

**MOTION RE. SIXTH FIVE YEAR PLAN (1980-85)—Cont d.**

**श्री शिव चन्द्र झा (बिहार) :** श्रीमन्, मेरा प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर है ।

**श्री उपसभापति :** आप रूल बताइये, किस में प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर है ?

**श्री शिव चन्द्र झा :** जो विषय आप ले रहे हैं, उसी के मुतालिक है । (व्यवधान)

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** This is no point of order.

**श्री शिव चन्द्र झा :** उसी के मुतालिक हमारा कहना है कि आप इसके महत्व को देखते हुए इसका समय बढ़ाइये ।

समय नहीं बढ़ सकता ।

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Mr. Manhar. You have eight minutes.

**डा० भाई महाबीर (मध्य प्रदेश) :**  
क्या लाला जगत नारायण के बारे में मंत्री जी कोई सूचना देंगे ?

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** That is over. Don't write anything. Only Manhar will go on record. It is not proper to disturb the proceedings. Please take your seats.

**SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA: \***

**SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK (Orissa): \***

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** There is no time for any point. No point will go on record. Please take your seats.

**श्री भगतराम म न्ह (म.प्र.)**  
उप सभापति महोदय, जिस समय श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी दुबारा प्रधान मंत्री बनी, उस समय देश की हालत बड़ी खराब थी । योजना नाम की कोई चीज नहीं थी और विकास की दर शून्य प्रतिशत थी । थोड़े समय में इंदिरा

जी के नेतृत्व में छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना को अन्तिम रूप दिया गया । छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना में 97 हजार 500 करोड़ रुपये के खर्च का प्रावधान किया गया है तथा विकास की दर 5.2 प्रतिशत रखी गई है । मेरी समझ में, जो छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना है वह चार मुद्दों में विभक्त है । पहला, बेरोजगारी समाप्त करना । दूसरा, गरीबी समाप्त करना । तीसरा क्षेत्रीय विषमताओं को पूरा करना और चौथा, आत्म-निर्भरता प्राप्त करना ।

मान्यवर, जहां तक बेरोजगारी समाप्त करने की बात है, बेरोजगारी तथा अर्द्ध-बेरोजगारी लगातार बढ़ रही है । उसका मुख्य कारण यह है कि हमारी जितनी भी योजनायें हैं उनका सही रूप में कार्यान्वयन नहीं हो रहा है । गरीबी समाप्त करने की जहां तक बात है, भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री श्री मोरारजी देसाई ने कहा था कि मैं 10 वर्ष में गरीबी समाप्त कर दूंगा । उनको मालूम था कि—

न नौ मन तेल होगा, न राधा नाचेगी ।

उनकी कुल उम्र कितने दिन की है, इसकी वह उल्टी गिनती में आ गये थे, जैसे सैटेलाइट छोड़ते हैं तो उल्टी गिनती शुरू होती है, उसी तरह की स्थिति उनकी थी ।

श्री गरीबी दूर करने के लिए शासन ने कुछ योजनायें बनाई हैं, जैसे 20 सूची कार्यक्रम वगैरह । उसका इम्प्लीमेंटेशन किस तरीके से हो रहा है, वह बड़ा भयावह है । गरीबों को जो जमीन दी जा रही है, चाहे मकान बनने के लिए हो चाहे खेती करने के लिए, उस जमीन को आप रिजर्व बैंक की भी दे दो और कहो कि खेती करो तो हाथ करके वह भी बैठ जाएगा । ऐसी जमीन गरीबों को दी जा रही है । ऐसी ही योजनायें जो गरीबों के हित में हैं, उसके इम्प्लीमेंटेशन की भी ऐसी ही स्थिति है । जहां पर हाउस-साइट्स दी जा रही हैं, वहां न आवागमन के साधन हैं, न पीने का पानी है, और वहां की हाइजीनिक कंडीशन ऐसी है जहां मकान नहीं बना सकते हैं । इस तरह की जो चीजें हैं उसको देखना शासन का काम है ।

[श्री भगत राम मनहर]

मान्यवर, जिन चार मुद्दों का मैंने जिक्र किया है वही मुद्दे हमारी कांग्रेस (आई) के मैनफैस्टो में भी हैं। इसलिये हम सब का फर्ज है कि उसको सही रूप में क्रियान्वित करें। योजना आयोग के आंकलन के अनुसार वर्ष 1977-78 में 48.44 प्रतिशत देश की आबादी गरीबी रेखा के नीचे जीवन-यापन कर रही है। आपने जो अभी योजना बनाई है उसके अनुसार यानी छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना के अनुसार अगर वह पूरी हो जाती है सही रूप में जो अभी 48.44 प्रतिशत गरीबों की रेखा के नीचे रहने वाले हैं वह खत्म नहीं होने वाले हैं। इतना होने पर भी लगभग 39 प्रतिशत लोग गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे रह जायेंगे। इनके जीवन-यापन में कोई सुधार नहीं हो पायेगा। इसका मुख्य आधार यह है कि हमारे देश में आबादी बढ़ रही है, हर साल हम एक आस्ट्रेलिया पैदा कर रहे हैं और योजना आयोग ने जो आंकलन दिया है उससे मैं नहीं समझ पाता कि 39 परसेंट लोगों का, जो गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे रह जायेंगे उनका जीवन सुधर सकेगा। आपको इसको 50 परसेंट करना चाहिये। जिस तरह की स्थिति है उससे हम बेरोजगारी को दूर करने में सफल नहीं हो पा रहे हैं। योजना आयोग को चाहिये कि जिस तरीके से इमेरजेंसी के पहले यानी 75 के पहले फैमिली-प्लानिंग कराई थी, जिस कड़ाई से फैमिली प्लानिंग का पालन किया गया था मैं समझता हूँ उस कड़ाई से पालन न किया जाए लेकिन फैमिली प्लानिंग के लिये आप निश्चित रूप से और अनिवार्य रूप से कोई योजना लागू करें, नहीं तो देश की कोई भी योजना आप सफल करने में सफल नहीं हो पायेगी।

क्षेत्रीय विषमता की बात भी की गई है। इसकी हालत यह है कि जो बड़े स्टेट हैं, जो बड़े लोग हैं वे ही लोग इसका फायदा उठा रहे हैं। जिसकी राजनीतिक आवाज है या जो पहुंच वाले हैं वे ही फायदा उठा रहे हैं। हमारा

स्टेट मध्य प्रदेश है यह गरीब और पिछड़ा हुआ इलाका है। उसको जो फायदा होना चाहिये वह नहीं हो पा रहा है। ये लोग अपनी आवाज, पहुंच या मांग लेकर आते हैं किसी न किसी रूप में शासन उनकी मांगों को टर्न डाउन कर देता है। सही रूप में अगर सरकार क्षेत्रीय विषमता दूर करना चाहती है तो उसको राजनीति से ऊपर उठकर जो सही चीज है उसका मूल्यांकन करना चाहिये।

आत्मनिर्भरता की बात भी कही गई है। आत्मनिर्भरता के लिये आयात-निर्यात की जो अभी स्थिति है वह खराब है। निर्यात में आघाती वृद्धि न होने के कारण देश को आत्मनिर्भर बनाने में बड़ी कठिनाई हो रही है। आप जिस किसी को सामान बनाने के लिये आदेश दे देते हैं और जब चाहे जब दाम बढ़ा देते हैं। साथ ही उसकी क्वालिटी पर कोई कंट्रोल नहीं होता मेरा आपसे निवेदन है कि हमारे देश में जो ऐसी चीज आये जिसका हम निर्यात करते हैं तो जब हम उसकी कीमत बढ़ायें तो उसकी क्वालिटी पर भी कंट्रोल करें। उदाहरण के लिये फियेट कार है या वेल्सा स्कूटर है। उसके आप मनमाने ढंग से रेट तो बढ़ा देते हैं लेकिन उसकी क्वालिटी पर कोई कंट्रोल नहीं होता। मेरा निवेदन है कि इसके ऊपर आपको विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिये।

योजना की सफलता के लिये आवश्यक है कि गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे रहने वाले जो लोग हैं उनके लिये ज्यादा से ज्यादा सुधार के कार्यक्रम करें। आपने इसमें लिखा है कि आप 8 या 9 परसेंट ही लोगों को गरीबी की रेखा के ऊपर उठा पायेंगे। मेरा यह निवेदन है कि भले ही आपको इसमें तबदीली करनी पड़े जब तक आप 50 परसेंट का इसमें समावेश नहीं करते मैं नहीं समझता कि आप किसी प्रकार उनके लिये कुछ कर पायेंगे। अगर इसी तरीके से चलता रहेगा तो गरीब और गरीब होता चला जायेगा और अमीर और अमीर होता चला जायेगा। आप किसी भी रूप में इसका समाधान नहीं कर पायेंगे।

मान्यवर, आर्थिक विकास की दर में तेजी लाई जाये। यह तभी हो सकता है जब कि आवागमन की ओर विशेष ध्यान दिया जाय। हमारे देश में जो छोटे-छोटे कुटीर उद्योग धंधे हैं, जिनको एक फेमिली चला सकती है, छोटे-छोटे लोग चला सकते हैं, उनकी तरफ विशेष ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। जब तक हमारी सरकार इन छोटे छोटे कुटीर उद्योगों की तरफ ध्यान नहीं देगी तब तक जो लोग गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे रहते हैं, गरीब लोग हैं, उनको ऊपर नहीं उठाया जा सकता है।

मान्यवर, आपने छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना में सभी ग्रामों में कुएं खोदने और पीने का पानी मुहय्या करने की व्यवस्था की है। लेकिन हकीकत में स्थिति यह है कि जिस गांव में एक भी कुआ खोद दिया जाता है वह समस्या मूलक गांव नहीं रह जाता है। अभी तक जितने भी गांवों में कुएं खोदे गये हैं वे सर्वजनिक लोगों के मुहल्लों में ही ज्यादातर खोदे गये हैं। गांवों में जो हरिजन होते हैं या जो दूसरे गरीब लोग होते हैं उनके पीने के पानी की समस्या हल नहीं हो पाती है। इसलिए मेरा कहना यह है कि जब तक गांवों में हरिजनों, आदिवासियों और अन्य गरीब लोगों के मुहल्लों या टीलों में भी पीने के पानी के कुएं खोद दिये जाते हैं तब तक उन गांवों को समस्या मूलक गांव ही माना जाना चाहिए।

मान्यवर, आप जानते हैं कि हमारे देश में बाढ़, भूमि का कटाव तथा जलवायु की विषमता से लोगों की परेशानी बढ़ रही है। इसकी रोकथाम के लिए योजना में विशेष प्रावधान किया जाना चाहिए। मेरा यह भी सुझाव है कि बेरोजगारों तथा अर्ध-बेरोजगारों को उत्पादित रोजगार उपलब्ध कराने हेतु उपलब्ध संसाधनों का दोहन तथा उन पर आधारित कुटीर उद्योगों की स्थापना पर अधिक बल दिया जाना चाहिए। अन्त में आईसिएच निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जैसा कि मैंने कहा हमें आत्म-निर्भर होना चाहिए। आपने पब्लिक अन्डरटेकिंग पर जो खर्च किया है और जो

19 हजार करोड़ रुपया है, उस पर आपका कोई कंट्रोल नहीं है। कोई भी व्यापारी जब पैसा खर्च करता है तो वह यह भी देखता है कि उसको उससे इनकम होनी चाहिए। आप इन अन्डरटेकिंग को कहें कि वे कम से कम 10 प्रतिशत इनकम दें। आप इसके लिए कोई टारगेट फिक्स कर दें। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर आप इस प्रकार से कोई टारगेट फिक्स कर देंगे तो बजट में हमारा जो घाटा होता है वह पूरा किया जा सकता है।

आखिर में, मैंने यह भी निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि आप जो योजनाएं बनाते हैं उनका ठीक से मूल्यांकन भी होना चाहिए। समय पर लोगों को यह मालूम होना चाहिए कि उनकी भलाई के लिए जो योजनाएं बनाई जा रही हैं वे ठीक तरह से चल रही हैं या नहीं चल रही हैं। इसके लिए मेरा सुझाव है कि एक जन प्रतिनिधियों की कमेटी बनाई जाय जो जगह-जगह जा कर इन समस्याओं को देखे और लोगों को उनके बारे में सही जानकारी दे।

**श्री उपसभापति :** अब सदन की कार्यवाही 2 बजे तक के लिए स्थगित की जाती है।

The House then adjourned for lunch at three minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at three minutes past two of the clock. The Vice-Chairman, (Shri Dinesh Goswami, in the Chair.

**SHRI A. P. JANARDHANAM** (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have been following with intense interest the keen debate going on about the Sixth Five Year Plan. For about 30 years we have been planning, and this is the Sixth Plan. It is stated in the document that over a year much brains were utilised for it; eminent experts were consulted, trade union leaders were invited and leading captains of industry were consulted.

[Shri A. P. Janardhanam]

Developing countries naturally take to planning. In developing countries we have problems of colossal magnitude. Wherever we see in the third world or the South, according to the latest nomenclature, there is appalling poverty, there is slothful bungling there is grand corruption, there is obscurantism, there are very many tragic obstacles to progress.

I will list out the priorities. Unless these priorities are stuck on to, no amount of planning, no amount of wasting of tonnes of paper over these things, no amount of mobilisation and other things, would help our people. Yesterday statistics were rolled out and eminent economists who soar high in the stratosphere of economic theories, fire-brand champions of the underdog, those who want industries to thrive first, those who want to give first priority to agriculture, all had their say. Many more will be coming forth. They will be championing their own causes. But according to me, the first priority should be family planning. Our reckless breeding has landed us in a very very sad condition. I am myself a sad example. My father produced 16 children and I am the eldest of them. In India these full cradles and empty bellies have simply made a mockery of all our Plans. In spite of our Herculean efforts, everything is being gobbled up by new mouths.

The next priority I will give to urban explosion. People are flocking to the cities. The cities are the places where the demagogues rant and the politicians have a field day. Everybody comes to the city. The lure is there. Now even local gods have been replaced by movie stars. Everybody comes to the city and the cities are now exploding. The slums are the rotten cores of the cities. What are we going to do? We must have satellite towns and we should have masterly plans for the dispersal of so many things that are concentrated in the

cities. Our golden-hearted Chief Minister MGR has very nicely put a sound idea. He has floated the idea that the Capital of Tamil Nadu should be shifted to some other place between Thanjavur and Tiruchi. Some satellite towns have to take shape. Metropolitan development should proceed that way. Agriculture, industry and all these things have been mentioned here. What about agriculture? Our methods have been primitive. In our agriculture also, the vested interests have many times simply enjoyed the greatest benefits of the co-operative banks without caring to repay the loans, and these accumulated loans make the Centre prod the State Governments to take back the loans from them.

The industrialists also have their own ways of stigmatising labour and even labour, the man behind the machine is being exploited both by the capitalists and by irresponsible labour leaders. I had been to Japan last year. We saw dedicated people working very well. There is dedication there. There is efficiency there. Here what do some teach? "Go and destroy. Everything is yours and you can get paradise if you go on striking. if you go on holding everything to ransom." So nihilistic things are being preached here. This is a country where concentration of wealth, exploitation of labour, including child labour, and so many things have taken place. Our miseries are being multiplied.

Another thing. My comrade here this morning forcefully pleaded for the placing of the Mandal Commission report on the Table. Another comrade very forcefully pleaded for a discussion on the Mandal Commission report here. The weaker sections, the tribals, the backward classes have been exploited for over 3,000 to 4,000 years. In Tamil Nadu we have been champions of those underdogs for the past 60 years. Periyar and our late illustrious leader, Dr. Anna, were champions of the depressed and the oppressed. And we have come to

power by orchestrating the demands of those people, and if the backward classes, the depressed classes, the tribals, do not get justice, how can we say that we have got freedom? We know the agitations and the counter-agitations. But one thing is essential: We have to put our shoulder to the wheel. The Sixth Five Year Plan has called upon the States to raise resources. The States may raise resources and in raising resources they may have to add something by way of taxation. That taxation naturally is at the cost of political popularity. In politics ultimately the mass counts. And mass means the franchise, adult franchise, in this country. Naturally to have the votes, you have to please them. If the States tax and if the States compel the people to pay back their credit, they are in jeopardy. All sorts of agitations come up. So we should see that our resources are so mobilised that the pinch is not felt. Any amount of theories of Utopian grandeur, utopias of despair, utopias of enthusiasm, so many things, have been talked about. But how much of it has percolated to the real cottage-bred man, to the real people? At least I am glad political decisions are not colouring economic issues of late. I have to salute Madam Indira Gandhi. She is flying to Madras tomorrow. She has now begun to wield the big stick even in her party. There is some heartsearching. She is trying to set things in order. So far I welcome it. The non-Congress States should not be discriminated against. The Centre-State fiscal arrangements should be put on a sound basis. No amount of statistics, no amount of plans, no amount of economic expertise, will count unless we set ourselves to providing the basic necessities. There are certain basic problems to fight which you have to cut across your political barriers—poverty and growing unemployment. These we have to solve. Out of these plans I expect this, we have to provide the basic necessities to the people—food, clothing, shelter, security. Look at other countries, other underdeveloped

countries like Thailand or other underdeveloped countries like Nigeria. Other underdeveloped countries have prospered. Even Singapore shows us the way. It has married eastern glamour and western technology. Even China has solved some of its serious problems. Russia is our model. Our Five Year Plans have been copied from Russia. We emulate them in our planning. But let us not, while we do accept what is good for us, be a carbon copy of anybody, because we have our own ethos, we have our own originality and independence. I am not an economic expert. But still the priorities are there. Even a layman can adumbrate these things. We want first and foremost food, we want clothing and we want housing for our *daridranarayans*.

Thank you.

श्री राम भगत पासवान (बिहार) :

उपमहाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं योजना मंत्री महोदय को बहुत ही धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ जिन्होंने कि समाजवादी ढाँचे पर आर्थिक तंत्र को सुदृढ़ कर देश का हर विकास कर समाज को खुशहाल बनाने का प्रयास किया है। हमारी 6ठी पंचवर्षीय योजना का लक्ष्य देश को आधुनिक, आत्मनिर्भर और सुदृढ़ बनाने के लिये गरीबी और बेरोजगारी को समाप्त करना तथा जनता को सामाजिक लाभ, शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य की अधिक सुविधा तथा उनके लिए संतोषजनक रोजगार के अवसर उपलब्ध कराना है। श्रीमन्, यह योजना का ही फल है जो सुनियोजित ढंग से हमारा देश बहुत आगे बढ़ रहा है। यह सही है कि जो हमारा लक्ष्य है, उसकी हमें प्राप्ति नहीं हो सकी है। फिर भी यदि हम योजना के पहले का समय देखते हैं तो वाद में बहुत अंतर दिखाई पड़ता है। श्रीमन्, प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में भारत एक बहुत ही सुख सम्पन्न और खुशहाल देश बनने जा रहा है। हम देखते हैं कि देहातों में, पहले जिस गांव में चलने थे, जिस गांव की सड़क छः महीने तक बंद

### [श्री राम भगत पासवान]

रहती थी। वहाँ आज पक्की सड़कें हो गई हैं। जहाँ कोई स्कूल नहीं था, वहाँ विद्यालय और महाविद्यालय की स्थापना हो गई है।

देहातों की तो बात दूर रही, पहले बड़े-बड़े शहरों में बिजली नहीं थी, आज देश के हर कोने में बिजली पहुँच रही है। हर प्रखंड में, हर विलेज लेवल पर स्वास्थ्य सेवा केन्द्र और उप-केन्द्र सब खुल रहे हैं और खुल गये हैं। तो इस तरह से हमारा देश बहुत नियोजित ढंग से आगे बढ़ रहा है।

अब छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना का जो उद्देश्य है, गरीबी मिटाना, समाज में सब को समानता दिलाना, ये सब हैं। श्रीमन्, हम बहुत योजनाएं बनाते हैं, कानून बनाते हैं, पर इसका सही सही इम्प्लीमेंटेशन नहीं होता है। इसके फलस्वरूप हम अपने लक्ष्य को जितने समय में हमको प्राप्त करना चाहिए, वह हम प्राप्त नहीं कर रहे हैं, जैसे लैंड रिफार्म्स, भूमि सुधार हिंदुस्तान एक कृषि-प्रधान देश है।

भूमि सुधार से गरीबी कुछ हद तक जरूर मिट सकती है। लेकिन भूमि सुधार जो हुए, गरीबों को जो पर्चा मिला था, वह जनता पार्टी के समय में सभी को डिसपोजैज कर दिया गया। डिसपोजैज ही नहीं किया गया, उनके साथ बहुत सा अत्याचार हुआ।

तो मैं सरकार से आग्रह करना चाहता हूँ कि जिसको पर्चा मिला हुआ है, उस जमीन पर उन गरीबों को कब्जा दिलाना चाहिए। उसके चलते जो लिटिगेशन...हमारा जो सुनहरा प्रोग्राम था गरीबों के लिए, वह सब जनता पार्टी की सरकार ने रसातल में मिला दिया तो उसको देखना है और उस जमीन पर गरीबों को कब्जा दिलाना है। अभी भी ठीक सेटलड रिफार्म्स का कार्य नहीं हुआ है अभी हजार-हजार एकड़ जमीन लैंडलार्ड्स के पास है और जो लैंडलार्ड्स हैं, उन्हीं के पास आज सिनेमा हॉल हैं, वही बड़े-बड़े व्यापार शामिल

हो रहे हैं। वे ही शहरों में विशाल, बड़े-बड़े भवन बनाते चले जा रहे हैं, उन्हीं के बच्चे बड़ी-बड़ी सर्विसेज में जा रहे हैं।

दूसरे जो निर्धन हैं, उनको शिक्षा का भी अभाव है, उनके पास गरीबी है, उनके पास न कोई जमीन है और न कोई रोजगार। इसलिए हम सरकार से आग्रह करेंगे कि कम से कम जो जमीन जोतते हैं, उनको जमीन मिलनी चाहिए। जो जोतना नहीं जानते, उन्हें जमीन नहीं मिलनी चाहिए और वन मैन वन जाव, इसकी व्यवस्था जब तक नहीं करेंगे, जो डाक्टर है, जो पैसे कमा रहे हैं, जो व्यापारी हैं, जो बड़े पूंजीपति हैं, उन्हें जमीन नहीं मिले। जो जोतने वाले हैं, उनको मिले। सरकार इस विषमता को जरूर दूर करे। जो जमीन जोतना जानते हैं उनके पास जमीन है ही नहीं और जो जमीन जोतना नहीं जानते, उसके पास जमीन है। तो इसलिए जिनके पास जमीन है और जो जोतना जानते हैं जमीन का मालिक उन्हीं को बनाना चाहिए। भूमि सुधार में जो त्रुटियाँ हैं, उनको दूर करना चाहिए।

श्रीमन्, हम एग्रीकल्चरल लेबर की तरफ सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहते हैं। आज एग्रीकल्चरल लेबर बहुत ही असंगठित रूप में है और इन्हें हर समय कार्य नहीं मिलता। साल में सिर्फ पांच-छह महीने ही काम करते हैं। मजदूरी भी जो उनको मिलती है, वह बहुत ही निराशामात्र है।

हमारे यह कृषि मजदूर देश की रीढ़ है। वहीं अनाज पैदा करते हैं, लेकिन स्वयं अनाज पैदा करके, दूसरों को खिला कर अभी भी भूखे, निराहार रहते हैं। उन्हें मजदूरी इतनी कम मिलती है जिससे उनके लिये स्वयं का और अपने बच्चों का पालन-पोषण करना बहुत ही असम्भव है। इसलिए बीस-सूत्री, हमारे प्रधान मंत्री की जो स्कीम है, इसके द्वारा मिनिमम वेजिंग की जो कम से कम मजदूरी तय की गई है, उसकी तरफ सरकार

का ध्यान जरूर जाना चाहिए और उनको मिनिमम मजदूरी जो है, वह उनको अवश्य मिलना चाहिए ताकि उनको भरपेट भोजन मिल सके। श्रीमन्, अब मैं उद्योगों की ओर सरकार का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। बड़े बड़े उद्योग और बड़ी बड़ी फैक्ट्रियाँ पूँजीपतियों के हाथ में केन्द्रित हैं। उन का विकेन्द्रीकरण होना चाहिए और देहातों की तरफ फैक्ट्रियाँ खुलनी चाहिए। ये पूँजीपति कभी राष्ट्र का हित नहीं चाहते हैं, ये पूँजीपति प्राइवेट मोटिवेशन से प्रोडक्शन करते हैं। वेलफेयर मोटिव और समाज के लाभ के दृष्टिकोण से ये उत्पादन नहीं करते। कभी ओवर प्रोडक्शन कर देते हैं, कभी अंडर प्रोडक्शन कर देते हैं। इस तरह से इस देश में अभाव पैदा करते रहते हैं इसलिए सारी जितनी बड़ी-बड़ी फैक्ट्रियाँ हैं, पूँजीपतियों के हाथ में हैं, टाटा-विड़ला और बड़े-बड़े उद्योगपतियों के हाथ में हैं। सभी फैक्ट्रियों को नेशनलाइज कर देना चाहिए, समाजवादी रूप में लाना चाहिए। अभी सरकार छठी योजना के अन्तर्गत करीब 66000 करोड़ रु० खर्च करने जा रही है लेकिन आप जहाँ उनकी मदद कर रहे हैं उतनी उन को आजादी मिल रही है और वे समाजवादी मार्ग में अड़ंगा लगा रहे हैं। उनके यहाँ हरिजनों के लिए रिजर्वेशन नहीं है, जिसको चाहे अपाइन्ट कर लेते हैं जिसको चाहे हटा देते हैं। इसलिए सरकार की ओर से उनके ऊपर नियंत्रण होना चाहिए। (समय की घंटी)।

श्रीमन्, मैं बिहार की तरफ ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। रीजनल इम्बेलेन्स की कमी को दूर करने के लिए बिहार की तरफ आपको विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिए। बिहार प्राकृतिक प्रकोप का क्रीड़ा-स्थल रहा है हर साल। इस साल भी देखा जाए तो कभी अतिवृष्टि कभी अनावृष्टि तो कभी फ्लड्स और कभी सूखा। इतनी जमीन रहते हुए आज तक ऐसी योजना नहीं बनाई जिसके अन्तर्गत यह जो प्राकृतिक प्रकोप है उसके ऊपर हम कंट्रोल कर सकें।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Now, please conclude.

श्री राम भगत पासवान : अभी बहुत से मैजर्स फ्लड कंट्रोल के लिए लिए गए जैसे कोसी योजना, कमला बांध है, वैंस्टर्न कोसी कैनल है, लेकिन अभी तक कोई योजना सफल नहीं हुई। फल यह होता है कि किसान जितना उपज ले सकते हैं वह प्राकृतिक प्रकोप से नष्ट हो जाती है, इसलिए फ्लड कंट्रोल की कोई खास व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए, सुखार और दहाड़ को नहर के द्वारा कनेक्ट कर देना चाहिए ताकि जरूरत के अनुसार आप पानी रोक सकें और निकाल सकें।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Paswanji, please conclude now.

श्री राम भगत पासवान : श्रीमन्, मैं देहातों के ऊपर विशेष ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। आज भी भारत का देहात गंदगी और गरीबी से भरपूर है। अभी भी जहाँ कहीं देहातों में जाएं ऐसा मालूम होता है आजादी के इतने साल बाद भी आजादी की बूलेसिंग वहाँ टूट नहीं कर पायी है। देहात में शिक्षा का बहुत अभाव है। वहाँ बहुत से ऐसे गांव हैं जहाँ पीने का स्वच्छ जल नहीं। इसलिए वहाँ पेयजल की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए, ट्यूब वेल होने चाहिए। इसके साथ ही साथ फ्लड एफेक्टेड एरिया में खाम कर हाउसिंग बोर्ड हो। अभी तक शहरों में ही हाउसिंग बोर्ड है, देहातों में भी होना चाहिए। फ्लड एफेक्टेड एरिया में हर साल गरीबों के घर बह जाते हैं, नष्ट हो जाते हैं इसलिए ऐसे हाउसिंग बोर्ड द्वारा फ्लड एफेक्टेड एरिया में जब गरीबों के घर गिर जाते हैं, तब उसके लिए विशेष योजना बननी चाहिए। हर साल 500-600 ऐसे गांव में घरों का निर्माण किया जा सकता है... (समय की घंटी) ...इसके साथसाथ गोबर गैस प्लांट हर गांव में होना चाहिए। गांव में बेरोजगारी के कारण 90 प्रतिशत मजदूर बेकार बैठे रहते हैं इसलिए वहाँ गृह उद्योग

[श्री राम भगत पासवान]

और कुटीर उद्योगों की भी व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए। सलम शौचालय की व्यवस्था भी करनी चाहिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री दिनेश गोस्वामी) :  
अब समाप्त करना होगा।

श्री राम भगत पासवान : सरकार का ध्यान इस बात पर खींचना चाहूंगा कि शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज को जो स्टाइपेंड मिल रहा है वह निराशा मात्र है। फर्स्ट फाइव इयर प्लान के समय में जो रेट था, अब छठी योजना में भी वही रेट चला आ रहा है जब कि महंगाई इतनी अधिक बढ़ गई है। वह भी टाइम पर उनको नहीं मिलता है। इसकी तरफ ध्यान करना चाहिए। इसलिए स्कूल में पढ़ने वाले विद्यार्थियों के लिए 50 रु० और कालेज में पढ़ने वालों के लिए 100 रु० मासिक करना चाहिए।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Please conclude now.

श्री राम भगत पासवान : रेलवे लाईन सरकारी हसनपुर छोटी पंचवर्षीय योजना में कंपलीट हो जानी चाहिए और हाल ही में रेलवे बोर्ड ने ब्राड गेज लाइन समस्तीपुर से दरभंगा तक का उद्घाटन किया। उसको प्रारम्भ करने की और जल्द ध्यान देना चाहिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री दिनेश गोस्वामी) :  
यह आप रेल बजट पर बोलते समय रखिए।

श्री राम भगत पासवान : छहरिया सराय से समस्तीपुर की रेलवे लाइन बनाने पर ध्यान देना चाहिए।

SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA (Bihar):  
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I must begin by lodging my protest against this practice of placing the Plan before

Parliament for discussion when one-third of the term is already over. As we see it, it must have been finalised in January, and after eight months the Parliament is asked to consider it. What is the purpose? Parliament should have been consulted before the Plan was finalised. What is the use now of asking Parliament to discuss it. But it may be useful if the hon. Minister agrees to one proposal. The Plan is already out of date. It has already become irrelevant. The Plan is based on the prices prevailing in 1979-80. The average price level of 1979-80 was 217.6. Now it is nearly 289 or 288. So there has been a rise of more than 32 per cent in prices. So one-third of the proposed plan outlay of Rs. 97,500 crores has been knocked out because of rise in prices. So the actual plan now is only of the order of Rs. 64,000 or Rs. 65,000 crores, which would mean actually a reduction in the outlay as proposed by the Janata Government for the Sixth Five Year Plan. I do not know what the Government propose to do now. As a matter of fact, Sir, this has been the tragedy of Indian planning since the days of the Second Five Year Plan that in nominal terms the Plan outlay is increased but due to erosion in the value of the rupee, in actual terms the increase in Plan outlay is very small.

Sir, some figures were worked out by the former Vice-Chairman of the Planning Commission, Prof. Ladkewala, according to which the rate of increase in Plan outlay as compared to the previous Plan has been declining. It was 103 per cent in the Second Plan as compared to the first Plan. It declined to 46.9 per cent in the third Plan and 12.7 per cent in the Fourth Plan. It rose again to 57.4 per cent in the Fifth Five Year Plan. But probably in the Sixth Five Year Plan there will be no real increase in outlay at all. So I would like the Planning Minister to explain this situation and to tell the House how he wants to really protect the outlay from erosion by inflation, erosion which has already taken place and erosion which is likely to take place in future.



Secondly, Sir, this Plan contains a Foreword, and I think this Foreword should be distributed throughout the country in the form of a handbill, because this has come as the biggest joke of the year. Every formulation made in this Foreword is just a tissue of lies; there is no truth in it. What are the claims made? firstly,

“Planning is more than the putting together of a number of Central and State Government projects. It has a direction, and this the Sixth Plan provides...”

What direction does it provide? Is there any direction in the Sixth Five Year Plan? Has the Plan got any direction to increase the national wealth, to modernise the economy, to reduce social inequalities? This has been emphasized at the time of the inauguration of every Plan. But every time that these statements have been made, every time they have proved to be false. Actually the country has been moving in the reverse direction.

Now, the second claim made is that the Plan aims at having a balanced economic growth. It will ensure self-reliance, stability and social justice. Have you ensured social justice? Even from the figures given in the Plan, it would appear that at least since 1958-59, there has been no change at all in the pattern of distribution of assets in the rural areas or in the pattern of consumption expenditure in the rural as well as urban areas. Land ceilings have been talked about. I do not want to go into detailed figures. But I would only like to remind the hon. Minister that according to the previous Planning Commission which worked out on the basis of the data provided by the 26th round of the National Sample Survey, 21.5 million acres of land should have been surplus even in 1971-72. Where has that land gone? Against this surplus of 21.5 million acres, the total distribution after 1971-72 is hardly 17 lakh acres. It is not even 10 per cent. It is less than 10 per cent of the potential surplus. What about the rest?

Is there any programme? Is there any time-bound programme? Is there any commitment? The other hon. Member was complaining that even the land which was allotted to the Harijans during the emergency was snatched away by the landlords during the Janata rule. That is true. But it is being snatched away even now. Landlords continue to be on the offensive. Even now that offensive is not coming to an end with the coming into power of Congress (I). The Harijans are being assaulted. Their women are being molested. Their houses are being set on fire. Their properties are being looted. The small patches of land allotted to them are being snatched away. If this is the position of the distribution of assets, how do you claim that the country has been marching towards reduction in social inequalities? Such a claim does not have any solid ground to stand upon.

Now, take the question of industrial property and industrial wealth. According to figures given by Dr. R. K. Hazari, so far as I remember, the total value of the assets of 20 monopoly houses in the year 1951 was 648 crores. Now, the latest figures of the total assets of the 20 top monopoly houses in 1979 which have been given to Parliament in 1979, show that they are more than Rs. 6600 crores. It means that there has been more than 10 fold increase or 11 fold increase in the assets of 20 top monopoly houses. Now, the Janata Government used to say that during the last 20 years of the Congress rule or during the 11 years of Shrimati Gandhi's rule, the monopolists have fattened and that they were going to favour small industry and that they were going to prevent the growth of monopoly. This growth has taken place precisely under the Janata rule. In 1976, the total assets of the House of Birlas or the House of Tatas were less than 1100 crores or Rs. 1070 crores or so if I remember aright. Now, they are nearly 1300 crores individually. So, under the benign rule of the Janata Party, Tatas and Birlas have fattened. Harijans were looted, butchered, molested and

[Shri Indradeep Sinha]

harassed. But Tatas and Birlas continued to grow even while the Janata Ministers were waxing eloquent about the protection of the small man and the development of cottage industries and the development of agriculture.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): I hope you will conclude it within...

SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA: Actually I have just begun.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): You had only five minutes. I have given you ten minutes. You know, the time is limited.

SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA: I will try to summarise.

SHRI V. B. RAJU (Andhra Pradesh): Better not to have a discussion.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Let me point out one thing. The difficulty is that when the leaders go to the meeting of the Business Advisory Committee, they fix up the time. At that time even if somebody points out that the discussion will not be completed, at that requisite point of time, everybody says, we will complete it. When the Chair is put to the difficulty of implementing that decision of the Business Advisory Committee. What can I do, you say, it should not be.

SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA (Uttar Pradesh): You can take the sense of the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): I cannot. Then there should be no Business Advisory Committee.

SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA: In view of the importance of the discussion...

AN HON. MEMBER: Sir,.....  
(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): That is precisely what I am trying to do.

SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA: Sir, he is making a very valuable contribution to the debate. If you want something to be done, if you want to shut out, I do not know what. The whole question is that the Sixth Five Year Plan, as it has been pointed out to me, it has come late. Even at the late stage if some contribution can be made, if that contribution is shut out, what will be the result?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): There is no question of shutting out any discussion. There are still before me a list of eight Members, and in this list I find there are Members who are expected to make a substantial contribution to the debate. Now, I do not know, if you say that I am not to keep myself to the time-schedule, the debate will not be over today.

SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA: Is it necessary?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Even if you are to continue up to 5 o'clock, it must have a time limit. Now, Mr. Indradeep Sinha's time was five minutes and I have rung the bell in ten minutes requesting him that he should finish within a reasonable point of time.

SHRI V. B. RAJU: Sir,...

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE): Now, we are allocating time in the Business Advisory Committee. Mr. Raju, please take your seat and I will explain the position. We are to transact the business is known to the House. Whatever time is left you are to distribute to the Members according to their party entitlement and we cannot extend the debate because we have already allocated time. Certain time has been consumed and certain time has been left. I was under the impression that only the Minister will

reply today. Therefore, so far as we are concerned, I will appeal to the Members of the House that we can have a discussion for any length of time, but at some point of time we are to conclude, and we are running against time and, therefore, it is for the Chair to decide. What I would like to suggest is that the time which has been allocated by the Business Advisory Committee, we should strictly adhere to it.

**SHRI V. B. RAJU:** Sir, I would like to make one submission. As a matter of fact, the business of the House has to be conducted in a regulated manner, we agree with that. I would like to ask the Leader of the House and the Minister to tell us, in their own interest, whether this should be a ritual or it should be a debate. You have to decide. What is the purpose of speaking for seven minutes? I would refuse to speak for seven minutes. It is an insult to the House, that on the matter of Planning, the Planning Document which was presented to the House after one and a half years, one year is over, second year is also coming to a close, you want to make it a ritual. Mr. Leader, you are a very senior man. A day has 24 hours. Why did we adjourn yesterday at 5 o'clock? I do not want to make any aspersions on anybody. On trivial matters we are actually consuming so much of time, and where is the parliamentary control over planning, where is the parliamentary control over finance? You are making a farce of it; that is my feeling.

**SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE:** I entirely go with you but this sense of involvement should be with the Members. When they waste the time of the House, I cannot help it. After all, you cannot have it both ways. Either way you shall have to take the decision, that we will sit longer, or whatever time is at our disposal, we shall make the best use of it. But when the time is being wasted on unnecessary, irrelevant issues what the Presiding Officers can do? They are trying their best to regulate the House.

**SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK:** I request the Leader of the House to allot one full day....

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI):** Instead of requesting the Leader of the House, you should request your own leader to go to the Business Advisory Committee and ask for it.

Now, this debate was to conclude at 3.22 Mr. Minister, I think you will be taking about 45 minutes or so. If actually we have to keep to the time schedule, I should call the Minister now. The only thing I can do is that I call the Minister at 4.

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nad):** At 4.30.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI):** No.

**SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE:** Then we must sit till longer time because Assam Bill is to be taken up today, you cannot pass on the business. Let us then sit till 9 o'clock; I have no objection; and have useful discussion on planning. But Assam Bill has to be taken. You take the consensus of the House. So far as we are concerned, planning was to be over today and Assam was to be taken up today. And for that, we have not admitted any Calling Attention. If you want to extend the time for discussion on planning, I have no objection; let us sit till 9 o'clock.

**SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA:** Yes, we should sit if we really want to contribute something.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI):** I would like to know from the Leader of the House when he wants me to call the Minister.

**SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE:** My point is that we were told by the Deputy Chairman that one hour and twenty minutes were left. Since one hour and twenty minutes were left, you admit the Minister to reply;

[Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee]

otherwise, if the hon. Members agree that they will sit till midnight and Assam Bill will be over, I have no objection. As you have suggested that you will call the Minister at 4 o'clock, Assam business is to be over today and let that be the understanding.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI):** Is that the sense of the House?

**SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA:** How can you call the Minister? Other Members are there who have not spoken and they want to speak; otherwise, how will the Minister reply?

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI):** It cannot go on both ways.

**SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA:** But the Leader of the House agrees that we may sit late.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI):** Assam discussion also is to be over for which one full day is allotted. If you want this to be over, I can call the Minister latest by 4. So, Mr. Sinha, you can go on and finish in 3-4 minutes. And I call the Minister at 4.

**SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK:** But everybody wants to have a say on this.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI):** Yes, Mr. Sinha, please conclude in 3-4 minutes.

**SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA:** I was talking about the role of the monopolies. I have said how these monopolists have grown. Now, before his death, in the autumn of 1963, the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wrote:

"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."

This was in 1963 when Pandit Nehru felt that we are drifting away from the goal of socialism. But now we have drifted far away. And you are even now talking of your correct direction! I do not understand it.

Sir, the other day figures of the registered unemployed persons on the live registers of the employment exchanges were published. In mid-1981, the number of registered unemployed was 1,63,00,000. Of them graduates are 13.89 lakhs and post-graduates are 1.34 lakhs.

These are some of your achievements. I do not want to say that our country has not achieved anything.

The Plan document correctly points out that as compared to the stagnation of the period of the British rule, we have made progress. That is good. I admit, there has been progress. But what is the result of the progress? Now, the other day, in our House, certain figures were given by the Government in a statement in answer to Question No. 324, on 8-9-81. Now, as compared to the industrially developed countries, our per capita income is about 1/50th of the industrially advanced countries. The relationship is 1:49.7. But if we take all the under-developed countries together, the relationship is 1:41. This means, even as compared to the other under-developed countries, we have lagged behind. We are falling back. We have not been able to make up the lag. An economist of the UNCTAD Secretariat, Surendra J. Patel, had given some figures. "Since 1950, for instance, our share in the world output has fallen from 2.1 per cent to only 1.3 per cent. Our per capita income in 1950 was one eighth of the world average. Now, it is one twelfth. Our share in world industrial output, as a broad measure, was well over one per cent in 1950. Now, it has shrunk to 0.8 per cent. The United Kingdom was proud to present us towards the end of the colonial period as the

world's tenth most important industrial nations. Now, in the league for industrial importance, we have moved way down the ladder to the twenty second place." Hence, even as compared to the end of the British rule, we have moved down, in relation to even the other under-developed countries.

The point is, the pace of our advance, the rate of our progress, has been miserably slow, so that we are not able to solve any problem. That is because we have taken a wrong direction. The pattern of development which we have adopted—I have no time to go into all these details—is, a high cost economy, a high cost industry, a high cost agriculture and so on, based on imported technology and imported POL products. I just put this as a formulation. We can discuss this later on in details. Sir, the capital output ratio in our economy has increased. Therefore, exports have to be subsidised, wages have to be cut, prices paid to the farmers have to be cut and the whole country is in a mess. What is to be done? Now, Sir, comparisons with other countries do not help us. Ours is a specific problem. This is a problem of our own. For example, an American economist, Rostow, gave figures of the compound annual rates of growth of the advanced capitalist countries during the period of their development. In regard to the United Kingdom, between 1801 and 1891, its compound annual rate of growth varied between 2.2 per cent and 3.3 per cent, in different decades. That of France varied between 1.1 per cent and 2 per cent during different decades between 1840 and 1912. Of Germany, it was 2.6 per cent, between 1850 and 1913. Whereas, our average compound annual rate of growth was 3.5 per cent for thirty years. Hence, our rate of growth is not bad, compared to the European countries. But even with this rate of growth, they could transform themselves, they could modernise their economy, they could

industrialise their country. But we have not been able to do it. Why?

The reasons have to be searched not in the text-books written by western economists belonging to capitalist countries. They do not understand our conditions. Even our planners in the Second Plan laid down certain targets for rates of saving and capital investment rose above 20 per cent. We have achieved that target. Our rate of savings is 23 or 24 per cent; we are having an annual growth rate of 3.5 per cent; yet we remain one of the poorest countries.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Now will you cooperate with me?

SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA: I am concluding, Sir. And we contain the largest number of people living below the poverty line in the world. What is to be done? This Plan, in any case, has become out-of-date and irrelevant. What is the use of going on with this plan? So I would request the hon. Minister for Planning to consult his colleagues in the Cabinet and the Prime Minister as to why this Plan should not be withdrawn. Let a Parliamentary Committee be appointed to frame a new plan with radically changed policies, not by using the official jargon which means nothing today and which will not lead our country to any definite position.

Sir, the geo-political situation around our country is worsening day by day. Our economic condition is far from happy. Politically, the very system of parliamentary democracy is under attack. The people are groaning under poverty and exploitation. Things cannot go on like this. And one of the keys to the solution of the whole problem lies in having a radically changed, real "people's plan" which will lead to the amelioration of the conditions of the working class people and which will unshackle the vast productive forces which are now being kept down by the outmoded systems of production like semi-feudal

[Shri Indradeep Sinha]

landlordism and monopoly capitulation and which will unleash the forces of production which can take our country forward.

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am very thankful to you for this opportunity to participate in this discussion. We are discussing a document which deals with the fate of 600 millions of this country. The father of the idea of planned economy was no other man than Lenin. To accelerate economic growth within the resources available in the country and also to make the country an industrial power and self-reliant, Lenin adopted the concept of planned economic development. The great October Revolution and also the spectacular achievements of the plans influenced the thinking of the leaders even before Independence. So when we got freedom, our leaders, particularly Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, adopted the policy of planned economic development.

Sir, if we summarise the achievements of the first five Five Year Plans, we can put it thus in a nutshell: the growth rate of national income, which was envisaged in the First Five Year Plan as 12 per cent, unexpectedly rose to 18 per cent. In the next Plan, 25 per cent was earmarked, but we achieved 20 per cent. In the Third Plan, the first four years witnessed a growth rate of upto 20 per cent, but the fifth and final year witnessed a sharp decline.

And in the Fourth and Fifth Plans the growth rate was very low. Now this Sixth Plan has envisaged to the extent of Rs. 1,957 crores, more than double the amount of the Fifth Plan and also as against Rs. 1,500 crores which was earmarked in the old Sixth Five-Year Plan by the Janata Government.

Sir, have we succeeded in our attempts? This is the question many Members have put. Have we succeeded in eradicating poverty? No. Have

we succeeded in abolishing hunger? No. Have we succeeded in banishing ignorance and also all sorts of social evils? No. Have we succeeded in building up the necessary infrastructure? No. But, at the same time, you cannot deny the fact that we have achieved success and made some achievements in certain spheres. Particularly, on the food front we have succeeded. Of course, more than 40 per cent of our population are still living below the poverty line. Anyhow, we have succeeded in our food production. We have got buffer stocks; we can even export. But, on the other hand, the painful paradox is, we are importing now. But I am not going into that problem. My time is very short.

Then, what should be done? Can we change our path? I am not here to associate myself with the Members who want to change the priorities or to divert the path or to have a re-look at the Plan itself. I am not for that. We have gone a long way. Twenty-five years have passed. What should be done now? In the review of the Plan for the year 1980-81, the Government itself has accepted that we have failed in our implementation. We have not succeeded in implementation. We have not succeeded in tackling the population problem. Sir, the problem is very serious. Unless we tackle the population problem which is growing as a serious menace to this country, we cannot succeed. Otherwise we will be pouring milk into a pot which has a hole in the bottom. So, that problem should be properly tackled. That is why in the review meeting we have decided to tackle the problem and also it was decided in the Annual Plan for the year 1981-82 to give priority to energy and other sectors.

Sir, in this context I would like to draw the attention of the House and also of the Minister to one fact. We have paid heavily because of the Plan holidays. Between the years 1966 and 1969 we had actually abandoned the Plan. Of course, there were Annual Plans, but we had virtually abandoned the Plan for three years. Again, from

1977, for three years there was a Plan holiday. Actually we have deviated from the path.

Again I come to the point that is, about the priorities we have allotted. We have decided that we should give priority to energy. We got the initiative from Lenin, we got the initiative from Soviet Russia, when we adopted Plan but we failed to analyse the reasons for the success of the Plan in that country. There, energy was given priority and they succeeded in that sector whereas we have failed. As to whether we will succeed now, I have got my own doubts.

We have not explored the possibilities of developing alternative sources of energy. Only on paper we are seeing them. You will see that China has taken a lead in this respect, definitely. We have to take a lesson from the Chinese people in this respect. Of course, in today's morning papers the news has come that solar cookers will be available for us before the end of this year in the market. I saw it in the papers. But you see, in China solar heaters, with a total area of 70,000 square metres are now being used, saving an amount of 20,000 tonnes of coal a year. Also, latest statistics show that 200,000 solar stoves are in daily use in China.

3 P.M.

So alternate sources of energy have been developed. But what is the Energy Minister doing about it? The other day he boasted that he is tackling the problem and that he is prosperously marching on the road. But I would quote from the Financial Express of September 7, 1981: "Sixth Plan power scheme in jeopardy" because the Energy Ministry is ignoring the Central Electricity Board. I quote: "A more serious problem is the Central Electricity Authority which was created as an apex body to formulate plans, supervise their implementation, ensure overall co-ordination is ignored by the Energy Ministry on all important matters. Senior officials admit that organisation is side-tracked by the Ministry

on vital matters in the power sector. At best, it is allowed to act as a post office in spite of being a supreme body in charge of power development in the country. CEA personnel at the top managerial and technical level express frustration that the matters have been allowed to drift. Besides, there is a developing shortage of technical manpower at the levels of planning, designing and monitoring of construction and operation. And also the Plan envisages the creation of an additional capacity of 19,666 MW by 1985." Sir, I draw the attention of the Planning Minister to one thing. Your aim is high, 19,666 MW by 1985. But what is the fact? For the first year, 1980-81 the target was fixed at 2700 MW and what you have achieved the actual realization, is only 1800 MW; thus leaving a gap of 900 MW. For the current year, a similar target has been fixed; but you cannot achieve it. And also the recent exercises by the Energy Ministry have indicated that the power planners shall be lucky—I again repeat, lucky—if 1300 MW are added to the capacity at the end of the year. What are you going to achieve? You cannot achieve this. So, with regard to the problem of energy, you have to explore the possibilities of developing alternate sources of energy.

Sir, before I conclude my speech, there is another very important problem that I would like to put before this House. I will take only three or four minutes.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI):** Not four.

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:** Sir, the problem of unemployment and under-employment is a serious one. According to the data which has been furnished in the Plan document at page 205, the back log—that is of those between the ages of 15 and 59; I have left the 5+ group—so far is 22.73 million. And what will it be at the end of 1985? Another 87.66 million. The figure is very much alarming. Then I would like to say that it is not the whole thing. It is stated here: "The backlog here takes

[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

note of only the long term unemployment; in addition, there would be seasonal unemployment and part-time under-employment prevalent largely in labour households." Then again I quote from page 206 of the Plan document: "At the present rate of growth, the organised sector can provide only four to five million regular additional jobs in the course of the Sixth Plan period." You can provide only 4-5 million additional jobs. And there is also the problem of the educated unemployed. The number of the unemployed is large, but the problem of the educated unemployed is a very serious one. While we face the problem of the Naxalites, it is well to remember that it is the outburst due to socio-economic conditions. When they find no channel to live, when they find that the degrees they got from the universities are of no value, they turn to be Naxalites. You cannot tackle this problem by physically annihilating them, eliminating them. But that is what is going on. You cannot solve the problem by physically eliminating them. Unless the educated people when they come out of the universities with degrees are guaranteed employment, definitely there are going to be Kanu Sanyal and such other people. This is a very serious problem. Regarding unemployment, what is your solution? Now you have decided that the Sixth Plan has recommended the formation of District Manpower Planning and Employment Generation Cells and also you have called for a new deal for Group Self-Employment Schemes. Anyhow, Sir, the picture is very much dismal. You cannot solve.... (Time bell rings). I studied the Document thoroughly. There is no solution for this unemployment problem. You cannot solve the problem with this unless drastic measures are taken. The unemployment problem and also the problem of population growth both are two sides of a coin. You must tackle the problem from that angle if you want to succeed. I wish this country marched in the

right direction and the direction which has been given by the leaders who were for the Plan. And also let us work on the hurdles we face, and...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Mr. Gopalsamy, your three minutes and four minutes both have gone. Now, please conclude. I hope this is a gentleman's word.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I am so glad and so thankful to the Vice-Chairman for this opportunity. We cannot solve the problem with the present state of affairs. I hope the Government is also considering this seriously. Many Members from the Opposition side have given concrete suggestions. I was listening with rapt attention to Shri Sankar Ghose. He has given concrete suggestions regarding the building up of the infrastructure. So on those lines, I hope, the Government will try to march on.

Thank you, very much.

डा० खर प्रताप सिंह (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, आपका मैं हृदय से आभारी हूँ जो आपने मुझको छठी पंच वर्षीय योजना के प्रारूप पर इस सम्मानित सदन में अपने विचार प्रकट करने का अवसर दिया है। मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

इतने कम समय में ऐसे गम्भीर और गहन एवं विस्तृत विषय पर अपने विचार को प्रकट कर पाना बहुत कठिन कार्य है, फिर भी मैं सीमित समय में योजना के कुछ प्रमुख विषयों पर निवेदन करूँगा। सर्वप्रथम मैं भारत की महान प्रधान मंत्री जी को इस बात के लिए धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि उनके नेतृत्व में, उनके मार्गदर्शन में यह जो पंचवर्षीय योजना का प्रारूप तैयार किया गया है, यह भारत की कोटि-कोटि जनता



की आवश्यकताओं, भावनाओं तथा आकांक्षाओं के अनुरूप है।

श्रीमन, भारत एक कृषि-प्रधान देश है। कृषि की उन्नति के द्वारा ही राष्ट्र की उन्नति सम्भव है। मुझको प्रसन्नता इस बात की है कि योजना में कृषि के महत्व को देखते हुए, उसको प्राथमिकता प्रदान की गई है। साथ ही साथ राष्ट्र खाद्यान्न में आत्म-निर्भर हुआ है। उसके लिए मैं सरकार को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ।

मेरा सुझाव है कि योजना बनाते समय इस बात पर ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए कि कश्मीर से कन्या कुमारी तक, कच्छ से लेकर कामरूप तक समस्त ग्राम सभाएं सड़कों से जुड़ सकें, समस्त खेतों को पानी मिल सके और साथ ही साथ समस्त विकास खंडों के मुख्यालयों पर कृषि मंडी समितियों की स्थापना हो सके जिससे कृषक को अपने द्वारा उत्पादित वस्तुओं का उचित मूल्य मिल सके। प्रसन्नता की बात है कि शिक्षा को समवर्ती सूची में रखा गया है। इस के साथ ही अब शिक्षा मंत्रालय के अधिकारों और कर्तव्यों में वृद्धि हुई है। प्रस्तुत योजना में शिक्षा के प्रचार, शिक्षा के प्रसार और शिक्षा के स्तर के सुधार में ध्यान रखा गया है। मेरा सुझाव है कि शिक्षा को व्यापार-मूलक बनाया जाए और शिक्षा में नैतिक शिक्षा और सैनिक शिक्षा को अनिवार्य अंग बनाया जाए।

इसके अतिरिक्त मैं यह भी सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ कि विदेशों के साथ सांस्कृतिक संबंध स्थापित करने की दिशा में अब तक जो प्रयास किए गए हैं वे सराहनीय हैं मगर इससे अधिक प्रयास किया जा सके इस के लिए योजना में अधिक प्रावधान की आवश्यकता है

क्योंकि सांस्कृतिक संबंध के आधार पर ही हमारे संबंध दूसरे देशों के साथ मधुर और प्रगाढ़ होंगे।

श्रीमन, प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी सदैव ही अनुसूचित जातियों, अनुसूचित जन-जातियों और महिलाओं के प्रति ध्यान रहा है। इस योजना में भी उनका ध्यान रखा गया है। मैं सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ कि नीति के द्वारा हम उनको जो लाभ पहुंचाना चाहते हैं उस का उन्हें लाभ मिल सके और इस में जो बाधाएं आती हैं उन को देखने की आवश्यकता है। विशेष रूप से ध्यान दिए जाने की आवश्यकता है उस कार्य में जो भी बाधक तत्व हों, जहां से बाधा आती हो जो भी उनके साथ अत्याचार या शोषण करते हों उनके साथ कठोर से कठोर व्यवहार किया जाना चाहिए।

श्रीमन, यह सदन इस बात पर एकमत है कि देश में बेकारी और बेरोजगारी की समस्या बहुत गम्भीर है। मेरा दृढ़ मत है कि जब तक बढ़ती हुई जनसंख्या पर नियंत्रण नहीं पाया जाता है तब तक इस देश की बेकारी और बेरोजगारी की समस्या का अंत नहीं हो सकता है इसलिए यह आवश्यक है कि देश के जन-प्रतिनिधि इस दिशा में स्वयं परिवार नियोजन को अपना कर, स्वयं नसबन्दी को अपना कर उदाहरण प्रस्तुत कर सकें जिससे देश में परिवार नियोजन के लिए वातावरण बन सके। परिवार नियोजन के द्वारा ही देश की जनसंख्या पर नियंत्रण पाया जा सकता है।

इस के अतिरिक्त मैं यह भी सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ कि जिस तरह से प्रदेशों में लैंड सीलिंग की गई है, तो उस भूमि का जो मूल्य होता है और उस भूमि से

[इंद्र प्रताप सिंह]

जितना उत्पादन होता है उतनी उस प्रदेश में किसी परिवार के पास उतने ही मूल्य की सम्पत्ति रहनी चाहिए और उतने ही मूल्य के अन्य साधन रहने चाहिए क्योंकि यह किसानों के साथ पक्षपात है कि किसानों की धरती पर सीलिंग कर दो। किसानों की धरती उनकी आय का साधन थी। किसानों की धरती उनकी सम्पत्ति थी। आपने उनके सम्पत्ति को सीलिंग की, आपने उनके आय के साधन पर भी सीलिंग की, तो मैं चाहूंगा कि सामाजिक न्याय की दृष्टि से जितनी भूमि पर सीलिंग की है, मूल्य से अधिक की सम्पत्ति किसी परिवार के पास न रहे और उस से जितनी आमदनी होती है उससे अधिक की आमदनी किसी परिवार के पास न रहे।

इस के अतिरिक्त सरकार के द्वारा अभी तक जो भूमि-सुधार के कार्य किए गए वे सराहनीय हैं फिर भी बहुत से जमींदार हैं देश के अन्दर, बड़े भू-स्वामी हैं, जिन्होंने जमीनों की चोरी कर रखी है। उस की जांच की विशेष व्यवस्था की जाए, उन से जमीनों निकासी जाएं और गरीब हरिजनों में बांटी जाएं।

श्रीमन्, प्रसन्नता की बात है कि सरकार क्षेत्रीय असंतुलन को दूर करने के लिए वचनबद्ध है, कृत संकल्प है और कार्य-रत है। मैं माननीय मंत्री जी का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करना चाहूंगा कि सम्पूर्ण भारत में उत्तर प्रदेश एक बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ प्रदेश है और उत्तर प्रदेश में जनपद सुल्तानपुर और रायबरेली विशेष रूप से पिछड़े हुए हैं। उन पर विशेष ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए। मैं सरकार को इस बात के लिए बधाई देना चाहता हूँ कि आज भारत का जो

बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ भाग है उत्तर पूर्व का उस की ओर विशेष ध्यान दिया गया है।

श्रीमन्, भारत की अखंडता और प्रभुसत्ता के लिए सीमा की सुरक्षा पर विशेष ध्यान दिया जाना अनिवार्य है। मुझे इस बात की प्रसन्नता है कि हमारी सरकार का इस ओर ध्यान है। और मैं अपनी बात को दुबारा दोहराना चाहता हूँ कि इस बात की व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिए कि देश में प्रत्येक नागरिक को अनिवार्य सैनिक शिक्षा प्रदान की जाय।

इस के साथ-साथ देश की आन्तरिक व्यवस्था को बनाये रखने के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि देश में जो साम्प्रदायिक शक्तियाँ, पृथक्तावादी शक्तियाँ, विघटनकारी शक्तियाँ हैं उन का दृढ़ता के साथ दमन किया जाना चाहिए।

श्रीमन्, भारत की कोटि-कोटि जनता का यह विश्वास है कि विश्व की महान प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व वाली सरकार के द्वारा छठी योजना का जो प्रारूप बनाया गया है उस से राष्ट्र का सन्तुलित विकास होगा, समस्याओं का निराकरण होगा और राष्ट्र प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में आत्मनिर्भरता को प्राप्त कर सकेगा। श्रीमन्, अन्त में मैं एक सवाई पढ़ कर अपनी बात को समाप्त कहंगा :

ध्येय पाने को स्वयं पैर बढ़ाना होगा।  
पथ के पत्थर को स्वयं दूर हटाना होगा।  
दूसरा कौन तेरे प्रश्न का उत्तर देगा ?  
अपने ही मन का तुझे दीव जलाना होगा।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं पूजनीय प्रधान मंत्री जी को, अपने योजना मंत्री जी को, अपने योजना मंत्रालय को बधाई देते हुए छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना के प्रति प्रबल समर्थन व्यक्त करता हूँ।

SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Sixth Five Year Plan presented to us, I very humbly submit, is not even worth the paper on which it is printed. About the direction, Comrade Indradeep Sinha has spoken and I do not want to repeat the same. A Plan which has no direction, a Plan which is only meant for *status quo*, not only *status quo*, a Plan which increases disparity and inequality, a Plan which takes the country back economically, cannot be said to be a Plan at all. The Planning Minister has expressed some pious hopes and said inflation is the main obstacle. Yes, you have identified it. But unfortunately, if I may make a little digression, the Planning Ministry is a dumping ground for unwanted Ministers. A man of Mr. Chavan's standing and experience, one who is doing good work, has been dumped there. So you can see the seriousness of it. You have identified inflation. But how do you solve it? The Finance Ministry which is in charge, is taking steps towards increasing inflation. The Industry Ministry, the Agriculture Ministry, they are following policies which will increase inflation. So for what purpose are you identifying a malady for which you have no remedy? Already the Budget of this country is dependent on 75 per cent loans from outside and we have to go begging to the World Bank and other international monetary institutions. How can you plan when your budget is dependent to that extent on foreign resources? Only the other day we were told that Rs. 5,000 crores are coming from the International Monetary Fund with all their conditions to which we have agreed. And these conditions have not been disclosed. All these will lead to further inflation.

Then we have an economy of shortages. When you are following a policy of economy of shortages, do you think that inflation can be contained? Who does not know that there is economy of shortages?

Then there is Black money. After the Supreme Court decision on the black bonds, even in black bonds there is black market. Yes there is black market in black bonds.

Do you think that with all these phenomena and all these policies and steps you will be able to contain inflation? And if you cannot contain inflation and if inflation is allowed to go on then as my friend Shri Indradeep Sinha asked, what is this Plan worth for? That is why I said in the beginning that this Plan is not worth even the paper on which it has been printed.

My friend said that today it is 37 per cent and I say it will go on increasing. In the industrial sector you have put some targets. But what is your Industrial Policy Resolution of 1980? Your Industrial Policy Resolution provides for automatic expansion, regularisation of excess capacity and export oriented economy. Tell me, Mr. Planning Minister, with all these policies you are following do you think you can achieve your targets? Can anybody plan with these policies of automatic expansion? I would like to have an answer to this from the Planning Minister when he replies to the debate. If there is automatic expansion, where is your target? If there is regularisation of excess capacity, what will happen to you target? With an export oriented economy how can you plan? That depends on the vagaries of international supply and demand position and to a certain extent international political situation. How can you forecast these?

Now come to agricultural sector. After you have completed the Fifth Plan successfully, you are going in for massive import. What will happen to your target in this sector? In the Plan where is the provision for flood, drought and other vagaries of nature? The whole Gangetic plain is floating on water. It can be turned into the world's bread basket. But how can you do it with the priority

(Shri G. C. Bhattacharya)

you have given for irrigation? How will you be able to tap this resource? If you have a plan to tackle this region, then you would have contained drought to some extent.

Coming to flood, you have a flood committee report. I do not know whether this fact has been brought to your notice because I do not find any reflection of it in this Plan document. They are in the three or four volumes and they are gathering dust somewhere. Not a single thing has been noted from them nor is there any direction to implement the programmes or to do anything to control the floods. They do not find any reflection here.

Then, Sir, I come to the question of energy. Sir, today, it is agreed that if you want a forward economy, if you want a developed economy, you will have to go in for fusion energy. But what is your plan? Your plan is for some solar energy at the most and for some pretty things. Of course, other things are there. But, as I said, those things will keep your economy more backward. So, in that field also, your priority is wrong. Unless you plan for fusion energy, atomic energy, you cannot solve the problem of energy and if the energy problem is not solved, neither your economy will improve nor your agricultural production will improve nor your industrial production will pick up and you will not be able to achieve your targets. hen, Sir, I come to the question of land reforms. Some of my friends have talked about this problem.

[The Vice-Chairman, (Shri Arvind Ganesh Kulkarni) in the Chair]

You are talking about land reforms here. But do you know that those who have gone in for land reforms sincerely, those Chief Ministers and other Ministers who have gone in for land reforms sincerely, have been dismissed and have been replaced on

the plea that if they implement the land reforms there will be some commotion in the rural side? How can you have any plan for agriculture without land reforms? (*Time bell rings*) Therefore, without plugging the loopholes in the land ceiling laws, whatever you say about agriculture or land reforms, etc. will only be pious hopes and nothing else. (*Time bell rings*).

Then, Sir, I come to the issue of unemployment. About the unemployment problem, I can only say—Many of my friends have spoken about it—that you have not planned to reduce unemployment, but you have planned only to increase unemployment. With data I will be able to show how this is so. But, since the Vice-Chairman is ringing the bell, I will not go into the details. I would only say that you have planned for more unemployment. The more you have planned, the greater is the unemployment in the country. So, this is the state of the unemployment problem. (*Time bell rings*). Just one minute, Sir.

Sir, Jawaharlal Nehru dreamed of establishing a socialistic pattern of society in the country and he started planning and he came to the conclusion that in due course of time with the public sector reaching the commanding heights, we would be able to do away with the capitalist system and we would be able to have a socialist system. But, today, what is happening? Almost in all the important public sector industries there are no Chairman or Managing Directors and this has become a regular thing.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Mr. Bhattacharya, you have got only one minute.

SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA: In one minute I will finish, Sir, and I will obey your word.

Sir, what is the direction in the Plan regarding the ideas of Jawaharlal Nehru of the public sector attaining the commanding heights? Today, what

has happened? Sir, the public sector units are gradually being finished off. You say, "I give more allocations." But don't go by the figures. Look at the practical things and see what is happening. In the public sector you are producing steel. But there is a glut of steel in the market because you are also importing steel. I do not know why this import mania is there and I do not know what charm is there in importing; may be slush money and things like that. (*Time bell rings*). Therefore, I say that you are going in for the negative side of planning because you have given up the theory of the public sector unit attaining the commanding heights. You are going in for the appeasement of the monopoly houses, for the appeasement of the landlords, for the appeasement of the black money holders and for the appeasement of the middle-men and the middle-men culture. All these things are taking you not towards the direction of planning, but in the opposite direction. Therefore, whatever Plan is there, I repeat, is not worth the paper on which it is written. Thank-you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Yes, Mr. Raju. We have got ten minutes each now.

SHRI V. B. RAJU: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I do not know what purpose this debate would serve and how it will help the Minister or the Government for that matter. One year implementation has taken place, and we have the document of the performance for one year before us. We are already half-way in the second year of the Sixth Plan. It would have been excusable if we had a plan for discussion mid-term appraisal. Or—of course, I do not blame the present Minister; I only say to the Government—we had an opportunity at the time of the framing of the Fifth Five Year Plan and the then Planning Commission had organised the Parliament into commit-

tees on the draft Plan and discussed it thoroughly and Parliament was able to contribute within the committees something. Anyhow, this discussion will give us an opportunity to review our achievements in the first three decades of planning and also a probe in to the shortcomings and failures.

Sir, what has actually resulted out of three decades of planning? As it has been already said in the House, the economic growth or what you call it wealth or national income growth was only 2.5 per cent as the average. And what has resulted ultimately? Today 51 per cent of the rural population, as the Plan Document reveals, and 38 per cent of the urban population, is below the poverty line. There is no quarrel about the goals of planning, that is, growth, self-reliance, modernisation, social justice; there is no quarrel about it. But every plan has a milestone. We want a critical document before us, the Parliament. The defect lies in the Planning Commission being a creation of the Executive. The Planning Commission is not a statutory body, and, in my opinion, if justice is to be done to the Parliament, the Planning Commission must be answerable to the Parliament: the Planning Commission must be a watchdog of the Parliament's interests in this respect, not the mouth-piece of the Executive. A huge empire has been built in the planning commission. We had made a suggestion earlier that the Finance Commission and the Planning Commission should be combined and it should be a continuing and full-time body. The Finance Commission is constituted only for the purpose of devolution of revenues and dissolved. It should not be so. These two bodies should be combined. I am sure the Planning Minister is a person who respects democratic institutions and particularly the Parliament. It is one of my suggestions that to do justice to Parliament the Planning Commission must be a statutory body and the Fi-

[Shri V. B. Raju]

nance Commission must be combined with the Planning Commission to help the Parliament for a critical analysis. Now we have to depend only on the Plan Report which we have got. Whatever little criticism is made for us, only that is available to us.

Now, what has been the agricultural progress? It is only 2.7 per cent. Top 30 per cent in the rural areas, the top 30 per cent, have 82 per cent of the assets. 30 per cent at the bottom have only 2 per cent. Whatever programme you take up for the improvement of agriculture and for the betterment of the rural population, in terms of actually giving them water, electricity and inputs and giving them subsidies, the greater share will go to the top 30 per cent, and the disparities get further widened. This is actually the weakness in the structure itself? The rural areas are a challenge to us. Therefore, in agricultural development, it is the overall rate of growth which is important. Even the water that has been impounded for the irrigation projects has not been fully utilised. Till now the Planning Minister has not told us whether we should use so much of water for paddy cultivation. If you come to the paddy growing areas, you will see how much water is actually being wasted and on the other hand only 28 per cent of the actually sown area has been irrigated. Therefore, there is actually a duty cast on the Planning Minister and the Planning Commission to critically analyse why we have failed.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, in fact the comparisons may be vertical and also horizontal. As it has been said, 51 per cent of the rural population is below the poverty line. I do not know whether I can set a dent being made on poverty in my lifetime. Horizontally, we have to see where we are when compared with other nations of the world. The World Bank has prepared statistics for 125 countries and 25 countries have been grouped as the low income developing countries and

we are one of those 25 countries. We are placed as the 15th country from the bottom and we are below the 170 dollar per capita income. We are actually considered as one of the poorest countries in our region. Half the world's poor lives in this region. Our challenge is the poverty. In fact, we do not discuss that in this House. How painful it is to sit in this House nowadays? There is practically no link between the aspiration of the people and the acrobatics in this House. There is such a wide gap. So, Mr. Vice-Chairman, the three decades of planning have revealed that our strategy is not the needed strategy and it is not the correct strategy. We have to change the strategy. There is one more thing. Apart from this failure, we have a corrupt society which is actually fattening. So, a time has come when you have to discuss whether the regulatory controls on price, movement and distribution and control on production have worked efficiently. Whether the objectives of increasing productivity and production and of reducing disparities and containing price rise has been achieved or not. When I was a child, my mother gave me milk in a bottle with the nipple. When I have become adult, how ridiculous would it be if my mother says that I should drink milk with the bottle? There is no doubt that the developing economy needs some sort of controls. The World Bank Report also has commented in 1980 that these controls have worked favourable for the top rich. Today, you get cement for multi-storeyed buildings but you don't get cement, just 5 bags or ten bags, for the common man. Apart from corruption and other things we must look up these controls are working? Overnight, hundred crores of rupees have been amassed by the sugar magnates. A new class has come up by the system we are working. It is not a party question. It is a national question. This is one thing.

My second point is this. Let me take the 1981 report because we

cannot close our eyes on it. The Planning Commission makes an assessment and says that we have an extra production of 24 million tonnes of foodgrains if I remember correctly, in 1980-81. While claiming any one side that increase of 24 million tonnes has taken place you import 2 million tonnes. Mr. Minister, your chief objective is self reliance. You say that the production of edible oils has gone up. The production of sugar has gone up. I do not want to trouble the House with figures.

You are importing edible oil worth Rs. 600 to 800 crores. What is it you are not importing? You are importing cement, you are importing steel, you are importing even coking coal. Where is your self-reliance? I can understand about crude oil. But what about other commodities? How they demoralise the nation? Can the nation take the words of the Government and the Planning Commission that they are true words? And then, Mr. Gopalsamy has raised a point, a very relevant point. In the very first year itself you have planned for the installation of capacity of generation of electricity of 2,750 MWs. There is a short-fall of 500 to 600 MWs in the installed capacity. What has happened in Railway performance? In 1976-77, we reached a revenue-paying freight movement of 212 million tonnes. And this year, in 1980-81, it was only 195 million tonnes, marginally higher than 1979-80. You were criticising the Janata Government for it. With all this effort, with all the effort of the Cabinet Sub-Committee you could not reach 195 million tonnes, and you are giving bonus. You must find out whether there is a motivation for work or not. It is no use finding a scapegoat. It is not for winning a point that we are arguing this. I am feeling very much distressed after having seen the 1980-81 performance.

Mr. Minister, I would be very much obliged, the Parliament would be

obliged if you could allot a day for discussing the 1980-81 performance, the performance of the first year of the Plan. That will be more relevant. Before you commit further mistakes, we will be able to tell you something.

Lastly, Sir, the time has come when this Parliament has to work in Committees. And I hope the Minister will take the initiative to have a Parliamentary Committee of both the Houses for Planning. I am sure, in the Committee, the Minister will be benefited very much.

I am thankful to you, Sir, for giving me the time to speak on this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Now, Shri Pant you have ten minutes, please.

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA PANT. (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I can count upon your indulgence up to a point.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): And there is one more speaker.

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA PANT I can even count upon the indulgence of the Minister, perhaps, and we can stretch it a little.

Sir, I welcome Shri Chavan as the Planning Minister. He has a wealth of experience behind him and he brings a fresh mind to this task. The fact that he was the Education Minister, before he came to Planning may well be to the benefit of the country specially and I can only hope that he will establish a credible nexus between Education and Employment. I will not go into the other aspects of educational reform.

Sir, this Plan has not really been made by Shri Chavan. And now he has to see to its implementation. And in this one and a half years, many things have happened which have altered some of the assumptions on

[Shri Krishna Chandra Pant]

which it is based. A reference has been made to this by the speakers who spoke earlier and I will not elaborate the point. The price rise has been sharp. It has been a double figure inflation in both the years. And always the problem is not of financial outlays but of the physical content of those outlays. And so, the biggest question in our minds is whether the physical content of the financial outlays can be preserved from further erosion in the rest of the Plan because there does not appear to be any prospect of any sharp decline in prices, the way things are going, prices have not come under control. And apart from the general anxiety that this has caused to the housewife in particular and to the country as whole, what impact this will have on the Plan is of the matters which concerns everyone.

The second point is whether the States have mobilised the resources which they had promised or which had been stipulated in the Plan. My impression is that they have fallen behind. How the Central Government can make that up is another point or whether the States can be pressurised into making it up and whether the Government of India has enough leverage to make the States adhere to those resource mobilisation targets. Sir, the deficit financing target was about Rs. 5 thousand crores for the Plan. I think about Rs. 3,500 or Rs. 4000 crores deficit is already there in one and a half years. How is this to be reconciled with this target and what impact will it have on the Plan? And, then there is the balance of payments question. This has been covered by other friends too. But the point that I want to make is that the Petroleum Minister keeps on saying that he will double the production of petroleum in two years. The target of production was 21.6 million tonnes by the end of the Plan. By any reckoning it should be 28 to 29 million tonnes, which means

another income of Rs. 3,000 crores. If this is realised then the entire balance of payments picture will change by the end of the Plan and the energy picture will change. Does the Planning Minister endorse the projections of the Petroleum Minister in this respect and if so, the entire Plan will take on a different complexion and this, I think, is one of the points which should have been cleared by the Planning Minister in his presentation, because it is very vital.

Sir, on the question of poverty the only thing that I can say is that bolder initiatives are necessary. Forty-eight per cent people, as has been pointed out, still live below the poverty line and we have a food surplus which is really unreal in terms of the nutritional needs of the people. And, so the question is whether it is the landless or whether it is the small or marginal farmers, or artisans, or the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes or other poorer and weaker sections of the community, what bold initiatives can we take? What can we do to show that we really mean business. Sir, there are two concrete steps that I would suggest. One is in relation to urban areas. There are still in this country people who carry on their heads loads of waste of other people, scavengers. I cannot imagine anything more degrading to human dignity than this. Can we not stop this? Have a timebound programme and stop this practice and provide alternative employment to scavengers in all the cities. The second thing is that the poorest sections in the rural areas, the landless labour, does not even get the minimum wages. Let us not talk of big things. But, at least, can we not ensure his minimum wage? To do that one has to accept that the law of supply and demand operates in rural areas as well. Rural produce enables the agriculturist to get a reasonable price, you can only ensure a minimum wages for the agricultural landless worker



if you are able to offer him alternative employment opportunities, then the agriculturist is bound to give him that minimum wage. Can we do this? And, I think that if you want to do this and want to tackle the problem of educated unemployment, the basic question is do we recognise the right to work? I feel that the right to work should be recognised as a fundamental right in the Constitution. Then our minds will be attuned to the idea of having to provide work to everybody whether it is self-employment or employment otherwise or in services. But the right to work should be recognised as a fundamental right and I would suggest that within this decade there must be a national employment guarantee scheme and it should begin by guaranteeing employment to one person per family. That may be the beginning. But within the decade there must be a national employment guarantee scheme. This way one can bring all the energies of the nation to focus on this problem. I think employment is one of the weak sectors of this plan and unless this kind of focus is brought to bear on the problem, energies are dissipated and I do not think that we will make as rapid a progress as we can make, or should make, and the result will be that younger people will get frustrated which will have dangerous consequences.

The other thing is that even though we are not able to do all the things, certainly we can do more about tenancy reform, about security of tenure, we can do more about preparing land records. Is it not a shame that even proper land records are not there in many States? We can then certainly do more about consolidation. The Minister has promised a time-bound programme in some of these areas. I would request him to let us know what kind of a time-frame he has in mind. Similarly, we can do more about house-sites programme for the poor. I am sorry that the Janata plan had a higher al-

location for this than this plan. Some work has already been done; more could have been done; and I wish it had been done. (*Time bell rings*) I think it is not yet even eight minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): I have to caution you.

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA PANT: I will follow your example, you being our senior.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Don't put me in an embarrassing position when I am sitting here.

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA PANT: On the land reform question, the only thing I can say is, at least 5.5 million acres of land which has been identified, should be distributed. Even that has not been fully taken over and distributed. As a token of sincerity the Government should at least implement land reforms to that extent. Sir, land reforms will yield you 5.5 million acres. Our total arable land is about 350 million acres, and about 220 million acres of land lies waste. It has to be upgraded, to be reclaimed. I would strongly urge that there should be a land reclamation corporation in the country and even if a fraction of the land can be reclaimed, it will be far bigger than what you can get through land reforms. This is absolutely essential for afforestation. I will not go further into it. I think it is a very important concept which we must accept as one of the central concepts of our planning.

Sir, for the future, however it may look, at present water is going to be a major constraint and I would like the Planning Minister to give personal attention to regulate it. Without proper management water will prove to be a major constraint in agriculture, in urbanisation and in industry in future.

Sir, there is one more point and I will mention it in passing. We are using chemical fertilizers everywhere

[Shri Krishna Chandra Pant]

I am strongly for it. But it must be backed by soil testing; otherwise in the long run, there may be serious imbalances in the soil. I would suggest that soil testing must be adopted as a national programme.

Then there is one more small point, and that is that as the population is going up, fragmentation of land is taking place. In spite of the Hindu Code Bill, there are still joint Hindu families in rural areas and joint Muslim families also, which is cushioning the impact of the fragmentation that is taking place. The fragmentation of and is a reality and we have got to think of the consequences of fragmentation on the scale on which it is taking place and the pauperization that will result if this is not somehow checked. Therefore, this is a serious problem and this should also engage the immediate attention of the Government.

On the question of family planning—because all these are inter-related problems—I would like to tell the House that in China they have adopted family planning in a very effective way. By 1985 their annual increase is targeted to be 0.5 per cent; by the end of the century, it will be zero per cent. India will still be increasing its population at the rate of 1.2 per cent by the end of the century. China will stabilize its population at 1.2 billion; they want to aim at a lower figure. India at best will be able to stabilise at 1.2 billion long after China. So, I would like the hon. Minister to have a special ground to study this problem. Some people raise questions of religion—Hindus, Muslims, Christians. Sir, in Malaysia, in Indonesia, in Egypt, family planning has been adopted and in one of these countries, on every Friday, in churches, in mosques, in temples, the congregations are told by the priests that they must adopt family planning. Therefore, the question of religion does not come in. We have to create a national consensus in favour of a uniform law. I know it sounds dras-

tic. But the disease is drastic. Hence, the remedy has to be drastic. I know the problem which has been created by coercion at one time. But I think it is necessary now for us to look ahead and to create this national consensus and if we can do this, then, I think, it will be a big step in the right direction.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI):  
Can I call the next speaker?

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA PANT:  
I will conclude. The hon. Minister has said that they are paying special attention to the hill areas. I would like to tell him about one dam in my district for which I laid the foundation stone when I was in the Government and his predecessor presided over this meeting. Now, this dam has been scuttled and a barrage is being built in its place. I do not know how this kind of thing is going to help the hill areas. I thought, he should know about it. I hope, he will do something about it.

In the end, I would like the Planning Commission, to adopt a perspective plan approach, and to tell us, whether, by the end of the century at least we can reach, say, the European standards of the seventies or the eighties. Some broad perspectives should be provided so that our relative place in the world—this point has been made by Mr. Indradeep Sinha and Mr. Raju—in terms of economic growth can be fixed in relation to some targets. Then only, can we fix mobilise the energies of the nation to achieve those targets. This is a must. Without this, the energies can be dissipated. Thank you very much.

DR. MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH (Nominated): Sir, I share the views of hon. Members that this important document cannot be discussed in this short period. What we are doing is to throw at the Minister and the Commission a number of ideas for the future.

Now, though the word 'rolling plan' has now been set aside, at the end of every year, we look at the plan to see what has been achieved and what has not been achieved, as well as to find out whether some of the suggestions which are made are capable of being fitted into the Plan. We look at the Plan in that spirit.

I, for one, welcome the Sixth Plan. I welcome it for its positive elements. For example, the speed, the unusual speed, with which it has been prepared. In thirty years, we never had a Plan, we never prepared a Plan, within a short span of six months, which we have done in this case. I think, there is a basic continuity in the Plan. I personally believe, there is a broad consensus on the objectives of the Plan. This is evident even from the sharp criticism which my colleague, Mr. Bhattacharya, made. I think, there is a broad consensus on the objectives of the Plan. All of us are in agreement on the broad objectives, namely, to reduce poverty, to increase employment, to remove inequalities and to promote self-reliance. This is expression in ten different objectives in the Plan document, which the hon. Minister, in his presentation—I was not here yesterday—had really summarised under four heads. Then, in the Plan document, the growth rate has been fixed at 5.2 per cent, which is based on a very base year growth 1979-80. The Plan envisages an investment of Rs. 158,710 crores, of which the public sector is to get Rs. 84,000 crores. I also welcome the fact that the Plan document has laid down precise targets for poverty reduction. We start with 48.4 per cent poor and go down to 38.9, if there are no special measures. But with special measures, it will become 30. But I would like to point out to the hon. Minister that we are not achieving these targets, if we examine that we have done in the last one and half years. My suggestion for the future, immediate future is this. We should review the Plan in the light of the Census results. Bet-

ween the provisional estimates and the final estimates, when we get, there will be a gap of twelve million. The demographic experts in this country expect that instead of 684 million, it is likely to be between 695 and 700 million when the final estimates are received from Assam and Jammu and Kashmir.

This means that even at the 1.00 p.p.v. provisional figures, we have got to feed 12 million more people, we have got 25 million more children into the schools and we need hospitals and so on. So I take it that in the next year's plan at least, the census results will be shown.

The second point I want to make, which has not been mentioned, is about continuity in our Plans. According to my calculations, in the Third and the Fourth Plans something like 60 per cent of the resources proposed were available for new projects. According to my calculations, even with the large figure—we have a large figure of Rs. 84,000 crores as public sector outlay—80 per cent of it is already committed to on-going projects and only 20 per cent is for new projects. Now the Minister says that we have to take a long-term view and you cannot do it next year. But myself feel that one of the gravest problems we have in this country is the big distinction between the plan resources and the non-plan resources. You, in the Planning Commission called the Finance Commission is responsible for the non-plan resources. I believe there is a lot of uneconomic and unviable wastage as a result.

The third comment I would like to make is about the growth targets that are set forth in the Plan. Unlike my friend over here, I believe that they are modest and can be achieved provided three of the assumptions on which they are based come true and you must make them come true. The first assumption you have made is, what I regard as certain high rates of savings and investment. You assume that the savings will go up from 21.2 per cent of the Gross Domestic

(Dr. Malcolm S. Adiseshiah)

Product and to 24.5 per cent at the end of the Sixth Plan. I think this is a little optimistic, it is not impossible, because it represents, in economic terms, a marginal rate of saving of 33.3 per cent. I do not think we have ever gone beyond 25 per cent in terms of marginal rate of saving. So, special efforts have to be made if these targets are to be achieved.

With regard to the second assumption of the balance of payments, I feel there is going to be a crisis in the balance of payments by the end of the Plan. I compute that there will be something like Rs. 3000 to 4000 crores' shortfall in our foreign exchange resources at that time. I do not think we will have an annual growth rate of 9 per cent in exports; I do not think we can keep down imports to 7 to 9 per cent. I believe, again the balance of payments will erupt as a problem for us.

The third condition is inflation. Here I would simply say that the whole Plan document is established on the 1979-80 prices. Now in 1979-80, our prices rose by 17 per cent, in 1980-81, prices rose by 18 per cent and in 1981-82, my computation is that the rise should be somewhere between 12 and 15 per cent. This means that for the first two years of the Plan, in terms of 1979-80 prices, we are Rs. 7000 crores short. If we take the 1979-80 prices, which is what the Plan document does, then in these two years we have lost Rs. 7000 crores through the inflationary situation.

I end up by asking a question of the Planning Minister. I have heard it—because there are occasions when I communicate with you and the Planning Commission—that the commission has worked out new detailed annual Plan models both for forecasting purposes and decision-making purposes. What is very important is to cover both the public sector and the private sector. I do not know whether you, Mr. Minister,

would be in a position to give us any information on this, but if you cannot, I think you might make the information available to the members of the Committee of Economists to which I belong.

THE MINISTER OF PLANNING (SHRI S. B. CHAVAN): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, at the outset I must express my thanks to the hon. Members on both sides of the House who have participated in the discussion on the Sixth Five-Year Plan document. Honourable Members will very kindly appreciate that within the short time at my disposal, it will not be possible for me to clarify all the points which they have raised during the course of the discussion. I am going to confine my remarks to certain important aspects of the discussion, though I have taken note of almost all the points which hon. Members made during the course of the discussion. At the outset I must also say that one of the hon. Members was pleased to ask, what is the purpose of having this kind of a discussion one and a half years or, almost, two years after the Plan has started? I do not know whether hon. Member do recollect that my predecessor, Mr. Tiwari, had circulated a note to all the Members of this House, particularly, about the Sixth Plan framework and he expected that the hon. Members will be able to send their remarks to the Minister and also to the Planning Commission so that before the draft document of the Sixth Plan is prepared and finalised, their views could be taken into account. How many Members sent this kind of information is a matter which I will have to inquire into, but that exercise was gone into and now the Plan was finalised in February, 1981 and, thereafter, we have taken the earliest possible opportunity to see that the Plan is discussed in both the Houses.

Sir, I am aware of the fact that the international situation and also the

internal situation in which this Sixth Five-Year Plan has been finalised—and a number of things which happened thereafter—will definitely have some kind of an impact on the Plan document as it was prepared and how we will be succeeding in trying to avoid the adverse effects it might have on the achievement of the physical targets that we have set for ourselves at the end of the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

Sir, there are three or four points which were specially mentioned by all the hon. Members. The first was that the Plan was prepared with 1979-80 as the base year, and thereafter, there has been a price rise of a considerable order. The second aspect which was also emphasised by most of the Members was about the inflationary pressures on the economy as a whole. The third was about unemployment and how we are going to take care to see that the target that we set for ourselves is going to be achieved at the end of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. And a number of other things were also mentioned here, which I do not propose to deal with at the outset.

Sir, the first thing which I would like to clarify is about the inflationary trend which has set in. One of the hon. Members, Shri Sankar Ghose—a very experienced Member of this House who had also been in the Planning Commission; he knows the intricacies of how the things are being worked out—has been pleased to state here that the rate of inflation is very high and, added to that, the balance of payments position is going to be very bad. Compared with the percentage that we have worked out for the Sixth Plan as a whole for imports, for the first year the import bill has risen very high. Then how is this assumption going to be correct? That is the point—and a very valid point—which he raised during the course of the discussion. Sir, he also mentioned about the hon. Finance Minister making his speech at Kanpur wherein he seems to have made a reference that a little inflationary

trend is kind of a stimulant to the economy. I have just made enquiries...

**SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA PANT:**  
12 per cent per year.

**SHRI S. B. CHAVAN:** Not exactly that. He did not say that. Actually I have myself been enquiring in order to find out how far this kind of a statement which has been ascribed to him is based on facts. Might be that this might have been reported in the press and on the basis of the press reports most probably Mr. Sankar Ghose must have stated it on the floor of the House. I have enquired both from the Finance Ministry and from the Finance Minister himself to find out how far this kind of a statement is correct. He said that it was before a body of experts that he did say that the rate of inflation had come down from 20 per cent to 10 per cent on an average and that efforts are being made to see that even this 10 per cent is reduced to the barest minimum; and as a general proposition he said that if things are within control and if there is a slight inflationary trend it does act as a kind of stimulant to the total economy. That is the kind of statement that he made. I do not think that I should clarify it any more. It is mostly for economic experts to indulge in this kind of exercise to find out as to whether inflation does stimulate or does not stimulate. It is a very controversial issue into which I would not like to go. Sir, the inflationary trends we cannot view in isolation. Hon. Shri Sankar Ghose will definitely agree with us that there are two factors which will have to be taken into account. The first factor is the international situation which is now obtaining. Secondly, whether we like it or not, we have to import especially the oil products. If they are to be imported, can we take an solution view of the situation? That is a thing which I am sure most of the hon. Members there will be able to appreciate. The second aspect is: Why is it that we have such a high import bill in 1980-81? When the Plan itself commenced, and when we were talking in

[Shri S. B. Chavan]

terms of 9 per cent, immediately in the very first year it jumped. I am sure that most of the hon. Members are aware of the fact that it is on account of the kind of legacy that this Government got, I would not like to dilate on that issue. But the fact of the matter is that the agricultural production had gone down, even in the industrial sector there was a decline of 1.4 per cent, the coal production had considerably gone down in terms of production, the electricity generation was at the lowest. And if we had to make a beginning, which in fact is within the control of the Government of India, with these infrastructural facilities which will have to be provided both in the agricultural sector and the industrial sector, concerted efforts will have to be made in order to see that none of these sectors suffers because of infrastructural deficiencies. So the first aspect is, we had to import oil, which was inescapable; the second is, since there was a shortage of power, we could not have enough cement, enough fertilizers, enough steel which in fact was so very badly needed by our basic industries that we are having in the country. The choice was rather very difficult, whether we will go by the fixed idea of not allowing the import bill to go up or service the industry which in fact is our primary responsibility. And in this difficult situation Government had to decide, whether we like it or not, that fertilizer had to be imported, steel had to be imported and also oil in a big way. The price of oil, as most of the hon. Members are aware, has risen many fold and it is bound to have an impact on our total economy and also the inflationary trend that we find. So, the first point that we are trying to do specially is to improve the situation in the balance of payments position. A number of corrective measures are being taken with a view to see that our exports should increase and as far as possible the industries which have export orientation should be encouraged to the most. Import substitution efforts will have to be encouraged. A number of conces-

sions have also been given for export promotion, and we are trying to see that our adverse trade balance is at least contained to the barest minimum. It is a fact that inspite of all the efforts that we are making in this direction there is bound to be a gap between import and export. The protectionist policies which most of the developed countries have adopted are bound to adversely affect the exports which we would encourage. I am sure that we are trying our level best to see that export-oriented industries are given full encouragement and export both in the conventional and the unconventional fields in order to see that this gap is fully reduced to the barest minimum.

We are also aware of the need for the infrastructural facilities which we would like to provide and the bottlenecks which are being created. Hon. Shri Raju has been pleased to state here about the power sector that in the very first year we had set for ourselves the target of 2,800 MW and that there was a shortfall of more than 500 to 600 MW. It is a fact that there has been a shortfall in the first year, and that is why a steering committee has been specially appointed in order to find out what exactly the difficulties are and what remedial action needs to be immediately taken in order to see that in the power sector we do not experience this kind of a shortfall.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Will you achieve the target this year?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: So far as 1981-82 is concerned, our officers are having discussion with the Energy Ministry and also the BHEL who are mostly supplying the equipment required by the power sector. We feel quite confident. I would not be able to say whether this year we would be going to achieve the target that we have set for ourselves, but so far as the Plan period is concerned we are in fact very anxious to see that 19,000 odd MW that we have set as a kind of physical target for generation capacity, should be achievable, and if there are any bottlenecks we will try to see that all those difficulties are

overcome and this target should definitely be achieved.

Sir, the second point which I would like to deal here is about the employment generation which hon. Shri Sankar Ghose has been pleased to state here. He said, "We have a backlog of 12 million unemployed people, and at the end of the Sixth Plan the same figure of 12 million is going to be a sort of carry-over for the Seven Five Year Plan". That observation is based on the Plan document. I do not deny that. In the Plan document the mention is there. But that depends on a kind of phrase which is being technically used, that is, "standard persons employed per year", and that assumes 273 days in a year and 8 hours of full employment. That is the assumption on which this has been planned. So 34 million people are going to get employment during the course of the Sixth Plan. While our effort is to see that there is full employment—I do not think that this is going to be a reality. In reality what we call a kind of partial employment is also going to be emphasised and we will try to see that the figure of backlog is reduced to the barest minimum.

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:** By the end of 1985 the total will be more than 80 million.

**SHRI S. B. CHAVAN:** In this I will go by the sample survey carried out by experts. And on the basis of their report, whatever be the assumptions that they have made, the new employment potential which is being created during the course of the Plan is of the order of 4.15 per cent per year. And the labour force which is estimated will grow at about 2.54 per year. This is the kind of experts' report that I have with me. There is a gap between the two. So there is scope for reducing this backlog of 12 million unemployed people to the extent possible and also with partial employment, it should be possible to reduce this stupendous figure of 12 million to a lower figure.

Mr. Sankar Ghose also dwelt on the IRD programme and the NREP. He was

also pleased to ask; how is it that when such great emphasis has been given to the National Rural Employment Programme, the provisions have been cut down? He said that it has come down to Rs. 180 crores or so. In fact, in the first year the pattern of assistance was on a different basis. From this year onwards it is going to be on a sharing basis. In the first year we had provided Rs. 340 crores. In the second year the provision is Rs. 360 crores. And in the Plan as a whole it is going to be Rs. 1,620 crores. So there is no reduction as such. The States and the Centre put together, it is going to be of this magnitude, and I do not think that any of the schemes of either the IRD or NREP is going to suffer because of lack of resources. The IRD programme has also been made applicable to all the Blocks from October 2, 1980. So the entire country is going to be covered under the IRD programme. He was also pleased to mention here about the Congress (I) Party's manifesto wherein we had promised that one person in every family would be given a job, and then he said that there was no mention about it in the Plan document. It seems to have escaped his reading. I would refer him to paragraph 13.56 on page 212 of the Sixth Five Year Plan document wherein there is a clear mention that we stand by the commitments that we have made and we have taken into account, in framing this Sixth Five Year Plan, this kind of commitment which we have made to the people and we are going to stand by it.

**SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK:** Only a clarification...

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN:** (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): No, no.

**SHRI S. B. CHAVAN:** I think this will not be correct. After I finish, you may ask me. (Interruptions) Please do not try to interrupt me. (Interruptions) Mr. Sankar Ghose was also pleased to say that there is a discrepancy between the irrigation potential which is to be created during the

[Shri S. B. Chavan]

course of the Sixth Plan and what it was during the Janata period, and he asked whether from 17 million we have come down to 15 million.

I have seen both the documents and I am given to understand that the figure is 15 million hectares in the Janata document. There is no discrepancy in the two documents. About mounting trade deficit also he was pleased to ask of me two or three questions. He asked why it is that instead of importing crude, we are trying to import petroleum products. That is his point. Obviously, it seems quite all right: instead of importing the products, why not import crude and give employment opportunities to local people? That is the point which is very valid. But we have refining capacity in a very limited manner. We propose to increase the refining capacity and ancillary capacity during the course of the Sixth Plan. Thereafter also, it will not be completely correct to say that we will not require any import of these petroleum products, because, the refining capacity if it is increased, together with the other ancillary facilities for processing, the by-products that we get and the rest of the things that they are going to produce, all these things are going to be of such a magnitude that their disposal is both uneconomical and very cumbersome. This aspect will have to be borne in mind. At the same time, the basic issue is, as far as possible, we should try to increase the refining capacity, and certainly the Government is fully aware of the fact.

In the oil sector we are trying to see that the requirements are met to the maximum extent from our indigenous production. We have planned for about 20-21 million tonnes. If I mistake not, we are going with the new find that we have found in the Bombay High and other places and it should be possible for the Oil & Natural Gas Commission

to reach a slightly higher figure, either 26 or 27. They are working it out, depending on the greater exploration that they are carrying on. Every emphasis is being laid on the fact that we should try to maximise production of both offshore and inshore oil which we have in this country.

Then, the honourable Member did, of course, say a number of other things. I do not want to dilate on those things now. Another honourable friend, Mr. Bhandari, started his speech saying, "your base year was 1979-80 and the rate of growth that you have achieved in the first year was 7 per cent and in the second year Planning Commission itself is saying that it is going to achieve not more than 4.5 per cent...", which, according to him is the only realistic figure. Our estimate is that the average of the entire thing for the two years comes to about 6 per cent and on that basis the rate of growth of 5.2 per cent that we have assumed, in fact, is a realistic one, and with things not worsening, we hope that th's target of ours is achievable and there should be no difficulty so far as this aspect of the question is concerned.

The next point which I would like to deal with and on which I would like to compliment my friend, Mr. Kalp Nath Rai, and a number of other friends who have emphasised, is the aspect of family planning. Mr. Gopalsamy and other friends have also made a mention of it and said that we will have to emphasise the family planning programme; otherwise, all the financial and fiscal targets that we have laid down for ourselves, whether they are going to be achievable or not, is, in fact, a very basic thing for which public opinion will have to be created. A great drive was taken in 1975-76 and that was actually, besides other reasons, one of the reasons and a political capital was made out of that issue, and we have seen the results.



Thereafter, though there has been a complete shacking of family planning programme during those two or three years when the Janata Government was in power, after our Government again assumed power nineteen months ago we have started this programme in right earnest. About Rs. 1,000 crores have been provided in the Sixth Plan and I can assure the House that funds will not be any kind of obstacle in the implementation of the family planning programme. On the other hand, all the State Governments have been requested to go ahead in a full way in order to see that the family planning programme received the highest priority and our population is controlled so that whatever little effort we are making in achieving the targets in the Sixth Plan is not nullified by increase in population. . . .

DR. MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH: I think the Planning Commission should investigate and find out what has happened to the Rs. 1000 crores that we had spent on family planning in the seventies because this had achieved no result. The 1971 Census showed 24.8 per cent increase in the population and 1981 Census showed the increase as 24.75 per cent.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I can ask the Members of the Planning Commission to go into it and find out what has happened. Between 1961—71 and 1971—81 there has been some kind of surprise because in spite of the best efforts that we have made in this direction the growth rate has almost gone up, though it is very marginal. Still it has gone up. This in fact should be a matter of concern for all of us and efforts will have to be made hereafter in a very serious and sincere manner to see that the family planning programme succeeds. I request all the hon. Members on both sides of the House to kindly treat this as a national issue and give their full co-operation in the implementation of this national programme. . .

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): No, please. I am racing against time. The Minister may go on . . . .

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: There was a seminar on population in which . . . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: The Minister many proceed. . . . (Interruptions).

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: This is very important.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Hon. Shri Pant made a point here about resource mobilisation both by the Central Government and the State Governments and asked whether the State Governments are going to fully cooperate and achieve the figures that have been promised for additional mobilisation or there has been any difficulty on their part. So far as the Central Government is concerned, hon. Members are aware about the taxation measures and number of other measures which the Finance Minister has taken in order to contain inflation and bring down prices and raise additional mobilisation. I would not, therefore, like to dilate on that. So far as State Governments are concerned, they have been able to achieve 75 per cent of the target that we had laid down for all the State Governments, in two years. There are still three years and with sincere effort and full cooperation of all the State Governments I do not think it should present any difficulty in achieving the target that we have laid down for them.

The next point on which I would like to enlighten the House is about regional imbalances which most of the Members raised here. It is a fact that in different parts of the country there is no even development. Some States are lagging behind in terms of per capita income. Some State Governments since long have been telling us that even the basic necessary facilities are not made available to them and that is why in the National Development Council the entire issue of central assistance was discussed.

[Shri S. B. Chavan]

And thereafter, Sir, a corrective was applied. The ten per cent which was to be given by the Central Government in the shape of assistance for on-going projects, both irrigation and power, has been discontinued and the ten per cent which was to be given on the basis of per capita income, average income, has been stepped from ten to 20 per cent. So, the Gadgil formula has been modified to the extent of ten per cent. Sir, the State Governments which have their average per capita income below the national average are going to get about Rs. 369 crores more than what otherwise they would have got under the Gadgil formula.

(Mr. Deputy Chairman in the chair Sir, there was another thing and that was about the new formula which has adopted in the case of some other Centrally sponsored or Central schemes which have been discontinued or the pattern of assistance for which has been completely changed. Rs. 2,000 crores were for 1979—83 and decision was taken that the new formula should be made applicable and the new formula is the Income-Adjusted, Total-Population formula, known as the IATP formula, which has been made applicable and which is going to help some of the States which, in fact, have been talking in terms of regional imbalances. Besides these two factors which are going to help these backward States, there are other Centrally sponsored schemes which are going to help these States. The Hill Areas Programme, the Tribal Areas Programme, the Drought-Prone Area Programme, all these programmes will be there wherever this kind of population is there or wherever such conditions, conditions similar to these, are existing, and this assistance is going to be definitely available to those States also. Besides that, there have been other considerations as in the case of market borrowing. In the open market borrowings, a sum of Rs. 1,000 crores has been specially set apart with a view to seeing that some of the State Governments, which have been lagging behind, are specia-

lly assisted. Some friends from Rajasthan and other States have been talking about their States. I think they were talking about Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. Two honourable Members talked in terms of their not getting sufficient Central assistance from the Government of India. I would like to tell them that both under the revised Gadgil formula and the IATP formula and also from the Rs. 1,000 crores set apart, they can take full advantage and besides that, there are some special category. States which have been treated on a different footing. There are other States which are going to get a benefit from the new decision of the Seventh Finance Commission. Normally, the pattern of assistance is like this: 30 per cent in the shape of grants and 70 per cent as a kind of loan which is given to the States. But there are some States which, if certain conditions are fulfilled, will be entitled to 90 per cent grant and 10 per cent loan. So, these are the three or four ways in which the States which have been lagging behind are supposed to be helped in the matter.

Sir, I would like to inform the House about the implementation of the land ceiling laws. An impression is sought to be created as if practically nothing has been done in the field of land reforms and almost this programme which, in the field of land reforms and almost this programme which, in fact, is one of the components of the 20-Point Economic Programme, has been given up. I would like to inform the honourable Members that according to the information that I have with me—I have the figures for all the States with regard to the area declared surplus, area taken possession of and actual area distributed—and I can say...

SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA: You give the total figure.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: All these figures are available and I will give the total figure, and honourable Members can draw their own inferences.

Sir, the area declared surplus is 15.89 lakh hectares and I concede here that, according to the survey, the total area should have been 21 lakh hectares. Instead of that, it has come down to 15.89 lakh hectares. Then, the area taken possession of is 10.49 lakh hectares and the area actually distributed is 7.28 lakh hectares and the number of beneficiaries is 12,82,458.

I am aware of the fact that there have been some difficulties, some judicial proceedings are also there, some courts have also given stay orders, and there are a large number of other things. But I need not dilate on them. The fact still remains that this is a field in which a sincere effort will have to be made. All the Chief Ministers have been specially requested to see that a time bound programme is being prepared and within the Sixth Five Year Plan they have to see that the land reforms policy which we have no doubt adopted and which is an important component of the 20-Point Programme they will have to implement fully, and at the earliest.

The second is about the mutation entries and land records which the hon. Shri Pant talked about. There have been some regular campaigns adopted in certain States. Some States have done a commendable work in this field. But I am fully conscious of the fact that there are some States which have not been able to make much of an impact in this case also. I am specially going to write to all the Chief Ministers to see that their records are upto date and mutations are properly certified well in time and the kind of experiments which some State Governments have made in their areas is also adopted by other State Governments.

Sir, Shri Mhaisekar was pleased to talk about Article 371. He said that according to Article 371, statutory boards which were promised to them should have been created, though he himself said that he was not very much in favour of creation of such

boards. But what he was talking was about the backward areas, and after the States Reorganisation, these are the States—Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat—which go on writing to the Government of India about this and also the State Governments are making special efforts to see that they do not also lag behind. I am sure, Article 371 talks in terms of the residuary responsibility of bringing the backward areas in the States on par with some other developed areas. It should be possible for the State Governments also to adopt the same kind of measures in order to see that all these backward areas, wherever they might be, should be brought on par within a measurable length of time. He talked about the reorganisation . . . .

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA PANT: Why not monitor it?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: We have in fact a cell in the Planning Commission, and I propose to go into the matter in greater depth. I would like to discuss this issue with the Members of the Planning Commission and see how this problem can be tackled in consultation with the State Governments concerned. We cannot possibly take an isolated view. If the Planning Commission were to take the view that these backward areas are the responsibility of the Planning Commission. I am sure that this would be another factor which will lead to Centre-States conflict. I do not want to create that kind of situation. In consultation with the State Governments and the Planning Commission, this issue of backwardness, besides other backward areas which we have talked about—the Sivaraman Committee also went into this in great details—if there are any other backward areas left out, we shall try to find out how best we can find a solution to the problem that was posed by the hon. Member.

Bill, 1981

[Shri S. B. Chavan]

Sir, I do not propose to deal with the other issues which the hon. Members were pleased to state during the discussion. But I can assure the hon. Members that I have taken note of all the points, and if necessary, the hon. Members can come and discuss them with us. If I am not able to explain, I will ask the experts in the Planning Commission also to come there and we will have some kind of a dialogue on the programmes and policies in the Sixth Five Year Plan framework which have been put forth before the House. I would like to thank all the hon. Members on both sides of the House and I hope that the kind of cooperation that we expect from both the sides of the House would be forthcoming to the maximum extent possible and that everybody would like to put in whatever effort is necessary to see that we succeed in achieving all the targets that we have laid for the Sixth Plan as a whole.

SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA: May I seek one clarification? Due to rise in prices, at least 30 per cent of the Plan allocation has been knocked on. What do you propose to do about it?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That point has been replied.

#### PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE— Contd.

#### Notification of the Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI SAWAI SINGH SISODIA): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table under section 159 to the Customs Act, 1962, a copy (in English and Hindi) of the Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue) Notification No. 202—Customs, dated the 10th September, 1981. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-2800/81]

#### (i) THE ASSAM STATE LEGISLATURE (DELEGATION OF POWERS) BILL, 1981

#### (ii) STATUTORY RESOLUTION SEEKING DISAPPROVAL OF THE ASSAM FINANCE (NO. II) ORDINANCE, 1981 (ASSAM ORDINANCE NO. IV OF 1981)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS  
SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA):  
Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to confer on the President the power of the Legislature of the State of Assam to make laws, be taken into consideration".

Sir, the House is aware that the Proclamation dated the 30th June, 1981 made by the President under Article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Assam provides, *inter alia*, that the powers of the State Legislature shall be exercised by or under the authority of parliament. This Bill, therefore, seeks to confer on the President the power of the State Legislature to make laws in respect of the State. It has been the normal practice to undertake such legislation in relation to the State under the President's rule and the present Bill is on the usual lines. A provision has been made in the Bill for the constitution of a Consultative Committee consisting of 45 Members of Parliament, 30 Members from Lok Sabha and 15 Members from Rajya Sabha. In this regard a provision has also been made to empower Parliament to direct modification in the laws made by the President, if considered necessary. I request the hon. House to accept the legislative proposal before it.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI  
(Assam): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I move:

"That this House disapproves the Assam Finance (No. II) Ordinance, 1981 (Assam Ordinance No. IV of