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Eighth Plan Perspectives

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MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH

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GOKHALE INSTITUTE OF POLITICS AND ECONOMICS,
Pune 411 004

Prof. Malcolm S. Adiseshiah (b. 1910) got his early education in Loyola College, Madras and obtained his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in Economics from London School of Economics and King's College, Cambridge respectively.

He was Professor of Economics in Madras Christian College where he established its first Department of Economics and a large rural development programme for 16 villages in the environs. Dr. Adiseshiah joined the UNESCO in 1948 and after a long and fruitful career in that organisation retired in 1978 as its Deputy Direct General. He developed the organisation into an agency co-operating with all its 127 member states in the expansion and acceleration of education, science and culture.

Dr. Adiseshiah founded the Madras Institute of Development Studies in 1971. He was the Director of that Institute from 1971 to 1978 and has been its Chairman and Honorary Fellow since 1978. He was the elected President of the Indian Economic Association for 1973-74. He was the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras from 1975 to 1978. In April 1978 he was nominated by the President of India to the Rajya Sabha for a 6 year term. From 1984 he was nominated the president of the Tamil Nadu State Council for Science and Technology. In 1981, Prof. Adiseshiah was elected President of the Governing Body Board of the UNESCO International Institute of Educational Planning for a period of five years and was re-elected for a second time in 1986.

His more important publications are : *Let My Country Awake* (1970), *It is Time to Begin* (1971), *Techniques of Perspective Planning* (1972), *Science in the Battle against Poverty* (1974), *Adult Education Forces Inequalities* (1980), *Science and Technology Foundation* (1981).

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Eighth Plan Perspectives

Malcolm S. Adisesiah

DIMMED DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVES

The perspectives for the Eighth Plan must start with some agreement on development, not in terms of economic growth, embodied in the Harrod Domar and/or Cobb-Douglas model, but in terms of the impact and/or goal definition on the living levels of the people. From this point of view, I cannot help but express my extreme disquiet that the entire official discussion on the perspective of the Eighth Five Year Plan has centred round the rate of growth. After reviewing four scenarios based on a growth rate of 5.5 percent, 6 per cent, 6.5 per cent and 7 per cent, two years of study and discussion has resulted in the agreement that the Eighth Plan growth rate will be 6 per cent. On this basis, the incremental capital output ratio is set at 4.35 for the five year period, involving a rate of domestic savings of 27 per cent of GDP, and a marginal rate of saving of 39 per cent. With these, the investment outlay for the plan is calculated as being Rs. 6,50,000 crores as against Rs. 3,00,000 crores for the Seventh Plan.

The Planning Commission in its paper, Eighth Plan: Perspectives and Issues, prepared for the 1988 October meeting of the Commission justified this emphasis on a high rate of growth and the consequential savings rate and investment outlay needed in terms of the poverty alleviation objective requiring this. It states "a more rapid rate of employment generation, the fulfilment of basic needs and a greater emphasis on social development will require a substantial increase in the overall growth rate of the economy". But this has been the motif force of all our Seven plans - that we must establish as high a rate of growth as possible and attain it as nearly as possible as a means of reducing the poverty of our people, generating employment and reducing the gap between the asset owners and the assetless.

* Text of Rao Bahadur R.R.Kale Memorial Lecture delivered at the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Pune, On 20th April, 1989.

MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH

But what is the record after 40 years of Planned Development?

I shall, on this matter, quote from the above Planning Commission document. "According to the latest available estimates, two thirds of the rural households own less than 1 hectare of land or no land. Of these, a little less than half the rural households own less than half an hectare of land. Trends in operating holdings are not very different. In early eighties, households which had an asset holding of less than Rs. 6,000 were getting between 67 and 90 per cent of their credit from money lenders. The banking system was helping mainly the richer households.

"For example, households, with asset holding above Rs. 5 lakhs secured 95 per cent of their credit from institutional sources, that is, banking and cooperative credit systems, and households owning assets between Rs. 1 lakh and Rs. 5 lakhs got three quarter of their credit from the banking system.

"Thus the institutional system has up till now not succeeded in providing credit to a majority of the small agricultural producers. This in effect means that the subsidy systems on agricultural credit do not reach a majority of the producers, who are small and in fact (the systems) are highly inefficient in providing support to the rural production apparatus.

"The balance of period of the Seventh Plan and the Eighth Plan will have to be used for conscious design of policies which can organise and activate institutional systems which provide support to the small peasant structure of the Indian agricultural economy. The present systems are both iniquitous and inefficient. Land to the tiller is the basic objective: (Planning commission, 1988) Even the so called self sufficiency in foodgrains, is a product of our current low level of per capita consumption at 178 Kilogrammes per day. (Planning commission, 1986).

The increasing trend of poverty, unemployment and underemployment and inequality in asset ownership in our country has been documented by all official documents and studies. These include the Reserve Bank of India's All India Debt and Investment Surveys, 1961-62 1971-72 and 1981-82, Indian Agricultural Census 1970 and 1980, CSO and NSS surveys and reports, Annual Survey of Industries, Reports of Stock Exchange of Bombay and Calcutta and Delhi.

The Reserve Bank of India's decennial All India Debt and Investment Survey show that the poorest 10 per cent in rural areas owned 0.0 per cent of total assets in 1971 and 0.4 per cent in 1981, and in urban areas owned 0.1 per cent of all urban assets in 1981; while the top 10 per cent in rural areas owned 50.7 per cent of all rural assets in 1971 and 49.5 per cent in 1981, in urban areas the top 10 per cent owned 58.4 per cent of all urban assets in 1981. (RBI 1981-82).

The reference to the concentration of ownership of rural assets which are mainly agricultural land as reported by the Department of Rural Development as on July 1977 (Govt. of India 1988a) is that the estimated surplus land (above the legislated land ceilings) was 5.32 million acres, the area "declared surplus"

was 4.04 million acres, the area "taken over by government" was 2.10 million acres and the area distributed was only 1.29 million acres. But even this distressing fact of the officially reported land distribution being one quarter of the declared "surplus" land pales into insignificance when placed alongside of the results of the 26th round of the National Sample Survey (Govt. of India 1974) which reports that the area owned in holdings of 30 acres and above was 57.81 million acres (over 10 times the reported surplus) and allowing for self cultivation, the potential surplus is 21.51 million acres (over 4 times the reported surplus).

In regard to inequality in urban and corporate assets, the documentation is not as good. The assets of the top 20 business houses has increased from Rs.2500 crores in 1969 to Rs.9000 crores in 1986. An examination of the annual reports of the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Commission (Govt. of India) shows that the concentration of Corporate property has increased during the last 2 decades. One of the reports states that four firms control more than half the total sales in nine industries, including steel, petroleum, transport equipment, cement, synthetic fibres, paper, food products, cigarettes and rubber products. The recent acceleration of the so called "liberalisation" policy resulting in automatic capacity creation, delicensing, broad banding, opening some areas reserved for small industry and set forth in Annex I/II of the Industrial Development(Regulation) Act, and the opening of the economy to foreign equity contribution and investments have no doubt accelerated the rate of growth of the manufacturing sector of the consumer goods and intermedes demanded by the well to do and have also added to the concentration of industrial assets. In fact industrialisation had a price, which was concentration of economic power seen in the rapid increase in the assets of the big corporate sector, increased inability of large industries to absorb labour force and income loss of small cottage industries operation. On the foreign investment front, government reports a doubling of foreign investment at Rs.200 crores in 1987-88 compared to the previous year. Foreign companies are being allowed to establish joint ventures without Indian participation (such as the joint venture of the Austrian AKG and the Dutch Peico to manufacture high quality microphones at Gurgaon), and the employment of foreign nationals has been made much easier, on the basis of which the India Investment Centre reports "there is much better awareness today about India's desire for foreign investment. More and more international companies are realising the importance of gaining a foothold in India not only on account of her vast market potential, but also because this country is a spring board to markets in South Asia, the Middle East and even the Soviet bloc" (International Trade Centre, 1988). In fact the Rs.200 crores of foreign investment in India in 1988 is compared to the Rs.2800 crores foreign investment of China, and Rs.1400 crores of Indonesia and 3 other Asian countries in 1988, alongwith the urging that India should further increase her open door policy. This will certainly increase concentration of industrial assets, not only in Indian hands.

The profile of per capita consumption, particularly for the bottom deciles, brought about by the Seven Plans is equally worrisome. The 28th round of the National Sample Survey reports

that the bottom 20 per cent of society accounted for 9.3 per cent of total consumption in the rural areas and 9.2 per cent in the urban areas, while the top 20 per cent accounted for 38 per cent of all private consumption in the rural and 40 per cent in the urban areas. CSO reports (1978) that the concentration ratios for the two regions were 0.27 and 0.30.

If income data were available for the various deciles, similar to the consumption data, and on the basis of partial pilot sample studies, it will be seen that income inequality for both the rural and urban groups is greater than consumption inequalities. There is little to be added to this impressive documentation on the mal development of the country.

In this connection, it is enough to recall the words of the Draft Five Year Plan 1978-83 in which we confessed to our failure in terms of development. In that document we stated: "we must face the fact that the most important objectives of planning have not been achieved, the most cherished goals seem to be almost as distant today as when we set out on the road of planned development. These aims - implicit all non plans but more explicitly stated in the later formulations of our development strategy, are universally accepted by the Indian people: they are the achievement of full employment, the eradication of poverty and the creation of more equal society". (Planning commission, 1987a).

WHAT THEN IS DEVELOPMENT

It is not Economic Growth. We have at one stage acknowledged this - that the growth rate measures the expansion of the size of the economy over a given period, not its development either for the present or the future, and certainly not as a measure of the well being or ill being of the mass of the people, because it is unrelated to the distribution of national income between different classes. (Planning commission, 1987b).

This brings out the antimony between growth and development. What has been the effect of the 5 to 6.5 per cent rate of growth that we set ourselves in the Seven Five Year Plans on the levels of living of the people? In fact from the Sixth Plan (Planning commission, 1980) onward, we placed growth in the forefront of the 4 objectives for that plan, the other 3 being Modernisation, Self reliance, and Social Justice, leaving behind the cautious approach to the growth factor adopted in the previous Draft Fifth Five Year Plan in these words: "No rate of growth that can be realistically envisaged could make a major impact on the problem (of poverty) within the foreseeable future, if inequality remains as acute as at present. Nor could any feasible egalitarian policies alter the position significantly in the absence of an accelerated rate of growth. Growth and reduction of inequality are both indispensable in a successful attack on mass poverty... Our proposed goal of removal of poverty requires that the growth strategy must seek not only a higher rate of growth than observed in the past but also reduced inequality in the distribution of income and consumption." It goes on further to elaborate the implications of self reliance (which is a plan objective coming

down from the first five year plan) to poverty removal thus: "one finding from this exercise (in the 2 variants) is that reduced inequality in consumption expenditure is consistent with a reduction in the total demand for imports, provided the food economy is managed essentially with domestic inputs. Self reliance as much as removal of poverty, calls for redistribution of consumption in favour of low income groups. Correspondingly many an elitest orientation of the production pattern for consumer goods has to give way to an emphasis on the production of articles of mass consumption." (Planning Commission, 1974).

We have in the Seventh Five Year Plan shifted from this position of the decisive role of reducing poverty and controlling inequalities in consumption expenditures to technology and modernisation: "this means that the elimination of poverty and creating conditions of near full employment, the satisfaction of the basic needs of all people ...(the creation) of the conditions for self sustaining growth in terms of both the capacity to finance growth internally and the development of technology... The aim should be to make India a modern technologically progressive economy with expanding capacity to provide the basic material and cultural requisites of well being for all people. The attainment of these goals requires (interalia) action to sustain and enhance the momentum of economic expansion and technological development. In the long run the improvement of the standard of living in a country depends largely on the nature of the technology which it adopts". (Planning Commission,). We have thus come full circle to relate the standard of living not to the means of reducing poverty but to the nature of technology adopted.

This is further elaborated in the Planning Commission's perspective paper for the Eighth Plan referred to earlier: "A policy framework for stimulating more rapid growth with higher levels of efficiency will (in the eighth plan) involve action on a variety of fronts including public investment (which will have to be in selective high priority areas), licensing policy (involving progressive delicensing of most production), trade policy (with liberalisation of imports for exports expansion), administered prices (covering their upward movement), tariff and taxes (tailored to protect and stimulate the private sector), quality upgradation and industrial research programmes. An integrated view requires the harmonisation of actions in these diverse areas", carrying forward the beginning of partial harmonisation in pricing, tariff, taxes and licensing in recent years.

Development has been defined by the Draft Five Year Plan 1978-83 very clearly. That definition is not only a national one, but is one which United Nations (1958) set forth for all countries in the 1950s as comprising the raising of the levels of living of the people. It established nine components of the people's living level namely health, food consumption and nutrition, education, employment and conditions of work, housing, social security, clothing, recreation and human freedom. If these 9 components are accepted as indicators of Development, the first requirement is that we should use our excellent statistical and technoeconomic services like CSO and NSS to issue periodically

tables on the state of the nine components in the country. This was begun in the Sixth Plan and continued in the Seventh Plan as the two tables below show:

Table 1 : Selected Economic and Social Indicators 1979-80 to 1994-95 (Values are in 1979-80 prices)

Sl. No.	Item	1979-80	1984-85	1994-95
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	Gross Domestic Product (Rs. crores at 1979-80) prices	97051	125050 (5.2)	213600 (5.5)
2	Saving as percent of GDP at market prices	21.24	24.48	27.52
3	Investment as percent of GDP at market prices	21.76	25.11	26.92
4	Population (millions)	654.1	717.2 (1.86)	843.0 (1.63)
5	Per Capita (GDP (RS.))	1484	1744 (3.28)	2534 (3.81)
6	Per capita monthly consumption (Rs.)	95.62	109.67 (2.79)	151.98 (3.32)
7	Percentage of people below poverty line	48.44	30.00	8.74
8	Employment (million standard person years)	151	185	248
9	Monthly per capita consumption of foodgrains (kgs.)	12.95	14.32 (2.03)	15.50 (0.80)
10	Monthly per capita consumption of sugar (kgs.)	0.68	0.79 (3.00)	1.15 (3.82)
11	Monthly per capita consumption of clothing (metres)	0.85	0.92 (1.60)	1.41 (4.36)
12	Monthly per capita Generation of Electricity (Kwh)	14.27	22.19 (9.23)	39.05 (5.81)
13	Value added in Education per capita (Rs.)	20.32	24.72 (4.00)	36.60 (4.00)
14	Life expectancy (years)			
	M	52.6	55.1	60.1
	F	51.6	54.3	59.8

Note: Figures in brackets represent annual compound growth rates.
Source: Sixth Five Year Plan 1980-85 table 2.1

EIGHTH PLAN PERSPECTIVES

Table 2 : Socio-Economic Indicators of Change (1985-2000)

(0)	(1)	1984-85	1989-90	1999-2000
		(2)	(3)	(4)
1	Life expectancy Male (in terms of years)	56.1	58.6	63.3
	Female	57.0	59.7	64.7
2	Infant mortality rate (per thousand births)	106	90	60
3	Death rate(per thousand)	11.9	10.4	8.2
4	Birth rate(per thousand)	32.6	29.1	23.1
5	Fertility rate(per thousand)	152	132	99
6	Urbanisation (per cent)	24.70	26.85	32.20
7	Per capita GDP (1984-85 prices) (Rs.)	2,616	3,027	4,163
8	Per capita consumption of foodgrains (Kg)	178	193	215
9	Per capita consumption expen- diture (1984-85 prices) (Rs.)	1,979	2,271	3,124
10	Per capita consumption of cloth (metres)	16.16	17.78	22.36
11	Per capita generation of electricity (Kwh)	226	336	578-621
12	Savings-GDP ratio (percent)	23.3	24.5	25.8
13	Investment GDP ratio (percent)	24.5	25.9	26.4
14	Foreign savings-Invest- ment ratio (percent)	4.9	5.5	2.4
15	Percentage of people below the poverty line	37	26	5
16	Labour force (million in the age group 15 plus)	288	327	408
17	Employment (million standard person years)	187	227	318

Source : Seventh Five Year Plan 1985-90 table 2.11.

and estimating the income of the various classes in society.

PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION EXPENDITURE

The per capita consumption expenditure is another macro economic aggregate, which is broken down between private and public consumption and also classified into disposable income, consumption and saving. The periodic National Sample Survey gives valuable information on expenditures on consumption by the various deciles of society. This can be used to compute the number of people living in poverty in the country.

PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF FOODGRAINS

This macro economic aggregate - the per capita consumption of foodgrains - serves several purposes in relation to Development. On this basis and using the population projection, the amount of foodgrains needed in 1989-90 is 190 million tonnes against the probable 175 million tonnes production, in 1994-95 210 million tonnes against the projected 195 million tonnes, and in 1999-2000 230 million tonnes against the projected 210 million tonnes. In this connection it should be noted that the distribution of the per capita foodgrain consumption between different expenditure classes, results in the official concepts of self sufficiency in the production of foodgrain (to refer to the fact that no imports of foodgrains have been needed for the year) and to the building up of buffer stocks because the bottom 3 deciles do not have the purchasing power to buy the foodgrains. In other words the so called self sufficiency in foodgrains is not only at low levels of per capita consumption, that level is declining over time, and the gap between the food consumption of the well to do and the poor is increasing. For the Eighth Plan, the per capita consumption of foodgrains should be established at 215 kgs, along with better access to them from the bottom 3 classes.

SAVINGS AND INVESTMENT

Gross savings at the end of the Seventh Plan will be between 21 and 22 per cent of GDP. The Planning Commission estimates it at 21.62 per cent. As it has been decided to establish the Eighth Plan at a growth rate of 6 per cent, the savings rate as noted earlier, has to be raised to an average of 24.60 per cent, with the rate rising to 26.10 per cent in 1990. The marginal savings rate for this savings rate is 39.43.

ICOR/'K' These estimates of the savings in the Eighth Plan are dependent on the incremental capital output ratio (ICOR), more particularly the marginal capital output ratio (K). K is always and traditionally low in the agricultural sector. It was 0.9 in the Third Plan, 1.22 in the Fourth Plan, and is 3.4 in the Sixth Plan. It is highest in the electricity sector at 17.1 followed by transport at 5.8 and mining at 5.7. Surprisingly,

for manufacturing, it is a low 4. There are problems in using ICOR and K to compute the savings needed. One is that it amalgamates different sorts of capital equipment into a single capital/output ratio instead of maximising the yield on scarce varieties of capital. This kind of amalgamation is common to overall estimates of capital use. A second problem is that ICOR is expressed for the Sixth Plan for all sectors at 4.6 which formulation hides the specific nature of each sector, or it is computed for the 6 sectors separately overlooking the complementarity and intersectoral linkages of the economy. These linkages are reflected in the overall ratio. A third problem is the underlying assumption of ICOR/K, that capital is the only scarce resource. There may be and are other scarcities such as skilled manpower or specific technologies. these scarcities are real but secondary.

Thus with all these problems, ICOR/K is the means of estimating the savings required in the community. For the Eighth Plan, the Planning Commission estimates that the ICOR which was 4.6 in the Sixth Plan could be reduced by 3 per cent to 4.46 as set forth in the following table.:

Table 3 : Changes in ICOR

<u>Sector</u>	<u>Sixth Plan ICOR</u>	<u>Change in ICOR in the Eighth Plan</u>
Agriculture	3.4	-5 per cent
Mining	5.7	+10 percent
Manufacturing	4.0	-10 per cent
Electricity	17.1	-10 per cent
Transport	5.8	+10 per cent
Others	4.5	
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Overall	4.6	-3 per cent
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Source : Planning Commission : *Eighth Plan Perspectives and Issues*

The above table sets forth the eighth plan ICOR/K assumptions: a) In agriculture an improved yield per hectare will result in a 5 per cent improvement in ICOR, and irrigation, where the major part of capital in this sector is invested, remains constant in terms of K: b) In mining, the technology is changing and the higher cost of preserving the environment will lead to an increase in its ICOR. In the crude area, given the exhaustion of existing wells and the slow down in the exploration of new fields, some increase in ICOR should be allowed for: c) In manufacturing, the ratio will vary in different industries. In assuming a 10 per cent improvement, it is expected that there will be considerable increase in productivity and efficiency and a movement away

from capital intensive industries: d) In the electricity area, if the efficiency norms suggested by the Planning Commission are followed particularly by the State Electricity Boards, a saving of 10 per cent in its ICOR can be effected: e) In the transport sector, railways will use capital which will not produce results in the plan period. This could be, to some extent, compensated by the private transport subsector improving its efficiency: and f) In communication and telecommunication and services generally the ICOR will remain as is. These pluses and minuses will result in a small reduction overall of ICOR.

RESTRAINT IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE CONSUMPTION TO AUGMENT SAVINGS:

The savings increase foreseen in the Eighth Plan calls for reduction in state and private consumption. The more urgent is the reduction of government dissaving resulting from total revenue expenditure far out running revenue income. This gap is currently running at 2.5 per cent of GDP (with revenue income being 20.7 per cent of GDP and revenue expenditure 23.2 per cent). The major area of government savings will have to be in defence expenditures, which should use cost effective techniques along with the improved relations with Pakistan and China which can result in some important decrease.

There are other areas like subsidies - food, fertiliser, and budget support to unviable public sector units - which now stand at 3.4 per cent of GDP at Rs.9900 crores and seem to be moving inexorably upward in absolute terms to Rs.17200 crores which is 3.2 per cent of GDP by the end of the Eighth Plan, but which must be reduced by ensuring that the subsidies given are for small and marginal farmers which may call for a system of dual pricing; and cutting all export subsidies and budget support to loss making units as suggested earlier. Such streamlined subsidies should be kept down to 2.5 per cent of GDP. The most important area which needs to be restrained using both economy and cost effective tools are the wages and salaries of government servants which have doubled in the Sixth Plan. It has been estimated that if the wages and salaries had increased only in line with the consumer price index, some Rs.4500 crores could have been saved on wages and salaries.

A related area which is important and which becomes even more important for the Eighth Plan is the improved performance of public sector enterprises. Of the many facets concerning the functioning of these units (which I have dealt with at length elsewhere) (Malcolm s. Adiseshiah 1984, 1989) what is of relevance for the resources needed for the Eighth Plan is the amount of their depreciation and retained profits - which constitute the savings of these units. These now stand at 4.68 per cent of GDP, against which the heavy cash losses amounting to Rs.847 crores (See Annex I) need corrective action as they represent dissaving. To the loss incurring firms in Annex I should be added the coal sector whose accumulated losses as of 1988 amount to Rs.2150 crores and fertilisers whose accumulated losses are Rs.800 crores. These two sectors are not included in the firms listed in Annex I because the first task for the Eighth Plan is to deal with the loss making firms in the non core sector.

For firms in the core sector which include CIL and Fertilisers as well as IISCO, BALCO and others, the eighth plan should be used for their turn around by adjusting their production and product mix to meet the estimated demand, so that by the end of the plan they do not continue making losses. For the others in the non core sector, the simplest way to deal with them is to stop budgetary support to them so that they cease to be in the public sector, either by mergers and sales or by being closed down. The second means of mobilising public enterprise saving is for the other viable enterprises to provide fully for their depreciation, which they are not doing and increase their retained profits. Then their savings could be increased by 40-50 per cent over the current rate.

Similarly there has to be restraint on private consumption in order to increase domestic household savings. For this high taxes on articles of luxury consumption, banning of capacity creation in this area and the diversion of capacity already created to the export market are the means of cutting private consumption. Here it should be borne in mind that the demand for luxury items like personal transport, its equipment and operation, refrigerators, colour TVs and similar consumer durables which grew during the Sixth Plan at 3 times the 4 per cent growth of aggregate private final consumption, expenditure is the result of the state's fiscal and social policies. It may be regretted that some people have high real incomes and others low ones, but the logic of this is surely that those with high incomes spend their income on motor cars, refrigerators, television sets instead of food. The taxing of luxuries at high rates is like trying to put out a fire after it has broken out. What is needed to restrain such private consumption is for the state to adopt fiscal and social policies which will not give rise to such high incomes. That is in the realm of what ought to be. In the actual situation in the Eighth Plan, private consumption will have to be restrained through fiscal and physical controls. Private corporate sector savings will need to be increased by adopting policies which will redeploy the firms profits into reserves and depreciation and investment. The private household sector savings can be increased, besides private consumption restraint, by making savings instruments more attractive and necessary and developing further the capital market.

ARM : Savings are the main means of financing the Eighth Plan, through what we have come to call ARM - the Additional Resource Mobilisation. As a complement to increasing the saving propensities just discussed of the public, corporate and household sectors, there are two other indicators that will have to be used. One is the tax ratio which now stands at 17.4 per cent of GDP (Rs.72,200 crores) and should be raised to somewhere around 20 per cent, by 1994-95, the terminal year of the Eighth Plan (Rs.1,11,600 crores). In this area it is not only necessary to widen the tax coverage and make the direct taxes more progressive but also reduce tax evasion which is done through what is called tax planning, as well as black money flows and smuggling; further in agreement with the states at the National Development Council an income tax on agricultural incomes above the exemption limit must be introduced. The second indicator is the non tax revenue

ratio, comprising receipt from loans, entrepreneurship and property, now being 1.84 per cent of GDP which will have to increase to over 2 per cent by the end of the Eighth Plan.

Employment: One of the macro indicators in both tables 1 & 2 is employment. Table 1 states that in 1984-85, 185 millions standard person years will have to be created, table 2 assumes for that year 187 million standard person years will have been created and for 1989-90, the terminal year of the Seventh Plan, 227 million standard person years will have been created. These are all optimistic forecasts, as is the estimate that as against the estimated addition to the labour force of 39 million during the Seventh Plan, the additional employment generation will be 40.36 million standard person years, which means a reduction in the backlog of the number of unemployed. Actually employment generation in the Seventh Plan has been much slower and lower. If to this is added the sharp rise in the number of persons in the working age groups 15-65 at over 50 millions, the total employment generation needed for the Eighth Plan and beyond became almost unmanageable. For the Eighth Plan, gainful employment will have to be increased to 10 million standard person years per annum. In turn, the available data show that this will not be possible within the industry, infrastructure, public administration and the organised sector generally which can take on only 10 per cent of those seeking employment - about 500,000 persons per year. This sector, however, is the generator of profits (leaving aside the loss making units) which is the source of savings and investment. Not only is the labour absorptive capacity of this sector limited, it has become an increasingly high wage enclave in the economy, which is at the expense of saving. Hence the employment perspective for the Eighth Plan involves further agricultural intensity (through irrigation, HYV, fertilisers and tissue culture), carefully planned, developed and expanded allied activities of fishing, animal husbandry, forestry, village and small industries and the generation of rural assets. This is the crucial sector in terms of Development for the mass of the people.

Having looked in some detail at the development indicators and what is involved on them for the Eighth Plan; I would like to return to the overall perspective of Development.

Structural Dualism: It is nearly 45 years since the country became independent and started on the road of a secular, socialist democracy. Seven five year plans have been completed (plus 2 annual plans). The Eighth Plan perspective has to take into account, and in fact has to be based on this historical development, spanning over four and a half decade of history and nearly 4 decades of planning. This is important because we start every Plan as if we are writing the Plan on a clean slate. As a matter of fact over the 4 1/2 decades there has developed a power structure, a power balance which is more decisive for the attainment or non attainment of the goals of the Plan, than the resources mobilised, than the funds allocated to each sector. This power structure is vast, varied and diversified and covers both the urban and rural areas, both industry and agriculture. There is a small well to do group which grows better off each year, in each Plan and there is a mass of people living in poverty in the neglected rural villages and urban slums. This power structure

in which the well to do minority are decision makers - in political, economic and social matters, makes sure that when it comes to planning for development, all attention is concentrated on the rate of growth and the allocation of resources, that the goals are set in terms of employment, poverty eradication and reduction of inequality, but the programmes concentrate on meeting market demands, upgrading technology, increasing investment in profit maximising large and medium industry, with poverty eradication given a small share, employment generation set at the periphery, and the equality goal in terms of land reform made a non starter, with implementation being blamed for its non starting. Is it possible for us in the Eighth Plan to move away from concentration on the allocation functions to the more urgent structural change function? For instance, we started the first Plan with certain agreement on the ceilings of the distance between the minimum and the maximum wages/salaries/earnings in society, which was kept up till the Fourth Plan. This has since been given up and today there is no limit on what a person can earn or own. Thus over the seven plans we have developed a certain kind of society - a dual society which ensures a dual policy and dual economy. Now we are talking about decentralised planning, planning at the village and block levels. But here again as our experience in states which are trying this planning at village levels shows, as long as there is no real land reform, we will have strong powerful rural structures, which take over all positions - political and economic, and which draw up plans that meet their interests. This structural dualism is a fact of life and whether it be implementing poverty eradication, or generation of gainful employment or reduction of inequality through land reform, the structures that we have, ensure that these are at the periphery while profitable pursuits, gainful assets creation and ownership are at the centre of our plan implementation. The same is true with regard to plan implementation, in what we call the crisis of implementation. It is said that the plan is alright, but the implementation is bad. Here again we see a dualism, because our structures implement certain policies very well, such as broad bending in the automobile area or the drug control order which is used by MNCs to make high profits and sell drugs banned in industrial countries, whereas when it comes to land reforms, adhering to the ceiling or to tenancy recording, or to abolition of intermediaries or to following the legislation on share croppers, or the urban land ceiling laws, implementation is made impossible through various benami arrangements. The Eighth Plan will have to take account of this structural dualism under which our policy frame is becoming a reflection and rationalisation of the pressures of our power groups rather than arising from our fundamental commitments enshrined in Plan after Plan on the well being of the people, on equity, and on social justice. In the Eighth Plan will it be possible for the state to begin to recover its directing role rather than give in to the pressures to act within the boundaries set by our powerful rural and urban elites? This is what Planning for Development means.

PLANNING FOR DEVELOPMENT

Attempts have been made in the recent past to base our planning taking into account the reality of structural dualism. In

the Draft Fifth Five Year Plan, two alternative development models were presented to the National Development Council. One was based on the existing state of inequality in consumption standards as between the top 3 deciles and the bottom 3 deciles. In that year, 1973-74, the share of the bottom 30 per cent of the population was 13.46 of total private consumption which meant that the average per capita consumption was Rs.25 per month at 1972-73 prices, while the poverty level norm was Rs.40.6. Hence a second model was developed where the consumption of the bottom 30 per cent was increased by 55 per cent through a small 5 per cent decline in the consumption increase of the top 30 per cent. As both models were based on a growth rate of 5.5 per cent, NDC chose the second model as it also made a concession to social justice. The attainment of this pattern of growth, it points out, calls for efforts in several directions - with the pattern of production laying emphasis on food and wage goods, which will feed massive employment generation, augmented social consumption and investment which will both maximise productivity and efficiency and improve the quality of life, above all structural and institutional reform and restructured fiscal policy.

Development is the good life for all in society which for our country comprises:

- the removal of poverty
- the liquidation of unemployment
- the eradication of inequalities
- the elimination of illiteracy and ill health, and
- the participation of people in government

These for me are the development perspectives for the eighth Plan.

That this perspective is possible, feasible and practical is seen in the short lived Draft Five Year Plan, 1978-83, which incorporated this perspective thus:

"In the next phase of development it will no longer be appropriate, in the light of our past experience to formulate the principle objectives of a particular plan period, merely in relation to a specified target rate of growth for the economy. What matters is not the precise rate of increase in the national product that is achieved in five or ten years, but whether we can ensure within a specified time-frame a measureable increase in the welfare of the millions of the poor.

"It is proposed, therefore, that the principle objectives of planning should now be defined as achieving within a period of ten years.

- i) the removal of unemployment and significant underemployment.
- ii) an appreciable rise in the standard of living of the

poorest sections of the population,

- iii) provision by the state of some of the basic needs of the people in these income groups, like clean drinking water, adult literacy, elementary education, health care, rural roads, rural housing for the landless and minimum services for the urban slums.

"This plan aims at considerable progress towards achieving these goals.

"These primary objectives should be attained while

- iv) achieving a higher rate of growth of the economy than in the past,
- v) moving towards a significant reduction in the present disparities of income and wealth, and
- vi) ensuring the country's continued progress towards self-reliance".

And taking into account the structural dualism of our society it proposed modestly but realistically that the structural changes needed should be faced boldly and clearly and set forth the strategy and programme for it in a remarkable section headed Distributive Justice which comprised eight action policies and programmes which would build a redistribution bias in all production, distribution and employment. The eight programmes set forth to counter structural dualism are:

a) land reform, requiring the identification of the true surplus, land, involving correction of land records and distribution of the surplus to the landless within five years, tenancy reform assuring security of tenure, limited rent liability and eventual ownership of land to self cultivating tenants:

b) control of urban and corporate property, through urban land ceilings which are legislated but evaded and so should be enforced, and to reduce financial concentration in industry through the licensing system on capacity expansion and the promotion of workers participation in management and equity of large units:

c) discrimination in the flow of real income in favour of low income groups through

i) enlarging and strengthening of the public distribution system,

ii) the distribution of credit and modern material inputs to be turned around so that the small producer gets his full fair share, and

iii) the Revised Minimum Needs Programme which expands the provision of drinking water, electrification, road construction, health, and primary and adult education, nutrition, urban slum upgrading and aims to meet the needs of the rural and urban poor

for those essential infrastructural and social services:

d) an intensified and effective employment programme which does not meet growing unemployment simply by creation of "jobs and work opportunities" but by development of additional employment opportunities to match location, skills and idle time of the unemployed, building into the development programmes of agriculture, fertilisers, animal husbandry, forestry, small and village and large industries the employment objective and raising the productivity of small enterprise in industry and agriculture to increase the earnings of the working poor,

e) a special development programme for the long discriminated scheduled castes and tribes and backward areas of the country:

f) a national income policy covering all incomes and wages, profits, rents and self employed incomes, involving the use of resources to mitigate unemployment rather than enlarging the incomes of those with assets, and above all returning to the pre Fourth Plan objective of establishing and achieving an acceptable disparity rate between the highest and lowest per capita income:

g) a fiscal system which will ensure that the burden of additional resource mobilisation which the Eighth Plan needs, as set forth earlier, falls on those able to bear the burden and not as at present on the mass of the poor, which means making personal income, corporation, and wealth taxes more progressive, and getting the agreement of states through the National Development Council for introducing an agricultural income tax which will tax all agriculture incomes above the exemption limit, and in regard to indirect taxes so reforming the rate structure that small scale labour intensive production and low income consumption are given differential relief, restricting subsidies only to these two groups, while taxing all other production and consumption, are most important.

h) the organisation of the poor, that is helping the organisation of tenants, the organisation of the landless and the organisation of women so that they can fight for ensuring that what has been legislated for them on tenancy reform, on surplus land distribution, on minimum wages on equality of status with men reaches them and is not swallowed up through diversions to the well to do, through leaks and corruption. There is a small beginning made in this regard in the Seventh Plan through the appointment of some 500 rural organisers. They need to be trained to be servants of the organisations of the poor and be given some more teeth to fight the battle against the forces embedded in our structural dualism.

HOLISTIC DEVELOPMENT FOR THE EIGHTH PLAN

This approach to development based on the complex and composite index set forth above involves a holistic view of Development for the Eighth Plan. This is in contrast to the current doctrines and practices and the linearity of history (which gave birth to

the idology of development) under which development is equated with economic growth, equated with the dominance of the market which is in the hands of the well-to-do minority, (here as an aside I should point out that the market orientation and domination in a country like ours where the majority of the people do not have the purchasing power to operate in the market can be anti-development as it limits industrial expansion because of the narrowness of the market) and, to return to my argument, modernity is equated with consumerism, so that non market people who are the poor and unemployed are equated with "backward" people and non market economies equated with backward economies and regions. That is, in contrast to the theory and practice of undidimensional GNP growth, which as we have seen serves the needs of the wealthy few and the non poor minority, maintains the majority of our people in conditions of povety, and bases agricultural growth and industrial expansion on the destruction of our environment and the wasteful misuse of its resources, we will be practicing what has come to be called Sustainable Development. (World commission on Environment and Development, 1987).

Sustainable Development is Development which meets the basic needs of all, the essential wants of all people, particularly the poor majority for employment, food, energy, water and housing. It merges economies and environment both in theory and in decision making. Sustainable Development ensures growth but growth which is addressed first to the poeple who live in poverty, and only as a residue to the minority who have the money to operate the market, comprising high and medium indsutrialists, large farmers, as well as smugglers and black marketers, and us of the middle classes. Sustainable Development is not only a means of correcting our socio economic distortions of poverty and inequality, it is also the only means of overcoming the awful ecological crisis which threataens all of us in India. (Malcolm S. Adiseshigh, 1988).

But there is a price which has to be paid for this change over, a price to be paid byus, the well to do, in giving up some part of the non necessities and luxuries that we consume, so that no fellow citizen of ours will be denied the right not to be hungry, so that he or she does not need to go to bed hungry every night nor denied the right to freedom from disease, and the freedom not to belong to the discriminated three quarters of the country.

Gandhiji who embodied this doctrine of Sustainable Developme-
nt in his doctrine of trusteeship and freedom went beyond, and fashioned the means for removing inequalities, namely, he proposed that the poor had to organise themselves to fight for their rights: "Swaraj is to be attained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to resist exploitation and authority when abused" (Gandhi m.k. 1925). The start of moving towards this kind of the country's real Development, Sustainable Development, is for us the well to do, to be willing to give up some part (say 5 per cent) of our consumption, so that it may benefit those in poverty In the Draft Fifth Plan the reduction of 5 per cent of the increase in consumption of the top 3 deciles, earlier referred to, increased the consumption of the bottom 3 deciles by 55 per cent. Are we then willing to pay this small price?

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EIGHTH PLAN PERSPECTIVE
Annex I

21

Sl. No.	Company	1986 - 87	
		Accounting loss	Cash loss
1.	Delhi Transport Corporation	164.00	152.29
2.	The Indian Iron & Steel Co.Ltd	80.14	66.07
3.	Heavy Engg. Corpn. Ltd.	67.73	61.90
4.	Indian Drugs & Pharmaceuticals Ltd	51.38	45.13
5.	Hindustan Paper Corpn. Ltd	49.58	30.83
6.	National Jute Manfs. Corpn. Ltd	46.71	43.99
7.	Bharat Aluminium Co. Ltd	43.15	23.80
8.	Hindustan Shipyards Ltd	39.45	34.27
9.	NTC (Maharashtra North) Ltd	27.74	24.24
10.	Jute Corporation of India Ltd.	26.88	26.86
11.	NTC (Gujarat) Ltd.	26.65	23.69
12.	Engineering Projects India Ltd	25.86	25.56
13.	NTC (West Bengal, Assam, Bihar & Orissa)	24.66	22.36
14.	NTC (Uttar Pradesh) Ltd	24.55	22.97
15.	National Building Construction Corpn Ltd.	24.00	14.79
16.	Scooters India Ltd	23.35	21.72
17.	Nagaland Pulp and Paper Co.Ltd	23.19	16.74
18.	NTC (Madhya Pradesh) Ltd	21.48	18.73
19.	Cement Corporation of India Ltd	21.02	3.35
20.	Mazagon Dock Ltd.	20.93	9.02
21.	NTC (Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Mahe) Ltd	19.46.	15.69
22.	Cotton Corporation of India Ltd	18.67	18.62
23.	NTC (South Maharashtra) Ltd	16.83	13.25
24.	Kudremukh Iron Ore Co.Ltd	15.37	0.00
25.	Richard and Cruddas (1972) Ltd	15.00	14.06
26.	The Elgin Mills Co.Ltd	13.14	12.73
27.	Garden Reach Ship Builders & Engineers Ltd.	13.14	10.75
28.	Bharat Gold Mines Ltd.	10.50	7.62
29.	India Road Construction Corpn.Ltd	10.26	5.87
30.	Cochin Shipyard Ltd	10.21	6.25

31.	Hindustan Steel Works Construction Ltd	10.16	4.93
32.	Tyre Corporation of India Ltd	9.88	9.59
33.	Cycle Corporation of India Ltd.	9.66	9.38
34.	Tannery & Footwear Corporation of India Ltd.	9.38	9.22
35.	National Mineral Development Corporation Ltd.	9.36	0.23
36.	Hindustan Copper Ltd	8.87	0.00
37.	Rehabilitation Industries Corporation Ltd	8.63	8.55
38.	Central Inland Water Transport Corporation Ltd.	8.51	5.52
39.	NTC (Delhi, Punjab & Rajasthan) Ltd	8.22	6.04
40.	Braitwaite & Co. Ltd	6.78	6.30
41.	Hotel Corporation of India Ltd	6.55	3.19
42.	National Bicycle Corporation of India Ltd.	5.87	5.81
43.	The Mandya National Paper Mills Ltd	5.83	5.36
44.	Biecco Lawrie Ltd	5.81	5.68
45.	Bengal Chemicals & Pharmaceuticals Ltd.	5.73	5.32
46.	Bharat Ophthalmic Glass Ltd.	5.73	5.68
47.	Bharat Process & Mechanical Engineers Ltd.	5.49	5.32
48.	Pawn Hans Ltd.	5.17	0.00
	Total	1110.71	846.61

Source: Public Enterprises Survey 1986-87 Vol. I

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