

Shri Subrahmanyam : Whatever recommendations the Board of Directors and Dr. Sethna were making, the ICS people used to disturb them and put their own people, appoint their own people. These resignations will probably now be going to the Prime Minister. These ICS people who have no knowledge of the functioning of the public sector, no stake in the functioning of the public sector have become the arbiters of the destiny of the public sector. The situation is serious and I would like the Government to see to it that something is done immediately so that the Secretaries do not interfere and whatever recommendations the Technical Directors make are immediately accepted. The public sector people should be given autonomy in the matter of appointments.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 3.00 P.M.

The House adjourned for lunch at thirty-nine minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at three of the clock, THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) in the Chair.]

**RESOLUTION RE FAILURE IN
AGRICULTURAL AND
INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION
RESULTING IN ACCENTUATED
UNEMPLOYMENT AND
INCREASED PRICES**

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V.B. RAJU) : Mr. Singh Deo, you may continue your speech.

SHRI K.P. SINGH DEO (Orissa) : Sir, the other day when we adjourned...

THE VICE CHAIRMAN : You have taken fourteen minutes on the last day. So you have sixteen minutes more to speak.

SHRI K.P. SINGH DEO : All right, Sir, I Will try to hurry it up.

The other day when we adjourned I was just talking about irrigation, which is one of the major inputs for our agricultural development. Out of the 328 million hectares available, we have so far given assured irrigation facilities to only 19.7%. Now, in the meantime, alarming reports have come in from

most of the States regarding the drought and flood situation. The cost of relief towards drought and famine was Rs. 43.3 crores in the First Plan, Rs. 76.9 crores in the Second Plan, Rs. 86.7 crores in the Third Plan and Rs. 522 crores in the Fourth Plan. We don't have the exact figures for this year, but from the manner in which drought has affected most of the States, and then afterwards floods, it seems that probably we will outstrip the figure in the four Five Year Plan periods.

The next input for agriculture is power. There was a recent Statement by Dr. K.L. Rao that we are in the throes of a power famine or scarcity of power in the next decade and that although our target was 23 million kilowatts we will be able to produce only 17.

Same in the case of fertilizers which is another story of scarcity. Then there is the much vaunted wheat revolution which the Government is talking about. All the good work of our agricultural scientists in bringing about this green revolution has been offset by floods, droughts and other natural calamities, and naturally, in the absence of adequate inputs and when there are droughts and floods there can be no agricultural development.

Sir, then the Government has also talked about the Small Farmers Development Agency the medium farmers and the Agricultural Labour Scheme which is going on in 46 districts in the country. This has been hit by the impediments in the way of getting the technical reports of the Ground Water Survey and 94 % of the credit which had been allotted by the World Bank has not been utilised on that. So much for our boasting about the Small Farmers Scheme which is supposed to bring salvation to the majority of the farmers.

Then I come to the question of the food Corporation of India which is now agitating the minds of the public as well as Members of Parliament. It is a sordid story, what has happened there. I do not want to go into the details, the CBI is enquiring into it, but I would like to point out to you the Public Undertakings Committee, which has come out with a strong criticism about the functioning of the FCI.

The objectives for which the FCI was set up are (1) ensuring primary producers obtain the minimum price, (2) protecting the consumer and (3) securing a strategic and commanding position in the foodgrain trade.

[Shri K.P. Singh Deo.] In both Houses criticism has been made of the manner in which fair price shops had been opened which were grossly inadequate. Most of the shops are in cities, although most of our population resides in the rural areas. There are no shops in the rural areas worth mentioning. The Public Undertakings Committee has these observations to make : Utilisation of godowns has increased from 52 to 77 per cent in 1971-72, but the storage loss has gone up by Rs. 21.96 crores. Loss of foodgrains in transit is rising steadily from Rs. .95 lakhs in 1965-66 to Rs. 780 lakhs in 1970-71. The subsidy drawn from the Government is Rs. 67.98 crores only for storage and these facilities. The outstandings have gone up from Rs. 33.60 crores in 1969-70 to Rs. 67.19 crores. The outstanding from the State Governments are Rs. 49.42 crores. This is the performance of the Food Corporation of India through which the Government is trying to distribute and regulate the price and make available foodgrains at a reasonable price to the consumers and the general public at large. Although the turnover is only five times, the staff has increased by twelve times. Today the papers are full of the shocking shooting incident in Gujarat where people only went to demonstrate against the discrimination shown by the fair price shops in giving foodgrains to them as compared to the urban dwellers. They are giving only half to the rural people and our progressive Government there in Gujarat has had to resort to firing to disperse the mob. Some people were killed. While we resume the discussion today, in the meantime, in spite of the assurances given by the Planning Commission, the Cabinet and other Ministers, prices have gone up by 0.4 per cent within this fortnight, which is an index of the degree of stagnation in the economy. I need not go into the details. In the Economic Survey itself the Finance Minister, Mr. Chavan, had spelt out the reasons for the stagnation. The various sectors, even the small-scale industrial sector, have all slumped and it has had its effect on the stagnation in industry. I would especially like to refer to steel, cement and rural electrification, which are supposed to be the barometer of a country's progress and economic development. The shortage in respect of steel and cement is hitting the industries. The manner in which steel production in the country is going on leaves much to be desired. I would not like to go into the details due to paucity of time. I do not think I will be able to do justice to the subject by just

mentioning some of the points. First of all, take the impact of excise. Since independence the Government has got about Rs. 522 crores in the form of excise duty. This indirect form of taxation on steel products is having its effect on the engineering, Railways and the Central and State sectors, where building and construction activities are going on. They are also affected.

Our power programme as well as flood control schemes also depend on cement and steel, and one of the reasons given by Dr. K.L. Rao in the Lok Sabha regarding the power shortage is the non-availability and high cost of steel which will leave us far behind our target for power generation. The rise in the price of steel at Rs. 85 per tonne was recently announced by the Steel Ministry. This is a way is to offset the losses in the public sector undertakings and the HSL which have been going at only 65 per cent of the rated capacity, and the culprits have gone scotfree but the poor consumer and the users of steel are to be penalised for the inefficiency and mismanagement of the Hindustan Steel factories and the overstaffing as well as the other things which are the malady in the steel industry at the moment. At the moment the productivity in our steel plants comes to 73 million man hours as compared to 400 million of Japan and 150 million which is the world average. This is the productivity, and with the rising prices I am sure the organised labour will definitely ask for increased wages which will have no relation which productivity, which will again have its effect on the inflation which is already spiralling the prices in the country.

Unemployment and rising prices can be solved primarily by creating favourable conditions for rapid and maximum increase in production. The throttling effects and impediments of control and the present licensing policy are definitely not going to help in our rapid industrialisation and rapid development of industries. Four important factors for growth in industries are necessary. One is availability of capital goods. With the performance of our public sector undertakings I do not think we will be in a position to make available adequate goods and machinery. The second is power. I have already explained it. Dr. K.L. Rao has also stated that there will be a power famine, power shortage. Then comes transportation. Government has had a definite bias for railways as compared to the road transport in this country.

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railway is now probably one of the most out-moded forms of transport in the country, and per kilometre it costs Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 more than the road transport. Then the goods turnover per kilometre is also much less than the road transport. The construction cost of the railway has compared to the road transport is also much more. The more we neglect road transport the more it will have its effect in loss to our economy. The fourth factor which is responsible for growth is agriculture. This is not my own thesis. This has been enunciated by members of the Cabinet and by the members of the Planning Commission.

But yet we see that after 25 years of our independence our agriculture is dependent on the vagaries of the monsoon. Agriculture is no more a productive enterprise now because the inputs have become very costly in India, like fertilisers, cost of transport, equipment for mechanical farming as well as fuel. Then on the top it the imposition of ceiling has confused and confounded the farmer. So I hope that the Government will now wake up and redefine its policy towards agriculture. It is no use crying from the house-top that all the malady is due to a shortfall in agricultural production, which is having its effect on the industrial output also.

To sum up, during these 25 years of planning, unemployment has gone up to 50 lakhs, that is 50 lakhs of educated graduates, five million odd job-seekers. Our per capita consumption of foodgrain has come to 500 kg. per head per year. That comes to 1.3 kg. Our industrial output is stagnating. Our agriculture also is going down comparatively because it is still dependent upon the monsoon. So I would humbly urge that it is high time that the Government changed its policy in so far as changing the priorities is concerned because although in the First Plan the Plan was smaller, the priorities were right and agriculture was given its due place and it was effective. But in the Second Plan although it was a much bigger Plan, although our investments in steel and other engineering fields, have gone up five-fold, production is not more. It is just because our planning is wrong we have missed the bus and it is no use of just raising the slogan of 'garibi hatao' and social justice. Unless we plan our priorities properly, none of these things are going to achieve our purpose.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR
(Rajasthan) : Sir, 1 move :

That at the end of the Resolution, the following be added, namely:—

"and as a measure of immediate relief, recommends to Government to give an allowance to the unemployed and provide essential commodities at concessional rates to the persons in fixed income group."

The questions were proposed.

SHRI G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra) : Sir, Mr. Singh Dio has at the right moment introduced a Resolution for discussion. It is very appropriate because although we have got the planning, economic disparity is created by the stagnation in production as well as due to the absence of timely rains and agricultural production has not been proper. On both these aspects it is appropriate that the House should discuss. Agricultural production has become a little jittery not only due to the absence of rains but on different accounts. And I want to draw the attention of the Minister of Planning to the different stresses that have developed in the availability of inputs for the type of production which is envisaged for the nation. We congratulate the agriculturists and the peasants in this country for heralding a green revolution, but that green revolution seems to be threatened with the inadequate supply of inputs. The Planning Commission had to take abundant care to alert the fertiliser unit as well as the Finance Ministry that agricultural inputs should not be so taxed as to create some difficulty in the utilisation of either the fertiliser or the machinery required in taking up agriculture in a modern way. Sir, you yourself are an agriculturist. You know that fertiliser has become so costly, apart from the indirect taxes, because of low production in the public sector units and the Fertiliser Corporation of India. Very recently my friend here brought the story of the resignation of the Chairman which has nothing to do with the shortage. The point is, why fertiliser alone, all the public sector units are doing 50-60 per cent of their capacity. Thereby the availability of essential materials, including fertiliser, is threatened. Then because of extension services undertaken by the various State Governments the use of pesticides is on a larger scale. Moreover, there is shortage of pesticides on the one hand increase in its prices on the other.

Apart from this, there is the threat of land ceilings. These discussions have led to confusion about the ultimate law that will be

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passed as a result of land ceiling. The fact remains that the country has come to a situation where because of economic holdings the application of land ceiling is an imperative necessity. But here I may draw the attention of the Planning Commission that by fixing land ceiling you cannot solve the problem of production. You can no doubt fix the land ceiling but the question is of implementation of the entire co-ordinated policy of land. The Minister of State for Agriculture told us that in certain cases land distribution has one into the hands of moneylenders. Putting it mildly he said that the persons in charge of land ceilings in the rural areas have got ample experience of land ceilings. But in absence of an integrated credit system for development of this land and the disintegration of the landless people who have been given this land, distortions are created in the society whereby tensions are created in the rural areas. I am not going into the question of rich or small farmers at this stage.

I want to address myself to another aspect of the land ceiling laws. Very recently an article was written by Dr. Dandekar about the next step to socialism wherein he brought up a new thinking on the problem of land ceiling. I only want to draw the attention of the Planning Commission to these new problems created by land ceilings. It is not only the question of a agricultural land but a token policy all round. Therefore, you cannot stop at land ceiling. After that the Bill on urban ceiling will come but there are difficulties because, Sir, land is a production apparatus which generates production as well as generates money.

in urban ceiling, what you are going to touch is the rental values of the urban buildings. You might take them over. There might be various difficulties. We are told that committee is going into it. And ultimately you may be able to solve the problem. Now, when you are putting a ceiling on land, it means you are putting a ceiling on income. So, are we to logically extend this idea of ceiling on land to incomes of all kinds in the country, to the doctors also, for example? In the case of land, the family is taken as the unit husband, wife and two or three children. Similarly, you can take the family of a doctor—the doctor, the doctor's wife who, may also be a doctor, and the children. Arc

you going to give them an income in comparison with what the land ceiling law is going to generate in the hands of an agricultural family? So, I want to know from the Minister of Planning whether the logical consequences of land ceiling are going to be taken to the last stage whereby a property relationship in this country will be fixed and a completely egalitarian society will be created whereby the fruits of production will be shared by all the communities equally, whether they work on agriculture or in industry or in the services.

SHRI S. A. KHAJA MOHIDEEN (Tamil Nadu) : Or in the Indian Airlines.

SHRI A.G. KULKARNI : What I want to say is that the policy is not for the buildings along; it is a complete incomes policy...

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat) : Is there any ceiling on Ministers /

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Don't be so touchy about the Ministers. They will also be brought within the incomes policy. So, you do not worry about it.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : The gap between the professions and actions of the Congress is as wide as you like it.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : That is all right. If I am to reply to you, I will be wasting my time here. So, what I was suggesting was, the ceiling on land and consequently on the income of an agricultural family has its ramifications on the incomes policy. Similarly, it was stated that the Government is now going to levy a tax on tractors. Very recently we discussed the problem of tractors, spare parts and other agricultural machinery. There you say that you are putting a tax because the rich farmers use them. But ultimately, after the land ceiling there is no question of any rich farmer. All are equal. So, naturally we have to make them available to the agriculturists through service societies or other societies or if I say co-operatives, some may take objection-through any other arrangement. Now, for example, a 35 H.P. tractor costs roughly about Rs. 40,000. Is it possible land holder of 10 acres or 15 acres to purchase a tractor for Rs. 40,000? Or, do you want to deny him that service and modernisation of agriculture thereby? So, the whole policy

of inputs in agriculture has to be considered in the development of agriculture and not as a source of taxation only.

Sir, having said this on agriculture, I will now deal with industry because the Resolution refers to agricultural as well as industrial production. In industry we see that there is stagnation in production. It has been recently stated that there are now encouraging signs and a growth of 5.8 per cent or 6 per cent has been achieved. But, by and large, industrial production has not been as per expectations in the Fourth Plan. And now there are no signs also that it will improve. Sometimes, it has been lagging due to shortage of raw materials; sometimes there are difficulties of demand construction; and sometimes there are difficulties of ideological conflict, whether one monopoly house should be allowed or another monopoly house should be allowed. And now we have reached a stage where all these tall talks, slogans and ideologies have tumbled down to this extent that production is not taking place and further growth in industry is stalled. The Planning Commission is a resourceful body and one can expect resourceful ideas from Mr. Dharia and Mr. Dhar because we know, our friend here was in the Rajya Sabha.

And he had very resourceful ideas. He is himself very energetic. So I think a new industrial policy should be on the anvil so that the new policy will take care of on one side production and development of the economy and on other side create and generate employment. We heard today the ridiculous and shameful progress of the employment programmes. In the Question Hour in the morning we were given a certain information. Actually we were not given any information whatsoever apart from stating how many persons are there on the live register and how much funds are allotted. Actually no information was available and the Ministers themselves were trying to find out from their dockets what was the correct information. But the point is this industrial policy must have two wheels. One is of creating employment and the other is generation of economic resources. How to achieve this? For this purpose I feel the Government has to address itself that within two months when Parliament is not in session, they should do something. Unless they find some solution, this problem cannot be solved. Mr. Minister, you decide it yourself and put a bold plan before the country what you want to do about the

installed capacity remaining idle, what you want to do with the raw materials to be given due to the lack of which investments cannot be obtained and production is lagging, what you want to do with all these industrial houses, what you want to do about the backward areas. All these things have to be identified at the planning stage, at the industrial development stage, at every stage. No worthwhile progress is made on hammering out a rational policy which will boost up the production. I hope the Minister of Planning will take an opportunity to see that as early as possible this policy is enunciated. What do we find? we have found a very significant contribution made by Prof. K.N.Raj in his lecture at Bombay regarding the Approach to the Fifth Plan where he talked about the production process and the constraints on the production process in different sectors of the country.. (time bell) Mr. Vice-Chairman, is my time over?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Yes, you have taken fifteen minutes.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I want another five to ten minutes. I am just in the midst of my speech. If you had given me the indication a little earlier, I would have adjusted my points in the initial stages. Anyway, I will be brief.

Dr. Raj identified that the resource generation in the Fourth Plan or the Fifth Plan was not up to the expectation and he has listed various reasons for this. I do not want to go into the details because already I am short of time. I will only mention a few points. The entire investment during the last three or four Plans is on basic industries and consumer industries, which are only catering to the higher echelons of the society, say, 10 or 15 per cent of the society is being supplied with the consumer goods. As we see, actually the lower strata of the society, about 40 per cent, those below the poverty line are not getting any benefit; they are not able to purchase anything of the consumer-type of products in this country. My suggestion to the Planning Commission is in this country it is necessary to identify what are the priorities of the lower class, that is, of the 40 per cent people, what you call below the poverty line or whatever you call. You must now identify what their requirements are, how you are going to direct your investment in the direction which will create such production which will be used by those people

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and naturally which will give them employment. Then about your collaboration policy, your foreign collaboration policy. Everybody must have seen the reports, very recently a powder manufacturing unit like Colgate-Palmolive with an investment of Rs. 1.5 lakhs, they have carried away to their country about Rs. 2 crores. This is something fantastic nonsense. There must be some thinking in the Government, whatever be the contracts we have got with foreigners. There should be a limit to such things. When you talk about general insurance, you say the shareholders have already obtained all the money back, so no compensation. Like radicals you are saying this.

If that radicalism applies to foreign collaboration also, then, much money must have been prevented from going out of the country. Money has been returned twenty times, fifty times, hundred times ! It should stop somewhere and you should stop it somewhere. But your radicalism has not done anything.

Similar is your banking system, Sir. You have nationalised the banks. What is the use of the nationalised banks ? These nationalised banks are also working in the same way as they used to do in the 'fifties' financing all types of industrial activity, speculative activity, trading activity, etc. though there are some curbs here and there. But, ultimately, the same pattern prevails. Have you nationalised the banks for this purpose ? Where is your orientation ? The orientation must be towards creating an industrial structure whereby this 40% people will get their minimum needs from these sectors, whether it is public sector or private sector.

Then, Sir, the other point is about the licensing procedures and large industrial house?. Sir, all types of talks are going on about the monopolies and the big industrial houses. We have heard enough of them. At least I have heard enough for the last six years. I would say, Sir, that your licensing policy has created them. Your licensing policy alone has created these monsters. They are hoarding about 40% of the production capacity in their hands and you are going to stagnate. The Government can always take over such units by fiscal measures or financial measures or other promotional measures. The Government can always take over such units as are anti-people. But, I do not know why the Government is stag-

nating with this capacity which has already been created. Sir, it has been stated that the large industrial houses will not be denied licences. In his reply to a question in the Lok Sabha, the Industrial Development Minister said that these industrial houses will not be debarred from getting licences provided their capacity is fully utilised. Some such mention was made. I would say, Sir, that you should go boldly for developing this type of industrial capacity wherever you want.

The last point I would like to make is about the importance of the small-scale sector. Time and again I have said it and I do not want to elaborate or quote some figures. I would make only one or two points. If you want to have a modern technology-oriented small-scale sector, you have to nurse it from the beginning. Sir, assurances have been given here regarding equitable supply of raw materials. Ultimately, nothing has been done. Assurances have been given here regarding statutory protection to the small-scale sector. But, Sir, nothing has been done. Then, Sir, assurances have also been given about the organic link between the large-scale industries and the small-scale industries as regards their ancillary character. But nothing has been done by them in this direction.

Therefore, Sir, things cannot improve unless the Government gives serious attention to what all I have said Just now. Mr. Dharia is here and I would like to tell him that the stage of slogans has gone. Slogans will not help us now. You have now to come down to earth and see at the field level how your ideas work with the maximum amount of pragmatism. Thank you, sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V.B. RAJU) : Yes, Mr. Mathur.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : उपसभापति महोदय, इस संकल्प में मैंने एक संशोधन प्रस्तुत किया है जो इस प्रकार से है :

संकल्प के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:—

“और सरकार से सिफारिश करती है कि वह तात्कालिक राहत के रूप में बेरोजगारों को भत्ता दे और निश्चित आय वाले व्यक्तियों के लिये रियायती दरों पर आवश्यक वस्तुएं उपलब्ध करे।”

श्रीमन्, अभी कुलकर्णी जी ने जो आखिरी शब्द कहा वह यह कि किसी भी प्रकार के स्लोगंस को, नये स्लोगंस को हम छोड़ दें, तो मैं उनकी जानकारी के लिये कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम अपनी स्वाधीनता की पच्चीसवीं वर्षगांठ मना रहे हैं . .

श्री ए० जी० कुलकर्णी: आप जरा आँख खोल कर चले। हास की माफिक नहीं जाना है। यह मतलब है।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : तो हमारी प्रधान मंत्रीजी ने इसके पहले नारा दिया कि हमारी इकानामिकी परफार्मेंस विदइन दि लास्ट 25 ईयर्स इज मिरैकुलस यह नारा प्रधान मंत्री जी ने दिया। वह कितना मिरैकुलस है, वह उन्हीं के सभापतित्व के संगठित जो प्लानिंग कमीशन है उसका जो एप्रोच आया है। स्प्रेच टु दि फिफ्थ फाइव ईयर प्लान। उससे मालूम पड़ता है। उसके दो पैराग्राफ मैं सदन के सामने रखता हूँ :

"In elaborating our strategy of development in earlier Plan documents, we seem to have assumed that a fast rate of growth of national income will by itself create more and fuller employment and produce higher living standard for the poor. We also seem to have assumed that, for reduction of disparities in income and wealth, the scope of redistributive policies is severely limited.

Economic development in the last two decades has resulted in an all-round increase in *per capita* income. The proportion of the poor, defined as those living below a basic minimum standard of consumption, has slightly come down. Yet the absolute number of people below the poverty line today is just as large as it was two decades ago. And these people living in abject poverty constitute between two-fifths and one-half of all Indian citizens. Available projections suggest that if one were to rely on growth alone without directly tackling the problems of unemployment and income distribution, it may take another 30 to 50 years for the poorer sections of the people to reach the minimum consumption levels. It will be neither feasible nor desirable to contemplate a waiting period of anywhere near such a duration."

यह जो स्वयं प्लानिंग कमीशन ने प्लान एप्रोच दिया है, उसमें जो स्थिति मान कर चले हैं, उसके संबंध में ये कहेंगे कि हमारा परफोर्मेंस मैरिक्युलस है।

श्रीमन्, स्वयं सरकार का ही जो वर्शन है उसको प्लानिंग कमीशन की समीक्षा ने झुठलाया है। अभी जो स्थिति देश के अन्दर है, जिस परिस्थिति में हमें गुजरना है और प्लानिंग के संबंध में जो विशेष रूप से हमारी संस्थाएं हैं, बेरोजगारों को भत्ता देने के संबंध में, उनको सहायता देने के संबंध में एक है। तो जहां तक बेरोजगारी का सवाल है उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज सदन में इस संबंध में काफी चर्चा हुई थी प्रश्नोत्तर काल के अन्दर, लेकिन सरकार आज इस स्थिति में नहीं है कि यह बता सके कि देश में बेरोजगारों की संख्या कितनी है। माननीय योजना मंत्री अपने भाषण में अगर बता सके कि इस संबंध में स्थिति क्या है, तो बड़ी अच्छी बात होगी। मेरी जानकारी के अनुसार शिक्षित और अशिक्षित, ग्रामीण और शहरी सब मिला कर साढ़े चार करोड़ के लगभग बेरोजगार देश में हैं। इस बेरोजगारी की समस्या को समझने की दृष्टि से अगर हम देखें इन चार योजनाओं के अन्दर हमने क्या प्रगति की तो हमको किसी भी दृष्टि से प्रगति होती दिखाई नहीं देती। एग्रि-कलचरल प्रोडक्शन भी देश में गिरा है और जहाँ तक इन्डस्ट्रियल ग्रोथ रेट है, जो 1969 के अन्दर 7 परसेन्ट था, वह घट कर डेढ़ परसेन्ट आ गया। हमारी जो इन्डस्ट्रियल कैपेसिटी है, उस कैपेसिटी को भी हम यूटिलाइज नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। तो इस प्रकार की परिस्थिति में ये जो पांचवीं योजनाएं बनाने जा रहे हैं, उसकी दृष्टि से इस प्रस्ताव में भी सुझाव है, दिशा-दर्शन है। मुझे लगता है, वर्तमान स्थिति के अन्दर न हम कुछ करेंगे, न हम बेरोजगारी मिटा सकेंगे, न रोजगार दिला सकेंगे। अब सरकार ने इस बेकारी के संबंध में कुछ आंकड़े न देते हुए भी अपने प्लान एप्रोच के अन्दर इशारा किया है कि हम डाइरेक्ट एटैक अन्-एम्प्लायमेंट पर करना चाहते हैं। तो वह डाइरेक्ट एटैक कैसे होगा? अब इसमें टूवर्ड्स एप्रोच प्लान कहा है :

[श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर]

- (1) It Will be necessary to launch a direct attack on the problems of unemployment, under-employment and massive low-and poverty. The essential ingredient of this line of attack would have to be provision of employment opportunities on as large and wide a scale as necessary.
- (2) Ensuring stable prices at a reasonable level for these basic elements of consumption must, therefore, be one of the dominant objectives.
- (3) Price stability in items of essential consumption can be ensured only if production policy is also oriented to increasing availabilities of these items.
- (4) Much more determined restraint on inessential consumption of the relatively well-to-do classes than in the past."

तो जहाँ तक पहली बात है, जो अन्-एम्प्लायमेंट पर ये अटैक करना चाहते हैं, जिसके बारे में मैंने पहले निवेदन किया, अभी प्रस्तावक महोदय ने कहा था कि गुजरात के अन्दर कुछ लोगों की मीड ने अपनी आर्थिक स्थिति की मांग रख कर प्रदर्शन किया, उन पर गोलियाँ चलीं। आज अखबार में एक दूसरी खबर भी है कि जयपुर के अन्दर 40 डाक्टरों की गिरफ्तारी की गई है—वे एम०बी०बी०एस० हैं—उनके मां-बाप ने उनके ऊपर हजारों रुपये शिक्षा में खर्च किये हैं और उनको गिरफ्तार इसलिए किया गया कि वे नौकरी की मांग कर रहे थे . . .

श्री रणवीर सिंह : जाएं लोगों को दवाई दें।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : घरों में आप जैसे बेटे नहीं हैं, जिस पर हजारों रुपये खर्च किए हैं और नौकरी करने की आदत नहीं है। तो उन डाक्टरों को आज रोजगार नहीं मिलता है। तो आज देश में इस प्रकार के वर्ग को जिनकी संख्या बहुत ज्यादा है, इस प्रकार के आन्दोलन के मार्ग में जाना पड़ रहा है। जहाँ तक महंगाई का सवाल है, सरकार ने स्वयं भी माना है कि महंगाई बढ़ती हुई जा रही है और प्रति वर्ष सरकार द्वारा सारा इन्वेस्टमेंट करने के बाद, सारी योजनाएं करने के बाद न महंगाई दूर हो रही है, न बेकारी दूर हो रही है। पिछले दिनों में महंगाई किस प्रकार

बढ़ रही है वह हम सब जानते हैं। आज तो सब्जी तक की हालत यह है कि 2 रु० किलो से कम की सब्जी नहीं मिलती है। परसों सदन में चर्चा हुई थी कि चीनी के दाम कितने बढ़े हैं। ऐसी कोई दैनिक उपयोग की वस्तु नहीं है जिसके दाम नहीं बढ़े हैं। तो ऐसी हालत में सरकार का यह दावा कि हमने बड़ी प्रोग्रेस की है, यह बिलकुल बेकार बेबुनियाद दावा है। तो इस नाते से यह जो आपने प्लान एप्रोच का पैम्फलेट निकाला है उससे ऐसा लगता नहीं कि आप कोई सही कार्यक्रम दे सकेंगे।

उपसमाध्यक्ष महोदय, पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्दर 10,500 करोड़ से लेकर 11,500 करोड़ तक रुपया खर्च करने की बात कही है। यह रुपया कहां से आएगा? वर्तमान में तो हालत यह है कि हम जो डेफिशिट फाइनेंसिंग करके रुपया लेते हैं उसके कारण चीजों की महंगाई बढ़ती जा रही है। देश में आपने एग्जिकलचरल इनकम टैक्स लगाने की बात भी कही है। लोगों की खर्च करने की आदत को कम करने की बात भी अप्रोच पेपर में कही है। लेकिन कहां तक वह सफल होगा, यह मुझे दिखाई नहीं देता।

पिछले युद्ध के समय प्रधान मंत्री जी ने देश के अन्दर एक और नारा दिया था। उन्होंने कहा था कि हम जिस प्रकार से आत्म-निर्भर होकर आज का युद्ध कर रहे हैं, वैसे ही युद्ध आर्थिक क्षेत्र के अन्दर भी करेंगे। हम आर्थिक अवस्था में विदेशियों से मुक्त होकर, विदेशी सहायता से मुक्त होकर, सेल्फ रिलायन्स, आत्म-निर्भरता की तरफ जाना चाहते हैं। लेकिन वर्तमान पत्र जो रखा है, जिसमें सरकार की योजनाएं दी हैं, उससे लगता है, फारेन एड के अन्दर किसी भी प्रकार की कमी दिखायी नहीं देती—कोई डेब्लाइन तय नहीं करते हैं कि अमुक समय के बाद हम किसी प्रकार का फारेन एड नहीं लेंगे। फारेन एड के अंदर इस प्रकार की स्थिति है कि सन् 1980-81 तक जिस प्रकार की हमें फारेन एड लेनी पड़ेगी उसको देखते हुए हम कह नहीं सकते कि 1980-81 के बाद क्या हालत होगी? उस स्थिति की हम कल्पना नहीं

कर सकते। जो बातें पहले कही गई थीं, उनको अभी तक सरकार की ओर से पूरा नहीं किया जा सकता। किसी प्रकार का परिवर्तन आज तक आया नहीं है। उस स्थिति के अन्दर फारेन एड के संबंध में, फारेन कालोबोरेशन की दिशा में हम इस देश में निरंतर आगे बढ़ते जा रहे हैं। आज तो कुलकर्णी जी के शब्दों में, हम विस्फुट बनाने के मामले में भी कालोबोरेट करने जा रहे हैं, जिस चीजों का हम देश में स्वयं निर्माण कर सकते हैं, उनको भी विदेशियों के सहयोग से बनाना चाहते हैं। इस नाते से हमको इस संबंध में जिस प्रकार वृद्ध अपने बलबूते पर लड़ा है तो उसी प्रकार इस देश के लोगों के बलबूते पर, सामर्थ्य पर जो देश की अन्वुटिलाइज्ड कैपेसिटी है, मैनपावर है, अपने को आत्म-निर्भर बनाना होगा। अगर केवल विदेशियों से कालोबोरेशन करेंगे, विदेशियों के आधार पर योजनाएं लायेंगे, तो जो विदेशी सहायता के आधार पर योजनाएं बनने वाली हैं उनको कहने के आधार ही पर हमको बनाना पड़ेगा, उनके टेकनिशियन्स को लेकर बनाना पड़ेगा, हम अपने आपसे नहीं बना सकेंगे। इसलिए हमें अपने देश की योजनाएं अपने मैनपावर को आधार रख कर बनानी होंगी। आज देश में अपनी स्माल स्केल इन्डस्ट्रीज को जितनी ज्यादा से ज्यादा सहायता दे सकें उतना ही वह लोगों के लिए उपयोगी होगा, अधिक लोगों को रोजगार मिलेगा। हमारी लघु सिंचाई योजनाएं भी चल रही हैं मध्य प्रदेश के अन्दर, गुजरात के अन्दर, नर्मदा के बहुत बड़े डैम को बनाने के लिए। लेकिन अगर छोटी योजनाओं को बनाने का सवाल आता है तो कोई विवाद नहीं है। हम बड़े पैमाने पर छोटी सिंचाई योजना बना कर कम लागत में ज्यादा पैदावार कर सकते हैं, लेकिन लगता है सरकार का ध्यान इन दोनों तरफ बिलकुल नहीं है, न तो स्माल स्केल इन्डस्ट्रीज की ओर है, न स्माल सेक्टर स्कीम्स की ओर है, जो योजना के रूप में लोगों के सामने रखी जा सकती है, जिसका प्रचार आम तौर से हो सकता है। बड़े सेक्टर में जो योजनाएं आयेंगी, उनके लिए हमें फारेन एड, फारेन कालोबोरेशन की आवश्यकता होती है, जिसकी वजह से कर्जा बढ़ता जा रहा है और विदेशी मुद्रा बाहर चली जाती है। आखिर जितना कोलेबोरेट किया है, जितनी

पूंजी लगाई है, उस पर मुनाफा कमाकर हमारा रुपया बाहर ले जा रहे हैं। तो अगर हम आत्म-निर्भर बनना चाहते हैं और सेल्फ रिलाएन्स का जो नारा प्रधान मंत्री जी और सरकार की ओर से दिया गया है उसको कार्यान्वित करना है तो उस फारेन एड को बिलकुल बन्द कर देना चाहिए। ये जितनी भी विदेशी कंपनियां हैं जिनके जरिये विदेशों को हमारा रुपया जा रहा है, उनका इंडियनाइजेशन करना चाहिए ताकि हम अपने पैरों पर खड़ा हो सकें। जब तक हम स्वयं अपने पैरों पर खड़े नहीं होंगे और विदेशी सहयोग, फारेन कालोबोरेशन के नाम पर अपने देश का शोषण होने से नहीं रोकेंगे, तब तक किसी भी रूप में पांचवी योजना के अन्दर करीब साढ़े चार करोड़ लोगों की बेकारी की समस्या को हल नहीं कर सकेंगे। इस बेकारी की समस्या का हम उन्मुलन कर सकेंगे, यह सरकार कहने की स्थिति में नहीं है। हमारे देश में जो बेकारी की समस्या है, उसके बारे में सरकार के दास न तो आंकड़े ही हैं और न उसके बारे में कोई निदान ही है। सरकार की जानकारी में बेकारी की जो समस्या है वह भयंकर मालूम नहीं देती है। लेकिन मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आज हमारे देश में बेकारी की समस्या एक भयंकर रूप धारण कर चुकी है, जिसकी वजह से देश में उत्पादन का स्तर घट रहा है, जबकि हमको हर स्तर में उत्पादन को बढ़ाना चाहिये था। आज देश के अन्दर जिस रूप में बेकारी बढ़ रही है, उसका सरकार के पास कोई इलाज है? मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि उसको इस संबंध में देश के स्वाभिमान को जाग्रत करना चाहिये और स्वदेशी की भावना को जाग्रत करना चाहिये। अगर सरकार ने इस तरह की बात की तब ही देश के अन्दर विकास हो सकेगा।

आज हमारे देश में जो बेकार लोग हैं, वे आन्दोलन करते हैं और सरकार उन्हें जेल में डालती है। इससे इस चीज की समस्या का निदान होने वाला नहीं है। अगर आज जयपुर में 40 डाक्टरों को गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया है, तो कल आप दूसरी जगह इस तरह के लोगों को या दूसरे बेकार लोगों को गिरफ्तार करेंगे। आज जो शिक्षित वर्ग है, वह आज रोजगार के लिए आन्दो-

[श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर]

लन कर रह है और यह कहना गलत होगा कि अशिक्षित लोग आन्दोलन नहीं कर सकते हैं । आज गुजरात में जो आंदोलन हो रहा है, वह गांव के अन्दर ही हो रहा है और उन लोगों की मांग है कि हमें रोजगार दिया जाय और जीवनपयोगी चीजों के दाम सस्ते होने चाहियें । अगर यह आन्दोलन सारे देश में फैल गया तो फिर वह देश के लिए अहितकर चीज होगी । इसलिये मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमें संविधान में संशोधन करके बेरोजगारों के लिए कुछ काम का अधिकार दिलाना चाहिये । हमने संविधान को कई बार बदल दिया है और उसको एक और बार भी बदल सकते हैं, जिसके द्वारा हम बेरोजगार लोगों को काम देने का अधिकार दे सकते हैं और काम न मिलने पर उन्हें विशेष प्रकार का भत्ता दे सकते हैं ।

पांचवी पंचवर्षीय योजना में एग्रीकलचर क्षेत्र में, पी० डब्ल्यू० डी० में और अन्य दूसरे क्षेत्रों में जो योजनाएं कार्यान्वित होने जा रही हैं, उन्हें हमें हाथ में ले लेना चाहिये । जो प्लान एप्रोच हमें मिला है और उसके बारे में जो मुझे पता लगा कि श्री घर साहब जी ने इस प्लान एप्रोच को रिजेक्ट कर दिया था । आप तो दोनों योजना मंत्रियों के काल में रहे हैं और मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि आप दोनों का अनुभव लेकर इसको तेज रफ्तार में आगे बढ़ायें और देश में जो इस समय बेरोजगारी की समस्या है और दूसरी आर्थिक समस्याएं हैं उनको दूर करने में कारगर उपाय करेंगे ।

इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट में जो इस समय नया उत्साह है उसको लेकर शासन प्लान को तेजी के साथ चलायेगी ताकि देश में लोगों को रोजगार मिल सके, उत्पादन के साधन बढ़ सकें और इस समय हमारे देश के सामने जो बेकारी की भयंकर समस्या खड़ी हो गई है, उसका निदान हो सके । सरकार ने जो यह नारा दिया है, उसको वह भावना द्वारा जाग्रत करे, स्वदेशी की भावना जाग्रत करे और देश में स्वावलम्बी की भावना को जाग्रत करे । अगर आप इस तरह के कदम उठाएंगे तब ही कुछ

कर पायेंगे । केवल नारा दे देने से बेरोजगारी की समस्या का हल निकलने वाला नहीं है । प्रधान मंत्री जी ने यह नारा दिया है कि हमें उत्पादन बढ़ाना चाहिये और इस चीज को प्राथमिकता दी जानी चाहिये । उन्होंने भी देश की स्थिति को देख कर इस प्रकार का नारा दिया है; क्योंकि देश में आज विस्फोटक स्थिति पैदा हो गई है ।

आज सरकार का जगह-जगह महंगाई के विरुद्ध विरोध प्रकट किया जा रहा है, बेरोजगारी के विरुद्ध विरोध प्रकट किया जा रहा है और इस तरह के कई छोटे-छोटे आन्दोलन आज देश में सरकार के विरुद्ध हो रहे हैं और यही कुछ समय के बाद बड़ा रूप ले सकते हैं और सारे देश के अन्दर बड़ा आन्दोलन खड़ा हो सकता है । इसलिए मैं सरकार से निवेदन करूंगा कि इस प्रस्ताव के साथ मैंने जो संशोधन दिया है, उस संशोधन को स्वीकार करेगी ताकि इस समय हमारे देश में जो बेरोजगार लोग हैं, बेकार लोग हैं, उनके लिए कुछ काम मिल सके । इतना ही मेरा कहना है ।

श्री नवल किशोर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उप-समाध्यक्ष महोदय, श्री सिंह देवजी ने जो प्रस्ताव पेश किया है, उसके लिए मैं उन्हें धन्यवाद देता हूँ, क्योंकि उन्होंने एक मौका हम लोगों को दिया, जिसके द्वारा सरकार की जो कृषि नीति है, उद्योग नीति है और आज जो स्थिति बेरोजगारी की हमारे देश में हो गई है, उस पर हम अपने विचार पेश कर सकें ।

मान्यवर, पिछले कुछ वर्षों से यह महसूस होता था कि हम खेती के मामले में आत्म-निर्भर हो गये हैं और हमने कृषि के सम्बन्ध में काफी प्रगति कर ली है । हमारा खेती का उत्पादन उस जगह पर पहुंच गया है जब हम कह सकते हैं कि हम इस संबंध में आत्म-निर्भर हो गये हैं और अब हमें बाहर से अन्न नहीं मंगाना पड़ेगा । लेकिन इस वर्ष वर्षा न होने की वजह से जो सूखे के आसार दिखलाई दे रहे हैं, आज भी दिखलाई दे रहे हैं, उससे यह मालूम होता है कि अभी कृषि के मामले में हमारी बुनियाद बिल्कुल मजबूत नहीं हो पाई है ।

हम लोग ग्रीन रिवोल्यूशन और हरित क्रांति की बात कहते हैं, तो में धारिया साहब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह बात सही है कि अच्छे बीज की वजह से, अच्छी खाद की वजह से हमारी फी एकड़ पैदावार बहुत जगहों पर बढ़ी है। लेकिन क्या आप इस बात को बतला सकते हैं कि जो हरित क्रांति है, वह कितने फीसदी काश्तकारों तक महसूस रही है? मैं अपने उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी अंचल की बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ पर लैंड होल्डिंग बहुत कम है। सरकार ने जो स्कीमें शुरू की थीं उत्पादन बढ़ाने के सिलसिले में, उनका वहाँ के लोगों ने बहुत कम फायदा उठाया, उस स्कीम का फायदा उन लोगों ने उठाया जिनके पास जमीन काफी थी, जो बड़े फार्म होल्डर थे, जो होशियार थे या जो नेता टाइप थे। तो इस तरह का खयाल कर लेना कि सारे देश में हरित क्रांति हो गई है, उचित नहीं होगा।

मैं कृषि के संबंध में एक बात और भी कहना चाहता हूँ। मुझे याद है कि जब तीसरा प्लान बन रहा था, तब उस समय हमारे प्रधान मंत्री पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू थे। उन्होंने कहा कि मुझे यह महसूस हो रहा है कि हमने पिछले 12-14 सालों से कृषि को नैगलैक्ट कर रखा है, उसकी उपेक्षा करते आ रहे हैं। 12 साल के बाद प्रधान मंत्री जी को खयाल आया कि हमें पहली प्राथमिकता कृषि को देनी चाहिए थी और इसी वजह से उसके बाद से उसको प्राथमिकता पहली दी गई, लेकिन आज भी जैसा अभी श्री कुलकर्णी जी ने कहा कि जो बिजली के रेट हैं उसमें डिस्पैरिटी बरती जा रही है। बिजली के रेट उद्योगों के लिए दूसरे हैं और खेती के लिए दूसरे हैं। जो कर्जा दिया जाता है और उसमें जो इन्टरैस्ट होता है उसमें भी फर्क है। उद्योगों के लिए सूत की दर अलग है और खेती के लिये अलग है। इसके साथ ही साथ जो छोटे उद्योग हैं उनके लिए दर अलग से है और बड़े उद्योगों के लिए अलग से दर बनाई गई है।

श्रीमन्, यही नहीं, जिन चीजों पर किसान की खेती निर्भर करती है, वे तीन चीजें हैं। एक तो बीज है, दूसरा खाद है और तीसरी आवपाशी है। जमीन तो उनके पास ठहरी ही। मैं यह जानना

चाहता हूँ कि आजादी के पच्चीस साल बीत जाने के बाद भी कितनी फीसदी जमीन इरिगटेड है? जहाँ तक मेरी जानकारी है वह करीब 30 फीसदी के लगभग है और इस 30 फीसदी में जितना पानी काश्तकार चाहता है, उतना पानी उसको बिलकुल नहीं मिल पाता है। उनको ट्यूबवेलों से और नहरों से पुरा पानी नहीं मिलता है, मगर आवपाशी की दर बढ़ती ही चली जाती है।

जहाँ तक खाद का सम्बन्ध है, आज किसान खाद के सम्बन्ध में कोशिश हो गया है और गवर्नमेंट के प्रोपेगण्डे की वजह से वह उसके महत्व को जान गया है। लेकिन आज खाद की कीमत बढ़ती ही चली जा रही है। आपका प्रोडक्शन इतना नहीं है जितनी की मांग है। आप उसका प्रोडक्शन दो तरह से बढ़ा सकते हैं। या तो आप अपने यहाँ नये कारखाने खोलें, अपने मौजूदा कारखानों को फैलायें या फिर आप बाहर से इम्पोर्ट करें। अगर हम बाहर से इम्पोर्ट करते हैं तो इससे हमारा फारेन एक्सचेंज काफी खत्म हो जायेगा।

मैं इस झगड़े में नहीं पड़ना चाहता हूँ कि खाद के उत्पादन को प्राइवेट सेक्टर में बनाया जाय या पब्लिक सेक्टर में। मैं एक बात जरूर कहना चाहता हूँ कि खाद का प्रोडक्शन चाहे पब्लिक सेक्टर में हों या प्राइवेट सेक्टर में उसका प्रोडक्शन बिना किसी रोक-थाम के बढ़ते ही रहना चाहिए। बीज की हालत यह है कि हमारे पन्त नगर में जो कृषि युनिवर्सिटी है, वहाँ पर कोई भी बीज पांच रुपया किलो से कम नहीं मिलता है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : 20 रुपया किलो मिलता है।

श्री नवल किशोर : पांच रुपया किलो से लेकर 20 रुपया किलो तक बीज भिन्न-भिन्न चीजों का मिलता है। आज बीज और ट्रैक्टर के दाम बढ़ते ही चले जा रहे हैं, जब कि ट्रैक्टरों को इस्तेमाल करने वालों की तादाद कम है। थोड़े से लोग हमारे चौधरी रनबीर सिंह की तरह होंगे जो ट्रैक्टर का इस्तेमाल करते होंगे, लेकिन सही बात यह है कि इसका इस्तेमाल करने वाले बहुत

[श्री नवल किशोर]

कम है। आज हर चीज की कीमत बढ़ती ही चली जा रही है। इस महंगाई के जमाने में हर चीज के दाम बढ़ते ही चले जा रहे हैं, लेकिन कृषि के चीजों के दाम, गेहूँ, ज्वार और दूसरी चीजों के दाम बहुत कम बढ़ रहे हैं और चीजों के मुकाबले में। गन्ने के दामों का जहाँ तक सम्बन्ध है बड़ी कोशिश के बाद सरकार ने 8 रुपया क्विंटल कर दिया है, जबकि मांग 10 रुपये की थी।

मेरा कहना यह है कि जब तक आप एग्री-कल्चरल प्रोड्यूस की मिनिमम 4 P. M. प्राइस फिक्स नहीं करेंगे, तब तक एग्रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्शन को इम्पीट्स नहीं मिलने वाला है। मुझे अफसोस है कि इतना बड़ा एग्रीकल्चरल कमीशन है, उसमें चौधरी रणबीर सिंह को ही बैठा दिया जाय, कम से कम कुछ तो फायदा हो, मगर धारिया साहब ने जितने एक्सपर्ट रखे हैं प्रेक्टीकली खेती का किसी को एक्सपीरिअन्स नहीं है। इसमें कुछ एक्सपीरिअन्स की बात तो होनी चाहिए।

श्रीमन्, इन्डस्ट्री के बारे में सब दोस्तों ने कहा। मैं अभी पढ़ रहा था कि हमारा जी०एन०पी० इस साल जीरो परसेन्ट बढ़ा है। इसके माने यह है कि आगे वह माइन्स होना शुरू हो जायगा। इन्डस्ट्री में प्राइवेट सेक्टर के बारे में मुझे कुछ कहना नहीं है; क्योंकि प्राइवेट सेक्टर के सम्बन्ध में बोलने के माने हैं प्रतिक्रियावादी, रिएक्शनरी, कन्जर्वेटिव, आर्थोडोक्स, कितने ही नाम हैं, इसलिए उसको छोड़ दीजिए। पब्लिक सेक्टर में आपने साढ़े 4 हजार करोड़ रुपया इनवेस्ट किया है। स्टील प्लान्ट उसमें प्रमुख है; क्योंकि स्टील से तमाम मशीनें बनती हैं। स्टील के प्रोडक्शन के बारे में कह कर मैं ज्यादा समय नहीं लेना चाहता, फिर भी आपका प्रोडक्शन कैपेसिटी के अनुपात में किसी फैक्टरी का 40—42 परसेन्ट है, किसी का 52 परसेन्ट है, किसी का 65 परसेन्ट है, टोटल मिल कर 49 से 65 परसेन्ट आता है, जबकि प्राइवेट सेक्टर में अकेले टाटा का 91 परसेन्ट है, उसकी इन्स्टाल्ड कैपेसिटी का। आज आपका प्रोडक्शन कम है, स्टील की जरूरत है तो जो मशीन

बनती है उनका दाम भी बढ़ जाता है। इस तरह से एक विशेष सर्किल शुरू होता है। आपने पिछले तीन सालों में स्टील का दाम बढ़ाया है। '68-69 में आपने 59 रुपया फी टन बढ़ाया, '70-71 में 75 रुपया फी टन और '72 में 50 रुपया फी टन बढ़ाया, एक दफा और बढ़ाया था बीच में, वह मुझे याद नहीं है। तो तीन सालों में 200 रुपया फी टन से ज्यादा बढ़ गया। आपकी कीमत बेचने की कीमत 900 रुपया टन की है, लेकिन बाजार में मिलता है 1,800 रुपया टन में। नतीजा यह होता है कि इमारतों के दाम बढ़ते जाते हैं। दिल्ली में ए०आई०सी०सी० की मीटिंग में 57 में धारिया साहब को याद होगा बड़े जोर से उन्होंने टन पाइन्ट प्रोग्राम को रखा गया था। उन्होंने बड़े जोर से उसका समर्थन किया था और उनके आकर्षण में, कुछ अपने कन्विकशन की वजह से, मैंने भी बड़े जोर से हाथ उठाया। उसके मुताबिक '72 के एन्ड तक मिनिमम रिक्वायरमेंट्स लोगों के मीट करने थे, मगर मुझेको ऐसी उम्मीद है कि अब '80-81 तक भी मिनिमम रिक्वायरमेंट्स लोगों के वह मीट नहीं कर पायेंगे। आज मकान नहीं हैं। मकानों की शार्टेज है, कपड़े की शार्टेज है, खाने की शार्टेज है। खुद आपके आंकड़े हैं कि 230 यानी 23 करोड़ मिलियन आदमी ऐसे हैं जो सबसिस्टेंस के स्तर से नीचे जिन्दगी काटते हैं यानी 20 रुपए महीने से जिनकी आमदनी कम है 25 साल की आजादी के बाद। आज भी उत्तर प्रदेश में सैकड़ों गांव ऐसे हैं, पहाड़ों में सैकड़ों गांव ऐसे, हैं जहाँ हम पीने का पानी भी नहीं दे पाए हैं, 25 साल के बाद जब हम सिल्वर जुबली बना रहे हैं आजादी की।

अनएम्प्लायमेंट के बारे में आज ही चर्चा हुई थी। मेरे भाई माथुर साहब ने कहा कि साढ़े 4 करोड़ आदमी बेकार हैं। हमारे आजकल के प्रेसिडेंट श्री वी०वी० गिरि साहब ने एक किताब लिखी है। उनका कहना है कि 150 से 200 मिलियन तक यानी 15 करोड़ से 20 करोड़ आदमी ऐसे हैं जो एम्प्लायड नहीं हैं और अगर एम्प्लायड हैं तो उनका एम्प्लायमेंट नामिनल है, सीजनल है। श्रीमन्, यह स्थिति आज है हमारे इस देश के अन्दर। गरीबी हटाने की बात की जाती है। यह नई बात नहीं है। मुझे याद है जिस समय कांग्रेस का 1919

में सेशन होने वाला था और जब कांग्रेस में नई जिन्दगी आई थी, उस समय गांधी जी का एक ही कहना था कि देश के स्वराज के माने यह है कि हर गरीब की आंख का आंसू पोंछा जा सके। यह कांग्रेस की बुनियादी नीति थी। जवाहरलाल जी ने यह कभी नहीं कहा कि गरीबी हटाओ, लेकिन उस शक्त की कोशिश यह थी कि गरीबी हटे, लेकिन बदकिस्मती से हम अभी तक गरीबी को पूर्णतया हटा नहीं पाए और अब जो नारेबाजी है उसके अन्दर हम अटके हुए हैं। अभी तक 70 हजार या 75 हजार करोड़ रुपया हमने इनवेस्ट किया है चार योजनाओं में, लेकिन इसके बाद जो पर कैपिटल इनकम है वह ज्यादा नहीं बढ़ी है और जो बढ़ी भी है उसमें भी क्षेत्रीय असन्तुलन है, रीजनल इम्बेलेन्सेज हैं। मैं उत्तर प्रदेश की बात कहना चाहता हूँ। फस्ट फाइव डियर प्लान से पहले उत्तर प्रदेश की फी आदमी की औसत आमदनी आल इंडिया के कन्ट्रेक्ट में 12 या 13 परसेन्ट ज्यादा थी। आज वह करीब 19 परसेन्ट कम हो गई है आल इंडिया के कन्ट्रेक्ट में। मैंने केवल एक एग्जाम्पल दी रीजनल एम्बेलेन्सेज की। कहीं भी आप फैक्ट्री दें, इसमें मुझे आपत्ति नहीं है। अगर पब्लिक सेक्टर के प्रोजेक्ट्स आप किसी बुनियाद पर देते हैं, जैसे वहाँ राँ मेटेरियल है, बिजली है या यातायात के साधन अच्छे हैं, इस तरह दें तो आपत्ति नहीं है, मगर धारिया साहब इतिफाक करेंगे, यहाँ नहीं तो प्राइवेट में कि इसमें पोलिटिकल प्रेशर बहुत चलता है। स्टेट्स को जो प्रोजेक्ट्स दिए जाते हैं उनके पीछे पोलिटिकल कन्सीडरेशन ज्यादा होता है बजाय इसके कि मेरिट हो। अब ऐसा वक्त आ गया है कि जब इन सब बातों के लिए सोचना पड़ेगा। धारिया की, जमींदारी खत्म हो गई और मुझे खुशी है कि जमींदारी खत्म हो गई, राजा महाराजा खत्म हो गए, उनका प्रिवीपर्स भी समाप्त हो गया, आई०सी०एम०, आई०पी०एस० के बड़े भारी प्रिविलेज जो थे वह भी कल या परसों में समाप्त हो जायेंगे। लेकिन इन सबके समाप्त होने के बाद भी जन साधारण के जीवन में वह तरक्की नहीं आ पाई जिसकी हमने, आपने कल्पना की थी। तो इसके बारे में आपको सोचना पड़ेगा।

बैंकों का भी राष्ट्रीयकरण हो गया, हालांकि

14 का ही हुआ। यह अभी तक मैं समझ नहीं पाया हूँ—अगर राष्ट्रीयकरण अच्छी चीज है, जिसको मैं अच्छा मानता हूँ, मैं उसके फेवर में हूँ सेन्ट परसेन्ट तब फिर 14 का ही क्यों हुआ। आज उगान्डा की सरकार ने कह दिया कि तमाम एशियन उगांडा छोड़ कर चले जायें। छोटा मुल्क है नाबून के बराबर। लेकिन हम यह हिम्मत नहीं करते कि फॉरेन बैंक्स को भी नेशनलाइज कर दें हालांकि इंस्योरेन्स के मामले में किया गया है, मगर उनमें भी आपने कम्पेंसेशन उनको ज्यादा दिया है और बाद में 6 करोड़ कम्पेंसेशन अपने यहाँ भी आपको ज्यादा देना पड़ा। तो मैं यह कह रहा था कि जो काम आप करते हैं, उसमें पोलिटिक्स ज्यादा और सिन्सियरिटी कम होती है।

मैं एक बात और अर्ज कर देना चाहता हूँ। हमारा बहुत दिनों से स्वप्न था कि हम पब्लिक सेक्टर के जरिए से सेल्फ-जेनरेंटिंग इकोनामी, स्वचालित अर्थव्यवस्था कर पायेंगे, लेकिन आज इतने दिनों के बाद बजाय इसके कि कुछ आमदनी हो, पब्लिक सेक्टर से हमको कुछ लाभ मिले, हमको जनता पर टैक्स लगा कर उसके घाटे को पूरा करना पड़ता है। यह कोई अच्छी बात नहीं है। मैं धारिया साहब को यकीन दिलाता हूँ, शायद वे यकीन भी करेंगे कि मैं सौ फीसदी पब्लिक सेक्टर के फेवर में हूँ, लेकिन पब्लिक सेक्टर इस प्रकार चलने वाला नहीं है, पब्लिक सेक्टर अपनी मेरिट पर, अपनी एफ़ीनिएन्सी, अपने बेटर प्रोडक्शन, अपनी क्वालिटी पर चलने वाला है। यह सिर्फ जज्बात और नारों पर नहीं चलेगा, बल्कि It will be ending in a fiasco.

इस तरह इसका बुरी तरह से खात्मा हो जायगा। यह मेरी बात नहीं है, एन्टीमेट कमिटी की रिपोर्ट है कि हैवी इंजीनियरिंग अपना सब कैपिटल खा चुकी है, स्टील प्रोजेक्ट्स एक तिहाई या एक चौथाई तक अपना कैपिटल खा चुके हैं। आज यह स्थिति आपकी है। तो जिन चीजों से हमको रूसा मिलता, नए कारखाने खुलते, एम्प्लॉयमेंट बढ़ता, वे सब रास्ते आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता बन्द होते चले जा रहे हैं।

एक और दिक्कत है। इस सरकार की तनख्वाह का जो बिल है वह बेहद बढ़ता जाता है।

[श्री नवल किशोर]

प्रशासन का व्यय करीब-करीब 6 गुना हो गया है और जो महंगाई बढ़ी है उसे लेकर अब केन्द्रीय कर्मचारियों ने शोर मचाना शुरू कर दिया कि हम को इंटरिम रिलीफ दी जाय। अगर आप इंटरिम रिलीफ देते हैं तो 40 करोड़ से कम नहीं देना पड़ेगा, और अगर पं. कमीशन की रिपोर्ट आ गयी तो ली, सवा सौ करोड़ रुपया और देना पड़ेगा इस तरह से करीब दो सौ करोड़ रुपया ही जायगा और फिर उसके बाद स्टेट्स की मांग होगी। तो यह जो विशेष सकिल है, उसमें हम उनको पैसा कहां से देंगे। तो आज जो अनप्लायड हैं उनका कोई हल ढूंढना पड़ेगा।

एक बात और आज कल जोर है सीलिंग पर। मैं श्रीमन्, सौ फीसदी हामी हूं सीलिंग का, लेकिन उसका भी एक स्टैण्डर्ड होना चाहिए, उसका भी एक दर्शन होना चाहिए। धारिया साहब हमारे बड़े फेवर में हैं कि सीलिंग बहुत कम होनी चाहिए। पांच एकड़ की सीलिंग आप कर दीजिए, मगर इतना बता दीजिए कि आप देहात के आदमी की मैक्सिमम इनकम क्या चाहते हैं क्योंकि सीलिंग के मानने यह है कि खेती से उसको मैक्सिमम इनकम क्या होती है। अगर आप चाहते हैं कि एक हजार की उसको आमदनी हो तो हमको मंजूर है। 12 हजार हुई आमदनी एक साल की, तो जितनी जमीन से 12,000 की आमदनी हो सकती हो उतनी सीलिंग कर दीजिए, मगर अगर आप एक हजार की सीलिंग देहात के आदमी के लिए रखेंगे तो शहर की आमदनी साढ़े बारह सौ प्रति माह से ज्यादा की नहीं होनी चाहिए जब कि आई०सी०एस० अफसर ही आजकल 4,000 या उससे अधिक तनखाह पाते हैं। प्राइवेट सेक्टर में बीस हजार रुपया मास तक कुछ लोगों को मिलता है। तो मैं चाहता हूं कि आप सीलिंग कीजिए। अरबन सीलिंग में पता नहीं आपकी क्या नीति है, आप उसे कर भी पायेंगे या नहीं, मैं नहीं जानता, लेकिन मैं समझता हूं कि जब तक आप इंडिविजुअल इनकम पर सीलिंग नहीं करेंगे, तब तक कोई सीलिंग होने वाली नहीं है। लिहाजा अगर आपको अनप्लायमेंट को खत्म करना

है तो इंडिविजुअल इनकम पर भी सीलिंग कीजिए।

श्रीमन्, हमने संविधान में बहुत अमेंडमेंट किया कि कंपेंसेशन नहीं देंगे, प्रापर्टी छीन लेंगे, सब बातें अपनी जगह अच्छी हैं, लेकिन एक अमेंडमेंट यह भी कर दीजिए कि हर इंसान जो 21 साल का हिन्दुस्तान में हो जाय उसको काम पाने का हक है और गवर्नमेंट उसको काम देगी और अगर उसको काम नहीं देगी तो उसको अनइंप्लायड का स्टेटस देगी, वजीफा देगी, या भत्ता देगी, जैसा कि माथुर साहब ने कहा। आज श्रीमन्, एक आइडिया दिया गया था सुबह कि आपको अनइंप्लायड का इंड्योरेन्स करना चाहिए, उसको आप स्टार्ट कर दें तो वह एक अच्छी बात होगी। आज लाखों आदमी बेकार हैं और उनको कोई काम प्राप्त नहीं है। और कोई काम उनको प्राप्त हो भी नहीं रहा है और न आगे ही आशा बनती है।

श्रीमन्, इन्डस्ट्रीज के बारे में मुझे यह कहना है कि गांधीजी के वक्त में वह खादी पर बहुत जोर दिया करते थे और जब मैं स्टूडेंट था बी०ए० का तो खादी की बात मेरी समझ में बिल्कुल नहीं आती थी। मैं नहीं समझ पाता था कि इस खादी पहनने से क्या फायदा होगा। मुझे उस समय पता नहीं था कि मुझे भी जिन्दगी भर वही पहननी पड़ेगी। तो एक बार जब मुझे गांधी जी को सुनने का, उनसे मिलने का मौका मिला तो उन्होंने सारा अर्थशास्त्र और दर्शन, सारी इकोनामिक्स को और फिलासफी चरखे की क्या है, बतलाई और उसके मायने यह है कि एक-एक गरीब के घर में कपड़ा पहुंच जाय और कुछ पैसा भी पहुंच जाय, जहां श्रीमन्, आज हमारी हालत यह है कि इस गांधी जी को सेन्टेनरी में, गांधी जी बंचारे तो स्वर्ग चले गये, यहां हम उनके नाम और काम को भी दफन कर रहे हैं। आप ताज्जुब करेंगे अगर मैं कहूं कि आज सेन्टर के मिनिस्टर्स को भी खादी पहनना आवश्यक नहीं है और यहां गांधी जी के नाम पर सब काम चल रहा है। प्राइम मिनिस्टर भी हमारी श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी हैं, उनके नाम के आगे भी गांधी का नाम जुड़ा हुआ है, लेकिन सेन्टर के मिनिस्टर्स के लिए खादी पहनना आवश्यक नहीं

है। मैं किसी का नाम नहीं लेता, क्योंकि आप जानते हैं उनके बारे में। तो यह खादी की स्थिति है। धारिया साहब महाराष्ट्र से आते हैं। महाराष्ट्र की सरकार ने प्राहिविशन को भी दफन कर दिया और कह दिया कि 21 साल के हर आदमी को लाइसेन्स मिल जायगा शराब पीने का। गोरे साहब भी हंस रहे हैं। उनका वास्ता भी महाराष्ट्र से ज्यादा है।

तो यह काम भी गांधी जयन्ती के दिन हुआ (Interruption) माफ करोगे, स्वतंत्रता की सिल्वर जुबली के दिन हुआ। यही नहीं, सेठी साहब बहुत प्रगतिशील हैं। उन्होंने वहाँ मध्य प्रदेश में जूए को भी जायज कर दिया। वे आज कल बहुत प्रोग्रेसिव हो गये हैं, तो इस प्रकार यह ऐयाशी के सारे साधन अपनी जगह पर फिट होते चले जा रहे हैं।

आखिर में मुझे यह बात कहनी है कि वेस्कि इन्डस्ट्रीज की आपको बहुत आवश्यकता है, मगर इसके साथ-साथ हम को उन स्कीम्स को भी लेना पड़ेगा कि जो ररल ओरियन्टेड हों। जो ग्रामीण उद्योग बंधे हैं, ररल इन्डस्ट्रीज या स्माल स्केल इन्डस्ट्रीज जिनको कहा जाता है उनका जाल जब तक सारे देश में फैलाया नहीं जायगा, तब तक एम्प्लायमेंट पोर्टेसियल पैदा नहीं होगा। आपने जो स्कीम बनायी है 50 करोड़ रुपये की अन-एजुकेटेड के लिए और 25 करोड़ रुपये की एजुकेटेड के लिए, तो उस 25 करोड़ में से कितना खर्च हुआ उसके आंकड़े आपने बतलाये नहीं, लेकिन यह बतलाया कि उस 50 करोड़ में से 32 करोड़ रुपया खर्च हुआ, अब उसमें कितने लोगों को एम्प्लायमेंट मिला इसका पता नहीं, कितने करोड़ घंटे उसमें काम हुआ, सुबह यह कुछ आपने बतलाया। एक और बात बताता हूँ—एक अजीब मजाक है। चौथे प्लान में मैंने पढ़ा कि आप अब सोच रहे हैं कि कोई ऐसी मशीनरी हम इवाल्ब करें कि जिससे हमको सही आंकड़े अनएम्प्लायमेंट लोगों के मिल सकें। श्रीमन्, यह 25 साल तक क्या स्टीपुलेशन और मूल्यांकन होता रहा, कोई सही आंकड़े हमारे पास नहीं रहे। आज जब अनएम्प्लायमेंट है, गरीबी बढ़ती जाती है, क्योंकि हमारा स्टैंडर्ड आफ लाइफ बढ़ता जाता है तो मैं कहना

चाहता हूँ कि जब आप अपना पांचवां प्लान बनावें तो जो सुझाव मैंने दिये हैं आप उन पर ज्यादा इम्फेसिस दें और जो ग्रामीण उद्योग बंधे हैं वे केवल कागज पर ही न रहें, बल्कि उनमें काम हो। मैं धारिया साहब को बतलाऊँ, एक बार मैं जूनागढ़ गया था, वहाँ एक कांफ्रेंस हुई थी और वहाँ मैंने देखा कि जो अफसरान खादी की प्रोग्रेस के लिए रखे गये थे, उनकी जेब में खादी का हैंडकरचीफ भी नहीं था। वह धानी के तेल की बात करते हैं, लेकिन उनके यहाँ इस्तेमाल के लिए डालडा जाता है। तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि जिनको लिविंग फेथ हो उस स्कीम में, उस काम में उनको ही आप उसमें लीजिए। पब्लिक सेक्टर में आज आपके काम-याबी क्यों नहीं हो रही है, क्योंकि आज आपके जो ब्यूरोक्रेट्स हैं, उनको आप तनख्वाह तो देते हैं लेकिन उनका उसमें विश्वास नहीं है, उनको समाजवाद में और पब्लिक सेक्टर में कोई फेथ (Faith) नहीं है। तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि आज देश में गरीबी और बेकारी को देखते हुए आपको बहुत समहल कर काम करना चाहिए। आज आप जब ज्वालामुखी पर बैठे हुए हैं, अगर ज्यादा कांप्लेसेंसी से बात की गयी तो उसमें किसी समय भी विस्फोट हो सकता है। लिहाजा आपकी थ्रिकिंग कायदे से होनी चाहिए और आपकी प्लानिंग ररल ओरियन्टेड होनी चाहिए। यह काम किसी पार्टी का ठेका नहीं है, लेकिन सारे देश की प्लानिंग इन्टिग्रेटेड तौर पर जब तक आप नहीं करेंगे, तब तक आप गरीबी की समस्या को हल नहीं कर सकते। यह किसी एक पार्टी का ठेका नहीं है और इसमें सबको मिल कर काम करना होगा। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इस दृष्टि से यह भी प्रस्ताव पेश हुआ है उसको देखे और विचार करें।

*SHRI N. JOSEPH (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, this resolution makes it clear to all of us that the problem of unemployment is very dangerous. If we examine this problem deeply, we find that according to the figures supplied by the Hon'ble Minister the number of unemployed persons is estimated to be 56 lakhs. Out of them many are students matriculates, graduates, post-graduates,

*Original speech in Telegu.

[Shri N. Joseph]

engineers, doctors etc. Every year lakhs of educated persons shall be added to this list. In spite of so many plans, I shudder to think whether the government or anybody else will be able to solve this problem of unemployment without new approach.

Unless we examine this problem deeply we will not be able to solve it. The government are committed to establish socialistic pattern of society and this policy has been endorsed by the people. But how will this socialistic pattern of society come about? There should not be any unemployment in India. All those who are willing to work and who want opportunities to work and those that fit to work whether they are educated or not, should be provided with jobs. The nation will prosper only if this problem of unemployment is solved. I am doubtful about the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society if this problem is not solved.

The government should draw up a concrete plan for the eradication of the problem of the educated unemployed. I think, the system of education prevailing in our country is the root cause of this problem. The present system of education is such that a parent rich or poor, sends his child for education either it is matriculation or B.A. or medical course only for the purpose of securing a job for him. Both the parent and the child are not happy with the present system of education. In this way we find that the poor, rich, lakhiers and millionaires all do it with one view *i.e.* with a view of securing a job. But it is not possible to provide jobs to lakhs of persons every year. So this problem of unemployment cannot be solved.

I want to state emphatically that there is something wrong with the present system of education. Basing on the mental make up of the student he should be developed. The system of education should be such that the student should not feel that the purpose of education is only to secure a job. The Government should take the necessary measures to overhaul the present system of education. Only then we can solve the problem of the educated unemployed and not in any other way. j

Take the case of the poor unemployed persons. In their case it is the problem of poverty and starvation which they should

overcome by getting employment. The poor parents send their child to school so that after completing his education he may get a job. The parents depend wholly on the boy to maintain them. But we find the poor boy is not getting a job while the rich is able to secure by using his money. Both the parents and the boy get frustrated. The unemployed poor boy in sheer frustration and desperation roaming about in the streets doing no work, takes to thefts and dacoities. If none of these things is possible, ultimately it ends in suicide.

I would like to state that it is not only the poor but the rich also who are crazy for securing jobs. In the case of the poor it is a question of survival and existence. I want to tell you that in Andhra Pradesh a rich agriculturist having 2000 acres of fertile land and with lakhs of rupees worth of property wants his boy to study for the I.A.S. and get a big job. Why is it like that? Can he not live without a job? Has he not got money? He wants his son to get a job because that job carries immense powers. He wants to have that power and rule the country. We all know that every job carries with it some power or other. If we can understand the power behind a job we need not go very far to seek the reason. We can take the case of the power of bus conductor in a nationalised transport system. The bus conductor has got immense power to stop the bus and to order anybody in the bus—he may be an M.L.A., M.P., rich or poor—to get down from the bus if he does not like the person. Nobody in the bus is able to say anything to him. If that is the power with an ordinary bus conductor, then you can imagine the power available to the persons holding bigger jobs than that of the bus conductor.

Only the other day, the Members of Parliament made a hue and cry and shouted that the Chairman of the Food Corporation of India should be removed from his post. But the Government did not remove him from his post. The Chairman gives interviews to the Press sitting pretty at his post. This is the importance of power behind a job and everybody, rich and poor, wants to get jobs only for the sake of power but not for food while the poor wants his for the sake of the stomach.

Sir, I want to offer constructive suggestions for solving the problem of unemployment. The government should collect the property statistics of each family and then fix a limit

thereof whether it be 1 lakh or 2 lakhs in the form of cash; land holdings or urban property. Government should provide jobs to the educated unemployed belonging to those families whose property is below the limit so fixed, giving preference to persons belonging to the poorer sections of society. The government should not provide jobs to those persons who belong to those families whose property is above the fixed limit. These persons have got money and they do not require jobs. They should be encouraged to start industries for the development of the country. In this way they not only provide work for themselves but also to the poorer sections of society.

If new industries cannot be started in this way then it cannot be started at all. Were told that there will be a ceiling on land and urban property and sufficient compensation will be given to those who are dispossessed of it. Compensation is also given in the case of those industries which are nationalised. In this way a lot of compensation will be given. Where do you think all this money in the form of compensation goes? It is spent in the black market, gambling, smuggling, speculation in the share market and in the usurious money lending business. Are you sure that the money will not be spent in these activities? The government should encourage the persons who are above the fixed limit to start industries and this is the only way to solve the problem of unemployment. There is no other way. They should not be given any jobs.

Sir, I want to submit one more thing. The present difficult situation is due to the fact that the black marketeers, smugglers and others have increased the prices to an alarming extent without any reason whatsoever and they are holding the public to ransom. We are helpless against their anti-national activities and you can imagine how dangerous it is.

The only way to solve this problem is that the government should take over the trade in foodgrains, sugar, fertilizers and open retail and wholesale shops and depots covering the remote villages also. Every village should have a retail and wholesale depot for selling these essential things. The government should appoint the educated unemployed like matriculates and graduates in these depots and in this way the problem can be solved. Prices also will be stabilised to a great extent. They can hire mills for this purpose of conversion

of paddy to rice. They should declare that only the government can purchase food-grains.

If the government does it in this manner the middlemen and the black marketeers in foodgrains will be wiped out. As every village will be covered by retail depots the problem of unemployment also will be reduced to a great extent. Prices also will be reduced. You can speak of socialism and there will be some meaning in it only if you solve these two problems. If you talk of socialism without solving these two problems the people will not believe it and feel that the government are not making sincere attempts at socialism.

To sum up, I request the government to consider my suggestions and draw up a concrete plan to solve these two problems. Foodgrains, sugar and fertilizers should be nationalised. Every village should have a depot for selling these things and the complete trade in them should be taken over by the government. Fix a ceiling and give jobs only to those who are below the ceiling. Ask the persons above the ceiling limit to start industries. In this way the problem of unemployment and high prices can be solved. The government should not worry about the rich businessmen, mill owners as to what they will do in the elections. The government should solve the problem of unemployment and rising prices in the manner as I have suggested above and then our nation can prosper.

Thank you...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM SAHAI): Yes! Mr. Dharia.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PLANNING (SHRI MOHAN DHARIA): Sir, unfortunately....

श्री सूरज प्रसाद (बिहार): श्रीमन्, हमको भी बोलना था, हमने भी अपना नाम दिया है, आप जरा देख लें।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री राम सहाय): यह इंटरवीन कर रहे हैं, यह बीच में बोल रहे हैं।

श्री सूरज प्रसाद: हम फिर कब बोलेंगे। वह तो जवाब दे रहे हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष: बाद में। हर मिनिस्टर को हक है इंटरवीन करने का। वह बीच में बोल रहे हैं।

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, unfortunately, today is the last day so far as Private Members' Resolutions are concerned. Therefore, if you want to give five or ten minutes more for discussion, I have no objection. Otherwise, this being the last day for non-official Resolutions, this will not continue in the next session. Naturally, the House may not be able to know the views of the Government. If you want to give five or ten minutes more, I have no objection. But, Sir, I should at least get twenty minutes to speak.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN : Yes.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Sir, even though I do not agree with the contents of this Resolution, I would like to thank Shri K.P. Singh Deo for giving this opportunity to the House to discuss fully the failure in agricultural and industrial production in the country which, according to him, has resulted in creating more unemployment and rise in prices. An amendment has been moved to this Resolution according to which it has been stated that those who are unemployed should be given some allowance and, at the same time, essential commodities should be made available at reasonable prices to those who belong to fixed income groups. While moving the Resolution Mr. Singh Deo has taken the stock in detail, quoting all possible figures and naturally most of them are from Government records. So I do not want to challenge the figures. While I was listening to his speech I felt as though I was going through our own document that we produced and presented to the House after the Mid-term Appraisal of the Fourth Plan.

The Planning Commission and the Government have very fairly conceded to the House that the Fourth Plan envisaged a target of about 8 to 10 per cent of industrial growth. However, it was not possible and the industrial growth was between 5 to 6 per cent for some years. Thereafter we have seen that there was further stagnation but I am happy to say today that during the past few months, as per our information, there is a new activity and I am sure that with the several measures that are already undertaken by the Government and by the Ministry of Industrial Development it will be possible for us to again bring proper speed and proper pace so far as industrial growth is concerned.

Mr. Singh Deo has also criticised the agricultural production in the country. When I was listening to his speech I felt that Mr. Singh

Deo has not done due justice to our agricultural progress and particularly to the agriculturists in our country. Agricultural production which was to the tune of 5 crores of tonnes in the year 1949-50 has gone to nearly 10.78 crore tonnes in the year 1970-71, and when the production has been more than doubled, to say that we have not made any progress whatsoever is challenging the very reality which exists in our country today. I do understand and I do appreciate that while we have made good progress in the production of cereals, it is true that the commercial crops—may be cotton, may be oil seeds, maybe sugarcane, maybe jute—have suffered, and I would like to point out to this House today that the Government has immediately taken note of it and several programmes have already been introduced by the Government in order to have better performance and to meet the needs of the country. The various crash programmes for cotton production which are now under operation have been progressing very well, and I can assure this House that within two to three years to come this country shall be self-sufficient so far as the cotton requirements of the country are concerned. It is really an irony of fate that we had to import cotton worth Rs. 90 crores year before last but because of the crash programmes we shall certainly make headway not only so far as cotton is concerned but along with cotton of oilseeds, soya bean, sun flower and also jute and several steps have already been initiated by the Government. This House may be aware that we have accepted new science and technology and I can say to this House today that there are 27 districts which produce wheat and the average yield is about 20 quintals which can well compare with areas having the highest yield in the whole the world record when our farmers though uneducated, have crossed the world to say that we have done nothing is perhaps our ignorance or perhaps not admitting the realities as they exist today. The various programmes which we have enunciated or which will be undertaken in the remaining period of the Fourth Plan and the Fifth Plan will be such that the requirements of the country, particularly of the essential commodities are fully met. Because of the drought conditions in the country to day it is true that several strains are being faced by us but why should we not feel happy that we have stopped imports of cereals from foreign countries and in spite of the stoppage of imports we had a stock to the tune of nearly 9.5 million tonnes in the country by the end of last year and it

is because of the mopping up of this buffer stock that is has become possible for us to face the current challenge.

SHRI PATIL PUTTAPPA (Mysore) : How much was imported in 1970-71 ?

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : I cannot quote all the figures just now but I can say to the hon. Member that the Government had announced that after 1971 we shall not import food from outside and as was assured by the Government on the floor of the House I am happy to say that after 31st December 1971 Government has not imported any food and it is the determination of the Government not to import food but to produce whatever is required by the country even though we are faced with the massive challenge of population.

SHRI PATIL PUTTAPPA : Just tell us how much was imported in 1970-71.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Please excuse me. I am not here to reply to all questions because I have not got that much time. As I have said, my hon. friend should be happy that as was announced by the Government, as was promised by the Government, the Government has fulfilled the promise and it is for all of us to see that the country is not again required to go to any other country to meet our own demands so far as food and cereals are concerned and the Government has taken proper steps in the matter.

Regarding industrial production I know that industrial production, as I have already admitted here, was not according to the targets that we had fixed in the Fourth Plan, but why should we not again feel happy that during the past 20 or 25 years since independence it was possible for this country to raise the required infrastructure for all possible industrial progress in the country. Is it not a fact, whether it is steel, whether it is power, whether it is transport-----

SHRI PATIL PUTTAPPA : Costliest steel.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : My friend will kindly bear with me.

SHRI PATIL PUTTAPPA : We are producing the costliest steel in the world with all the infrastructure.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : My friend will kindly listen to my views first before he criticises. Whether the steel is costliest or not the basic question is whether this country can produce steel indigenously. If we want to produce steel indigenously, how the mechanism could be made more cheap is a different problem.

Sir, let us not forget that it was after the Second World war, when the prices of these basic machineries had gone higher all over the world, it was at that time that we had to import all these new machineries from foreign countries, and naturally it had brought about some drain of our foreign exchange and also had created several other problems. When everybody says that we have done nothing, that this country has not progressed, I am here to say today that it is because of our efforts, it is because of the efforts of the people of this country during the past 25 years, that this country has been able to raise the infrastructure, and I have no doubt whatsoever that with the present efforts in a planned manner this country is determined to progress, and it shall achieve the progress as has been committed to the people. Sir, why should we lose that confidence in ourselves. I just cannot understand.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Your points are very good but for the quorum in order to draw applause.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Sir, I do not want any applause. My only submission to the House is : let us try to understand ourselves. If something is wrong, I am going to speak about it. Yes, there are several things so far as our industry is concerned. Why we are facing all these shortages and shortfalls today ? The reasons are obvious. There are shortages of inputs and raw materials. There is the shortage in running all our capacities to the fullest extent. Then steel, raw cotton or sugarcane, such sort of basic raw materials were in also shortage. Besides, there was the power shortage ; enough power was not available. The railway movement, the movement of wagons, and the transport system has also suffered somewhere. There is the industrial unrest in the country.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : But the market is flooded with Ministers.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Yes Sir, There is no shortage of inputs required for

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Mr. Gupta there is the industrial unrest particularly in the area to which my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, belongs, and the industrial unrest all over the country has also resulted in bringing down our industrial production, and at the same time the rate of savings and the rate of investments are also one of the causes for the present shortfalls in our industrial production, which I am here to fairly concede, and even in our document regarding Midterm Appraisal of the Fourth Five-Year Plan we have stated all these things very categorically. But, Sir, immediately after identifying all these problems the Government has immediately taken some important steps in the matter. To meet the shortage of steel order worth Rs. 200 crores was placed to import steel in order to fulfil this basic requirement in the country. It was announced in the House that we shall set up a steel bank. Accordingly a steel bank has been set up. An Industrial Reconstruction Corporation to take care of the sick units or the likely sick units has also been established in order to see that these units do not lie idle and the industrial growth rate does not suffer. At the same time there were questions, there was criticism and, I may say, valid criticism, against our public sector. My hon. friend from the other side, with all his love for the public sector, was critical of the public sector, because he felt that the public sector should show a proper performance. I entirely agree with Nawal Kishoreji, and may I say that a committee under the chairmanship of a Member of the Planning Commission, Shri Pathak, has already been appointed? They have been visiting several public sector units, and whatever are the difficulties or the bottlenecks, they are identified. And the reports do not lie somewhere in Government offices or on shelves. Proper action is immediately initiated on order to see that the public sector does not suffer and we get proper returns from the public sector. Sir, we have invested to the tune of Rs. 4,500 crores in our public sector excluding railways, and posts and telegraph offices. If we include the railways, posts and telegraphs, all these communications, the investment in the public sector is to the tune of Rs. 9,000 crores, and if we do not get fair returns from the public sector undertakings, naturally it can create a lot of repercussions.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It is Rs. 4,600 crores or something.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Yes, I said including Railways.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : If you ensure a fair return, it will be a great relief to the country.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : At the same time, let not hon. Members forget that when I say a fair return, it is not necessarily benefit in terms of cost and money. The social benefits also shall have to be taken into consideration. I have mentioned in this House, if I mistake not, that this HMT watch I purchased in the year 1962 at a price of Rs. 106 only. I remember the equivalent watches which were then available, foreign watches, may be smuggled watches, in the Bombay market were costing nearly Rs.275 or Rs.300. This watch was available for Rs. 106. Under these circumstances if HMT suffer some loss, I think society should adopt some other approach while judging the performance of HMT. Fortunately HMT is not in loss. Similarly, look at the antibiotics manufactured at Pimpri. Before their products came out in the market, they were only produced by a monopoly concern and price of antibiotics was to the tune of Rs. 4.50 per bottle. No sooner the product of the nationalised sector came out, the prices came down to nearly fourteen annas or Re. 1/- Under these circumstances if the Hindustan Antibiotics are incurring some loss, I think there also a new approach will have to be adopted. Of course, fortunately the Hindustan Antibiotics again are not in loss. So, when I say a fair return, it is not necessarily in monetary terms. The social benefits which are now very much required by the country shall also have to be taken into consideration.

Points were made regarding the industrial policy, licensing policy, import policy, foreign collaboration policy and all these operational policies. The Government has made it very clear on many occasions and I would like to reiterate that the progressive approach of the Government so far as the industrial policy is concerned remains where it was. There is no drifting. There is no change whatsoever. The Government is committed to the country and naturally while having all our industrial progress if should necessarily be related to social justice that has to be rendered to society. So, there is no change whatsoever. It is true that the Government has taken some decisions regarding the import policy, foreign collaboration Policy, but they are also made in the interests of the country and to accelerate the pace of industrial development.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Whatever Government does I have not heard it is not in the interests of the country. Have you heard anything from the Treasury Benches which is not in the interests of the country ?

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : My hon- friend should always remain assured that the Government functions for the country naturally whatever it does is bound to be in the interests of the country. How can we think of anything which is against the interests of the country ? Naturally, how can we say that we have done something against the interests of the country ? We will never do it. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta may rest assured. There is no drift in the basic policy. We would not like to have any change or any drift so far as the basic policies are concerned. On the contrary, in order to achieve the socialist objectives that the Government have pledged to the country, it shall be the endeavour of Government to march in that direction. At the same time, the present hesitation, the present uncertainty, that feeling should never remain any more. Naturally the policy of the Government shall have to be categorical and everybody should be in a position to understand what are the policies of the Government. It is in this context that the Government is well aware of the present shortfalls in rate of industrial growth and the various operations undertaken by the Government are for accelerating the pace of industrial growth in the country. I am speaking on the basis of the results that are now coming up. Sir, it was again asked while having these industrial expansion, what have you decided about the prices ? Is it not true that the prices are soaring very high ? I am again to concede that the demands and suggestions of the hon. Members deserve all possible careful consideration, and I can again assure the House that the very exercise is now going on in the Planning Commission. I can assure the Members that the Planning Commission is now engaged in identifying the various essential commodities and articles . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I have no doubt about it. The gymnastics go on. That also we know. But the national health is what we are concerned about.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : It is not only that gymnastics are going on in the

Planning Commission, but some steps are already taken by the Government in the matter; but the problem is too large. We have already taken up these problems. Unfortunately the dry condition in the country was a great menace. It was possible that Kharif crops would have suffered like anything. Even according to the present estimates we may have suffered to the tune of 1.5 crore tonnes of foodgrains because of the bad kharif crop but Government immediately energised and mobilised itself in order to see that we retrieve the monsoon crop, and so far as rabi and summer crops are concerned we took measures to overcome the deficit through various schemes, and I am happy to say that all State Governments have given all possible co-operation and all possible measures are being taken to see that the rabi and summer crops are properly utilised in order to have these deficits made up. Naturally the whole energy had to be concentrated on these efforts. But regarding the present prices and rising prices I was mentioning to the House--It is not that the Government has taken step now only; immediately after the last elections Government had appointed a Committee under the leadership of Mr. Swaminathan, the Cabinet Secretary, and then afterwards ..

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Swaminathan was to examine the rising prices ?

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : He has already submitted the report. When we realised that the immediate task was to mop up the surpluses in the country, the Food Corporation of India was made available with sufficient funds, and that is the reason why the Food Corporation of India could procure foodgrains to the tune of 9.5 million tonnes.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : What about the Chairman of the Food Corporation of India ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA ; You should know that the Food Corporation of India has not fulfilled its own target of procurement.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, regarding the functioning of the Food Corporation, it is for the Minister of Agriculture to deal with. My point was no sooner the Government recognise the need of mobilising and mopping up the

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surpluses in the country than enough amount was made available to the Food Corporation and to the Ministry of Agriculture so that we may be in a position to face this difficulty or this sort of the present calamity, and it is on this background that enough amount was made available to the Food Corporation and to the Ministry of Agriculture, and that is the reason why the Government is in a position to meet the present challenge. The problem was one of identifying the essential articles. The essential articles have to be indentified. After identifying them how do we procure them? Then, how do we distribute them through the public distribution system ? These are the measures which shall have to be taken. There are 125,000 fair price shops in the country. They are not enough. We shall have to raise the number of these shops all over the country, in every State.

Without building a better distribution system on a massive scale in the country it will not be possible for us to meet this challenge. It is on this background that the Government has already initiated . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Half of them do not work at all.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : I know, and here comes the responsibility of the elected representatives of the country. I would like to appeal to all the Members of the House that if in our own areas we could take care that there are proper fair price shops functioning and if they are not in existence, if we create conditions whereby these are properly constituted through the private sector or through the cooperatives, we can meet it. It is the real challenge and without the people's cooperation without people's active participation in this movement, it will not be possible for the country to meet this challenge. I feel, so far as the distribution process is concerned, it cannot be the responsibility of the Government only. Yes, Government shall have to take firm decisions and make available the essential articles and foodgrains, there is no doubt about it. But at the same time if there is no proper mechanism at the lower level, how will it be possible for the Government to distribute those articles and commodities ? At the same time, may I say this " ? While I was speaking regarding industrial unrest, I made a reference to you, Mr. Bhupesh

Gupta, and your State. I feel in this country today this spate of strikes and lockouts has been hindering our progress and industrial production. I have functioned as a trade unionist. Government is very clear— Government does not desire to ban strikes. Government does not believe in this philosophy. At the same time an atomsphere shall have to be generated whereby strikes are prevented and without strikes and lockouts for at least 10 years, it should be possible to have better industrial activity and progress. It is in this direction that all efforts should be made. Without having industrial and agricultural production it will not be possible for us to render social justice. Social justice and growth should go hand in hand. There is no doubt about it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Why don't you speak to the monopolists ?

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Sir, I have no time today. I can convince even Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. Government is quite vigilant over the monopolists too and about: whatever preventive action to prevent monopoly growth is needed, Government is firm and Government will take firm steps. The Industries Minister is very much engaged in having his exercise regarding the verious actions to be taken.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : He has completed his *jugai* in Yojana Bhavan, he is now in Udyog Bhavan.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Whether he is at the Yojana Bhavan or at the Udyog Bhavan, Government functions as a team. On behalf of the Government I can assure Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and this House regarding the industrial policy. Government does not desire to drift anywhere. Government shall stick to its own basic objective and within that framework it is doing away with this atmosphere of vacillation and suspense. Government would like to march ahead. I would only urge that the Government is very much vigilant regarding industrial production and agricultural production. Government is constantly going ahead with its own objectives. I would request my hon. friend who moved the Resolution to withdraw his Resolution.

Regarding the other points and amendment when I get an opportunity I shall deal with them.