Have the Government done everything up to the maximum of their capacity? Have they brought about sensible land reforms? Have they taken measures for the prevention of soil erosion and flood control? Have they encouraged people to use the irrigation facilities that are offered?

When we want to lessen the rate of betterment levy on agricultural land, our Government argue "How can it be possible? We have to get something from the farmer also." But what we see is that there is a topsy-turvy development and imbalance. When I went to the Vizag University they were investigating and conducting a research on the Nagarjunasagar Project. They

told me "Even in the Nagarjunasagar Project the cultivator is going to cultivate only cash crops"—as if something great has been invented or discovered. I said "That is purely commonsense; any farmer will go to a cash crop because it pays good dividends to him." So, while giving incentive or encouragement to cash crops, we are in a way killing the incentive for the production of foodgrains. Here we want to earn foreign exchange by exporting cash crops and with that earned money of exports we want to import foodgrains paying a lot of money and then say "What can we do?"

The import of foodgrains has become an important element in our economy. Our Government never imagined that foodgrains will become such an important element in our economy. So there is this imbalance even in the facilities which we are giving for the community development, in the whole agricultural base.

Coming to savings, they wanted a steady increase in domestic saving. Here we see that that is also a failure. The second condition, of increase in domestic savings, is not also fulfilled, and the savings campaign is far from perfection. Giving the details of the experience of the First Five Year Plan, the economists have said:

"It is suggested that the important lessons of the First Plan are:  
(1) Observed results do not show correlation with planned efforts.  
(2) While national income is stated to have gone up, savings do not show any appreciable rise."

This was clearly pointed out by them at the time of formulation of the Second Five Year Plan. But they never took it into consideration. They wanted to raise the investment from 7 per cent to 11 per cent. Now, we are telling the people as well as the Government also that we are not capable of collecting all the savings which we

need. Even Md. Shenoy, a great economist—I find he is on the panel of economists—clearly mentioned that we cannot have savings or investment or anything up to 11 per cent. The reasonable percentage is only up to 8 per cent. So, ignoring the facts and experience of the First Five-Year Plan and putting so much strain on the Indian economy what are we going to gain? I cannot understand that.

Then, I come to the question of external assistance. In the Plan we wanted to have Rs. 800 crores of foreign exchange. It has gone up to Rs. 1,038 crores. Now it has risen to Rs. 1,700 crores according to the Appraisal of the Plan. In one way we are cutting and we are having a core of the Plan and in another way the foreign exchange element is going on increasing. So even if we achieve the core of the Plan, as Shri Asoka Mehta has pointed out, we would be in a position to achieve only two-thirds of the Plan. While admitting that we could not face the calamities or anything like that whether they are internal or external, we could have taken the experience of the First Five-Year Plan into consideration. If we had taken the experience of the First Plan, we would not have faced so many difficulties.

Then I come to the Reserve Bank's report. Seldom during the past two years the annual report of the Reserve Bank has been so pessimistic about the situation in the country. They pointed out that the economic situation during the year under review, i.e. 1957-58 was characterised on the one hand by an extension of the serious stresses on the economy since the launching of the Plan and at other times by affecting economy in certain sections. So, at the same time the rate of growth of industrial production has declined. Taking all the aspects of the economy we can point out that even the agricultural base is not being consolidated. Even if we took that the industrial aspect of the Plan is very important, that too is passing through a very difficult situation.

Coming to the efficiency of administration—that is the fifth point which is mentioned in the Appraisal—as mentioned by several hon. speakers, who preceded me, nearly Rs. 287 crores are in arrears by way of income-tax. This is the sign of the efficiency of our administration in the country.

So, if we took all the points, i.e., agricultural production, steady increase in domestic savings, external assistance, maintenance of the price level and the efficiency of administration we can say with the minimum or average knowledge that in every case, in every element of these particular aspects, we are failing. Unless we take up this measure very seriously and pin down the difficulties and see the things which we have to face immediately, and analyse the situation it is very difficult to complete the Second Five-Year Plan.

Hon. Members in this House are served with readymade plans assuming that whatever the Cabinet has presented we must accept. But I humbly submit that in determining the Plan, our explanation is far from satisfactory. We had nothing to anticipate or assess the threats of the economy as far as this House is concerned. So my humble submission is that they should appoint an expert committee and give us every detail, project by project as to what are the difficulties that they are facing, what were the miscalculations, what were the past experiences and in future what are we going to do with certain projects. Unless we are thoroughly informed about facts and figures—we have to tell the people as we have told them that we will give certain things which are to the minimum standard of living—we cannot approach the people and tell them as to what we can do and what we will do in future.

Shri A. C. Guha: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, there has been an atmosphere of pessimism in the country about the prospects of the Second Plan. The two memoranda submitted—

[Shri A. C. Guha]

the Appraisals and the Re-appraisals also—have not given anything but a sort of a pessimistic picture.

It is not the foreign exchange or the availability of foreign exchange or of internal resources or the quantum of expenditure to be incurred on which the success or the failure of the Plan should be decided. The Plan should be considered from the point of view of the objectives set forward in the Plan report. There were four objectives mentioned, i.e., a sizeable increase in national income so as to raise the level of living, rapid industrialisation, both basic, heavy and small-scale industries, large expansion of employment opportunities—I think the target fixed was a very moderate one, only eight million—and reduction in inequality in income and wealth.

If we consider the achievement so far made by the Plan programmes in the first three items, we cannot be very much satisfied with the progress so far made. About the sizeable increase in our national income, I think the target was 25% increase in the total national income and it is understood that about 40 per cent or a little more of our national income comes from agriculture, but the prospect in agriculture is rather gloomy. The report has mentioned that last year there was 9.8 per cent reduction in the production of foodgrains and the year before there was a slight rise from that of 1955-56. So, the performance of the two years is rather disappointing. Almost every speaker in this House has stressed the importance of agriculture. This Plan was framed during a period when there was a sort of complacency about agriculture on account of the good crops during the last two years of the First Plan period and I think due to that complacency agriculture was given a subsidiary importance in this Plan.

It is quite good to develop heavy industries. Steel factories and all these things are quite necessary, but it

should be understood that unless we can have our agricultural front properly developed, it will be almost impossible to carry on other development works. In the recent Bangalore conference of agricultural economists, I think, it was Professor Lewia, an eminent economist, who stated that for an undeveloped country attempting to develop rapidly it will be absolutely necessary to have surplus food production to export otherwise the country is sure to face foreign exchange difficulties. I hope the Planning Commission and the Government will learn by the experience we are passing through.

It would be of no use repeating what has been said on many occasions about the neglect in the agricultural field. Minor irrigation schemes, supply of fertilisers and good seeds, compost programme, in every item, we have been lagging behind our target and our progress is quite unsatisfactory. It was rather a sinister and an unwise economy to cut down the demand for the import of fertilisers. It should have been realised that the amount that might be spent on the import of fertilisers would enable the country to spare at least four or five times the amount that the country may require for the import of foodgrains. I think there should not have been any economy or any stinginess in the matter of supplying, and if necessary, also importing fertilisers. In this respect, the question of having intensive campaign for compost and green manure should also be explored. I think by that way we can save a certain amount of foreign exchange on the import of fertilisers.

Shri M. R. Masani has mentioned about the fourth steel plant. It may be necessary to have a fourth steel plant, but I think that before that we must have at least two or three more fertiliser plants. The programmes or the proposals about fertiliser plants should get first priority before any other industrial project.

According to my estimate, the target for a 25 per cent increase in the national income will fall first on the agricultural front. On the industrial side also, the rate of increase in production has gone down from about 9 per cent in two previous years to only 3.5 per cent. There also, we have been lagging behind our target, and we have taken some backward steps instead of taking forward steps. So, it is very doubtful whether the 25 per cent increase in national income could be achieved.

As for rapid industrialisation, besides what I have stated just now, I find that some of the small-scale industries, engineering industries, are now closing down for want of raw materials, and it has been stated that the production in these industries has gone down, and quite a number of persons have become unemployed also. So, I am not quite sure whether the objective of rapid industrialisation also will be completely fulfilled.

Much has been said in this discourse about some Rs. 150 crores more for industries and mines. Though we may regret this additional amount of Rs. 150 crores—I think it will be about Rs. 200 crores that industries and mines would require, for, as against Rs. 680 crores in the original estimate we would require now about Rs. 890 crores, which means an increase of near about Rs. 200 crores—the difficulty is that we cannot leave these industrial schemes half-finished. Even if there is any difficulty in raising the amounts needed, still efforts will have to be made so that the industrial schemes which have been started already are finished at an early date in order that they may give dividend in the near future. We cannot leave the steel plants unfinished, nor can we leave our target for coal production unachieved. These are very important items. I can understand that instead of taking up three steel plants, we might have taken up two steel plants, but once having undertaken three,

somehow, the money has to be found to complete them.

My own submission is that instead of trying to raise further amounts through taxation, there should be enough scope for economising expenses. I would humbly suggest here that the expenditure on defence should be cut down. I do not know for what purpose we have been spending Rs. 100 crores more on the purchase of obsolete and out of date armaments. I think from 1953 onwards till today our defence expenditure has gone up by about Rs. 100 crores. I do not know the necessity for that. If we are preparing for defence against any far off powers, then whatever amount we spend will be of little avail. If we simply intend to defend ourselves from our neighbours, I think whatever we have will be quite enough. I am sure no neighbouring country would have the courage to invade India, even if we did not spend anything more on defence. So, I would humbly suggest that the defence expenditure should be cut down, and money should be found for industries and mines from that head, and other economies should also be effected.

It has been mentioned that out of Rs. 500 crores more raised by way of taxation, that is, more than what was estimated in the original Plan estimate, only Rs. 45 crores will be the amount that will go towards the Plan programmes. That is, only about 9 per cent of the extra tax that we have imposed on the country in the name of the Plan, would be devoted for the developmental works, and the rest 91 per cent will go towards ordinary day-to-day routine works. In this connection, I shall have to draw your attention to the rapid increase in civil expenditure year after year. In 1952-53, it was Rs. 199 crores, while in 1958-59, it is Rs. 448 crores. It has been stated in the memorandum, that in the civil expenditure, some developmental items are also included. I have calculated from 1957-58 to 1957-58 1958-59, and I find that these items would come to not more than additional Rs. 15 crores.

[Shri A. C. Guha]

Moreover, between 1957-58 and 1958-59, civil expenditure has gone up from Rs. 413 crores to Rs. 448 crores, which means a difference of Rs. 35 crores. So, within one year, there has been a clear increase of Rs. 20 crores in civil expenditure not devoted for any developmental works. These huge increases in civil expenditure, that is, in routine expenditure,—office expenditure and establishment charges, should be looked into. I am sure there is enough scope for curtailment of these establishment charges, and considerable economies could be effected both on the civil side and on the defence side, and I think that whatever money is needed for industries and mines can easily be found by economising under these two heads.

The third objective was increase in employment potentialities or expansion of the employment opportunities. There again, we have a very sorry and regrettable story to tell. It has been admitted in the two memoranda that far from increasing, employment potentialities are rather decreasing in certain fields. The number of new entrants during these five years for employment will only be 10 million; the back log of the last plan period was 5.3 million. So, there will be 15.3 million claimants for jobs during this Plan period, that is, up to the end of 1960-61. Out of this, the Plan envisages employment only for 8 million, that is, only for about 50 per cent or just a little over 50 per cent of the number who will be seeking jobs during this period. And even this 8 million target is not going to be fulfilled. I think this reappraisal has made it perfectly clear that even that 8 million is not going to be fulfilled.

From the point of view of these three objectives, I can say that the Plan is not going to be a success that we expected it to be. On the other hand, it is stated in the Reserve Bank's report that:

"Fiscal and monetary policies would, therefore, have to continue

to be geared to the twin objectives of restraining inflationary forces and maintaining a climate of continued high rate of savings and investment."

As for inflationary forces, the memoranda have stated that the cost of living index has gone up by about 14 per cent as compared with 1955-56, that is, the last year of the First Plan period. From that point of view also, the Plan efforts have not been able to achieve what they were expected to achieve.

As for savings and investments, there again we find that investment has been going down. There is one peculiar feature in this, namely that there is a glut of money in the banks. Time deposits in the scheduled banks have been going up, and there is huge accumulation of money with the banks, but there is not any proper investment for industrial purposes. Moreover, whenever there has been any issue of shares for investment, there has been good response. That shows that money was available, but the issues were not made for investment. That means that there has not been any attempt for any investment. From the investment side also, money is lying idle in the banks. That is not a proper atmosphere. Why? That means that those who can undertake industrial enterprises, entrepreneurs and sponsors are not coming forward and somehow they have become shy of investment perhaps due to fiscal and monetary policy of the Government. That is also an economic and social evil to which the Planning Commission should give attention.

17 hrs.

As regards foreign exchange difficulties, due to the benevolence of

some friendly countries, to whom we should be grateful for the timely help that they have rendered, for the present, our foreign exchange difficulties are over. But, at what cost? That, we should realise. I have got some figures and I think the hon. Minister will correct me if I am mistaken. Up to some time in May, there is a list of Rs. 517 crores taken in loan from foreign countries to be repaid in instalments up till 1967-68. But, the total repayment including interest will be Rs. 700 crores. For Rs. 517 crores taken in loan, we shall have to pay Rs. 700 crores, that means, near about a 40 per cent. increase. Whatever loan we may take, it will mean that the whole cost of our Plan would go up by 30 or 40 per cent. I am not sure whether it would be 40 per cent. In any case, it would not be less than 30 per cent. Whenever we take a loan, we should consider that the cost that is now worked out is not actual and final cost. The cost of the steel plants has gone up from Rs. 343 crores as was originally estimated to Rs. 495 crores, about 40 per cent. increase. But, this is not the actual cost. We shall also have to pay interest which is not included in the Rs. 495 crores as put in this appraisal memorandum. We shall have to pay 30 to 40 per cent. interest on this. The entire cost of our projects on loan will go up on account of these loans by 30 or 40 per cent.

My apprehension is that the steel plants will not be economic. At present, our Indian steel is very much cheaper than foreign steel. With the high capital cost and overhead charges, I think the products of these steel plants will not be as cheap as the steel we are now getting from the two steel plants and it will not be quite proper to expect that by exporting this steel, we shall be able to earn foreign exchange. I am doubtful whether our steel that would be produced in these steel plants will be able to compete with foreign steel.

Another point and I finish. To get out of this foreign exchange difficulty,

the best thing is to increase our exports. I am sorry the hon. Minister of Commerce and Industry is not here.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He can have another opportunity when he is here. He may finish now.

**Shri A. C. Gaha:** In one minute I shall finish. There are at least half a dozen committees and boards for the promotion of exports. I do not know how half a dozen committees can co-ordinate. I am very doubtful whether they promote exports or they deter exports. I hope the hon. Minister in charge of Planning would look into this and see that proper export promotion is done. The report of the Reserve Bank has said that export even of our traditional things such as jute, cotton textiles, tea, raw cotton and such things has gone down, and import has been going up considerably. This deserves some closer examination.

This is a gloomy picture, but after all, we are planning in a democratic country which is more difficult. Even in China, in their report also, they have stated:

"Errors have been made in designing quite a large number of projects....."

Assortment of goods produced and the scale of production have not been according to specifications and failed to meet the needs of society.....

Equipment of various departments in such enterprises is not well balanced and co-ordinated."

So, mistakes are quite natural, particularly in a democratic set-up. So, I hope we shall not get disappointed or disheartened, but we must rectify our mistakes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Ajit Singh Sarhad. Is he going to speak or not? I have called him several times.

Shri Ajit Singh Sarhad (Ludhiana): Yes, Sir.

Are we sitting up to six?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Yes. If he is not prepared to speak just now, I can call some other Member.

17-06 hrs.

Shri Ajit Singh Sarhad: No, Sir.

The hon. Planning Minister was at pains to justify the deviations from the original Plan about the allocations which had been originally made. I am afraid it was not necessary. Planning is something alive, planning itself postulates that there could be change if the circumstances and the conditions change. I must congratulate the Planning Commission that they stuck to the original target despite the advice given from friendly quarters that either the Plan should be cut down or extended to a longer period. Therefore, there cannot be any difference of opinion about the fact that from time to time we shall have change in the Plan in accordance with the conditions and the circumstances that may arise. Those conditions and circumstances were there beyond the control of the Government. There was a rise in prices, there was stress and strain on our foreign exchange which necessitated deviation here and there. But the difference arises as to where the priorities are to be fixed, where emphasis is laid on certain categories.

It would be conceded that in the First Plan there was more emphasis on the agricultural sector, and in the Second Plan greater emphasis is laid on the industrial sector. In the Second Plan, industries and mines have been allocated Rs. 677 crores, and the complementary category of

transport and communications Rs. 1203 crores; out of the total outlay of Rs. 2,529 crores, the allocation for industries and mines and transport and communications is Rs. 1870 crores. This indicates the emphasis that was laid on industries in the Second Plan. But during this very Plan period it began to be appreciated that whereas steel mills and all that may be the core of the Plan, agriculture is the foundation of the Plan, and it is necessary that more attention should be paid to the development of agriculture and increasing food production. This is also what we find in the memorandum we have got. On page 39 they say:

"The review of agricultural production during the period 1949-50 to 1956-57 placed before the Council showed that the results had been highly uneven as between the States and that in several cases they did not reflect adequately the large outlays incurred during recent years on agricultural production programmes. An increase of agricultural production by 2 to 2.5 per cent. per annum, which has been so far achieved, is not sufficient to support a large plan of economic development."

Again later:

"The Standing Committee of the National Development Council took stock of the agricultural situation and emphasised that the country could not afford to think in terms of importing foodgrains year after year."

The view that there should be more emphasis on agriculture and increased food production, began to be appreciated soon after the start of the Second Plan period, as it was felt that it is the foundation of even the industrial revolution which we contemplate. Now we have got to see whether we have in the rephased Plan this intention in any way re-



flected. I beg to say that despite the pious wishes, despite the good intentions, despite the objective which is being sought to be achieved, sufficient emphasis has not been laid on agricultural production or increased production of food.

Let us see from the facts and figures what has been allocated to agriculture and agricultural development. According to the original Plan, the Centre had allocated Rs. 65 crores for agriculture and community development and the States have allocated Rs. 503 crores, that is, Rs. 568 crores or 11·8 per cent. of the total outlay. I concede that this figure is being maintained in the rephased Plan also and the Minister was pleased to say in his speech yesterday that there would be a further increase—I do not exactly remember the figure he mentioned—from Rs. 170 crores to Rs. 201 crores, that is, an addition of Rs. 31 crores or so. So far so good. But he admits too that there has been a general rise in prices by 14 per cent. Taking into consideration the increase in prices by 14 per cent., do we find that this reallocation or increase is commensurate with the importance of agricultural production? I would respectfully submit that in the rephased Plan the Planning Commission and the Planning Minister should have been serious enough to have considered the importance of agriculture in the developmental economy of the country. So my first objection is that sufficient emphasis has not been laid there.

Now, there is another aspect to this....

**Shri Tyagi:** Does my hon. friend realise that the allocation for agriculture and community development has been reduced from Rs. 568 crores to Rs. 510 crores?

**Sardar Ajit Singh Sarhadi:** It has been reduced. I am subject to correction. I thank my hon. friend for it.

**Shri Nanda:** The overall allocation has been reduced but for agriculture proper and for minor irrigation, it was increased.

**Sardar Ajit Singh Sarhadi:** So far as minor irrigation works are concerned, there has been a slight increase, but so far as actual expenditure on agriculture and increased food production is concerned, there has been a slight decrease. My contention is that taking into consideration the 14 per cent. increase in general in prices, there is no substantial increase in the allocation in the rephased Plan which we have got before us, and the emphasis which it has been stated must be laid on agricultural production is not reflected in the Plan that we have got before us.

My submission is, there is another aspect of the case. We are creating a Welfare State. What is the basis of the Welfare State? I would submit that the structure should start from below, and the unit should be the village as Mahatma Gandhi said. He knew the masses right. It should be the village units or the Development Blocks. We are doing what the West does. We have started the structure from above, the steel plants and the rest. I am not against industrial development. Industrial development in the present day world is actually necessary and it is the backbone of the country. But to us, who have got an agricultural economy, agricultural development is more important and if we think of creating a Welfare State we have to select from where we have to build the State. My submission is that the village or the Development Block should be the unit on which you can build the Welfare State.

Hence the approach we should make to the developmental economy of the country should be different from what the West has made. Our position should be that we should have the lowest unit a self-sufficient one. If we have to make the village

[Sardar Ajit Singh Sarhadi]

or the Development Block as a self-sufficient unit, we have got to look to two things. First the agricultural development as such and the second is the growth and increase the village and small scale industries.

Here again, if you look at the village industries and small scale industries, you will find that there is a reduction in expenditure, and that too a very substantial reduction. Whereas in the original allocation it was Rs. 200 crores for village industries and small scale industries, it has been decreased to Rs. 160 crores, a reduction of Rs. 40 crores. Does it fit in with our view of the development of agricultural economy? Are we paying that attention to village and small scale industries which is absolutely essential for making the village or the Development Block unit a self-sufficient unit?

My submission, therefore, is that with all respect and all deference to the views of the Planning Commission, we are on the wrong approach. We must look firstly to make the unit, whatever it is, as self-sufficient in its resources as possible. That would be building the Welfare State on the correct basis and that should be our foundation. Industrial development is good but it is very difficult to compete with the countries who are adept in that field and far ahead of us. As Shri Masani and Shri Asoka Mehta have pointed out, you cannot export a category which is not needed in another country. If you have got to export, you have got to export industrial raw materials and other things of the kind. Here again, you have got to approach the subject from this point: whether with the development of the steel mills and all that we would be gainers to that extent. I need not go into detail but I wish to submit that sufficient emphasis is not laid on agricultural economy which is necessary.

My second point is about the disparity between the investment per capita in the different States. I have had occasion to visit all the heavy industries in July and August. It gave me genuine pleasure to see new India arising—Bhilai, Durgapur, Rourkela, D.V.C. and all that. It is very good. When you are thinking of these heavy industries, you have got to see the entire country as a whole. If you look at the figures, you will find—I have misplaced the figures—that whereas the per capita investment in heavy industries is 13.66 in Punjab, it is about 98 and odd in Orissa, 58 in Bengal, 19 in Madras and so on. I would beg the hon. Planning Minister to look at this point. The disparity should not be so high as to make it handicap in respect of certain States. I concede we are one. But it is a question of employment. I also concede that in the matter of heavy industries, some disparity is bound to be there because the heavy industries depend on certain raw materials whose availability should be nearby and so on. But this can be compensated in some other ways. With regard to medium and small-scale industries Punjab has the biggest concentration, perhaps. Leaving aside handlooms, Punjab has the biggest concentration of the small scale and village industries. My constituency, Ludhiana, fortunately happens to be the centre of the small-scale and village industries. What do we find there? You must have read the report sometime back that many of the small units in Ludhiana—1200 units producing cycles and about 600 units producing sewing machines and a large number of others producing other small parts also—are in difficulties, because of lack of raw materials. Most of the units are closing and the other day I put a question. We earned foreign exchange by the export of hosiery to the extent of about Rs. 3-4 crores in 1951 but the amount has come down to Rs. 60 lakhs last year. You are losing that much foreign exchange simply be-

cause there is no proper standardised yarn. This is with regard to the hosiery industry. The same thing applies to sewing machines and cycle industries also. So, so far as the disparity in the per capita investment in heavy industries is concerned, that should be compensated in a different way. That can be done. In some states small-scale industries and village industries should be developed.

Punjab also produces the maximum cotton and exports it outside. In 1951, it had got one spinning mill and two composite mills. In 1956, it had two spinning mills and two composite mills with about 12,000 increase in spindlage. Punjab can have more textile mills in the private sector. There is no reason why more textile mills could not be introduced on a co-operative basis in the private sector.

So, my submission to the hon. Planning Minister is this. In the matter of planning of industries in the heavy industry sector, efforts should be made to remove the disparity that prevails in the States *inter se* and each State should be able to develop in its own way. There should thus be more employment opportunity because of the industrial development. I was looking at Rajasthan; it was even backward than Punjab. So, I would draw the attention of the hon. Minister to two things: emphasis on agriculture and secondly emphasis on the removal of disparities.

श्री अर्जुन सिंह भदौरिया : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं नियोजन या सैकंड फाइव इयर प्लान पर बोलने से पूर्व सब से पहले माननीय मंत्री का स्वागत करता हूँ, क्योंकि उन्होंने ने पहली बार द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना की सफलता के कम से कम कुछ भाग को स्वीकार किया है। यदि सबेरे का भूला हुआ शाम तक चर या जाय, तो उसे भूला हुआ नहीं कहा जा सकता है।

दूसरी बात उन्होंने जो कही है, वह यह है कि उन्होंने ने देश के सभी दलों से सहयोग की अपील-प्रार्थना की है। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यह बात कंठ से निकली है या हृदय से निकली है। अभी नौ दिन भी नहीं हुए—६ तारीख को हमारे माननीय प्रधान मंत्री महोदय ने खाद्य समस्या और उत्तर प्रदेश में होने वाले भ्रष्टाचारिक- (गैर-कानूनी) कामों पर, जो कि संसदीय संस्थाओं में नहीं होने चाहिये, और वहाँ पर होने वाली अन्य दुष्प्रथाओं पर विचार करने के लिये इसी सदन में दो घंटे का समय दिया था, लेकिन हमें दुःख है कि आज वह बाहर है और इस सदन से ही नहीं, वह हिन्दुस्तान से भी गायब है। कहीं ऐसा तो नहीं है कि जिस तरह से प्रधान मंत्री महोदय ने खाद्य समस्या को सुलझाने के लिये अःस्वासन दिया था, उसी तरीके की यह सहयोग की अपील की गई हो? लेकिन इससे पहले मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री, डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द जी, यहाँ पधारे थे, सहयोग की अपील करने से पहले। क्या इस विषय में उन से मशिवरा किया गया था? अगर मशिवरा नहीं किया, तो उत्तर प्रदेश की तरफ से मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आज की स्थिति में नियोजन मंत्री महोदय एक मिनिस्टर की हैसियत से नहीं, बल्कि व्यक्तिगत हैसियत से वहाँ जायें, और सहयोग की बात करें, तो पुलिस और सी० आई० डी० यह समझ कर, कि यह कोई सरकार-विरोधी है, उनको भी वहीं पर बन्द कर देगी, जहाँ पर कि सदन के चार पांच माननीय सदस्य बन्द हैं।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : क्या माननीय मंत्री जी के साथ आप भी जायेंगे ?

श्री अर्जुन सिंह भदौरिया : हम तो जाने वाले ही हैं। मैं तो शायद आज के बाद फिर इस सदन में आपके दर्शन भी नहीं कर सकूंगा।

## [श्री धर्मन सिंह जदौरिया ]

में यह दरखास्त करना चाहता हूँ कि सहयोग की अपील करने से पहले सहयोग का वातावरण बनाना जरूरी है। जब तक सहयोग का वातावरण नहीं बनता है, तब तक ये सब अपीलें बेकार जाती हैं, निरर्थक जाती हैं और उन का कोई भी प्रभाव किसी पर नहीं पड़ेगा।

उन्होंने एक नई क्रान्ति के लिये भी अपील की है। पता नहीं वह सामाजिक क्रान्ति है, या राजनैतिक क्रान्ति है, या केवल नियोजन में सहयोग की क्रान्ति है। क्रान्ति हमेशा शासकीय दल की तरफ से होती है। अगर आप चाहते हैं कि यह नियोजन कामयाब हो, यह द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना सफल हो तो इस के लिये सबसे पहले क्रान्ति कैबिनेट की तरफ से और ट्रेजरी बेंचिज—सरकारी बेंचिज की तरफ से होनी चाहिये। अगर उधर से रेवोल्यूशन होगा, क्रान्ति होगी, तो सारा मुल्क आकर्षित होगा और मुल्क के निवासी जो कुछ कर सकेंगे, वह करने के लिये तैयार होंगे।

किसी भी मुल्क के विकास, तरक्की और उन्नति के लिये योजनाबद्ध कार्य आवश्यक है, लेकिन योजना किसके लिये हो, सब से पहले यह निश्चित करना है। अगर योजना बनाई जाये, तो वह मुट्ठी भर लोगों के लिये बनाई जाये, या करोड़ों लोगों के लिये बनाई जाय, सब से पहले इस बात का निश्चय किया जाना चाहिये। अगर यह निश्चित हो जाय कि योजना किसके लिये हो, तो दोबारा यह विचार किया जा सकता है कि योजना हो कौसी? श्रीमान्, योजना की सफलता और असफलता, या किसी भी मुल्क के विकास और उत्थान को जानने के लिये कुछ पैमाने होते हैं, जिन से यह ज्ञात होता है कि उस मुल्क ने तरक्की की है या नहीं। हमारी द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना सफल हुई है या नहीं उच्च के अन्तर्गत मुल्क का कुछ विकास हुआ है

या नहीं, यह जानने के लिये हमको अपने देश की विभिन्न परिस्थितियों को देखना होगा। यह देखना होगा कि धन, धावास, धायात और प्रति व्यक्ति घीसत आदमी के विषय में हमारे देश की क्या स्थिति है, उसमें कुछ उन्नति हुई है या नहीं।

धन के प्रश्न पर विचार करने पर यह मालूम पड़ता है कि द्वितीय पंच वर्षीय योजना नाकामयाब हुई, क्योंकि अगर वह कामयाब होती, तो धन की समस्या हल होती, भूख से मरने वालों की संख्या कम होती। आज कुछ लोग तो धन से मर रहे हैं और कुछ लोग भूख की ज्वाला से जल जल कर मर रहे हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में यह नहीं कहा जा सकता है कि धन का सवाल हल हुआ है।

धन के बाद अगर धावास के प्रश्न को लिया जाय, तो हमें ज्ञात होता है कि आज भी हमारे मुल्क के करोड़ों इन्सान खुले आसमान के नीचे धरती का बिस्तर लगा कर सोते हैं। आसमान के नीचे फुटपाथ पर लेटने वाले इन्सानों के लिये अगर शोप-ड्रियों का भी इंतजाम किया गया होता, तो यह कहा जा सकता था कि योजना कामयाब हुई है।

जहां तक धायात का प्रश्न है, जो हिन्दुस्तान किसी समय धन का भंडार था, उस में आज गल्ता बिदेशों से आ रहा है और उस के साथ ही साथ शूंगार की सामग्री भी इतनी प्रचुर मात्रा में आती है कि हिन्दुस्तान का करोड़ों और अरबों रुपया, जोकि हमारे काम आ सकता था, बिदेशों में आ रहा है। अगर धायात कम हुआ होता, बाहर से आने वाली सामग्री की मात्रा कम हुई होती, तो कहा जा सकता था कि मुल्क ने विकास किया, द्वितीय पंच वर्षीय योजना कामयाब हुई। लेकिन धायात के मामले में जो हम द्वितीय पंच-वर्षीय योजना की शुरुआत ही नाकामयाब समझते हैं।

इसी तरह से अगर हम औसत आमदनी को लें, तो हम पाते हैं कि १९५० में हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश की प्रति व्यक्ति औसत आमदनी २१२ रुपये थी, लेकिन आज वह घट कर १९२ रुपये हो गई है। इसी तरह से भारतवर्ष की प्रति व्यक्ति औसत आमदनी २६२ रुपये थी, लेकिन वह भी घट रही है। पिछले दिनों दैनिक हिन्दुस्तान में एक आर्टिकल निकला था और उस के साथ ही इसी सदन में श्री कृष्ण मेनन ने स्वीकार किया था कि हिन्दुस्तान की औसत आमदनी गिरती चली जा रही है। जब औसत आमदनी गिर रही है तो यह कैसे कहा जा सकता है कि हमारा जीवन स्तर ऊंचा हो रहा है ?

**Shri Nanda:** He is describing something about a Minister. I would like to know what he is referring to.

**उपस्थित महोदय :** क्या माननीय सदस्य बतलायेंगे कि श्री कृष्ण मेनन ने कब कहा, कहां कहा और ठीक ठीक क्या कहा ?

**श्री अर्जुन सिंह भदौरिया :** जिस प्रसंग में कहा गया है और जो कुछ कहा गया है वह उनकी स्पीच में जो कि डिबेट में है, आप के समक्ष उपस्थित किया जा सकता है।

**उपस्थित महोदय :** कुछ हवाला दीजिये कि कौन सी तारीख को कहा।

**श्री अर्जुन सिंह भदौरिया :** मैं केवल यह कह रहा हूँ कि मजदूरी बढ़ता हो गया ज्यों ज्यों दबा की। जिस तरह से हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना बढ़ती चली जा रही है उसी तरह से हमारे देश के अन्दर रोग भी बढ़ता चला जा रहा है, मजदूरी भी बढ़ता चला जा रहा है। मुझे तो ऐसा मालूम होता है कि "नीम हकीम बतलारामे जान" वाली बात है। आज जिन लोगों के हाथों में गरीब भारतीय भारत के नियोजन की बात सुपुर्द की गई है, उन लोगों

को हिन्दुस्तान के ग्रामों में रहने वाले लोगों के बारे में सब से कम जानकारी है और यदि यह कहा जाए कि जानकारी है ही नहीं तो कोई प्रतिशयोक्ति नहीं होगी। इसीलिए आज अगर विकास किया जा रहा है तो यह सबसे पहले दिल्ली का विकास और वह भी नई दिल्ली का किया जा रहा है। उसके बाद अगर विकास होता है तो राज्यों में जो छोटी छोटी राजधानियां हैं, उनका होता है। ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि दो चार या पांच सालों में दिल्ली तो पेरिस बन जाएगी लेकिन जो देहातों में रहने वाले करोड़ों लोग हैं, करोड़ों इंसान हैं, उनके हड्डियों के ढेर इकट्ठे हो जाएंगे। वे लोग तो उजड़ जायेंगे और दिल्ली पेरिस बन जाएगी। दिल्ली में जो लोग निवास करेंगे वे उसी प्रकार का आनन्द और लुफ्त उठायेंगे जिस प्रकार का आनन्द और लुफ्त लोग पेरिस में उठाते हैं।

श्रीमन् मेरा निवेदन यह है कि अगर आप सहयोग की अपील करते हैं, सहयोग मांगते हैं, और चाहते हैं कि आपको सहयोग मिले तो जब योजना तैयार हो, तो उसको तैयार करने से पहले ही सहयोग मांगें और अगर उस वक्त सहयोग मांगा जाए तो उस पर विचार किया जा सकता है। प्लान बनाते वक्त तो आप शीर्षासन करेंगे और जब आप के पैरों का खून आपकी छांलों में आ जाएगा तब अगर आप धाहेंगे कि जनता आपके साथ सहयोग करे तो उस वक्त सहयोग कभी नहीं किया जा सकता है। सहयोग कोई मानने नहीं रखता है उस सूरत में जबकि प्लान बनाते समय शीर्षासन करने की बरूरत पड़े। इसलिए

[श्री धर्मुन सिंह मधौरिया]

भगर सरकार चाहती है कि सारी योजना को कामयाबी से चलाया जाए और चाहती है कि देश का मस्तिष्क ऊँचा हो तो इस सारी की सारी बची हुई योजना को तोड़ा जाना चाहिए और नए सिरे से नई योजना बनाई जानी चाहिये और इसको नई जिन्दगी दी जानी चाहिये और मिल करके यह तय किया जाना चाहिये कि किस तरह से योजना बनाई जाए जिससे "बहुजन हिताय बहुजन सुखाय" वह बन सके, जिस में ज्यादा से ज्यादा भ्रादमियों का हित हो, जिसमें अधिक से अधिक लोगों का सहयोग मिले। ऐसी भगर योजना बनाई जाती है तो बिरोधी बल के लोग भी योजना को सफल बनाने में आप से सहयोग कर सकते हैं।

खाद के मामले में, भ्रज के मामले में, जो संकट भ्राज हमारे सामने उपस्थित है, इसको यदि दूर करना है और इस समस्या को हल करना है तो जो गांवों में बसने वाले किसान हैं और जो भारी कर्ज के बोझ से दबे हुए हैं, उनको उस कर्ज से आपको मुक्त करना होगा जिससे वे उत्पादन को बढ़ा सकें और साथ ही साथ उसका उपभोग भी कर सकें। जब वे उत्पादन बढ़ायेंगे और उसका उपभोग भी आप ही करेंगे तो उनको और दूसरे कर्ज की आवश्यकता नहीं होगी।

भ्राज ६५ करोड़ रुपया फर्टिलाइजर्स खरीद पर, कृत्रिम खाद पर जो कि विदेशों से मंगाई जा रही है खर्च किया जा रहा है। बजाय इसके कि आप इतना रुपया इस पर खर्च करें भगर इसको रोक करके आप गांवों के भन्दर पड़े हुए कड़े और कड़कट को इकट्ठा करके उसका कम्पोस्ट खाद बना दें और उस कम्पोस्ट खाद के लिए किसानों सबसिद्धी या सह्यता दी जाए तो वहाँ रहने वाले लोगों के भन्दर कुछ भरण आ सकती है, कुछ उनके

खन्दर उत्साह पैदा हो सकता है। ऐसा भगर किया जाए तो विदेशों से खाद मंगाने की या मिलों और कारखानों से खाद खरीदने की जरूरत आपको महसूस नहीं होगी। आपने कहा है कि यह जो ६५ करोड़ रुपया है यह रुपया विदेशों से प्राप्त होगा। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि जो कुछ भी प्राश्वासन अभी आपको इंग्लैण्ड और अमरीका में प्राप्त हो रहे हैं और भ्राज जो बयान हमारे नियोजन मन्त्री महोदय ने दिया है, जिसमें कि उन्होंने कुछ असफलता की बात कही है, उसको देखते हुए कहीं ऐसा न हो कि अमरीका वाले तथा दूसरे लोग यह सोच करके कि जो योजना है वह फेल हो रही है इसलिए क्यों कर्ज दिया जाए, वे कर्ज ही न दें, हमको डर मालूम पड़ता है कि जो भी कर्ज के प्राश्वासन मिले हैं कहीं ऐसा न हो कि उनको पूरा ही न किया जाए, विदेशों से जो पूँजी आने वाली है या विदेशों से जो कर्ज की राशि आने वाली है वह कहीं रुक न जाए। इस वास्तं में चाहंगा कि आप विदेशों के ऊपर निर्भर रह करके कोई योजना तैयार न करें। हम जो भगर योजना को तैयार करना है, तो अपने साधनों के मुताबिक, अपनी शक्ति को देखते हुए ही तैयार करना है। 'तेरे पांव पसारिये, जंती लम्बी सौरा' हमको उतने ही पांव पसारने चाहिये जितनी लम्बी चादर हो। लेकिन यहाँ पर बिल्कुल ही उल्टा होता है। सब से पहले यह देखा जाता है कि हमारा खर्चा कितना होगा, विभाग अपने अपने खर्चों को डिपार्टमेंट के पास भेजते हैं और जब सब खर्च आ जाते हैं तब देखा जाता है कि हमारी भ्रामदनी कितनी होगी। जब पता चलता है कि हमारी भ्रामदनी कम होगी तो बाद में उतना खर्चा लाद दिया जाता है या टैक्स लगा दिये जाते हैं। ऐसा न करके सब से पहले देखा जाए कि हमारी भ्रामदनी कितनी है और जितनी भ्रामदनी हो, उसी के अन्तर्गत उचित हुए हमको खर्च भी करना चाहिए। भगर इस तरह से आप

बजटिंग करेंगे, अगर आप आमदनी और खर्च को देख करके प्लान बनायेंगे और देश को उस तरह से बसायेंगे तो यह बहुत मुमकिन है कि हम थोड़े दिनों के अन्दर उस योजना को जो कि बहुत दिनों से चली आ रही है फिर भी वहीं है, आगे बढ़ा सकें और जो कमी है उसको दूर कर सकें।

साव की बातत मैं एक और दूसरी बात कहना चाहता हूँ। हमारे मुल्क के अन्दर इन्सान से निकलने वाले मलमूत्र की जो शक्ति है वह एक मन प्रमोनियम सल्ट के बराबर होती है। हमारे मुल्क के ८० प्रति इंसान देहातों में रहते हैं। मैं चाहूंगा कि केन्द्रीय सरकार और विशेष कर हमारे नियोजन मन्त्री महोदय वह वैज्ञानिकों से अपील करें तथा कुछ नए वैज्ञानिक इस चीज को देखने के लिये नियुक्त करें कि देहातों और शहरों में नष्ट होने वाले मलमूत्र को खराब होने से कैसे बचाया जा सकता है और किस तरह से उसका पूरा पूरा उपयोग हो सकता है, इस पर विचार करें और उपाय सुझायें। अगर उमका अच्छी तरह से उपयोग किया गया तो मैं आपको बतला सकता हूँ कि अन्न का उत्पादन बढ़ सकता है।

कृषि के साथ साथ मैं आबपाशी के सम्बन्ध में भी कुछ कहना चाहूंगा। जब तक अच्छी सिंचाई का इन्तजाम नहीं होगा, अन्न की पैदावार को बढ़ाया नहीं जा सकता है। अन्न की पैदावार बढ़ाने के लिए यह जो भासड़ा नंगल योजना आपने हाथ में ली है और जिसको दस वर्षों से आप बना रहे हैं तथा जिस पर आप घरबों रुपया खर्च कर रहे हैं और जहां पर कभी बांध टूटता है, और कभी आपको घाटा पड़ता है, कभी वहां चोरी भी हुंता है उसको पकड़ते हैं और इतना होने पर तथा इतना रुपया खर्च कर चुकने के बाद आप यह नहीं कह सकते हैं कि उसके उसके पुरा होने में धमी कितने वर्ष और लगेंगे, इसके बचाव आप छोटे छोटे कुएं बनवा करके

और उन कुओं में रहट लगा करके हर सल दस लाख कुएं गांव वालों को दें तो आपको पैदावार कई गुना बढ़ सकती है। एक कुएं से २० एकड़ जमीन की सिंचाई हो सकती है। इस हिसाब से अगर आप दस लाख कुएं बनवा दें तो दो करोड़ एकड़ जमीन की सिंचाई आसानी से हो सकती है। अगर इन छोटी छोटी योजनाओं का हाथ में लिया गया होता तो इन पिछड़े पिछले दस सालों में बीस करोड़ एकड़ जमीन की सिंचाई का इन्तजाम हो गया होता। अब भी समय है कि इस पर गौर किया जाए और इसको अमल में लाया जाए।

योजना के बारे में एक बात मुझे यह कहनी है कि—

“अभी और जीता मरीचे मुहब्बत,  
तबीबो तुम्हारी मुहब्बत ने मारा।”

ये जो आपकी दबायें हैं, ये जो आपकी अदायें हैं, ये सारे हिन्दुस्तान को मारती हुई चली जा रही हैं। इस वास्ते हमको बुनियादी तौर पर विचार करना है कि हिन्दुस्तान को नये ढांचे में ढालने के लिए हिन्दुस्तान को नये आधार पर बनाने के लिये हमें किस अर्थ व्यवस्था का सहारा लेना है। ऊपरी तौर पर अगर कोई योजना बनाई जाती है तो वह किमी काम की नहीं हो सकती है। हम ने योजना बनाते समय धमरीका की या दूसरे मुल्कों की नकल की है और इस तरह से नकल करके हमारा काम नहीं चल सकता है। हम को उस योजना को विकेंद्रित आधार पर बनाना चाहिये था, उसका निर्माण करना चाहिये था और अगर ऐसा किया गया होता तो यह योजना कामयाब हो सकती थी। मेरा निवेदन यह है कि योजना बनाने के पूर्व इस बात पर ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिये था कि बेकारी किस तरह से दूर की जा सकती है।

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लेकिन हम देख रहे हैं कि मुतवातर हमारे मुल्क के अन्दर बेकारों की संख्या बढ़ती चली जा रही है, और आज हालत यह है कि हमारे

### [श्री अर्जुन सिंह मर्वारिया]

मुल्क के अन्दर लगभग ७ करोड़ इन्सान बेकार हैं। इन ७ करोड़ इन्सानों को काम देने के लिये आप बड़ी बड़ी मिलें, शकर मिलें, कपड़ा मिलें, भिलाई और दुर्गापुर के इस्पात कारखानें बना रहे हैं। ठीक है, लेकिन इन बड़ी बड़ी मिलों से ७ करोड़ इन्सानों का काम नहीं दे सकते हैं, क्योंकि अगर हम शकर की मिल चलाते हैं तो एक मिल में १ करोड़ रुपया खर्च होता है और उस १ करोड़ २० को खर्च करने के बाद आप ज्यादा से ज्यादा १,००० आदमियों को काम दे सकते हैं। इसी तरह से अगर एक कपड़ा मिल बिठाई जाय तो उस में २ करोड़ २० लगता है लेकिन १,००० आदमियों से ज्यादा को काम नहीं मिल सकता है। आप बड़ी बड़ी मिलें बना कर बेकारी को दूर नहीं कर सकते हैं। इस लिये अगर आप छोटे छोटे उद्योग धंधों को शुरू करें, छोटे छोटे काम चलायें, तो उन से ज्यादा आदमियों को काम दे सकते हैं। इस लिये विकेंद्रित अर्थनीति पर काम किया जाय तो उस से मुमकिन है कि बेकारी को दूर कर सकें और इस समस्या को सुलझा सकें।

श्री न बंश स्नातक (अलीगढ़—रहित—अनुमूचित जातियां) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय मंत्री जी ने अपने भाषण में द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के बारे में कुछ बातें रहीं। यदि आप किसी भी देश के स्टैंडर्ड आफ लिविंग को देखना है, तो सब से पहले आप को यह देखना होगा कि उस देश के रहने वालों का स्तर कैसा है। पहली पंच वर्षीय योजना के अन्दर हम ने जो लक्ष्य रखे थे, उन में हम ने बहुत कुछ कामयाबी प्राप्त की और बहुत सी चीजों में हम अपने लक्ष्य तक पहुंच सके। परन्तु जैसा कि माननीय मंत्री जी ने बतलाया, द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में हम ने करीब ४८ अरब रुपये के खर्च का अनुमान लगाया था। उस के बाद आर्थिक कठिनाइयों के कारण उस में कुछ कमी कर दी गई और वह ४८ अरब रुपया घटा कर ४५ अरब कर

दिया गया। फिर कुछ सरकारी महकमों में आवश्यकता समझी गई, माननीय मंत्री जी में समझा, योजना आयोग के सदस्यों ने समझा कि कुछ सरकारी महकमों में हमें और काम करना चाहिये। इस लिये धन की राशि बढ़ गई और जब डेढ़ सौ करोड़ और बढ़ा दिया गया। इस तरह से अब द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में कुल मिला कर साढ़े ४६ अरब रुपया रखा गया है। यदि इसी तरह से हम कुछ महीनों के बाद या एक साल के बाद अपनी योजना में वृद्धि करते गये तो में समझता हूं कि यह खर्च ५० अरब रुपये तक पहुंच जायगा। मंत्री महोदय तथा आयोग के अन्य सदस्यों ने यह सोचा कि जो डेढ़ सौ रुपये की कमी है उस को पूरा किया जाये और उस के लिये उन्होंने दो तीन सुझाव रख कि उन के अनुसार रुपया लिया जाये। उस के लिये उन्होंने कहा कि ५० करोड़ २० अल्प बचत योजना से लिया जाय, ३० करोड़ २० जो सरकार के प्राम्बद्ध खर्च बढ़ गये हैं उन से काटा जाय और ६० करोड़ २० नये टैक्सेशन से वसूल किया जाय। प्लैनिंग कमिशन की ओर से इस तरह के सुझाव रखे गये।

में मंत्री महोदय से कहना चाहता हूं कि पहले और दूसरे सुझाव तो माने जा सकते हैं, अल्प बचत योजना से और सरकार का जो प्राम्बद्ध खर्च है, उस में कमी करके तो रुपया वसूल किया जा सकता है, परन्तु तीसरा जो सुझाव है कि रुपया टैक्सेशन से वसूल किया जाय, देश में फैली हुई बेकारी और मन्दी के कारण उस का वसूल करना कठिन होगा। राज्य सरकारों को वैसे ही जो १४ करोड़ २० जो करों से वसूल करना है, वह वसूल नहीं हो सका है, उस के ऊपर यदि वह ६० करोड़ रुपया और वसूल किया जायगा तो वह सम्भव नहीं ही लगेगा जो हमारे विरोधी बस के लोग हैं ऐसे टैक्स लगाये जाने पर, उन के विजाफ भातक



प्रोपैमेंट्स और एजिटेशन करने का उनको प्रवसर मिलेगा। और जो सुझाव मंत्री यहीष्य ने ६० करोड़ रुपये वसूल करने का रक्बा है वह कभी पूर्ण नहीं हो सकेगा। मेरा कहना यह है, और मैं समझता हूँ कि अन्य माननीय सचस्य भी मुझ से सहमत होंगे कि जो हमारी प्रल्प बचत योजना है, उस को ज्यादा क्रियाशील बनाया जाये और इस के साथ ही साथ जो हमारा टक्स वसूल करने का तरीका है उस को भी ठीक किया जाये। इस में सब से बड़ी बात यह है कि टैक्स वसूल करने के लिये जो लोग गांव में जाते हैं उन की वसूली का ङंग बहुत खराब है जिससे कि उन को पूरा बन वसूल नहीं हो पाता है। गवर्नमेंट को चाहिये कि वह अच्छे लोग रखे ताकि जो लोग आज गवर्नमेंट को टैक्स नहीं देते उन से ज्यादा से ज्यादा वसूल किया जाये। यदि आप इस तरह से करेंगे तो मैं समझता हूँ कि जनता के ऊपर भी बहुत बोझ नहीं पड़ेगा और द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में, जिस के लिये कहा जा रहा है कि वह असफल हो रही है, हमें असफलता का मुंह नहीं देखना पड़ेगा।

हमारे कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने कृषि के सम्बन्ध में मुझसे आप के सामने रखे, कुछ सदस्यों ने उद्योग धंधों के बारे में सुझाव रखे और कुछ ने सिखा के बारे में सुझाव रखे। आप जानते हैं कि हमारा देश एक कृषि प्रधान देश है। इसमें रहने वाले ८० फी सदी व्यक्ति किसान हैं। इसलिये हमारे यहां कृषि का जो स्तर है, वह बहुत ऊंचा होना चाहिये। आज कृषि के सम्बन्ध में भारत सरकार या राज्य सरकारें जो योजनायें बना रहीं हैं, ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि वे केवल पुस्तकों में ही रक्ब दी जाती हैं। आज बड़े बड़े अफसर, जो पढ़े लिखे लोग हैं, इसलिये कि उन की बचल न चलना पड़े, किसी एक स्थान पर पहुंच जाते हैं। वे सहरों की बोड़ी बहुत बार्ते कभी कभी वहाँ के लोगों को धता जी देते हैं। लेकिन जो हमारे ग्रामों में रहने वाली जनता है वह कृषि के बारे में

जो अफसर कृषि के विशेषज्ञ कहे जाते हैं, उन से कहीं ज्यादा जानती है। लेकिन हमारी सरकार ऐसे लोगों को भेजती है, जिसका फल यह होता है कि हमारी कृषि की जो उन्नति होनी चाहिये वह नहीं हो पाती है। मेरा माननीय मंत्री जी से यह कहना है कि इस पर जो लुर्च हो रहा है उसे रोका जाये। भारत कृषि एक कृषि प्रधान देश है इसलिये उसी में कृषि की और ज्यादा ध्यान दिया जाये जिस से कि हमारे यहां अन्न का उत्पादन बढ़ सके और जो अरबों रुपया हम बाहर से अन्न मंगाने के लिये खर्च करते हैं उसे बचाया जाये ताकि अपनी द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के लुर्च में जो काट छांट हमें करनी पड़ रही है उस से हम बच सकें। आज हमारी सरकार अन्न के मामले में बहुत परेशान दिखाई पड़ती है और हम विदेशों को अपना पैसा अन्न मंगाने के लिये भेजते हैं। मैं चाहूंगा कि वह समय आये जब कि हमें इस मामले में अपना धन व्यय न करना पड़े। हम अपने देश को कृषि के बारे में ज्यादा से ज्यादा उन्नतिशील बनायें ताकि हम अपने ही पैरों पर खड़े हो सकें। एक ऐसा वक्त था जब कि हम दुनियां को अन्न और खाने की चीजों को देते थे, लेकिन आज हमारा दुर्भाग्य है कि हमें इन चीजों को दूसरे देशों से मंगाना पड़ रहा है, मैं चाहता हूँ कि उस स्थिति का अन्त हो।

दूसरी चीज यह कही गई है कि उद्योग धंधों की उन्नति होनी चाहिये। काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज, बिलेज इंडस्ट्रीज की उन्नति के लिये हमें कल कारखाने खोलने चाहिये। यह ठीक है कि आज देश के अन्दर बहुत सी इंडस्ट्रीज चल रही हैं, कहीं कोई बाध बन रहा है, कहीं नहरे बंद रही हैं, न मालूम कितने तरह के काम हो रहे हैं। लेकिन जरूरत यह है कि राज्यों के अन्दर छोटे छोटे उद्योग धंधों को प्रारम्भ किया जाय, जिलों के अन्दर और गांवों के अन्दर उन का प्रसार किया जाये। मैं समझता हूँ कि इसी तरह से हमारी जनता अपने पैरों

## [श्री नरदेव स्नातक]

नर खड़ी हो सकेगी और आज जो घरों में रुपया खर्च कर के हम बाहर से चीजें मंगते हैं उनको न मंगा कर अपन ही देश में पैदा कर सकेंगे ।

एक बात मुझे और कहनी है और वह यह कि यह तो ठीक है कि आज हमारे बहुत से विभाग खुल गये और बहुत सी चीजें और कार्य हमारे देश के अन्दर चल रहे हैं । मेरा यह कहना है कि यह तो ठीक है कि हमारा देश सदियों तक गुलाम रहा है और गुलामी के बाद हमको आजादी मिली है और इन १०, ११ वर्षों के दौरान में हमने देश में काफी तरक्की की । उसके साथ साथ हमारी सरकार भी यह चाहती है कि बहुत से उद्योग धंधे और बहुत से कल कारखाने इस देश में खोले और खुल भी गये हैं । मेरा यह कहना है कि इतनी चीजों को और इतने विस्तार को न बढ़ाया जाय जिससे कि उसको समेटने में भी परेशानी हो । थोड़ा थोड़ा करके चीजों को बढ़ाया जाय और जब उसमें पूर्णता प्राप्त हो जाय तब दूसरी दूसरी चीजे जनता के सामने रखी जाय । ऐसा न हा कि सैकड़ों चीजें एक साथ फैला दी जाय और उनको समेटने में परेशानी अनुभव हो मेरा प्लानिंग कमिशन के मेम्बरो कहना है कि वह योजनाओं को थोड़े रूप में और एक ऐसे आकर्षक ढंग से रखें जिससे कि हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति सुधरे और हमारा जो रहन-सहन का स्तर है वह ऊंचा उठे । इसलिये माननीय मंत्री से यह कहना है कि वह इस देश में जो घरेलू छोटे मोटे उद्योग धंधे और कोटेंज इंडस्ट्रीज है उनकी तरफ ध्यान दें और उनको प्रोत्साहन दें ।

तीसरी बात जो सबसे महत्वपूर्ण है और वह यह है कि शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में आप जानते हैं कि हमारा देश किसी जमाने में जगतगुरु कहा जाता था । दुनिया के दूसरे देश वाले यहां पर आते थे और यहां से

विज्ञान आदि विषयों की चीजें सीख सीख कर आते थे । आज दुर्भाग्य का विषय यह है कि हमारे देशवासी दूसरे देशों में शिक्षा के लिये जाते हैं और वहां से बहुत सी चीजें सीख कर अपने देश में आते हैं । मेरा प्लानिंग कमिशन के मेम्बरो से यह कहना है कि वह अपने योजनाओं के अन्दर सबसे पहले इस देश की औ संस्कृति है जो यहां की शिक्षा है जो यहां का आदर्श है, उसकी ओर ध्यान दें ताकि उनका विस्तार ज्यादा से ज्यादा इस देश के अंदर हो जिससे ऐसा न हो कि दूसरे मुक्त वाले यह सोचें कि इन ११ वर्षों के बाद भी देश वहीं का वहीं है जहां कि वह अंग्रेजों के राज्य में था । जो अंग्रेजियत इस देश के अन्दर अंग्रेजों के शासन-काल में फैली, वह अंग्रेजियत आज हम देखते हैं कि हालांकि अंग्रेज हिन्दुस्तान से चले गये हैं लेकिन उस अंग्रेजियत का यहां पर खूब बोलबाला है । ऐसा न हो कि आज हालांकि हम आजाद हो गये हैं लेकिन दूसरे देश वाले हम हिन्दुस्तानियों को गुलाम ही खयाल करें । हम चाहते हैं कि दूसरे लोग भी हमको आजाद समझें ।

यह ठीक है कि हमारे देश ने पिछले कई वर्षों में काफी उन्नति की है और उसके कारण दूसरे देशवासी हिन्दुस्तान के रहने वालों को बड़ी इज्जत की निगाह से देखते हैं । लेकिन जब हम अपने देश के अन्दर निगाह डालते हैं तो हम देखते हैं कि हर काम में जो भी यहां पर शुरू किये जाते हैं, जब तक विदेशी लोग यहां के देशवासियों को उनको सिखते नहीं, तब तक हमारे लोग उन कामों को करने में असमर्थ रहते हैं । हमें बहुत कुछ उन कामों के लिये विदेशियों पर निर्भर रहना पड़ता है । हमें स्वयं अपने पैरों पर खड़ा होना है ताकि हम अपनी शिक्षा के स्तर को ऊंचा कर सकें अपनी संस्कृति और अपने विचारों का ज्यादा से ज्यादा इस देश के अन्दर प्रचार और विस्तार कर

सकें। मंत्री महोदय ये मेरा यह कहना है कि शिक्षा के बारे में वह ध्यान दें।

चौथी बात जो मुझे कहनी है वह यह है कि जो हमारे बैंकबर्द क्लासेज और शोइयूल्ड कास्ट्स के भाई हैं आज वे हर तरीके से शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में, आर्थिक क्षेत्र में और ग्राम क्षेत्रों में वे सबसे लोगों की धरंशा बहुत पिछड़े हुए हैं और उनका स्टैंडर्ड बहुत नीचे गिर गया है। मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि आयोग की आयोजना के अन्दर कोई ऐसी व्यवस्था रखनी चाहिये ताकि जो पिछड़े कहे जाने वाले लोग हैं, शोइयूल्ड कास्ट्स और शोइयूल्ड ट्राइक्स के लोग जिनकी कि भाषाभाषी देश की कुल जन संख्या की भाषे से ज्यादा है, उनकी हालत सुधारी जाय और ऐसा न हो कि वे बैसे के बैसे ही बैंकबर्द और पिछड़े हुए बने रहें। ऐसा न हो कि ग्राम अपनी योजना के अन्दर घरबों रुपया खर्च करते रहें और वे नेगलेक्टेड लोग फिर भी नेगलेक्टेड रहें और उससे फस्ट्रेट हो कर वे बहक जाय और सबर्ण जाति के लोगों का एक भ्रम दल बन जाय और यह नीचे गिरे हुये अछूत और बैंकबर्द क्लासेज के लोग अपना एक भ्रम दल बना लें और कहीं वे यह न सोचने लगें कि जब यह सरकार हमारी दशा सुधारने की ओर कोई ध्यान नहीं देती तो फिर हम अपना कोई भ्रम दल ब्लाक क्यों न बना लें और उधर सबर्ण लोग अपना एक भ्रम दल बना लें। मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार की ऐसी मंशा कदापि नहीं है और न ही यहां के देशवासियों की ही ऐसी मंशा हो सकती है। लेकिन मैंने जिस सतरे की ओर सरकार का ध्यान दिलाया है उस की ओर सरकार को ध्यान देना चाहिये और इन लोगों की आर्थिक अवस्था में सुधार करना चाहिये और शिक्षा के स्तर को ऊंचा करना चाहिये और उनके रहन सहन के स्तर को भी उन्नत करना चाहिये। यदि ग्राम इस प्रकार का प्रयत्न करेंगे तो मुझे आशा है कि हमारा देश सब्ण वर्षों में एक स्वतन्त्र और उन्नतिशील

राष्ट्र कहलाने का अधिकारी होगा। भारत का आजादी मिलने के बाद इधर १०, ११ वर्षों में जो उसने योजनायें बनाई हैं और जिन पर उसने काम भी किया है वह सराहनीय है और मुझे आशा है कि अगर इसी तरह हम सावधान हो कर कार्य करते रहे और काम करने में जुटे रहे तो हमारे देश का स्टैंडर्ड सब दृष्टियों से इतना ऊंचा हो जायगा कि जिससे ग्रन्थ देशवासी यह कहेंगे कि वह हिन्दुस्तान जो कि सैकड़ों वर्षों तक गुलामी की जंजीरों में जकड़ा रहा, वह अब आजादी की सांस ले रहा है और वह हाथ पर हाथ धर कर बैठा हुआ नहीं है वरन् राष्ट्र निर्माण के काम में जुटा हुआ है और दुनिया की उन्नति में अपना भाग भदा कर रहा है। मंत्री महोदय से मेरा यही निवेदन है कि जिन दो, चार बातों की ओर मैंने उनका ध्यान दिलाया है उनकी ओर वे गम्भीरतापूर्वक ध्यान देंगे और ऐसा करने से मुझे विश्वास है कि जिस द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना को ग्राम पूरा करना चाहते हैं उसको ग्राम कामयाबी के साथ पूरा कर सकेंगे।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Shri Satyendra Narayan Sinha. Shri U. C. Patnaik and Shri Naushir Bharucha will have a chance tomorrow.

**Shri Satyendra Narayan Sinha** (Aurangabad-Bihar): **Mr. Deputy-Speaker,** Sir, I agree with my hon. friend Shri Morarka when he said that there cannot be any difference of opinion on the proposition that the Plan size is just the minimum size which is needed according to the needs of the country. The need of the country is to maintain at least the existing living standards of the people. The other day, the Prime Minister while addressing the Federation of Chambers of Commerce also said that if we have to maintain the existing standard of living, we will have to go in for a plan which will envisage an investment of the order of Rs. 4,000 crores at least. If we have to make any

[Shri Satyendra Narayan Sinha]

sensible impression on the standard of living as is our intention and aim, we have got to add something more to it. Judging from this point of view, I do realise that the Plan is of the size which is required and it is unfortunate that on account of the situation which has developed, we are obliged to cut down the size of the Plan to some extent.

But, I am really sorry to find one thing. In May 1958, when the Planning Commission presented a Memo of appraisal and prospect of the Plan, they envisaged that there will be need for about Rs. 240 crores more, a shortfall in our resources. And yesterday again they presented us with a re-appraisal which shows that the shortfall is likely to be anything between Rs. 300 and Rs. 350 crores. One wonders how many times the Planning Commission will go on revising its estimates. If we look at the estimates of the steel plants, we find that they have jumped from Rs. 350 to Rs. 495 crores, and I understand that the figure is likely to go up further to Rs. 510 crores. In respect of other projects also, there are such increases. Therefore, it leads me to think that the Planning Commission while preparing these projects, either does not go into the details, or a certain amount of re-orientation is needed in the approach with regard to the preparation of the estimates for these plans. Otherwise, the country is faced with a situation which we can call a dilemma, where either you have to forego certain of your necessities and undergo certain hardships and sufferings, or you have got to fulfil the projects by cutting down certain other essential items of the Plan.

For instance, as the hon. Planning Minister said, there will be unfavourable reaction on the items of social services. Therefore, it will be my earnest submission to the Planning Minister that in preparing plans, some greater scrutiny and care ought to be shown, so that we will not be

faced with one revision after another. I hope that this will be their final revision and there will be no further revision hereafter.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member may continue tomorrow.

Amendments 15 and 18 shall also be deemed to have been moved. The hon. Members have intimated to me that they desire to move them.

Pandit K. C. Sharma (Hapur): I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that—

- (1) Greater emphasis be laid on the production of food, securing a balanced diet for the peasant, technological development and provision for adequate and modern equipment and the transforming of agriculture into an industrial enterprise and the speedy scientific development thereof.
- (2) First priority be given to agriculture and the allied industries, the second important place to the basic industries and the allied operations, and progress be speedily achieved therein.
- (3) The third place be allotted to the consumers industries and other secondary industries and their modernisation and scientific development be taken up.
- (4) Taking the national resources into consideration, the securing of new welfare services

and implementation of social development schemes be re-examined and the services and schemes not imperatively necessary, be postponed till the resources are available for their implementation."

**Shrimati Ha Falchoudhuri (Nabad-wip):** I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that—

- (1) After the strain which the country has felt in trying to implement even the revised aspects of the Plan, the people must be enabled to feel the effects of their efforts, particularly in the welfare services of the State, and ways and means of Planning

must be evolved, to bring this about.

- (2) Contingencies of the influx of refugees, persistent natural calamities of floods and droughts etc. have given rise to conditions in various States, particularly in West Bengal which must be looked into and rectified as far as possible, so that the people feel reassured, and develop enthusiasm for the plan.
- (3) Ways and means of attracting and earning more foreign exchange to India, through Tourism, Shipping, and exports, and conserving our own resources as regards food by effective conservation, increase of fisheries and horticulture and such like methods should be fully exploited."

18-03 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, the 19th September, 1958.*