

also came up. But no specific discussion took place. Mainly the talks were confined to the Joint Declaration.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kamalanathan.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR (Rajasthan): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I would like to ask for a clarification.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: On this? No, no.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: You allowed Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. When you have allowed one person, you should allow others also.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You should have got up before I called Mr. Kamalanathan.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: I raised my hand.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will not allow.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: Sir, this is very unjustified. If you do not allow me, I am rising on a point of order.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will not allow. You please sit down.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: Some procedure must be there, whether the statement is going to be discussed further or some clarification has to be asked for further. Otherwise- . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is entirely in my discretion. I may allow or not. I may be unfair. That is the end of the matter.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am not going to challenge your discretion. Since you are insisting on having your discretion, just now I will ask my colleague to take his seat. But certainly I feel it that when you allowed one Member to say certain things, you should allow others also. This time you may not, and I am

not going to stand in the way of your prestige. . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, it is not a question of prestige. The question is that he did not get up beforehand. Let me be very clear. Even Mr. Bhupesh Gupta committed that mistake. It is only after I had called Mr. Kamalanathan that he got up. And if the same process goes on, then there will be no end to it.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS: So Mr. Bhupesh Gupta was speaking with your implied consent!

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Well, I had to consent.

**MOTION RE APPROVAL TO THE  
FIFTH FIVE YEAR PLAN 1974-79—  
contd.**

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, the basic objectives of the Plan as outlined in the Plan Document are removal of poverty and attainment of economic self-reliance. They are the corner stones of the Plan. I am tempted to compare these objectives of the Plan with the election speeches of the honourable Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, such as *garibi hatao*. As you know, if slogans could satisfy the hunger of our people, I am sure the Indian nation would by now be suffering from acute indigestion- Instead of wheat and fertilizer, we would be importing so many metric tons of carbonate waters. We have been fed by the Government. I mean the Congress Government, ever since 1950 only with slogans. I recall to the memory of this august House the introduction of the First Five Year Plan as laid out before the House. The First Five Year Plan which was born in the year 1950 gave these solemn assurances: (1) adequate means of livelihood; (2) material resources will be made to subserve common people; and (3) the economic system as envisaged does not result in concentration in few hands to the common detriment. If you read the bulky volume with all its introduction, preamble and the accompanying speeches

[Shri M. Kamalanathan.]

of the then Planning Minister and others you will be surprised that they run on the same lines as we find in the present document.

So the words, the language, are all one and the same. Of course, the targets have been inflated from Plan to Plan. From a humble beginning of Rs. 2,500 crores they have now come to Rs. 51,000 crores. Instead of Mr. Nanda, we find Mr. D. P. Dhar and Mr. Mohan Dhar as Ministers in charge. These are the only differences that I am able to see; otherwise, the country has made no significant progress in my opinion which, of course, will be not in tune with Mr. Manubhai Shah who was all praise for the Plan, the day before yesterday. Let us take one by one our so-called achievements.

So far as number one objective is concerned, *i.e.*, to provide adequate means of livelihood to the people, we have, I am told, 40 per cent of the population living a life which is below the subsistence level. This is the cardinal achievement of all the four Plans. Forty per cent of our people are not getting one square meal a day, leave alone other necessities of life. Can you imagine a country like India with all its natural resources, keeping 40 per cent of its people in a semi-starvation level? We have, as I said earlier, increased our financial targets to Himalayan heights. . . (*Time bell rings*) Sir, I will try to be brief. But what we have given to the people. I should say, is nothing.

No country in the world including the recently liberated African countries which were for a long time under various types of brutal, colonial rule has allowed nearly half of its population to suffer from hunger and starvation.

While the living standard of the people is going down, the expense of the Government—thanks to the bureaucracy—is going up and up. As a result, either the rates of taxes are raised or new avenues of revenue are found. For example, the Central Government revenue in the year 1964-65 was of the order of Rs. 2,102 crores. In Five Years' time it rose up to Rs. 3,067 crores, that is to say, there was one-third increase. Last year again, there

was another increase of the same order. In other words, it has gone up to Rs. 4,620 crores. Again this year, according to the budget estimates, Rs. 4,831 crores are expected in the revenue account. In addition to all its receipts, we have also kept Nasik Printing Press busy by making it to work 24 hours a day.

In 1950-51 our national debt was of the order of Rs. 2,865 crores. Now in the current year it has risen up to Rs. 18,002 crores. So also our foreign debts have increased. In the year 1950-51 it was in the order of Rs. 32 crores and now it has gone up to Rs. 7,561 crores.

With all this money what have we achieved? How far the common man in the street has benefited? If half of our entire population is as I said earlier in semi starvation stage, the planners should hang their heads in shame to say the least.

The second objective of the First Plan is that material resources should subserve the common people. I don't know how far the material resources subserve either me or the common people. Of course, I admit that All India Radio under the able leadership of Mr. Inder Kumar Gujral subserves Madam and her Party.

The third objective is that the economic system does not result in concentration in few hands to the common detriment. How far have we made the economic system to work for the common man's benefit in the last 25 years? My socialist friends on the front side will speak volumes about Birlas and Tatas of the country. Let me take up a specific aspect of the situation. It is an accepted fact that there are 75 big industrial houses in the country and the entire economy of the country is almost in their hands. Let us see how far their assets have been curbed. In 1963-64 the total assets of these companies were Rs. 2,609 crores. In 1967-68 instead of bringing them down, the democratic socialist Government even after the advent of Mrs. Gandhi's leadership, has allowed them to rise up to Rs. 4,032 crores.

After the birth of Garibi Hatao slogan, in 1972-73 these assets have shot up to Rs. 6,000 crores. May I ask the hon. Mi-

nister and others how far we have achieved our objectives. If I say that the Plans have miserably failed, my friends on the opposite may look daggers at me. But I warn them that people at large have come to know that this Government and their Plans are nothing but mere vote-catching devices.

I am glad there is an all-round disillusion in the country. But at the same time I feel sorry that the disillusion will turn into frustration and anger which, as well as know, is the convenient atmosphere for the people with extra territorial loyalty to play havoc. My friend Shri Bhupesh Gupta is not here. Otherwise, he will quarrel with me for having said so.

Now I want to say a few things about "National Programme for Minimum Needs" that is described in Chapter 4. I understand, Sir, that in the Plan expenditure special weightage is going to be given for elementary education, drinking water, health and nutrition, house sites for the rural landless, roads and electricity, slum improvement and slum clearance. I welcome this. Whether you are going to achieve these objectives or not is a different question. The fact that you have now allotted about Rs. 3,300 crores to provide these basic necessities to the common man shows that you have failed to do so in the past twenty-five years. Sir, my fears are on different grounds. In these programmes of providing the minimum needs to the common man, my State is the pioneer.

Sir, we are providing free education, not free elementary education alone, but free education up to the Pre-University class. Nowhere in India education is completely free of cost, for twelve years as in Tamil Nadu. Also, we have a plan to provide drinking water and electricity to all the villages and hamlets before the end of the next year and it is a time-bound programme. Take the question of roads. We are No. 1 in India. Then, Sir, take the question of slum clearance: Again we are the pioneers. Tamil Nadu is the first State in India to have a Slum Clearance Board and our achievement in this field is not too small. But, Sir, now we have a fear

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that in this new Plan, you will be giving money to those States which have forgotten to think about the common man's minimum needs. But our State has tightened its belt in other spheres and spent the money on elementary education, for providing drinking water and electricity to the villages and for improving the slums. Because we are progressive, because we are right on our way to socialism, to achieve our socialist goals, because we had the forethought in helping the common man, do not penalise us, do not reduce your grants or loans in respect of the other spheres. We should get our due share out of the provision of Rs. 3,300 crores.

Lastly, Sir, I am glad that our great President, Shri V. V. Giri, has realised ; he dangerous situation we are facing to-day. What he has said in Lucknow recently is an indictment of this Government. No one could be more plain and outspoken than our President. Our President looks around and finds hoarders and blackmarketeers all over the country. He says that they are legislators though he has not said that they are members of the Government. But the country will understand who are behind these legislators and others. The country will understand how the Government machinery is misused to collect funds to fight elections, to encourage this black marketing and hoarding, to come back to power. Unless the entire system changes, I am afraid, Sir, neither this Plan nor any number of Plans will succeed in this country. Thank you, Sir.

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, Mr. D. P. Singh-

SHRI D. P. SINGH (Bihar): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, after all that has been said about the Plan, I have merely two suggestions to make and I would not like to cover the field all over again. One is the question dealing with zero net aid at the end of 1978-79. Now, Sir, the net foreign aid that is postulated is Rs. 640 crores and the debt servicing charges for a five-year period are estimated at Rs. 2,360 crores. Therefore, annually we have an obligation up to Rs. 472 crores. Now Sir, if we have to pay Rs. 472 crores annually by way of debt servicing, then

[Shri D. P. Singh.]

the total aid expected to be of the order 640 crores presents a very bleak picture. When we are facing this situation we are left with our own internal resources and when there is the mopping the internal resources, a big slice it is going to be used for debt servicing. Therefore, one suggestion is that steps must be taken to secure a moratorium on debts repayment. Whether we will achieve it by the suavity of our Planning Minister or by a tough policy, we do not know. But, then, this is the situation which has to be confronted and the anomally removed.

Now, generally, I myself personally welcome this approach paper, because for the first time we have outlined a plan to keep the stark reality before us—the re-poverty—and how best we can attempt to tackle it. Now when the aid is the aid givers are not in that mood as they were some time back and they have their own difficulties and, therefore, since we have to depend on our own resources, then we have to see where to get our resources from and whether or not it is possible without creating much of a disorder or chaos in the existing order, to mobilize resources—

Now, Sir, in the field of agriculture I have to make a suggestion because the chronic ailments that are manifesting themselves at this moment will, I think, respond to this treatment, which is nothing new but which has been in this practised barely 25 years back. And that is this. For the agriculturist, we have to take an obligation to give irrigation facilities free of charge. Either we do it by mechanised resources of irrigation or do it by canal irrigation or do it whatever means or river irrigation that been functioning. But then that has barely 25 years ago the re-nonsible agencies that had irrigation—

"S rent and seeing to it that the fields were irrigated. But, then, the suggestion is also—that has been existing in our country after all—fajse—this reason is what. Then you are proposing to expend much or losing much. We in Bihar know, for instance, that in the

transmission process, by pilferage or otherwise, the loss is 73% and the electricity charges that are recovered from the agriculturists are barely 27%. In Uttar Pradesh it is 47% 53% is lost. And there are various figures in between for other States. Now, if this is the situation, then for the purpose of agriculture, we might as well forego and let him spend as much as he likes, but after the fields are irrigated then when the farmer collects it and brings the produce in the *khalyan* we go back to *ba-taidari* system again. We see that after the *kisan* pays labour charges, then there is distribution in the *khatyam* itself in the ratio of fifty-fifty. We collect our share and straightaway it comes into the coffers of the State. Therefore, you do not feel the necessity to impose those levies from individual to individual and later on to be confronted with the problem of fixing charges and agencies to counter the smuggling and various other modes of corruption. This is a rough and ready method of collection straight from the field itself. Then it is merely a problem of distribution. We have tried to work it out. It is manifest that in the various States where agriculture is the predominant preoccupation, the income or the revenue of the State is likely to be immensely augmented in the process. I have experience of Bihar, Bengal and Uttar Pradesh. The rent that is fixed there is Rs. 3 or 4 or 5. In Uttar Pradesh, a suggestion was made to increase the rent by 25 per cent and it was not possible to do it. We could not do it even in Bihar. If you scrap the whole system and have your 50% of the production from the *Khaliyan* itself, there is no question of an agitation because this is the system that has prevailed for hundreds of years. Then you have a rough and ready made for collection without any botheration. But the precondition is that the State should take the responsibility for the irrigation of the fields and the farms and thereafter we do not have to bother about collecting the charges for irrigation.

We do not have to say that our Plans are going to be pruned because of the price hike. They are pruned. The Planning Minister was content to say that we shall not allow the plan to die. I know with what distress he has said that. But with

the price hike, naturally the money that is available to be spent is so much reduced. Therefore, I suggest that in the field of education, we have available to ourselves a resource which we should not fail to avail of. Formerly people retired at the age of 55 and now they are at the age of 58. We can fruitfully employ them for the purpose of primary education or secondary education wherever available. They go to various cities after retirement. There is always a condition that the retired officer will behave in a particular way. It is a matter of altering the condition of service and trying to bring about this change. We need not impose it. We can give some kind of an inducement like building of house and get his services. As you know, the longevity has also increased and we can easily get the best out of them by availing of their services for this work.

In the matter of industry, the reports will soon be coming before the House. In the matter of public undertakings, we have not done so badly as is sought to be depicted. By introducing a certain element of pessimism, we have been trying to de-nigrate ourselves, as though the entire system of the public undertakings and the Government takeover of the industry is bad. At the moment we have reached a stage if we are to believe the statement of the Minister for Heavy Industries which he made in Madras, when by March 1974 the entire public undertakings shall be paying propositions and they shall be out of the red. Even now as far as I remember, if I remember correctly, 86 per cent of these industrial undertakings are running at a profit. If the picture there is not so gloomy, if the export performances are not so gloomy, then it is merely a problem of diversion of these resources. It is merely a problem where from those heavy industrial undertakings we can turn out smaller units producing consumer goods, goods of daily necessity and also goods that might assist in better export performances. There are plants like HMT for instance which are doing commendable work and it is a process of augmenting or extending such industries and such processes which might involve the bulk of our people in towns and cities. For instance in the tele-

phone industry; and in the watch industry wherever it is set up, when are employment numbers as in K

and other parts of the country. Therefore from the existing resources, from the existing industries, it is possible to have smaller units but we can provide larger to be achieved because in the Approach Paper what I said is eradication of poverty shall be achieved by larger growth rate and by reduction of inequality. Reduction of inequality is sought to be achieved by greater employment opportunities so

have more and more participation in this process the weaker greater capacity assumption. If we are able to diversify we are able to split these into small units then it is possible to have small scale industries spread throughout the nook corners of the country so that men and women can get employment opportunities more and more and there can be augmentation of the process of having greater capacity. On the whole therefore the Approach paper is good, is commendable and we only hope that there is no abnormal price hike so that we can have an atmosphere in which it can work successfully.

DR. K. MATHEW KURTAN (Kerala): It is pious hope.

SHRI D. P. SINGH: Of course let us hope. There should be no gloom.

श्री भूपेन्द्र नारायण मंडल (बिहार):  
उपसभापति जी, पांचवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना का मकसद, उस पर क्या खर्च होना चाहिए और उसकी कैसे पूर्ति होगी इन सारी बातों पर बहस चल रही है। इसके पहले भी चार योजनाएं करीब करीब खत्म हो चुकी हैं। उसका जो नतीजा निकाला है वह भी देश के सामने है। वह अच्छा है या बुरा है इसके बारे में विरोधी दल जो कहेंगे, इसकी गलतियों के बारे में कहेंगे तो उस को तो ये यही कह कर भुला देंगे

[श्री भूपेन्द्र नारायण मंडल]

कि चूंकि ये विरोधी पक्ष के हैं इसलिए हम लोगों के खिलाफ बोलेंगे ही। लेकिन जब खुद राष्ट्रपति भी कहते हैं कि जो योजना का नतीजा निकला है वह देश के लिए अच्छा नहीं हुआ, तो मैं समझता हूं कि इससे बढ़ कर दूसरा प्रमाण नहीं हो सकता है।

जो योजना की रूप रेखा हम लोगों के सामने है, उसके बारे में भी मैं कह देता हूं कि इसका भी नतीजा वही निकलेगा जो नतीजा कि पहले निकला था; क्योंकि जो उद्देश्य इसमें दिया गया है वह साफ तरीके से कहा गया है कि गरीबों के लिए ये योजना बनाते हैं, मैं समझता हूं कि पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना जो बनी उसमें भी जो कुछ कहा गया उद्देश्य के संबंध में वह इससे भिन्न नहीं कहा गया। वहां भी जो कुछ कहा गया था उस समय भी जो हिन्दुस्तान का संविधान है, उसकी जो मंशा है, उसका जो उद्देश्य है, उसका जो प्रियेम्बल है उसको सामने रख कर सारी बात वहां पर कही गई थी और उसके अन्दर आज भी वही बात कही जा रही है।

अब प्रश्न उठता है कि जो सरकार योजना बनाती है वह सफल योजना क्यों नहीं बन पाती है। उससे हिन्दुस्तान के जो गरीब लोग हैं, उनकी दशा में क्यों परिवर्तन नहीं हो रहा है? यह विचारणीय विषय है, उस पर विचार क्यों नहीं किया जा रहा है। क्यों नहीं किया जा रहा है, उसका भी कारण है। कारण यह है कि आज जो लोग योजना बनाते हैं, उस योजना को अमल में लाते हैं, जो शासन चलाते हैं, वे लोग जिस किस्म के हैं, जो उनका परंपरागत संस्कार है, जो उनकी आदत है उससे ऊपर उठ कर वह कोई दूसरी तरह की योजना बनायेंगे, ऐसी कल्पना बिरले ही

लोगों से की जा सकती है, साधारण लोगों से नहीं की जा सकती है। जो अभी सरकार को चलाने वाले लोग हैं वे कोई स्पेशल लोग नहीं हैं, वे साधारण किस्म के आदमी हैं। उनका जो अपना स्वार्थ है, अपने गिराव का स्वार्थ है, उससे ऊपर उठ कर वह योजना बनायेंगे, ऐसी बात नहीं हो सकती है। इसलिए जहां हिन्दुस्तान की योजना में जो हिन्दुस्तान के पिछड़े हुए लोग हैं, जिनकी गरीबी और पिछड़ेपन को लेकर हिन्दुस्तान की स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई के जनाने में प्रचार किया जाता था, उनके स्वार्थ को प्रथम स्थान देना चाहिए था योजना बनाने के सिलसिले में—पहले की भी योजना और इस योजना में भी—उनके स्वार्थ को आधार बिन्दु बना कर उनके इर्द-गिर्द सारी चीजों का संगठन हो, ऐसा इस योजना में भी नहीं किया गया है। इसलिए इस योजना का भी वही नतीजा निकलेगा, जो नतीजा कि पहली योजना में निकला था।

अभी जो सबसे तकलीफ देने वाली बात हिन्दुस्तान में है, वह महंगाई की है। क्या जो योजना बनी है इससे महंगाई कम होगी? मैं कहता हूं कि महंगाई कम नहीं होगी, और महंगाई बढ़ेगी और महंगाई बढ़ने का मतलब है गरीबों की परेशानी बढ़ेगी। गरीब और गरीब होंगे, ऐसी बात निश्चित रूप से होने वाली है। इन्होंने भी कबूल किया है कि हलका डेफिसिट फाइनैसिंग करना है। जो स्थिति आज महंगाई की है उसके बावजूद भी फिर डैफिसिट फाइनैसिंग करेंगे और जो एमाउंट उन्होंने डैफिसिट फाइनैसिंग का रखा है वह निश्चित तरीके से बढ़ कर और अधिक होगा ही और अब तक का जो अनुभव इनकी काबवाही का रहा है, जितने उत्पादन की

कल्पना ये योजना के समय में करते हैं, उतना उत्पादन इनका हो नहीं पाता है और जब तक वहां तक उत्पादन होता है उसमें बहुत देरी लग जाती है, बहुत बेशी खर्चा लग जाता है और इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग करने की इनको जरूरत पड़ती है। इस तरह से योजना से जो त्राण लोगों को मिलना चाहिए, वह नहीं हो पाता है। इसलिए राष्ट्रपति जी ने वही बात कही है। डा० लोहिया भी जब बात किया करते थे हम लोगों के साथ और शायद पार्लियामेंट में भी तो उनका कहना था कि जिस तरह की योजना बन रही है, इस योजना का नतीजा यह निकलेगा कि आगे चल कर इस देश में अकाल और मंहगाई स्थायी रूप से वर्तमान रहेगी और यही इस योजना में होने वाला है। उन्होंने योजना बनाने वालों के बारे में भी कहा था कि जो योजना बनाने वाले लोग हैं, वे कैसे ह। “इस योजना को देशहीन, दिशाहीन, मूर्ख विद्वान ने बनाया है और इसका अमल करते हैं भ्रष्ट योगी”, यह उनका कहना था। मैं समझता हूं कि अब तक जो प्लान का नतीजा निकला और आगे जो इस प्लान का नतीजा निकलने वाला है, उससे वह जो उनकी धारणा बन गई थी, उसकी पुष्टि हुई है और आगे भी होगी।

मैं अभी हाल में अपने घर गया था। वहां जो मंहगाई की स्थिति है उसके बारे में मैं आपसे कहूंगा, लेकिन जिस बात ने सबसे ज्यादा हमारे दिल पर चोट पहुंचाई वह बात यह थी कि मेरा एक नौकर है। उस नौकर के परिवार में उसका एक बूढ़ा बाप है और वे तीन भाई हैं। एक भाई का विवाह नहीं हुआ है और बाकी दो भाइयों का विवाह हो चुका है। इन सारे लोगों

को निर्भर करना पड़ता है हमारे यहां जो नौकर है उसकी कमाई के ऊपर। कुछ कट्टे जमीन जो उसके परिवार की भी वह सुदभरना पर है, इसलिए जमीन से उसको कोई आमदनी नहीं है। एक भैंस से कुछ आमदनी होती है। इस लिए अपने परिवार को चलाने के लिए एक भाई को रिक्शा चलाना पड़ता है। उस भाई ने अपने परिवार के पालन-पोषण के लिए रिक्शा चलाने में इतनी मेहनत की कि आज उसका डिमेंट्री शुरू हो गई है और फिर भी उसको रिक्शा चलाना पड़ता है। रिक्शा चला कर के जब वह कमाई कर के आता है तब उसके घर का काम चलता है। अब आप देखिए कि उसके घर में क्या खर्चा है। एक गरीब आदमी अमीर आदमी से बेशी खाता है। तीन पाव एक-एक आदमी एक-एक शाम में वहां पर खाता है नहीं तो कम से कम आधा सेर प्रति-शाम जरूर खाता है। उसके घर में अभी जो पांच छः आदमी हैं उन लोगों के खाने पर रोजाना साढ़े चार या पांच सेर खर्चा होता है। उसके लिए जितनी कमाई उनको चाहिए वह पूरी नहीं होती है। इस तरह से वे जिन्दगी बसर करते हैं। चार पांच योजनाएं खत्म होने के बाद भी आज यह स्थिति इस देश की है। जो गरीब लोग हैं उनको मदद देने के लिए कई योजनाएं सरकार की ओर से बनी हैं ताकि छोटे-छोटे काम वे शुरू कर सकें। देहात के गरीबों को ऐसी योजना का पता तक नहीं है। हमने उससे पूछा कि सरकार से कर्ज लेकर और भैंस खरीद कर के क्यों नहीं अपनी आय बढ़ाते हो जिससे आराम से गुजर कर सको तो उसने कहा कि हम को मालूम नहीं है सरकार से कैसे मदद मिलेगी। तो आज जो योजनाएं बनती हैं, वे गांवों तक पहुंचती

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नहीं हैं, लोगों को उनके बारे में मालूम भी नहीं होता है। यदि गांव का आदमी दरखास्त भी दे तो उसको रुपया मिल ही जायगा इसकी कोई संभावना नहीं है। उसके लिए पता नहीं उसको कितनी परेशानी उठानी पड़ेगी और कितनी घूस देनी पड़ेगी। आज इस तरह की स्थिति स्थिति यहां पर है। जहां मैं रहता हूं वहां पर हम ने चीजों की कीमत के बारे में पूछा था कि किस चीज का क्या दाम है, रिटेल प्राइस क्या है। तो उन लोगों ने बतलाया कि 1972 में क्या रिटेल प्राइस थी और 1973 की जुलाई में क्या रिटेल प्राइस है। मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूं कि साधारण चावल जो 72 में 1.50 रुपए था, आज 2.24 बिक रहा है, दाल अरहर दो रुपए '72 में थी और आज 2.50 में बिक रही है। मैसूर पहले 1.50 थी अब 2.50 है, मूंग पहले सवा रुपए किलो थी अब दो रुपए है और यहां तो तीन रुपए से बेशी है। तेल कडवा पहले 5 रुपए था, अब 8 रुपए है, तेल नारियल पहले 8 रुपए था, अब 12 रुपए है, घी पहले 12 रुपए था, अब 18 रुपए है, मिट्टी का तेल पहले 70 था, अब 75 पैसे है, साबुन सनलाइट पहले 65 पैसे का था, अब एक रुपए का है, आटा गेंहूं पहले एक रुपए था, अब 1.60 है, मकई पहले 50 पैसे थी, अब 1.50 रुपए पर किलो है, महुआ पहले 60 पैसे किलो था, अब 1.37 में मिलता है, कोयला जलाने वाला अब 7 रुपए मन में मिल रहा है। कपड़े का दाम डेढ़ गुना हो गया है। ईंट पहले 60 रुपए में मिलती थी, अब 100 रुपए में मिलती है। यह प्राइस वहां के लोगों को देनी पड़ती है और स स्थिति में ही वहां

के गरीबों को रहना है और उन की जो हालत है उसका एक उदाहरण मैंने यहां दिया है।

इसलिए क्या करना चाहिए। सब से पहले इस को देखना चाहिए कि अगर आप बैकवर्ड एरियाज को डवलप करना चाहते हैं, तो उसके लिए आपको इफ्रा स्ट्रक्चर देना पड़ता है, तभी किसी प्रोजेक्ट को आप वहां सक्सेसफुल बना सकते हैं। उसके लिए इफ्रा स्ट्रक्चर का प्रबंध करना आवश्यक होती है। इसी तरह से जो यह प्लान है, जो सरकार है उसको भी इफ्रा स्ट्रक्चर की जरूरत है और वह क्या हो सकता है। वह यही हो सकता है कि जो लोग देश के असल बाशिन्दे हैं, जिनकी मेहनत के बल पर देश का सारा धन उत्पन्न होता है, उन लोगों का जो दिल और दिमाग होता है, वह क्या सोचते हैं उस बात को सोचने वाले लोगों को, उनसे संपर्क रखने वाले लोगों को हम को शासन में लाना पड़ेगा। अगर संपूर्ण तौर पर ऐसे लोग न लाये जा सकें तो अधिकांश में ऐसे लोगों को शासन में हम को लाना पड़ेगा। इसके लिए बहुत जमाने से हमारी पार्टी कहती आ रही है कि जाती नीति लागू करो। शासन में आज एक वर्ग विशेष का प्रिपांडरेंस हो गया है और वह भी बाधक है देश को ऊपर उठाने में तो यह जो इवैलेंसेज हैं पर्सनल के वह ब्योरोक्रेसी में भी हैं और शासन चलाने वाले लोगों में भी हैं, पोलिटिकल शासकों में उसको दूर करने की जरूरत है।

इसी तरह से हमारी भाषा नीति के बारे में स्थिति है। हम कहते हैं कि चूंकि हम स्वतंत्र हो गये हैं, इसलिए हम को अपना राज काज अपनी बोली में करना चाहिए और जहां की जो बोली



है उसमें वहां का राज काज चलना चाहिए। लेकिन आज ऐसा हो नहीं पा रहा है।

कल मैं अखबार में पढ़ रहा था कि जिस दाम नीति के बारे में हम लोगों ने शुरू में कहा था कि किस तरह से दाम नीति तय होनी चाहिए, करीब-करीब सरकार अब उसी तरह से सोचने की शुरुआत कर रही है। सरकार वह बात कर सकेगी ऐसा तो हम को नहीं मालूम पड़ता है, लेकिन सरकार के सामने भी वह बात आयी है और सरकार ने उस पर सोचना शुरू किया है। हम लोगों का कहना था कि एक तो किसी चीज का दाम, एग्रिकल्चरल प्रोडक्ट का दाम कैसे तय होना चाहिए (Time bell rings) अभी तो हमारा टाइम पूरा नहीं हुआ।

श्री उपसभापति: 15 मिनट हो गए।

श्री भूपेन्द्र नारायण मंडल: तो एग्रिकल्चरल प्रोडक्ट्स के दाम कैसे तय होने चाहिए इसके बारे में हम लोगों का कहना था कि जो उसमें लागत खर्चा लगता है और एक किसान परिवार को साधारण जीवन बिताने के लिए जो खर्चा करना पड़ता है, उसमें कुछ मुनाफा देकर, एग्रिकल्चरल, प्राइम फिक्स होना चाहिए। इसी तरह से इन्डस्ट्रियल प्रोडक्ट्स के बारे में हम लोगों का कहना था कि जो लागत खर्चा है उसके इन्फ्लेक्शन से ज्यादा दाम बढ़ने न पाएँ। उसी के अंदर सरकार का जो कर है, टैक्स है, रहना चाहिए। उसी के अंदर पूँजी का मुनाफा भी रहना चाहिए। और हम लोगों ने कहा था कि दोनों में कुछ पैरिटी होनी चाहिए। इस पर विचार होना शुरू हुआ है और मैं समझता हूँ कि इस बात को मान लें कि आज जो इन्फ्लेक्शन टैक्स लगता है वह पहले तो

लगे ही नहीं और अगर लगे तो इस ढंग से लगे, जिससे कि जो गरीब आदमी है—और उसी को हम गरीब आदमी कहते हैं जिस आदमी की आमदनी उनके मुताबिक 20 रु० प्रति माह हो और आज के दाम के मुताबिक 40 रु० प्रतिमाह जिस आदमी की आमदनी हो—उस आदमी पर इन्फ्लेक्शन टैक्स का कोई असर नहीं पड़ने पाए, इस ढंग से टैक्स लगाने की जरूरत है। चाहिए तो यही कि बिलकुल ही इन्फ्लेक्शन टैक्स नहीं लगाया जाए और डाइरेक्ट टैक्स लगाया जाए और जो देने लायक लोग हैं वह दें और जो देने लायक नहीं हैं वह नहीं दें।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, you must wind up.

श्री भूपेन्द्र नारायण मंडल: हम देखते हैं कि हर साल में इस सरकार का फेलियर हुआ है और जिस तरह की योजना देश में चल रही है उसमें देश की आर्थिक विफलता का सारा दोष योजना मंत्री पर जाएगा और अगर वह योजना को अच्छी तरह नहीं संभाल सकते हैं तो उनको इस्तीफा दे देना चाहिए, कोई दूसरा आदमी आए जो कि देश की समस्याओं को ठीक से समझ कर उस ढंग की नीति अपनाए और उसको अमल में ला सके।

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: The whole Government should resign, why only the Minister?

SHRI NAND KISHORE BHATT (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, S'r. we are (in the verge of comple-tion of the Fourth Five Year Plan. Progress has been made during all the four Plan periods, but whatever progress has been made is inadequate. Much could have been done but for the calamities beyond our control such as wars, drought

[Shri Nand Kishore Bhatt.] famine, etc. Therefore, the Fifth Plan has not only to make up the backlog of the earlier Plans, but it has to assume directions and dimensions to make economic progress even and balanced. The Plan has also to be adequate enough to meet the basic needs of the people. In other words, the Fifth Plan has to be need-based.

Sir, political democracy has taken deep roots in our country. There is equality of opportunity to all citizens irrespective of caste, creed, colour or sex. But political democracy has no meaning without economic and social democracy; otherwise it will fail to give meaning and content to freedom, democracy and socialism. The progress made so far has been lopsided. Perpetuation of a situation like the present one may even rob us of our political democracy achieved after innumerable sacrifices and sufferings. Under the circumstances emphasis has got to be on realisation of social and economic democracy.

Sir, removal of poverty is our declared objective. How is to be removed? Certainly not by doles and slogans, but only by sustained hard work and increasing the production of basic requirements. Purchasing power of the people will have to be increased through wage employment and self-employment. But the monstrous problem of unemployment, including underemployment, has to be tickled with firmness and determination. It need not be told that without the removal of unemployment, poverty cannot be eradicated. In fact, MAN should be the centre of economic activity and planning.

There has been, no doubt, a nominal rise in the GNP. The percentage of annual growth rate, though unsatisfactory, has also gone up except in 1972- Also there is a rise in the per capita income. That is all an eye wash. It may, however, be remembered that no programme of poverty removal can be successful if there is uneven economic development. Large scale improvements and poverty cannot exist 3 P.M. side by side. Improvements in economic activities must be subjective to equitable distribution. It should be the main bulk of planning. The working classes have played their role to the

best of their capacity to achieve the target of production both in the private and public sectors. But wherever there have been shortfalls, the responsibility cannot be laid on the workers. If anybody has to be blamed on that score, the fault lies squarely with the leaders of industry and trade and also the Government machinery.

Sir, the country is passing through a great economic crisis. The trend in the rising prices, especially in 1973, is highly alarming. In the first quarter of 1973, the prices have gone up by more than 25 per cent. This is an alarming phenomenon and does not speak well of the administrative machinery which could have taken stringent and timely measures to curb rise in prices. To our dismay, the commercial class is left with no respect for the laws of the land. Enactment of progressive legislations and resolutions of the political parties are going to have little effect on the diehard commercial class and hoarders unless some deterrent measures are taken against these responsible for creating such an alarming situation in the country. An effective check on prices is necessary while dealing with the huge problem of unemployment.

Prices of essential commodities have got to be stabilised if planning has to succeed. For this, a net work of fair price shops should be opened and consumer cooperative stores have to be encouraged. Wholesale trade in all essential articles of food-grains and other articles of daily consumption should be taken over. The take-over of wholesale trade of wheat by the Government was no doubt a correct step. In fact, there should have been the take-over of wholesale trade in all the essential commodities. But there have been certain shortcomings specially on the procurement front. But one thing is sure that by wholesale takeover at least everybody has been able to get wheat. This clearly shows that a forthright policy of takeover of the wholesale trade in all the essential commodities is the only answer to the present challenging situation. It is time to re-arrange priorities, and a radical agricultural and industrial policy will have to be evolved followed by a time-bound programme of action,

Sir, it is a pity that after 25 years of independence, no genuine effort has been made to define the wage policy. The existing wage structure cannot be said to be based on a scientific or rational thinking, what to talk of its linking with production and productivity. A national wage policy cannot be evolved in isolation. It must be related to a well-thought out prices and incomes policy. However, with a view to recasting our approach to wage and production policy, I have to make a few suggestions: (1) The wage structure in all organised industries should be built up with the need based minimum wage on the floor. (2) The number of grades should be reduced to the minimum. (3) The lowest paid worker in the industry should at least get one-tenth of the highest paid man in the industry, including the Managing Director. (4) Plant-wise productivity agreements should be encouraged which should also provide for sharing the gains of productivity. (5) Subject to broad national guidelines, wage disputes in industry should be settled through bipartite negotiations. (6) In the organised industry, the State should assist in the formulation of wage rates in consultation with the representatives of organised labour so that they can come up to the level of organised labour in course of time. (7) The prices of big industrial units, say of the size of Rs. 50 lakhs capital or above, be regulated. These measures will, to a large extent, help in eliminating creation of monopolies...

*(Interruptions)*

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: You should say something about wage freeze also.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He will say what he wants to say. It is up to him. You need not interrupt him.

SHRI NAND KISHORE BHATT: It will eliminate creation of monopolies and ensure economic justice to the masses.

There is a great deal of talk with regard to workers' participation in the management. I for one fully subscribe to this view. But what about the training to prepare the workers' representatives to equip them technically and otherwise to effectively

contribute in the management affairs of the undertakings along with the highly educated and qualified technical managerial staff? If workers' participation has to have any meaning, positive steps will have to be taken in consultation with recognised national trade union centres to evolve a meaningful programme of training with a view to enabling the workers' representatives to meet the challenges and getting over the existing gap of communication between the workers' representatives and the top management.

Agriculture, education and cooperation are the pillars of democracy. In the field of agriculture it was only after the Second Five Year Plan that some steps were taken, and if an intensive programme of promoting agriculture as an industry had been taken up, probably we would not have been in the difficulty as we find ourselves today. Rural development should be given top priority, then there will be ancillary industries nearby, there will be motivation, there will be development of communications and marketing facilities. With fuller utilisation of our man-power, all these taken together will balance our development and whatever concentration we are finding in urban areas, that will also be stopped.

On education, it is a very sad affair because I do not know in their wisdom, of course, under what circumstances the framers of the Constitution made education a concurrent subject. We have made experiments after experiments. And if we have got so many problems today, either restlessness among the youth or frustration, it is probably because of the fact that the kind of education that should have been given to them is not there. We find that in different States there are different curricula. There is no check on the curricula in the States. There are so many schools and colleges and Government is spending crores and crores of rupees on them. In Government institutions we are paying higher salaries to teachers than those paid in private schools and colleges. Yet there is no encouraging result. It is because the attention which is given in the two places is different, and the purpose of education is not being served. Therefore, it is time, if need be to

[Shri Nunc! Kishore Bhatt.] amend the Constitution and bring education under the Centre. We should have a common curriculum throughout the country irrespective of the language. You can have any language you like in your region. Along with that there should be an element of compulsory military training. I want this not because we want to be a militaristic country, but we must have able-bodied disciplined citizens. Our people must learn an element of this thing which is necessary for a developing nation. Without it, no nation can go forward. It is a sort of discipline that we must have. On the side of education some steps are very necessary to be taken.

The essence of planning lies in its implementation, in implementing the development programmes. There should be firmness in the administration. Unfortunately the present framework of our administrative machinery has failed to come up to the mark. The Administrative Reforms Commission did make certain suggestions and recommendations. But they never bothered to go into the fundamentals of procedural reforms. The present administrative machinery, from top to bottom, today works under mistrust and suspicion. Nobody cares to take any decision since he is bound by various notings made from level to level. None in the Government today, however, highly placed he may be, has the courage or conviction to take a forthright decision. It is my fervent hope that the dynamic Planning Minister—as he is—will give a serious thought to this aspect of our administrative machinery and take up some positive measures to inspire confidence among them so that they are fully involved in the developmental task. For the implementation of our programmes, not only do we need a Plan. What is required is that at every stage, at all departmental levels, we should have implementation cells to watch and co-ordinate the activities of the various Departments.

Enforcement of discipline is uppermost. It is necessary not only to tide over our present crisis, but to strengthen the foundation for our social and economic progress based on self-reliance.

Thank you.

**श्री गोलाप बरबोरा (ग्रामाम) :**  
उपसभापति महोदय, फिफ्थ प्लान का टारगेट 51,116 करोड़ रु० है और फर्स्ट प्लान का टारगेट 2,500 करोड़ रु० था। पांच प्लान में खर्च का टारगेट 20 फीसदी बढ़ा है, लेकिन जहाँ तक ग्राम लोगों की हालत सुधारने की बात है, वहाँ तक हम बिल्कुल आगे नहीं बढ़ पाये हैं, बल्कि कहीं-कहीं पीछे हटे हैं। जहाँ तक लोगों की इन्कम का सवाल है, मैं जिस प्रांत से आता हूँ, उस प्रांत में पर कैपिटा इन्कम ब्रिजनी 1952 में थी, आज उससे कम है। इस सबका कारण क्या है। मुझे लगता है कि हमारे देश में नेता हो, आफिसर हो, ये सब, जो कि समाज के माइक्रोकोपिक सेक्शन से आये हैं, अपर क्लास से तो हैं ही, साथ ही साथ काफी दिनों से मकाले के जमाने से सिर्फ अंग्रेजियत को मानते हुए, अंग्रेजी को मानते हुए जो लोग आ रहे हैं उनकी एक नई क्लास, एक नई कास्ट बन गई और उस नई क्लास और नई कास्ट का जो दृष्टिकोण है वह देश में 55 करोड़ जो ग्राम जनता है उसके दृष्टिकोण से फर्क है। इससे ग्राम जनता को जो लाभ पहुंचाना चाहिए, वह पहुंच नहीं पाता है।

जहाँ तक प्राइसेज का सवाल है, प्राइसेज बढ़ रही हैं और कोई हिसाब नहीं है उनके बढ़ने का। फिर चीज मिलती भी नहीं है। एक किलो डालडा के लिए मैं मार्केट गया। सुपर मार्केट में काफी लम्बी लाइन थी। मुझ को लाइन में खड़े हो कर मिलने की उम्मीद नहीं थी। श्रीमती जी साथ थीं। औरतों की लाइन कुछ कम थी। मैं उनसे बोला कि औरतों की लाइन में खड़ी हो जाओ, क्योंकि उसमें दस पन्द्रह

औरतें ही खड़ी हैं। तब एक किलो डालडा मिला।

मस्टर्ड आयल जो मीडियम आफ कुकिंग हम लोगों के इलाके में है, उसका दाम आज साढ़े आठ रु० किलो चल रहा है। आज आप दामों को रोकने की बात करते हैं। देश में बढ़ती हुई गरीबी और राईजिंग प्राइसेज को खत्म करने के लिए पहले आपको अपना दृष्टिकोण बदलना होगा। समाज में जो एक बहुत स्माल सेक्शन लीडरशिप या व्युरोक्रेसी का है और उसका जो दृष्टिकोण है उसको बदलना होगा। कांस्पिकुअस कंजम्पशन की बात आप करते हैं कि कांस्पिकुअस कंजम्पशन कैसे हटाएँ। आज हम देख रहे हैं कि इधर में आम लोग तो तबाह हो रहे हैं, लेकिन देश में जो सेलेक्टेड नेता हैं, जो देश का व्युरोक्रेट क्लास है, जो देश में ब्लैक मार्केटियर्स हैं, जो ट्रेडर्स हैं उन लोगों का खर्चा बढ़ रहा है। उसकी कोई सीमा नहीं है। लोगों को रहने के लिए मकान नहीं मिलते हैं, लेकिन दिल्ली में बड़े-बड़े होटलों में, अशोका, इंटर-कांटीनेंटल में बड़े लोगों को जगह नहीं मिलती है। नव वर्ष के एक दिन पहले, जब पुराना साल खत्म होता है, तो नये साल का अभिनन्दन करने के लिए वहां बड़े-बड़े लोगों की पार्टियां होती हैं और उस समय एक कुर्सी के रिजर्वेशन के लिए दो सौ रुपया चाज होता है। उस दिन हजारों रुपयों की शराब पी जाती है। यह पैसा कहां से आता है। यह सब रुपया तो ब्लैक का है। यह सब काला धन है जिस के बारे में वांचू कमेटी ने जिक्र किया है। देश में करीब 3 या 4 हजार करोड़ के करीब काला धन होगा और उसको खत्म करने की हिम्मत हम

लोगों में नहीं है, कम से कम आज की सरकार में तो नहीं है; क्योंकि अगर उस में हिम्मत होती तो वांचू कमेटी की एक राय यह भी थी कि हायर डिनामिनेशन के जो नोट हैं उन को डिमानीटाइज किया जाय। यह क्यों नहीं हो सकता है? यह हो सकता है कि अफसरों के पास, मिनिस्ट्रों के पास हायर डिनामिनेशन के नोटों के बंडल हों और इसी लिये आज देश में जो काला धन है वह देश की इकानामी को तबाह कर रहा है। क्योंकि काला धन एक तरफ तो स्मगलिंग के काम आता है, लोगों को गोल्ड जमा करने को प्रोत्साहित करता है और दूसरी तरफ फिजूल खर्ची बढ़ाता है। इसके कारण ही कोई प्रोडक्टिव एक्सपेंडिचर नहीं हो पाता है और इसी को रोकने की हम को कोशिश करनी चाहिए और इसलिए एक्सपेंडिचर के बारे में हम को बहुत सख्ती से कंट्रोल करना पड़ेगा। आज लोग किस ढंग से खर्च करने हैं। बड़े-बड़े होटलों में, बाहर की गाड़ी खरीदने में और फैशनेबिल लाइफ लीड करने के लिए हजारों रुपया एक रात में बर्बाद कर दिया जाता है। इसको रोकने के लिए सख्ती से कार्यवाही की जानी चाहिए और जहां तक मिनिस्ट्रों, एम०पीज० और बड़े अफसरों का सवाल है उनके वेतन को आप फिक्स रखिये और जो पैराफरनेलिया उनको मिलता है उसको भी हम को कम करना पड़ेगा। अगर हम मिनिस्ट्रों, एम०पीज०, बड़े अफसरों और स्टेट के मिनिस्ट्रों और लेजिस्लेटर्स पर कंट्रोल नहीं करते हैं तो बाहर के लोगों को आप बोल नहीं पायेंगे कि वह अपनी फिजूलखर्ची कम करें। जहां तक और दूसरी एमीनिटीज की बात है उस में ऊंची पोजिशन

[श्री गोलाप बरबोरा]

पर गवर्नमेंट में जो लोग हैं उन को पहले कंट्रोल करना पड़ेगा।

एक और चीज है। मुझे लगता है कि हमारे इस प्लान बनाने में जो दृष्टिकोण अभी तक चलता आ रहा है उसी को ले कर बहुत सी गलती हुई है और इसी लिये हम लोग तरक्की नहीं कर पाते हैं। हम लोगों में जो अपर क्लास के लोग हैं जो एक न्यू क्लास है, जिन में नेता हैं, व्योरोक्रेट्स हैं उन में एक फाल्स सेंस आफ माइनेडजम है और इसी के कारण वे अमरीका और ब्रिटेन की नकल करने में लगे हुए हैं। आज देश में गरीबी इतनी ज्यादा है। देश में प्रोडक्शन हो नहीं रहा है लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि दिल्ली में, बंबई में, कलकत्ता में, बड़े बड़े शहरों में स्काई स्कैपर्स बनते चले जा रहे हैं। पब्लिक एकाउन्ट्स कमेटी के सदस्य की हैसियत से मैं बंबई में ओवर सीज कम्युनिकेशन बिल्डिंग देखने गया था। उस डेढ़ करोड़ की बिल्डिंग में 35 लाख रुपये का मॉबिल ही लगा है और यह सिलसिला आज हर बिल्डिंग में चल रहा है। यह तरीका फिजूलखर्ची करने का है। विदेशों को, रूस को, अमरीका को, वेस्ट जर्मनी को देख कर वे लोग चलते हैं, वहां पर ऊपरी स्ट्रैटा के लोग जिस तरह से रहते हैं उसी तरह से रहने के लिए यहां के नेता और व्योरोक्रेट्स प्लान करते हैं। यह गलत है। हम लोगों की जो बेसिक चीज है उस का हम को ध्यान रखना चाहिए।

प्लान अप्रोच के बारे में कांग्रेसी सदस्यों का कहना है कि यह बहुत बोल्ट है। बोल्ट कहां है यह मुझ नहीं मालूम, लेकिन एक चीज मैं मानता हूं। जहां तक कमजोरियों का सवाल है उन को कुछ हद तक मान लेने की

बोल्टनेस जरूर इस में है। जैसा कि कहा गया है :

"... even with the high rates of growth postulated for the period 1969-70 to 1980-81, the second poorest decile of the population would have a per capita consumption of about Rs. 27 per month at 1968-69 prices in 1980-81. Measured at 1960-61 prices, the level of consumption will amount to Rs. 15 per month."

और भी दूसरी बातें हैं जो इसमें कही गई हैं लेकिन प्लान पर अमल करने के लिए, जनता की तरफ मोड़ने के लिए जो बोल्टनेस होनी चाहिए वह बोल्टनेस इस प्लान में नहीं है। इसमें कहा गया है कि देश में 5 लाख से ज्यादा गांव हैं और उन गांवों के अंदर डेढ़ लाख गांवों में पीने का पानी नहीं है। आप एक प्रोग्राम ले लीजिए कि डेढ़ लाख गांवों को हम लोग अगले दो साल के अंदर पीने का पानी देंगे। इसमें आप चाहते हैं अपोजिशन पार्टियों का सहयोग। मैं मानता हूं कोई भी अपोजिशन पार्टी इस देश में नहीं होगी जो यह कहेगी कि डेढ़ लाख गांवों में अगले दो सालों में पानी नहीं होना चाहिए। तो डेढ़ लाख गांवों में दो साल में आप पानी देंगे, ऐसा बोल्ट स्टेप लीजिए। उसके लिए कुछ काम करना पड़ेगा। डेढ़ लाख गांवों में पानी देने के लिए बिजली की व्यवस्था हो, पम्पिंग सेट्स बगैरह हों, स्माल मशीन्स बगैरह की व्यवस्था हो। आपकी जो प्रोडक्शन यूनिट्स हैं उनमें भी कुछ चेन्जेज लाने पड़ेंगे इस काम को लेने के लिए। लेकिन अगर डेढ़ लाख गांवों में अगले दो साल में पानी लाने का काम आप लेते हैं तो कम से कम 25 लाख लोगों को गांवों में काम मिल जाएगा।

इसके साथ साथ मैं ट्रान्सपोर्ट और कम्युनिकेशन की व्यवस्था के बारे में

कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं अपने प्रान्त की बात नहीं बोल रहा हूँ। बिहार को ले लीजिए। आज बिहार में 3500 बसेज हैं 500-700 तो बेकार रहती हैं, 2700 या 3000 बसेज काम लायक हैं। गए सेन्सस में बिहार की आबादी 5 करोड़ 70 लाख के करीब है। मैं वहाँ बहुत जगहों में गया हूँ अपनी पार्टी के संगठन में। बिहार में कहीं भी किसी बस में, जिसमें 40 आदमी को बैठना है उसमें कम से कम 80-रहते हैं और ऊपर में और 40 रहते हैं। तो इस परिस्थिति को बदलने के लिए आप क्या कीजिएगा? आपके प्लान में इसके लिए कुछ है नहीं। आप बोलडली यह प्रोग्राम लीजिए कि हम प्राइवेट कार्स बनाना बंद कर देंगे अगले पांच साल के लिए और इस अरसे में कम से कम एक लाख बस हिन्दुस्तान को देंगे। हर एक बस में 20 लेबर की खपत होती है। एक लाख बसेस को अगर जल्दी से जल्दी आप बना पाते हैं, प्राइवेट कार्स के प्रोडक्शन को बंद करके, तो फौरन 10 लाख लेबर को काम लग ही जाएगा और साथ ही साथ सारे हिन्दुस्तान के गांवों में जब 9 लाख बसेज धूमने लगेंगी तो उसके साथ साथ छोटे-मोटे दुकानदारों को भी धंधा मिल जाएगा। इस ढंग से रोजगार दिलाने का प्रोग्राम आप लीजिएगा तो आपका प्लान सक्सेसफुल हो सकता है और देश में गरीबी का सवाल बहुत कुछ हल हो सकता है।

कुछ बात मैं रीजनल डिस्पैरिटी के बारे में भी कहना चाहता हूँ। ईस्टर्न रीजन का जहाँ तक सवाल है, मैं पहले बोला हूँ कि मेरे प्रान्त में 1952 जो पर कैपिटल इनकम रही वह आज घट गई है, इसकी वजह क्या है? ईस्टर्न

रीजन में आजादी के पहले ब्रिटिश कैपिटल का बोलबाला था। ब्रिटिश कैपिटल अपने इंटरैस्ट में कहीं कहीं डेवलपमेंट का काम करती थी। वेस्टर्न रीजन में कुछ हिन्दुस्तानी कैपिटलिस्ट लोग रहे हैं। आजादी के बाद जब ब्रिटिश शासन के समाप्त होने के साथ ब्रिटिश कैपिटल का सिंहासन कमजोर होने लगा तो उसने साथ साथ वहाँ की पर-कैपिटल इनकम भी घटने लगी, और अब बॉम्बे कैपिटलिस्ट्स की लाबी मजबूत होने लगी है। हम देखते हैं, जहाँ डिफरेंट रीजन्स के साथ ट्रीटमेंट का सवाल हो वहाँ ईस्टर्न रीजन के प्रान्तों के साथ अन्याय हो रहा है। आप ले लीजिए जूट प्रोग्राम का सवाल और ले लीजिए काटन प्रोग्राम का सवाल। महाराष्ट्र में या उसके अगल बगल के प्रान्तों में अगर कहीं काटन का भाव गिर जाए तो हल्ला मचाया जाता है, सपोर्ट प्राइस का सवाल उठाया जाता है। सही भी है कि किसान को, जब कोई प्राइस गिर जाती है, तो प्राइस सपोर्ट देना चाहिए। लेकिन ईस्टर्न रीजन में, आसाम में, बंगाल में जहाँ जूट का सवाल है वहाँ जूट प्रोग्राम के साथ क्या बर्ताव होता है? जूट प्रोग्राम तबाह हो रहे हैं, उनको दाम नहीं मिलता है। हर साल जूट के कल्टीवेशन के शुरू होने के समय जूट प्रोग्राम को व्यवसायी लोग थोड़ा दान दे देते हैं, उसके बाद आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता जूट का दाम गिरने लगता है। पहले यह प्रिंसिपल मानकर चला जाता था कि एक मन जूट के दाम कम से कम तीन मन पेड़ी लोगों को मिले, लेकिन, उस प्रिंसिपल से देखा जाय तो आज चावल की जो कीमत है उसके हिसाब से जूट प्रोग्राम को कुछ नहीं मिलता है, उन्हें जिन्दा रहना मुश्किल हो रहा है।

[श्री गोलाप बरबोरा]

साथ ही साथ कम्प्यूनिक्शन का भी सवाल है। ईस्टर्न रीजन को डेवलप करना है, विशेषकर आसाम, मेघालय, मनीपुर, त्रिपुरा को तो वहाँ के ट्रांसपोर्ट सिस्टम को डेवलप करना होगा। इंडस्ट्रियल गुड्स में ट्रांसपोर्ट का सवाल जुड़ा हुआ है। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि उस रीजन को डेवलप करने के लिए ट्रांसपोर्ट सिस्टम को स्ट्रेन्थेन करना चाहिए।

जूट, टी इंडस्ट्री में जो लोग लगे हुए हैं उन मजदूरों को, किसानों को राहत देने की कोशिश कीजिए। दुख की बात है कि टी इंडस्ट्री में बहुत बड़ा सवाल बेकारी का खड़ा हुआ है। जहाँ पहले पर एकर 1.5 लेबर रेशो था वह अब 1.1 रह गया है। अभी अभी मैं आसाम गया था, देखकर आया हूँ कि आपकी ही पार्टी के नेतृत्व में, आई एन टी यू सी की ओर से हड़ताल हो रही है, बागानों में स्ट्राइक है कि जो लैड-आफ लेबर है उसको काम पर वापस लेना चाहिए। यह प्रावलम वहाँ खड़ा हुआ है। इन सब चीजों पर विचार कर ईस्टर्न रीजन की इंडस्ट्री और कम्प्यूनिक्शन के लिए आप जल्द से जल्द कुछ कीजिए, यही मुझे कहना है।

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana): The hon. Minister of Planning in his speeches during the last one year has been rightly sing his faith in planning and wanting that everybody should have faith in the planning process. He has been ridiculing all those who do not have the same faith. Sir, during his last speech in Rajya Sabha on the PHI) of May, he wanted the Members to renew their faith in the process of planning.

I am equally a believer in plan and planning process because I consider planning to be essential economic discipline-Economic discipline is most essential if we have to lift our country from an underdeveloped stage to a modern state equal to any advanced country in the

comity of nations. While planning, we have to have a ruthless analysis, as he rightly said while moving this Motion in this House. In order to involve the whole nation in the process of planning, it is very essential that the Planning Minister after the Planning Commission should give a correct impression that they themselves faith in planning and economic discipline. I would like to bring before this House same facts from which the House may judge whether the Planning Commission was itself serious about planning and believed in ruthlessly analysing the economic situation before placing before the country this document.

Sir, as the Hon'ble Minister said, we must have a ruthless analysis of the situation. I would refer to the time when we started thinking in terms of this Fifth plan, Shri Subramniam, the previous Planning Minister, had prepared a paper called 'Towards an Approach to the Fifth Plan'. That was accepted by the Planning Commission, the Cabinet and the National Development Council. Then came our friend Shri D. P. Dhar on the scene. The Planning Commission prepared the document "Approach to the Fifth Plan". It is a very well-reading document and all the commitments of Shri Dhar have been put into it. It has very clearly said that it wants growth with social justice. This document was also accepted by the Planning Commission. Then the Cabinet was made to accept it: then the National Development Council put its seal on it. That was probably in November 1972. It was clearly mentioned in the Approach paper that 1970-71 has been taken as the base year for prices. In November 1972 when the Plan document was got accepted by the National Development Council the prices had risen by 12 per cent and the monsoon had failed and the base of the Plan was being eroded. Was not the future perspective of the whole Plan clear before the Planning Commission and the Planning Minister? Did it not occur to them that in this process the cabinet of the country was being ridiculed? And the National Development Council had been made a plaything. Today they want to reduce the plan according to the present prices. What are the factors which were not known in November and because of



which they got the Plan document accepted at the 1970-71 price level? Even on the 19th May, Shri Dhar in his reply to the Debate on price rise in Rajya Sabha referring to my speech, to my apprehension that the rise in prices is likely to erode into not only the basic postulates but also some essential contents of the Plan, said that my apprehensions were unfounded and he justified taking 1970-71 as the base year. It is only now Shri Dhar is saying that there might be a contraction in the Plan. Does his formulation of the Plan and understanding of the Planning process show that ruthless economic discipline that is required for the promoters of the Plan? This puts doubt in one's mind whether the Planning Minister and the Planning Commission have faith in and understanding of the planning process.

The Planning Minister has referred again and again to the socio-economic constraints and to the constraints of international environments. He referred to the increase in the non-productive defence expenditure increasing from Rs. 250 to Rs. 300 crores in 1962 to Rs. 1600 crores last year, because of the Indo-China war and recently the Bangladesh struggle and the Indo-Pak war. We realise the situation and we are proud of what the Government has done, what India has done but may I bring to this notice and also to the notice of the House that in fact the highest burden of defence was borne in the year 1963-64 when it was 4.5 per cent of the GNP? That year was also the second highest year of domestic savings and economic growth of 4.5 per cent. There was very little of price rise even though we had the maximum of defence expenditure. Sir, Vietnam was in the throes of war for the last 15 years but because of national discipline there was no price rise in Vietnam. Since then even in the year of Bangladesh crisis the defence expenditure here did not reach the level of the burden of 45 per cent of the GNP. I think all the economists in the Planning Commission who feed Shri Dhar on the facts of the situation and on the constraints of the defence burden perhaps have not told him the whole truth. For your information, may I say that Pakistan which went through such a traumatic experience in

1971, which was cut into two and defeated in 1971, had a growth of 6.5 per cent in GNP last year whereas ours is almost zero? So, Sir, let us be ruthless in our analysis and let us not look for cheap alibis for our failure. After reading Shri Dhar's speech on price rise in Rajya Sabha where he did not explain as to why we have this phenomenon of price rise, the highest after independence and one of the highest in the world, a friend of mine recited a couplet which I would like to bring to the Minister's notice and I hope he will keep that couplet before him when he replies to the debate. This is the couplet:

तु इधर उधर की न बात कर,  
ये बता कि काफिले क्यों लुटे,  
तेरी रहबरी का सवाल है,  
मुझे राहजन से गरज नहीं।

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra):  
What does it mean?

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Don't talk of this thing or that thing. Tell us how the caravan was looted. Your leadership is a stake. I am not concerned about the dacoits. The whole question of leadership is on trial. While speaking on the 19th May here he said: —

"It is a crisis. We do not deny it."

While speaking the day before yesterday he said that we should not describe it a situation of crisis. I do not know whether this is planning discipline.

Now, Sir, let us look at the Approach document and see whether it answers the basic questions for which planning is being done. When Jawaharlal Nehru invited Vinoba Bhave before the formulation of the First Plan, he came to Delhi. He asked him a simple question: Does this Plan give full employment and self-reliance agricultural production in this country or not? If the Plan does not satisfy these two things, then the common man of this country has no use for this Plan. Let us examine these issues as enunciated in the Approach document. We have figures to show that after every Plan the number of unemployed has doubled. I think the Planning Commission has better figures than we have got.

[Shri Krishan Kant]

Here is a new approach and a radical approach. Here I want to read from the document itself and show whether unemployment will increase or decrease at the end of the Fifth Plan. Some Members have given certain figures, but I am going to quote from what the Approach paper says.

SHRI BABUBHAJ M. CHINAI (Maharashtra): Mr. Dharia can say it when he replies.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Mr. Dharia has been going to all the State capitals and promising many things ...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Dr. Kurian, even as it is we are racing against time and Mr. Krishan Kant is unusually slow today.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Prof. Mahalanobis had enunciated in the Second Plan a strategy to achieve full employment in ten years. Employment is the only solution to end poverty. As somebody said, give me a job and I will remove my poverty. What does the paper say? It has divided employment into two parts. One is wage employment and the other is self-employment. It says on page 4:—

"An assessment of the additional wage-employment likely to be generated in the Fifth Plan period shows that the total will fall short of the estimated increase in the labour force. There are, in addition, the vast numbers of the pre-existing unemployed, the under-employed and the very thinly employed."

Then, it says:—

"As for employment of the generalists, it must be noted that they grow out of all proportion to the needs of the economy."

Then, it says:—

"Public services cannot absorb even the new entrants to the ranks of the educated, much less make a dent on pre-existing unemployment"

I am quoting from the Approach paper:—

"At the present pace of industrialisation any mass scale transfer of labour force from agriculture to non-agriculture sectors is ruled out."

So, unemployment will grow in the wage employment sector. Regarding self-employment the position is this:—

"Some 2/3 of the population are engaged in agriculture. An additional two-thirds labour force will be generated in the same sector in the next Plan."

The paper further says that the plan strategy will create more employment in the agricultural sector.

They say a redistributive land reform system derives its basic rationale from this consideration. Land reform is for giving further employment, but we know what has happened to land reforms. It has been sabotaged by the chief Ministers themselves. Perhaps he knows—and he was a member of the nine-man committee—how the whole thing has been sabotaged. It is interesting to note how contradictory statements are made in the Approach paper. On page 47 of the Approach paper they say that the allocation for agriculture in the Fourth Plan was 20.7 per cent. This has been reduced in the Fifth Plan to 19.7 per cent. If the allocation for agriculture is going to be reduced, how are you going to create more employment? At least they must be knowing it. I do not think the Planning Commission can be fool the people by saying that the total allocation is Rs. 7,000 crores. If with 20.7 per cent allotment to agriculture in the Fourth Plan, the rate of growth has been this dismal, what would happen in the Fifth Plan? Even with the rate of growth of 20.7 per cent, we have to import wheat worth Rs. 600 crores. With the 19.7 per cent allocation the rate of growth in agriculture would be reduced. Actual increases in targets are even lower than those targeted for in Fourth Plan. As regards foodgrains, from 31.5 per cent it is reduced to 22 per cent in the Fifth Plan. In regard to sugar and Gur, it is proposed to be brought down from 32.1 per cent to 28 per cent. I do not know how agricultural situation will improve. Taking both

the wage and self-employment sectors, unemployment will increase. This is what their own paper says. I do not know how they are declaring that employment will be tackled.

Without these two objectives, how can we say that there is a planning process catering to the needs of the people. Shri Dhar wants us to have faith in the Plan. Can he say how the people can have faith in the Plan? See the rate of price rise. The price rise is alarming—20 per cent is there according to government figures. Actually a study has been made and the price rise more than 25 to 30 per cent. If it continues like this, within a period of five years, we shall be where we are now, and there will be no Plan. The Plan will remain only on paper. Actually it is more than 100 per cent. I am saying it on the basis of Government figures.

Then common man has always suffered. When the Third Plan or the Fourth Plan started, they started with the core sector and the basic minimum need. In the middle of each Plan it used to be said that because the Plan has to be saved, let us save the core sector. That was also done in the mid-term appraisal of the Fourth Plan. Here, even before the Fifth Plan started, we have started talking of saving the core sector, and the minimum needs we shall see later on. Whatever their reply may be, ultimately this is going to happen. What about the basic needs and all that? (*Interruptions*). They want to save the core sector. Let us see the figures as between 1961-66 and 1966-70. industrial production has gone down from 10.3 to 3.4, basic industries from 12.9 to 5.9, capital goods industries from 28.3 to 5.1, intermediate 8.3 to 1.6. consumer goods 5.5 to 3.6 and agro-based industries from 4.8 to 1.5. This is what I want to say. What about the basic minimum needs. We wanted basic education: we promised that we would make nil literate within 10 years. The number of literates in the country has increased, certainly. But we want the involvement of the people's conscience in building up a socialist society. But our rate of growth of literacy is one-half per cent. Is it not a shame? We want planning. we want to build up socialism, we want to take

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people along with it. The Report of the Central Advisory Board of Education says:

"The original target of introducing universal education in the age group 6—11 by 1975-76 and that in age group 11—14 by 1980, is therefore, not feasible."

In the Gandhi Centenary year, we decided to provide drinking water to every village. Gandhi Centenary year has passed four years ago. But the villages remain without drinking water.

This year, on the 15th August, the Government promised that every landless labourer will be given a homestead by the 15th of August, 1973. Fourteen days are left. May I know how many people in this country have been given homesteads? Dr. Ahmad and I visited Bihar and Bengal and other places. Crores live without homesteads and even where they have been given, they, the landless people, have been evicted.

What is going to happen? With the increase in the prices, the lowest 5 per cent to 10 per cent of the strata, their consumption level has gone down by 5 per cent or 6 per cent. Their consumption level has gone down from 27 paise per day to 22 paise per day. Is this the Plan that they are going to put in? Take the big industrial houses. Their number increased from 75 to 93. They have grown in assets. ICI by 283 per cent; ICI by 174 per cent; Shri Ram by 155 per cent. Birlas by 147.26 per cent; Sarabhai by 133.95 per cent, Killick by 123.32 per cent, Scindias by 114.69 per cent. Singhanias by 111.63 per cent. Bangurs by 110.34 per cent, Tatas by 105.57 per cent. What about the removal of disparities? The poor are becoming poorer. It is not only that, Sir. Why is all this happening? Prices rise, disparities have increased, poverty increases, monopoly is growing and our policy has vanished in the air.

It must be understood that plan models are totally neutral to socio-economic systems. In other words, the same plan could have been pushed in the direction of more radical changes in the society as well as towards a conservative direction for maintaining the socio economic *status quo*. The choice was yours and ours. The planning

[Shri Krishan Kant.] process was like a power plant of an aircraft around which you design the aircraft you want define its role—military or civilian. In our case, we borrowed this model from outside and we had no idea of what we had to do with it. Consequently, in the last 25 years, in spite of our repealed planning exercises, there has neither been a satisfactory economic growth nor an attempt at promoting social justice. There is no question of quarrelling with the model. The moving forces are not the input-output models or the Fieldman model of the Soviet Union or the Harodamar model in the western countries or their mixture. The moving force is the human factor which has been neglected in the planning process. It was to this factor that Gunnar Myrdal referred and reminded us of Gandhi whom we seem to have forgotten. The Fifth Plan Approach has, with the best of intentions, tried to say that the consumption of the upper 30 per cent will be reduced and the consumption of the lower 30 per cent increased. But how is it possible when the income of the upper 30 per cent has been increasing?

Our industrial and foreign collaboration policies have moved in the opposite direction. Here I have a paper which I would like this House to see how we are using our industrial production and collaboration agreements for the last three or four years. There have been foreign collaboration not only for ladies undergarments but even for men's undergarments, for bush-shirts, for collars, for neckties. For cosmetics there were 2. For jewellery there were 3. For wooden furniture there was 1, For baby scales there was 1. For educational toys there were 3 collaborations. Further, there were foreign collaborations for the following:

Gramophone records	3
Record player and changer	2
Flint stone for cigarette lighter	2
Cigarette lighter	1
Chewing Gum Base	1
Printing Tnk	4
Gum, r Gum	2

are these the agreements which would reduce consumption by 30 per cent in the upper class?

We have no policy for technology. We have been having repeated collaborations. Why not let us learn from Japan? They had the determination. They imported one collaboration and then they tried to develop it by themselves. Is the same determination shown by the Government here? There has been repetitive collaboration as is evident from these figures:

- 14 Collaborations for water Metres;
- 3 Collaborations for glazed tiles;
- 14 Collaborations for Diesel engines;
- 11 Collaborations for Dry cell and batteries;
- 4 Collaborations for Paper cones and loudspeakers and so on. I have a long list with me.

Then I come to basic structural changes. This Approach Document refers to basic institutional changes. Basic structural changes were aimed at by Government by two steps land reform and foodgrain takeover. The way land reform has been sabotaged by the Chief Ministers of this country is clear to every one. The result of the land reform is that those who have land will be able to acquire more lands. The recent Planning Commission report says very clearly that the reason for non-implementation of the land reform is lack of political will. It says:

"The lack of political will is amply demonstrated by the large gaps between policy and legislation and law and its implementation. In no sphere of public activity in our country since Independence has the hiatus between precept and practice, between policy pronouncements and actual execution, been so great as in the domain of land reforms."

Is this the institutional change that has been brought out?

SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): He has only told the truth.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: What about the foodgrain takeover? The foodgrain takeover has been resorted to only halfheartedly. Here is a report of a Committee

on Foodgrain Takeover by the Andhra Pradesh Government. We decided to take over rice mills at Avadi. We pass resolutions and announce policies to be kept on the shelves. There is no figure of rice mills with the Government for taking over rice mills. It says, "There is no upto-date, reliable and correct data in respect of rice mills with any agency of the Government. No one has count of unlicensed rice mills. The number of rice mills actually operating in the State is anybody's guess." The number of unlicensed rice mills is estimated by the Committee to be over 10,000.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: What is happening? The difficulty is whatever we do we are not clear about the perspective.

SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE: Please allow him to continue. He is talking sense.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But unfortunately the time does not permit.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: The difficulty is we are not clear about the society we want to create. We are not clear about the strategy we want to adopt. We took over foodgrains trade in a half-hearted manner. Uptil now there was black money only in the industrial sector to the extent of Rs. 10,000 crores annually. This black money is being generated now in the agricultural sector with the food grains takeover.

Therefore, Sir, what are the basic factors which ail our economy and planning? In my humble opinion these are two: (1) black money and (2) lack of political will and determination. If these two factors are there; the Plan will not be a success. We have reached a stage in our economy where black money has become a Frankenstein both economically and politically. It has blunted both the instruments of administration and the political parties. Sir, we recently read about the escape of Abu Bakar, the smuggler, from the Bombay jail. How did he escape?

*(Interruption,')*

SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE: Make him the Finance Minister of India!

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Black money is no longer a parallel economy. It is a parallel administration, it is a parallel polity, it is eating into the very vitals of our whole system. Sir, it influences political decisions. It comes in the way of active procurement and distribution of foodgrains. It fritters away foreign exchange in smuggling. It leads to licensing and collaboration arrangements for luxury items and so on. In fact, as the black money sector expands, the area which the elected Government of country can effectively influence politically and economically contracts.

Shri Dhar gave various descriptions of J. But he did not give the real description anywhere—the operation by the forces which constitute the parallel economy and polity of the country, which the Government is either unwilling or unable to control. This, more than the Government expenditure, bank advances, and so on, is the real reason for inflation. Smuggling flourishes to the extent of Rs. 400 crores a year, as admitted by Mr. Ganesh. The total black money transactions which were estimated at Rs. 7,000 crores in 1968-69 have now gone up to Rs. 10,000 crores. Let us, therefore, identify the enemy correctly. Let us not cease alter the shadows instead of concentrating on the real enemy. But the question is: Do we have the political will? Sir, when a delegation of scientists headed by Dr. Kothari went to the Soviet Union, the Chairman of the Russian Planning Commission said, "Dr. Kothari, there can be various models, various methods, but the basic requirement is determination." We are lacking in that to-day. It is not merely the Plan that is in danger to-day. Ultimately it is the democratic system which is under threat from the parallel economy and polity. The big business and industrialists are trying to control Central politics at the all-India level. The State politics is being controlled by the local industrialists and businessmen. We know how "Cadillac Pimps" operate here. This is what is happening.

Shri Dhar said that the Plan requires discipline. Economic planning is nothing but economic discipline. But there is no economic planning possible without there being political discipline. It is this inability to

[Shri Krishan Kant.] fight against the menace of the blackmar-keteer, the smuggler, the profiteer, the hoarder and the speculator, which has resulted in subversion of our Plans to their ends as well as generation of black money and the increasing menace of black polity. If there is to be a ruthless analysis today, then it must be recognised that the Government control over the economy has progressively been shrinking. While the Government regulations increase, the area of effective jurisdiction is decreasing. One has to recognise these things.

Mr. Goray had talked of an Indian model of planning. But what is happening is, we wanted to have the best of both the worlds, the socialist system and the Western system. We have imported the black money politics of the Western system and the bureaucratic stranglehold of the socialist system, without the countervailing forces which function in the capitalist society and in the socialist society. In capitalist societies, they have free competition which keep the economy under control and in the socialist systems, there are strong, devoted party cadres which keep the bureaucracy under control. But we have neither party cadres nor committed parties. They are merely pawns in the hands of black money.

(Time-belt rin^s)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, you should wind up.

SHRI JAGAN NATH BHARDWAJ (Himachal Pradesh): This is your discipline. The bell is ringing and you go on speaking.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: What we are heading towards is a corrupt society of the Chiang Kai-Shek type. There is no question of any lurking joy for the Opposition because the Government is in trouble. The whole political system is in trouble. So, there is no question of joy for the Opposition. The economy is in trouble. People are losing faith in the credibility of the politicians, as was clear from the Bengal Bandh. The people are in a new mood now. If you want to really plan and have economic discipline, first have political discipline. Have control over blackmoney. Have

austerity, as advised by Gandhiji. I would end by quoting Gandhiji: "A violent and bloody revolution is a certainty one day unless there is a voluntary abdication of riches and the power that riches give, and them for the common good." Sir, uning of Gandhiji must be heard. I am not predicting gloom. I know the people of India will grow up and they are brave. But I must warn that history never started Ir. D. P. Dhar or Krishan Kant and all of us sitting here. The history of India was there before we came and will d after us. India can and will become great. But the only question is: What do we do now in the hour of crisis? Are we prepared to change fundamentally the system or not? Otherwise, this catastrophe is going to overtake us.

श्री सीताराम केसरी (बिहार) :  
उत्पन्नमपति महोदय, पंचवर्षीय योजना पर मेरे कृष्णकान्त भाई और दोस्तों ने जो तक्रार की उसके बाद मैं विस्तार में तो नहीं जाऊंगा, पर इतनी बात अवश्य कहूंगा कि पंचवर्षीय योजना वास्तव में वह योजना है—आज तक जितनी योजनाएँ थीं वह सोवियेट्स की थीं पर यह पहली बार योजना है—जो अपार्ट-गिटी, अवसर, बेकारों के लिए काम देने की योजना है।

योजना के सम्बन्ध में मैं इतना कहना चाहता हूँ कि मिस्टर डी०पी० धर ने पंचवर्षीय योजना में अपने व्यक्तित्व के द्वारा देश का आर्थिक चित्र देश के सामने प्रस्तुत किया है। इस आर्थिक चित्र में हमारी सरकार और हमारे देश के गरीब लोगों के लिए जो बेचारे झोपड़ियों में रहते हैं, जहाँ न रोगनी जाती है, जिनके पास न स्वास्थ्य का प्रबन्ध है, ऐसे लोगों के लिए एक प्रबन्ध की योजना है। लेकिन मैं कहूँगा कि इस योजना के आधार पर देश की सरकार निर्धार करती है और जिस आज की परिस्थिति में विशेषरूप से देश गजर रहा है और जिस तरह से

कीमतों की बढ़ोत्तरी हो रही है उसको देखते हुए मैं समझता हूँ कि यदि यह पंचवर्षीय योजना कामयाब हुई तो इस दिशा में यह फौलादी कदम होगा।

महोदय, एक चीज जो इस योजना में मैं देखता हूँ, जो बुनियादी कमजोरी मेरी दृष्टि से है वह 'वन मैन, वन जाव' की योजना होनी चाहिए। एक व्यक्ति को एक ही काम मिलना चाहिए। यह नहीं होना चाहिए कि एक व्यक्ति नौकरी भी करे और खेती भी करे। मेरे ख्याल से नौकरी करने वाले को खेती का अधिकार नहीं होना चाहिए और खेती करने वाले को नौकरी का अधिकार नहीं होना चाहिए। इससे देश में एक नई चीज पैदा होगी।

दूसरी चीज मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जापान में बेकारी दूर करने की योजना क्या है? जापान में जो इंडस्ट्री है, उद्योग-धंधे डेवलप होते हैं उनके लिए यह प्रबन्ध होता है कि जितने लड़के एक कालेज से पढ़कर निकलें उनको नौकरी दी जाए। चूँकि मैं बोलने वाला तो नहीं था, मगर मैं देखता हूँ कि हमारे कृष्णकांत और कल चन्द्रशेखर जी ने इतनी अच्छी तकरीर की, कुछ हमारे दोस्तों ने उसमें राजनीतिक बातें भी ला दीं और चूँकि मैं विशेष रूप से तैयार होकर भी नहीं आया था और आपने बुलाया उसके लिए आपका धन्यवाद लेकिन मैं विशेषकर श्री डी०पी० धर से कहूँगा कि जो योजना आपने देश के सामने दी है, जो आर्थिक चित्र दिया है उसकी पूर्ति कीजिए। ऐसा नहीं कि नेशनल डेवलपमेंट काउंसिल की मीटिंग में चीफ मिनिस्टर लोग आयें, आपकी योजना का समर्थन करें और अपने प्रदेश में जाकर कहें कि हमको और पैसे की जरूरत है और योजना के अनुसार आपकी

कोई मदद नहीं करें। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि उन लोगों से प्रदेशों के आधार पर आप समर्थन लें।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आपकी योजना का समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM (Nominated.): Sir, we have had a 4 P.M. very educative, exciting, interesting, debate on the Approach to the tilth Plan, I do not propose to deal with any particular aspect, any particular proposal, of the Approach to the Fifth Plan. With your permission and the permission of the House, I will not make a formal speech, out relate a story, a true story, which has a bearing on the important human factor which will govern the success of the coming Plan. And that story is that a cousin of mine wanted to stay about six months in England. He wrote to his English friend asking him if it would be convenient if he could stay for a fortnight with him and then have his own lodging and lotner arrangements. He received a warm reply. When he reached London, the friend was in his office, his wife, who knew about his coming, was at home. After greeting the Indian friend, she took up the telephone and asked the person at the other end to send a ration card for an Indian friend who had come to stay for a fortnight. The other end was the rationing office. The rationing officer replied back, "I am sending you the ration card and with that the application for the ration card". The rationing officer never doubted that she was speaking the truth that an Indian had come, and would stay for a fortnight. Within five minutes the ration card came through the orderly and the ration card was given first and then the application for the ration card. The ration card contained nothing but the signature of the officer. He had left all the other details, the name, the number of days etc., to be filled in by the lady. And the lady filled in the application and sent back the application. And the rationing of the guest started. Those were terrible days for the United Kingdom. There was very great shortage of two important commodities, sugar and butter. The reasons were beyond the control of the

[Shri Jairamdas Daulatram.]

Government. Everybody knew that this is the situation, that we have only one-fourth the quantity of the sugar and one-fourth quantil) of the butter in the country. And the rationing started. There was the 75 p.c. cut. There were no rationing shops. Everybody presented the ration card to his shopkeepers from whom he always purchased sugar and butter. The shopkeepers gave the sugar and butter according to the ration card at government fixed prices which continued. And this system went on. There were a great number of protest—meetings in man) towns in England. And when these protest meetings were counted, the number was found to be Zero. There were many flaming posters on the walls of all the towns of England about this cruel rationing —75 per cent cut—and when the posters were counted, the total number was Zero. There were angry, accusing speeches in Parliament from the Opposition, front benchers and back-benchers and when the speeches were counted, their number was Zero. The nation understood the situation. The enlightened citizenship in them prevailed. They realised that this is a difficult situation through which they are passing and as citizens they thought that in the interests of the nation they had to accept the 75 per cent and they accepted that cut willingly. But it was for a brief period and what was that brief period? That brief period was four long, long years and throughout these long, long four years the British nation stood the test. That was the national discipline they had.

Now let us understand our position. Let us not forget that at the end of this Fifth Plan, are the millions of our own people who are poor: millions of our own people who are also awakened to their poverty: millions of people who are capable of some action. This is the testing time of the Indian nation. Is the Indian nation able, with the co-operation of everybody, to deal with the situation and guide the country to ordered progress?

The Opposition parties have had their say. In my opinion the voice of criticism must now cease in the country. After all we are working under a democracy. Under a democratic Government, a Plan has been rut before us. The Plan has to be passed by the Parliament and by us, the Members,

ho are the leaders of the nation by a majority under our democratic system. The Plan has defects here and there. And we have to deal with those defects from year to year. But the voice of criticism must now cease and the voice of co-operatioii and action of co-operation must begin. If we want to deal with this country properly and show to the world that if we had the fitness and capacity to force the British out of this country by methods which were never employed in the history of the world, we are able to manage our own affairs and can have ordered progress and complete our Five Year Plan not in five years, but, as some countries have done, in a briefer period, the voice of criticism must cease. I hope that if the nation co-operates and does not work under the domination of party feelings—the parly feeling must subordinate itself to the national feeling at this time. There are issues on which Parties can struggle in Parliament—the Plan will succeed. Now that we have come to the period for action, shaping the country's future, trying to change the situation for the better, trying to do something for the welfare of the people for whom we are all here, the voice of criticism must cease and the voice of co-operation and action of co-operation must begin. This is all that I have to say as an humble servant of the nation.

DR. M. R. WAS (Maharashtra): Mr. Deputy Chairman, the hon. Minister has very eloquently described the aims and objects that he has before him. That stands in many ways in contrast to the almost routine type of draft plans which have been incorporated in the Approach paper. There has been a lot of criticism and there are prophets of gloom, as he has said. But, Sir, I am sure that the Planning Minister will see to it that despite all the troubles and difficulties which face this Plan he will surely find his way to implement the important part of the Plan.

Sir, our Planning Minister's job is really an unenviable one. I would compare him to a charioteer with a multiple number of horses whom he can neither bridle nor whip. As he has himself said, he has identified some of those forces which have been so far uncontrollable: inflation, indiscipline and wasteful expenditure. He has also boldly



referred to the details of these three uncontrollable forces. But, Sir, may I know whether the Planning Commission or the Ministry sincerely believes that they would be able to bridle any of these forces which have made our Plans not as successful as we have been hoping for? The crux of the difficulty and drawback in our planning is that unfortunately we have been looking upon planning as only a section of the work and a distinct department of the Government and the Planning Commission which is permitted to vision up a plan and a future for the country, but has very little control over the implementation part of it once the Plan is put forward before the nation or the Parliament or the Government. The concerned Ministries pursued their own policies which are at times completely at variance with what has been planned or what have been our objectives. Shri Dhar himself has pointed out this by stating that his Plan proposals envisage suggestions on finance, industrial licensing, export-import policy, agriculture, etc. Well, Sir, we can only wish him success. I say this because unless all those concerned are committed fully to the Plan directives, the next Plan, however bold, will face the same fate as the previous Plans have faced in the past.

Sir, the honourable Minister has touched upon the very vital question of discipline. But whom will he discipline? Will he discipline the Central Government, the State Governments, the rich farmer, the capitalist, the trader, the bureaucracy and, last but not the least, the organised sector of labour? These have proved in the past to be too big a fish to be swallowed by anyone and many plans have been shattered because of this and not even a single one of these they have been able to bridle or bring under their control or even discipline. I am saying this not with a view to underlining the impossibility of the aims and objectives put forward by him, but with a view to showing the major obstacles that our economy is facing, and we have been helplessly facing, and the lot of things that go astray despite our pious hopes.

Now, Sir, something about the Plan itself. Sir, some Members have criticised the emphasis on the core sector, namely, the heavy industry sector and they have advocated that there should be greater attention paid to the small-scale industry sector. Prof.

Ruthnaswamy even described the Government approach as trying to build a house from the top floor downwards. I am afraid, Sir, the analogy would be correct only to the contrary. If you study the history of the heavily industrialised nations of the world today, you will see that industrialisation of this magnitude was preceded by increase in production in iron and steel and electricity. Even a look at the Indian economy will reveal this: Why is there a great scope for small-scale and ancillary industries in India today? It is because we have built up a base. Today, Sir, we build engines, small and big machinery, planes, etc. Could this have been possible without an increase in the production of iron and steel, electricity and other infra-structure of industrialization? Could we have achieved even the limited improvement in our agriculture without the so-called grandiose dams? Certainly not. The fault actually lies not in the implementation of these schemes of heavy industries, electricity and dams, but with the attempt that has been made and the policy that has been pursued to bring under the concept of control all the subsidiaries, including small-scale industries. As has been pointed out by several hon. Members, the irony of our Plans has been that the rich have grown richer and monopoly houses have grown stronger. Why? This is because all the industries even outside the core sector are subjected to so many procedures and licences that only influential and big capitalists who can have enough paraphernalia at their disposal can cope with and obtain licences and establish industries. The small entrepreneur is simply overwhelmed by this avalanche of procedures. I would like to know why there should be any such need for licensing of industries which require neither scarce raw materials nor any import licence. However big or small ancillary and other industries be, it should be freely permissible for any one to establish an industry and run it. And I am sure the competitiveness it will produce will lead to reduction in prices and also not permit the monopoly houses to grab major industries in the country.

On the other side, we allow certain houses to have permission to set up big industries or even small industries on the basis of imported material or scarce raw material. But when they produce, we e\*or-

[Dr. M. R. Vyas.]

cise no control of that production and consequently they go on increasing the prices as it suits them and they take the greatest benefit that no other industry can come up because of the import trade restrictions or non-availability of raw material and because the Government will not license any other parallel scheme.

Shri Dhar has made a reference to the necessity of greater control on distribution of essentials. This is quite right. But one thing is sure. No number of centres of distribution is going to help consumers unless the Government is able to ensure that there will be regular supplies at a controlled price. Today this is happening: You have got a number of co-operative societies, a number of centres, a number of people, who are willing to distribute at a marginal profit, but those who supply the goods, who produce those goods say that they have no stocks; they will not produce the stocks or they will not make them available, even if they produce, with the bank money which comes from Government sources. If this is the position, I am sure that whatever the number of distribution centres or whatever system you devise for distribution, you are not going to control the prices or check inflation.

Well, I do not wish to go into the details of individual items and the Plan targets. I would like to point out a few lacunae.

Nowadays the greatest problem is water. Strangely enough, this country is the recipient of some of the world's heaviest rainfall and has been blessed with gigantic rivers. But have you done anything with this gift of Nature, leaving aside a few dams here and there? Every year, we witness the same drama: No rains at some places, floods at some other places, hue and cry because of drought or floods. Have you ever cared to investigate the fate of our rivers? A number of them have even disappeared from the face of the earth. In fact, you do not have to make a serious investigation at all. You just go to any river bed wherever you are and you will find every year a heavy siltage coming and thereby the bed of the river every year losing its level by half-inch or a quarter of an inch. and as a result you find that the floods

spread and less and less water is available the minute the rains are gone. Yet there is no plan to conserve that water. Most of the dams have been built for different purposes and had been planned in the pre-Independence days. I have not seen any scheme for de-silting the rivers. It is not a very costly affair. If you teach the villagers how to do it and if you make it incumbent on the villages on the river banks that their rivers should be de-silted every year just as you clean your houses every day, you will find that the rivers will have plenty of waters and less of floods destroying your fields.

A parallel proposal on this very important aspect of our lives is about rains. As you know, rains depend on the amount of afforestation and greenery in the country. If you travel from Delhi to Kanyakumari, you will find a scarcity of forests. You can travel in any part of India except some parts in Himachal Pradesh and a few parts in Punjab you will find that people cut trees as they like and nobody cares about it. I do not think that our Planning Ministry has even thought of protecting these forests which are in the countryside. The rivers spread because the trees on the banks have been removed. If a forest is destroyed by fire, nobody cares to see that it is restored. We wonder why there are greater vagaries of rains. It is because you remove the very things which bring the rains.

Then there is the question of unemployment. I am sorry that we have got a category called "educated unemployed". I would like to say that the majority of them are miseducated unemployed. You send them to costly colleges. Their parents spend a lot of money. What do they learn? If you ask them to put a screw in the door, they are unable to do it. If you ask them to do some ordinary work and mend a thing which is there, they cannot do it. They are not taught anything that will be useful to the society. They are not taught something which will get them immediate employment. They are taught books which are prescribed from the days of Macaulay. This is what our education is.

Then there is another difficulty. It is the question of resources. Everybody runs to the Centre for resources. If any State has

a plan, they run to the Centre for the resources. I find that most of the States have not been making any attempt to mobilise resources at their disposal. Nobody wants to make any attempt to mobilise any resources. They just ask the Centre to give them money. That is the mentality. The Planning Commission should see that we learn to have self-reliance.

Lastly, I would refer to the question of financial resources in a general way. Despite apparent poverty, I can say that if we harness the resources, there is enough money in this country. The largest stock of gold in the world is in India according to an assessment of the World Bank. Unfortunately, this large stock of gold is in private hands. Most of the gold is in the shape of ornaments. Other countries of the world who are far richer than us have discarded this habit of using gold ornaments. Yet we have done nothing to educate the masses. It is up to the Government to mobilise public opinion to see that this desire of hoarding gold is removed from the minds of the people and to ensure that this gold is used for mobilising the resources of this country.

Any rapid development of our economy also requires austerity. Where is austerity in this country? I think we have become a laughing stock. I have lived through, through good and bad, seven years of war and I can tell you that there is not even an iota of what you call austerity in this country. If there is any scarcity everybody runs to the influential official or the influential Government servant or the MP. or the M.L.A. to get what he wants. You make any rule; all the rules are broken. You just say, I am a man of influence and the rule does not apply to me. Then to whom does it apply? Where is austerity? For whom is the austerity? If you want the people to take to austerity, the Planning Commission should teach the people what austerity is. They should teach everybody, the people, the officials; the Members of Parliament and legislatures who are elected should give them the example. If we preach austerity to the people and if we ourselves do not give them the example naturally the people say, who are you to tell us about austerity? There is no austerity anywhere: you only have to just

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look at the marriages and the waste of money that goes with it. It is surprising indeed how people in this poverty-ridden country lead a life of luxury which is unimaginable even in the richest countries of the world. I would appeal to the hon. Minister. Please do whatever you can to restore the confidence of the masses in our economy. Convince them of the sincerity for implementation of the laudable objectives of our planning and above all ensure mass participation in the gigantic tasks of reconstruction of our great country. If you can do that I can assure you that you will not find anything wanting for your Plans be it money or sacrifices on the part of the millions who pray to you and to all of us elected representatives that we will not fail them in the future.

Thank you.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, my love for the House and the love of the hon. Members that has been bestowed on me. I have inspired me to participate in this debate. I have been very carefully listening since the day the debate began and I am indeed grateful to the House for the faith that they have expressed in the planned economy of our country, for the valuable suggestions and also for the valuable advice. The hon. Mr. Raju said that it is just like a ritual when we speak, it is just a formality and then nothing will happen. May I assure him on behalf of the Planning Commission and also on behalf of the Government that the valuable suggestions that have come up from the hon. Members will not be treated as mere formalities or rituals but serious consideration will be given to them?

Sir, I am not here to say that the period through which we have been passing is only a temporary phase. I know we have been passing through a very critical phase. We have been faced with several problems, the problem of poverty, the problem of unemployment, rise in prices, squalor, hunger, disease and what not. Every problem in the country today is having Himalayan heights: perhaps there are some problems which are even bigger than the Himalayas and if we are to solve these problems I have no doubt in my mind, as was rightly advised by Shri Jairamdas Daulatramji, it

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is the active participation and cooperation at the national level and the active involvement of the people in the country that is important. That way alone we would be able to solve these problems and meet the challenge.

Sir, I am happy that recently our Leader the Prime Minister, had a meeting with the leaders of the Opposition. I believe that it is not the end of the meeting, but it is just the beginning of a dialogue. I hope these national leaders will also take a serious view of the situation that exists in the country today and will solve it with determination and at least agree on a minimum programme to face this problem. This will help us to a great extent. The Government, I know, is committed to the country on "Gharibi Hatao". Eradication of poverty will be the supreme and cardinal objective of the Government. So far as this Approach document is concerned, as has been stated in it, eradication of poverty and attainment of self-reliance are the two cardinal, basic objectives of the Fifth Five Year Plan. If these objectives are to be achieved, it is possible only if the whole country and the whole people come forward with determination. I listened to the speech of my dear friend, Mr. Krishac Kant. I share his zeal, his earnestness and urge to solve the problems. Without a real understanding and without that sort of discipline, it will not be possible for us to go ahead, but that does not mean that it is only the substitution of the whole Approach document which will work. When we speak in terms of planning we cannot forget and we shall have to take into consideration the natural resources of the country, the man power, our own potentials, our own capacity and we shall have to plan for the future. It is sometimes said that this Plan will be on a holiday, that this Plan will die. My senior colleague, Shri Dhar has repeatedly said that the country is determined to take care of the Plan and whatever may be the price rise we shall see that the core and the basic objectives of the Plan are properly protected. I read in the morning two editorials, one in the Times of India and the other in the Motherland. I feel sorry that they just go on criticising but no positive proposal comes forward

from these great editors fining in their rooms. How are we going to face this problem particularly these difficulties? Under such strains, under such critical circumstances, more is the need for a discipline and planned economy. The Plan becomes very pertinent and more important under such circumstances. - Therefore I have no doubt, as has been urged and told very repeatedly and rightly, that we shall not allow this Plan so far as the core of the Plan is concerned, in any way, to be hurt. What wrong is there? There is nothing wrong. I have no doubt in my mind that the whole House and the whole country will come forward because it is ultimately in the interests of the people and in the interests of the country to join in the effort. Even if more resources have to be mobilised than what are indicated in the Approach document, that effort also shall have to be made. We cannot withdraw from this war against poverty. In this context may I appeal to hon. Members, let us not confuse ourselves? Let us not create that atmosphere of diffidence in the country. We have been passing through critical times. That does not mean that we shall shake in our confidence and we shall go on creating an atmosphere and air saying that nothing is possible. On the contrary, while I was preparing my notes last night, I remembered that yesterday was the day of Lokamanya Tilak's anniversary. Was it not Lokamanya Tilak, who read the destiny of the country in his time and said: "Yes, we have been passing through various difficulties. We have been facing certain problems. Even if the skies fall, even if the heavens fall. I shall stand on the fallen earth. I shall stand on the fallen skies and proclaim to the world that freedom is my birthright and I shall fight for it." Is it not that inspiration which should guide us, particularly when we are passing through critical times? I feel and I am sure the House will kindly appreciate that this is the atmosphere which is very much necessary to be generated.

Sir, coming to price rise I know that prices have gone up. I do not want to enter into a controversy as to whether it is run-away inflation. However, I have no doubt that if this rate of rise in prices is not effectively and immediately curbed, the day of reaching the run-away inflation

will not be far off. We shall have to take serious note of the suggestions made by the hon. Members here.

So far as the price rise is concerned, my senior colleague has already dealt with it in his opening speech. So, I will not like to repeat what measures the Government has already taken. But I do concede, as was suggested by Mr. Raju, Mr. Chandia Shekhar, Mr. Krishan Kant and by several other colleagues and friends, that the Government will have to take immediate steps to curb expenditure, and it should start right from the Government. They are very much in the right. If we want the charity to begin, it should begin at home and also at every home, as was said by Mr. Dhar. And here may I bring it to the notice of the House that the Planning Commission has already had its discussion with several Ministries and also with the Finance Ministry, and that it should be possible for us to save at least to the tune of four hundred to five hundred crores of rupees out of this current year's budget. That step has already been taken. Mr. Raju has said that the Government should start, they should curb the expenditure by 10 per cent. We have already taken steps.

Ultimately, how can we forget that if this price rise is to be effectively met (i.e., it will not be possible unless and until we attain new heights of economy, we attain new heights of production both in the agricultural and in the industrial sector? And it is in this context, if we refer to this Approach Document, it takes that care.

Sir, I have no doubt in my mind that as the prices rise, there is a demand for dearness allowance, and naturally we are forced to pay dearness allowance, and no sooner it is paid than that money comes into the market and again the prices rise and this vicious circle goes on. If this vicious circle is to be broken, what is the way? Again, I am very clear that in a socialist economy, it is the duty of the Government to make available the essential articles and commodities of mass consumption to the common man. Unless and until that arrangement is made, right from production, procurement, storage transport and distribution, unless and until this guarantee is given to the society and the country

by the Government, it will not be possible for us to break this vicious circle. And, *Sir*, that is the approach which is indicated in this Approach Document. This is what has been very clearly stated. I have no time to go into paragraphs after paragraphs. But I would appeal to hon. Mem-Ders: Please have a look at it and you will find that this advice has been given by the Planning Commission. My dear colleague Mr. Krishan Kant, read out a passage from the task force's report on land ceilings. There is the Planning Commission conducting the study and telling the Government that this is wrong and this is right. Should you not appreciate this approach? And perhaps this is a new approach, a new style, of the functioning of the Planning Commission these days. Studies are being made and the Government is being warned that political will has been lacking and that is why we have not been able to implement land reforms. Similar is the case so far as our wheat procurement is concerned. Is it not true that the production of wheat in 1971-72 was 26 million tonnes? Is it not true that its production in 1972-73 was more than 26 million tonnes. In 1971-72 when the production of wheat was a bit lower the Government could procure nearly five million tonnes and the private traders, wholesale dealers had nearly purchased to the tune of nine million tonnes. So out of these 26 million tonnes, the marketed surplus was of the order of 14 million tonnes and when the wheat production had gone a bit up, the Government was the only agency functioning and the marketed surplus was not even 4.5 million tonnes. Why? It is not only a question of prices, it is a question of national character and political will as well, and the Government will have to take note of it. Unless and until we are determined in that way, it will never be possible for any Government to implement the programme, and I am very much in agreement with the hon. Members who have expressed their feelings in that direction. *Sir*, so far as these prices are concerned I would like to assure this House that the Government and, particularly, the Planning Commission are very much concerned. Short term measures and long-term measures will have to be taken with all possible priorities. I assure you that all possible priorities will be given for the production of articles and commodities of

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mass consumption in the Fifth Five Year Plan. This has, again, been mentioned in the Approach document. ] am not saying anything new,

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: You spell out

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: I am spelling out. Several speeches were made. Emphasis has been laid on growth rate and particularly on agriculture. So far as growth rate is concerned, this Approach Document mentions 5.5 per cent, growth of our economy during the Fifth Five Year Plan- I can very well understand the urges of hon'ble Members that to aim at something more but to achieve less will not be fair. We shall have to take into consideration all our capacities. To what extent we can mobilise, to what extent we can go and, that too, whatever we decide should be effectively implemented. All that care will have to be taken. And it is in this context, including the resources that we can mobilise in the country and the resources that may be available from foreign countries, that all exercises were made. And we have come to the conclusion that 5.5 per cent, rate of growth is very much necessary. It cannot be lowered. We shall be happy if it could be higher. But we feel that we should be conservative because our experience of the past has not been a good experience. Therefore, I know that though we had envisaged 6 per cent, in the Fourth Plan, what happened? The final figures will be available after this year is over. We had this Mid-term Appraisal. We also know what would be the state of affairs, it cannot be more than 4 per cent. Therefore, we have tried to be realistic.

My hon'ble colleague. Mr. Krishan Kant, asked whether it would be possible for us to have this programme of Garibi Hatao. He asked whether it would be possible to solve this problem of unemployment. Mr. Krishan Kant was very much right. The number of unemployed has gone up after every Five-Year Plan. The number of unemployed has gone up at the end of the Fourth Plan. According to the Bhagwati report the number of unemployed will be of the order of 19 mil- I

lion. I am aware of it because I am dealing with some of the programmes, even though I am not dealing with the whole thing, I do share the feeling of Mr. Krishan Kant. How can we forget one factor? the factor of manpower in the country? If the manpower is properly utilised it can generate enough employment with greater speed. But can we mobilise the people for the creation of new wealth in the country? How can we solve this problem? It is not that the Planning Commission has not given any thought to it? It will be dealing with these aspects. What are the special features?

There are programmes to fight drought and various other programmes particularly meant for backward regions. Therefore, I am in a position to tell this House that we have taken that care. Including afforestation we would like to involve more and more people so that they get gainful employment, and at the same time we go ahead with the production of our country.

Sir, so far as agriculture is concerned, we have all praise for what Mr. T. N. Singh said. There are other Members who have also given that advice. I can appreciate their suggestion for concentrating more on agricultural production. We shall, of course, be happy to do that, but may I point out to the hon. House some of the tentative decisions that have been reached? The final decisions are yet to be taken. The House may be aware that we have started our exercise with a dialogue with the Central Ministries, with the State Governments. Ultimately after all these discussions are over, we shall be in a position to come to some final targets. Then naturally it is the National Development Council which will have to discuss the whole aspect again. But in the meantime, tentatively what has agreed to? The House may be aware that in the Fourth Plan the allocation for the agricultural and allied sectors was of the order of Rs. 3,500 crores. As against that, as has been mentioned in the Approach document, the allocation is of the order of Rs. 7,000 crores, which we have envisaged in the Fifth Plan so far as agricultural and allied sectors are concerned. It is a little more than 100 per cent...

SHRI T. N. SINGH (Uttar Pradesh): At what price level?

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: The exercise is made at the price level of 1971-72. Sir, as has been emphasised by my senior colleague and as I have stated earlier, agriculture is one of the core sectors in the country and naturally we shall have to protect that sector. So, naturally if more investments are called for because of the rise in prices, this country, this House this Parliament will have to think in terms of more resource mobilisation; I have no doubt about it. Regarding agriculture, I would like to tell this House that we have taken up several measures so that this country becomes self-reliant. Before I go to that point, I would like to mention that by the end of the Fifth Plan, the envisaged target of foodgrains production, cereals and pulses, is of the order of 140 million tonnes. Dr. Bhai Mahavir said yesterday, on the basis of some quotients, that if the level of these 30 per cent of the people is to be raised, then much more food articles will be required. Sir, we have contemplated that the production of foodgrains including pulses would be of the order of 140 million tonnes by the end of the Fifth Plan. The population then will not be more than 700 million. So it comes to two quintals per individual. Sir, it is a matter of common-sense. I am not an economist. I do not know who those economists are who gave all these concepts to Dr. Mahavir regarding these quotients. I do not know the quotients of those economists. I do not know which gurus and swamis gave this advice to Dr. Mahavir. I am not aware of it. But it is a matter of commonsense that if we could have a production of 140 million tonnes by the end of the Fifth Plan and if the population will be of the order of 700 million, then it will be two quintals per person, and it should be adequate to meet the demand in the country.

SHRI T. N. SINGH: I am sorry to intervene, but you should remember that a part of it has to be kept for seeds, and a part of it goes in deterioration. All that has to be provided for—This is not a realistic-way of calculating it.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: I have taken into account all this.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: I have some experience with this. One quintal per annum includes seeds also. Two quintals is a wrong figure, if Mr. Bhai Mahavir quoted it.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: I am quoting.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: This is much loss. I have known this figure. I have worked on it. This is inclusive of working classes, labour class consumption and the seeds required by the farmers.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: I am thankful to Mrs. Kulkarni. According to her, it is one quintal. Sir, my submission is that we have taken that aspect into consideration. And if we could produce 140 million tonnes by the end of the Fifth Five Year Plan, then it will be possible for us to take care of the people of the country without depending on any foreign countries. . . (Interruption).

SHRI G. A. APPAN (Tamil Nadu): You will never be self-sufficient.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: Sir, those friends who feel that we shall never be self-sufficient have not understood what are the potentialities of the country and what are the potentialities of the Indian farmers.

Similarly, regarding the cash crops, we have decided that the annual compound rate of oilseeds should be of the order of 5.8 per cent, sugar-cane should be 4.7 per cent and cotton 4.3 per cent. Jute etc., should be 2.9 per cent. As the pulses, cotton and oilseeds are badly needed by the country, we are not going to wait for the beginning of the Fifth Plan. Several crash programmes have already been undertaken all over the country. Similarly, in this Approach Document and in the exercises made by the Planning Commission, enough emphasis is laid on milk, eggs and wool. The House will be happy to know that in regard to milk, assuming the base level of 1973-74 as 23.5 million litres, the target for 1978-79 will be 30 million litres. In the matter of eggs, from 8 thousand million numbers, we

[Shri Mohan Dharia.] would like to reach 14 thousand million numbers, and in wool from 39 million Kgs, we would like to reach 45 million Kgs. In , the case of fish also, we have taken similar care. Sir, I would not like the House to be bored with several figures. But no sooner do we take these decisions, than several other cares had also to be taken of. If this dairy programme has to be taken the intensive cattle development projects also will have to be taken care of from 60 base level to 100; the number of annual insemination with exotic semen from

3 million numbers to 15 million numbers; the cows production from 0.5 million to 4 million numbers; the liquid milk plants from 86 to 150; the rural dairy centres from 63 to 190; fodder seed production farms from 40 to 90; the mobile veterinary clinics from 10 to 1,510; and the installed capacity of dairy industries from 4.5 million litres to 7 million litres.

Sir, I am pointing out all this because no sooner do we think in terms of more growth rate, than all the other cares also become necessary- In the morning, it was rightly pointed out by one of my friends that it is not practicable, but you will have to take more and more care of tillers' production. And I do feel that along with agriculture, we shall have to take care of fertilizers, of all the inputs, pesticides, the mechanical equipment and the power etc. So naturally the moment we think of agricultural production at a particular rate, then whatever are the requirements meant for it, they also shall have to be created. Regarding fertilisers required for the country by the end of the Fifth Plan, with this rate of production the consumption of chemical fertilisers in million tons—I will give you the total figure—NPK from 3 million tons as will be required by the end of 1973-74, we shall require about 8 million tons of fertilizers NPK by the end of the Fifth Plan. And naturally we shall have to produce fertilisers to the extent possible within the country...

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: Mr. Dharia. may I point out to you, the other day Mr. Borooah, the Minister who is in charge of fertilizer, said that it takes seven years for a fertilizer factory to go into pro-

duction? If that is true, where will you be for your requirements of fertilizer?

THE MINISTER OF PLANNING (SHRI D. P. DHAR): Was it about coal-based fertilizer?

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: About other fertilizer also he said any fertilizer factory will require seven years to go into production. The House will bear me out. . .

SHRI D. P. DHAR: I think caustic soda is slightly different from fertilizer.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: He said both about caustic soda and fertilizer. You can verily the record.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: The Planning Commission has been making this exercise, and again it is not only an exercise meant for fertilizer production; in the case of other productions also this exercise is being done, as to how we can bring down this gestation period. Several other points are there . . .

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Mr. Dharia, I want to know from you one thing. The Planning Commission is making exercises all right and it will become strong. But the point is we want fertilizers. Within five years you planned for twelve plants. Now it has come down to five plants. Can you give us, or can you spell out, the strategy to achieve target?

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: I will give you a reply. I do admire, Sir, the impatience of my colleague, Mr. Kulkarni. To be frank, I have been also helping him because of his impatience so that his fertiliser plant under the cooperatives could come up as early as possible. The point is. . .

SHRI A.G. KULKARNI: We will help you.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: Thank you. Sir. we are having our dialogue with the Ministries concerned. It is not too long; by the end of September we want to finalise . . .



DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: How long will your dialogue go on?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Dr. Kurian, please do not start a dialogue here.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: Sir, unfortunately he comes from a party which does not believe in a dialogue. I would like to assure my honourable friend that when I say "dialogue", not a dialogue to continue it for years and years, but the decisions will be taken within these three or four months. We are having our discussions with the Ministries concerned as to how this gestation period could be brought down. All possible efforts are being made in that direction. So my submission is no sooner do we think of agriculture than a suggestion comes as to why this growth rate is not 6 per cent and 7 per cent. We shall have to take into consideration the other requirements that are very much necessary for agricultural production. And this Approach Document—I am proud of it—has taken a balanced approach. Whatever is to be done, whatever the requirements of the country are, these have been thought of in this Approach Document. Similarly in the case of industry we have done the same thing. Power, fertilizers, basic necessities for industry like chemicals, etc., so many aspects are there—We have to produce them within our country. We are wasting to day hundreds and hundreds of crores of rupees for importing fertilizers, wool and what not. If we want this country to become self-reliant, there is no other alternative but to take care of these core sector industries. And that has been envisaged in this Plan. I know there are some friends who always say: Why do 5 P.M. you go into the core sector? Why don't you import? How long this country is to remain in the same reliant situation? If we had not created the infrastructure because of our previous Plans in the country, what would have happened? Thanks to that great leader Pandit Jawa-harlal Nehru because it was he who insisted on this planned economy and it is because the planned economy that this country has the infrastructure today. It is because of that infrastructure that despite all these difficulties it will be possible for the country to march ahead. Of course, several types of discipline are very much necessary and I am aware of that. But we shall

have to take a balanced view of the situation.

Some points were raised about dogmatic approach and socialist philosophy. In this country we have made it very clear that democratic socialism is the social objective of our country, whether private sector will exist in the country or not. Public sector will exist and private sector will also exist. But we have decided that we shall not tolerate any exploitation from private sector and it shall have to function under restrictions imposed by the Government. That is our policy. But there has to be proper linkage. But it is absolutely clear that there should be no delay so far as industrial licensing is concerned. So far as the requirements of industries are concerned we entirely share the view that there should be a package deal. No sooner an application is cleared, the licence will be cleared and along with the clearance of the licence, we will find out what is the credit required, what are the import components what are the basic raw materials and not only all these but also even the power required will be made available because this will certainly help in having quick industrialisation of the country. We will have to take special care in the case of small industries. . .

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Please excuse me for a small interruption. Will you give us some explanation how the number of big business houses rose from 75 to 100 during all your Plans?

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: These are the hon. Members who have been interested that Planning Commission should be given more teeth. When we get those teeth we shall take action.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: What is the instrument of policy to curb them?

SHRI D. P. DHAR: We shall reduce these 75 to net zero.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: When net is zero, gross will be more. That is only a statistical jugglery.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: I would suggest that Dr. Karian should have an opportunity to speak on the subject. It is a fascinating subject and he is a fascinating speaker. If that is not possible, I would suggest that he should put off this conversation for better times to come.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Your net *zero* theory can only feel ordinary people, but not those who know something of this.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think you belter have this dialogue in the lobbies after the House adjourns.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: My friend Shri Kulkarni said that it is because of the radical policies that the industrial progress of the country is halted. When I think of socialism, it is not meant to halt the industrial or agricultural progress of the country. Socialist philosophy is meant to accelerate the industrial and agricultural growth of the country. I am sorry that my friend Shri Kulkarni is having some soft corner for the other side. I do not know.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I have got no soft corner for Dr. Kurian. He will sabotage all your Plans by planting monopoly house stories. This morning Shri Bhupesh Gupta was asking why cement was given to the private sector whereas Russia and China are hobnobbing with Americans and Japanese

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: Let us not be dogmatic about it. In this country, when we have been thinking in terms of democratic socialism, right from the dialectical materialism of Marx down to the pragmatic philosophy of Gandhiji we shall have to compromise or we shall have to experiment several times and I have no doubt that this country shall have its own socialism. But, so far as our basic approach is concerned, with money power we shall not allow anybody to exploit the society and whatever controls are required will have to be brought in and I have no doubt about that.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Please stick to that statement.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: Yes, it will be done.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: It is a very brave statement. A brave statement indeed.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: Sir, my friend. Dr. Kurian, unfortunately, has not yet been able to understand the change that is taking place in this country.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: It is so mixed up that it is difficult for anyone to understand.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: I can understand the confused mind of Mr. Kurian. But he should not confuse the House.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: This is the socialist teaching of the capitalist-landlord government.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Dr. Kurian, you cannot go on having a dialogue like this.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: I can understand his confused mind. Sir. . .

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Because you have confused the country for the past twenty-five years.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: Sir, I have only sympathy for Dr. Kurian for he is getting confused with our arguments.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: You have so mixed up planning.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: Sir, I was submitting to the House that this is an Approach document which takes a balanced approach towards the industrial sector, towards the agricultural sector and towards the other sectors including the question of growth rate. Sir, may I tell the House that when we speak of articles of mass consumption to be made avail

able to the people at large, one should not forget that the requirements of the farmers cannot be neglected by the Government? The farmer requires various inputs including fertilizers, pesticides, seeds, credit facilities, water and power. All these will have to be taken care of by the Government and in case these inputs are not made available to the farmer at reasonable rates, we have no moral right to tell the farmer that he should give his agricultural produce at a prescribed rate. Therefore, Sir, the whole planning has to be co-ordinated and I am sure that this very document takes care of that.

Now, Sir, coming to the problem of unemployment'. My friend, Shri Krishan Kant, was very much angry about the present unemployment situation. I do recognise his anger, I equally feel that in this country it is unfortunate that we have accepted the right to private property as a fundamental right and the right to work is not yet a fundamental right. Again, Sir, this document gives that guarantee and says that in this country it will be our endeavour, it will be our effort to plan so that those who are prepared to work can get gainful employment and it is in this direction ...

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: How?

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: Mr. Kurian you must have some patience to listen. . .

*(Interruptions)*

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Can you deny that there has been an increase in unemployment? Can you deny that?

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: You must have some patience. . . *(Interruptions)*. . . I am not yielding. Dr. Kurian... I am not yielding.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: You are only guaranteeing that unemployment is there.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Dr. Kurian, you cannot force him to say what You want to say.

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DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Sir, I am on a point of order. The Minister has completely glossed over this fact. . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No point of order, please.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: May I put a question to him? Can he say ...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You cannot go on like this. You must keep quiet for a while.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Can he deny that unemployment has increased?

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: Sir, there are elements in this country which want to create confusion and disorderly situation and unfortunately.. • *(Interruptions)*. . . Dr. Kurian is one of their leaders. Sir, I am not yielding and I am not here to yield.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: The Ministers are sabotaging everything.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: Mr. Kurian, you or your party cannot stop this. This country is wedded to democratic socialism. Sir, such elements will be rooted out by the people and you can rest assured about this ...

*(Interruptions)*

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: The Planning Commission is staffed with private enterprise people. . . .

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: This is not parliamentary behaviour. Mr. Kurian, you may get an opportunity and you can make criticism then. This is not parliamentary behaviour.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kurian, you have to keep quiet and allow him to continue. Yes, you continue.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: But, Sir, will you control him?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He has to be controlled if he creates such a situation.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: So far as the problem of unemployment is concerned, I do not want to undermine the seriousness of unemployment. It is indeed a massive challenge. I am related this year with that programme of Rs. 100 crores, through which we intend to generate jobs for at least five lakhs of educated unemployed in the country. I have toured the whole of the country. I would like to say in this House whatever I have said outside. What I say I mean- And if I say something, I will do it. Otherwise I do not say it. Prof. Ruth-naswamy, who has showered so much love upon me, said that a roaring lion has been converted into a bleating lamb. Prof. Ruth-naswamy is a good professor. He is a good philosopher. Nevertheless, he is not a hunter. When the lion is in operation to act, it never roars: it is absolutely quiet. Mr. Ruthnaswamy should have understood that. This action, this operation, is a part of our war against poverty. This approach document is one of the preparations in which we are engaged. And, Sir, I can assure this House—I was a Member of this House and I am proud that I was a Member of this House and I am always proud that my parliamentary career has started from this House and it has inspired me on many occasions, even including today...

*(interruptions).*

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: A lion in the cage. . . *(Interruptions)* How can you act?... *(Interruptions)*... You are in the cage of the Congress Parly. . . *(Interruptions)*... in the Cabinet...

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: Sir, those friends who feel that the Cabinet is a cage have no regard for democracy itself, otherwise they won't utter these sentences. This House should rest assured that I am one of the exponents of the struggle for the politics of commitment in the country. While in the Government the same struggle is on, but the moment I feel that it will not be possible for me to succeed, the moment I feel that it will not be possible for me to fulfil the commitments made to the people, this House can rest assured that I am not in love with any chair and I shall quit and join the other Benches. . . *(Interruptions)*. At the same time, I would like to tell this House that whatever may be

*interruptions* by Dr. K. Mathew Kurian) It is too much now, Mr. Kurian. When somebody is speaking, you should at least listen ...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You don't get too much inspired by Dr. Kurian. ..

*(Interruptions).*

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: He is an old friend of mine-Sir, I would like to tell this House that we are confident that while sitting in the Planning Commission while functioning from the Government under the able leadership of our Prime Minister, we shall see that the commitments made to the people are properly fulfilled. Whatever disciplines, new disciplines are needed to be followed and accepted including fiscal disciplines as proposed by Shri Krishan Kant and Shri Chandra Shekhar, will also be accepted. I do agree with my friend, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, when he says that when at one end there is a dearth of foreign exchange, how is it that we are allowing these foreign cars with foreign wives? There may be some consistency in what Mr. Chandra Shekhar said. Just as clothes of their taste may be necessary for foreign wives in order to maintain that consistency foreign collaboration might have been allowed. I am not aware of this. But I do agree with Mr. Chandra Shekhar that these foreign collaborations, whether for lipsticks or for clothes or for luxurious commodities, should not be allowed. And these questions will be taken up with the Ministries. I am here to assure my friends. . .

AN HON. MEMBER: Including undergarments ...

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: Including undergarments...

*(Interruptions)*

So far as the problem of unemployment is concerned, again, I am very clear in my mind that this problem of unemployment can be only solved with development; it cannot be solved by creating some ficti-

tious jobs here and there. It may add to the inflationary trends in the country. And naturally the whole problem of solving this unemployment problem will have to be very much related to the developmental activities in the country. If this Approach document is taken into consideration, you will find that we have made a positive effort to solve this problem linking employment with development, employment through development and development with employment as the tenet, as has been mentioned in this Approach document.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, My friend, Shri Mohan, has assured that lie will take up seriously this question of preserving foreign exchange. May I take that assurance from his senior colleague, Mr. Dhar, that he will move the Cabinet tomorrow that all the non-essential items of import will be stopped forthwith? Is the Government ready even at this late stage in make this gesture to assure the people that we are seriously taking up this matter and this challenge? I want this assurance from his senior colleague.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He will reply on Monday.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: I would not like to leave my distinguished friend, Mr. Chandra Sekhar, in any state of doubt. The Planning Commission has recommended to the Finance Ministry that this discipline should be observed in the choice of items which are going to be imported. I can assure this House that it is the intention of the Government to use the knife ruthlessly, severely and relentlessly to ensure that nothing which is inessential for our economy is imported.

SHRI BABUBHA1 M. CHINAI: May I know from the hon. Member why the Foreign Exchange Bill has been withheld even though the Select Committee has passed it three months ago? It did not come in the last session and it has not come even in this session-SHRI D. P. DHAR: I think Shri Babubhai Chinai, for whom I have immense respect, will agree with me that it

would be improper for me to take away the functions of my colleague, the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs. It is a question which should be addressed to him more appropriately.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: I was saying that the problem of unemployment is very much linked up with the whole of the economy. It is true that during the current year we have taken up several schemes and programmes for the educated unemployed, such as the Special Employment Programmes, Crash Programmes for rural unemployed and this programme of providing jobs to 5 lakhs of educated people. Sir, during the current year's budget, the amount to be spent on these employment programmes along with S.F.D.A. and MFAL programmes is of the order of Rs. 281 crores. We have taken it up because it was in the year 1970-71 that we had made a pledge to the people. Therefore, these special programmes have been taken up out of the plan allocations. We have taken care to link up all these programmes with the developmental activities in the Fifth Five Year Plan. Sir, according to me one of the special features of this Approach document is Minimum Needs Programme. There are regional imbalances and what not. But we have taken up these minimum needs programmes of primary education, health, roads, power supply, nutrition and drinking water worth Rs. 3,000 crores. It is absolutely a new feature. It has never happened in the past. Similarly Sir, there are some other aspects also. The other aspects are the Command Area Development Programme.. .

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: I shall look into it. This House will be happy to know that we have decided to select about 50 irrigation

श्रीमती सीता देवी (पंजाब) : क्या  
मिनिस्टर साहब की नालेज में यह है  
कि इस प्रोग्राम में फी बच्चे को 19  
पैसे देते हैं। वे जरा इसको एक्सप्लेन  
करें कि 19 पैसे में क्या चीज मिलेगी,  
कौन सा पौष्टिक आहार मिलेगा। पंजाब  
में मैं इस स्कीम को चलाती हूँ।

projects in the country. Mr. Raju asked in the morning why this Com-

[Shri Mohan Dharia.] mand Areas Programme has not been taken up in Andhra Pradesh. We have requested the State Governments to create special authorities which will select areas.

SHRI KOTA PUNNAIAH (Andhra Pradesh): I want one clarification.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No clarification please. At this rate you will not allow the discussion to end today.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: I will be very short. Then there is the Drought Prone Areas Programme. This House is aware that nearly 54 areas were taken in the country as critical areas under droughts. This House may be surprised to know that in Jodhpur District, the plan allocations for the 3 years from 1968-69 to 1970-71 were of the order of Rs. 4.5 crores according to the State Governments budget. And in this very Jodhpur District during these three years we have spent Rs. 18 crores over this drought relief programmes. Had there been a proper plan then we would never have spent this amount that way. Therefore we have now taken care to see that we plan properly right in the beginning not after the drought comes and then we taken up the programme. We have a package programme ready to be put through to take care of the developmental activities. This is the second feature.

Thirdly, for the backward areas and also for the hill areas we have been taking some special care. For animal husbandry as I have already pointed out we have been having a massive programme. Milk cannot be produced within a year or two because it is a programme where breeding is required. Naturally a long-term programme has to be taken up and it is how we have taken care of that. Similarly for forestry, the House will again be happy to know that even institutional finance would be available for afforestation programmes and therefore we have advised the State Governments to create corporations in the Fifth Plan so that they can take up the various areas for proper afforestation including industrial forestry. It is again a new approach: it had never been done on these lines in

the past. Similarly for cash crops, as I have indicated to the House, whether it is cotton or oilseeds or sunflower or some other cash crop including sugarcane, we have taken care and we are developing these areas in a planned manner.

About the system of assessing production it so happens that we think in terms of growth rate but even though it is not mentioned in this Approach document further studies have been made and the steering group on this has taken into consideration the production of five years as such because we are yet depending on Nature and to take yearly production into account has no meaning. Therefore naturally having regard to the vacillations of Nature we have taken care to see that we produce our Budget for five years and see how we can fulfil those targets. So care is taken in this respect also.

Sir, I would not like to detain the House any more because my senior colleague, Shri Dhar, will be replying to the debate on Monday, but I would like to take a few minutes on the question of the involvement of the people in the planning machinery. We have requested the State Governments to create their own Planning Boards, to have District planning and also to take the village as the unit. As Mahavir Tyagiji has been insisting we have taken care and for this manpower surveys also we have provided some allocations.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: (Uttar Pradesh): Have you taken up a programme?

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: Yes, Sir.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Thank you very much.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: It is very much necessary. We do not know what is our manpower: we do not know what our natural resources are. Therefore a programme is being undertaken but ultimately if the people are to be involved whether in the fields or in the factories, unless and until the working classes, the peasants, the millions of our people, the youngsters in our colleges and universities, are involved in the whole process of the formulation of the Plan and in the implementation of the

Plan, it will never be possible for us to achieve results. Sir, I know that these problems are more than the height of the Hi-malayas. At the same time, if this manpower of 550 million people is properly mobilised, if it is properly channelled, with the natural resources in the country we can certainly make a dent over the present situation. We can carry this country forward to its destination. Therefore, I would like to appeal to this House, if there is the problem of price rise, is it not possible for us to function together? Is it not possible for us to take care of proper distribution in our Mohallas and in our cities? Cannot we say to the dealers—well, these are the commodities which are declared to be essential. These are the prices. If you have exhausted stocks, please put up a board, but you have no right to loot and exploit the country. If you loot and exploit the country, let us tell you bluntly that the police is not meant to give protection to such looters and exploiters. Could we not create a national consciousness in the whole country? If that sort of atmosphere is generated I have no doubt that it will be possible for us to take care of even black money and all these indisciplines that we see in the country today. So, Sir, I am sure this House will come forward for creating that atmosphere of co-operation, as was indicated by Daulatramji. I am grateful to this House for giving me this opportunity and also to my friend, Dr. Kurian, for giving me more and more inspiration.

Thank you very much.

**श्री एन० एच० कुम्भारे (महाराष्ट्र) :**  
उपसभापति महोदय, मैं सदन का ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगा, मैं योजना मंत्री के विचारार्थ केवल एक-दो सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ। गरीबी हटाने का नारा लगाया गया है और अभी हमें कहा गया है कि गरीबी हटाने के लिए पूरी पूरी कोशिश की जाएगी। इस संदर्भ में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि गरीबी हटाने के पहले यह देखना बहुत जरूरी है कि गरीबी कहाँ है...

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri S. S. Mari-swmnj) in the Chair]

अगर आप गरीबी की खोज करना चाहते हैं तो गांवों में जाइए और देखिए कौन गरीब है। वह गरीब है जो छोटा कास्तकार है, मेरे खयाल से वह गरीब है जिसके पास थोड़ी ज़मीन है और काम करने के बाद भी वह पेट भर खा नहीं सकता है; मेरे विचारों में वह गरीब है जो कि मजदूरी करके काम करना चाहता है लेकिन उसे काम नहीं मिलता है, वह खेतियार मजदूर जो काम करना चाहता है लेकिन साल में ज्यादा से ज्यादा दो या तीन महीने उसको काम मिलता है। इस संदर्भ में मेरा एक सुझाव है और मैं उम्मीद करूंगा कि योजना मंत्री इस सुझाव को बड़ी गम्भीरता के साथ विचार करेंगे। मेरा सुझाव यह है कि इम्प्लायमेन्ट की, काम मिलने की, गारण्टी मिलनी चाहिए। मैं जो बात कह रहा हूँ, वह कोई हवा की बात नहीं है, महाराष्ट्र सरकार ने भी इम्प्लायमेन्ट गारण्टी की योजना एक साल के पहले शुरू की है और आज भी वह योजना कार्यान्वित करने के लिए उन्होंने आगे आने वाली पांचवी योजना में भी इसका स्पष्ट निर्देश दिया है कि हम आने वाले समय में यह इम्प्लायमेन्ट गारण्टी की योजना को कार्यान्वित करेंगे। जब गरीबी हटाने की बात करते हो, तो मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि गांवों में जो लाखों मजदूर काम करने को तैयार हैं उनको काम नहीं मिल रहा है, जब तक उन लोगों को काम मिलने की गारण्टी नहीं देंगे तब तक मेरे खयाल से गरीबी हटाने की बात करना केवल एक ठकांसला रह जाएगा, कोरी घोषणा रह जाएगी, उसका कोई मतलब नहीं निकलेगा। गरीबी

[श्री एन० एच० कुम्भारे]  
हटाने की दिशा में मेरा दूसरा सुझाव है, नेशनल मिनिमम वेज का। मुझे उम्मीद है मंत्री महोदय इस सुझाव को स्वीकार करेंगे। मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि कोई भी मजदूर जो 8-10 घंटे काम करता है उसको पूरा वेतन नहीं दिया जाता है। उसका शोषण होता है। एक नहीं लाखों मजदूर ऐसे हैं जिनको पूरा काम करने के बाद पूरा मेहनताना नहीं मिलता है। ऐसे हजारों लाखों मजदूर हैं जिनको 8-10 घंटे काम करने के बाद मजदूरी मिलती है दो रुपया, सब दो रुपया और कहीं-कहीं तो डेढ़ रुपया। अगर आप गरीबी हटाना चाहते हैं तो क्या सिद्धान्तया आप इस बात को नहीं मानेंगे कि हर काम करने वाले मजदूर को उसकी मेहनत का पूरा मुआवजा मिले। आप कहेंगे कि हमारे यहां न्यूनतम वेतन कानून है, लेकिन आपकी जानकारी के लिए मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि न्यूनतम वेतन जो है उसका अपरेशन बड़ा सीमित है। जो शेड्यूल्ड एम्प्लायमेंट होते हैं उनमें सरकार नोटिफाई करती है, उनको न्यूनतम वेतन मिलता है, लेकिन छोटे उद्योगधन्धे हैं जहां मजदूर को न्यूनतम वेतन नहीं मिलता है। मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा और आप भी जानते हैं कि खेती में काम करने वाले मजदूर को क्या मजदूरी मिलती है। 15 दिन की बात है, मैं उत्तर प्रदेश गया था, वहां एक गांव में पहुंचा, मजदूरों से मिला और उनसे बातचीत की। उन्होंने कहा कि गांव में काम नहीं है, कुछ लोगों को काम मिल जाता है। पूरा दिन खेत में काम करने के बाद जब मजदूरी दी जाती है तो दो रुपया। इसका कारण यह है कि खेत में काम करने के लिए जितने मजदूरों की आवश्यकता होती है उससे

ज्यादा मजदूर हैं और बेचारे मजदूरों को बारगेनिंग पावर नहीं है। वे जानते हैं कि आज काम नहीं करेंगे तो भूखे रहेंगे, काम न करे तो बाल-बच्चे भूखे रहेंगे। इसलिए यह जानते हुए कि उसको मेहनत का जो मुआवजा दिया जा रहा है वह बहुत कम है फिर भी मजबूर होकर वह काम करने के लिए तैयार होता है। मैं समझता हूं कि आपकी योजना के अनुसार देश में समृद्धि होगी, जिनके पास धन जमा है उसको आप निकालेंगे। ठीक है, इस प्रिसिपिल को हम भी मानते हैं, लेकिन मैं मंत्री महोदय से पूछना चाहता हूं कि उनका धन निकालने के बाद वह धन नीचे तक, गरीबों तक पहुंचाने के लिए आपने कौन सा इन्तजाम किया है। मैंने सारे कागजात पढ़ लिए, लेकिन धनवानों से धन निकाल कर उस धन को गरीबों तक पहुंचाने का आपने क्या प्रबन्ध किया है, यह मेरे ध्यान में नहीं आया। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि आजादी के 25 साल के बाद भी अगर आप एक मेहनतकश आदमी को उसकी मेहनत का न्यायपूर्ण वेतन नहीं देना चाहते हैं तो योजना का क्या मतलब है।

जैसा मैंने कहा, इस मामले में दो बातें हैं, एक तो एम्प्लायमेंट गारंटी स्कीम और दूसरा न्यायपूर्ण मिनिमम वेतन। अगर आप ये दोनों कर दें तो आपको देश का नया चित्र नजर आएगा। अगर आपको देश का नया चित्र देखना है तो इनके लिए जितने रिसोर्सज जमा करने हैं, जितने रिसोर्सज मोंबिलाइज करने हैं, वह इसके लिये जुटाइए। आप कह रहे हैं कि हम मेनपावर का हिसाब लगा रहे हैं मगर मैं यह कहता हूं कि आप यह देखिए कि हर आदमी को उसकी मेहनत का पूरा मुआवजा मिले।



एक और सुझाव है। धारिया साहब का भाषण मैंने बहुत ध्यानपूर्वक सुना। मैं सोच रहा था कि भाषण करते-करते वे उन लोगों की याद जरूर करेंगे जिन लोगों को शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट, शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब कहा जाता है और जिनके बारे में धारिया साहब जब बोलते हैं तो उनकी वाणी से हमें पूरा पूरा अनुभव हो जाता है कि उनके दिल में उनके प्रति बहुत महानुभूति है और इन दवे हुए तबकों को वे ऊपर उठाना चाहते हैं। मैं धारिया साहब को नम्रतापूर्वक एक जानकारी देना चाहता हूं कि हरिजन सेवक संघ ने 6 महीने पहले महाराष्ट्र में शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट लोगों की परिस्थिति की जांच-पड़ताल करके एक प्रतिवेदन प्रस्तुत किया। इस प्रतिवेदन में क्या है? इस प्रतिवेदन में यह है कि आजादी के पहले इस देश के जो अछूत माने जाने वाले लोगों की स्थिति थी वही स्थिति उनकी आज भी है। वही हालत है। गरीबी से लाचार हैं। (Time bell rings)

I will not take more than two minutes because I am dealing with a very important matter. मैं उम्मीद कर रहा था कि भाषण में कम से कम चलने हाथ क्यों न हो, वह देश के इन गरीबों की बात करेंगे, शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लोगों की, जो सामाजिक अन्याय से दवे हुए हैं। पर वह उनकी बात शायद भूल गये। मैं इस सम्बन्ध में इतना ही कहना चाहूंगा कि अप्रोच डाकुमेंट में इनकी समस्या का निर्देश किया है। मैं दो बातों की ओर उनका ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूं। पहली बात कही है वह है—

"Experience shows that most of these programmes in the absence of adequate financial backing and organisational support, had little impact on the poverty.

educational backwardness and social disabilities of backward classes."

प्लानिंग कमीशन का यह ख्याल है कि अभी तक जो हमने बैकवर्ड क्लासेज सेक्टर में जो पैसा दिया है वह इतना कम है कि हमारी योजनाओं का कोई ठोस नतीजा बाहर नहीं आया है। अगर यह बात है तो फिर हम उनसे प्रार्थना करेंगे कि यह आउट-ले बढ़ाने की दृष्टि से विचार किया जाये।

जहां तक शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स की समस्या का सवाल है, कितने लोग हृदय से इस समस्या को सुलझाने को तैयार हैं? अभी शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स कमिशनर की रिपोर्ट जो आई है उसकी जानकारी मैं आपको देना चाहूंगा। उसमें कहा गया है—

"A cursory look at the balance-sheet of our socio-economic achievements will show that we are far behind our goal before we can claim to have uplifted the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in the right sense. There is no doubt that during all these years, Government have adopted various measures for the amelioration of the living and working conditions of these people. The fact, however, remains that these communities have not, generally, been able to derive benefits of the socio-economic progress in the country to any appreciable extent, with the result that the gap between the scheduled and the non-scheduled classes, which was already fairly wide at the time of securing political freedom, has continued to become wider and wider during all these years."

मेरा कहना है कि रिपोर्ट आपके सामने प्रस्तुत है। मैं एक सुझाव देना चाहता हूं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): Will you wind up. Mr. Kumbhare.

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE: Therefore, in view of this report, पेरुमल कमेटी 1969 में बनाई गई 4 साल तक कमेटी का काम चला। चार साल जांच करने के बाद इस कमेटी ने शासन को रिपोर्ट दी है और इस रिपोर्ट में भी प्लानिंग के सम्बन्ध में बड़े महत्वपूर्ण सुझाव दिये हैं और सारी योजना का अभ्योस करने के बाद उन्होंने कहा है कि अभी जो पैसा इस काम के लिए दिया जाता है वह बहुत कम है। वह बढ़ाया जाए।

इसलिए मैं योजना मंत्री से निवेदन करूंगा कि इस रिपोर्ट की बेसिस पर, इस कमेटी की रिकमंडेशन के आधार पर भी इस बैकवर्ड सेक्टर को अधिकाधिक मदद देने की दृष्टि से विचार करेंगे।

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to express my regret that even though I had decided to mention about the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, because I had exhausted my time and because of some other controversy I could not mention it. I am really sorry, but I can assure Mr. Kumbhare that, as I have done in the past, I shall try my best to take care of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the down-trodden people of the country.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I understand that the time is now very late and the patience of this House is also nearing the end, but still I would like to say a few words.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): Your time is also only 15 minutes.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: Whatever you permit, Sir. Before I really have my small say on the Approach paper, I would like to say a few words to Dr. Bhai Mahavir. I find that not one Member of the Jan Sangh is present. So, I will have to convey my submissions to him through you. Yesterday I heard with

great patience and rapt attention his speech in the House on this subject. I have great admiration for Dr. Mahavir because he is a teacher by profession and I consider the teachers of this country the real architects of the future. But I have a slight anxiety in my heart about our-students who are studying under his care. He has such a convincing way that there is no doubt that he impresses our very young boys and succeeds in swaying them. But all through his long speech there was a distinct bitter note which could be heard and I feel, and you will agree with me also, that bitterness, whether it is genuine or imagined, warps our faculty for clear thinking and dispassionate understanding of any situation. I am afraid Dr. Mahavir is suffering from this particular constraint of utter bitterness in his thinking, with the result that he is not able to apply his mind as clearly and calmly as he should. Our Minister was wondering where Dr. Mahavir was getting his ideas. I may inform our Minister that Dr. Mahavir is a teacher of economics and as an economist he is finding his own solutions to things. What I am worried about is that wittingly or unwittingly, Dr. Mahavir is probably passing on his bitterness to the youngsters.

Should these young people be influenced by such biased opinions as Dr. Mahavir has? That is my real question. Our Planning Minister, Mr. Dhar, jokingly quipped, "Who is going to speak on the Approach paper from the Jan Sangh side?" He was joking, but I really did feel that though it was a very interesting speech, unfortunately Dr. Mahavir had failed to say anything specific about the approach to the Plan. After all, he is very intelligent. Everyone will agree that he is intelligent, but I wish he had illuminated me and this House with his exact views on the approach to the Plan, rather than indulge in generalities and depict a very gloomy picture. I have a sunny temperament and I never feel that our future is as bleak as Dr. Mahavir has depicted.

Then again I want to say a word about to-day's paper. I am still off the subject of planning, but I want to make this point. Sir, you will agree that in season and out of season, Mahatma Gandhi is quoted in this House from the benches of

Jan Sangh. Very often it amuses me to hear them. I realise that Mahatma Gandhi is a national leader and every Member has every right to quote him whenever he likes as a measuring rod for right and wrong. But today's "Indian Express" depicts a young Jan Sangh volunteer using a Gandhi cap for wiping the shoes of a Jan Sangh sympathiser. Even this does not really matter very much, but then I think I get a message from this sort of picture that Gandhiji is not a leader to them and they do not hold him in esteem. In that case, I would like to submit that how is it they use and fling the name of Mahatma Gandhi at the Treasury Benches and the Congress Party. If they do not consider Mahatma Gandhi as national leader—and because they give such signals to their volunteers that they go and use the Gandhi Cap to wipe the shoes—in that case they can as well leave Gandhiji to the care of the Congress. Let him be our leader. We will do what best we can and redeem him in our own limited ways. That is my reservation about the brilliant speech of Mr. Bhai Mahavir, though it was without any point. I am taking much time of the House but I felt it was necessary that somebody should at least say about Mr. Bhai Mahavir's speech.

Now, to come to the main subject, at the outset, I would like to congratulate our Planning Minister. I believe, Sir, this is the first time in the history of 20 years effort at Planning that we have made bold to come with an Approach Paper, thereby encouraging a general discussion on the subject. This step has generated a sense of involvement in the public at large and in the formulation of the Plan of development of our country. Never before, in my limited understanding and my limited experience of this House, that such an opportunity was given in advance. And the entire credit for such a healthy innovation goes to our Planning Minister personally. However, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I have a few observations to make about this Approach Paper.

Sir, I feel sorry to contradict Mr. Kum-bhare, that every now and then, on the point of being morbid, we go on saying continuously that our people are very

poor. And, of course, everyone else supports and repeats this. We as a nation are called one of the poorest nations in the world. Of course, the statistics collected by the Planning Commission and as given in this Approach Document also support these generalised statements. You may not believe, Sir, but still I would like to say that we as a nation and as a people have achieved a much greater degree of progress in this country than what our economists or statisticians like to tell us. And, Sir, there is nothing to laugh about it. I am sure the hon. House will agree with me that we no longer suffer from that abject poverty that was going on 30 or 40 years ago. Today, everywhere, whether it is in cities, in towns or in villages, I find that our people are much better off than what they were in my childhood. And many persons here would remember what type of poverty remained in the country 40 years ago. Many people in the villages go in for constructing *pakka* houses and not a *kachha* house. I am talking with some experience of villages. Then again, you will agree with me, that plastic items like chappals, sandals, buckets and raincoats are a common feature of rural scene in India. And yet, Sir, our national income figure does not indicate this level of prosperity. In the past 20 years, the *per capita* national income is stated to have gone up from Rs. 247 per annum—that works out to Rs. 20 per month—to Rs. 325 per annum, which works out to Rs. 27 per month. A rise of only Rs. 7 in the last so many years. How is it? My layman's belief is that the rate of progress has been much higher. There can be several reasons for discrepancies of this type. Just now, Mr. Mohan Dharia told that our rate of progress is only 5.8. But I contest even his figures. However, the most likely reason for this discrepancy is that our statisticians prefer to be very conservative. They would not like to state anything accurately lest somebody contradicts and proves them wrong. They lack courage to come out with bold convictions. Most of them are Government servants and they act with abundant caution lest anything may go wrong.

Sir, if we just casually look around, we can see mushroom growth of small repair shops at every corner of the street. If we go to Jama Masjid side, we see several

[Shrimati Sumiua G. Kulkarni] repair shops and cottage type of industries growing up all around. We all witness people offering various kinds of personal services like hawkers on the trains for supply of milk bottles. As a housewife I know there are a hundred and one ways because I am getting all kinds of personalised service in my own kitchen. These are the wealth-generating activities of this country. But these activities fail to appear in the statistics and reports prepared by our factory inspectors, by our Directors of Industries, by the Commissioner of Small-Scale Industries or by the Collectors of districts. And these are the officials on whose strength, on whose reports, our national statistics are built up. Just now Mr. Dharia said that the growth rate is only 5.5. The honourable Minister will agree with me that these various kinds of incomes that I am describing are escaping inclusion in the national statistics of our country. I would therefore request the honourable Minister that he might like to make an attempt to correct this discrepancy and investigate into the reasons which lead to such incomplete statistics. May be, per capita measurement of income is not the answer in our country. But then we can try to measure per family income. Let us treat family as a unit for the purpose of income and expenditure. May be, the index of prices needs to be re-examined. May be, the estimates themselves need to be increased. I really do not know, I am not an economist, but can I request the honourable Minister to get this aspect studied in the Planning Commission so that we get more authentic and more real statistics in our country? Besides this, I also believe that in approaching this formulation of the Fifth Plan it is very vital for us to know not only how prosperous we are or how poor we are in economic terms, but it is very essential for us to know how much more is the level of enthusiasm, of involvement, and of confidence, of our people at large, in our nation-building activities. We have to progress with the help of these people. People are our most important asset in this country. Therefore, the Fifth Plan should be based not in terms that it is a very difficult task because we have to feed and clothe 55 crores in this country; instead I would rather suggest that we should proceed on the basis that we have a tremen-

dous, positive, strength in our people. We have unlimited human energy in this country, a human effort and potential which can literally move the mountains. In our mythology Lord Krishna, in the Brinda-van, is supposed to have enthused other balagopals to lift the Govardhan Parvat. Similarly, if Mr. Dhar tries, he can motivate our people to surmount any difficulty and come forward with a wholehearted support to the nation-building activities of the country. How effectively we can harness this energy, of course, depends upon the degree of enthusiasm, involvement and the confidence that the Government and the public leaders can generate through their policies and procedures. I do feel that this Approach Paper should make some effort to think out ways and means of triggering of this latent enthusiasm buried in the bosom of our countrymen. This is my first suggestion. Now my second suggestion is this. While defining the approach, we should not look at the resources potential. Just now Dhariaji said that our resources are limited—I may be wrong, please do not think that I want to contradict you—(*Time-bell rings*) Sir, I never open my mouth unless have something positive to contribute, and this is one subject on which I want to say something and I hope the House will show indulgence...

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes, yes, you can continue. Mr. Vice-Chairman let her take some more time.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI:

I would like to suggest that while defining the approach we should not look at the resource potential from the point of view of established method of doing so. What is the recognised method? According to the recognised method, resource means our own money. How do we get it? Taxes, levies and borrowings from the financial institutions. The other day I was told that in Shri T. A. Pai's constituency there is one district in Mysore called South Kanara which has more bank deposits than the total bank deposits of the States of Orissa and Assam put together. This does not mean that South Kanara district is more prosperous than Assam or Orissa or it is more industrialised. It only means that the people of South Kanara have been persuaded to develop the habit of

saving and this has been done by banking institutions like the Syndicate Bank.

Similarly, take my own State of Gujarat. You know the district of Khera in my State where Amul factory is located. Perhaps it is the most rural area in the country. Prosperity has come to this district through the (Irons of the people themselves. Over the years these people of Gujarat have successfully exploited the principle of co-operation and have created a large amount of wealth which is widely shared among the people there. Therefore, while approaching the Fifth Plan, we should give up the old concept of viewing expenditure of development programme as an independent exercise and raising the revenue as another independent exercise. Expenditure is one separate exercise, and so also resource raising is considered as another independent exercise. As far as possible the Planning Commission should be able to take an integrated look at expenditure as well as resource of our country whichever is required under the approach itself, instead of separating them into two different aspects. I hope the Minister will agree to this.

Now I come to my last point which is most important point. We as people of India should change our system and method of appraisal and evaluation. We are becoming a hyper-critical people and in this country we just do not tolerate any progress and we go on condemning everyone who makes some effort to stand up and grow. Whether it is the Government or society or a young man, we will just condemn. If a young man stands up and shows some courage to march ahead, we condemn him. It is time that we as a nation should change this system of appraisal and evaluation. It is our common experience to indulge in seathing criticism about public sector enterprises for their failure to produce the desired results. I do not hold any brief for public sector units. It is true that their balance sheets indicate losses. But I do not think that their contribution to developmental efforts should be measured in terms of profits calculated on the basis of old economic concept. There are so many social benefits which are not in the form of rupees, annas and pies. There are social benefits which we must be able to convert in

economic terms. We know of innumerable positive benefits one of which is the creation of professional management. Since the public sector has come into existence, thousands of young men without any great pull or favour have become managers in the recognised sense of the business term. Second benefit is the assimilation of the most complex engineering and manufacturing technology. The third one is setting up of research and development and taking industries to remote parts of India and thereby opening up backward regions for development purposes. Like this we can go on. It is, therefore, my request to the economists in the Planning Commission that they should develop indigenous tools and techniques to measure the economic cost of these abstract, social benefits which most important. Merely measuring economic profits will not do. Our economists should know that besides 6 P.M. generating the economic profits which they have after making so much investment, paying so much interest and paying so much dividend, etc., they should also know what the other extra benefits are that we are getting from these and this measuring tool will not be devised by our Ministers, but it will have to be devised by those friends who are sitting in the Official Gallery now. After all, Sir, profit is a concept and it is not a God-given concept, but it is a man-made concept. What is profit? Today, I may consider Rs. 100 as profit, but tomorrow it may not be considered as profit at all, because the sum total of profit is something which differs. So, I think our economists should devise a system whereby the cost of these extra benefits are separated.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): You have to wind up now. You have taken already 20 minutes.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: I will finish in five minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): No. I will give you only two minutes.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: Sir, I want to say something which is essential to the House. Since yesterday, Sir, in this House everyone has criticised

[Shrimati Sumitra G. Kulkarni] the Plan, but I am today giving some positive steps. So, I want some more time. I am sorry if I am speaking too much. But I will finish within five minutes.

Sir, I am not at all worried about the profit margin. If we go in the right direction, things are bound to work properly. But this practice of reporting profits and losses in the balance sheets is giving the tool in the hands of the anti-public sector lobby and they revel in ridiculing us and this language of losses and profits is understood by people and they understand this language only and so, they then get demoralised, because if they do not see any profits, they get demoralised when they see the balance-sheet. I am more worried about this demoralisation for want of profits which destroys the level of enthusiasm and involvement and confidence of our people. Now, Sir, such a demoralisation based on these unreal figures, figures which are not correct, saps the initiative of our workers and when such things happen, these frustrated people divert their energy to wasteful activities of indulging in disputes with the management or in striking work or in disturbing production and thus starts the vicious circle. You will agree that there is a climate of demoralisation and cynicism in this country. Why? It is because the people see the progress of this country in terms of profits only and they are not made to see the extra benefit that they are getting.

Today, Sir, but for the public sector undertakings we would not have had a clan of young professionals. You see, Mr. Bhैया of the Hindustan Steel, the son of a poor man, has become the Chairman of the Hindustan Steel. Similarly, Mr. Tulpule of Durgapur was only a trade unionist. Do you think that the House of the Birlas or Dalmias would ever permit such non-entities to come up, permit a non-entity to become the chairman of their concerns? This is the great benefit that we have got.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): Please finish.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: I am only summing up, Sir. In summing up, I want to say this: Are these not the

tangible and positive results? Today, our technicians can match their skill with anybody in the world and our firms are competing successfully with different nations in global tenders. Are not these the positive results have come out of the public sector undertakings?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): Please finish. I have given you more than two minutes.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI:  
I am coming, Sir, to the point.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): No, please. You have to finish now.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI:  
Sir, I want a little more time. Otherwise, what is the use of reading faster?

Sir, these engineering colleges, these fertilizer factories, all these have come up entirely because of our efforts. At what cost have we achieved this progress? We should be able to translate this cost and this should be done by our economists... (*Time hell rings*)... Please, Sir, one minute more. Therefore, I would request that greater emphasis should be placed on.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): Please finish. You have to finish now. Please sit down. Yes, Mr. Maqsood Ali Khan.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: I have a few points to make now.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): No. You can keep them for some other day. I have called Mr. Maqsood Ali Khan. Please sit down. Yes, Mr. Maqsood Ali Khan.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI:  
I am very much thankful to the House and to you also. Sir, for having allowed me so much time. But I wanted some more time to complete and concretise my suggestions to the Ministers, the economists and the country. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI MAQSOOD ALI KHAN (Mysore):  
Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir, the

document, the valuable document, which is before us has been discussed at length by the hon. Members, and an intervention has been made by the hon. Minister of State, Mr. Mohan Dharia.

Sir^ it has been pointed out by some Members that it is just a repetition of certain rituals, certain proclamations or declarations that have so far been made by the Planning Commission. To that, the reply came from the hon. Minister of State that it is not that, but that it is a matter of conviction. And then he referred to the great Shri Lokmanya Tilak and referred to that great man's declaration:

"Swaraj is my birth right, and even if Heavens may fall, I will have it."

Sir, I was just thinking when I looked into the literature that we got from the Planning Commission, that it is an exercise in rhetorics, usually an exercise in rhetorics. And when the hon. Minister of State made that statement he warned to lighten this Department with the Declaration made by Shri Lokmanya Tilak. Sir, there was courage, then there was conviction and then there was the veracity of the statement at that time. You may have the courage in all the documents that you put before us, but the question turns out whether we have wisdom that is necessary. What we question here is that with all the overtones and the undertones, of which it consists, whether in the present economy, that should be warranted or not.

Sir, for making an approach to this approach paper, I usually think that our approach to the Fifth Plan should be through the village. Sir, I am reminded of the words of Mahatma Gandhi, who said, "If village in India perishes, India perishes". The question is whether we are looking to the uplift of the village. We may have so many figures. I do not want to enter into any argument whether they are right or wrong—the statistics and their jugglery. The question is what is it that the villages reflect? Is the GNP, Gross National Product, reflected among the masses which are inhabiting the villages or not? Has the poverty, which we have committed ourselves to eradicate, decreased degrees by degrees?

Sir, so far as my thinking is concerned, the last three chapters of the approach paper are very essential. One is about regional imbalances. The second is about backwardness and the third is about implementation. The question is: What have we done?

So far as the removal of these regional imbalances is concerned, it was somewhere in the year 1964-65, first of all, that we first look up this question. From that day —9 or 10 years have passed—these regional imbalances, instead of being narrowed down, have widened themselves. Sir, a villager, if he goes for any assistance—it may be in different fields—he cannot get it, though the banks have now come forward to give him the assistance, but the hurdles and the hazards are too many.

We talk of backwardness. Take the Geld of education. In the villages, how many villages have been given the right type of schools.' If the boys are there, teachers are not there. If teachers are there, boys will be loitering somewhere. What type of education do they get? When these boys have finished, how do you think that they will come up? I remember that in the year 1962, one Union Minister was addressing a very large gathering of M.L.A's, M.P.'s and other officers. I do not want to mention his name. When this question of education policy in India was put to him, he said—I think it was a sort of conviction—that since Independence, the child is our first casualty. As it came straight from the mouth of a Minister, we were just wonder-struck. Is it not a true statement that education is not being cared for in villages? Then, how about the cooperative field? People come over from the villages to the Co-operation Department for registration. How many of their societies have got registered? It is a routine affair. They will be telling you about a number of woes and hazards. The fact is that these people are never cared for. They come for financial assistance and it is not there.

When the Planning Commission is at it, I would like to mention about the selection, whether it is in Government service or in other bodies. When we talk of merit, the question is whether these back-

[Shri Maqsood Ali Khan] ward classes can get any selection as merited students. Sir, the word 'merit' itself is a euphemism for certain selection bodies certain castes and certain States. The selection bodies are being dominated by certain castes in certain States and it is only their men who come up. What have we done for them? What is it that we can do and what is it that we have not done? I say that the nucleus of development should be the village. Unless we take up village as the unit of development in our Fifth Five Year Plan, I do not think we will improve.

Sir, we have been talking of ceilings. But we forget about the fragmentation of holdings. We forget about the consolidation of holdings. These land operation laws are in operation in different forms in different States. Nobody has thought about the operation of the personal laws of the people. I give the example of Hyderabad-Kamatak area in Mysore State. In Mysore State the former Hyderabad area had a law for the consolidation of holdings and non-fragmentation of holdings. It was passed by the legislature but the appointed day did not come and the result was that all the lands were cut into pieces and they were divided among the families with the result that they became uneconomic. So the first thing that the Planning Commission will have to look into is that not only the economy of the whole village should come up—and it should come up in a planned way—but the agricultural problem which is facing the whole country should be tackled in the light of these regulations and laws. Along with the ceilings there must come into force non-fragmentation of holdings and consolidation of holdings. Unless we do that I do not think that we will progress.

Sir, as I said, the question is that this Fifth Plan is taking us farther from the village and nearer to the city. What I want is that it should take us nearer to the village and farther from the city. That should be the approach.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): You have got only two minutes left.

SHRI MAQSOOD ALI KHAN: I think I will be able to finish. When we have that approach of being farther from the cities and nearer to the villages I think we will be able to build up our economy in a way that will be unprecedented in the economic history of India.

Sir, coming to the last point, implementation, you have very rightly pointed out in the document about the unutilised capacity, about streamlining of the Department and about the heavy expenditure that you have on Government Departments. Sir, this is not the first time that we have come across this malady. This malady is very deep-rooted as many Members have pointed out but the question is, how are we going to do it? My conviction is this. We need not have any plan for that whatsoever. If we can reduce the expenditure on Government, if we can utilise our capacity of all the industries, whether they are in the public sector or in the private sector, to the fullest extent available, a new life in India will be ushered in. That is my conviction. Let us hope that this Planning Commission and the Ministers who are sitting amidst us will be able to lead us on to the right path.

Sir, when Krishan Kantji was speaking he quoted a couplet referring to hon. Minister, Shri D. P. Dhar and Mr. Mohan Dharia referred to the determination of the people. It is true that unless we are determined we won't be able to progress. I might draw your attention to a couplet which has been very well composed by our renowned poet, Sikandar Ali Wajid. He is a Member of this House. This is the couplet:

हिम्मत के चिरागों से रोशन  
हर राहें गुजर हो जाती हैं  
पूर अजम निगाहों से खा सामाने सफर हो  
जाती है ।

It means the torch of courage lights up all the way to destination and the determined will becomes a valuable asset to the traveller.

Thank you.



DR. K. NAGAPPA ALVA (Mysore):  
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I only wish to speak of health and human resources while participating in this debate. I heard with rapt attention the introductory remarks of Mr. D. P. Dhar and also the inspiring speech of Mr. Mohan Dharia today. Mr. Dhar has been a man of dynamic thought, talk and action also. As the Minister for Planning he has to be dynamic in action if the Plan has to be implemented in all honesty. It is a difficult thing because the circumstances today are such.

Sir, while I went through this Approach to the Fifth Plan and also heard the ! speeches by different Members of this august House I was somewhat pained. It was painful for me to note that very little importance has been given to social services and that too in particular to health. Mr. Mohan Dharia made the assertion that they will act as Ministers. I am happy because the Ministry is there; it was not so formerly. It started with Mr. Subramaniam and now I am glad that you are having this portfolio and it is for you to see that all the Ministries are given due importance. It is unfortunate again that the Minister of Health and Family Planning and the Minister of Education are not Cabinet Ministers. Sir, there have been cuts. I must say when it comes to health and allied subjects there were severe cuts. One cut was concerning the rural medical service scheme. The second cut was in the family planning programme. The third cut was in respect of upgrading the primary health centres. The fourth cut in 1967 was in the proposal for implementing the prevention of food adulteration Act. I must say that this was the most unkindest cut of all. Economic progress and social justice should go together. Here to what extent are you giving social justice? It is a well-known fact that investment on health gives good dividends. Here the amount that is set apart for health is 2.6 per cent in the Fourth Plan and 2.7 per cent in the Fifth Plan. I have read and understood that in the advanced countries they set apart for health itself 15 to 20 per cent in their plans. It is necessary while we talk of human resources to see what is the quality of life. There are three questions before us. *viz.* What is the standard of life of the people? What are

the living conditions of the people? What is the standard of health of the people? I have to be short and that is why I am just giving a few figures. One fact we have to remember. Greater the poverty, greater is the number of children. The number of children is directly proportional to poverty. Also, some of the diseases are closely connected with poverty. Population is increasing fast. Twenty million children take birth in this country. Ninety lakh people die. The increase in population is 12 million. Increase in population means increase in poverty. Forty per cent of the population live below -the poverty-line and ten per cent of the population live under miserable conditions. Fifty per cent suffer from malnutrition and undernutrition. Sixty per cent of the children suffer from protein deficiency and other deficiency diseases. There are 20 million physically handicapped persons. There are over 20 million mentally retarded persons. At least ten million are socially handicapped and disabled. You have mentioned it in all humility I know that it would be very difficult for you, because the magnitude of the problem is so great. Anyway, . you will try to tackle this question. One thing I am happy about is at least nutrition you have taken care of, but I am making an earnest request to you. You have to find money for these things because that is the only way of setting right these things and laying solid foundations. Then, 8 million people suffer from tuberculosis. Five lakhs die every year. At least ten lakhs are having a "lingeri" death. Only about 20 per cent of the people have been covered by our treatment so far. There are 12 million suffering from cancer in this country. Five lakhs are dying every year. Communicable and contagious diseases are there. Gastrointestinal diseases, cardio-vascular diseases, psychosomatic diseases, :!!! these are increasing. Then, I come to rural medical care. With all our attempts and spending so much we have not covered half of India. What about the backward areas, the villages? Mahatma Gandhi said, India lives in its villages. If a self-reliant economy is to be built up in India, it is possible only by having a nation with people who have got the real strength and stamina. Quackery is going on, exploitation of the misery and the poverty of the people is going on. And it is for you. I say, whatever your difficulties

[Dr. K. Nagappa Alva] please sanction all the schemes that are put up honestly by those departments.

आम बढ़ते बढ़ते,  
आशियाने तक आ गई।”

My only request to you is to go deep into these things, studying these positions as to how you can make the people healthy and happy. And for that, it is very necessary to do these things. We talk about the crises in so many things but the most important thing is the crisis of character. You have to build up the character of the nation and that is possible only by bringing up the people, making them understand the values of life and punishing the adulterators, smugglers and others.

Sir, I want to say one or two words about smuggling. This has to be stopped, this menace. I read in the papers the other day that in the west coast five hundred crores worth of goods are smuggled into India but that out of this only Rs. 25 crores of goods are caught and the difficulty was an efficient network of communications and well-equipped high speed boats were not there, that in spite of their asking, they were not supplied. I only want that those departments should be strengthened so that the smuggling menace be stopped.

About tourism, we take pride in quoting figures. But domestic tourism as well as international tourism have not been developed. In 1971, we were getting Rs. 35 crores, and Yugoslavia, a country of 20 million people earns Rs. 38 crores. We should develop tourism which is an important factor in earning foreign exchange.

We should also develop the cultural and the religious sentiments of our people in such a way that not only we earn more money but we can make our people go ahead, remembering the greatness of our country.

Thank you.

SHRI JAGAN NATH BHARDWAJ: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, since it is past six. I will first of all recite an Urdu couplet and make one or two observations.

The Urdu couplet is :

“अब तो घर जलने लगा  
और नीबूत यहां तक आ गई,

There are two ghosts, one small and the other big. The small ghost is the rising population as my friend has just now said. We get about 11,000 to 12,000 new guests every day. Here is the question of feeding them. We cannot say that we do not welcome them. We have to welcome those people. That is what is haunting our plans. Here, we are unnecessarily saying that the Plan has failed. The plan has not even started. We are discussing the approach to the Fifth Five Year Plan. The Fifth Plan has not yet started but we are in anticipation saying that it has failed. Why has this state of thinking crept in? This is because there are ghosts haunting us. But we do not see what is haunting us and we are being baffled by these ghosts.

The second ghost is rising prices. The solution is to turn out the ghosts and not to blame each other. We know this feeling has created a sort of diffidence among the masses. The question is how to tackle that ghost. It can only be tackled by making a frontal attack on it. How can we make a frontal attack? Time has come when the Government will have to think in terms of appointing some Price Commission. There should be a Price Commission to constantly watch the development of prices all round the country. This Commission's composition, its authority should be thought of by our planners. Therefore, it appears that a frontal attack on prices is essential. This can be done through a Commission with full powers. Secondly, this ghost can be killed by making a foolproof organisation of distribution system. Our difficulty is that we have not got any foolproof distribution system. After careful thinking I have been able to make out that nothing except cooperative societies, a network of the cooperative consumer societies will be a solution for this. There is no doubt that there are co-operative societies here and there. But these are not sufficient. We will have to thoroughly plan our network of co-operative societies which can serve our purpose. For that also I would impress that we will have to give a careful thought.

Another point that I would stress is procurement of foodgrains. There is a large quantity of foodgrains available in the country. No doubt we have been able to procure only about 4-5 million tonnes of foodgrains. Enough wheat is available. The proof of this is that nobody has died due to non-availability of wheat. It is only hue and cry that we are making because of party factions and other considerations. But we are not tackling the real problem as it should have been tackled. So for this I would suggest that we should give proper incentive to procurement. We will have to purchase and sell wheat at the same price at which we purchase it. For example, we purchase wheat at Rs. 76. So we will have to sell it to the consumer at Rs. 76. In the villages everybody has got 5 to 10 quintal surplus but he does not want to give it to the Food Corporation or any agency of the Government. He is tempted to sell it at Rs. 4 or 5 more to somebody who can make a better bargain with. In this way transactions are going on and these do not come in the books of the Government. Giving bonus will not serve any useful purpose. I can well understand that Government will have to incur much expenditure on it in the beginning but a stage will come when this expenditure will gradually be reduced. If we have a network of cooperative societies in the villages, they know who has got wheat. They are the best masters of the situation. They will purchase every grain available in the village. Supposing we spend about Rs. 10 per quintal, gradually it can be brought down to Rs. 2 or 3 per quintal. In this way the pace of procurement will gradually increase.

The last thing I want to say is about austerity. My friend there mentioned about austerity. The influential people surely want that they should build up their influence with their ego that while you cannot get a thing, they can get it. This sort of low thinking is going on in the country. We will have to make a drive to remove it. Some gentleman said that the Planning Commission should do this. I also agree with him that something through education, through text-books, should be done. We should teach the nation what austerity is and how we can help in this situation. For example, let us take sugar. Now, people say that sugar is selling at Rs. 4 per kilo, whereas it was once selling at Rs. 1.50 per kilo. But they do not realise that the Government is supplying some quantity to meet their minimum requirement. They are supplying it at Rs. 2 per kilo. Why are they anxious to get as much sugar as they want? Why can't they cut their requirement of sugar? Why can't they face the situation along with the nation? Respected leaders like Jairamdas Daulatram have pointed out how in England people faced a situation like this. So, these are the things which are essential. It is now very late and I do not want to take much time. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): Now the discussion on the Motion is over. The hon. Minister will reply on Monday. The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at thirty-seven minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 3rd August, 1973.