

SHRI SITARAM KESRI: You cannot support this kind of action on the part of the Member. This is most unparliamentary. Please ask him to go to his seat.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You please go to your seat.

SHRI F. M. KHAN: You allow me to...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You go and sit there first. (*Interruptions*). Mr. Mukherjee, please continue your speech.

MOTION FOR CONSIDERATION OF SEVENTH FIVE YEAR PLAN, 1985-1990 Contd.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: Madam Deputy Chairman, what I was trying to point out was that so far as the objectives, so far as the priorities, of the Seventh Five Year Plan are concerned, the priorities are rightly placed, the objectives are clearly set. We shall have to think of the implementation and the mechanism of implementation. While providing resources to match with an outlay of this size. . .

I will complete within five minutes. You need not look at the watch.

The point which I was trying to make is that some distortion has taken place. It has not happened in the recent past but for quite some time that we are not in a position to meet our own revenue expenses out of our revenue earnings. As a result, during the Sixth Five Year Plan period it was projected that from the Union, from the Centre, there would be a positive contribution from the balance of current revenue, but actually it has become negative. As a result, our resource base has gone down. One Member was talking that States have made a substantial additional resource mobilisation. But this is one side of the story. If we look at what was the additional resource mobilisation, take the case of States. In 1979-80 the States were to provide additional... (*Interruption*) From this
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year's balance of current revenue they were to provide Rs. 14,475 crores. They gave only Rs. 7235. And the States are saying that they made a very positive contribution. So far as the additional resource mobilisation is concerned, the Centre was to make Rs. 8790 crores; actually the Centre gave Rs. 13135 crores. States were to make a contribution of Rs. 4134 crores; they gave Rs. 7013 crores. But their contribution from B.C.R. came down from Rs. 14000 to Rs. 6000 crores. Therefore, whatever little bit improvement they made in additional resource mobilisation was eaten off by their loss in BCR. What I want to point out is that this type of financial arrangement and budgeting can not continue for all time to come. Today we have reached a stage where the entire developmental expenditure is being met out of our borrowed money. Ultimately we are contributing nothing from our own internal resources, from our own resources, from our own revenue surplus. And if a part of our revenue expenditure, non-developmental expenditure, is also to be met from borrowing, a time may come when a serious fiscal dislocation will be created.

Thirdly, Madam—my last point as I have already mentioned, planning is a continuing process. It was very movingly pointed out by the late Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, while forwarding the Sixth Five Year Plan that the plan is not merely allocation, but achievement. The plan is not merely allocation, but benefit, benefit to millions of people. Planning for us is not merely a catalogue of development projects. Planning for us is a commitment to change the society and to create a society which will be free from exploitation, which will be free from hunger, which will be free from oppression. The Seventh Plan has taken note of this important ingredient of our basic policy framework and I do hope that it would be possible for us to do so while implementing the various projects of the Plan and particularly the human resource development which has also been highlighted. But I am sorry if I utter a discordant note with the Minister when he says that he

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has increased the outlay sizeably. It has to increase from one Plan to another Plan because you increase your outlay substantially. In the Sixth Plan, the outlay was 97,500 crores. In the Seventh Plan, it is 180,000 crores. So, almost 60 to 70 per cent step-up in other sectors is bound to take place. At the same time, we shall have to keep in mind that despite our commitment—commit in the Constitution and commitment in the Directive Principles, we have not been able to provide education even to all school-going children. According to the study of the Planning Commission itself, a total of 1800 million children in the age group of 6—14 have not been enrolled for which Rs. 5300 crores would be required during the Seventh Plan. 680 million are left over from the Sixth Plan. If we want our 260 million adults to be literate, and, in other words, if we want to achieve 100 per cent literacy by the end of 1990, according to the assessment of the Planning Commission, the total requirement would be 6700 crores which is much less than what we are going to spend in Vizag steel plant. The question is about priority. Is our are still left over, without one source of priority to provide 30,000 villages which potable drinking water? When I talk of one source of drinking water, I mean only one source at a distance of two to three kilometres. Or is it our priority to spend money in certain areas where we can wait? I have not doubt that if the policy framework objectives which have been set out in the Plan document in correct perspective are implemented seriously, it will definitely ensure our smooth transfer from this century to the next century. Thank you, Madam.

SHRI F. M. KHAN (Karnataka): I want to make a point.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will not allow you to make a point about something which has not happened in the House.

SHRI F. M. KHAN: I am trying to make a reference...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You cannot make a reference.

SHRI F. M. KHAN: I know that the time of the House is very precious.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Nothing will be recorded. You go and speak to the Election Commission. (*Interruptions*) or whatever you want to say, you can speak to me in the Chamber. (*Interruptions*) It may be a matter of one minute, half a minute or one moment. I am not going to allow you to speak about something that has happened outside.

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If you want, afterwards you come and tell me but not on the floor of the House. Please sit down and abide by my ruling.

SHRI F. M. KHAN:***

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have given my ruling. Please sit down. Don't come here. Please sit down. Mr. Mohanarangam, you please continue. (*Interruptions*) We are discussing the Plan. We are going to talk about Plan and nothing else. You please sit down. Nothing is being recorded. There is no point in waisting the time of the House. And we have a long discussion, and there is a long list. You are not coming here. You are forcing me. I will ask them to take you away. (*Interruptions*) Please take him out. He cannot sit over here. Please do not disturb. Mr. Mohanarangam, you please continue.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: Madam Deputy Chairman, I am coming from a State where the people and their representatives have jointly taken up the responsibility to see that the Five Year Plans are implemented successfully. And I know that our hon. Pranab Mukherjee will be knowing fully well that our representatives, specially in my part of the country, will definitely take up that responsibility along with the Union Government to solve the problems of the people as well as to implement the schemes successfully. When I begin to speak, though I want to endorse the ideas of our hon. friend, Mr. Chatterjee from West Bengal, I am not in a position to do so for the simple reason that thinking that he is speaking on the Five

***Not recorded as ordered by the Chair.

Year Plan of Switzerland or Australia, he has quoted so many things and given very fine statistics. He is a Professor of Statistics. But, as far as... (Interruptions)

श्री सीताराम केसरी : एक क्यूज मी । यह सदन के सम्मान और गरिमा के प्रतिकूल है कि एक सदस्य इस तरह से व्यवहार करे जबकि सदन की कार्यवाही चल रही है। इसलिए मेरा आपसे निवेदन है कि आज उचित कार्यवाही हो माननीय सदस्यों के साथ आप करें। उन्हें कहें कि बैठें अपनी जगह पर या जो उचित कार्यवाही हो, की मर्यादा को रखने के लिए आप करें। मेरा आपसे यह निवेदन है।

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Why complicate the thing? (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We cannot allow anything which is irregular in this House. I would not allow anything which is irregular in this House.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: If something can be settled in a minute, why complicate it unnecessarily? This is my request to the Chair. And this is my request to the Parliamentary Affairs Minister also. We sometimes behave erratically. But we cannot settle matters in a way that affects the dignity of the House.

श्री सीताराम केसरी : मेरा आप यह निवेदन यह कि आप ठीक कह रहे हैं, अगर एक बात गलत है, जब कि उपसभापति जी ने आलरेडी उनसे यह कह दिया है कि जो भी शिकायत हो, आप चैम्बर में आकर कह सकते हैं, उसके बावजूद इस तरह का व्यवहार जो सदन की गरिमा और सदन के सम्मान के प्रतिकूल है इसीलिए मैंने निवेदन किया है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You go and sit in my Chamber. That is fine.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: Madam, am very sorry to disagree with my friend, Mr. Chatterjee, who just initiated this debate on the Seventh Five Year Plan. As I said at the beginning, he was debating if we were debating the Five Year Plan of Australia or Switzerland and that we have only one and a half crores of popu-

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri M. P. Kaushik) in the Chair]

lation in this country. Sir, in the year 1947 when we got independence, the population of this country was, 30 crores. Now we have a population of 75 crores and we have already a Plan to see that everything is settled peacefully and properly. But every year our population is increasing by 1.5 crores. Not only we are not in a position—or expected—to solve this problem for the existing population of 75 crores, which was only 30 crores in 1947, but there is an increase of 1.5 crores every year in the population and when the Members begin to think of the population of our country, they will definitely appreciate what we have done so far. Let us take one by one the economic history of this country, especially with regard to agriculture side. In the year 1958, that is, by the end of the First Five Year Plan, the target was 2.1 per cent whereas the target achieved was 3.6 per cent, and 4.5 per cent in the Second Five Year Plan; it was 5.6 per cent in the beginning of the Third Five Year Plan and what we achieved was 2.2 per cent. At the beginning of the Fourth Five Year Plan, the target was 5.7 per cent whereas we could achieve only 3.3 per cent. But during the Fifth and the Sixth Five Year Plans, we have actually achieved more than what our target was. As against the target of 4.4 per cent, our achievement was 5.2 per cent and also same was the case at the end of the Sixth Five Year Plan. The main objective of the Sixth Five Year is as was mentioned by Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee and also by Mr. Pranab Mukherjee. firstly increase in production and number two, elimination of poverty. This way, by the end of the Seventh Five Year Plan. We are going to eliminate the entire poverty of our population; thirdly, we are creating full employment for all the citizens of the country; fourthly, we are going to meet all the basic needs of the people in terms of food, clothing, shelter and attainment of universal elementary education, and upliftment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. So, all these things have been included in the Seventh Five Year Plan. As I said in the beginning, if we look at things one by one, of

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course, we have achieved certain things to some extent. Take the production side. In the year 1985-86, it is said that they are going to achieve the target of 5 per cent growth, and they will definitely achieve it because if we see the statistics of our past history, we find that we are able to achieve the target on the production side. But what about elimination of poverty. Sir, we have already completed six Five-Year Plans. Nearly 38 years have passed after we attained independence and we are able to solve the problems of one-fifth of the total world population. When we begin with the responsibility of solving these problems by implementing the Five Year Plan, I personally feel that there are certain drawbacks. There is no equal distribution of wealth or equal distribution of power, or equal distribution of water. We have not been able to overcome these things in the past 38 years. That is the main reason why 37 per cent of our population are under the poverty line and they say that in the Seventh Five Year Plan, they are going to reduce it from 37 per cent to 21 per cent.

Sir, we have got lakhs and lakhs of villages in our country. I do not know whether the members of the Planning Commission have visited any village. The members of the Planning Commission are highly educated persons; they have studied in the Oxford and Cambridge Universities and are living in upper strata of the society, living in high society. They are not in a position to understand exactly what the poverty is. Sir, if they permit, I can take the members of this Planning Commission alongwith me to the villages in so many States in the country, where they could very easily find people who are not in a position to have even a single meal during the day, who are not able to send their children to the schools, who are not provided with the basic needs of a human being. But our Plans say that we are going to solve the entire problem. Out of our population of 75 crores, I personally feel, more than 60 to 70 per cent are not able to get

even the basic needs for a living, or proper education and they are below the poverty line.

I do not know how this percentage of people below the poverty line is going to be reduced from 37 to 21. If the statistics given by my friend Mr. Chatterjee, is correct, I personally feel that we will not be able to do so even after reaching 2,000 AD even after implementing the schemes which we have initiated for implementation in the next fifteen years. According to Dr. Malcolm Adiseshiah an eminent economist, in the year 2,000 AD, the population will be 85 crores out of which 50 per cent of the people will definitely be below the poverty line. When this is the case, I do not know how the hon. Minister has come forward with the statistics to say that we are going to solve the entire problem even though we wish to solve it. In fact I am one with him. I want to be with him to solve this problem. But I do not want to imagine impossibilities. We are going to be 80 crore as far as population is concerned. In these years, more than thirty years our population has increased from 30 to 75 crores, an increase of 45 crores. Considering the size of the population, I do not know how the problem is going to be solved even though it has been said that R 1,80,000 crores are going to be spent in the Plan period for the elimination of poverty and so on. I would like to tell the hon. Minister that we are imagining impossibilities. I do not know how exactly we are going to eliminate poverty by the end of 1990.

Now, about full employment. Have you been able to read the article written by our eminent economist including Dr. Malcolm Adiseshiah who has written an article just a week ago, which was published in the *Indian Express*? He has clearly stated that in the year 2,000 A.D. we are going to reach 80 crores. Here only people who are in the urban areas are in a position to get jobs

The statisticians like our friend, Mr. Chatterjee, the hon. Minister of Planning and the Members of the Planning Commission are not taking into account the rural population. They may say that they take into account all these things. But I know fully well that even the Tahsildars who are supposed to gather statistics as far as taluks are concerned, do not go to the villages. They never collect proper statistics. They say only 20 to 27 per cent. But I think, more than 60 per cent of our people are fully unemployed. As I said, only persons who are living in the cities, who have an opportunity to see the newspapers, who have an opportunity to meet various people, are getting chances for employment, but not persons who are living in the rural areas, who are completely dependent upon agriculture. As you know, Sir, 80 per cent of our population is dependent upon agriculture. I do not know how he is going to solve the problem within a period of five years, although we may be spending Rs. 1,80,000 crores for the implementation of poverty alleviation and various other Plan projects and programmes. They say that they want to solve this problem, they say that they want to reduce poverty, they want to reduce the percentage of people below the poverty line from 37 to 21 per cent and they will give full employment to all people by the year 2,000 A.D. Mr. Minister, when out of the existing population about 30 to 35 crores of people are waiting for full employment, when you are not able to give them full employment, I do not know how you will take care of this as well as the increase in population which is going to be about 80 crores by the year 2,000 A.D. You have taken into account only a population of 75 crores. But it is going to be 80 crores in the year 2,000 A.D. Mr. Minister, in such a situation, is it good for you to come forward and say that we are living in a very fine society? You have quoted Pandit Nehru, you have quoted Shrimati Indira Gandhi and you

have also quoted the Bengali poet. I love Bengali. You quoted the Bengali poet to say that we have to live peacefully and that there should be a clean atmosphere for successful implementation of the schemes. I come from Tamil Nadu. We have a very fine saying. It means, every place is ours; all the people are our relatives. When we have such a fine saying in Tamil, I do not blame you for quoting the Bengali poet to say that there should be a pleasant atmosphere and so on. You are talking of the basic needs of the people. How can you solve the problem? Would you come with me to Andhra Pradesh or Madras or Karnataka or Kerala? I can show you billions and billions of people who are not even having day-to-day necessities fulfilled, they do not even have a single shirt to wear. Even the ladies who are inside the huts cannot come outside unless they remove their torn-out clothes and wear the only sari that they are having. So, this is the state of affairs. You have not solved their problem.

Only the people belonging to urban and town areas they have solved their own problem because of their approach and because they have got easy access to the basic requirements.

You have not solved the problem of rural education. What about universal elementary education? You have allotted Rs. 365 crores for spending on education for whole of the country, whereas we are spending nearly Rs. 200 crores for our mid-day meal scheme. Just now I have pointed out something about the basic needs of the people. If you go to each and every village in Tamil Nadu, you can see hundreds and hundreds of students who are studying in elementary schools. They just take their mid-day meals there. Thereby, we have solved not only the food problem but also the health problem. In addition to solving the food and health problems, we have solved one more problem and that is, there are no drop-outs. In other

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States you can see about 41 per cent of the students dropping out at the elementary stage. They drop out after joining the schools because there is no proper food for them. In rural areas you can find more but there is not a single drop out in our area. Sir, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee has mentioned that some States are not taking some responsibility along with the Union Government. We have taken up the responsibility of not only implementing the 20-point programme but also the programme that was given to us by the Central Government in the name of instructions to the State Governments. We ourselves have come forward deliberately and solved almost all the problems. What about universal elementary education? Why do you talk of spending crores and crores of rupees on development of our education in the country? I agree that you are spending such a huge amount on the development of education. I welcome the idea of your convening meetings and conferences for the development of education. But how are you going to solve the problem? I am asking this question of the Members, including senior Parliament Members and Ministers. They say that we have to develop education. Now there are two types of education in our country. The education is for the entire population of 80 crores which is going to come up by the year 2000 A.D. Out of this, 70 crore people belong to rural areas and these persons belonging to rural areas study in the schools run by municipal corporations, secondary boards and the State Government. What about the standard of their education? Then there is the other category of persons who are holding higher responsibility in the Government, business magnates and rich people. They send their children to public schools where there is a different type of education. There are two varieties of education. In one type of education they are not even in a position to understand what exactly the world is because even

their teachers or professors do not know that. The other type of education is given in schools like St. Columbes. All these persons are well versed with high standard. And they get this education because they pay money. They are paying hundreds and hundreds of rupees for the education of their children. So the children belonging to this society and the children of the poor people belonging to rural areas are getting two types of education. Not only that, you are spending money in the name of the education for those persons also who have got wealth, who can take up their own responsibility, and equally for those poor people who are not in a position to get good education. You have only one idea that you have to spend the allocated amount on education. Whenever a State, whether it is a Communist State or my own State or any other State asks for money, without considering the development of the State you just give the amount. In this way, how are you going to solve this problem? What is the essence of this? Did you not mention, Sir, at the end of your speech—I was carefully listening to your speech—that you spend crores of rupees just to get social justice? Didn't you mention this? What do you mean by social justice? You are spending crores of rupees for persons who have the opportunity to go to foreign countries and to admit their children in first class schools. But you are not in a position to see how the education of other children is going on. Not only that, you have created a different avenue also for those persons. There are persons who are sitting in high responsible positions in South Block and North Block. You can see that persons who have studied in the first class schools are just now holding responsible positions there, but not persons who have studied in board schools, corporation schools or municipal schools. How are you going to solve this problem? For that may I request you to check up and see that there should not be two different types of education, there should not

be two different standards of education? The standards of education should be equal for all the persons. All the citizens are equal; so they should be given equal opportunity.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Please conclude.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: I have not taken even ten minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): You have already taken 17 minutes.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: I am the leader of the second biggest party. And Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee, who belongs to and is Deputy Leader of the first biggest party, has taken 43 minutes, whereas the time allotted to him was only 22 minutes, and I was allowed twenty minutes and so far I have taken 17 minutes...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): There is one more speaker from your party.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: This is the punishment for supporting the Government. Anyhow I will finish just now.

Just now, Sir, I have just discussed the general policies and programmes of the Central Government who have invested lakhs and lakhs of rupees for the betterment of this country, for the development of this country, to give good education, for eradication of poverty, for creating employment opportunities and all that. From the year 1967, Tamil Nadu is ruled by non-Congress governments. Since 1967, I would like to ask the Finance Minister, what is direct Central investment to Madras? Have you ever spent a single paise as investment in Tamil Nadu? If you turn one by one the pages of economic history of India, from the year 1967, you will find that not even a single paisa was spent for the development of Tamil Nadu as far as Central investment is concerned. Whereas you have spent thousands of crores of rupees on Bokaro Steel Plant, what about Salem Steel plant? That is an existing industry. Even for the existing

industry, when we ask for Rs. 25 crores, you are giving us 10 crores for five or six years and not in a particular year. What about the Sethusumadaram scheme, a scheme which connects both East and West Coast which was started in the year 1886 and the matter was completely forgotten after that; the file was shelved. Mr. Venkataraman, because he belongs to that area, and he was the Industry Minister there, he remembered about that scheme and while going through the entire shelf, he found that file which said something about Sethusumadaram scheme. Every year, not a single Session passes when we do not mention this particular scheme. We are talking about a scheme which will connect the East and West Coast. But they do not think anything about it. They have never thought about it at the time when they frame these Five Year Plans and allot money to the States. Never have they thought about the implementation of Sethusumadaram scheme. Not only that, I would like to mention two or three things and I hope the Chair will allow me to do it. I will finish in two or three minutes.

What about the power situation? Did you not mention, Mr. Finance Minister, that you are going to allot more amount—in fact one-third of the total you are going to spend on development of power and energy. With an increase in generation of power and energy, we can solve the entire problem of implementation of the Seventh Five Year Plan which is completely dependent on that. Sir, here is a letter issued by the Industry Department about pig iron allocation for all the States. Delhi have been allotted 12,000 tonnes. I am very happy because you have allotted 12,000 tonnes for Delhi, the capital of this country which has a population of 75 crores. This city has seen the entire history of India and so I am also very glad when you allotted 12,000 tonnes for it, for which 105 wagons are sanctioned. Even though this particular matter belongs to the railways, when I speak about imple-

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 mentation of the Five-Year Plans during which they spend money on transport also, I am right and I have a right to speak about this matter. For Delhi, for lifting 12,000 tonnes they have allotted 105 wagons. For Madhya Pradesh they have allotted 7,000 tonnes and 75 wagons. For Maharashtra they have allotted 48,000 tonnes and 200 wagons. But, for my poor State of Tamil Nadu, a State which is situated nearly 1,200 to 1,300 miles away from this capital city of India, they have allotted 66,000 tonnes. I am very happy that they have allotted us this much. But the number of wagons allotted is only 55. For a State which has got only 48,000 tonnes, they have allotted 200 wagons but, for my State which is allotted 66,000 tonnes, the allotment of wagons is only 55. And, even out of these 55 wagons, they have given only 32, saying that there are no more wagons. Why are the wagons not provided to lift the material from one place to another? My State is in the southern part of the country. The tip of the nation is at Kanyakumari in my State of Tamil Nadu. If you come there you can see the three seas kissing each other, you can also see the magnificent sunrise and the moonrise. Such a beautiful State is neglected. You are not giving us the necessary wagons. If we got wagons we can take coal there. If we can take coal there, we can improve our power position and if we can improve our power position we can improve our industry. While on the question of industry, Mr. Minister, they have selected some backward districts in this country for starting industries but not even a single district has been selected in my State of Tamil Nadu even though it is a very very poor State. We do not have natural resources like Andhra Pradesh or water like Karnataka—from where my honourable friend, Mr. Gurupadaswamy comes—and our poor State is completely neglected. In the matter of allotment of wagons for the transportation of coal and other mate-

rials and also in the matter of selection of a backward district in our State for starting industries we have been neglected.

When we talk about all these things, kindly do not think that we would not come forward for the implementation of the Five-Year Plans. We are with you, Mr. Minister, and we are with the Government and we will take up the joint responsibility.

Finally, before I conclude, I would like to tell you one thing. Have a heart and have a soft corner for my State? We are very poor people coming from a very poor State in the country. We are branded as second grade citizens. Let us come forward and join you as first grade citizens. I hope the hon'ble Minister, with the blessings of our hon'ble Prime Minister, will take up the entire responsibility of improving Tamil Nadu, a poor State. Even though you are spending more than Rs. 1,80,000 crores, there is no proper distribution of wealth. Unless and until there is proper distribution of wealth and proper distribution of all the benefits, I don't think you can achieve the goal—the goal of socialism.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRIMATI PRATIBHA DEVI SINGH PATIL (Maharashtra): Honourable Vice-Chairman. Sir, the much-awaited and important document of the Seventh Five-Year Plan has come up for discussion before this House. This Plan addresses itself to fight against poverty and achieve self-reliance within a specified number of years. It is a stupendous task to fulfil which the Government has the determination, and if it is supported by the determination of the people and the Opposition I think it would be possible for us to achieve the objective.

What are the main objectives before this Plan? The main objectives

or priorities are food, work and productivity. Sir, I was listening to the honourable Mr. Chatterjee from the Opposition, when he was talking about poverty. He tried to say that poverty was increasing instead of decreasing during the last years, and he also remembered God. Sir, as far as I know. Marxists and Communists do not believe in God. But since he has remembered God, I would like to tell him that even during the time of Lord Krishna when Sudama, his friend of childhood, went to see him, he had no gift to carry with him, and, therefore, he had to take only a handful of raw rice to give as present to his Lord. Ultimately when he came back, he saw that the whole village had turned into a golden village, swarna nagri. But we do not have any divine power in India. We do not have even any magic power to fight poverty. The only way we can fight it is in a planned process, and this planned process is a gift which has been given to our country by late Pandit Jawaharlalji. Indira Gandhiji nurtured it, nurtured the seed which was sown by late Pt. Jawaharlalji, and the sapling has grown now into a tree. We have now to see that the flowerings of the tree turn into fruits so that we are able to alleviate the poverty, raise the incomes of our people and see that social justice and economic justice is meted out.

Sir, he also mentioned about the public sector and also the party to which he belongs. He cannot think of two sectors going along together, the public sector and the private sector. But I would like to remind him that not only have we to achieve this progress, prosperity, social and economic justice without force but we have to achieve it through a democratic way. No totalitarian way or dictatorship is allowed in India. We do not want to bring it in India. So, it is a democratic process in which the progress could be a little bit slower, but we are all committed to democracy. It is the democratic way. Within the framework of democracy we want to

achieve it. Sir, we have also to achieve it without disturbing the integrity and integration of our country. We have to keep democracy in tact. We have to keep the integration of the country also in tact. Sir, I would like to mention here that India has achieved it during the past years. The efforts of disintegration of India have failed, and the world is witness. It has seen the historical achievement of this country which is the biggest democracy of this planet.

Sir, we are facing a lot of stumbling blocks, lacunae, defects, so far as going-ahead is concerned. However, the main stumbling block before us is the increase in the population. I would rather say, it is the explosion of the population. Unless and until the explosion is curbed, it will again create problems for us. The numerous new mouths which are coming are swallowing all the fruits of the progress which we are trying to achieve. These new mouths are recklessly coming every month, every hour and every minute in our country. I would say that even every second it is being added to our country. Unless and until it is curbed, unless and until we try to have a multi-pronged attack—not attack in another sense—unless and until we have different schemes to fight this menace of the increasing population, it will be very difficult for us to achieve the goal of progress which we are contemplating to achieve.

Sir, I remember, somebody had said rather jocularly that we in India should follow the ideal of Lord Rama. Lord Rama had only two children—Lav and Kush. We all of us should follow this ideal of having two children. If we do not follow this ideal, people will be required to follow the ideal of Hanuman where nobody will be having the right to have any children in this country. Though it is said jocularly. I would rather say, it is a serious fraud and it requires to be meted out. I would rather like to suggest one child per family. If we are required to spend all incentive more

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than what we are spending now, we should think of that very seriously. I know that we want to go in a voluntary way, but not in a compulsory way. Therefore, if the incentives for curbing new births are not there, I think, we will have to face again lot of difficulties. Even if we spend Rs. 2,000 for preventing one birth, it is worthwhile. Because by preventing one unnecessary birth, I say unnecessary birth, we will be saving Rs. 10,000 per person. When the child grows up you are to make all the facilities for his education, well-being and necessary amenities. I suggest to the Government that they should consider my suggestion very seriously.

I am told that in the villages some voluntary workers are going to be sent and these workers are going to very huge. I think it is probably one or two for every village. This would really employment to some of our people. But I do not know, how far it will be successful.

Sir, in the Sixth Five Year Plan, the aggregate growth target achieved was 5.2 per cent. Now during the Seventh Five Year Plan, we want to build its edifice on this achieved target, that is, 5.2 per cent, at the average annual rate of 5 per cent in the economy as a whole, output of agriculture in terms of value added 4 per cent and industry 8 per cent. Now, so far as the industry is concerned, the policy in the Seventh Five Year Plan is to restructure this industry with high technology and efficiency. Sir, it is necessary if the traditional methods of technology is proving obsolete and we are not in a position to increase our output to bring efficiency in the manufacturing process with the help of high technology. No matter what others have to say, we should go in for high technology. Criticism will be there always. We know that there is wider criticism, when our Prime Minister spoke about high technology and bringing in computers. But no matter what is the criticism, we must go

ahead with this high technology to increase our efficiency and production. Unless and until we do that, we are not going to have increase in our industrial output.

Sir, here I would like to remind the House that during the olden times when Britishers came to rule and took possession over India, our rulers had all the brave and they were strong and had confidence to fight but they had traditional weapons to fight with the Britishers. At that time Britishers had modern guns and our rulers were not known about these modern guns and they were at a disadvantageous position. That is why we had to submit to the Britishers. Therefore, high technology is the need of the hour. No matter what one says. Our Prime Minister should go ahead with this technology.

So far as agriculture is concerned, I would like to pay compliments to our Prime Minister and also the National Development Council as there is a shift, the shift from the highly capital intensive industrial sector to the less capital intensive agricultural sector and on rural industries. Sir, the base of agriculture has been broadened by providing the infrastructural facilities of development, irrigation, roads, markets, credit, new technology dry and rain-fed farming, afforestation appropriate prices and procurement. Now, as the Hon'ble Minister was reading out his speech, he talked about bringing some restraint on the subsidies. I do not know whether these subsidies are being reduced or stopped to these areas where we want to go for increased output and productivity, i.e. in the rain-fed area and the dry land farming. I would rather suggest, you may think of cutting down the subsidy but not to these areas because these areas are the basis where we want that the productivity has to grow. That is going to improve the rural economy and unless and until, dry land farmers are provided with fertilizers and credit facilities, no amount of efforts are going to increase

the productivity of that area and therefore, I would like to urge on the Government that no subsidy would be curtailed so far as these farmers and these areas are concerned. I do not want to say about other areas because they are well developed areas and probably, they do not need it also. But if you want to achieve these objectives, it is a must and even the credit facilities have to flow from the Government, whether it is a State Government or a Central Government, it does not make any difference so far as farmers are concerned. I would rather request that the credit facilities and the input facilities should be given so that intensive agricultural development prospers and ushers into these areas where it is most needed. Sir, the Plan document says, regarding the agricultural production, the target is about 178 to 183 million tonnes. Sir, it is not the target which has been fixed, which is 50 per cent higher than what it was in the Sixth Plan period. What is important is not target but the way and the method by which this target is proposed to be achieved. It is the balanced growth, region-wise, crop-wise and class-wise this balanced growth is expected to be achieved and that is Sir, very important. In the past, Sir, 15 per cent as the Plan document says, I won't read it out because I do not know how much time I do have. I would not go into what the Plan document says? I would rather like to make it more quick. I would rather say what the Plan Document says about: accelerating the growth of agricultural output, reducing annual fluctuations in output and correcting the regional and inter-crop and inter-class disparities. Another important feature, it says. Such a pattern of growth can give necessary impetus to rural development through a dispersal of agro-industries. Sir, I would like to mention here. (*Interruption*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Try to summarise please.

SHRIMATI PRATIBHA DEVI SINGH PATIL: The Plan document itself says that this agricultural output which we all talk about was achieved only by 15 per cent of land which was under the foodgrains. It was 15 per cent land which was under the foodgrains and which was endowed with all these facilities and 50 per cent goal was achieved and therefore, I would say that the small and marginal farmers, who have been kept in view in the Seventh Plan, is a very important thing and I do congratulate the Government for not forgetting them. Not only for not forgetting but to put more stress try to provide more for them and make the weak farmers in the rain-fed areas strong and that will make our economy strong. That is the moot point where Government will have to lay more stress. Sir, there is a lot of opposition for giving higher prices to the farmers for their agricultural produce. But in some fields we will have to give it and I would rather suggest that foodgrains, pulses and oilseeds are the major commodities where we must give protection to the farmers. And we must have buffer stocks also for these things. To combat inflation, it is necessary that we must have buffer stocks and we must also have suitable fiscal policies. We must also take utmost care and make the utmost economy in the non-Plan expenditure. If we try to look into these things, I think it will, to some extent, help us to curb inflation.

I would again urge upon the Government: please gear up the administrative machinery through which we want to put this Plan into practice. There are a lot of loopholes, defects and a lot of corrupt practices which have crept in. A lot of dishonesty has also crept in. So I would like to know what are the plans for putting our administrative machinery on a sound footing. We are going to put in huge amounts and also Herculean efforts through this Plan. Unless and until our administrative machinery is strong enough to take the burden of these huge amounts and these Herculean

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efforts, it will not be possible for us to percolate the effects and the success of the Plan and the fruits of the prosperity to down below, to the weaker sections of the people. Therefore, Sir, as you have already ring the bell, I would like just to sum up. The Seventh Five Year Plan marks the beginning of a revitalising era in the development strategy of our economy. The programme of development during the Seventh Plan is set against a growth perspective adopted for the next 15 years. That perspective is that by the end of the century, India will become a modern and technologically progressive economy with an expanding capacity to provide the basic material requisites of well-being for all people. This Plan has been formulated and will be implemented under the courageous and able leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Sir, he has shown foresight and has planned it in depth to do away with the inherent weaknesses of our economy. In this country we have to give science and technology an adequate role to play so that India becomes a strong, modern and developed country. I would only pray to God to bestow his choicest blessing upon Shri Rajiv Gandhi and give him a long life and success to put into practice his dream of Future India. Most heartily I would like to support the Seventh Five Year Plan which has been well thought out. Once again I thank you, Sir.

DR. SHANTI G. PATEL (Maharashtra): Sir, because Nehru was not merely a visionary but also a practical person, he envisaged what was going to happen in this country and what were the conditions which required to be handled if proper economic development was to be achieved in this country. Because it is a vast country and densely populated also, and the country had not the resources which countries like Russia or America had—had a high man-land ratio also—the decision was taken, and taken deliberately to move in our democratic way and in a planned way, too.

That was an unique experiment, which is being carried on in this country. I am happy to say that we have succeeded—may be up to a point, but we are moving in the direction which we had charted out when we started with the Plan.

This discussion provides an occasion for an assessment of what has happened or what has been the outcome of the previous Plans, and also an occasion for improvement as far as the future planning is concerned. Thus, it, both looking into the past and looking into the future become inevitable. Looking into the future as envisaged in the Seventh Five Year Plan one could have no quarrel; as a matter of fact, one would like to welcome when certain basic objectives like poverty removal, social system based on equity and justice, creation of a modern society and self-reliance, are placed as our goals. Again, these can be spelt out further. As it has been stated, we want to achieve drinking water for all, at the end of the Seventh Plan, or by the year 2000, that is the long-term perspective—liquidation of poverty, elimination of illiteracy, providing certain basic needs, high rate of economic growth, modernisation or getting new technology, etc. These are the aims with which one could have no differences. But the one million dollar question is: Is the promise going to be matched with performance? If the past is any indication, I would only quote Dr. Adiseshaiah, a noted economist who said that the experience has been—seeming unbridgeable gap between what he has termed—“growing and a planning and performance”. I see nothing in the Plan to convince me that the experience is going to be the other way round. This is something which has to be borne in mind. It is possible to paint a very good picture but the important thing, the real challenge, is to implement. In this context we have to see as to what are the policies, what are their contents, in the Plan. The policies and strategies which are going to be adopted, to achieve this particular goal. We are

where we were. I am very sorry to say that one does not find any heartening thing which can take us further. I would refer to what the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission has said quoting Indiraji:

"The measure of the Plan is not the intention but the achievement, not the allocation but the benefit."

It is just from these standards we have to see where we stand today. If we look at the picture of the Indian society as it comes before our eyes, it throws in our eyes straight off that there are about 50 per cent of the people below the poverty line. There are some who are going to raise their eye-brows as to whether so many are under the poverty line. I will deal with it a little later. As far as drinking water is concerned, according to the World Bank Report, 41 per cent people are lucky to have it; some increase may be made during the Seventh Plan. As far as excreta disposal facilities are concerned, 20 per cent of Indian population is lucky to have them and only 2 per cent of the rural population have access to such basic amenities. As far as cereal consumption is concerned, it has risen in 30 years, from mere 350 to 400 gms. As far as illiteracy is concerned, over 50 per cent, over 30 crores of people are still without any knowledge of letters and figures. Unemployment is another story which unfortunately is so disheartening that one may ask what we have achieved at the end of the 35 years of planning process. The story is the same in education—75 per cent of the primary schools do not have proper buildings, 40 per cent have no black boards, 70 per cent of children have no books, 80 per cent have no lavatory facilities. It is again the same sad story in health. If you visit the primary health centres, you do not find the doctors; if you find a doctor, you do not find the drugs or it may be the other way round. Malnutrition is rampant. That is why lakhs of our children become victims of several diseases. Actually, the other

day the Finance Minister himself was making a claim regarding India's faster growth rate compared to other countries and all that. We are also leading the world and that is in respect of blindness, leprosy, tuberculosis, mental retardation, and such other diseases which unfortunately abound in this country. As far as rural electrification is concerned, with which I will deal a little later, the same sorry tale runs. Regarding shelter, the next year is going to be an International year for shelter for the Homeless. We have so many homeless people and I hope to see that we would be able to house all these people. I am saying this because the Minister in charge of this portfolio is also sitting here in this House now and he has made this promise publicly.

Now, a point may be raised, as somebody has already raised, that we do not have the Sudama's bowl. But, certainly, we have got the "science and technology" in the form of a bowl, and certainly, we have got Sudama in terms of "human resources", crores and crores of people that we have in this country. If these two are properly matched and properly used, I think we can do wonders which we are craving for.

Now, what has been the experience of the past? Karnataka shows us the way. They have been able to dig with in two years 1983-85, 29,000 bore wells, what was the performance during the last 32 years prior to this period in that very State? It was 54,518. It means 170 per annum against 14,500, the present performance is eighty times more than the performance in the past. This has been possible in one particular Janata ruled, State. What is necessary is the will and if there is a political will to take care of these unfortunate ones we can do that. But what one finds: the Plan is that there is no hope at all. May I ask the Minister in a humility as to what is the hope, what is it that the poor and the suffering people can expect from this particu-

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Plan? Probably, words, promises and nothing else can flow from this Plan. I say this because the way in which the promises have been made on every page, it appears that we are going to have "Swarga", if not by 1990, at least by 2000 A.D. in this country, and is this going to be the case?

I would also like to refer in this context to another thing. We are talking of malnutrition. I would only refer to one thing and it is this that as far as our pulses consumption is concerned, which is very important and to which I will come later, the Planning Commission or the Plan itself has not been able to say much. But what is the consumption? Now, the availability of pulses was 70.4 gms. in 1956 and the availability now is 41 gms. in 1984.

I am referring to all these facts only for the reason that we are living in a country where there is not one society, where there is not one India, but we are living in a country where there are "two Indias". Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde very correctly said that there are two Indias one in which all the poor and the suffering are living, and the other India is one where all the elite people, the modern people, are living, people who consider themselves much advanced. Sir, these people constitute hardly about twenty per cent. but they try to monopolise everything. They are trying to have all the consumer goods and all the luxury goods. They try to behave in a way as if a new culture is being born. I do not know whether the Plan refers to this culture. But it is being born and is being nurtured by such Plan processes so much so that the benefits of the Plan are going into the hands of a few and, unfortunately, to the greatest disadvantage of the poor people.

Coming to the question of poverty, to which I must make a reference, I am sorry to say that the figures that are being given out by the Planning Commission from time to time are not correct at all. It appears, I am

sorry to say this, that they have become the mouthpiece of the ruling party or the Government which they should not be. I would expect them to behave independently and give their own views. But that does not seem to be happening. A number of eminent economists have challenged these figures and they have given cogent reasons as to why these figures cannot be correct. I may give you one or two illustrations, small illustrations. Take the question of price rise. How do you expect the poor people to get over the poverty line if the price rise is going to take place at the rate at which it is already taking place? It will only add to the price rise and not to its reduction. It is not only a question of general price rise. Take the steep price rise case of essential commodities which are very necessary for the sustenance of life, ordinary human life. How will they have two thousand calories which is necessary? If you look at it from this point of view, it is not possible at all.

Then, Sir, take the standard of mortality rate also. That also is not going down. So, this is another indication as to why these things are happening. One can give many reasons. I just refer to some eminent economists. Myself being a doctor—I am a doctor, but not a Doctor of Economics—I would like to refer to views of these people, as Dr. Adishesiah has called it "poverty fiasco". That is how he has termed it. Then the late

3 P.M. Dr. Raj Krishna is there. Prof. Ramachandran is there. A number of people have gone into this particular problem. This is one aspect. This has to be properly tackled. As somebody has said: what is a plan? A plan is laying down of priorities and marshalling of resources and handling them in a proper way, in a proper direction. If that is the idea, to me the growth rate should not be the priority; to me the priority will be the removal of the sufferings of these people, about which there does not seem to be a hope. I know there is concern about this; in fairness, I must say that. But there

is not that "seriousness of concern" which is required according to the situation that we are faced with.

Then, regarding the planning process, I would say that one of the reasons why we have been failing is that it is centralised, rather over-centralised planning. It is not brought forward to the 'mandal' level. As the Asoka Mehta Committee on Panchayat Raj Institutions pointed out, the basic grass roots have to be developed, have to be taken into confidence, have to be involved in this process, not merely in the preparation of plan but also the implementation of the plan. Then we can achieve success. then we can get these problems solved. This is a reality. Otherwise we shall be where we are, and I don't think we will be able to make any progress, or make a tardy and slow progress.

Then hon. Member who preceded me said that democracy is slow. I am sorry I do not agree with that speaker. We are slow because we are not going in the right way. I think that through democracy also the goods can be speedily delivered, and it is possible to do this if we go in the right manner.

I would now refer to the poverty alleviation programme. like to say that this allocation has been left at 10.9 per cent and social services at 16.3 per cent. whereas it should have been much more. Again, so far as these poverty alleviation schemes are concerned, there is a plethora of them. I take a test. If I ask the Planning Minister how many such schemes are there, he just cannot name them, because there are so many of them. So the remedy is to integrate them, bring them together, and make the States responsible, give them money, the wherewithal, so that they can implement. This should not function as what is called a centrally sponsored scheme.

In this regard, the planners' own Study Group says that the identification has been wrong. As the Prime Minister has been saying day in and day out, during the Sixth Five Year Plan the poorest of the poor have not benefited. This is an admission which one should take into account. Things are going to remain as they are. I am afraid, Sir, that the situation will not only improve but will worsen, if we do not change some of the policies.

Then, I would refer also in this context to the NDC (National Development Council) I believe that there has to be a democratic process at all levels. That is why this particular institution is to be properly democratised. I would go a step further, as to who is to become a member of the Planning Commission. A certain number of nominees of State Chief Ministers should also be there. The Deputy Chairman also should be appointed in consultation with them. There should be periodic meetings. Only then we can be assured of success.

There is no time to go into all the aspects of the Plan. But regarding financing of the Plan, I would certainly like to point out that it appears, from whatever experience is there of the public sector, that there does not seem to be particular hope to expect some miracles in that particular sector. I am one of those who have been connected with the public sector for a long time, both on the labour side as also the employers' side. I can say that there does not seem to be any seriousness to set right the maladies that are there. But one thing I would like to emphasize, and that is about tax evasion and concealment. If the Government properly moves without fear or favour, I think this can be tackled. Kirloskars are one instance. I think there are many sharks like this. These big sharks have to be caught and trapped. You have to see that the money that they have concealed is revealed and proper accounts are taken. I may mention that probably the treatment meted out to Mr. Kirlosker was rough.

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He is so aged. But that does not mean that his house should not have been raided and you should not have taken action against him.

It is in this context that one has to think of foreign loans and deficit-financing. Well, in the situation in which we are placed, I do not think we can escape foreign loans. But we can certainly limit them.

Now, I come to deficit-financing and price rise. I would particularly like to refer to price rise because the whole apple cart would be upset, if it goes beyond limit. There would not be any apple in the cart if the price rise continues to take place at the rate at which it is taking place during the last few decades. Of course, the Finance Minister has been making claims that after the last budget, the rise is not that much! But he certainly admits of a rise. If he does not control the pace at which it is taking place, it is going to be terrific.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Please conclude now.

DR. SHANTI G. PATEL: I am not asking for the time which the Seventh Plan requires. Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee spoke for 43 minutes. Mr. Mohanaragam spoke for 42 minutes. What I was referring to is that this price rise has to be taken care of. Deficit-financing is one of the factors which is going to affect it with the money supply that is going to take place. In this respect, I would like to refer to the report of Prof. Sukhamoy Chakravarty who is eminent economist. Not only eminent economist, he is the Chairman of the Advisory Economic Council which the Prime Minister has constituted. May I know from the Minister what steps is he going to take as far as his recommendations are concerned? He has given a warning. He has analysed the whole system about deficit-financing and money supply and has made certain recommendations. The experience of the Sixth

Plan shows that deficit-financing is always under-estimated. It was expected to be about 5000 crores and we have landed with 13170 crores. For the Seventh Plan, it is said to be 14000 crores. I am afraid that even with this figure we might get into the red and if that figure increases, then God help us.

In this context, I may also refer to infra-structure which, I believe, is also important. Now, power is important. But one is shocked to learn that there are plants which work to the capacity of 10 per cent in this country. This is given in a reply to a question in this very House that there are plants which are working with only 10 per cent capacity. What is the average performance? It is 50 per cent. If we are able to increase this performance and see that transmission and distribution losses are reduced considerably, we may be able to achieve all the production and all the growth probably with much less outlay than what we are spending today. But there does not seem to be a "serious concern" about this particular aspect. I know that certain plans have been suggested. I know, and Sir, you are also aware that a number of times we have been told by the Minister or at least the predecessors of the present Planning Minister and the Finance Minister, that we are doing this thing and that thing in the power industry, steel industry, technological renovation, this and that. But we have found that in practice nothing has happened.

Coming to transport, I would like to refer to the urban transport. In our country, urban transport is something which serves the national economy. In all the countries of the world urban transport is something which is subsidised. It is in our country that it is being burdened with more and more excise duty or some other duty or on oil, tubes and tyres. This particular sector is not being exempted. I would suggest that this whole sector should be exempted as far as this duty is concerned.

Coming to debt position, it is going to be nearly 1,00,000 crores, both internal and external put together, and we will be required to make heavy repayments during the Seventh Plan, including the rise from 2943 crores to 3791 crores at the end of the Plan in foreign exchange. How are we going to find this money, and much more so, if this infra-structure, particularly the power, is going to behave as it is doing today?

That is why it is necessary that we have to increase the productivity and create other resources by utilising the man, the human resources which we have in this country. An idea was thrown out that we should have a "land army" and should create productive resources not merely in the urban areas but also in the rural areas. Unfortunately, we have so far not built up such a structure which can take care of this human potential and which can help us to a considerable extent.

There has been now a lot of talk about removal of controls, licences and permits. I am not against it. They should be where they are absolutely necessary. But complete removal or the way in which it is being done in certain spheres is something which is pregnant with grave dangers for achieving the planned development, particularly for developing the regions which are backward. It is necessary. This is an instrument in the hands of the Government, which needs to be utilised properly, and can be utilised properly, if the persons who are in charge of it go about it in a proper way. This is the only way in which we can prevent the concentration of economic power. There are certain priority areas and certain non-priority areas. I would like to know from the hon. Minister as to what policies exactly they propose to follow during this Plan period so that this difficulty does not arise.

Sir, I may refer to the public sector. I would only like to make out

one point. If the public sector is not able to perform, there is a specific reason for it. Before I go into it, I would like to submit. Sir, that everybody day in and day out in this country cries against the public sector that it is something which is not functioning properly as if the private sector fellows are doing yeoman's service to the country. One knows that there are one lakh of sick units involving thousands of crores of rupees of the banks in their accounts. There is no hope of most of them coming out. This is the performance of the private sector. If we compare, and if there is a scrutiny as there is a scrutiny of public sector on the floor of the Parliament. I am sure the public sector performance, though not satisfactory in my opinion, is on the whole, much better, compared to the private sector. It is in this background thing that I would like to suggest in all seriousness, though I know that the Planning Minister in answer to my query has evaded it the other day, there has to be a proper system of autonomy and accountability. This is lacking. I may tell you, what little experience I had as a Member of the Committee on Public Undertakings that what I have found most astounding is that every top man has been complaining that our project clearance takes a lot of time. Five years are taken even for clearance of one ordinary power project of a concern which is concerned with the production of basic chemical drugs, just like the IPCL. I am referring to this, as there is no reference to this except that we will do something about it. A proper system has to be worked out regarding the composition of the Board, regarding the persons who are going to work on this, and particularly in a case where the project clearance is concerned. Unless this is done in a decisive manner, I am afraid, again we will be blaming the public sector without removing the cause which has led this particular position.

Then there is another point. In the Plan, though it is said that the pub-

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lic sector is not being "downgraded," but the private sector is being "upgraded". What I find is that there is a definite "Tilt towards the Private Sector." The figures speak for themselves. In the Sixth Plan, the ratio of public sector to the private sector was 53 to 47. It has come down to 48 to 52. that is, 52 is for the private sector. That is one of the indications. There are other policy matters like liberalisation and the way in which a number of multinationals have been able to find an access. This is something against which our present industry has been protesting. They have been finding an access. I am not against the multinationals as such. I will be very frank and can did about it. But the way in which you select is very important, and in what sphere, in what industry and in what technology. All these have to be worked out so that they do not become the masters in the country; otherwise, they will put us into hot soup as they have done in a number of other countries. This is also important because our small sector cannot be taken care of unless we follow a proper policy.

I would like to refer to another point regarding black money. There has been a Government report. The main observation has been that it is the public contract system, it is the public expenditure, which is generating most of the black money. There does not seem to be any reference as to how these things are to be controlled so that this curse which is more than anywhere else in the world could be checked. This is an observation of Mr. Vito Tanzi of UNO—not mine. Because we want to compare ourselves with other countries and that is why I am pointing this out. This is his observation after studying the condition in various developing countries. He has come to this conclusion that black money generation here is more than any other country in the world. This is one record that we hold as far as black money is concerned.

Coming to the employment, because a reference has been made, I would like to say, still correct figures are not available. There is not merely unemployment, Sir, as you are well aware there is also a lot of under-employment which also keeps the people poor. They are not able to get the basic needs, the minimum needs which a human being requires. In this context, I would refer to the figures, because a lot of claim is being made regarding removal of unemployment and about poverty line. These are their own figures. I refer to the educated unemployed on the live registers of our 720 Employment Exchanges spread till over the country. In 1980, at the beginning of the Sixth Five Year Plan, there were 15.3 million people; the figure has risen to 24.2 million by May 1985 which means that a rise of 60 per cent has taken place. This is the real performance which the Sixth Plan has shown in this respect and, I don't think the Seventh Plan is going to be anyway different. Here again, the emphasis would have to be on rural development. It is thus that we can also get rid of this migration to cities which is an indication of unemployment and poverty.

I would also refer to another topic which was specifically raised by the previous speaker. That is about technology. Persons of my persuasion are in favour of technology modernisation. We would like to have the most upto-date technology, not tomorrow, even today, at this moment. But at the same time, I am afraid in the circumstances in which we are placed, with the population that we have in the country and the stage of our development, we have to be selective. We have only "appropriate technology at the appropriate place." Because this is a space age, we cannot start running into space; we can keep in touch with that science but we cannot adopt everything. Here, in my opinion, there is no real transfer of technology. In technological collaborations

all technological processes and equipments, everything is imported. There are a few exceptional cases where this thing does not happen. The industrialist here wants to make quick money and the multinational does not want to reveal the technology. So, both interests come together and that is how they have been doing it. There has been a study in Singapore and Malaysia and they have come to the conclusion that this mindless import of technology is playing havoc with the jobs. This is important in the context of unemployment that we have. If you are going to do it in a hurry and in a haphazard manner, the result is obvious.

I will give you a concrete instance which, in my opinion, is relevant to it. That is this HBJ—Hazira-Bijapur Jagdishpur Project, where, our own experts, the Engineers India Limited and Gas Authority of India who know the job very well, and they have been now appointed consultants, had worked out the whole plan and were going to involve Indian concerns so that we could have made an advance. Not only that we would have absorbed certain technology but we might have got the opportunity to innovate. This opportunity has been lost unfortunately because we have decided to have a turn-key project. Now, a French consortium and an Italian consortium are competing with each other for this and there is a controversy in the Press about this. I am interested in neither of them. I would have preferred,—may be a little delay, may be a little mistakes—I would have given chance, opportunity, to these Indian people so that we are able to get the real technology and we are able to make real advance as far as the technological field is concerned. I would say that the policy in this regard also has to be properly guided and properly controlled. As a matter of fact, we should have a National Technological Development Plan. We should work according to that policy.

As far as agriculture is concerned, I wish them well! I wish everybody well! We have to attain four per cent growth. I do not want to go into the details. I would refer to only two items edible oil and sugar. What is our performance? In spite of the promises to perform better from year to year—my leader at that time from Bombay, Mr. S. K. Pail, who was also the Minister here, made "promises"—I have been hearing "promises" from all Ministers since those days, since the last three decades—but sugar imports are increasing.

In regard to edible oil, I am told that import is going to be worth Rs. 4,575 crores as far as the Seventh Five-Year Plan is concerned. Will it not be advisable, desirable, to utilise this money for irrigation and for various other projects so that we can increase edible oil production or pulses production. There also, in 'pulses' the story is the same. In the case of pulses, it was 11.82 million tonnes in 1970-71. Then, we reached 13.04 in 1975-76 and for the reasons best known to the Government, it has again slumped to 12.65 in 1983-84. So, this is the advance or the achievement as far as agriculture is concerned.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Please conclude.

DR. SHANTI G. PATEL: One or two points more. Now, again I would like to refer to urbanisation. This is going to be very important as far as the coming years are concerned. The Planning Commission has given figures that by 2,000 A.D. it is going to be 32 per cent. What are we doing about it? Wherever urbanisation takes place, decay that sets in. Our cities, towns, are stinking at present. Whatever standard you take, whether it is drinking water, whether it is transport or sanitary arrangement, whatever it is, the story is the same failure. Now, what are we doing about it? Do we not know which areas are going to be urbanised? Is it not possible to plan in advance? Is it not possible to plan out things in advance

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and properly and see that these things are done according to that plan? Unfortunately, the party in power has not been doing it. I belonged to the Congress Party at that time. Even my advice was not listened to. In fact, right back in 1969, we suggested creation of New Bombay, across, on the other side of the Thana creek. They did not listen. The Chief Minister at that time did exactly the opposite. He created the Backbay Reclamation which has led to the ruin of Bombay city. That is why, I would say that various factors have to be taken into account, including the industrial location policy, so that the work goes on properly. In this context, I would suggest that centres like Bombay should not be given step-motherly treatment. They are contributing considerable revenues to the exchequer. When we go to the Planning Commission, they say that they cannot give any special treatment. I am sorry to say, I do not want any special treatment nor any favour. Bombay's economy is not important just for Bombay or Maharashtra. I would like to submit with all respect that it is important for the national economy. If Bombay city goes to dogs, the national economy is going to suffer. It is for this reason that I pray and say that due attention should be given to cities like Bombay so that they are able to continue contribution, which they have been making.

In regard to population, I have nothing else to say except to support what the previous speaker has said. This should be seriously taken care of.

Then, about shipping. Here is an opportunity. At present, about 30 per cent of the trade is going through the Indian bottom. We are trying to bring it to 50 per cent. There is recession in shipping all over the world. This is the opportunity to acquire cheap shipping tonnage. But what do we find? By the Seventh Five-Year Plan, it is estimated that there

will be zero growth. The suggestion that has been made, the target that has been fixed is so low that it is not going to help us. We are going to lose an opportunity which is round the corner and through which we could have helped the country.

As far as self-reliance goes, because that is the main objective that has been talked of—because there is shortage of time—I would only like to refer that we have to be very careful as far liberalisation of import policy is concerned or foreign collaborations are concerned or giving domestic opportunities to foreigners as well as technology transfer. In this sphere there does not seem to be—again, I would repeat the same phrase—that “serious concern” which ought to have governed the formation of the Plan.

Lastly, I would like to refer to the Centre-State relations. I have already made indirectly a reference to this. This is something which is important because we have accepted a federal Constitution and a federal set up. Let our planning, both in respect to preparation and implementation also, be in a federal way. Sir, one-third of the population is ruled by non-Congress people. They are our own countrymen. They have a stake in the Plan. I don't doubt their bona fides. They want this country to advance and probably become the first country in the world. Let us take them into confidence. Let us give them the feeling that they are involved in the progress, they are partners in the progress. Unless we give them this feeling, I do not think we can get the desired results.

Regarding market borrowing also, the same situation has arisen. Whenever these people take overdrafts and are not able to clear them, severe punishment is sought to be given to them. What does the Government of India do? From whom do they borrow money? Not from households. As Sukhomoy Chakravarty report shows,

They take money mainly from the banks and the main bank that gives money is the Reserve Bank of India. So, you are taking money at a lesser rate when that money could have been put to use in another form and for better progress of this country. Again, this deficit financing, as I said, is another clever way. Can the Government of India be asked any question if they do not pay the legitimate dues to the States concerned? They go 'scot free'.

While concluding, I would like to say that the picture one gets is that this is a "Plan of wrong emphasis." I repeat—it is a "Plan of wrong emphasis." If we have to compare it with a ship, it is a "ship with a wrong compass." If we have to compare it with a plane, because our Prime Minister himself is a pilot. I would say that it is a "plane with a wrong navigational aid." And if we have to compare it with a rocket, because we have to go into the twenty-first century, it is a "rocket with a wrong directional equipment." The goals are all right, but the paths that we have chosen are something which cannot land us into 21st century as we want to land. We would land with "handloom and automatic loom." What I would like is that there should be "powerloom along with automatic loom". This is the way in which the things have to be managed. This picture of "Two-India" is to be eliminated Jawaharlal Nehru told us, and inspired us rightly, that you people, who are at present living in this country, must be prepared to work hard and still suffer, because the people who are going to inhabitate this country in future, the future generations may gain. The whole generation is over, but poverty is on the increase. As far as fruits of planning are concerned, they are going far and far away from us. One colossal failure which I have noticed is the administrative failure, whether it is IRDP programme or any other programme, or

whether it is the question of administration of controls, licences and permits. It is the combination of the bureaucrat, the politician and the businessman which ruins the policy. Though the idea was good in the system, its execution is very bad. I would, therefore, submit that there has to be an efficient administration and proper decentralisation; there has to be a set-up of institutionalisation and, proper capacity utilisation so that we are able to get over the difficulties in our way.

Lastly, I would submit that there should be evaluation of every project, of whatever has been done. This evaluation, may I submit in all humility, should not be done by a Government agency, nor by the Planning Commission agency, but by outside independent agencies so that we know the facts. This controversy regarding poverty line should not have been there because these are surveys which are guided surveys, they lead us into wrong direction.

And lastly, I would like to ask..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): How many "lastly" you want to have?

DR. SHANTI G. PATEL: Just in a minute I shall conclude. I would like to say again if the ship is to be put on the proper path, let us have a proper incomes and wages policy in this country. If we are to be able to achieve the goal which was laid down, not now, but many many years back, by no less a person than Jawaharlal Nehru, and I am sure, if we be able to achieve that goal through decentralisation and political consensus all over the country, his soul at least—because he must watching us and also, he was a part of this House at one time—we'll feel satisfied that things are moving speedily in the direction in which he had hoped they would. Thank you.

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU (Orissa): Sir, the Seventh Five Year

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Plan document which is before this House for discussion is a very important document because it lays down priorities for the progress and development of the country for the coming five years, with a perspective of growth over 15 years to reach 2000 A. D. contrary to what my previous speaker has said, I do not see any danger that the ship is on the wrong track. There is sufficient elbow room and if any wrong cracks develop, these can be corrected by the captain. We have confidence in him and he need not have any apprehension because in economic policies in the world there are lot of differences. The perspective is different from person to person. But in India after the launching of the First Five Year Plan in 1950-51, India became a pioneer in launching five year plans in the Non-Aligned countries and with the completion of the Sixth Plan, except for three years of rolling Plan, and the beginning of the Seventh Plan, planning has reached a stage where we are much better off than we thought of much earlier.

In the Foreword to the Plan document, the Prime Minister, who is Chairman of the Planning Commission, has clearly said that the Seventh Plan is to pursue our basic objectives of removing poverty, building a strong and self-reliant economy and creating a social system based on equity and justice. The Plan outlines our objectives and priorities for the next 5 years within a longer term perspective of economic and social development. This Plan document states how we can augment our resources, where we can maximise the benefits to the poorest people, for the removal of poverty. These are questions of priorities, without which we cannot progress.

Planning has become a part of Indian life. It is a path of progress; it is a way of life. There is no going back from it. People cannot conceive

of a life without planning and investment for future.

Now coming to the very important point, I would say that the Seventh Five Year Plan has laid stress on productivity. That is very essential because we cannot distribute poverty. That was the 18th century thought that without giving proper importance to it, whatever we have got within ourselves, we will distribute it. That will mean more distribution to poverty than removal of poverty. So it is a very important that according to the progress of the age we give importance to higher productivity. Probably without that we cannot satisfy the millions and millions of people who are waiting as to how the Plan achievements could give them food, water and other social benefits, without which probably there will be mounting frustration, creating tensions in the country, which will create an enormous problem. For that we cannot wait for a longer time. So the Seventh Plan has rightly pointed out the areas where the priorities are to be given. Removal of poverty, creating employment and other important things have been thought of.

At the same time while we have launched the Five Year Plan, we must have elbow room. If we have to remove the stagnating economic position, we must try to improve upon it. If there are certain deficiencies, though the document has been finalised, we must think over these while discussing it.

Now, prior to the Sixth Five-Year Plan, if we look at the thirty years of planning from 1950 to 1980, the average growth rate was 3.5 per cent and the gross domestic product was 1.5 per cent only. It was only very impressive. Of course, the Planning Commission, in its document, has said that the achievement in the Sixth Five-Year Plan is really five per cent but, in comparison with other developing countries of the world and to meet the aspirations of the people it might not be a very

high figure. But we have to see certain things here. The ratio of our land the sown area of land per person, is going to decrease because of the growth of population every year. We are proud in claiming that we have achieved self-sufficiency in foodgrains, we have sufficient buffer stocks and our Green Revolution has achieved something miraculous which all the world has praised. In 1951-1955, we cannot imagine, what sort of insults were thrown at us by other countries when we were going about with a bagging bowl to get food for our people. Now that situation is over and we have sufficient buffer stocks. But if we analyse the Plan document, here they have rightly pointed out that 15 per cent of the area contributes to 50 per cent of increase in foodgrains. So, there is the economic law of diminishing returns operating here. As has been rightly pointed out in the Plan document, it is necessary that while there are States where agricultural production has not picked up, where the irrigation potential is low and where the Green Revolution has not ushered in new hopes in the mind of the agriculturists having the traditional way of life, it is necessary that the Planning Commission must assert and have a new programme for them, that is, the eastern-region-States comprising of Bihar, West Bengal, Assam, Orissa and others. These are the States where the agricultural production—rice production—has not picked up to the extent expected. Not only that. There are three important other factors which also affected the food production in those States and they also should be taken into consideration. There the whole question is of the vagaries of nature, the uncertainty of rainfall, natural calamities followed every year either by drought or flood and cyclone. Their devastating effect is well known and it is discussed in this House regularly.

Now, viewed in the perspective of 2000 A.D., if our population increases

at the present rate we will have a population of one billion, that is, one thousand crores roughly, by the end of 2000 A.D., and to feed our task would be too much because it requires greater production of food. Every inch of land in India, whatever is available for cultivation, has to go in for high-yielding varieties and better irrigation facilities and so grains, we have sufficient buffer stock the Planning Commission must lay special emphasis on these areas.

Now coming to industrial production, the Plan document has emphasized that in the Sixth Five-Year Plan we expected the industrial growth to be higher and it has achieved, in certain cases, a higher rate of growth. But they expect in the Seventh Five-Year Plan a growth rate of 8.5 per cent because they say that the internal resource generation by the public sector has been very low and it has created a big economic void in the whole growth of the country. But I would like to say that it might not be possible because, when we analyse, when we analyse the industrial growth of our country, from 1950 to 1965 the average growth rate of industrial production was much better than from 1965 to 1966. What are the factors? Let us analyse. The factors are, firstly, power failure. Whatever was expected of energy, in thermal power production and hydel power production they have miserably failed, as a result of which the industry had suffered. Then there is managerial inefficiency and the high cost of heavy administrative set-up in our industries. Sir, I would like to tell through you that it is high time the public sector undertakings have a gigantic shift in the higher echelons of economic life of the country. There is no doubt about it. Every leader emphasised it, every party emphasised. But, at the same time, I would like to tell you Sir, that it is time, time has come, when the management must be responsible for the production. Recently the Bureau of Public Enterprises which was giving a

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report on every public sector undertaking has been merged with the Industry Department. It was an independent organisation which was analysing the function and efficiency of any public sector undertaking. In what direction are we going? It is very important that there must be proper evaluation. It is not that if there is headache, you should be hacked. Public sector undertakings, especially in the key sector, have pushed India to such a high position that no country can threaten us. That was the policy which was pursued by Jawaharlal Nehru, the father of Indian planning. That we have to carry forward because India cannot go, he said, before other countries at the time of crisis. Sir, I am giving you an example. Only yesterday the Prime Minister inaugurated the Kalpakkam Fast Breeder Reactor. That is one of the six in the whole world. It has been indigenously built. No other country in the world has put it to commercial use. It is not that we cannot develop our science and technology by the scientists we have got in our country. It is high time that we give impetus to the local scientists and technologists. It is more necessary for agricultural science in the eastern zone, especially the Rice Research Institute, the agricultural universities. They must also come in extension work. It should not be diverted to Blocks. The Block Officers are not properly trained in high-breeding seeds and other things. They do not know the high-yielding pattern. So, it is very difficult for them to inject it into the minds of the cultivators. It is very important that such things should also be taken very seriously so that all the areas of the country must develop so that we can prepare ourselves for the 2000 A.D. for food production. That is one of the important things.

Then, another important thing has been pointed out by many of the speakers. Continuous unemployment,

under-employment has created perpetual poverty in our country. Specially now-a-days we have come to a stage when unemployment of educated youth has been created. It has risen to such a staggering height, and it has created a void in the whole economy and is creating frustration in our country. It is very necessary that we must take perspective planning. Education must be correlated with perspective planning, so that no man who has attained higher education, spending a lot of money, must have a proper employment source, without which probably the Plan will fail. That is the benefit in the socialist countries. I have visited the USSR and other countries where a man who is trained in engineering, when he comes out of the college with a degree, is given a job. Here we have created engineers, doctors, who are roaming in the streets. I do not say that you should offer them jobs. Let there be a source for them to get meaningful employment and engage themselves in productive function, without which probably planning cannot take advantage of our technical manpower which we have, which are almost a fourth or a fifth in the whole world. This is a very unfortunate sector which we have not neglected in our planning. It should be given proper importance.

Then, coming to another important point, I would like to say about the regional imbalance. All the six Plans have already been completed. I feel that the inequalities, the regional inequalities are growing more than decreasing. According to Mr. O. P. Mathur, at the current rates of regional growth, in the year 2000 A.D. 20 per cent of the people, that is, 180 million, out of 900 million, will be living in the region of extremely low level of economic development and 25 per cent, roughly 225 million, would be slightly better off. This shows how the regional imbalances would increase. The rich people are growing richer, and poor people are getting poorer. This is one of the important

aspects on which we have to give emphasis. Distribution and social justice, we want to combine so that better life, happier life can be created. It is necessary that this should be looked into.

We see the industrial concessions and other things for backward States which have been given according to the Report of the National Committee on the Development of Backward Areas. They have said that the benefit has not percolated down to the industrially backward areas. The Pande Committee further said that most of the districts which received the benefit are in close proximity to relatively developed industrial centres. According to the Committee, only four States were benefited; and other States were neglected especially the chronic backward areas in the Eastern region covering Eastern U.P., Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal etc. In spite of abundant natural resources in these States, they were not properly tapped. The development of infrastructure has been very poor.

In the development of transport and railway system, we follow a British legacy to connect our metropolitan cities which are the agencies of our growth. We know that power is one of the important factors in the development of any country. For example in Russia after the 1917 Revolution every village was electrified. So that would increase the industrial output. We should follow this example. I saw a question relating to region-wise power capacity utility and installed capacity by 31-3-1985. The answer given was that in the northern region and western region nuclear power was nil. We know that nuclear power is a very important factor. Similarly in the case of the eastern and north-eastern regions there is nothing though there are large deposits of coal. The electricity generated is 6566.95 MW which is much below that of the other regions of the country. So how can you expect development

without these infrastructural facilities? How can you expect that the economic planning will succeed? How can you remove the backwardness of the Eastern region in particular and the whole country in general?

In the Seventh Five Year Plan, if we see for 1989-90 what is the expected generating capacity of atomic, nuclear power in this area? It is nil. Though thorium and uranium are available in this area, the planners have not considered this question. The planners have ignored this area. Should they not look into this aspect? This dark horse will pull the economic development and eat away all the benefits of the entire country. So it is the responsibility of the planners to see that these areas also develop on par with the other States of the country. If planning has to be very successful, we must have a second look at the matter.

Now coming to the point of people living below the poverty line. I would like to give two statistics, because there is not much time. We expected that by the end of the Seventh Five Year Plan there will be people living below poverty line to the extent of 25.8 per cent. But at present the highest is in Orissa. About 67.40 per cent of the people are living below the poverty line. That is highest in India. I hope the planners will take note of this largest number. So I would say there are deficiencies in the planning. The planning has been highly centralised. The decentralisation of the planning is a must for an even development of the country. It is the question of utilising local resources for the development of that area. Unfortunately, in our planning though there are some good policies, there is much leakage in the preceding plans. As a result of this, the benefits which were to accrue to the poorer sections of our society through IRDP and RLEGP have not reached them. I would say that the administration is not proper. We have no proper evaluation. In the plan document.

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there are several grounds which have been recorded by the project evaluation committee. It is high time that there was some proper agency for planning in every district. There should not be merely a pious wish. These are the very important things which we have to look after, if we want to ensure the success of our Seventh Five Year Plan. Then alone we can remove backwardness and eradicate poverty in our country and bring prosperity to everybody. This planning has occupied a very significant place in our country and if we compare our country with other countries in terms of production then naturally, we have to accept certain norms by which productivity in the country can be increased. Actually, Mr. Malcolm Adiseshiah, has told in this House in the last Session and I remember it that the Agriculture University in the backward regions, where agriculture has not developed and food production has not picked up should be geared up. In those areas, farmers must be given latest implements, high yielding variety of seeds, fertilizers, irrigation facilities, credit facilities so that they too can enjoy the benefits of the green revolution. Sir, I would like to tell to the Hon'ble Minister of State for Planning that there should be a perspective planning for the educated youth of the country so that the youths, who are at the moment, undergoing training courses in the University when they come out can be employed properly.

Because, if they do not get any job after completing their studies, it will create frustration in them. Assam, Vidarbha, Jharkhand in Bihar, these are some of the black spots of backwardness in our country and unless a special stress is laid in the Plan document for the all round development of these backward areas and unless the benefits reach the common man, this Plan document is not going to solve their problems. This will be a big fraud on the country and it will create frustration among the educated

unemployed youth. In the political analysis, whether we see Punjab, that is a different case, but in Assam or in Vidharba which we discussed some days before and Jharkhand in Bihar, we have seen that these are the black spots of backwardness and these black spots will eat away the benefits of the whole country through social tensions unless planning is done systematically for the development of these backward regions so that they cannot share the benefits of economic development equally. Then, people's mobilization is absent in the Plan. We have 70 crores of population. How can they be mobilized to harness the natural wealth of the country? How can they create more wealth for the country? If that kind of idea was injected into them that would have created a vast potential for us. We have a buffer stock of foodgrains of nearly Rs. 3,500 crores of wheat and rice. We are using it for employment but that must be brought into the fabrics of infrastructure development. Whether you joint Ganga with Cauvery, that is a different matter. You took 15 years to create a canal system. Had their been planning for people, people would have been imbued with a new hope and that would have created a much desired effect and we would have benefited by it. So, with these words, I think, our dynamic Prime Minister had brought out a new perspective in this Plan to prepare ourselves for the 21st century and I hope, India will march ahead and planning will bring more economic development to the poorer people of this country. Thank you.

श्री कौलाश पति मिश्र (बिहार) :
उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, 1952 से योजना काल प्रारंभ हुआ। प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना में लक्ष्य रखा गया था कि स्टेट्स में जितने काम करने लायक युवक युवतियाँ हैं उनको काम मिलेगा। 6 पंचवर्षीय योजनाएं पार करके 7वीं में हम पैर रख रहे हैं। 35 वर्षों का कार्यकाल बीत गया है, कभी कभी लगता है कि इस देश के शासक जिनके हाथ में योजनाएं बनाने का काम है,

कुछ सोच-समझकर वे योजनाएं बनाते हैं, किसी एक निश्चित लक्ष्य के ऊपर पहुंचना चाहते हैं या गाड़ी सड़क के ऊपर लुढ़क गई। और चलती चली जा रही है, चलती चली जा रही है। चलती चली जा रही है।

महोदय, विचार करना पड़ेगा कि योजनाएं हमको वहां ले गई हैं और उन योजनाओं के कार्यान्वयन, उनके लक्ष्यों की पूर्ति न होना, यह एक निश्चित तथ्य है, तो उन सदस्यों के तथ्यों के आधार पर विचार करना होगा कि हम 7वीं पंच-वर्षीय योजना में कहाँ जा रहे हैं। कुछ बातें तो इसमें दिखाई दे रही हैं कि इतने वर्षों के बाद देश की गरीबी नहीं मिटी और हर नौजवान के हाथ में काम भी नहीं आया। लेकिन यह दिखाई देता है कि एक वर्ग, एक क्लास एक समूह के पास इतना अपार धन, अपार संपत्ति आ गई है कि वह उस सम्पत्ति का क्या करे। उसके सामने खर्च करने की समस्या है। फिर व्यवस्था भी ऐसी हो गई है जो कुछ व्यय हो रहा है वह देश के हित में नहीं बल्कि देश के लिए नुकसान-देह हो रहा है। इसका भी कहीं संतुलन नहीं है यह देख रहा है कि एक तरफ धनी और दूसरी तरफ गरीब वर्ग है। यह खाई योजनाओं के चलते-चलते घटती है या निरंतर बढ़ती चली जा रही है इस पर सरकार बिलकुल चुप है। योजना के निर्माता पूर्ण शांत दिखाई दे रहे हैं। इसमें जिस बात की चर्चा की गई है यानी खेतों की चर्चा कि वह कागज पर हा दिखाई देती है। आश्चर्य लगता है कि यह देख कर कि 80 मिलियन हेक्टेयर के लिए जमीन है लेकिन उसके साथ ही एक उल्लेख है कि उसमें से 15 परसेंट पर खेती हो रहा है और उसमें से 4.50 परसेंट उत्पादन मिल रहा है। तो इसका सीधा अर्थ यह है कि 35 वर्षों के अंदर 85 परसेंट खेतों के ऊपर हम अभी पहुंचे नहीं हैं। वहां न बिजली पहुंची है न पानी पहुंचा है और न आधुनिक यंत्र पहुंच है। यानी 85 परसेंट खेती का आधुनिकीकरण नहीं हुआ है। इसी सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना का प्रारूप में उल्लेख किया गया है, उल्लेख का शब्द तो

बहुत बड़ी मांहक और बड़ा मधुर लग रहा है, बेकारों को काम मिला। कितने लोगों को काम मिलागा यह भी उल्लेख किया गया है। 5 वर्षों में 40 मिलियन लोगों को काम मिलागा। मैं जरा जानना चाहूंगा कि इसी कार्य-काल के अंदर नये और कितने नौजवान खड़े हो जायेंगे। जिनके हाथ में काम आना चाहिए उल्लेख इसमें भी है वह संख्या लगभग 40 मिलियन है। लाइव रजिस्टर के ऊपर अभी भी 10-20 मिलियन एम०ए०, एम०एस०सी० बी०ए०, बी०एस०सी०, आई ए, आई एम सी लोगों का नाम है। लाइव रजिस्टर के ऊपर दो करोड़ की संख्या पहले से पडी है। आप उनको नौकरी नहीं दे रहे हैं। मान भी लें कुल मिलाकर 10 लाख लोगों से अधिक को काम नहीं दे रहे हैं। कई और चीजों का उल्लेख भी इसमें दिखाई दे रहा है—विजली, गैस, जल पूर्ति में 12 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि होगी। मुझे आश्चर्य लग रहा है, पहले भी एक मतेवा कह चुका हूँ कि शासन कर्ताओं के सामने पूरा भारत एक समान नहीं है। मैं बिहार से आता हूँ। बिहार में चलने के लिए सड़क कितनी हैं, बिहार में आज विजली कितनी पैदा हो रही है, खेतों में विजली और पानी कितना पहुंच रहा है? आपने 12 प्रतिशत की बात की है और यह भी औसत है उन जा जो बहुत अधिक ले जायेंगे और जो पीछे छूट जायेंगे दोनों को मिलाकर औसत निकाला है। इसका मतलब यह है कि बिहार की मदों पर 12 परसेंट पानी नहीं पड़ेगा। बिहार में 12 परसेंट विजली नहीं पड़ेगी। बिहार में जलापूर्ति के किसी निर्माण का तो सवाल ही नहीं है। उन राज्यों का क्या होगा जो अत्यंत पिछड़े गये हैं। इसलिए दिखाई देता है कि संवंध फाइव ईयर प्लान का जो टोटल आउटले है वह लगभग परकैपिटा 1800 है।

4 P. M.

बिहार का हिस्सा लगाकर देखिये तो आपको पता चलेगा कि वहां पर कैपिटा 735 रु० पड़ रहा है। सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना की

[श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र]

बात आप छोड़ दीजिये। आज जो राज्य भूखमरी के कगार पर खड़े हैं वहाँ पर कोई विकास कार्य नहीं हो रहा है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसे राज्यों के लिये कौन सा निश्चय किया है? मुझे पता चला है कि सरकार किसी भी शर्त को मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। यह सातवीं योजना का डाकुमेंट हमारे मापने रख दिया है। इस पर पहले चर्चा नहीं हुई कोई एप्रोच पेपर नहीं मिला। हम लोगों को मुझाव देने का अवसर नहीं मिला है। क्या मैं पूछ सकता हूँ कि अगर हम कोई मुझाव देंगे या चार मुझाव देंगे तो आप उसमें संशोधन करने के लिए तैयार है कोई परिवर्तन करने के लिए तैयार है? मैं जानता हूँ कि इसका कोई उत्तर मिलने वाला नहीं है। यह सरकार आज कहाँ जा रही है। जब तक आपकी दृष्टि नहीं बदलेगी, जब तक आपकी दृष्टि ठीक नहीं होगी तब तक कोई ठोस काम होने वाला नहीं है। आपका जो टोटल आउटने है उसमें यूनियन में लेकर स्टेट्स तक जो आपने रखा है उसमें काफी अधिक सम्मति केन्द्र ने अपने पास रखी है। इसलिए मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आप किधर जा रहे हैं। आप उत्पादन बढ़ाने की चर्चा करते हैं। मुझे मालूम है, आपने बहुराष्ट्रीय कम्पनियों के लिए दरवाजे खोल दिए हैं। बहुराष्ट्रीय कम्पनियाँ बड़ी-बड़ी मशीनों को लाकर आटोमेशन में जाकर उत्पादन को बढ़ावा दे सकती हैं, लेकिन बड़े हुए उत्पादन का क्या होगा? जब देश के ग्राम आदमी के अन्दर क्रय शक्ति ही नहीं होगी, पर त्रेजिग पावर ही नहीं होगी तो उस उत्पादन का क्या फायदा है? आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि उत्पादन के साथ-साथ वितरण प्रणाली में सुधार होना चाहिए और ग्राम आदमी की खरीदने की शक्ति में वृद्धि होनी चाहिए। हर नागरिक जब तक अपने पैरों पर खड़ा नहीं हो जाता है तब तक देश आत्म-निर्भर नहीं बन सकता है। इसलिए प्रश्न यह उठता है कि आप कौन-सी दिशा में जा रहे हैं? आप कौन-सी

नीति पर चल रहे हैं। यहाँ पर प्रधान मंत्री जी का बार-बार उल्लेख किया जाता है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि महात्मा गांधी जी की कौन-सी बात आपने सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में रखी है। उनकी नीतियों को देखते हुए, आर्थिक पिछड़ेपन को दूर करने के लिए आपने उनकी कौन-सी बात इस योजना में रखी है? मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इस चुनौती को स्वीकार करे और एक निश्चित तिथि तय कर दे कि जो भी इस देश में जन्म लेगा उसको काम प्राप्त करने का मौलिक अधिकार होगा, कानूनी अधिकार होगा कि वह काम प्राप्त करे।

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : आपकी सरकार ने क्या किया है ... (व्यवधान)।

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : इस समय तो आपकी सरकार चल रही है। आप अपनी सरकार की बात कीजिये। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप एक नियम बना दें, कानून बना दें और इस बात को सरकार अपने ऊपर ले कि इस देश में जो युवक और युवतियाँ काम करने लायक होंगी उनको काम प्राप्त करने का मौलिक अधिकार होगा। सरकार कानून बनाये कि सब को काम दिया जाएगा। यहाँ पर ग्रामीण विकास की बात कही जाती है। आपने कुछ लोगों को ट्रेनिंग दी है। आपने एक ग्रामीण युवक को जूता और चप्पल बनाने की ट्रेनिंग भी दे दी, उसको चमड़ा भी दे दिया, और उसको कुछ कर्ज भी दे दिया। लेकिन बाजार में जब बाटा का जूता आता है तो वह उसके साथ कहां कम्पिट कर पाता है? इसी प्रकार से गांवों के नवयुवकों को आप साबुन बनाने की ट्रेनिंग भी देते हैं, उनको कर्जा भी देते हैं और उसको चार छः या आठ हजार रुपये कर्जा भी दे देते हैं ताकि वह साबुन बना सकें। कपड़े धोने का साबुन स्नान करने का साबुन बनाकर जब वह नौजवान बाजार में जायेगा, किसी बड़ी दुकान पर जहाँ पर हिन्दुस्तान लीवर का हमाम, लाइफ व्वाय और लक्स आजकल तो

इतने नाम के साबुन निकल गये हैं, कि उनका नाम याद करना भी एक समस्या बन गई है, उन साबुनों के सामने जिनके ऊपर चमकते हुए कवर लगे हैं, इनको कौन खरीदेगा। एक तरफ गांव का नौजवान जी ट्रेनिंग लेकर गांव में साबुन बनायेगा और दूसरी तरफ इन बड़ी-बड़ी कंपनियों का साबुन लोगों के सामने दिखाई देगा तो एक गांव के कारीगर के हाथ से बनाया हुआ साबुन कौन खरीदेगा ? इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि सरकार इतनी दिग्भ्रमित है कि उसका मानस काम नहीं कर रहा है कि प्राथमिकता क्या दी जाये। महोदय, पूज्य गांधी जी ने ग्राम स्वराज की बात की थी, चरखा चलाया था, तकली चलाई थी, खादी पहनी थी, लेकिन आज भारत किस और जा रहा है यह समझ में नहीं आता है ऐसी चीजें जो कुटीर उद्योगों में नहीं बन सकती, गांवों में नहीं बन सकती, लेकिन देश को जिन चीजों की आवश्यकता है, आप उनके लिये बड़ी फैक्ट्रियां लगाइये, अच्छी फैक्ट्रियां लगाइये, हमें इसमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं है। आप रेलगाड़ी और रेलगाड़ी के डिब्बे बनाने के लिये फैक्टरी लगाइये। उसमें हमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं। लेकिन जो कुटीर उद्योग में बन सकती है, उसके लिए जब तक आप कानून नहीं बनायेंगे कि बहु राष्ट्रीय कंपनियां उन पर हाथ नहीं लगायेंगी बड़ी कंपनियां उन पर हाथ नहीं लगायेंगी बड़े उद्योगों उन पर हाथ नहीं लगायेंगे, जब तक गांव में चलने वाले तब तक गांव में चलने वाले कुटीर उद्योग कैसे विकसित हो सकते हैं। महोदय, मालवी पंचवर्षीय योजना के दस्तावेज के अंदर इस बात का कहीं उल्लेख नहीं है कि गांव में अगर नये कारीगर किसी काम के ऊपर खड़े हो गये हैं तो उनके हाथों से उत्पादित वस्तु को कर्पोरेशन में कैसे संरक्षण मिलेगा, इसका उसमें कोई उल्लेख नहीं है। अनेक बातें इसी प्रकार से होती जा रही हैं और हम उनसे दूर भागते चले जा रहे हैं। आपने राष्ट्रीय एकता की बात की। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आपने राष्ट्रभाषा और राजभाषा के

बारे में क्या किया है ? 180000 करोड़ के अन्तर्गत मात्र 2 करोड़ रुपये आपने राजभाषा के लिये रखा है। आश्चर्य तो यह लग रहा है कि अंग्रेजी समाचार एजेंसियां जो हैं उनका पोषण ही रहा है लेकिन हिन्दी समाचार एजेंसियों की मोत हो रही है, उन्हें कोई राशि, कोई अनुदान नहीं दिया जा रहा है। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि मानस लंदन या अमेरिका में बनकर तैयार होता है या भारत में बनकर तैयार होता है। क्या अंग्रेजी ही भारत में राष्ट्रभाषा, राजभाषा के सिर पर बैठी रहनी या देश की अपनी भाषा होगी और उसको उचित सम्मान मिलेगा।

महोदय, इन सब बातों को देखने के बाद फिर मैं कहूंगा कि आप इस पर पुनः विचार कीजिये और कम से कम पिछड़े राज्यों के लिये जो आपने आवंटन रखा है उस पर अवश्य विचार करिये नहीं तो फिर देश की किसी भी समस्या का समाधान नहीं होगा। आज देश संकट में फंसता चला जा रहा है। देश की एकता नष्ट हो रही है, भ्रष्टाचार इतना ज्यादा बढ़ गया है लेकिन भ्रष्टाचार के इतने बड़े सवाल को आपने भुला दिया और इस भ्रष्टाचार के जाल ने इतनी बड़ी विपमता पैदा कर दी है कि समाज में बिखराव की स्थिति पैदा हो गई है। बिहार में कई जगहों पर अराजकता फैली हुई है, गंज हत्यायें हो रही हैं और थोक में आदमियों की हत्यायें हो रही हैं। आप का यह जो सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना का प्रारूप है यह बिहार की समस्या का समाधान नहीं कर सकेगा और न ही देश की समस्याओं का समाधान कर सकता है और न देश की आवश्यकताओं को पूरा कर सकता है। इसमें प्राथमिकता नाम की कोई चीज नहीं दिखाई देती है और इसमें राष्ट्रीय दृष्टिकोण का अभाव दिखाई देता है। इसलिये मैं इस योजना के साथ सहमत नहीं हूँ और इस पर फिर से विचार होना चाहिए यह मेरा आपसे आग्रह है।

कुमारों सररोज खाण्ड (महाराष्ट्र) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने अपने पूर्व वक्तव्यों के विचारों को सुना और विशेषकर अभी-अभी जो विरोधी दल के हमारे एक साथी ने अपने विचारों को रखा तो उनके विचार सुनते-सुनते मुझे कुछ डिप्रेशन होने लगा। यह डिप्रेशन इसलिए होने लगा कि देश का आजादी मिलने के इतने सालों के बाद भी अगर विरोधियों को सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना तक हमारी 6 पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं का कोई भी अंग पसंद नहीं आया हो या उन्हें हमारी सरकार तथा शासन द्वारा उठाया गया कदम विकास का कदम नजर न आता हो तो इससे ज्यादा बदकिस्मती और क्या हो सकती है। मुझे इस बारे में अधिक नहीं बोलना है, मुझे अपने विचारों को सदन के सामने रखना है।

आंगन, पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं की जो शृंखला बनाई है, इन्होंने देश की आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक स्थिति को एक नया मोड़ दिया है, एक नयी दिशा दिखायी है। स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्ति के बाद 1950 में हमारे सर्वप्रथम प्रधान मंत्री श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू जिस तरीके से देश को प्रगति के रास्ते पर ले गये हैं उन चीजों को देखने के बाद ऐसा लगता है वाकई इस देश की पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के द्वारा एक नयी दिशा दी गई है। श्रीमन्, सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना का मुख्य लक्ष्य जो है वह निर्धनता निवारण के अनेक कार्यक्रमों को प्राथमिकता उन्होंने दी हुई है। छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना के आरम्भ में देश में 48.13 प्रतिशत गरीब थे जो योजना की समाप्ति पर कुल 13 प्रतिशत रह गये। देश में कूछ ऐसे भी राज्य मौजूद हैं जो अन्य राज्यों की अपेक्षा अधिक गरीब हैं और गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे हैं। छठी योजना के आरम्भ में उड़ीसा में 66.40 प्रतिशत, त्रिपुरा में 59.73 प्रतिशत, मध्य प्रदेश में 57.73 प्रतिशत, बिहार में 57.49 प्रतिशत, पंजाब में 15.13 प्रतिशत, हरियाणा में 24.84 प्रतिशत जनसंख्या गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे थी। इन सारे आंकड़ों को देखने के बाद पता चलता है कि एक ही देश में भिन्न-भिन्न राज्यों में आर्थिक विकास बराबर नहीं है। श्रीमन्, इतनी बड़ी गरीबी हमारे यहां पर कहां से आई और इसका कारण क्या है? यह मैं मानती हूँ कि गरीब देशों में केवल

भारत ही गरीब नहीं है लेकिन विश्व की आधी जनसंख्या जो है वह गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे रहती है। यह भी कहा जाता है कि इन गरीब देशों के लोगों की वार्षिक आमदनी जो है वह कई पश्चिमी देशों के लोगों की मासिक आमदनी से भी बहुत कम है, कई गरीब देशों के लोगों की आमदनी तो पश्चिमी देशों के लोगों की वीकली आमदनी से भी कम है।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सन्तोष कुमार साहू पीठासीन हुए।]

देश की जो गरीबी है वह अंग्रेजी साम्राज्यवाद की देने साबित हुई है। भारत ही नहीं बल्कि दूसरे देशों के अनेक लोग ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद के शिकार हैं। अंग्रेज जो अपने को सभ्य और शिक्षित कहते हैं उन्होंने मानवता को बहुत ही निम्न स्तर पर ला कर रखा है। देश में पौष्टिक आहार का अभाव, निरक्षरता, बेकारी, रोग प्रचुर मात्रा में हैं इनको दूर करने के लिए राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर कार्यक्रम बनाए गये हैं। सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में ऐसे बहुत से कार्यक्रम दिये गये हैं जिन में इन रोगों का उपचार हो सकता है। यदि सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना के सभी कार्यक्रम सफल होते हैं तो देश गरीबी की रेखा से ऊपर उठ सकता है। श्रीमन्, देश में बेरोजगारी व्यापक रूप में आज भी मौजूद है। जिसका युद्धक रोजगार की तलाश में होताश हो कर छोटे मोटे काम करते रहने हैं। 31-12-84 तक रोजगार दफ्तरों में लगभग दो करोड़ चालीस लाख युवकों के नाम रजिस्टर्ड हुए हैं। इन युवकों को रोजगार दिलाना सरकार के सामने एक बहुत बड़ा, महान कार्य जैसा है, मेरा सरकार से अनुरोध है कि सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में जो भी कार्यक्रम रखे गये हैं उनका लाभ सीधे जनता तक पहुंचाना चाहिए तभी यह बेरोजगारी की समस्या हम हल कर सकते हैं।

श्रीमन्, मैं गरीबी रेखा का जिक्र करना चाहूंगी। जैसा मैंने अभी कहा कि छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना के अंत में गरीबी रेखा के नीचे 37 परसेंट थे और सातवीं योजना के अंत में इस रेखा के नीचे 25 परसेंट होंगे।

परन्तु गरीबी रेखा के निर्धारण का क्या मापदण्ड है यह मुझे अभी तक समझ में नहीं आया। मेरे एक प्रश्न के उत्तर में योजना मंत्री जी ने कहा था कि गांव में एक व्यक्ति का मासिक खर्च 1984-85 की कीमतों के आधार पर 107 रुपया है और शहरों में 122 रुपया। सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में गांवों में हर घर की वार्षिक आय 400 रुपये और शहरों में 700 रुपये मानी गयी है। इन आंकड़ों का क्या आधार है यह मुझे समझ में नहीं आया। इसमें मैं नहीं जाना चाहती हूँ। परन्तु यह कह सकता हूँ कि विकासशील अर्थव्यवस्था को देखते हुए एक व्यक्ति या एक परिवार का खर्च चाहे वह गांव में रहता हो या शहर में, एक महीने में 50 रुपये प्रति व्यक्ति के हिसाब से चलाना कठिन ही नहीं है लेकिन असंभव भा है। यदि यह औसत खर्चा माना गया है तो जो हमारे विद्वान आंकड़ा विशेषज्ञ है वे इसी खब अच्छी तरीके से जान सकते हैं। गरीबी की रेखा का निर्धारण वास्तविक खर्च पर निर्भर होना चाहिए और इसके लिए विशेष व्यवस्था का होना भी अनिवार्य है।

श्रीमन्, हमारा देश एक ग्रामीण देश है जिसमें लगभग 6 लाख गांव है और शहर कोई 4 हजार के करीब है इसलिए जो भी योजना या कार्यक्रम हमारे बनाए जाए वे विशेषकर गांवों के लिए बनाने चाहिए और हमारे देश में पिछड़े हुए सुखे और बाढ़ से ग्रस्त इलाके हैं, राजस्थान जैसे इलाके हैं पहाड़ी और ट्राइबल क्षेत्र हैं, जनसंख्या का लगभग 75 परसेंट अनुसूचित जाति, जनजाति और पिछड़ी हुई जातियां हैं। यदि मैं कहीं सदन में तो यह उचित ही होगा कि यह देश गरीबों और पिछड़े हुए इलाकों का देश है। इनका जीवन स्तर उपर उठाने के लिये सरकार को बहुत प्रयत्न करने होंगे। गरीबी दूर करने के लिए कार्यक्रमों के अंतर्गत जो लाभ होने हैं उनको हमें जिला, ब्लॉक और ग्राम तक पहुंचाना अनंत आवश्यक है। इसके लिए सरकार को आंकड़ा संबंधी जो भी सरकारी संस्थाएं या सेवाएं हैं

उनको बहुत मजबूत करना होगा। मुझे दूध के साथ साथ यह बात कहनी पड़ती है कि हमारे पास कोई ऐसे विश्वसनीय आंकड़े नहीं आते हैं, इसी कारण हमारे कार्यक्रमों का निर्धारित लक्ष्य पूरा होने में बाधाएं आती है। हमें केन्द्र में ऐसी व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए और राज्यों को ऐसे निर्देश देने चाहिए कि ग्रामीण क्षेत्र की ग्राम सभाओं के मुखिये से जो गरीब जनता हैं उनको लाभ पहुंचाना हमारा लक्ष्य है उनको प्रापर आइडेंटिफिकेशन हो। यह बहुत जरूरी है अगर ऐसा आइडेंटिफिकेशन नहीं होता तो कोई भी योजना या कार्यक्रम हमारा सफल नहीं हो सकता।

श्रीमन्, गांवों में महिलाओं और बच्चों की तरफ हमारा ध्यान उतना नहीं जाता है जितना जाना चाहिए। महिलाओं की शिक्षा स्वास्थ्य और पौष्टिक भोजन का कोई आधार नहीं है। सातवीं योजना में गांवों में महिलामंडल, प्रौढ शिक्षा और कुटीर उद्योगों की ओर ध्यान देना हमारे लिए बहुत आवश्यक है। गांवों में कुटीर उद्योग अस्तित्व में स्थापित करना हमारे लिए जरूरी है गांव आत्मनिर्भर हो सकते हैं और गांवों के लोगों में विश्वास भी हो सकता है।

ब्रिटिश राज्य ने हमारे देश में कुटीर उद्योगों को पूरे तरीके से तहम तहम करके रखा है। यही क्या गांव का कच्चा माल हमारे यहाँ का कच्चा माल जो है, वह विदेश गया और वहाँ से बना हुआ माल गांवों में पहुँचा इस दूषित अर्थ व्यवस्था के कारण लोग काफी डिपेंडेंट हो गये हैं। दूषित अर्थ व्यवस्था से जब लोग डिपेंडेंट हो गये हैं और अपना आत्म विश्वास जो है, उसे खोते जा रहे हैं। अब इस आत्म विश्वास को हमारी केन्द्र और राज्य सरकारों को इन पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं द्वारा पुनर्जीवित करना बहुत जरूरी है और आज गांव आत्म निर्भरता की ओर अग्रसर होते जा रहे हैं, यह भी बान सच है।

हमारी प्रिय नेता हमारी स्व० श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने एक आवाहन दिया था "श्रमेव जयते"। यदि हर कार्यक्रम

[हमारी सरोज खापडें]

में श्रम को प्राथमिकता दी जाए, तो हमारा देश इक्कीसवीं शताब्दी के प्रारम्भ में ऐसा देश होगा कि इसमें कोई गरीब पिछड़ा हुआ नहीं रहेगा और वह समय बहुत दूर नहीं है कि जब पश्चिमी देश भी हमसे प्रेरणा लेंगे ऐसा कार्यक्रम निर्धारित करने में।

हमारे प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी ने भी शुरुआत की है, वह हाल ही में पिछड़े हुए इलाके में गये और वहां की स्थिति को उन्होंने देखा। उनके इस दौरे ने सरकार और जनता में एक जोश पैदा किया। अब पिछड़े हुए इलाके और पिछड़ी हुई जातियां इक्कीसवीं शताब्दी के प्रारम्भ में खुशहाल और समृद्ध होंगी, यह हमें उम्मीद है।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ में सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना का समर्थन करती हूँ।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र (विहार) :

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह प्रसन्नता की बात है कि आज देश में प्लेनिंग हो, इस पर कोई दो राय नहीं है। लेकिन एक जमाना था जब प्लेनिंग पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी ने शुरू किया था, तो बहुत से दल और पार्टियों थों प्लेनिंग का ही विरोध कर रही थीं।

आज पूरा राष्ट्र इस नतीजे पर पहुंचा है कि प्लेनिंग के जरिए ही हम अपनी इस उन्नत स्थिति में आज पहुंचे हैं जहां औद्योगिकीकरण हुआ है और कुछ बुनियादी तैम आधार बने हैं, जिससे हम अपने देश की काफी तरक्की कर सकते हैं, गरीबी को दूर कर सकते हैं। लेकिन इस प्लेनिंग पर विचार करते हुए शासक दल के लोग उतर आते हैं तुच्छ पार्टीबाजी पर। यह अच्छी बात नहीं है और इसलिए इस पर नहीं ढंग से हम लोग विचार नहीं कर सकते। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इसको क्रिटिकल रूप

में आलोचक ढंग से हम लोग इस समस्या पर विचार करें।

योजना मंत्री जी ने प्रस्ताव करते हुए बंगला के एक प्रसिद्ध कवि की एक कविता सुनाई, जिसमें यह इच्छा प्रकट की गई थी कि भारत सर्वप्रथम स्थान विश्व में प्राप्त करेगा, अगर हम लोग सब मिल कर के चलेंगे। इस कविता का उन्होंने पाठ किया।

आज छह योजनाएं बीत गईं। छह योजनाओं के अंदर कुछ सर्वप्रथम स्थान भारत ने प्राप्त किया है। इस और भी में योजना मंत्री का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ ताकि वह जान सके कि सच्चाई क्या है?

मैंने पहले ही कहा कि एक आधार तैयार हुआ है भारत में, जिससे हम आगे बढ़ सकते हैं, लेकिन योजनाओं की गलत दिशा के कारण सर्वप्रथम स्थान जो हमने प्राप्त किया है, वह युनाइटेड नेशंस की एक रिपोर्ट छपी है, उस रिपोर्ट में है कि दुनिया में सब से ज्यादा अन्नपद आदमी कहां है?

तो वह भारत में है, यानी हम लोग फर्स्ट हो गये अन्नपद होने में। यह भी हमारा एक रिकार्ड है, यह इस योजना में है।

उसी रिपोर्ट में है कि सब से दरिद्र देश कौन है? उसकी सूची में भारत का नाम आ गया है, सब से दरिद्र देश।

तीसरी बात यह है कि सब से ज्यादा बेरोजगार कहां है।

तो वह भी भारत में।

तो इन तीनों चीजों में हम लोगों ने सर्वप्रथम स्थान प्राप्त किया।

श्री सुरज प्रसाद (विहार) : फर्स्ट क्लास फर्स्ट है।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : और ऐसा हमने किया जब पब्लिक सैक्टर में हमारा विश्वास है, पब्लिक सैक्टर को हम

बढ़ावा दे रहे हैं। अब हमको खतरा यह है कि अगर हम पब्लिक सेक्टर को छोड़कर प्राइवेट सेक्टर की तरफ जायेंगे तो दरिद्रता में, निरक्षरता में, बेरोजगारी में फर्स्ट क्लास फर्स्ट हो जायगा।

इसीलिए हमारी चिन्ता है और कोई चिन्ता नहीं है और उनके जरिए यही काम होता ही है। इसीलिए इस पर गम्भीरता से विचार करने की जरूरत है कि हम लोग सभी मिलकर कैसे अपने देश को आगे बढ़ावें। इस संबंध में मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि शासक पार्टी के लोग गहराई से विचार करके, मानवीय योजना में जो कुछ महत्वपूर्ण बिन्दुओं को विल्कुल भुला दिया गया है, विचार ही नहीं किया गया है उसे देखें। वैसे गरीबी के सवाल पर बहुत भाषण शासक पार्टी से, मंत्री महोदय से और योजना कमीशन से सुने हैं, लेकिन एक बात यह सच है कि पंजाब की परकंपिटिटा इन्कम सबसे ज्यादा है और वही पर भिडरावाले होते हैं, वहीं पर हथियार बन्द लोग होते हैं जो सारे भारत की अखण्डता को चुनौती देते हैं। तो यह गरीबी के चलने नहीं हुआ। आप सप्टम योजना का पूरा अध्ययन कर लीजिए। कहीं किसी ने बताया कि यह भिडरावाले कैसे जन्म लेते हैं, इसका कोई सामाजिक आर्थिक कारण है या नहीं? या थों ही ऊपर से फेंक दिये थे और चले आए थे। मैं चाहता हूँ इस पर गम्भीरता से आप विचार करें। अगर कहीं और भिडरावाले पैदा होंगे, तो देश की अखण्डता को भारी आंच आएगी। अगर जो कुलक तत्व हैं, उनको आप बढ़ावा देंगे, सामंती तत्व हैं, उनको अगर बढ़ावा देंगे, जो प्रतिक्रियावादी तत्व है, उनको अगर बढ़ावा देंगे और जो पुराण पंथी हैं, उन सिद्धांतों को बढ़ायेंगे तो यह देश की अखंडता के लिए घातक होगा। आप रोजी रोटी के लिए कुछ लाख लोगों को कहीं भेजना रिक्शा दे दीजिएगा, तो इससे समस्याओं का निदान नहीं होगा।

इसलिए गम्भीरता से इस पर विचार करना चाहिए। लेकिन शासक पार्टी क्या करती है.... (व्यवधान)

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : आप तीन सूत्री कार्यक्रम के खिलाफ है क्या ?

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : हम तो आपके साथ थे, बाद में भी थे। आप ही भाग जाते हैं। आपका सूत्र ही भाग जाता है। अभी आपने दा सूत्र की चर्चा की माननीय सदस्य प्रणब मुखर्जी जी बोले, उन्होंने दो महत्वपूर्ण बात कही। एक तो कहा कि पापूलेशन बहुत बढ़ रही है और इसके चलते भारत देश गरीब है और दूसरा क्या कहा कि बंगाल की वापपंथी सरकार मुसीबत है, यद्यपि उन्होंने नाम नहीं लिखा। हम आपसे कहेंगे कि बंगाल की साढ़े पांच करोड़ पापूलेशन है उसको हटा दीजिए और भारत के निरक्षर लोग कितने हैं, 44 करोड़ इसमें से साढ़े पांच करोड़ हटा दीजिए तो बाकी जो बचे वह तो आपके भारत के है या नहीं? तो बंगाल आपका क्यों सिरदर्द बन हुआ है? बंगाल के हटाने से भी आपकी यही परिस्थिति रही।

आप दूसरी बात पापूलेशन की बात और अंग्रेजी के समय से तुलना करते हैं कि फेमन होता था, अकाल भा पड़ता था और सामान बाहर में मंगाना पड़ता था। अंग्रेजों से आपको कोई तुलना नहीं करता। हमें तो नहीं कहते कि आप इतने बुरे हैं, जितने अंग्रेज बुरे थे। हमने ऐसा तो कभी नहीं कहा आपको तुलना करना है तो करनी चाहिए दुनिया के आधुनिक देशों से। पापूलेशन विश्व में सबसे ज्यादा है चीन में। सब कोई जनता है, सारी दुनिया जानती है कि वहां इतनी दरिद्रता नहीं है, वहां 80 प्रतिशत लोगों को साक्षर बनाया गया है। वहां ग्रीन रिवोल्यूशनरी नहीं हुआ है, आप बड़ी बात करते हैं ग्रीन रिवोल्यूशनरी की वहां लाल रिवोल्यूशन हुई है वहां बीस सूत्री नहीं है वहां एक ही सूत्र है, वहां लोगों

[श्री चतुरानन सिंघ्र]

ने क्या किया है ? सालाना 400 मिलियन टन का फूड प्रोडक्शन है, आपसे पांच गुना ज्यादा कोल प्रोडक्शन है, आपसे साढ़े चार गुना स्टील प्रोडक्शन है । है । अब आप बताइए वहां कैसे होता है यह ? आप कहते हैं कि वहां पर कम्युनिस्ट पद्धति है । पद्धति है, तो आप बताइये कि आपकी पद्धति में क्यों नहीं होता है ? मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर इसी पद्धति से तीन चीजों से मोहब्बत छोड़ दी जाय तो इस सातवी योजना को डबल किया जा सकता है । अभी काला धन की समिति ने बताया कि 36 हजार करोड़, 36-37 हजार करोड़ रुपए सालाना काला धन बनता है । अगर पांच वर्ष में इस काले धन को रोक दीजिए और इसे पब्लिक सैक्टर में इनवेस्ट करें तो क्या पब्लिक सैक्टर का इनवेस्टमेंट डबल नहीं हो जाएगा । अगर आप प्रोजेक्ट को पूरा कर दीजिए समय पर, तो उससे भारी बचत हो जाएगी ? सिर्फ़ अगर, जैसा उसी कमीशन ने बताया है कि 10 लाख रुपया खर्च करना होता है, तो 4 लाख रुपया भ्रष्टाचार में पब्लिक फण्ड का चला जाता है घुआखोरी में चला जाता है, भ्रष्टाचार में चला जाता है, इन्को आप रोकिए । प्रजातन्त्र का यह मतलब नहीं होता—भ्रष्टाचार वदइतजामी कालाधन और फाइव स्टार कल्चर है आपको हमारी राजनीति पद्धति से कोई मतभेद है, तो आप रखिए मतभेद । लेकिन अगर दोस्ती है कालाधन से, भ्रष्टाचार से, समय पर काम न करने से, चोरी से, तब तो यह आपका अजीब प्रजातंत्र है । इसके बारे में आपको गंभीरता से सोचना चाहिए । मैं दूसरी बात कहना चाहता हूँ जिसकी चर्चा इसमें नहीं है और यह है कि इसका क्या इलाज है योजना मंत्री बताएंगे । कि किसानों की संख्या दिनोंदिन घट रही है और खेत मजदूरों की संख्या तेजी से बढ़ रही है ? इसका इस योजना में कहीं जिक्र नहीं है । आप गरीबी रोकने की बात करते हैं, लेकिन जहा कारखाना है गरीबी बढ़ाने का उसके बारे में आप सही हिसाब नहीं दे रहे हैं । 1961

में 53 परसेंट कल्टोवेटर्स थे, 1981 में 37 परसेंट हो गए । यह संख्या कैसे घटी, किसने घटाई ? इसका जवाब देना होगा तब समस्या का निदान होगा । इसी अवधि में जो खेत मजदूर हैं वे 61 में 40 परसेंट थे, 1981 में 63 परसेंट हो गए । इस गरीबी बढ़ाने के कारखाने पर रोक लगाने के बारे में आप क्या कह रहे हैं ?

दूसरा विषय है कि जिसके बारे में कोई चर्चा नहीं है और वह यह है कि गांवों से लोग शहरों की तरफ भाग रहे हैं । 81 के सेंसस के मुताबिक 80 लाख पापुलेशन गांवों से भाग कर शहरों में आई क्योंकि गांवों की उर्वेशा हो रही है । छठी योजना को ले लीजिए । ग्रामीण रोड बनाने का जितना तय किया गया था उसमें 2 हजार गांवों को जिनके लिए हमने कहा था कि पक्का सड़कों से जोड़ देंगे, वे छूट गए । ग्रामीण विद्युतीकरण में 10 हजार गांवों का कोटा पूरा नहीं हो सका । पेय जल देने के मामले में 86 हजार गांवों का कोटा पूरा नहीं कर सके । मकान बनाने के लिए गरीबों को सहायता देने का जो कार्यक्रम था उसमें 17 लाख आदिमियों को सहायता नहीं दे सके । पूरे प्लान के खर्च का 21 परसेंट खर्च नहीं कर सके । इसका तो जवाब देना पड़ेगा कि ऐसा क्यों हुआ । गांवों के लिए जो खर्चा रहता है वह आप खर्च नहीं कर पाते उसका उपयोग नहीं कर पाते । आप कुछ बताइए जिससे विश्वास हो की सातवीं योजना में रुपया खर्च होगा ।

केन्द्र और राज्यों के तनाव के बारे में बहुत चर्चा हुई है । आपकी नीति के कारण जो इस तरह की घटना होती है उसके बारे में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ । सातवी योजना में विजली का प्रावधान क्या है ? आपने नार्वेन रीजन को दिया है मेगावाट सृजित करने के लिए 18487, वेस्टर्न रीजन को 19468 और ईस्टर्न रीजन को दिया है 9750 बोलिए हम क्या करें वहां जब आपने

हमारी योजना बना दी कि हमको विजली नहीं मिलेगी। वहां हंगामा होगा या नहीं। टोटल क्रेडिट जो आप वैंस्टर्न और सर्दन रीजन में देते हैं बैंकों की ओर उसको देखिए और बिहार और यू० पी० को तो अपना हिस्सा भी नहीं मिल पाता। चार मेट्रोपोलिटन सेंटर्स हैं उनमें 16 हजार करोड़ रुपया उधार है। 65 परसेंट क्रेडिट गहरों में ही चला जाता है। यू० पी०, बिहार के लोग कहा जाएंगे, दरिद्रता की रेखा के नीचे वाले ये लोग कहा जायेंगे। आपकी स्कीम 40 परसेंट क्रेडिट फुलफिल करने की थी प्रायोरिटी सेक्टर में आज तक वह आप फुलफिल नहीं कर पाए।

आप आपन यूनीवर्सिटी की चर्चा करते हैं। बिहार में आपिन यूनीवर्सिटी क्यों, आपिन विद्यालय हैं। पॉलियामेंट तो बहुत बैकवर्ड है, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, बिहार में 20 हजार प्राथमिक स्कूल हैं जिन पर छप्पर नहीं है। वहां पहले से ऐसा आपिन विद्यालय चल रहा है। वहां बैड रूम भी आपिन है। दिल्ली, बम्बई, कलकत्ता, पटना हर जगह लोग फूटपात पर हसबैंड वाइफ, बच्चे साथ सोए हुए होते हैं। ऐसे ठंडी के मौसम में वे आपिन बैड रूम में सोते हैं। क्या बिहार में कोई भिंडरावाला जन्म लेगा तभी आप सोचेंगे या पहले सोच कर देंगे। हमारी चिन्ता इसलिए है कि आप गहराई से इन पर विचार नहीं करते। मैं समझता हूँ कि जो कॉन्स्टीट्यूशनल प्रावधान है उनको आप नहीं मानते और उसके चलते हा ऐसा बवंडर हो रहा है संविधान में दिया हुआ है कि कसेन्ट्रेशन आफ वेलथ नहीं होगा, लेकिन आपने क्या किया है? 72 से 81 की तुलना काजिए। सिर्फ 20 एकाधिकारी हाउसेज हैं जिनकी सम्पत्ति चार गुना से ज्यादा हो गई है। 1972, उनको सम्पत्ति दो हजार 884 करोड़ रुपये थी, उस का टोटल एसेट जो 1981 में हो गया 8987 करोड़ रुपया। तो वह इतनी तेजी से बढ़ रहा है। आपने कंपलसरी एजुकेशन की बात को फुलफिल नहीं किया जो सन् 1960 में ही तुरा करने की संविधान में कही गयी है।

आपने हरिजनों को इतना विकसित नहीं किया इस अवधि में, जिसकी बात संविधान में कही गयी है। आज हरिजनों पर रोज ही अत्याचार होते हैं। आज भी हरिजन जनाए जा रहे हैं। आज महिलाओं पर रोज ही अत्याचार होते हैं, वे मारी जाती हैं, जलायी जाती हैं। आप ने इस में क्या किया है? आज हिन्दी का विरोध पहले से ज्यादा हो रहा है। पहले लोग हिन्दी का इतना विरोध नहीं करते थे। हिन्दी के लिये संविधान में व्यवस्था की गयी है। संविधान के ही आर्टिकल 351 में है कि हिन्दी कंपोजिट कल्चर आफ इंडिया की प्रीक होगी आप उस पर नहीं आते हैं। आज चारों तरफ ऐंटी हिन्दी फीलिंग बढ़ रही है। लोग समझते हैं कि हिन्दी वाले ही राज करेंगे।

मैं एक बात की चर्चा और करना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि आप ने योजना में पब्लिक सेक्टर को निश्चित रूप से गौणमान लिया है। इस बारे में फीगर्स हमारे मित्र माननीय सदस्य निर्मल ने दे दिये हैं और मैं उन को दोहराना नहीं चाहता। सारा देश समझता है कि आप प्राइवेट सेक्टर की तरफ जा रहे हैं। यह बात अंतर्राष्ट्रीय अखबारों में आ रही है कि आप प्राइवेट सेक्टर की तरफ जा रहे हैं। यहां तो नहीं लेकिन बाहर आपके दल के सदस्यगण भी कहते हैं बोलते हैं कि आप प्राइवेट सेक्टर की तरफ जा रहे हैं। क्या आप ने इसमें कहीं ब्लैक मनी की चर्चा की है। इस बारे में एक लाइन भी इस में नहीं है कि ब्लैक मनी का क्या होगा। क्या वह प्राइवेट सेक्टर में ही नहीं है? सालाना 36 हजार करोड़ रुपया काला धन प्राइवेट सेक्टर का है, पब्लिक सेक्टर का नहीं। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि हाई प्रोथ इंडस्ट्रीज का जितना भी प्रावधान किया गया है सातवीं योजना में चाहे वह कंप्यूटर्स की टॉय, या एलेक्ट्रॉनिक्स का हों या प्लास्टिक्स की हों, वह सारी की सारी प्राइवेट सेक्टर में दी गयी हैं। आप ने जितनी भी हाई प्राफिट अनिग इंडस्ट्रीज हैं सब को सब प्राइवेट सेक्टर को दे दी है। सारा फोरेन को ला बोरेण दे दिला है प्राइवेट सेक्टर को।

[श्री चतुरानन मिश्र]

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं उद्योग मंत्री जी के भाषण को सुनाना चाहता हूँ जो एक प्रश्नोत्तर के रूप में छपा है इंडिया टुडे में 30 नवम्बर के, और जिस में वे कहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान मशीन टूल्स और भारत हेवी एलेक्ट्रॉनिक्स में भी प्राइवेट सेक्टर जाएगा। मैं उस को मुना देना चाहता हूँ:—

Q. What is the way out for the public sector if there is such a tight financial squeeze?

A. Some public sector company might raise share capital from the public companies like Hindustan Machine Tools, Bharat Heavy Electricals and some others, I have not yet considered this suggestion but we should consider it. It is good if such companies can attract share capital from the public.

हम कैसे आपकी बात पर विश्वास करें। आज एच एम टी से अच्छी क्या कोई कंपनी चल रही है और हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा था भेल के बारे में कि वह विश्व में किसी कंपनी का मुकाबला करने के काबिल है। आप इस तरह की बात कर डाउनग्रेड कर रहे हैं हमारे पब्लिक सेक्टर को। अगर पब्लिक सेक्टर को रखते हुए हम अपनी दरिद्रता को बढ़ने से नहीं रोक सकते तो प्राइवेट सेक्टर को लाकर हम गरीबी को और तेजी से बढ़ने में नहीं रोक पायेंगे। इसलिये देश को आप एक बहुत खतरनाक स्थिति में ले जा रहे हैं इस योजना ने और इसीलिये मेरा इस से विरोध है।

प्राइस राइज के बारे में मैं कह रहा हूँ कि आज रुपये की वैल्यू रात दिन घट रही है। आज वह 14 पैसे या 16 पैसे हो गयी है और यह बात रोज अखबारों में आ रही है। मैं योजना मंत्री जी से जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या जब यह घट कर 5 पैसे पर आ जायेगी तो हम तरक्की करेंगे। इस को रोकने का आप के पास क्या साधन है? मिनरल्स का 900 गुना तक दाम बढ़ गया है। स्टील का दाम 316 परसेंट बढ़ गया है और इसी तरह से सब चीजों की कीमतें बढ़ रही है। (समय को घंटा) मैं थोड़ा सा समय और चाहूंगा। हम लोग तो सिर्फ बोलते ही हैं, राज

पाट तो आप लोग चलाते हैं। वैसे अभी बोल कर भी कोई फायदा नहीं होता। क्योंकि सातवीं योजना फाइनल हो चुकी है अगले साल जब विचार करेंगे, आप, तभी पता चलेगा कि क्या फैसला होता है। तो मैं कह रहा था कि रेल इस योजना में राष्ट्र को असफल करेगा मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस योजना में आप ने प्रावधान किया है कि कोल का उत्पादन होगा 241 मिलियन टन। रेल होगी 152 मिलियन टन। मंत्री महोदय बतायें कि बाकी कोयला कहाँ जाएगा? यह घाटे में जाएगा या नहीं। आयरन और का प्रोडक्शन है 58 मिलियन टन और एक्सपोर्ट होगा 12 मिलियन टन और बाकी का कैसे ट्रांसपोर्टेशन होगा? बैंगन कहाँ से आएगा सीमेंट का प्रोडक्शन है 49 मिलियन टन और सीमेंट ट्रांसपोर्टेशन रेल से होगा 23 मिलियन टन। तो ट्रांसपोर्टेशन के लिए दाम बढ़ेगा कि नहीं इसलिए कहता हूँ कि रेल सातवीं योजना को असफल करेगी।

गरीबों का उत्थान करने का एक बड़ा तरीका जो हमारे यहाँ उपलब्ध है वह है कोआपरेटिव। कोआपरेटिव पर वस्टेड इंटरैसट का कब्जा है, संपूर्ण देश के अंदर, बिहार की बात छोड़ दीजिए, वहाँ तो तीन लोक से मथुरा न्यारी है। आप की जो लेबर पॉलिसी है उसमें नयापन नहीं है। कम मे कम नई शिक्षा नीति, नई औद्योगिक नीति आप बोलते हैं, लेकिन नई श्रम नीति के बारे में आपने नहीं सुना होगा। वहाँ पुरानी मालिकवर्गीय श्रम नीति होगी और मजदूर सताया जाएगा तो क्या इमसे आपका पब्लिक सेक्टर ठीक चलेगा आपने कभी सोचा ही नहीं कि मजदूर कारखाने का अविभाज्य अंग है। आपने सारे देश पर वानिग मताधिकार से कब्जा कर लिया है तो कारखानों में मालिग मताधिकार हो जाएगा तो कौन सी मुश्किल हो जाएगी?

मैं एक बात और कहना चाहूंगा, वह वह यह है कि आप पालिसी में डिफ्ट कर रहे हैं, देश को डूबा रहे हैं। अभी तक नहीं डूबा था। आपके हाथ में राज था, हमारा ख्याल है कि जितने

थई कंट्रीज में उनमें वृहत्तों से अच्छे ढंग से आप चल रहे थे, लेकिन अब हमको खतरा लग रहा है कि आप गहरे ट्रेड डैफिसिट में जा रहे हैं। पिछले 5 वर्षों से आपको विदेश व्यापार में सालाना 6 हजार करोड़ रुपये का घाटा हो रहा है। यह पारा इसलिए हो रहा है कि आपने इम्पोर्ट लिबरलाइजेशन किया। उसके चलते तीन महीने के अंदर 3 हजार करोड़ रुपए का घाटा हो रहा है। समय नहीं है नहीं तो हम आपको बताना चाहेंगे कि जितने भी यहां इंपॉर्ट कारखाने हैं, जैसे हटिया भेल, शिपिंग, उनके पास आर्डर नहीं है। देश की कंपनियां विदेशों से माल मंगा रही हैं। आपने लोगों को यह बताया है कि विदेश का माल अच्छा होता है। राजीव जी नवयुवक हैं, बहुत अच्छे वक्ता भी हैं, बहुत सुंदर बात किया करते हैं, लेकिन एक बात इन्होंने देश में फिजिंग पैदा कर दी है कि सब चीजें विदेशी अच्छी हैं। पुराने गांधी कहते हैं कि देसी चीजे अच्छी होती हैं नये गांधी कहते हैं कि विदेशी चीजें अच्छी हैं। इसके चलते सब पूंजीपतियों ने हर माल विदेशों से मंगाना शुरू कर दिया है। इस वर्ष इम्पोर्ट व्यापार में कैपिटल गुड्स के एंकाउंट में 200 करोड़ रुपए का घाटा हुआ है। हमने पिछले दिनों वित्त मंत्री को चैलेंज किया था अभी भी चैलेंज कर रहे हैं कि अंधाधुंध आयात गलत है; हमारी अपनी कुछ शार्ट कामिज हैं, उनको हम सुधारें या कुछ चीजें विदेशों से मंगाकर उनको दे दें किन्तु मुख्यतः स्वदेशी पर निर्भर रहना है। मैं एक चीज और सदन को कहना चाहूंगा यहां पर बराबर चर्चा की जाती है। इस्पात का मूल्य हमारे देशों के मुकाबले में ज्यादा है भारत में यह बात सच नहीं है। इस्पात का दाम सेल अथॉरिटी के चैयरमैन ने लिखकर दिया है कि अगर टैक्स हटा दिया जाए तो जापान के मुकाबले में हमारा स्टील प्रोडक्शन सस्ता है। अमरीका के मुकाबले में भी, यू०के० के मुकाबले में हमारा स्टील प्रोडक्शन सस्ता है। टैक्स तो आप हटा दीजिए, यह तो लागत खर्चा नहीं है। हम चाहते हैं कि इस्पात

का उत्पादन गिरने मत दीजिए। देश में साधन काफी हैं। चीन आगे बढ़ सकता है तो हम भी आगे बढ़ सकते हैं। पश्चिमी बंगाल का मेनिया जो है आपके दिमाग से हट जाना चाहिए। नये ढंग से सभी को एक दूसरे का सहयोग करना चाहिए। यह राष्ट्रीय योजना है, इसकी पूर्ति के लिए हम प्रयास करें। अगर आप पूंजीपतियों को तरजीह देना छोड़ देंगे, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारा मजदूर वर्ग सहयोग करेगा आपके साथ। देश के लिए उत्पादन बढ़ेगा। लेकिन अगर आप उन लुटेरों के फेरे में जायेंगे तो हम बवंडर खड़ा करेंगे और कोई योजना आप की चनेगी नहीं। मैं यह भी कह देना चाहता हूँ। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना महत्व मंत्री महोदय के सामने रखता हूँ। अगर यही योजना रही तो यह योजना अराजकता लायेगी यह मैं कहना चाहता हूँ।

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to speak on this very important subject.

Firstly, my friend from the Opposition, Professor Nirmal Chatterjee, has expressed his doubts and asked how, with a meagre production of fertilizers, we are going to achieve the food target by 1989-90. I am very proud to say that in the year 1984-85 we had a production of about 3.917 million tonnes of nitrogenous fertilizers, about 1.3 million tonnes of phosphatic fertilizers and we could achieve the target of 153 million tonnes of foodgrains. By the year ending 1989-90 we have made a total provision of 6.5 million tonnes of nitrogenous fertilizers and 2.2 million tonnes of phosphatic fertilizers. I am sure we can achieve not only 178 million tonnes of foodgrains but also would surpass whatever we have fixed as the target for the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

Secondly, my friend, Dr. Shanti Patel, has said in his speech that there are two Indias—one rural India and the other, urban India... (Interruption)

DR. SHANTI G. PATEL: I said poor India, and rich India—with persons like you.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: You come from rich India and I come from poor India—if at all there are two Indias. But I do not believe in this.

Dr. Patel defended private entrepreneurs. Our other friend, sitting just behind Dr. Patel—Mr. Chaturanan Mishra—said that some of the public sector industries are doing a very excellent job. If the private entrepreneurs are so efficient, may I ask Dr. Patel why 125 textile mills had gone sick? They were all with private entrepreneurs. They were with private businessmen and private businessmen are only interested in making profit... (Interruptions)... They are only interested in exploiting the poor and earning more profit. There are some public sector industries which may be sick but I think most of them are not sick. They might be in loss, some minor loss. That can be rectified by changing the administration and management and here there are so many things which we can suggest.

Now I would like to come to the Seventh Five-Year Plan. While formulating the Seventh Five-Year Plan Hon'ble Shri Rajiv Gandhi had said:

"Development is not about factories, dams and roads. Development is about people. The goal is material, cultural and spiritual fulfilment for the people. The human factor, the human context is of supreme value in development."

So, that is the main thing about planning, that is the main thing about development. Here my hon'ble friend from the Communist Party spoke. The process of planning itself has come from the Soviet Union. They had made several Plans. When Russia was liberated from the Czars. Lenin thought, "If I cannot develop my country in socialistic way, if I cannot make my country strong from the economic and defence points of

view, the capitalistic world will grab my whole country."

Then they have started the plan, and the plan has become so much successful. The Soviet Union is one of the supermost power in the world. Sir, physically by the publicities America can say, can claim that it is the super power, it is more powerful. But by the figures which I know of the Soviet Union about the war machinery, about the scientific development, about development in food production and its social structure, I am fully convinced that these socialistic ways of life are only the process of development. That process has been adopted by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

During these six plans, Sir, India did not remain backward, India did not remain ancient; India has become a modern country. Of course, disparities are there, diversities are there. There is unity among the diversities of India. It is an age-old country. There is a traditional thinking. My friend knows. He comes from Bihar. Some two or three days back I was reading that more black money is there in Bihar because whatever money for planning has gone to Bihar, planning has not been properly executed, and that money has come out in the form of black money. What can we do? It is a challenge to the society. It is a challenge of the social structure. That we must change, the social structure basically. Then only can we talk about socialism. I say that our young Prime Minister, the outstanding Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, has taken up this challenge by the introduction of new science and technology, the modern technology.

Sir one of my friends has criticised that these things are coming from outside. It is not the thing, Sir. Whatever technologies already exist outside, abroad, that we must take. Why should we entrust our labour to find out the technology in existence already in other countries? We must take that technology, and in whatever is not there, we must do research, we must develop that technology, and we must build up a modern India.

Sir, the public sector outlay, Rs. 1,80,000 crores represent the massive volume of public investment. It will place a severe strain on our capacity for resource mobilisation. But there is no short cuts for development, no alternative to hard work. The task before us is to put an end to the backwardness and build India for the future. This Plan will take us significantly forward towards this goal.

Sir, removal of poverty, building up of a modern society, making the maximum possible use of science and technology and attainment of self-reliance are the basic objectives of our planning in India. So, effective planning must be based on the vision of the future. And it is there. We need a long-term perspective to translate the vision into a reality and to make it operational.

Sir, food, work and productivity—these are the three basic principles of our planning. Madam Gandhi said in her first speech in the NDC that there were three important principles—food, work and productivity. I say 'roti, kapda and makan.' We see three necessities. Then health comes, then family welfare comes and then other things come. This Plan has taken a perspective view of these three important aspects of life. By making provisions in several fields, these three important ingredients should be achieved. Sir, the important thing is rapid agricultural development, especially in the agricultural, backward areas, expansion of irrigation facilities, more intensive cropping and continuation of the employment oriented programmes such as the National Rural Employment Programme and the Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Scheme. These programmes would contribute significantly to generation of additional employment opportunities in the rural areas.

Sir, the Plan pays special attention to the problems faced by more vulnerable sections of our society—the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes.

women and children. As a result of these measures, the poverty ratio will decline from 37 per cent which is there today, 1984-85 to 26 per cent in 1988-89. So, today the people below the poverty line are 273 million. That will go down to 211 million people, people below the poverty line. So, these are the main things.

Nearly 31 per cent of the outlay is meant for energy. Energy is a very important factor of our development. Another major thrust area in the Seventh Five-Year Plan is human resource development, Sir, we have got a tremendous resource, that is the human resource. Unless the human resource is mobilised India will not go ahead. So, the main thrust is given to human-resource development. The rate of investment is projected to go up from 24.5 per cent of the GNP in 1984-85 to 25.9 per cent in 1989-90. Sir, planning in our country is an instrument of achieving the nation's basic goal and objectives which were the dream of Mahatma Gandhi to wipe out the tears from the eyes of each and every individual in our country. As per the dream of Mahatma Gandhi we have to wage a still more intensive campaign against the poverty. The recent experience suggests that by harmonising the forces of modern science and technology, it is possible, as never before, to ensure that the chronic poverty need not be the inevitable lot of a majority of humankind.

Sir, in the agriculture sector the area under high yielding varieties of foodgrains was increased from 35.2 million hectares in 1979-80 to about 56.0 million in 1984-85. It is the greatest achievement that we have done so far in the Sixth Plan. The chemical fertilizer's consumption rose from 5.3 million tonnes in 1979-80 to 8.4 million tonnes in 1984-85.

Sir, regarding rural development, 64 per cent villages in the country have been electrified and 8.9 per cent more use of electricity per annum in

[Shri Vithalrao Madhavrao Jadhav] agriculture is accelerated. The number of tractors in use are 5 lakhs in our country, which are equivalent to 3.5 million drought animal power. As some hon. Members have criticised that public sector units like cement steel aluminium, etc., could not show much progress.

Sir, the total geographical area of India is 329 million hectares. The net area sown is about 143 million hectares which is about 43.5 per cent of the total geographical area. The area under forests is 75 million hectares which is about 23 per cent. The uncultivable and fallow lands amount to 100 million hectares. The per capital availability of land which was about 0.94 hectares in 1951 has gone down to 0.3 hectares due to increase in population.

Now, what about water resources? (*Time bell rings*) The country's average annual rainfall is about 119.4 cms. compared to the geographical area of 329 million hectares. The total surface flows in India are assessed at 178 million hectares. That is the total water available with us. It has been assessed that about 67 million hectare metres of surface water and 20.5 million hectare metres of ground water can be developed and utilised. So from this 113 million hectares of total area under irrigation during the Sixth Five Year Plan, we could bring about 11 million hectares of additional land under irrigation. In the Seventh Five Year Plan, our target is about 13 million hectares.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Please try to conclude.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: I will take two minutes more to conclude. Sir, what is the plan allocation for the development of animal husbandry, and fisheries. So the total amount provided under this agriculture sector is Rs. 10,573 crores. For animal husbandry it is Rs. 3,311 crores

and Rs. 499 crores for fisheries. For forestry and wildlife it is Rs. 859 crores. So, the total allocation for agriculture is about Rs. 10,573 crores.

Sir, now I will give analytical answers. For rural development the total amount allocated is Rs. 9,074 crores and for the special area development, is has been allocated Rs. 3,144 crores. From the total amount Rs. 1,80,000 allocated for rural development is Rs. 90,000 crores. It is for the first time in the history of India that 50 per cent of the total amount of plan is allocated for the development of the rural India.

There are special programmes for growing rice in the eastern region intensively. For example, national oil-seeds development projects are also given proper allocation. Similarly for national water sheds development programme for rain-fed agriculture.

Now, I find certain deficiencies in the plan. In this plan nowhere it is mentioned as to what is the allocation for horticulture? We know that horticulture is a very important subject of agriculture.

Similarly, the ecological balance is also a very important area. Though the figure given in the plan document is 23 per cent of the area under forestry but actually we find on an observation not even 10 to 12 per cent under forestry. Due to that, the total ecological balance is being 5 p.m. disturbed. So, it is very essential to see that this programme is properly implemented. (*Time bell rings*) The other important aspect is regional imbalance. Here in the Plan allocation, we never found anywhere that regional imbalances should be removed. The Budget is provided for the backward areas. The Budget is provided for agriculture. We have to remove the backwardness of these areas. But for agriculture, in these backward areas, there is no communication, there is no railway line. Railway line for that area is identified to remove the regional imbalance. We have discussed in this

House by Private Members Resolution about the Statutory Board's appointment for Vidarbha, Marathwada, Saurashtra, Kutch, some parts of Orissa, and Eastern U.P. These are the backward areas and nothing has been said about the backward areas and regional imbalances. Sir, I have gone through this volume and I have found that nothing has been mentioned about the gauge conversion and new railway lines. About Rs. 1650 crores of projects of conversion are going on in the country (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Please conclude.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: Sir, nothing has been said about this gauge conversion and new railway lines. I would like to request the Minister to take special care of the backward areas, to remove the regional imbalances and to lay the railway lines. With this, I support the Plan.

SHRI SANKAR PRASAD MITRA (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I know that we have three speakers. I won't take more than seven minutes. Let us begin with some of the promises of the Seventh Five Year Plan. It says, it has three objectives—namely food, work and productivity. It is said that in 1984-85, 36.9 per cent of the population was below abject poverty line and by 1989-90, it would be reduced to 25.8 per cent. It is expected that in five years 40 million jobs would be created and the number of jobseekers would be 39 million. In other words there would a cleaning of back-logs to the extent of one million. The planners, we believe, have taken into consideration the fact that the bulk of the population does not have enough for their daily necessities. Naturally, the ratio of savings to national income is below 10 per cent. In the first year of the Plan, Rs. 4-000 crores are expected to be raised by the States but if we go by Press reports, many of

the Chief Ministers have expressed their doubts about their capacity to meet these targets. The Plan, it is said, is oriented towards power, agriculture, rural development, social sciences and human resources development. The point that I want to impress upon the Hon'ble Minister is that a time has come to pass through a period of consolidation rather than expansion. I am not speaking against expansion as such but emphasis has to be laid on consolidation. We know that productivity in industry and agriculture depends, to a large extent, on generation of power but at the moment, most of the State Electricity Boards are generating one-third of their installed capacity. There is sheer negligence in maintenance, replacement of parts etc. You may create possibilities for new generation, including attention to nuclear power. But in all seriousness the deficiencies now existing and the negligence now prevailing have to be rectified to bring about the desired results of the Seventh Five Year Plan.

Coming now to agriculture, it is well known that the soil fertility in Punjab and Haryana is far superior to that in, say, Bihar or West Bengal. In these regions also, the necessity for consolidation has become more acute. Irrigation potentials already created, major and minor, have to be fully and more efficiently utilised than at present for improvement of soil fertility. Thirdly, the acid test through which the Seventh Five Year Plan has to pass is the creation of employment opportunities. The Approach Paper lays emphasis on modernisation and sophisticated technology in industries like cement, textiles, jute, paper and iron and steel. The revolution in the field of electronics, computers, micro chips and communication is also bound to affect the life-styles hereafter. But I see no justification for import of foreign technology for soft luggages or for cigarettes like Rothman's and Chester field.

The unemployment problem in this thickly populated country cannot be

[Shri Sankar Prasad Mitra]

overcome, let us be clear once and for all, by overlooking the Gandhian doctrine of labour-intensive production and the theory of "small is beautiful". Our attention has, therefore, to be concentrated obviously if we have to do away with unemployment, on agriculture, irrigation, small and cottage industries.

Sir, generation of resources would be a problem in the Seventh Five Year Plan. It is not so easy to reach the figures that have been indicated in the Plan, and Rs. 14,000 crores of deficit financing may upset the Plan calculations to a very large extent. Tightening of tax collections is necessary.

It should always be remembered that the States are co-partners in the building of a prosperous India. If the States are taking up the attitude that planning is the responsibility of the Centre and the Centre alone, and the States are to indulge in populist programmes only, the entire planning process is likely to fail. I hope the hon. Minister will take note of these warnings and take adequate precautions so that the Seventh Five Year Plan may really meet with success. Thank you.

श्री राम चन्द्र बिकाल (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इतने महत्वपूर्ण विषय पर बोलने का समय देने पर मैं आपका आभारी हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह बात सच है कि यह देश गांवों में बसा हुआ है। 5 लाख से ऊपर गांव हमारे देश में हैं। हमारी जितनी भी योजनाएँ हैं वे ग्रामोन्मुख होनी चाहिए और खाली योजनाएँ ग्रामोन्मुख न हों, हमारे जो योजना बनाने वाले और चलाने वाले लोग हैं उनका ध्यान भी गांवों की तरफ होना चाहिये। जो रूप है हमारी योजनाओं का, वह शहरों के बजाय, शहरों के विकास की बजाय, गांवों के विकास की तरफ अधिक जाये तो मैं समझता हूँ कि दिन दूनी रात चौगुनी देश की तरक्की हो सकती है। हमारे देश के विकास के लिये जरूरी है कि देश में अनुशासन हो,

उत्पादन बढ़े, मनुष्य की पैदावार के अलावा आवादी को छोड़ कर हमारे खेत और कारखाने में पैदावार बढ़ाई जाए, तो हमारा तेश तरक्की कर सकता है और देश को तरक्की करने के लिये जरूरी है कि हम परिश्रम अधिक करें।

अभी पंजाब की कुछ चर्चा कर रहे थे। मैं एक बात कह देना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी कुछ सामाजिक मान्यताएँ भी हमारे देश के आर्थिक विकास में हाइल हैं। पंजाब के लोगों ने अगर कोई तरक्की की है, तो उसका मूल कारण यह है कि पंजाब के लोग स्वयं काम करने में गौरव समझते हैं और किसी भी काम करने में उनको संकोच नहीं होता। यह पंजाब की तरक्की का मूल कारण है। उजड़ करके जो भाई हमारे पंजाब से इधर आये थे, जो रास्ता नहीं जानते थे, जमीन नहीं थी, मकान नहीं था, उन्होंने भी यहाँ कोई भी छोटे से छोटा काम करके, आज व्यापार में, खेती में, फार्मिंग में, कारखानों में, ट्रांसपोर्ट में, हर काम में लग कर के उन्होंने अपनी तरक्की के साथ-साथ देश को तरक्की की है। हमारे देश की ममस्त जनता में यह भावना आनी चाहिये।

हमारे यहाँ जो सामाजिक कुरीतियाँ पड़ी हुई हैं, मैं तो जानता हूँ कि बहुत सी जगह हल चलाना कोई बड़े लोगों के लिये अच्छी बात नहीं है, श्रम करना कुछ लोगों के लिये अच्छी बात नहीं है। तो श्रम के महत्व को बढ़ा दीजिये, तो उससे तरक्की कर सकेंगे।

पंजाब से हरेक को इस बात से सबक लेना चाहिये। मैं यह जरूर कहूंगा कि हमारी जो आर्थिक विकास की योजनाएँ हैं, यह हमारी आजादी के आन्दोलन के वक्त ही, हमारे देश के महान नेताओं ने डाल दी थीं। पं० जवाहर लाल जी और चाहे हमारे देश के और जो नेता उन दिनों आजादी का आन्दोलन चला रहे थे, वह इस बात को गहराई से जानते थे कि राजनीतिक आजादी लेना हमारा मुख्य उद्देश्य नहीं है। राजनीतिक आजादी हमारी अधूरी होगी, बेमानी होगी, बेकार हो जायेगी, अगर हम देश का आर्थिक विकास

नहीं करेंगे। यह स्वदेशी का प्रचार, चाहे वह खादी के रूप में उन दिनों दिया हो, चाहे श्रमदान के रूप में जाते हों, हम लोग चाहे सफाई के रूप में जाते हों, चाहे विदेशी चीजों को बायकाट करते हों, इन सभी के पीछे हमारी आर्थिक योजनाएं छिपी पड़ थीं और उन्हीं को लेकर हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी ने — मुझे तो याद है कि सन् 1930 में किसान जब नंगे सुलतानपुर में उनके सामने थे — किसानों को सन् 1930 में जवाहर लाल जी ने आश्वासन दिया था कि किसानों तुम्हारे अश्रुपूर्ण चेहरे से हम समझते हैं कि तुम आज मुझसे कुछ चाहते हो, लेकिन मैं कुछ देने की हैसियत में आज नहीं हूँ, आज मैं तुम से आजादी के लिये सहयोग लेने आया हूँ — आजादी के लिये सहयोग, तुम मुझे आजादी का सहयोग दोग, तो मैं देश को आजाद कराने के बाद तुम्हारे आसू पोछ सकूंगा। उसी चीज को लेकर जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी ने हमारी योजनाओं का प्रारूप किया और सब से पहले भाखड़ा-नांगल डैम किसानों की सिचाई के लिये बनाया।

मुझे यह कहने में आज गौरव होता है कि हमारी सिचाई की योजना भाखड़ा डैम को बनाने में विदेशी इंजीनियरों का हाथ था, पर आज हमारे देश में इंजीनियरों ने अनेक नदियों पर — अब मैं किस-किस को गिनाऊँ, शायद ही कोई देश की नदी बचें हो, जिस पर बड़े से बड़ा डैम, योजनायें हमारी न बनाई गई हों।

तो यह कहना तो मैं ठीक नहीं समझता कि हमारे देश का आर्थिक विकास नहीं हुआ, हां जितनी अधिक तेजी से होना चाहिये, वह नहीं हो रहा है। या दुनिया के और प्रगतिशील मुल्कों के मुकाबले उतना नहीं हो रहा है। मगर दुनिया के लोग हमारे देश की तरक्की को देख कर कुछ थोड़ा सा आपस में कुछ भी रहे हैं कि यह देश तरक्की क्यों कर रहा है। तो योजनायें हमारी चल रही हैं। जहां, मैं प्रधान मंत्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी को, या लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी को बधाई दूंगा, जिन्होंने "जय जवान, जय किसान का नारा लगाया", किसान इस देश की आर्थिक रीढ़ हैं। उन्होंने किसान को प्रोत्साहन देने की बात

की है। वहां मैं इस देश के किसानों को बधाई दिये बगैर नहीं रह सकता इस मौके पर, जिन्होंने इस देश में हरित क्रांति की, जो देश भीख मांगता था, बाहर से या ऋण के रूप में अन्न लेता था, आज हमने आत्म-निर्भर अन्न के मामले में किया है। खाली अन्न के मामले में आत्म-निर्भर किया है, ऐसी बात नहीं है, बहुत से हमारे जो टैक्नीकल लोग हैं, वैज्ञानिक लोग हैं, उनकी विदेशों में बहुत से मुल्कों में आज मांग भी है। बीज तक, बहुत सी चीजें हम बाहर को दे रहे हैं। हम किसानों को भी इस हरित क्रांति के लिये — साथ ही हमारी सफेद क्रांति का आन्दोलन जो पशुपालन को लेकर किसान कर रहे हैं, दूध की जो पैदावार बढ़ा रहे हैं, उसमें मैं किसानों को बधाई दिये बगैर नहीं रह सकता।

हमारी इन योजनाओं में इन किसानों को, चाहे खेती में, चाहे पशुपालन में काम करने वालों को अगर प्रोत्साहन दें, तो हमारी यह क्रांति और आगे बढ़ सकती है। प्रोत्साहन हमारे यहां कभी-कभी उन लोगों को मिल जाता है, जो श्रम नहीं करते। उससे हमारी योजनाओं को धक्का भी लगता है। मैं अनेक उदाहरण जानता हूँ। हम प्रोत्साहन योजना अगर चला कर, चाहे वह सरकारी अधिकारी अच्छा काम करता हो, उनको प्रोत्साहन दें, चाहे हमारे किसान करते हों, मजदूर भाई करते हों, अगर हम काम करने वाले को प्रोत्साहन देंगे, तो देश का आर्थिक विकास इतनी तेजी से हो सकता है कि जिस गति से दुनिया में कोई नहीं कर सकता है।

सारी दुनिया के लोग जानते हैं कि भारत के लोग परिश्रमी हैं, भारत के लोग बहादुर हैं, यह चर्चा चबाकर भी हमारी सीमाओं पर कई-कई दिन तक भूखे रह कर लड़ सकते हैं। हमारे यहां मेहनत करने वाले लोग हैं, दुनिया इस बात को खुद मान चुकी है। लेकिन दुख के साथ मुझे कहना पड़ता है कि मेहनत करने वालों के लिये कोई प्रोत्साहन नहीं है। मेहनत करने वालों को अगर हम प्रोत्साहन दें तो हमारा देश कहीं का कहीं जा सकता है। मुझे यह सब कहने में कोई संकोच नहीं है।

[श्री राम चन्द्र विक्रम]

जहाँ तक शिक्षा का सवाल है। शिक्षा को मान्यवर, मनोवैज्ञानिक ढंग से करना चाहिये। आज हमारे देश में बहुत बेरोजगारी है। उसका कारण यह है कि बच्चों को यह पता नहीं है कि हम पढ़कर क्या करेंगे, बच्चे के माता-पिता को यह मालूम नहीं है कि हमारा बच्चा पढ़कर आगे क्या करेगा? एम०ए० बी०ए० की डिग्री लेने के बाद वह सोचते हैं कि हम क्या करें। इसलिये जरूरी है कि हमारे यहाँ प्रक्टिकल शिक्षा हो, मनोवैज्ञानिक शिक्षा हो। बच्चे की मनोवृत्ति किधर जाना चाहती है, इसके लिये टेस्ट होना चाहिये शुरू में और उसके मुताबिक ही बच्चों को ट्रेनिंग दी जाय, शिक्षा दी जाय। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस प्रकार की शिक्षा आने से बच्चों में विश्वास आयेगा और देश की बेरोजगारी भी दूर हो सकती है। लेकिन हमारे देश में मनोवैज्ञानिक शिक्षा नहीं है। इसको देखना होगा।

जहाँ तक कृषि की शिक्षा का सवाल है। मैं थोड़े से समय के लिये उत्तर प्रदेश में कृषि मंत्री था, मैंने दो यूनिवर्सिटी फौरन बनायीं फँजाबाद में और कानपुर में। मुझे मालूम है कितनी दिक्कत आयी थी यूनिवर्सिटी बनाने में। उनके कहने का समय नहीं है। लेकिन मैं इंदिरा गांधी जी को बधाई दिये बगैर नहीं रहूंगा कि उन्होंने मेरी कितनी मदद की और दोनों यूनिवर्सिटी जल्दी से जल्दी बनवायीं कानपुर और फँजाबाद में। मैंने कानपुर और फँजाबाद यूनिवर्सिटी और पंत यूनिवर्सिटी के इलाके जोड़ दिये थे और अपने जितने वैज्ञानिक लोग थे, जो जानते थे किसान के बारे में, मैंने जबरदस्ती को कि आपको उन इलाकों में जाकर अपने ज्ञान को फैलाना होगा। हमारे यहाँ जो शांति हो रहा है जा रिसर्च हो रहा है जिस पर बहुत धन का खर्च होता है मगर वह अनुभवियों में बंद रहता है या चंद व्यक्तियों का किताबे लिखकर रख दं जाता है। वह प्रक्टिकल किसान तक गांव तक नहीं जा पा रहा है। उसको गांव तक पहुंचाने के लिए हमारे वैज्ञानिकों को प्रोत्साहन देना पड़ेगा उनमें यह भावना भरनी

पड़ेगी कि हम गांव तक इस विज्ञान को पहुंचाएं। यूनिवर्सिटी के साथ गांव लगाने से थोड़ा सी दिक्कत सरकारी अधिकारियों को आयेगी। लेकिन जब गांव में जाकर सवाल करते थे, पूछते थे तो उनमें भी यह बात आयी कि गांव में जाना पड़ेगा और यह भावना आज हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी राजीव गांधी जी में आयी है वह गांवों के बीच जा रहे हैं, आदिवासियों के बीच जा रहे हैं और जाकर देख रहे हैं। यह भावना हमारे सरकारी अधिकारियों में भी आ जाये तो हमारा योजना को बहुत बड़ा सफलता मिल सकता है। मैं बहुत से अधिकारियों के नाम पहले दे चुका हूँ, जो गांव के लोगों का भावनाओं को समझकर उनके बीच जाकर बैठने में अपना स्वाभिमान समझते हैं मैं कई बार इनके नाम ले चुका हूँ आज नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ। मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता कि हमारे सरकारी अधिकारों जो योजना बनाते हैं और चलाते हैं, उन पर योजनाओं का बहुत धन खर्च होता है। योजना पर खर्च कम होता है और योजना बनाने और चलाने वालों पर ज्यादा खर्च होता है। उनका भावना ग्रामीणों को हो जाए गांवों का तरफ उनका भावना हो जाय, तो गांव के लोग आगे आ सकते हैं, टेक्निकल ज्ञान को लेना चाहते हैं अच्छी से अच्छी शिक्षा लेकर वह अपना खेती का पैदावार को बढ़ाना चाहते हैं। इसके लिये हमारे अधिकारियों को तैयार रहना चाहिए।

भूमि के सदुपयोग के बारे में मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि मैं ऐसा अनेक योजनाएं गिना चुका हूँ, जो मैं जानता हूँ, गाजपुर जिले में, जब मैं मिनिस्टर था, गंगा में से केनाल बना दिया बहुत लम्बा-चौड़ा उसमें कितना जमान घिर गया पटरियों और केनाल में। दस-दस बारह-बारह साल तक एक बूंद पानी नहीं गया। मैंने सदा कहा-किसानों अपने जमान ले लो जोत लो। ऐसी हजारों योजनाएं बना दी जाती हैं जमीन घेर दी गयी है केनाल में। हमारे यहाँ मधु-गंगा केनाल बनी हुई है मुजफ्फर नगर में ताल से जो तीन-चार जिलों को चीरती हुई चली आती है, उस पर

कितने पुल बन गए, कितना उसका दुरुपयोग हो गया। पानी की अभी एक बन्द भी नहीं आई है और न आएगी शायद। यह तो बनाई जा रही है बरसात के लिये। कुछ योजनाएं इस हाल में बन जात हैं, मुझे कहने में दुख होता है, उनमें से निकासी कितनी होनी है, होना है या नहीं होना; योजना कार्यान्वित, लेकिन निकास होना है। ऐसी अनेक योजनाएं हैं और आज समय नहीं है, जो उसमें बोलू। मैं उदाहरण देकर देण भर में घूमता हूँ और जानने का कोशिश करता हूँ। हमारे यहां शहरों के विकास के लिए कालोनियों के नाम पर कितनी जमीन ले ली जाती है। दस-दस, बीस-बीस साल से मैं जानता हूँ और मैं बधाई देना चाहता हूँ लाल बहादुर जी को, जिन्होंने यह कहा अगर कोई भी जमीन किसान को बेकार पड़े है तो उन्हें किसानों को दे दो, जिसे एकवाचक का है और जब हमें जरूरत होगी, हम ले लेंगे। दिल्ली का जमीन पर भी उन्होंने हल चलवा दिया था दुवारा किसानों से और तभी उन्होंने आत्म-निर्भर का नारा दिया था—जय जवान, जय किसान। मेरा कहना है कि जमीन का दुरुपयोग न किया जाय और जमीन को उपयोग बनाने के लिये हमारे योजनाओं में बेकार जमीन न ली जाय।

अब भूमि अधिग्रहण का कानून, यह भी किसानों के हक में नहीं है। बल्कि किसानों को बर्बाद करने वाला कोई कानून है तो यह भूमि अधिग्रहण कानून है। किसानों की मर्जी नहीं होती, किसानों को पता नहीं होता, मुआवजा दिया नहीं जाता और भूमि अधिग्रहण कर ली जाती है। मुआवजा मिलता भी है तो बहुत कम मिलता है। इस कानून में संशोधन करना चाहिए और बिना किसान की मर्जी के जमीन न ली जाय और मुआवजा देकर ही जमीन ली जाय। ऐसा हो तो किसान और भी ज्यादा तरक्की कर सकता है।

उपयोगी खाद, चाहे हरी पत्ती की हो, गैस प्लांट की हो, चाहे शहरों में जो गन्दा पानी होता है उसकी हो।

एक्सपर्ट्स ने क्यों नहीं पता लगाने की कोशिश की कि बड़ी-बड़ी नदियां जो वायु दूषण भी करती हैं और जल दूषण भी करती हैं, बहुत उपयोगी खाद दे सकती हैं जो उस बनावट की खाद में बेहतर है जो पैदावार तो बढ़ा रहा है लेकिन स्वास्थ्य के लिए अच्छा नहीं है। इधर हमारी योजना में ध्यान देना चाहिए।

मैं किसानों की बात क्यों करता हूँ? अन्न एटम बम से ज्यादा ताकत रखता है। हिरोशिमा और नागासाकी पर जो एटम बम गिरे उनसे 35 लाख आदमी नहीं मरे, लेकिन बंगाल में जो अकाल पड़ा उससे 35 लाख आदमी मर गए। इसलिए अन्न और अन्न के पैदा करने वालों की इज्जत और सम्मान करना चाहिए।

खेतों पर से बोझ हटाना बहुत जरूरी है। अमरोका, जापान में 7 परसेंट ग्रामाण खेती पर लगे हैं। हमारे यहां नारा है जमीन पर जाओ, जमीन पर जाओ। आखिर जमीन के बंटवारे का क्या हाल होगा। जमीन बंट कर छोटे-छोटे टुकड़ों में रह गई है। मैं उन चन्द लोगों की बात नहीं कहता जिन्होंने फर्जी नामों से बड़े-बड़े फार्म खरीद लिए हैं, लेकिन किसान की जमीन बहुत कम हो गई है। जिस देश में खेती में लगे अन्नत किसान कम होंगे वह देश तरक्की करेगा। खेती से बोझ हटाकर किसानों को दूसरे उद्योग-धन्धों में लगाना चाहिए। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे जो योजनाएं हैं, सातवी योजना विशेषकर इनमें अगर हम ध्यान गांवों की तरफ रखें अधिकारियों का भी गांवों की तरफ जाय जैसे कि प्रधान मंत्री का गया है तो सारी दुनिया, यह देख सकता है कि भारत किसानों से किसानों की बात में आंख मांगने का तैयार नहीं है बल्कि उल्टे देने को तैयार हो सकता है। हमारे देश के किसान, मजदूर और सैनिक मेहनत करने में, पसीना बहाने में तैयार हैं, लेकिन पसीना बहाने वालों को आंसू बहाने पड़े तो दुख की बात है। उनको प्रोत्साहन दिया जाय इन योजनाओं के द्वारा। मुझे मालूम है आप नदियों पर पुल बनाकर टैक्स

[श्री रामचन्द्र विक्ल]

वसूल करते हैं। फिर नदियों पर पुल बनाने में क्या दिक्कत है? रेलवे लाइन पर ओवर ब्रिज बनाने में क्या दिक्कत है। आप टैक्स वसूल करें और ज्यादा से ज्यादा ओवर ब्रिज बनाएं। जनता भी श्रमदान कर सकती है। हम उन गांवों को प्रोत्साहन दें जो अपनी तरफ से मदद करें। इस तरह हम दुगुना काम कर सकते हैं। टैक्स से हम रुपया ले सकते हैं और उन गांवों उन इलाकों में योजनाएं तेजा से चल सकती है। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आपका धन्यवाद करता हूँ मगर मैं यह चाहूंगा कि मेहनत करने वाले किसान, मजदूर या सरकारी अधिकारी या छोटे उद्योगपति जो भी काम करें उनको उचित सम्मान मिले तो वे काम करेंगे। काम करने वाले अपमानित हों तो उनका दिल टूट जाता है और वे काम से भी जो चुराएंगे। इससे हमारे देश का तरकी नहीं, हानि होगी। एक बार फिर मैं आपका धन्यवाद करता हूँ।

श्री सत्यप्रकाश मालवीय : मान्यवर जो पंचवर्षीय योजना होता है किसी देश की और विशेषकर हमारे देश की उससे हमको सहायता मिलती है अपन देश को गरीबी, पिछड़ापन, आर्थिक विपन्नता असमानता, बेरोजगारी, निरक्षरता को दूर करने में। 52 से लेकर आज तक 6 प्लानों के दौर से हम गुजर चुके हैं और सातवें प्लान पर विचार-विमर्श कर रहे हैं। प्रधान मंत्रों जो ने प्लान डाकमेंट का इन्टीडक्शन में कहा है कि इस प्लान के कागज से मनुष्य का सम्पूर्ण विकास करने का हमको अवसर प्राप्त होगा। डिप्युटी चैयरमैन मनमोहन सिंह ने ठाक कहा है कि 2000 तक इस देश से हम करोड़-करोड़ गरीबों, निरक्षरता, बेरोजगारी दूर कर देंगे और जो हर व्यक्ति को दैनिक आवश्यकता है खाने की, कपड़े की और मकान की और स्वास्थ्य की, उस को हम हासिल कर लेंगे। अब हम को देखना है कि जो पिछली 6 योजनायें थीं और रजिन का कार्य काल समाप्त हो गया है उस में कहां तक हम देश से गरीबी, निर्धनता, असमानता और निरक्षरता को दूर कर पाये हैं और कहां तक हम

किसानों का भला कर पाये हैं। इस देश में जो 85 प्रतिशत गांवों में रहने वाले लोग हैं उन को तो हम कहां तक सूख और चैन दिला पाये हैं। कहां तक हम किसानों को उन की उपज का लाभकारी मूल्य दिलाने में हम सफल रहे हैं और कितने लोगों के सिर पर हम छत दे पाये हैं, उन को रहने के लिये मकान दिला पाये हैं और किस हद तक हम खेतों में पानी पहुंचा पाये हैं और कितने गांवों में हम पीने का पानी पहुंचा पाये हैं। वास्तव में हम सब चाहते हैं कि हर घर में चिराग जले, हर पेट में रोटी जाये, हर जिस्म पर कपड़ा हो और इस देश में कोई अनपढ़ न हो, कोई बीमार न पड़े और अगर बीमार पड़े तो उसको दवाई मिले। हम चाहते हैं कि हर गांव में सड़क जाय, हर गांव में बिजली हो, हर किसान के खेत में बिजली पहुंचे, पानी पहुंचे और हमारा देश उन्नति के शिखर पर पहुंचे। महान्मा गांधी का सपना था कि जब भारतवर्ष आजाद होगा तो हम सब का कर्तव्य होगा प्रत्येक व्यक्ति की आंख से आंसू को मिटाने का और प्रत्येक झोंपड़ी से अधिकार को दूर करने का, वहां पर रोशनी पहुंचाने का। लेकिन 35 सालों में मुल्क में हुआ यह है कि हमारा मुल्क दुनिया के सब देशों में, मैं बड़े देशों की बात नहीं करता, लेकिन जो छोटे-छोटे देश हैं उन में भी हमारा देश आज सब से गरीबों, सब से निर्धन, सब से ज्यादा अनपढ़ और सब से ज्यादा अस्वस्थ है और यह बात जो विश्व बैंक की रिपोर्ट है उसमें कही गयी है और उसका उद्धारण देकर मैं आपका अधिक समय नहीं लेना चाहता। हमारे देश में जो बड़े-बड़े उद्योगपति हैं उनको पिछली सरकार की नीतियों के कारण वड़ावा मिला है पिछली सरकार की नीतियां पूंजीवादी रही हैं और इसलिये देश में जो बड़े-बड़े उद्योगपति रहे हैं उनकी हैसियत बराबर बढ़ती गई है। हमारे देश में 1951 में टाटा की कुल हैसियत थी 116 करोड़ की और बिरला की हैसियत थी 153 करोड़ की। वह 1958 में हुई टाटा की कुल हैसियत 303 करोड़ की और बिरला की हुई गयी 294 करोड़ की। 1963 में

टाटा की कुल हैसियत हो गयी 418 करोड़ की और बिरला की हो गयी 304 करोड़ की वरि उस समय हमारे प्रधान मंत्री, जो आजादी की लड़ाई के सेनानी थे, वह जीवित थे और शायद इस से क्षुब्ध हो कर ही अपनी मृत्यु को ठीक पहले ही 1963 में जवाहर लाल जी ने कहा था :

"Monopoly is the enemy of socialism. To the extent it has grown during the last few years, we have drifted away from the goal of socialism."

हम समाजवाद के रास्ते से भटक रहे हैं, हट रहे हैं। इस बात को जवाहर लाल जी ने स्वीकार किया था और 1963 में जब कि, मैं फिर दोहराना चाहता हूँ कि टाटा की कुल हैसियत थी 418 करोड़ की और बिरला की कुल हैसियत थी 304 करोड़ की, और आज उन्हीं टाटा और बिरला की हैसियत बराबर बढ़ती जा रही है। 1980 में टाटा की हैसियत हुई है 1600 करोड़ की और बिरला की हो गयी 1432 करोड़ की और आज 1983 में टाटा की हैसियत हो गयी है 2672 करोड़ की और बिरला की हैसियत हो गयी है 2830 करोड़ 94 लाख की। और यह 1983 के आंकड़े हैं, दो वर्ष पहले के और निश्चित ही इन दो वर्षों में उनकी हैसियत में उत्तरोत्तर वृद्धि हुई होगी और इसलिये मैं इस बात को जोर देकर कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार की नीतियाँ पूँजीवादी हैं और उद्योगपतियों की पोषक हैं और किसान विरोधी हैं और जनविरोधी हैं। हमारे मुल्क में 1979 में 22400 बीमार उद्योग थे और यह बीमार उद्योग ग्राम तौर से उद्योगपतियों के हैं पूँजीपतियों के हैं, बड़े-बड़े लोगों के हैं। और 1984 में इन्हीं बीमार उद्योगों की संख्या बढ़कर हो गयी है 84000 और इन में 500 बड़े उद्योग हैं और बेरोजगारी का आलम यह है कि देश भर में जो बेरोजगार कार्यालय हैं उनके बारे में इस राज्य सभा के एक प्रश्न के उत्तर में बताया गया है कि 1984 में सरकारी आंकड़ों के हिसाब से 235 लाख लोगों के

नाम उन में दर्ज थे। अगस्त 1985 में 235 लाख से बढ़कर इनकी संख्या 253 लाख 7 हजार हो गई और यह बात जानी हुई है कि हर व्यक्ति बेरोजगार कार्यालय में नाम लिखाता नहीं। जब सरकार से पूछा गया कि जो 235 लाख लोग सन् 1984 में बेरोजगार कार्यालयों में दर्ज थे, उनमें से कितने प्रतिशत लोगों को नौकरी दिलवाई तो इसी राज्य सभा में 19 नवम्बर, 1985 को डा० हाणिम किदवई के अतारकित प्रश्न संख्या 241 के उत्तर में सरकार को स्वीकार करना पड़ा —

"The percentage of persons placed in employment out of these 235 lakh job-seekers is not available. However, the number of job-seekers placed in employment through employment exchanges during the Sixth Five Year Plan was 23.2 lakhs. The percentage of these placements to the job-seekers registered with the employment exchanges during the same period is 7.4 per cent."

इस प्रकार 235 लाख लोग जिनके नाम बेरोजगार कार्यालयों में दर्ज थे उनमें से केवल 7.4 प्रतिशत को नौकरी सरकार दिला पाई और करोड़ों लोग ऐसे हैं जिनके नाम वहाँ दर्ज नहीं थे। गरीबी की रेखा के सम्बन्ध में प्रचार करने के लिए कहा जाता है कि गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे रहने वालों की संख्या घट रही है। 1977-78 में ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में सरकारी आंकड़ों के अनुसार गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे 51.2 प्रतिशत लोग थे, शहरी इलाकों में 38.2 प्रतिशत थे। 1983-84 में जो सरकारी आंकड़े हैं उनके अनुसार यह संख्या ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में 40.4 प्रतिशत है और शहरों में 28.1 प्रतिशत। इसी डाक्यूमेंट में कहा गया है :—

"The poverty ratio will decline from 37 per cent in 1984-85 to less than 26 per cent in 1989-90. In absolute terms: the number of poor persons is expected to fall from 273 million in 1984-85 to 211 million in 1989-90."

ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों के लोग जो गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे रहते हैं उसके जो

[श्री सत्य प्रकाश मानवेंद्र]

कारण हैं वह यह है कि प्रति व्यक्ति 2400 कैलरी उनको खाना मिलना चाहिए और शहरी क्षेत्र में प्रति दिन 2100 कैलोरी मिलना चाहिए। 1972-73 की कीमतों के अनुसार ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में प्रति व्यक्ति के ऊपर मासिक व्यय ऐवरेज 41 रुपया था और शहरी क्षेत्र में 47 रुपया। रुपये की कीमत सन 1960 में सौ पैसे में था, वह 1985 में घट करके 14 पैसे हो गई है और इसलिये मैं यह जोरदार तरीके से कहना चाहता हू कि सरकार का जो दावा है कि गरीबों को खाने से नीचे रहने वालों की संख्या निरन्तर घट रही है और पिछले 5 सालों में सरकार का यह दावा खोखला सिद्ध हो गया है। इस सम्बन्ध में सरकार को पुनर्विचार करना चाहिए कि गरीबों की रेखा में जो लोग नीचे हैं उनका आधार क्या हो।

श्रीमान, आज गांवों में पीने का पानी नहीं है। राजस्थान रेगिस्तानी इलाका है। 15 किलोमीटर चलकर औरतों को एक गागर पानी मिलता है। कुएं सूख जाते हैं, नलों में पानी नहीं है। हरियाणा में भी पानी की समस्या है। पिछले चुनावों के दिनों में हम लोग हरियाणा गए थे तो कुओं पर सौ-डेढ़ सौ महिलाओं व बच्चों की लाइनें लगी थीं। हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश के बंदेलखंड में झांसी जिले में, जहां बांदा और जालौन जिले हैं उनके पास में मिर्जा इलाहाबाद इलाहाबाद है जहां मांडा और मेजा में, तथा मिर्जापुर का जो इलाका है, जहां आदिवासी लोग रहते हैं, वहां भी पानी का भारी संकट है। वहां औरतें गागर में पानी भरकर चलती हैं और गाना गाते हुए कहते हैं—खसम मरि जाए, गागर न टूटे। इतना मंहगा पानी है इस मुल्क में कि इस मुल्क की औरतें आज भी विधवा होना स्वीकार करती हैं लेकिन उनको यह बात स्वीकार नहीं कि उनका एक गागर पानी भी वहां गिर जाए। यह हालत है आजके इस मुल्क की।

किसान की बात करता हूं तो किसान का भी शोषण हो रहा है। किसान इस राष्ट्र

के सबसे बड़े सेवक हैं। सारे मुल्क में जितने लोग हैं 75 या 80 करोड़ और जिनकी संख्या एक अरब होने जा रही है 21वीं सदी में, उन सारे लोगों को खाना खिलाने का काम ये किसान करते हैं। लेकिन आज इस देश में किसान भूखा है। उद्योगपति की लाइकिल ज्यादा बन जाए तो उनके मजे हो गये, उद्योगपति की इंडस्ट्री में साबुन ज्यादा बन जाए तो उनके मजे हो गये, वैजिटेबल कम्पनी में वैजिटेबल ज्यादा बन जाए तो उनके मजे हो गये लेकिन किसान की कपास ज्यादा पैदा हो जाए, पटसन ज्यादा पैदा हो जाए या उसके खेत में गन्ना या खाद्यान्न ज्यादा पैदा हो जाए तो किसान का रोना इस मुल्क में हो जाना है और उसकी वजह यह है कि किसान को जो लाभकारी मूल्य दिया जाना चाहिए, अपनी उपज की जो उसकी लागत होती है, उसकी मेहनत की कमाई होती है, उसके बीज की लागत होती है, उसके पेट्रोल की, डीजल की लागत होती है, उसका दाम भी किसान को नहीं मिलता और यही वजह है कि आज यह मुल्क गरीबी के कगार पर खड़ा है।

मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूं कि 1976 में जनता पार्टी ने एक राष्ट्रीय वाइ आयोग बनाया। हर वर्ष इस मुल्क में वाइ आती है। करोड़ों लोग इससे प्रभावित होते हैं। 1976 में राष्ट्रीय वाइ आयोग बनाया गया था। मार्च 1980 में राष्ट्रीय वाइ आयोग ने अपनी रिपोर्ट भी दी थी। उनकी संस्तुतियां राज्य सरकारों को भेज दी गयीं। लेकिन आज तक केन्द्रीय सरकार की ओर से तनिक भी प्रभावंकारी कदम नहीं उठाये गये कि जो राष्ट्रीय वाइ आयोग ने संस्तुतियां दी हैं उनको इस देश में विभिन्न सरकारें लागू करें।

काम के बदले अनाज योजना, 'फूड फार वर्क' जनता पार्टी के समय शुरू हुई। इस योजना के अन्तर्गत गरीबों का भला हुआ, विकास का काम हुआ। सड़कें बनीं लेकिन फूड फार वर्क योजना को पता नहीं सरकार ने क्यों समाप्त कर दिया। 21वीं सदी की चर्चा की जाती है। हरितक्रान्ति की, कम्प्यूटर क्रांति की चर्चा की जाती है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि राष्ट्र पिता महात्मा गांधी ने कहा था कि भारत के जितने भी हाथों को काम मिले वह कम है क्योंकि यहां पर बड़ी-बड़ी मशीनें बेरोजगारी को दूर नहीं करेगा। जाने-अनजाने

इस प्लान डाकुमेंट में पेज 321 में 14.5 में स्वीकार किया है (समय की घंटी) में पांच मिनट में खत्म कर रहा हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री संतोष कुमार साह) : पांच मिनट में नहीं दो मिनट में खत्म करिये।

श्री सत्यप्रकाश मालवीय : मैं अभी समाप्त कर रहा हूँ। मैं कभी ज्यादा समय नहीं लेता।

इसमें इनको स्वीकार करना पड़ा कि Recently, a declining trend has been observed in the employment of women labourers. Some of the new technologies have displaced women from many of their traditional activities.

यह भी देखना चाहिए कि विदेशों में जहां पर बड़ी-बड़ी मशीनें हैं वहां पर काम करने वालों की संख्या कम है। वहां पर बेरोजगारों की संख्या कम है। हमारे देश में बेरोजगारों की संख्या बहुत ज्यादा है।

आत्मनिर्भरता की बात की जाती है। चीनी बाहर से मंगानी पड़ रही है। आत्मनिर्भरता की बात की जाती है सिक्के बाहर से मंगाने पड़ रहे हैं। आत्मनिर्भरता के होते हुए आपको चीनी बाहर से क्यों मंगानी पड़ रही है, सिक्के बाहर से मंगाने पड़ रहे हैं? 1906 में सिक्कों के लिए जो कानून बना था उसमें इसी सदन में और लोक सभा में संशोधन करना पड़ा, सिक्कों को बाहर से मंगाने के लिए। चीनी और सीमेंट दो किस्म की मिल रही हैं। दो किस्म के सीमेंट के दाम, चीनी के दाम बाहर बाजार में चल रहे हैं। एक खुले बाजार में चीन मिलती है और दूसरी कंट्रोल में मिलती है। क्या वजह है कि चीनी और सीमेंट जैसी आवश्यक चीजों को चोर बाजारी में कानूनी तरीके से कानूनी जामा पहनाया जा रहा है जो सरकार की बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाएं हैं उनका लाभ भी आम आदमी तक नहीं पहुंच पा रहा है। किसानों तक नहीं पहुंच पा रहा है। जिनके लिए योजनाएं बनाई जाती हैं, बरसों बीत जाते हैं ये योजनाएं उन तक पूरी नहीं पहुंच पाती। इसके लिए ज्यादा समय नहीं खराब करके मैं केवल उत्तर प्रदेश के संबंध में पृष्ठ 89 की ओर ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहूंगा जिसमें

यह कहा गया है जो बड़ी-बड़ी सिंचाई योजनाएं हैं जिनमें काम एक अप्रैल, 1974 से पहले प्रारम्भ हो गया था, 11 वर्ष बीत गये हैं लेकिन आज तक भी ये योजनाएं पूरी नहीं हो पाई। शारदा महायक कैनल, गण्डक कैनल, कोशी इरीगेशन, नारायणपुर पम्प कैनल और मोन पम्प कैनल की ओर सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करता हूँ। मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी जी ने जिन मूल्यों के लिए देश की आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ी और जिनकी चर्चा अभी माननीय श्री विकल जी ने की है, उन्हीं राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी जी ने कल्पना की थी कि इस देश में जहां राजनैतिक आजादी प्राप्त होगी वहीं हमें लोगों की आर्थिक आजादी भी देनी पड़ेगी। इसीलिए आजादी के बाद हमारे पहले प्रधान मंत्री पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी ने सन् 1956 में प्लान के संबंध में राष्ट्रीय विकास परिषद में जो भाषण दिया था उसको मैं पढ़ना चाहूंगा। सन् 1950 में हमारा संविधान लागू हुआ। उसके छः वर्ष के बाद राष्ट्रीय विकास परिषद में पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने जो भाषण दिया उसमें उन्होंने राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी जी के आदर्शों को भूलाने का काम किया। दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना को अंतिम रूप देने के लिए जनवरी, 1956 में राष्ट्रीय विकास परिषद् में अपने भाषण में उन्होंने कहा—

“यदि आप भारत का औद्योगिकीकरण करना चाहते हैं और आगे बढ़ना चाहते हैं, जो हमें करना चाहिए और जो हमारे लिए आवश्यक है, तो हमें औद्योगिकीकरण को स्वीकार करना चाहिए और उन पुराने छोटे कारखानों को वरीयता नहीं देनी चाहिए जो सिर के तेल जैसी वस्तुएं बनाने हैं। यह बिलकुल तुच्छ बात है कि वस्तुएं होनी चाहिए—चाहे वह छोटी अथवा बड़ी उपभोग की वस्तुएं ही क्यों न हों। आपको जड़ और मूल तक जाना चाहिए और औद्योगिक विकास के ढांचे को बनाना चाहिए। इसलिए भारी उद्योग ही ऐसा है जो महत्वपूर्ण है; अन्य किसी को भी महत्व नहीं दिया जा सकता, सिवाय इसके कि संतुलन करने वाले कारखाने अलवत्ता महत्वपूर्ण हैं। हमें भारी मशीनों निर्माण करने वाले उद्योगों की योजना की आवश्यकता है जिनसे कि हम भारी मशीनें बना सकें और उन्हें हम यथासंभव तीव्रता से स्थापित करा सकें क्योंकि

[श्री सत्यशंकर श मालवीय]

इसमें भी समय लगेगा।" तो प्रधान मंत्री श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू, द्वितीय प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी और वर्तमान प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी, इन तीनों ने राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी जी की बातों को छोड़ने का प्रयास किया है। महात्मा गांधी जी का उद्धरण देकर मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करना चाहूंगा क्योंकि यह बहुत आवश्यक है। इस संदर्भ में गांधी जी ने कहा था—

“मैं अपने देश के करोड़ों गूंगे लोगों को स्वस्थ देखना चाहता हूँ और मैं चाहता हूँ कि वे आध्यात्मिक रूप से विकसित हों। यदि हमें मशीनों की आवश्यकता महसूस होगी तो हम निश्चय ही उन्हें प्राप्त करेंगे। ऐसी प्रत्येक मशीन की उपयोगिता है जो व्यक्ति की सहायता करे, लेकिन उन मशीनों का हमारे जीवन में कोई स्थान नहीं होना चाहिए जिनके माध्यम से कुछ ही लोगों के हाथों में सत्ता केन्द्रित हो जाती है और जो आम लोगों को केवल मशीन-प्रवृत्ति बनाती हो, यदि वास्तव में वे उन लोगों की बेरोजगार न करती हों।

जब उनसे इस संबंध में पूछा गया तो गांधी जी ने कहा—

“मैं मशीनों का विरोधी नहीं हूँ, लेकिन मैं इनको अंधाधुन वृद्धि का विरोधी हूँ। मैं मशीनरी की तथाकथित विजय की चकाबौंध को स्वीकार नहीं कर सकता, लेकिन मैं उन सभी सरल औजारों और उपकरणों तथा मशीनरी का स्वागत करूंगा जो झोपड़ियों में रहने वाले करोड़ों लोगों का भार हल्का करती हैं।” आगे उन्होंने कहा है—

“ऐसी मशीनरी काम में नही आएगी लेकिन मैं एक बात स्पष्ट कर देना चाहता हूँ। सर्वोच्च महत्व आदमी को ही देना है। मशीन को आदमी के अंगों को क्षीण नहीं करना चाहिए। उदाहरणार्थ मैं बुद्धिमत्त अपवाद बताना चाहूंगा। कपड़ा सीने वाली सिंगर मशीन ऐसा एक उदाहरण है। यह मशीन उन कुछेक उपयोग मशीनों में से एक है जिनका आविष्कार किया गया है।” ...

(व्यवधान)। इसलिए मान्यवर, मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि मेरा एक वैकल्पिक प्रस्ताव भी है जिसमें इस बात को कहा गया कि हमें इस प्लान को अस्वीकार कर देना चाहिए। नागरिकों और विरोधी दल के नेताओं की एक कमेटी बने जो पुनः एक नया प्लान बनाये, तभी इस देश का कल्याण होगा और तभी इस देश में जो अंतिम गरीब व्यक्ति है उसको लाभ होगा।

(THE VICE-CHAIRMAN, (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL) in the Chair.)

SHRI K. VASUDEVA PANICKER (Orissa): Thank you, Sir, for calling me.

Planning means visualisation of a certain development that has to take place in a country within a particular time. But this process of visualisation of planning requires a mind of imagination, a mind of commitment. A person with imagination, a person with commitment to certain development of a given society can only make the planning succeed. When we discuss about the planning and the success of the planning process in India, we have to think about the great architect of India, that is, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who was the pioneer, who was the creator of the planning process in India. Before 1947, in the pre-Independent India, after coming from Oxford when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was moving around in the villages among the villagers, putting his hands on the shoulders of the poor people of this country, he was looking around to see what exactly was going on in this country; he was seeing nothing except poverty, except slavery. So, his mind was brooding, he was sad for the poor.

Seeing across the barriers of India the development the Western world had brought about as a result of the industrial revolution that had taken place in Europe, because of the revolution that took place under the leadership of Lenin in Russia. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru decided, as a man of comprehension, as a man of imagi-

nation, as a man of compassion for the poor people, that if at all India became independent, if at all India became free, then the free India would have a certain sort of development and that development should redeem the poor people from the destitution and poverty. Because of this comprehension of the great leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the architect of India, before 1947, who had been working among the poor people of this country and whose heart was brooding for the poor people of this country because of his thinking and imagination, creation of the planning process in India took place in India. And today it is due to this planning in India that we are standing somewhere. Let us see what we inherited at the zero hour of the day between 15th and 16th of August 1947. At the zero hour the people of India were inheriting a country which was totally emaciated, which was totally stricken bare by the foreign powers. The people of this country were starving, their heads were sunk in mud and shame. The country was absolutely lying in poverty. This was the India, the mother India which the people inherited from the foreign power in 1947. And that India is no more there today in 1985. In 1985 you are seeing a totally different, entirely different motherland, India. That motherland is a country which has come up economically, that motherland has come up as a country which has progressed industrially and has advanced in the agrarian field. That country has progressed in the technological field, that country has progressed in the scientific world. Today India stands as the tenth industrial nation of the world. It is the fourth technologically developed nation in the world. In the field of scientific development India stands as the third in the world and today India is producing sufficient quantity of food material to feed the poor people of this country. And all this is an achievement of planning. This is the achievement of planning alone and this is the achievement of the thinking of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and then Shrimati Indira Gandhi and because

o, the Government headed by the Congress party of this country. If you want to understand the difficulties of planning, meaning and purport of planning you have to understand a certain phenomenon. What is the exact problem of the people of India? What is the exact difficulty of the people of India? The exact difficulty and problem of the people of India is that India has to shoulder the maximum responsibility of protecting the maximum number of people. It has the highest density of population in the world. What is our geographical position? Our geographical position is that India is 1/12th of the United States, 1/6th of the USSR and 1/3rd of the Socialist China. If that is the position, it means that USSR is six times bigger than India, USA is 12 times bigger than India and China, our neighbouring country, is three times bigger than India. And take the population and then compare the population ratio—the proportion of people in relation to land—the man-land proportion. If you take that, India has to feed 32 people at a particular given place where the United States has to feed only one person. When President Reagan has got the responsibility of giving food to a single individual, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has got the responsibility of providing food for 32 people. This is the problem which India is facing. When Gorbachov has to feed only one person, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has to feed 22 persons. This is the problem which India is facing. When the Chinese Prime Minister has to feed one person the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has to provide three persons with food, shelter and clothing. This is the economic problem of this country. Is there any country in the whole world which is facing such an enormous problem? If you want to understand the difficulty which India is undergoing, you have to understand the enormity and the colossal nature of the problem which India is undergoing. India is undergoing the greatest problem. But has India failed? India has not failed. You look around at the Asian countries; you look around

(Shri K. Vasudeva Panicker)

the African countries; you look around at the Latin American countries. India is the only country which is standing on her own feet. India is the only country which has maintained parliamentary democracy. India is the only country which is sustaining parliamentary and democratic system. All the Asian countries, the Latin American countries and the African countries which became free along with India have undergone different changes of Governments from democracy to military administration and with a lot of changes in the administrative processes, thereby scuttling the progress of the individuals and the societies of all these countries. India and India alone is standing across the political horizon across the whole world as a politically sovereign power with a democratically elected system and Government. This was possible only because of planned development, the progress produced by the Planning process. This is the result and effect of planned development which was possible only because of the last six Five Year Plans. And this is what India has achieved. Thank you.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would first appeal to you not to ring the bell. I will take the minimum time possible.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): We have not heard you very often in the House this time.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: That is not the reason, but because I know the futility of wasting my breath on a document which is a *fait accompli*. My speech will not make any difference either on the thinking of the Planning Commission or the functioning of the Government. But I take this opportunity to offer a few comments on the Seventh Plan which we are discussing today. In fact, I find

that even the National Development Council, which is supposed to have approved the Plan, was also faced with a *fait accompli*. A document was presented to them and every Chief Minister came and read his speech prepared by some Deputy Secretary somewhere and the Plan was approved. I feel, at least in future, we should put in greater effort in formulating the Plan and approving it, and we can take an example from the current discussions and the debate going on on the new educational policy all over the country. It is necessary for the Planning Commission to organize such debates and discussions throughout the country before the Plan is put before the National Development Council.

Sir, I am neither an expert in planning, nor a great economist as my friend, Prof. Nirmal Chatterjee is. But, as a layman I sometimes wonder whether we have not gone on the wrong track as far as our planning is concerned. During the six Plans we have spent nearly Rs. 1,95,000 crores in the public sector alone and I don't want to minimize the achievements of the country or the progress we have made. But I do not know whether I should take pride in seeing a spaceship going up or cry when I see half-clad people taking morsels of food from the garbage bins. I do not know whether I should take pride in the MIG factories, atomic reactors and what not or shed a tear for those millions who are sleeping on the pavements of Bombay and Calcutta.

Sir, according to Government's own estimates, 37 per cent of the population is today below the poverty line, and even the basic necessities of the people in regard to food, shelter, clothing and drinking water have not been met. Even today, millions of our sisters walk miles to fetch some drinking water. There are no hospitals. If there are hospitals, there are no doctors; if there are doctors, there are no medicines. Schools are being run and classes are being held under trees. There are no school buildings,

there are no teachers. This is the result we are having out of 32 or 33 years of planning. Unemployment, as per Government estimates, totalled 2.5 crores—as per the registers alone—apart from the four crores of unemployed in the rural sector. Inflation is continuing and prices are ever on the increase. While the prices of essential commodities are rising, the farmers who produce some of the agricultural commodities are suffering for lack of remunerative prices. This is a contradiction. And, as per Government estimates, there are 35,000 crores of rupees of black money operating as a parallel economy in the country. All this indicates that the benefits of this planning have not gone to the ordinary people. Who are the beneficiaries of this planning? It is the middlemen, it is the contractors, it is the corrupt politicians and officials. These are the people who have fattened themselves in the Plan era.

Having observed this much about the past, I would now like to make a few comments on the Plan document also. Sir, this Development Perspective for 2000 A.D. has been given and it says that a growth rate of five per cent will be achieved. But I don't know whether in real terms this growth will be visible.

In regard to sectoral performance, there should have been greater emphasis on the transport and agriculture sectors because much of the industrialisation suffered, particularly during the Fifth Plan and early Sixth Plan period, due to inadequate transport and also the prevalence of transport bottlenecks. The transport sector should have been allocated much more money because of this reason. Similarly, though agriculture has been given importance, the potentialities of dry land farming have not been realized. Agricultural development has been envisaged, keeping only the irrigated area in view.

6 P.M.

In the socio-economic indices for the Seventh Plan, projections of food and

clothing are given. But another important, basic requirement, housing, shelter, has not been indicated. Similarly, for the population control there should have been a greater emphasis and greater allocation of resources because whatever we may achieve will be nullified by the growing population. For the population control we should have allocated more resources. In fact, I would advocate more disincentives for people who are producing more children. That should have been emphasised in the Plan itself.

Then, Sir, when you come to relative roles of the Centre and the States in the Plan execution, I find that there is a greater stress in the Plan on the Centrally sponsored schemes. It is very unfortunate that even though the States are the executing authorities, as ultimately the success of the Plan depends on how the State Governments function, unnecessarily greater stress has been given to the Centrally sponsored schemes. The States, in fact, should have been given the full responsibilities for these things, and all these allocations should have been transferred to the States, except some projects, schemes like inter-State schemes and some pilot projects etc. For that they could have kept some 10 per cent of the money for the Centrally sponsored schemes. In many States we have formed even district planning boards. They are going to have planning even at lower levels also. Therefore, to centralise at this stage is not correct.

Secondly, the size of the State Plans also is not adequate. If the objectives of the Plan have to be achieved, the State Plans should have been much larger. The outlay of the State Plans in the Seventh Plan represents only 47.3 per cent of the total public sector outlay as against 51.54 per cent in the Sixth Plan and in the range of 46.5 to 49.3 per cent between the Third and the Sixth Plan. I suggest that the low level of participation of States in the national development effort is not justified for the strategies indicated in the Plan.

[Shri Parvathaneni Upendra]

Sir, the States will be able to generate balances from the current revenues to the extent of Rs. 7,000 crores after meeting their responsibilities towards health, education etc. On the contrary, the Central finances indicate a minus balance from the current revenues to the tune of Rs. 12,000 crores. The Plan envisages deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 14,000 crores. If you treat deficit financing as a source of revenue for your Plan, the States have a right to demand at least half of it. You have not provided for that in the Plan. In fact, in the Sixth Plan the deficit in the States sector was less. But whatever deficit arose, it was because of the increase in the administered prices by the Centre, and the States had to suffer for that. That should not be repeated now. Of the extent of the deficit financing, as I said, at least 50 per cent benefit should come to the States. It is very unfortunate that even the overdraft benefit has been stopped to the States recently which is very unfair. Similarly, the States have been allocated only 30 per cent of the market borrowings. In fact, in the First Plan it was more than 50 per cent, and that should have been restored. Even now there is time to do that. The Minister should consider restoring the previous thing.

You know, the small savings form a big portion of the resource mobilisation. If the States are provided an incentive, the small-savings collection also will be much more. Now it is only 66-2/3 per cent of the small savings that is given to the States. In fact, at least 90 per cent should be given to the States.

One point, I am constrained. I am compelled to refer here, the discussion on the relative utility, the advantages of the welfare schemes and the development projects. A great controversy is going on and some people pointed out about whatever welfare schemes are undertaken by the States are populist and unproductive. For example in Andhra Pradesh we are exe-

cuting a scheme for supplying subsidised rice at Rs. 2 per kg. We are subsidising cloth to the poorer sections. We are building houses for the poorer sections. All these schemes are called by some people as 'populist scheme' and 'unproductive scheme'. But after 38 years of independence we are not able to ensure even the basic necessities. If these are provided by any Government you call them as 'populist schemes'. These are the bare necessities. You must strike a balance between the welfare scheme and the development scheme. You call our welfare schemes as unproductive and condemn it. In fact, you must finance welfare schemes also.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE
These welfare schemes should be brought into the Plan.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA:
Yes. There must be some institutional changes also to make the Plan a success, because the existing institutional mechanism are outdated and the objectives of the planning cannot be achieved within the limitations of the existing system. There is a need for training, monitoring systems and use of modern equipment in administration. Our procedure should be simplified. There should be a greater accountability; and the performance of the public sector should be improved and its profitability also increased, not by raising prices, but by better management and workers' participation.

Similarly, major irrigation and power projects should be the responsibility of the Central Government. The Central Government should take up these projects so that Inter-State river disputes can be avoided and projects executed with greater urgency.

Finally, Sir, I would like to say that the Planning Commission should be under the control of an Inter-State Council. We have not yet formed an Inter-State Council although it is provided for in article 263 of the Constitution. The Planning Commis-

sion must be put under the control of an Inter-State Council and its composition must be decided both by the Central Government and State Governments jointly. Unless the States and Centre move together in greater coordination, in formulating and executing the Plan, with the cooperation of the Planning Commission, the Plan cannot be a success. Therefore I plead with the Minister to think on these lines and see that the Plan succeeds.

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपको सबसे पहले धन्यवाद दूँ कि आपने मुझे सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना के मसौदे पर बोलने का मौका दिया। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना, जब आजादी की लड़ाई का दौर चल रहा था, तो उस दौर में आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ने वाले स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सैनानियों ने प्लानिंग-कमीशन और हिन्दुस्तान के विकास का सपना देखा था और नेताजी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस की अध्यक्षता में प्लानिंग-कमीशन 1938 में बना था। श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने उस प्लानिंग कमीशन के आइडिया को आगे बढ़ाने की कोशिश की और देश की आजादी के बाद तुरन्त हमारे देश के कर्णधारों ने अपने मुल्क का नियोजित ढंग से विकास करने के संकल्प को दोहराया।

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष, महोदय, विरोधी दल के नेताओं ने यहां बहुत सी बातें कहीं हैं। मैं कहना चाहूंगा 1947 के पहले का हिन्दुस्तान, जो नंगा भूखा, चीथड़ों से लिपटा हुआ हिन्दुस्तान था, क्या वही आज भी है? अभी भी हमारे सामने विश्व-बैंक के आंकड़े पेश किए जा रहे हैं। मैं विरोधी दल के नेताओं से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या हिन्दुस्तान आज आठवां इंडस्ट्रियल पावर नहीं है? आज प्लानिंग कमीशन और प्लान-एकोनोमी के माध्यम से ही हमने अपने लक्ष्य को प्राप्त किया है। क्या हिन्दुस्तान आज तीसरा टेक्नीकल-पावर नहीं है? क्या हिन्दुस्तान दुनियां में छठवां एग्रीकल्चर पावर नहीं है? क्या हिन्दुस्तान दुनियां में चौथा फर्टिलाइजर टेक्नोलोजी जानने वाला देश नहीं

है? क्या हिन्दुस्तान दुनियां में पांचवां मिलटरी पावर नहीं है? क्या दुनियां में हिन्दुस्तान छठवां एटामिक पावर नहीं? क्या दुनियां में सातवां फास्ट-ब्रीड-रीएक्टर की दिशा में, जो कल ही एक बहुत बड़ी उपलब्धि हासिल की है, क्या यह हमारी उपलब्धियां नहीं हैं? हिन्दुस्तान ने अपनी पिछली योजनाओं के माध्यम से बहुत विकास किया है। इनके माध्यम से हमारे जो उद्देश्य थे, उनको हमने प्राप्त किया है। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि पिछली पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के माध्यम से हिन्दुस्तान का जितना विकास होना चाहिए था, उतना नहीं हुआ है। लेकिन जो कुछ हिन्दुस्तान में विवास हुआ है, जो कुछ हमने डेमोक्रेटिक प्लेन तरीके से विास किया है, वह हिन्दुस्तान ने केवल प्लान के माध्यम से ही किया है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, दुनियां के बहुत से देशों में केपटलिस्ट एकोनोमी है और बहुत से देशों में सोशलिस्ट एकोनोमी है। रूस ने जो विकास किया है, 64 वर्ष की तानाशाही के अन्तर्गत जहां कम्युनिस्ट आयरन-काटन के नेतृत्व में विकास किया है। अमरीका ने 300 वर्ष तक दुनियां को लूटकर अपनी आर्थिक व्यवस्था का विकास किया है। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान जैसे देश ने डेमोक्रेटिक तरीके से सोशलिज्म लाने का प्रयत्न किया है।

हिन्दुस्तान पहला विासशील देश है जहां हमने फैसला किया कि हम हिन्दुस्तान में डेमोक्रेसी को कायम रखेंगे। यहां इंडिविजुअल की लिबर्टी, उस की स्वतंत्रता बरकरार रहेगी। यहां जनता को हुकूमत, जनता के द्वारा हुकूमत और जनता के लिये हुकूमत को स्थापित रखते हुए हम हिन्दुस्तान का प्लान्ड डवलपमेंट करेंगे। यह हिन्दुस्तान ही एक ऐसा देश है जहां डेमोक्रेसी के साथ-साथ सोशलिज्म का एक्सपेरीमेंट चल रहा है और वह पिछले 38 सालों से सफल हो रहा है। दुनियां के किसी भी देश में चाहे वहां कैपिटलिस्ट इकोनामी हो या वहां सोशलिस्ट इकोनामी हो या वहां फासिस्ट इकोनामी हो, इतना विकास नहीं हुआ है जितना कि हिन्दुस्तान में हुआ है। हम ने अपनी

[श्री कल्पनाथ राय]

पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना में सब से ज्यादा कृषि को महत्व दिया था, उस के विकास के लिये प्रयत्न किया था। दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में हमारा उद्देश्य था कृषि का विकास और तीसरी योजना में हमारा उद्देश्य था इंडस्ट्री, उद्योग को हमने उसमें प्राथमिकता दी थी। चौथी योजना में हमने फिर उद्योग को प्राथमिकता दी और पांचवीं योजना में उद्योग और कृषि को हमने प्राथमिकता दी और छठी योजना में हमने फिर उद्योग और कृषि को प्राथमिकता दी और आज सातवीं योजना में एग्रीकल्चर को हमने प्रायोरिटी दी है और उसके बाद इंडस्ट्री को और फिर इनर्जी सेक्टर को हमने प्रायोरिटी दी है। यह हमारे देश के प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी ने कहा है कि :

"The adoption of the National Plan is a significant event in the planned economy. The Plan sets the pace and direction of development in the long term perspective. It defines socio-economic objectives and priorities. It lays down concrete goals for Government—both at the Centre and in the States. Perhaps, the most important of all, it embodies the national consensus and how to eradicate poverty and to build a strong, self-reliant society, and reach the cherished goal of socialism".

राजीव गांधी जी ने कहा है कि :

"I reaffirm my faith in socialism and planning."

हमारे राजीव गांधी जी ने इसी सदन में घोषणा की है कि :

"the objective of our Government is—establishment of socialism".

हमने अपने संविधान के अन्तर्गत घोषणा की है श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी की अध्यक्षता में और उस भारत के संविधान के प्रति हम वचनबद्ध हैं जिस में कहा गया है कि :

"WE THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a (SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRACY REPUBLIC) and to secure to all its citizens:

JUSTICE, social, economic and political;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all.

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the (unity and integrity of the Nation)."

हिन्दुस्तान के संविधान में हम ने बताया है कि हम हिन्दुस्तान को कैसा बनाना चाहते हैं। हमारा हिन्दुस्तान कैसा होगा और उस हिन्दुस्तान को बनाने के लिये हम चुनाव घोषणा पत्र के माध्यम से हिन्दुस्तान की जनता की अदालत में गये और उस ने फैसला किया है कि समाजवाद की स्थापना हमारा उद्देश्य है और हम एक प्लान्ड डेवलेपमेंट के आधार पर सातवीं योजना के माध्यम से गरीबी को हटाने के लिये काम शुरू किया है उसको प्राथमिकता दी है हमने एग्रीकल्चर सेक्टर को प्राथमिकता दी है। हम ने नेशनल रूरल इंप्लायमेंट स्कीम को, रूरल लैंडलेस गारंटी स्कीम को, हमने नेशनल इंप्लायमेंट गारंटी स्कीम को योजनाओं को चालू कर के गरीबी

को हटाने की दिशा में मजबूत कदम उठाया है और आज हिन्दुस्तान प्लान्ड इकोनमी के रास्ते पर चलने के लिये तैयार है। सवाल यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान का विकास कैसे होगा। इस हिन्दुस्तान का विकास तब तक नहीं होगा जब तक कि हिन्दुस्तान की जनसंख्या पर नियंत्रण स्थापित करने की दिशा में ठोस और समय बद्ध कार्यक्रम नहीं लागू किये जायेंगे। यहां की प्रधानमंत्री स्वर्गीय इंदिरा गांधी जी ने हिन्दुस्तान के जनसंख्या पर नियंत्रण स्थापित करने की दिशा में एक बड़ा कदम उठाया था। कौन नहीं जानता है कि हिन्दुस्तान के विरोधी दल के नेताओं ने उस परिवार नियोजन की हो अपने चुनाव का मुद्दा बनाया और नजरबंदी और नसबंदी की झूठी और बेहूदी कहानियां कह कर वह हिन्दुस्तान की सत्ता में आये और इस विकासशील देश का विकास ठप्प हो गया। जब राष्ट्रीय मतैक्य होगा नेशनल रिकंसीलियेशन होगा तभी देश का विकास संभव है। नेशनल कन्फ्रंटेशन से देश का विकास नहीं होगा। हिन्दुस्तान के विरोधी दल के लोग राष्ट्रीय टकराव की नीति पर चलते हैं। नेशनल कन्फ्रंटेशन की नीति को अपनाते हैं, नेशनल कान्मिलिएशन की पोलिसी को नहीं एक्सप्ट करते। विकासशील देश में प्रजातंत्र के रहते हुए जब तक हम राष्ट्रीय मतैक्य के सिद्धांत को स्वीकार नहीं करेंगे तब तक हिन्दुस्तान को विकास को, प्लान्ड इकोनोमी को आगे नहीं बढ़ा सकते।

अभी हमारे बीच में कहा गया कि गरीब गरीब हुए हैं, अमीर-अमीर हुए हैं। फ्री इकोनोमी, मिक्सड इकोनोमी, पब्लिक सेक्टर—प्रधानमंत्री राजीव गांधी ने कहा

The public sector will occupy the commanding heights of the economy.

राजीव गांधी ने एक बार नहीं पचास बार कहा है कि समाजवाद की दिशा को मजबूत करना हमारा उद्देश्य होगा, राजीव गांधी ने एक बार नहीं पचास बार कहा है कि मातवी पंचवर्षीय योजना गरीबी हटाने की दिशा में हमारी ध्रुव है, हमारी प्लानिंग का उद्देश्य है गरीबी को हटाना और उसी के लिए हमने सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना का मसविदा बनाया है।

सातवी योजना को कांग्रेस की सरकारों ने ही स्वीकार नहीं किया है बल्कि हिन्दुस्तान के सभी विरोधी दलों की सरकारों ने राष्ट्रीय मतैक्य के आधार पर नेशनल डेवलपमेंट कौमिल में स्वीकार किया और उसके बाद हमारे सामने विचार-विमर्श के लिए आया है। इस पर बहस करने का क्या सवाल है? जहां तक राज्यों का सवाल है, मातवी पंचवर्षीय योजना में राज्यों को जितना पैसा दिया गया है उतना पिछली छठी पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के अंदर नहीं दिया गया।

विरोधी दल के लोग योजना की बात करते हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि 77 में विरोधी दल की सरकार हिन्दुस्तान में आई थी। 77 से 80 के बीच अन्धकार का समय था, भारत के पतन का समय था। तीन वर्षों तक बड़ी-बड़ी बातें करने वाले हिन्दुस्तान के नेता अपनी पंचवर्षीय योजना नहीं बना सके। इमसे ज्यादा शर्म शर्म की बात क्या होगी कभी रोलिंग प्लान की बात करते रहे कभी फ्री इकोनोमी की बात करते रहे कभी फ्री ट्रेड की बात करते रहे और तीन वर्षों में हिन्दुस्तान की अर्थ व्यवस्था को अंधेरे के काल दर्या में डुबा कर नेशनल-बूत कर दिया। कौन नहीं जानता कि तीन वर्षों तक हिन्दुस्तान में कोई प्लानिंग कमिशन नहीं था, कोई प्लान नहीं था। हिन्दुस्तान का आर्थिक ढांचा चरमरा गया, हिन्दुस्तान का सोना विक गया, हिन्दुस्तान की अर्थव्यवस्था चौपट हो गई, देश पर विदेशी कर्जा बढ़ गया। मोरारजी देसाई ने कहा दस वर्ष में 10 करोड़ बेकारों को नौकरी देगे। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि तीन वर्षों में क्या 3 करोड़ की बेकारी मिटी? एक करोड़ को भी नौकरी नहीं दी इस तरह की बात करना मैं उचित नहीं समझता आप लोगों को राष्ट्रीय मतैक्य के आधार पर देश के विकास की बात सोचनी चाहिए

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे देश के नेता श्री राजीव गांधी ने कहा है सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना के डिक्लेमेंट में -

"Agriculture is the backbone of our economy. It is here that sustained growth generates productive

[श्री कल्पनाथ राव]

employment for the largest number of people. Rising employment means less poverty. Expanding agricultural production is also essential for industrial growth and for advance in other sectors of the economy. The task before us now is to bring about a faster and more even agricultural growth. We have to extend the "green revolution" to the eastern region and to dry-land areas and wherever the population is concentrated. It is here that the problem of poverty is most acute. This will help to remove regional imbalances. This is the key to a successful attack on poverty."

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमने अपनी सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में बिजली के विकास को प्राथमिकता दी है, जंगल लगाने को, फलदार पेड़ों के लगाने को, सात लाख गांवों को सड़कों से जोड़ने को, और ग्रामीण और कुटीर उद्योग एवं जनसंख्या पर नियंत्रण को, बिजली की बढ़ोतरी को प्राथमिकता दी है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, पांचवीं योजना के अंत तक हिन्दुस्तान में 30 हजार मैगावाट बिजली का उत्पादन था। किसी भी देश का एग्री-इण्डस्ट्रियल विकास पर मुनहसिर करता है। 77 से 80 के बीच जनता पार्टी हूमत के दौरान एक हजार मैगावाट भी बिजली का उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ा, सौ मैगावाट भी बिजली का उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ा। लेकिन श्रीमति इंदिरा गांधी ने छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना का मस-विदा बनाया और छठी योजना के अंतर्गत 15 हजार मैगावाट बिजली का उत्पादन बढ़ा 30 हजार मैगावाट से 45 हजार मैगावाट बिजली का उत्पादन हुआ और सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में हमने 23 हजार मैगावाट बिजली का उत्पादन बढ़ाने का लक्ष्य घोषित किया है। कल्पनाथ का फास्ट ब्रीडर रियेक्टर और दूसरे विकासशील दुनिया में हमारी प्रगति के सूचक हैं जिससे हम दुनिया में सातवें स्थान पर आ गए हैं। हम फास्ट ब्रीडर रियेक्टर की टेक्नालोजी में सफल हुए हैं। हिन्दुस्तान का विकास कैसे

होगा, हिन्दुस्तान के गांवों का विकास कैसे होगा, हिन्दुस्तान के उद्योगों का विकास कैसे होगा, हिन्दुस्तान में बिजली कैसे बनेगी, यह सवाल है।

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे विरोधी दलों ने एक तर्क दिया है कि जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन किया महत्मा गांधी के विचारानुसार, उन्होंने मूल रूप से इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन को बढ़ावा नहीं दिया। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या आज की दुनिया में बिना इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन के कृषि का विकास संभव है? बिना इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन के हम फर्टिलाइजर पैदा कर सकते हैं। बिजली के विकास के लिए फर्टिलाइजर चाहिए, बिजली चाहिए, ट्रैक्टर चाहिए, डेवलपड सीड्स चाहिए, पैस्टिसाइड्स चाहिए, डेसेकैसाइड्स चाहिए, आधुनिक यंत्र चाहिए? मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि फर्टिलाइजर का निर्माण बिना इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन के हो सकता है? क्या ट्रैक्टर का निर्माण हो सकता है बिना इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन के? क्या पैस्टिसाइड्स का निर्माण हो सकता है, क्या डेसेकैसाइड्स बन सकते हैं क्या ट्रैक्टर बन सकते हैं, बिजली बन सकती है, क्या डी.एच.ई.एल. बन सकता है बिना इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन के? हमारे कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के मित्र ऐसी बातें कहते हैं जिनका कोई अर्थ नहीं है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, भाखड़ा नंगल से नागार्जन सागर तक के बड़े-बड़े बांधों के निर्माण से हिन्दुस्तान की कृषि नीति का पता चलता है। ये हमारी बिजली नीति को गौरव गाथा कहते हैं। भाखड़ा नंगल से लेकर नागार्जन सागर तक हमने हरित क्रांति को जन्म दिया है। हमने 5 हजार मैगावाट बिजली पैदा करके औद्योगिक क्रांति की है, औद्योगिककरण के आधार पर बिजली क्रांति की है। पी.एल. 480 के अनाज पर निर्भर रहने वाला हिन्दुस्तान आज दुनिया को अनाज दे रहा है। इससे बड़ी उपलब्धि क्या हो सकती है? पांचवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में हमने बिजली विकास को प्राथमिकता दी है। हमारा उद्देश्य गरीबी को हटाना है। गरीबी हटाने का तरीका रूरल लेंडलैस

गारंटी स्कीम, नेशनल इन्फ्लायमेंट गारंटी स्कीम । हमने डम का निर्माण किया, कैनल का निर्माण किया जिसमें मैनपावर का यूटिलाइजेशन है । हिन्दुस्तान की करोड़ों करोड़ श्रमशक्ति इनमें लगी हुई है । हम पूंजीवाद की गुदगुरी गोदी से समाजवाद की गुदगुदी गोदी से हटकर तीसरी दुनिया का निर्माण करना चाहते हैं । हम आजादी के साथ पेट की और मन को आजादी लाना चाहते हैं । रूस में पेट की आजादी है, मन की नहीं, अमरीका में मन को आजादी है, पेट की नहीं । जवाहर लाल नेहरू, इंदिरा गांधी, राजीव गांधी ने महात्मा गांधी के रास्ते पर चल कर हिन्दुस्तान में मन व पेट की आजादी दी है । हिन्दुस्तान शक्तिशाली देश के रूप में विश्वशांति को अग्रदूत बनकर, विश्व शांति का प्रतीक बनकर सारी दुनिया का मार्गदर्शन करेगा । इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं 7वीं पंचवर्षीय योजना की रूपरेखा को समर्थन करता हूँ ।

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra):
Mr. Vice-Chairman, we are not discussing here the past performance or the excellent performance of the Government, as Mr. Kalp Nath Rai was eulogising. We are concerned here with the Seventh Plan Document and its perspectives. After the execution of the Sixth Five Year Plan it has been found that there were so many defects in it, defects whereby regional imbalances have increased and what we call the rich have become richer and the poor poorer. There is no attempt in the Seventh Five Year Plan to have a developmental strategy so that there can be equal and equitable development a balanced economic development in the different parts of the country.

Sir, in the Plan document, it has been mentioned on page 25:

“To sum up, the development strategy of the Seventh Plan aims at a direct attack on the problems of poverty, unemployment and regional imbalances.”

But, subsequently, outlining its policies for removing regional imbalances,

the Plan document says at page 44 like this:

“The pattern of growth envisaged for the Seventh Plan is expected to contribute towards the reduction of inter-regional disparities in levels of development. The Plan lays great stress on the increases in agricultural productivity particularly for rice, coarse cereals, pulses and oil-seeds. At the programme level special efforts are being mounted for rice production in the eastern region and for dryland and rain-fed agriculture.”

Thereafter, Sir, there is no programme at all which is given here in this document. How they want to remove the regional imbalances, I do not know. Now, it is well known that in the process of planning, the Plan could not control the forces of market economy. Though the Plan was having what you call the highest desires, it has been found that, apart from regional imbalances prevailing in the country regional imbalances have increased even within a State. The forces of market economy could not be checked and the result has been that regional imbalances have increased. The Planning Commission for purposes of planning, has taken the State as a unit and the regional imbalances within the State are completely ignored. This is so in my State of Maharashtra it is so and the same is the case with Gujarat, Bihar, Orissa, etc., and many parts of these States have remained backward because there was no proper planning to remove the regional imbalances. On the other hand, the imbalances have increased very much. In Maharashtra, for example, 70 per cent of the industries are located only in Bombay, Pune and Thane districts. In Pune, there are 11 per cent of the industries of the whole Maharashtra State and ten per cent of the industries are in the Thane district alone. But the whole of the nine districts of Vidarbha have only seven per cent of the industries and the Marathwada region has only 3.5

[Shri S. W. Dhabe]

per cent of the industries. Similarly, in Madhya Pradesh in the Chattisgarh area in the Mahakoshal area, and in the eastern U.P. and northern Bihar, there are many areas which are totally backward, and, in spite of six Five Year Plans, we have not solved their problems.

Sir, the Sivaraman Committee made certain recommendations which were not accepted by the Government in regard to the dispersal of industries and opening of public sector industries in these areas. On the other hand, the "No-Industry" District policy has been brought forward by the Government and a majority of such districts are in three or four States only, that is Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, U.P. and some parts of Rajasthan, Punjab, Haryana and the entire Southern States have been completely excluded from this policy. This policy has been implemented from 1982. But, up till now, no new industries have been located in these backward areas and in the backward districts and there is no mention also about the industrial dispersal and about what they are going to do hereafter with this "No-Industry" District Policy. Unless they scrap this policy and disperse the industries in the backward regions there is no hope of getting poverty eradicated or of increasing the standard of living of the people. I, therefore, suggest to the Government that they should have a National Commission for Development of Backward Areas. I would also like to suggest that the whole pattern of planning must be radically changed. Otherwise, some centres or islands of prosperity would be created in the country in the midst of poverty and the backward regions will remain still backward.

Then, two other objects are given. removal of unemployment and poverty. Now, as Malviyaji has said the concept of 'poverty' requires to be changed. What is poverty line? In 1977 an expert committee was appointed by the Planning Commission to define this

line and it has been defined as a mid-point of per capita per month expenditure of people having a daily intake of 2400 calories per person in rural areas and 2100 calories in urban areas. In terms of expenditure in terms of 1979-80 the prices related to these mid-points are Rs. 76 and Rs. 88, respectively, and at this level we claim credit that we have been able to lift 30 per cent of these people after three decades of planning. This is no achievement at all. Clothing and housing are not included in this definition. Therefore the concept of poverty-line requires to be changed and a new concept found which will include not only food but also clothing and housing.

Sir, the other concept which requires a radical change is the consumer price index. It is strange phenomenon in our country that when the Government claims that inflation has gone down, the consumer price index is going up. The consumer price index was constituted on the basis of 1960-61 prices. It is high time that it is brought upto date and 1980-81 is taken as the basis. Otherwise a contradiction has taken place. Even 140 per cent neutralisation does not neutralise the prices at the level where they are today. The concept was that 10 per cent neutralisation is the concrete answer for the workers. Therefore, I suggest that it is high time that we change the concept of consumer price index and make 1980-81 as the basis. (*Time bell rings*).

I do not want to make a long speech. I will finish. There are two other points which I want to mention.

One is regarding the institution of Planning Commission. It was constituted when the Central Government and the State Governments were in the hands of the same party. There were no disputes. But now many of the important States are in the hands of the Opposition parties and they have got a different thinking. They need not have the same thinking in the present structure as the Central

Government has. The Planning Commission as constituted today includes Central Cabinet Ministers and some experts in the matter, as given in this Volume, Vol. I. It is high time that we must associate State Governments with the Planning Commission. Their participation will give a more fillip. We have made a proposal in this Plan for people's participation but we are denying participation to State Governments in this respect. Therefore when the Sarkaria Commission is set up, I suggest that a meeting should be called by the Prime Minister of all the State Government representatives and they should come to some conclusions how their participation can be assured in it. It can be by the National Council under Article 263, as mentioned by my friend, Mr. Upendra. This unitary planning was made at a particular time, but today if we continue it that will not be proper and the objective will not be achieved. The Seventh Plan is not merely a document of the ruling party or the Central Government. If this is to be a national plan, then the association and participation at all levels should be assured.

Lastly, I will like to point out that in spite of our big noise and praising the Government from time to time, the progress of land reform legislation and its implementation is very niggardly. It is unfortunate that even the 1972 national guidelines on the subject which were given at that time have not been implemented. Then there are two sets of land ceiling. 7.2 hectares of land has been declared surplus, 5.6 million hectares has been taken possession of land about 4 million hectares of land distributed. Now, 2.8 million hectares of land declared surplus has not been distributed. Who is responsible for it? The Central Government or the State Government machinery is not taking action in this matter because of vested interests. It has been the admitted position of the Planning Commission that if land reforms are not implemented, there will not be any further progress in more production and anti-

poverty programmes cannot be successful. In this respect, the Central Government has a direct responsibility for enacting proper laws. The jurisdiction of civil courts has been debarrred by the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution. But the jurisdiction of the High Court and Supreme Court is there. For that, we have inserted a new Article 323(b) by the 42nd Amendment for setting up tribunals. But no legislation has been passed till now. After so many years, we have taken steps about the Administrative Tribunals. But the tribunals for land distribution under Article 323(b) have not been constituted. I, therefore, suggest that these should be constituted immediately and land must be distributed. There is much land taken during the Bhudan Movement. That land is neither in the possession of the landlords nor has it been given to the poor people.

Lastly, I suggest that this concept of more production and removing unemployment will not be a reality unless there is participation of the workers and employees. For that purpose, an effective scheme will have to be formulated for the association of workers in the planning process. The workers are consulted in other matters. So far as the Planning Commission is concerned they do not consider workers' participation as necessary. Wider consultation with all sections of people will be very useful if planning has to be successful. I am sorry that the National Development Council approved the plan without any national debate or without consulting the other parties concerned. In 1951 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said: "India is a rich country, but inhabited by poor people." If we really want poverty to be removed, this policy will not be helpful and the Planning Commission will have to be radically changed.

SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR
(Bihar): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have great pleasure in commending the his-

[Shri Rameshwar Thakur]

torical document, the Seventh Five Year Plan, presented by Shri A. K. Panja, State Minister for Planning, to the House for consideration. This Plan as we are aware, has some very special features. We had discussed last year "Approach to the Seventh Five Year Plan". At that time, a number of suggestions were given. However, the final document, as presented to us, is really something outstanding. We would like to pay our compliments to our dynamic Prime Minister who has given a new thrust to the policy frame, to the strategy of the Plan as well as a new thrust to the implementation of the Plan. Contributions have also been made by eminent economists—Deputy Chairman, Dr. Man Mohan Singh himself is an eminent economist, the Members of the Commission are also eminent people—and a team of dedicated, experienced officers. And the quality and framework of the Plan has gone a lot of change which has been presented in two volumes to us.

[The Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

Madam, the Seventh Five Year Plan has special features which need to be taken into cognizance. First is that it has linkage of long term perspective of next 15 years, that is the year 2000 A.D. It has clearly recognised the need to sustain and accelerate the momentum of economic growth. It recognises the imperative need of institutional changes and structural changes in the management of the planning process. It has also given a new focus to the public sector, its working, particularly its increasing efficiency, its reduction in cost and improvement in quality. It has also given that the management of such a big project has to overhaul right from the Central Ministry level upto the village level. People's involvement and decentralisation is another feature which has been outlined in this process. The Plan recognises the supreme value of the human qualities and development of human life in all as-

pects. It also affirms firm determination and faith of the people for the implementation of the Plan. One of the hon. Members, Prof. Chatterjee has mentioned about the USSR Plan. He was a little critical about our Plan, the process of its preparation and timing of its presentation. I think if we see the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development for the USSR for 1986-90 and for the period ending 2000 A.D., this document has been considered by their Committee in April 1985 and approved and published by their paper 'Pravda' on 25th November, 1985. We know the economic planning has achieved a lot in the USSR. They are our friendly country and we are proud of it. But the economic planning there had undergone a lot of preparation. It is for appreciation that the Revolution took place in 1917. And the First Plan was prepared in 1924-25. Ultimately, implementation started in 1928. We have started our planning process right after Independence. In fact, the planning process started in this country much earlier. A Committee was formed under the great architect of the Indian planning, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in 1938. The Committee examined all its aspects and came to such basic decisions that those decisions are highly valued today. The Committee laid down that the State should own or control all key industries and services, mineral resources and rail ways and waterways, shipping and other public utilities, and in fact, all those large-scale industries which were likely to become monopolistic in character like coal, etc. We had in between a number of planning documents. Before that, our veteran Shri M. Visweswarayya wrote the first book on planning in India in 1933, entitled Planned Economy in India.

Thereafter we had a number of studies and 2-3 private plans, Bombay Plan, Peoples' Plan and also the Gandhian Plan. Then we started with our first plan with a modest outlay of Rs. 1960 crores. We had set before ourselves certain base objection. We then had

the Second Five Year Plan where we wanted to have a slightly bigger outlay of Rs. 4600 crores but with the main idea to rehabilitate the Indian economy as well as modernise the Indian industry and also to have development in key industries like rubber, steel, coal, cement and heavy industries. By our Third Plan outlay of Rs. 15,902 crores with the outlay of 8,500 crores we tried to achieve self-sufficiency in foodgrains. We had our Fourth Five Year Plan with the main objective of attaining "Growth with Stability." The Fifth Plan with Rs. 39,222 crores was mainly for removal of poverty and Sixth Plan with Rs. 97,500 crores for production, modernisation and self-reliance.

उप-सभापति: अभी 7 बजते में 10 मिनट है, फोरन मिनिस्टर साहब स्टेटमेंट करोगे तो आप जरा कन्कलूड कर दीजिए।

SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR: Shall I continue later?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We have then Prime Minister at 7 O'clock. You can finish in two-three minutes.

SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR: I can continue later.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: At ten minutes to seven, we have a statement from the External Affairs Minister and you should finish by that time.

SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR: So far as the Seventh Five Year Plan is concerned, we have an outlay of 1,80,000 crores with major emphasis on sectors like energy, transport industry, minerals, social services, agricultural and rural development. The objective of the Plan document is laudable and it gives us the targets in certain areas which is our national goal to be achieved by the end of the Plan, and mainly by the end of the century, that is, 2000 A.D. (*Time bell rings*).

In view of the shortage of time I would only say 2-3 important things about the implementation aspect, which is important. Firstly, as I said,

the objectives of the Plan are laudable. But the question is whether we are geared up and fully prepared to implement it, at the grassroot levels in all sectors of the economy. The Plan document itself has given certain figures. In Chapter 21 it gives the backlog that we have got in certain respects, particularly in power, railways and irrigation, where in the beginning and investment during the year 1984-85, it will take normally 11 years to 19 years to complete these projects in hand. The question is that for about 50 per cent of further outlay, that is, 30 per cent in energy, about 13 per cent in transport and nearly 10 per cent in irrigation, how are we geared up to take up all this heavy investment and how are we going to implement it? This is one question which requires to be considered fully and examined. There are certain aspects which have been mentioned and have been so recognised in the Plan documents, that we should have a proper system of dealing with pre-planning, decision-making and also funding the project formulation, organisation, coordination with the help of the consultants and so on. The question is whether we are self-sufficient; whether we are in a position to really effectively do all these things which have been listed in Chapter 21. The question is whether we are able to do it with local involvement. Prime Minister himself said that there should be local involvement and people's involvement and there should be decentralisation... (*Time bell rings*). Could I continue later, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No. Now the Minister of External Affairs to make a statement.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER

Summit meeting between the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India, held in New Delhi on 17th December, 1985

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI B. R. BHAGAT): Madam Deputy Chairman, the President of Pakistan, His Excellency Ge-