

5. Consideration and passing of .2 hrs the Delhi Cooperative Societies Bill, 1972, as passed by the Lok Sabha.

The Committee recommended that the House should sit up to 6.00 P. M. daily and beyond 6.00 P. M. as and when necessary for the transaction of Government business.

**RESOLUTION RE CONSTITUTION  
OF SPECIAL CELL IN THE  
PLANNING COMMISSION FOR WEST  
BENGAL**

SARDAR AMJAD ALI (West Bengal) :  
Sir, I beg to move :

In view of the present political, social and economic condition of the State of West Bengal, this House is of opinion that the Government of India should take immediate steps to constitute special cell in the Planning Commission for West Bengal, allocate adequate funds for the development projects of that State and advise the Government of West Bengal to set up a State Planning Board.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, by the time my Resolution comes up for discussion in this House, I think the last portion thereof wherein it is said : "advise the Government of West Bengal to set up a State Planning Board" has become redundant because in the meantime you all know that the Government of West Bengal have already constituted a State Planning Board in which not only eminent technologists and economists have been given their due place, but also one respected Member of this House, Shri Kali Mukherjee, has been given a place. Even then I move the Resolution in this House with the hope and expectation that the entire house will realise the situation, as it is now prevailing in that State—situation—prevailing in the fields of politics, society and economy of that particular State.

The State of West Bengal which has passed through a stage of uneasiness for the last few years has naturally drawn the attention of the wisest men of the country, not only to speak of the Members of this House. I know that hon. Members of Parliament have thought over the problems of that State. They have made several suggestions to the Government for minimising the problems of that State and they have expressed their anxiety with regard to the

incidents that were happening for the last few years in that particular State. Now that stage is over in the State and peace stability have come back and I think this particular stage or situation will continue. Even then there is no gainsaying the fact that the turmoil which was prevailing for the last few years has definitely drawn the attention of the wisest men of the country. But specific and careful attention to the problems of development of that State should now be given without any hesitation or delay. I hope my Resolution will be accepted not only by the hon. Members, but I also believe that the government will accept it inasmuch as it says about opening of a special cell in the Planning Commission for West Bengal. Whenever the State of West Bengal has come in for discussion here, the exuberance that was shown by the youth of that part of the country was ruthlessly criticised. At this stage I must confess that, when with due consideration the Government of India has allocated a fund of Rs. 145 crores for the development of the city of Calcutta. The Government, after due consideration, has declared 13 of the 16 districts as under-developed in this State. So, the Government should feel that it is high time that a special cell in the Planning Commission for the State of West Bengal was opened.

Now, Sir, the hon. Minister for Planning may come with an answer that there is no necessity for opening a special cell in the Planning Commission, because, in the entire planning machinery, there is the National Development Council or that there is provision for Programme Advisers and so, there is no utility of opening different cells. But, Sir, I should submit and I should urge upon the Planning Minister to realise that the National Development Council and the Programme Advisers, in so far as their duties are concerned—I am not casting any aspersions on them—could not act according to the times and they could not act according to the exigencies of the times in respect of the needs of the States. The National Development Council is a big and bulky body and so, to my estimate of the situation, it is not possible for them to give always due importance and weightage to the problems, the specific problems of a particular State and that is why, I think, to co-ordinate and to look to the implementation of the different projects of the States, the posts of Programme Advisers were created. I submit, Sir, that the Programme Advisers were given

[Sardar Amjad AH] charge of several States at a time while the entire Indian territory, that is all the States, were divided into three regions, Northern, Southern and Eastern Regions and only three members were appointed as Programme Advisers and they were in charge of several States. Their primary duty was to go through the schemes and projects forwarded by the different State Governments, to look to the implementation thereof and to co-ordinate between the Union Government, the Planning Commission and the State Government. But, Sir, I must bring it to the notice of the Planning Minister that not a single Programme Adviser could even work in that particular business for more than two years.

Sir, our planning is meant for five years and that has got to be completed within five years. The very important posts of Programme Advisers were created to co-ordinate and to look to the implementation of the different projects. But the tenure of these posts could not even be completed by a single Programme Adviser for one full plan period. So, I feel, Sir, that though the posts of Programme Advisers were created with a very genuine hope, with a very genuine expectation, these Programme Advisers, for some reason or other, could not discharge their duties and they could not fulfil the aspirations due to the short tenure of their offices. So, Sir, I feel that it is high time that we considered the spirit of my Resolution which I have placed before this august House.

Sir, the Indian independence which we got on the midnight of August 14, 1947, caused the division of this country affecting two States, the State of West Bengal and the State of Punjab. The Planning Commission was formed in 1950 with the idea that the resources of our country should be mobilised for the betterment of the entire country, for the upliftment of the people, and for the utilisation of all the resources for the benefit of the country. I do not want to cast any aspersions on the working of the Planning Commission, nor the Union Ministry. But probably, Sir, sometimes the fact is stranger than fiction and we cannot simply say a goodbye to the facts which are very rampant, which are very luminous, which are very assertive for the whole of India.

Sir, the State of West Bengal was definitely the highest wealth-producing State at the time when we freed our country. The planning

came into being with the idea that each part of the country will flourish, that the resources of each part of the country will be utilized—utilized for the national integrity, utilized for the causes of betterment of each part of the country.

Unfortunately, Sir, after long 25 years, after three Plan periods have already passed and while we are in the middle portion of the fourth Plan, we find the question of regional imbalance has come in. We find to our utter surprise that the question of provincial discrimination comes in. Sir, I am the last person to bring in a sense of provincialism in this House. But again I must reiterate that the fact is stranger than fiction.

Sir, during this Plan period we find that whenever any question regarding the betterment and development of the State of West Bengal came in, the reply from the side of the Government was that this State was passing through a stage of turmoil, that there was no political peace, that the entire society is agitated and that the entire economic environments were closed. I admit that this was so. But the conditions remained as such only for a few years. That stage came into the picture only from 1967 to 1971. During these four or five years the State was in turmoil. But before that there was stability. There was Government of the pattern of the Union of India. There was a Government formed by the Congress. What happened during those days?

Let me bring it to the notice of the Planning Minister that up to 1955 West Bengal maintained its position with regard to the per capita income. But after 1955 up to 1965, let us compare the State with some other State of our federation. Sir, in Tamil Nadu, the per capita income from 1955 to 1965 increased up to 40.5 per cent, in Maharashtra 28.4 per cent, in Bihar 22.9 per cent, in Punjab 91.1 per cent, in Gujarat 5.7 per cent, the all-India average being 13.7 per cent. But in the case of West Bengal we find a very dismal picture. We find that there was a decline of per capita income by 2 per cent, while in the case of Assam it was 1.8 per cent. The planning was there. I do not cast any aspersions on the will and desire of the planning personnel, the Union Government. But it is a fact and that fact has got to be considered.

With regard to the agricultural sector of West Bengal, what is the increase in output

from 1950 to 1960 ? It is much less than it is in other States. We find that in Maharashtra the increase in total output was 66.5% ; in Madhya Pradesh, 61.2% ; in Tamil Nadu, 50.2% ; in Punjab, 35.8%. But in the case of West Bengal it was only 12.8%. So is the case in the case of domestic production. From 1950-51 to 1960-61, in Maharashtra the increase was 58.7% ; in Tamil Nadu, 57.1% ; in Punjab and Haryana, 37.3% ; Bihar, 43.3% ; Gujarat, 34.1%. But in the case of West Bengal it is only 30.3%. Now, if the national Plan was aimed at development of each part of our country, then I fail to understand as to what the causes were behind this dismal picture of the State of West Bengal. I find to my wisdom that it is not for the people to find out the causes but it is for the Union Government and it is for the Planning Commission to ascertain the causes—the causes which are not known to the people, the causes which are not known to the ordinary citizens of that part of the country.

I have urged upon the opening of a special cell in the Planning Commission and also have urged upon in the old traditional way for allocation of adequate funds. I think the Planning Minister will be one with me that in the geographical position of the Indian territory the State of West Bengal occupies a very strategic position. It has got a specific political importance in so far as the integrity of the nation is concerned. Any slightest move there-in will definitely cause serious tension in so far as Indian politics is concerned, in so far as the State is concerned. Therefore, if tensions were there—I submit—causes were also there for creating this sort of tension. We cannot simply bid goodbye to the proposition that something more has got to be done for the State. One should surely be one with me in saying that the State requires specific attention inasmuch as it is a very vital and important State. One cannot say that the people of West Bengal or the youth of West Bengal or the unemployed people of West Bengal are of a different anthropological aspect. I must submit, boastfully, that the people of West Bengal are very tolerant and very submissive if not the wisest. They have waited so far though the Government in their wisdom have made many more things for them. But I would urge upon the Planning Ministry to realise the situation, a situation, which now is explosive. If you find that the youth of that part of the country indulged in excesses in violence, created some trouble and committed loot-

ing and arson in some nooks and corners of that part of the country, it is for the craftsmen of our State and for the Government of India to look for the causes. Of course they are paying their attention and they will have to pay their attention so that the entire national integrity of our country is not butchered.

With regard to the question of population growth in West Bengal, I would submit that population growth in West Bengal, is also very high as compared to the other States.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PLANNING (SHRI MOHAN DHARIA) : Is that also our fault ?

SARDAR AMJAD ALI : When the population grows and when this particular issue is brought to the notice of the hon. Minister for Planning, the hon. Minister is very much jubilant but we are not jubilant. It is not that West Bengal people are alone responsible for this growth. One should appreciate this.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You can continue after lunch.

The House adjourned till 2.30.

The House adjourned for lunch at two minutes past one of the Clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at half past two of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

SARDAR AMJAD ALI : I was speaking about the population growth of the different States. I said that in the case of the State of West Bengal the population growth since 1951-61 is 32.8%. At this point the Planning Minister also gave a very proper attention. I do not know what are the causes for this population growth but at least one cause is there and that cannot be lost sight of. Since the partition, a vast number of emigrants from East Pakistan crossed the border and took shelter in this particular State. So that is the most important cause for which the growth of population in that State culminated in a much greater measure. What I want to urge upon is this that while the growth of population is high in that State, the growth of per capita income is very low. While the growth of wealth is very high, the growth of per capita income is very low. After we have covered three Plans it is really a strange matter that that particular State could not flourish in

[Sardar Amjad Ali]

way as our Planning Commission at last thought of. In the field of education also up to the year 1961 it was 5th in position while in the year 1971 it is in the 9th position. So in all aspects of the social, economic and political side the State of West Bengal is in a very lamentable position. What I want to impress on the Planning Minister is this, it is not a fact that we will urge upon the cry on a provincial footing. It is not that we will cry in a parochial way. Nor is it a fact that we will impress upon the discrimination which is very wrongly alleged by some Opposition parties in this side of the country. What I want to impress upon the Planning Minister is this that the problems of West Bengal are vast and the problems altogether have got to be scrutinised in a very very sincere way. Will the fiscal atmosphere that has now been brought after this election, with the establishment of a stable Government over there and with the new zeal with which the new Government is now acting, with their sincerity expressed by the formation of the Planning Board for the State. I think I will not be out of tune, to say that on some occasion the Planning Minister said that if the State formed a State Planning Board, then he will also cooperate in the matter by giving financial assistance for the development—all-round development—of that State. Sir, to close my speech, another aspect which I will bring to the notice of the Planning Minister is regarding the total Plan outlays for different States and Central assistance that has been provided so far for that State in comparison to other States. In the First Plan West Bengal was allotted Rs. 113 crores, in the Second Plan Rs. 73 crores and in the Third Plan Rs. 157 crores. But what do we find with regard to other States? Take for instance the case of Andhra Pradesh. In the First Plan the Central assistance was Rs. 61 crores, in the Second Plan Rs. 116 crores and in the Third Plan Rs. 227 crores. The figures for other States are :

	(In crores of rupees)		
	First Plan	Second Plan	Third Plan
Gujarat	32	50	110
Madhya Pradesh	61	96	213
Maharashtra	48	74	162
Tamil Nadu	42	95	186
Uttar Pradesh	87	121	335

So I do not say it is a case of discrimination but I would plead with the Planning Minister to see that conditions are not there in which some political elements or some political parties may interpret it as a case of discrimination in a different light that will cause a serious disaster to the all round national integrity of our country. So far as the Fourth Plan is concerned while West Bengal, a poor State has only a total allocation of Rs. 322 crores, it is much lower than that of other States. Of course it may be said that the State itself cannot mobilise resources while other States can. But I would only say that even as early as 1968 the then Governor, Mr. Dharma Vira for whom there is much indignation in Bengal, told the Union Government that not a single item is left for the State which can be taxed. It is a highly taxed State. Of course in the field of earning of revenue for the whole of India three major commodities are there, steel, jute and coal. Therefore as I said earlier it is a more well-paid State but in the case of development we find it is not satisfactory. And the time is high enough when the Planning Minister will kindly realise the situation from the experiments which were done during the last year and from the point of view to which West Bengal has been exposed for the last few years. In conclusion I would urge upon the hon. Members of this House to be one with me in the tune in which I have placed my Resolution before this House and I think it would be accepted. Let us hope for the best and let us hope that the evil will be removed.

Thank you.

The question was proposed.

श्री नवल किशोर (उत्तर प्रदेश): उपसभापति जी, प्रस्तुत प्रस्ताव को मैंने बड़े ध्यान से पढ़ा है और प्रस्तावक महोदय के भाषण को भी सुनने की चेष्टा की है। प्रस्ताव इस प्रकार है "पश्चिमी बंगाल राज्य की वर्तमान राजनीतिक, सामाजिक और आर्थिक दशा को देखते हुए, इस सभा की यह सम्मति है कि भारत सरकार को पश्चिमी बंगाल के लिए योजना आयोग में एक विशेष सैल का गठन करने, उस राज्य की विकास परियोजनाओं के लिए पर्याप्त धन का आवंटन करने और राज्य योजना बोर्ड की स्थापना के लिए पश्चिमी

बंगाल सरकार को परामर्श देने हेतु तुरन्त कार्यवाही करनी चाहिए।" श्रीमन्, जहां तक इसका मंशा है, मोटे तौर से उससे मेरी सहानुभूति है, मगर इन शब्दों को मैं ज्यादा समझ नहीं पाया। यह तो समझ में आता है कि सामाजिक और आर्थिक स्थिति को देख कर केन्द्र की सरकार या राज्य सरकार कुछ कदम उठाए, मगर इसमें बड़े है "राजनीतिक स्थिति" मैं जानता नहीं राजनीतिक स्थिति से मतलब आज की स्थिति से है या जो 4-5 महीने पहले स्थिति थी उससे है। आज धारिया साहब मुझसे इत्तिफाक करेंगे कि बंगाल की राजनीतिक स्थिति बहुत अच्छी है और वहां की गवर्नमेंट की स्टेबिलिटी और कई स्टेट्स के मुकाबले में ज्यादा मजबूत है। हां, कुछ दिनों के लिए वहां की राजनीतिक स्थिति खराब थी, हिंसा का जोर था, तोड़-फोड़ के काम होते थे, विश्व-विद्यालयों में, इंजीनियरिंग कालेज में आगजनी होती थी, कत्ल होते थे। वे तो अब भी थोड़े बहुत होते हैं, लेकिन आम तौर से यह वहां का वातावरण था। तो श्रीमन्, इस सम्बन्ध में मुझे दो बातें कहनी हैं। एक तो यह कि यदि इस तरह के वातावरण को विशेष आधार बना कर कुछ सहूलियतें मांगने की बात की गई तो हो सकता है कि ओर स्टेट्स में भी यह भावना पैदा हो कि जब तक वहां इन स्थितियों की पुनरावृत्ति न हो तब धारिया साहब का ध्यान उस ओर नहीं जायगा। यदि ऐसा है तो मैं यह कहूंगा कि यह राजनैतिक बात जो इसमें है यह काफी खतरनाक साबित होगी। दूसरे यह भी देखना होगा कि यह राजनैतिक स्थिति जो वहां पैदा हुई यह क्यों पैदा हुई, यह सही है कि कुछ पार्टियां आज भी देश में ऐसी हैं जो जनतंत्र की बात करती हैं, लेकिन उनका विश्वास हिंसा में है।

यह बात भी सही है कि जिस समय सबसे पहले युनाइटेड फ्रंट की गवर्नमेंट वहां बनी तो उस समय कांग्रेस में डिविजन नहीं हुआ था, अनडिवाइडेड कांग्रेस थी और उसी की केन्द्र में सरकार थी। उस समय वहां की सरकार के द्वारा जो वहां सामाजिक और राजनैतिक उथल-पुथल करने की चेष्टा की गई, उसकी रोकथाम के लिये केन्द्रीय सरकार ने कुछ नहीं किया। वहां पर जो

मिनिस्टर्स घेराव कराते थे, हड़तालें कराते थे, डिमांड्स करारते थे, उस पर यहां की केन्द्रीय सरकार ने कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की। वहां पर रवीन्द्र सरोवर जैसे कांड हुये जिन पर हम सबको शर्म आती है। फिर भी उसकी रोकथाम के लिए कोई कदम नहीं उठाया गया। आज उस राजनैतिक स्थिति की दुहाई देना मैं समझता हूं कि उचित बात नहीं होगी और दूसरी स्टेट्स के लिए कोई अच्छा उदाहरण भी नहीं होगा। इस बात को मैं यहीं खत्म करता हूं।

इस बात से मैं पूर्णतया सहमत हूं कि आर्थिक और सामाजिक स्थिति को लेकर के केवल पश्चिमी बंगाल में नहीं, बल्कि सारे देश के अन्दर जहां ऐसी स्थिति है वहां उस पर विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिए। मैं समझता हूं कि प्लानिंग कमिशन के सामने एक इंटिग्रेटेड पिक्चर सारे देश की है। इसी वास्ते प्लानिंग कमिशन बनाया गया है कि सम्पूर्ण देश की प्रगति और उत्थान हो, जो क्षेत्रीय इम्बेलेसेज हैं जो क्षेत्रीय असंतुलन हैं वह पैदा न हो और जो है वह बड़े नहीं। श्रीमन्, मैं इत्तिफाक से उत्तर प्रदेश से आता हूं। बड़ा सौभाग्यशाली प्रदेश है इस भावने में कि अब तक जितने प्राइम मिनिस्टर हिन्दुस्तान में हुए या जो आज हैं वह सब उत्तर प्रदेश से आये, लेकिन इसके बावजूद भी उत्तर प्रदेश की जो सामाजिक और आर्थिक किस्मत थी, जो उसका आर्थिक ढांचा था उसमें ज्यादा तब्दीली नहीं हुई, यद्यपि आज भी वह इस देश का सबसे बड़ा प्रदेश है सबसे बड़ा राज्य है। मेरे मित्र सरदार अमजद अली साहब ने कुछ आंकड़े पेश किये थे, मैं उन आंकड़ों में नहीं जाना चाहता, लेकिन यह आज भी सही है कि जब प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना शुरू हुई थी, उस समय उत्तर प्रदेश की पर कैपिटा इनकम, फी व्यक्ति औसत आमदनी हिन्दुस्तान की पर कैपिटा इनकम से कई परसेंट ज्यादा थी। अगर मैं भूलता नहीं हूं तो शायद 15 या 17 परसेंट ज्यादा थी। मगर एक पंचवर्षीय योजना के बाद उत्तर प्रदेश की पर कैपिटा इनकम हिन्दुस्तान की पर कैपिटा इनकम के मुकाबले करीब-करीब 11, 12 परसेंट कम हो गयी। पर कैपिटा इन्वेस्टमेंट फस्ट प्लान में, सेकंड प्लान में और थर्ड प्लान में अगर आप स्टेटवाइज

[ श्री नवल किशोर ]

देखें तो वेस्ट बंगाल के मुकाबले कितना ही कम आप उत्तर प्रदेश में पायेंगे। मैं स्टेट्स में कोई कम्पिटिशन की बात नहीं करता, मैं तो वस्तुस्थिति की बात करता हूँ। धारिया साहब को याद होगा कि उत्तर प्रदेश में जो उसका पूर्वी अंचल है, ईस्टर्न डिस्ट्रिक्ट्स, पूर्वी क्षेत्र उसकी स्थिति और भी खराब है। वहाँ आज भी ग्रामीण क्षेत्र की पर कैपिटल इनकम 107 रुपये से ज्यादा नहीं है, मैं हर आदमी को दो वक्त खाना मिलना कठिन है। वहाँ के लिए एक पटेल कमीशन बना था। शायद उसकी रिपोर्ट धारिया साहब के मंत्रालय में होगी। उत्तर प्रदेश के चार डिस्ट्रिक्ट्स छूटे गये थे। और बाद में कुछ और डिस्ट्रिक्ट्स बढ़ा दिये गये थे। उसने अपनी सिफारिशें दीं, अपनी रिपोर्ट दी और उसमें यह तथ्य हुआ था कि इन क्षेत्रों के उत्थान और प्रगति के लिए केन्द्र से विशेष सहायता दी जायगी। शुरू में शायद 29 करोड़ देने की बात हुई थी, कितने करोड़ दिया गया वह आँकड़े मुझे याद नहीं हैं, लेकिन अब वह पटेल कमीशन का काम भी खत्म हो गया। बुन्देलखंड का एक क्षेत्र है मध्य प्रदेश और उत्तर प्रदेश की सीमा पर। वह एक पठारी क्षेत्र है। वह आर्थिक दृष्टि से और सामाजिक दृष्टि से बेहद पिछड़ा हुआ है। जो हमारे पहाड़ी क्षेत्र है, जिनके गीत हमारे कवि गाते हैं गंगा, यमुना, गंगोत्री और यमनोत्री के गीत, मगर यह दुःख की बात है कि आज 25 साल की आजादी के बाद भी पहाड़ के हर गांव में आदमी को पीने का पानी भी प्राप्त नहीं है। भीलों से उनको पानी लाना पड़ता है। मिरजापुर का क्षेत्र है। वहाँ झरने झरने हैं और बरसात में बड़ा सुन्दर दृश्य रहता है। आज वहाँ सैकड़ों, हजारों गांव ऐसे हैं कि जहाँ के आदमियों के लिए अभी तक पीने के पानी का इंतजाम नहीं हो सका है। यह मिसाल मैंने इसलिए दी कि इसमें मुझे कोई आपत्ति नहीं कि बंगाल के लिए कुछ किया जाय, और न ही मुझे उससे कोई द्वेष है, उसके लिए जो कुछ किया जाय वह अच्छा ही है, क्योंकि देखना तो यह है कि अगर हिन्दुस्तान के किसी भी क्षेत्र में पिछड़ापन रहता है या कुछ भी बाकी रहता है पिछड़ापन तो धारिया साहब इस बात को याद रखें

कि वह ऐसा नासूर बन जायगा, ऐसा कैंसर बन जायगा कि वह आपकी नेशनल (National) ग्रोथ को पनपने नहीं देगा, उसको आगे नहीं बढ़ने देगा। तो जहाँ मेरी सहानुभूति पश्चिमी बंगाल के साथ है, मैं उसके साथ-साथ उत्तर प्रदेश की बात भी धारिया साहब के सामने पेश करना चाहता हूँ; क्योंकि अब रीजनल इम्बेलेसेज होते हैं, तब उस क्षेत्र के सारे ही लोगों में एक बेचैनी और बेदारी पैदा हो जाती है और तरह-तरह की मांगें पैदा हो जाती हैं। बंगला देश के पीछे जो इतना बड़ा आन्दोलन उठा, जिसने उसको स्वाधीनता दिलायी, उस का भी एक कारण यह भी था कि पाकिस्तान की सरकार ने उस क्षेत्र को बिल्कुल नेग्लेक्ट (Neglect) कर दिया था, उसकी तरफ से अपनी आँखें बंद कर ली थीं। तेलंगाना की मांग भी उठी है कि उसको आंध्र प्रदेश से अलग कर दिया जाय, आंध्र की मांग थी कि उसको मद्रास से अलग कर दिया जाय। हरियाणा अलग हो गया, मिजोराम अलग हो गया, अरुणाचल अलग हो गया, नागालैंड अलग हो गया, मेघालय अलग हो गया, क्योंकि वहाँ स्थिति यह हो गयी थी कि वहाँ के लोगों में सही या गलत यह धारणा पैदा हो गई थी कि हमारा आर्थिक विकास, हमारी सामाजिक प्रगति नहीं हो रही है और यह तभी हो सकती है जब कि हमारी हैमियत एक राज्य की हो जाय। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह की स्थिति पैदा न हो। देश का काफी बंटवारा हो चुका है, हम छोटे-छोटे स्टेट्स में काफी बंट चुके हैं, तो अब सरकार इस ओर विशेष तौर पर ध्यान दे। यह जो फिफ्थ प्लान बन रहा है—फोर्थ प्लान के लिये तो धारिया साहब कह सकते हैं कि उसमें उनका हाथ नहीं था, लेकिन फिफ्थ प्लान के लिए आप ऐसा नहीं कह सकते कि मेरा इसमें कोई हैंड नहीं है—तो अगर फिफ्थ प्लान में भी कोई गड़बड़ी हुई तो मैं एक मित्र के नाते से धारिया साहब को “आई उड चार्ज हिम” कि उन्होंने अपनी इयुटी को अंजाम नहीं दिया।

मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ कि जितने स्टेट्स के अपने रिसोर्सेज डेवलप्ड हैं उतने ही अनुपात में केन्द्र (सेन्टर) एड देती है। उत्तर प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री जब डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द थे, उन्होंने यह

कहा कि कुछ स्टेट्स ऐसे हैं, जिनका भी अगर इकानामिक टेक आफ होना है तो उनको विशेष सुविधायें देनी होंगी और इसलिए उन्होंने एक प्रिंसिपल इनीशिएट किया था कि आबादी के अनुपात में इमदाद दी जाय। उसको केन्द्र की सरकार ने नहीं माना, हालांकि उस वक्त मैंने भी उसको सपोर्ट नहीं किया, लेकिन बाद में जब मैंने सौतेला व्यवहार देखा तो मैंने यह महसूस किया कि केन्द्रीय सहायता देने के आधार में परिवर्तन होना चाहिये। मैं आज मानता हूँ कि सेंटर की एड के तरीके को कुछ न कुछ बदलना पड़ेगा और अगर उसको नहीं बदलेंगे तो आपका काम चलेगा नहीं और उसके अन्दर काफी दिक्कत पड़ेगी। श्रीमन्, उत्तर प्रदेश जैसा कि मैंने कहा बहुत बड़ा प्रदेश है, हम देखते हैं कि उड़ीसा से भी एजीटेशन होता है, धरना भी होता है, प्राइम मिनिस्टर के मकान पर कि एक स्टील प्लॉट उनकी स्टेट को दे दिया जाय, तमिलनाडु में भी एजीटेशन होता है, लेकिन पता नहीं उत्तर प्रदेश के आदमी ज्यादा कमजोर हैं या ज्यादा शरीफ हैं कि वह बेचारे एजीटेशन नहीं करते, धरना नहीं देते। उनकी एक ओर कमजोरी है कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर हमारी है। तो मैं कहता हूँ कि अगर आप देखें तो पायेंगे कि तीनों प्लान्स में पब्लिक सेक्टर के अन्दर जो एलोकेशन हुआ है हिन्दुस्तान में सबसे कम उत्तर प्रदेश में हुआ है।

**श्री संयद अहमद (मध्य प्रदेश) :** उत्तर प्रदेश में उसको तोड़ क्यों नहीं डालते हैं। उसके तीन चार टुकड़े कर दीजिये।

**श्री नवल किशोर :** श्रीमन्, हर आदमी की बदनिगाह जो है वह उत्तर प्रदेश की ओर है। मैं उसका जवाब एक ही दे सकता हूँ कि जो आदमी उत्तर प्रदेश के टुकड़े करना चाहते हैं उनको मेरा कहना यह है कि आप उत्तर प्रदेश को मजबूर न कीजिये कि वह भी यह कहे कि वह भी एक स्वतंत्र देश माना जाय। मैं यह भी बता दू कि बहुत छोटे-छोटे स्टेट्स बनाने के फेवर में मैं नहीं हूँ। हाँ, उससे जो लोगों की राजनैतिक स्वाहिश है चीफ मिनिस्टर बनने की वह पूरी हो जाती है। एनीवे, जो मैं कह रहा था वह यह था कि वहाँ इंडस्ट्री के लिये

एलोकेशन बहुत कम हुआ है और अगर इसी तरह से सेंट्रल प्लानिंग कमिशन में कोई सेल बनायें तो एक स्टेट के लिये नहीं बन सकता, सबके लिये

India is backward as a whole.

And, U. P. is one of the most backward States.

**CHAUDHARY, MOHAMMAD (Bihar) :** And Bihar.

**SHRI NAW'AL KISHORE :** Bihar also. Bihar is behind also. It would be a body of so many States.

सेल बनाने पड़ जायेंगे। स्वयं प्लानिंग कमिशन सोचे और सेल वहाँ के लिये बने जहाँ के लिए उसकी आवश्यकता हो। श्रीमन्, आप भी समाजवादी हैं और प्रैक्टिकल समाजवादी हैं, जैसा कि कहा जाता है कि Everyone according to his capacity and according to one's needs, तो जिस स्टेट की जितनी नीड हो उसको देख कर के इमदाद होनी चाहिए। लिहाजा यह सेल की बात मेरी समझ में ज्यादा नहीं आई।

एक बात यह कही गई कि जो योजनायें बनें, उनको पर्याप्त सहायता दी जाय। मुझे पता नहीं कि धारिया साहब क्या जवाब देंगे। कहा यह जाता है कि जितनी आपकी योजनायें हैं उनको हम पर्याप्त सहायता देते हैं और यह बात भी नहीं है कि स्टेट्स जिनका चाहेंगी उतना केन्द्र दे भी नहीं सकता। एक ही चीज हो सकती है, "टु हेव दि बेस्ट आफ दी मिनिमम," यानी जो हमारी मिनिमम कैपेसिटी है उसका जो बेस्ट से बेस्ट उपयोग हो सकता है, वह हमें करने की चेष्टा करनी चाहिए। तो मैं पश्चिमी बंगाल के दोस्तों को यकीन दिलाता हूँ कि मुझे उनसे कोई शिकायत नहीं है—उनको दुगुना, तिगुना दीजिए—लेकिन उसी अनुपात से हमारी तरफ भी नजरे करम और नजरे इनायत हो जाय तो बड़ी अच्छी बात हो।

प्रस्ताव में राज्य योजना बोर्ड की स्थापना की भी बात है। कुछ स्टेट्स ने अपने बोर्ड बनाए हैं। यह बात बहुत दिनों से चल रही है। यह प्रस्ताव का आखिरी हिस्सा अगर स्टेट असेम्बली में मूव किया जाता तो वह ज्यादा अच्छा होता, मगर प्रस्तावक ने आपके ऊपर ज्यादा बोझ नहीं

[श्री नवल किशोर]

डाला—“एन्ड एडवाइज” यह कहा है—आप परामर्श दें यह कहा है, तो परामर्श तो एक हार्मलैस चीज है, आज जो चाहें परामर्श दीजिए, इसमें कोई दिक्कत की बात नहीं है, मगर मैं समझता हूँ, ये बोर्ड बनने चाहिए, बोर्डों को बनाने का प्रेशर स्टेट असेम्बली के अंदर अगर आए तो ज्यादा अच्छा है। अगर सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेन्ट इस चीज में न पड़े तो मेरे पाइन्ट आफ व्यू से ज्यादा अच्छी बात होगी।

श्रीमन्, मैं एक दो बातें और कहना चाहता हूँ। जब कोई चीज बनती है या दी जाती है, उस समय पता नहीं कुछ हम लोगों की लापरवाही होती है या कुछ हम लोग उसको कर नहीं पाते हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ, धारिया साहब इस बात को देखें कि हमको केन्द्र से यह वायदा किया गया था कि वह एक ट्रेक्टर फैक्टरी उत्तर प्रदेश को देंगे और बनारस के आस-पास कई सी एकड़ जमीन एक्वायर भी की गई, उसको डेवलप भी किया गया, मगर अभी तक उस फैक्टरी के आस-पास कुछ भी पता नहीं है क्या कुछ बनने वाला है? एक दफा हमको घुमा फिरा कर बहलावा दिया गया कि न्यूजप्रिन्ट फैक्टरी उत्तर प्रदेश में लगाई जाएगी। श्रीमन्, पता नहीं है आज तक, उस न्यूजप्रिन्ट फैक्टरी का क्या हुआ? एक एटामिक यूनिट के देने की बात थी। यह सब बात धारिया साहब, मैं इसलिए कर रहा हूँ कि वैसे तो डाइरेक्ट कन्सर्न आपका उतना नहीं है, मगर चूंकि आप सबके ऊपर हैं, सुपर हैं, every Ministry directly not, indirectly sure, आपके अन्डर में आती है, जिसका जो चाहा वैसा काम कर दिया, तो मैं आपके द्वारा कहना चाहता हूँ श्रीमन्, कि धारिया साहब, इस मामले में भी उत्तर प्रदेश की तरफ थोड़ी सी आपकी निगाह होनी चाहिए।

(Time bill rings)

श्रीमन्, एक मिनट में मैं खत्म करना चाहता हूँ। उत्तर प्रदेश के बारे में मैंने चंद बातें कहीं। मेरे साथी ने बिहार का नाम लिया, तो बिहार को भी उसके साथ जोड़ दीजिए। तो मैं यह अर्ज कर रहा था कि मुझे खुशी इस बात की है कि इस प्रस्ताव के जरिए माननीय सदस्य ने सरकार

का ध्यान आकर्षित किया। जो बेसिक प्रिन्सिपल इसके बिहाइन्ड है, चाहे आंध्र प्रदेश की बात हो या और प्रदेश हों जो आगे बढ़ रहे हैं, बड़ी खुशी की बात है और गर्व भी हमें होना चाहिए, लेकिन एक हैल्दी कम्पिटिशन की स्प्रिट राज्यों के बीच पैदा होनी चाहिए कि हम भी उनके पास आ सकें, लेकिन केवल स्प्रिट ही काफी नहीं है, उनको दिशा देने की जरूरत है। मैं चाहता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि चाहे बंगाल हो, उत्तर प्रदेश हो या और भी कोई प्रदेश हों जो पिछड़े हुए हैं, उनकी तरफ आपका ध्यान जाएगा और यह कोशिश की जाएगी कि सारे देश की सोशल और इकानामिक स्थिति करीब-करीब “एट पार” कर दी जाए। इन शब्दों के साथ इस प्रस्ताव के जितने सीमित विचारों से मैं इतिफाक करता हूँ, उनका समर्थन करता हूँ और जिनसे इतिफाक नहीं करता उनका समर्थन नहीं करता हूँ।

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I support the resolution moved by my friend, Mr. Sardar Amjad Ali. Sir, when I was listening to Nawal Kishoreji it struck my mind as to why he was objecting to reference of West Bengal's political situation in the resolution.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, you are aware on many occasions since 1967 problems of West Bengal have been discussed on the floor of this House. Almost every year since 1967 we had to pass the Budget of West Bengal, in the National Legislature and we had to discuss the affairs on West Bengal on many occasions. And since my entry into this House, I do not remember a single session when the problems of West Bengal, either relating to 3 P.M. the law and order situation, or relating to the proclamation of President's rule, or relating to other incidental matters, were not discussed on the floor of the House. In view that, what the mover of the Resolution wants to emphasise is that there is a change in the political situation of West Bengal. There is a favourable change in the political situation of West Bengal in which the industrial climate may improve and economic betterment is possible. Therefore, he wants to refer to the change in the political situation in the State of West Bengal which was not there since 1967. Regarding the last part of the



Resolution, as Nawal Kishoreji has very rightly pointed out, it is the business of the State legislature, and if I understand correctly, the mover of the Resolution has also pointed out that the last part of the Resolution stands redundant because of the establishment of a State Planning Board in West Bengal. When actually the text of the Resolution was given to the Secretariat, the State Planning Board had not been formed. Therefore, the last part of the Resolution practically does not stand now, as the Board has already been formed.

Sir, when I was listening to the argument of Nawal Kishoreji in regard to financial allocation and when he was pointing out that population should be the criterion for financial assistance, it struck me why he referred to it.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE : I might tell my friend that I said that one chief Minister of U. P. wanted (his) to be the basis but I did not agree with him then. But the step-motherly treatment of the Central Government has forced me to say that there should be some change in the policy of Central assistance.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE : It is only there. I was already trying to point out that it is already there. Mr. Tyagi presided over the Fifth Finance Commission. From the First (to the Fifth Finance Commission, it has been the principle of every Finance Commission that while allocating funds to the States, populations should be the major criterion, and almost over 90 per cent of allocation is made on the basis of population. In fact, we have a grievance against Mr. Mahavir Tyagi on this point . . .

MR. MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh) : That population formula mostly applies to the distribution of the income-tax revenue. The Income-tax revenue of the Centre has to be distributed among the States. For that purpose, the general practice has been that quite a large chunk of it is distributed on the basis of population, and the rest, on the basis of their requirements.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE : I want to point out that when Mr. Tyagi presided over the Fifth Finance Commission, he made a departure from that principle regarding the allocation of the income-tax revenue because he gave more emphasis on the incentive aspect; that is, the States which

realised more income-tax were given fewer shares in the recommendations of the Fifth Finance Commission. But if you look at the recommendations of the First Finance Commission to the Fourth Finance Commission, you will find that more emphasis has been laid on the population criterion. So, it is there. And I would also like to remind Nawal Kishoreji that during the regime of Mr. Mahavir Tyagi in the Fifth Finance Commission, Uttar Pradesh, for the first time, got grant-in-aid under article 275 of the Constitution. In all other recommendations of the Finance Commissions from the First to the Fourth, no allotment was made under the grant-in-aid scheme under article 275. The Fifth Finance Commission made this recommendation.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : It is always there when there is deficit. If a State is in deficit according to the figures supplied, then that aid is given.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE : I want to point out that you got money and it is not as if you did not get money.

SHRI NAYVAL KISHORE : I accepted it.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE : Now, why should the question of West Bengal be taken as a special case ? It is a very reasonable question as to why a special cell should be created to deal with the affairs of West Bengal. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, we must face the facts and we must be realistic. When President's rule was proclaimed in West Bengal\* during the last occasion, we made a Constitutional departure and a cell was created in the Union Home Ministry. One Central Cabinet Minister was designated as Minister of West Bengal Affairs to look after the affairs of West Bengal. The problems of West Bengal are not normal. The problems are serious. And each and every member of this House and the other House, each and every member of the public, each and every member of the Government, is fully aware of it. So the special treatment of West Bengal comes into picture.

Before 1967 West Bengal did not need any special treatment because along with the other States of India West Bengal was having its problems in the normal way. But since 1967 West Bengal reached almost stagnation. How it reached stagnation, I would like to quote something from a paper prepared not by any

[Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee]

politician, but by one of the officials of the West Bengal Government the number of registered factories continued to increase steadily from 2625 in 1952 to 5714 in 1966. Income from organised factory establishments nearly trebled, from Rs. 103 crores to about Rs. 310 during this period. The gross ex-factory value of industrial output increased from about Rs. 350 crores in 1951 to Rs. 1376 crores in 1965. Between 1961 and 1966 the number of jobs provided by West Bengal in the organised sector was the largest of all States. In 1966 it was 22.8 lakhs compared to 22.7 lakhs in Maharashtra. That is the picture of West Bengal between 1952 and 1966. What is the picture after 1967? Again I quote from the same paper; The number of registered working factories of West Bengal decreased from 5737 in 1961 to 5519 in 1967. The average number of persons employed daily in these factories also fell from 8.17 lakhs in 1968 to 7.91 lakhs in 1969. Because of this abnormal situation in West Bengal we demand, we pray, we urge upon the Government that West Bengal should be treated on a special footing. When we speak of West Bengal we should not forget that West Bengal is the central point of entire eastern India. When we talk about industrialisation of West Bengal, when we speak of economic development of West Bengal, we should keep in mind that in most of the jute mills of West Bengal, in most of the tea gardens of West Bengal, in most of the factories of West Bengal, only Bengali people are not working. If you look at the employment list of the jute mills you will find that almost 70 per cent of the employees of the jute mills do not come from West Bengal, they come from the neighbouring States. If you look at the employment list of tea plantations you will find a considerable, a sizeable section of the workers do not come from West Bengal, do not come from the Bengali community, but they come from the adjoining States. If you look at the employment list of coal mines in Raniganj and Asansol you will find that out of 50000 workers, almost 20000 workers belong to Bihar and certain other adjoining States. Therefore, when we talk of developing West Bengal, we do not mean that it should be done only for the Bengalis. If you develop West Bengal, if you develop Calcutta, if you industrialise West Bengal, it will serve the purpose of entire eastern India. Eastern India taken together, everybody will admit and I hope Mr. Nawal Kishore also will admit, is the most

backward region in comparison to other parts of the country. Therefore, while talking about West Bengal we do not mean anything parochial, anything provincial and we do not interpret the development of West Bengal in the narrow sense of the term. The question comes as to why a special cell is to be created in the Planning Commission. My friend Shri Arun Jaitley has quoted some statistics and figures. I do not want to go into them. But it has to be remembered that when the Fourth Plan allocation was made, West Bengal had total plan outlay of Rs. 322.50 crores. Out of that, West Bengal's own share was Rs. 101 crores. Shri Dharia knows it very well. It was not possible for West Bengal Government since the inception of the Fourth Plan even to give Rs. 1 till crores as their own share. I am grateful to him because this year he has given Rs. 73 crores as non-plan assistance to the West Bengal Government. This State which was on the top of the industrial map of India in 1947. It cannot pay Rs. 101 crores at its own share for the Fourth Plan outlay what is the outlay for the Fourth Plan in respect of West Bengal? It is Rs. 322.5 crores. What is the plan outlay in other States? Maharashtra had Rs. 898.12 crores; Andhra Pradesh has Rs. 420.59 crores Bihar had Rs. 455.00 crores; Tamil Nadu had Rs. 510.36 crores and West Bengal had Rs. 322 crores. What was West Bengal's Third Plan outlay? It was about Rs. 304 crores whereas the Fourth Plan outlay Rs. 322 crores with Rs. 101 crores as their own share which they are not in a position to spend and therefore it had to beg from the Government of India which, I must admit, was kind enough to allocate Rs. 73 crores as non-Plan assistance because of our problems, because of our peculiar situation, because of the State's stagnation in industrialisation and economic situation.

It is because of that, my friend has placed a demand that a special cell should be created in the Planning Commission to look after the affairs of West Bengal. It is not a parochial demand nor is it a provincial demand. West Bengal is not the State of West Bengal geographically. This has to be remembered. In the economic context and in the industrial context, West Bengal means the whole of Eastern India. It has also to be remembered that even today, that is in 1971-72, 20 per cent of the total industrial output comes from this State. It has also to be remembered that two highest foreign exchange earning industries, namely, jute and

tea, are established in West Bengal. When we talk of increasing our exports in engineering industry, it has to be remembered that the entire industrial structure of West Bengal is based on the engineering industry. It is a State where there is no rule to give employment only to the sons of the soil. We are against it. Each and every person has a right to seek a job anywhere he likes. Can you make any comparison with other States? I have spoken about engineering industry; I have spoken about jute industry; I have spoken about coal mine industry, I have spoken about tea plantations. In all these sectors persons belonging to other States outnumber the sons of the soil. Therefore, when we talk about development of West Bengal, we do not mean it in any narrow sense of the term.

Not only I have no objection, but I would rather welcome if various cells for the development of various States are being created in the Planning Commission. I do not know why Shri Nnwal Kishore should object to it. What is the harm? That is not going to be a super-body. They have to be there in their advisory capacity. They will help the Planning Commission very much. If there be a cell for each individual State under the guidance of the Planning Commission, under the overall supervision of the Planning Commission, and if each State has its own planning Board, and if there is co-ordination between these two agencies. I think the functioning of the Planning Commission will be much better. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, another thing I would like to point out and that is about the regional imbalances about which Shri Nawal Kishore has spoken. It is a very serious thing and we must take note of it. If we talk of regional imbalances, I apprehend, there is a chance of being misunderstood. But, Sir, it is at the same time necessary—and this has been spoken by the highest in authority in our country that unless and until you do away with the regional imbalance, you cannot stop these fissiparous tendencies and the separatist tendencies.

If some part of the country remains undeveloped and if some part of the country is exploited by the other parts, definitely fissiparous tendencies and separatist tendencies would crop up and the best way to stop it is to do away with the regional imbalances. When we had a discussion on the Mid-term Appraisal of the Fourth Plan, that very point was discussed and the Planning Minister assured the House that they will do their best to do away with regional

imbalances. How can it be done until you control the licensing policy? How can it be done until you control the financial institutions? How can it be done until you give opportunity to the backward areas? We have framed two or three schemes for the development of the backward areas. The scheme of concessions from the financial institutions and 10% subsidy schemes. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, if you look at the progress of these schemes you will be disappointed. Now, there are valid reasons in the argument of Mr. Nawal Kishore when he said that some parts of U. P. which is the birth place of all the Prime Ministers and which produces Prime Ministers and which sends the maximum number of Members to both the Houses of Parliament, are the most backward in comparison with the other parts of the country. I do not want that any part of the country should remain backward. There are some lacunae in the policies of the Government and they have to be removed. Therefore, Sir, when I talk of West Bengal, I hope, Members will not misunderstand me or the other Members saying that we are advocating the cause of West Bengal for parochial reasons or for partisan reasons. We talk of West Bengal because of the political situation created by the political parties in West Bengal. They themselves are responsible for it and I do not blame anybody. But as an abnormal situation has been created, there is no point in saying that it cannot be rectified. Because of this, Sir, we want that West Bengal should be treated specially and a special cell should be created there. The Planning Board is already there and the Government of India should come forward with adequate financial assistance. Otherwise, Sir, you cannot save West Bengal. If you stick to past policy, if you stick to that formula of help and if you follow it in right earnestness, you may save your skin but not West Bengal. You may look impartial to other States but with no result you may live in the air of impartiality. But, ultimately peace in the whole of the eastern region will be disturbed if what I have said is not done. We cannot ignore the special position, the geographical position, the strategic position, which West Bengal occupies today. Only the other day, there were violence and, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, you will admit that these acts of violence were not merely the question of law and order. If 25 lakhs of people . . . (Time Bell rings) . . . remain out of employment, if 60,000 people sleep on the footpaths of Calcutta, if Calcutta remains as a human jungle, as was pointed out by our former Leader of the

[Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee] Opposition, Shri S. Mishra—he termed Calcutta as a human jungle—if the premier city of India, that is, Calcutta is a human jungle, if 25 lakhs of youth remain unemployed, you cannot expect that everything will be normal. There will be a law and order situation. Each and every one in the Ministry and in the public feels and has admitted that the situation in West Bengal is abnormal and an abnormal situation in West Bengal demands and requires special attention from the Planning Commission. Only to focus this idea and to draw the attention of the persons in authority and the Members of the House, my friend has brought this Resolution. I hope hon. Members will render their support and the Government will do as best as they can do. Thanking you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Sanat Kumar Raha.

SHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA (West Bengal) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, in the Resolution the hon. Member, Shri Amjad AH, has brought, there are two parts which should be considered in this House. The first part is regarding the formation of a cell in the Planning Commission for West Bengal. The second part of the Resolution which has already been operated by the State of West Bengal is regarding the State Planning Board. So our main emphasis should be to discuss how far the proposal for constructing a cell in the Planning Commission is viable and reasonable and whether there are reasonable grounds, political, economic and such other reasons, for it.

I think the spirit of the Resolution is not to counter-pose the problems of West Bengal as the problems of other sister States. So I would not like to go into the controversy of interstate situation. I say that the problems of West Bengal should be considered seriously and should be given all emphasis politically. Bengal of Ram Mohan, Bengal of Bankim Chandra, Bengal of Rabindra Nath, Bengal of Vidya Sagar, Bengal of Sarat Chandra, Bengal of Khudi Ram, Bengal of Deshbandhu, Bengal of Netaji, wants today one special cell from the Centre to have its own advancement in the arena of world politics and in the arena of Indian national advancement. In this context, politically I think in the all-India context, the problems of Bengal should be visualized. In the all-India context, politically, Bengal is a problem State. It is not a problem State of

today. It is a problem State since pre-partition on days. When Pakistani people came to West Bengal and there was an influx to West Bengal, from that day we are feeling that problem. So it is not the mathematics of money. It is not the mathematics of allocation of funds. It is the calculation of politics. So I think in an all-India context, Bengal is a problem State, though it has got its material basis. So Bengal's problems as stands today should be taken politically and emphasis should be given accordingly.

This House also should specially consider the interest of India as a whole. If any phenomenon and untoward situation in Bengal, politically or materially, goes out of the control of the Indian Union, then it is in the interest of the Indian Union, the national Central Government, to look after the politics in an all-India context and in the background of our situation vis-a-vis our relations. We are moving towards advancement. We are moving towards socialism, towards peace against war. We are for liberation of dependent countries. We are in support of Vietnam. But how are we feeling for our own sister State like West Bengal?

Now, why special emphasis be given to West Bengal? I have got some reason and grounds. On the basis of those reasons and grounds I want to establish my case that in support of this Resolution I would propose that a special cell politically be considered and constituted by the Centre for Bengal at present. It is not to counterpose any problem of West Bengal against any other problem. It is only to solve the problems of other States by solving the problems of West Bengal. What do we see in West Bengal? Why this special emphasis? Why is this condition which is explosive? It is not explosive today, just now. The explosion has got its material basis. So, I say that it has reached the climax of the process today. The situation has become uncontrollable. It cannot be controlled through any election or any piecemeal planning gesture by the Centre. An extraordinary situation, an explosive situation exist in West Bengal. So, special emphasis should be given on the following grounds.

Politically, West Bengal is the colony of monopolists, capitalists. It is the colony of Lord Cornwallis. It still remains to be the colony of Zamindars and monopolists. I would not say like our Party-brothers that Bengal is the colony of the Centre, of Indira Gandhi. I would

only say that it has been made the colony of monopolists. It has still been made the colony of Rajas and Maharajas created by Lord Cornwallis. Since those days Bengal has been suffering.

Bengal was made a land of clerks, a State of clerks. Bengal has been allowed to serve British imperialism, only to fill their pockets out of exploitation. Yet Bengal is proud of itself. Bengal fought and produced Khudiram to fight against Britishers. Bengal is proud because it gave birth to Netaji, it gave birth to Deshbandhu, it gave birth to Bankim Chandra whose poems we are quoting here and there. It gave birth to Rabindra Nath Tagore. This is our bright tradition. This is our pride. This is the glorious tradition of West Bengal created by the long-drawn struggle by Bengalis. This is not the question of chauvinism, of regionalism. I do not bother for all those things. I do not bother for all this local petty-mindedness. I think of Bengal in a broader sphere, in an international and national sphere, in an integrated manner. This is the perspective in which we should think of Bengal today.

Bengal is still the land of zamindars and monopolists. Big industrialists are there. At one time, Bengal was the richest State in India. Today I think Bengal is lagging behind in all spheres of activities, economically, politically. It is lagging behind in cultural, educational and institutional spheres. In everything of development it is lagging behind. The shape of Bengal has changed one after another. Out of the conspiracy of imperialists, out of the conspiracy of monopolists, landlords, zamindars, different feuds and inter-party clashes, it has reached this stage of climax today. Bengal is getting frustrated. Frustration is reaching the saturation point. It is giving birth to such spontaneous activities which are getting out of control today. Bengal has undergone many experiences of changes, multifarious changes in various forms, economically as well as politically.

The two crops, tea and jute of West Bengal earn foreign exchange for India. Jute earns Rs. 250 crores and tea Rs. 160 crores per annum. It gives Central Government revenue and foreign earning. But frustration has reached such a point that political solutions are not possible without material aid. Ultimately those whom we think are our masters—the electorate, would decide the course of Bengal. With the

sings of the electorate, there is a Government of alliance. That Govt. is starting to do something and they have created this Board of Planning for the State. It is high time that we should consider it seriously. If we lose this opportune time psychologically, politically, economically and philosophically, we shall lose the ground for good. Any phenomenon in Bengal politics has got reflected in the all-India horizon of politics. I would only emphasize that all this phenomena of Bengal should be considered politically and valued accordingly. Out of the various problems facing Bengal one is the problem of closure and lock-outs. The grounds may be there but the main fact, accepted by both Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha is that only 29 per cent of the closures is due to political actions; the rest is due to want of raw materials, want of management, corruption and other things. Then North Bengal is also a problem. North Bengal is completely cut off from other parts of West Bengal. Farakka Barrage is the only connecting link between North Bengal and West Bengal. North Bengal is a separate problem and it should be dealt with seriously and in a different manner. Every year North Bengal is facing recurring floods. Its vast population is facing crisis after crisis and no solution is being proposed or attempted either by the Centre or by the State. North Bengal is the neglected child of India. Therefore I say even within West Bengal imbalances within the districts are there and they are very sharp. Calcutta has been created a Metropolitan city by the Britishers and we are following that legacy and creating a Metropolitan Authority. Thereby we are having improvement in Calcutta but not for the rural people and we are keeping in tact the imbalances. Districts like Murshidabad, Nadia, Birbhum and Bardhaman are backward districts of West Bengal and they should be given special emphasis politically as well as economically so that their problems can be solved. This can be done by creating a cell in the Planning Commission.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL (West Bengal) : But these Districts produce advanced people like my friend.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please wind up now.

SHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA : I am winding up. In the end I shall give some data regarding . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Raha, there is no time now for any data.

SHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA :  
How  
much time will you allow me ?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : 15  
minutes for everybody.

SHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA : How  
much time have I taken ?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have  
taken 20 minutes already.

SHRI SANA' KUMAR RAHA : Then I  
would sit down.

SHRI SASANKASKKHAR SANYAL : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the motion moved by my friend, as my good friend, Shri Nawal Kishore, has put it, gives a welcome and helpful opportunity for discussing the question of Plan and the relation between tax the States and Centre having a bearing on that. Sir, when I was in the Bengal legislature we pleaded in both the Houses asking for funds from the Centre. The Congress was in power at the Centre and it was there also. We pleaded in vain. I do not know what new effect this pleading of my friend now will create. My good friend there who is now holding the portfolio and listening to the debate, if he were a non-official Member, probably would have been an effective spokesman in support of my friend Mr. Amjad Ali but the wheels of fortune have turned now. The question of chauvinism or the question of parochialism does not arise because from my own experience and study of the facts and figures I have found that if parochialism and imbalance came into existence that was a planned gift of the Centre. The Centre wanted to rob Peter to pay Paul. If my good friend, Mr. Raiia, looks at the matter a little deeper, he will find that Peter was also robbed to pay James, James was also robbed to pay X and X was also robbed to pay Y. Ultimately, the bottomless pit of the Centre was responsible for all the beneficiaries of all the States.

Sir, the Constitution was conceived in the spirit of federal unit system of States. But the States have been converted into veritable clients, charity-boys. This thing has to be reversed, and we have been claiming and demanding that. Sir, when my friend speaks of Bengal, we support it. My good friend, Mr.

Nawal Kishore, also supported it, and we four Bengalis are naturally supporting it. But I must make it clear that I do not want this to be a special case for West Bengal as my good friend, Mr. Pranab Kumar Mukherjee, put it. I want to have it as a scheme for every State : our spirit is that, not Bengal for Bengalis, or Bihar for Biharis, or U. P. for U. P. people. We must take the stand that the States are for themselves and for the country. And if all the links of the chain are properly oiled and geared to the needed strength, then it will be merely the strength of the particular unit ; it will be the strength of the overall composition of the whole nation. Sir, therefore I put it for the consideration of my friend, the Minister. You make it the primary concern of every State to go on with its own planning. Don't treat it as a minor child to be looked after by a senile guardian. Let all the States have their own plans. The Centre will work only as a coordinating factor for adjustment if there is any conflict causing anxiety, or anything like that of crossing the "Ts" or dotting the "Is. Otherwise, every State will be an autonomous planning body, and we shall plan according to our resources and meet the needs of unemployment and productivity. If we shall have some surplus, we shall contribute to the Centre and sometimes, if we shall have a deficit, the Centre will have to contribute to us. It is in this spirit that we have to go on. Now, we find that there are certain things which look very odd. When cotton prices are going down, it is the headache of the Centre. If wheat prices are going down, it is the headache of the Centre. But it jute and tea prices are going down this nobody's headache. In Bengal all the jute factories are still allowed to remain in the private sector. Why ? Because, as my friend, Mr. Raha, has said, the monopolists are there. At the same time, my friend, in a follow-up sentence said that he does not agree with those who say that Shrimati Indira Gandhi is a monopolist. I say (he Central Government of India is the greatest monopolist in this country and therefore these things are happening.

SHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA : Monopoly  
of ruling ?

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL :  
Monopoly of ruling and grabbing and exploit-  
ing.

The question therefore is this. My friend said  
it is the Bengal of Khudiram, it is the

Bengal of Yivekananda, it is the Bengal of Nctaji Subhas Chandra Bose, it is the Bengal of C. R. Das. It is there, but now it is the Bengal of Shri Amjad Ali and Mr. Raha and Sasankasekhar Sanyai, poor people, indigent people, and yet, this Bengal must give the lead to the rest of the country by demanding it, and expect other States to follow the demand. The D. M. K. is coming up a little, and other States must come up, even with folded hands,—doesn't matter—and say : "We beseech the Centre. Please leave us to ourselves. Let us put our whole house in order with our own resources. Don't interfere. We shall be able to manage ourselves." I put it to my friends. Mr. Amjad Ali and Mr. Pranab Kumar Mukherjee : Are you pleading ? We have pleaded for West Bengal in the last, twenty-five years. I hate pleading. Now, are you praying, as Mr. Pranab Kumar Mukherjee says ? I detest that word. He just slipped a word and then retracted it. I say we are demanding and commanding that things must have a changed outlook. With autonomy, as I have said, there will be readjustment. Suppose this pleading fails, suppose this demand fails, what are you going to do ? The breach between the Congress and this side of the House is eliminated. We have to follow it up with action. Therefore, mobilise public opinion, mobilise the feelings of the people, mobilise the sense of justice of the people. And shall I be wrong—I hope it will not hurt my friends over then—and why the election rigging was done ? The election rigging was done because as a spokesman of the rest of India West Bengal was raising its voice and said that every State must have its own planning body, and every State must be left to itself. Therefore, the rigging was not merely for West Bengal. This rigging was a slap in the face of the rising tempo of the imagination of the people of the rest of the country. We, the constituents of the United Front, gave a clear call to the people. I hope my friend will also give a clear call to the people. Now, let us not go on pleading and protesting, persuading and praying with folded hands. Let us follow this up with action. We shall follow you. We must go on with muscles in our body, not with rickety hands, with folded palms. I say I am at the disposal of Mr. Amjad Ali. You go to your Government. Your Government is there. You ask the West Bengal Government to adopt a governmental resolution, a special resolution saying that we want to have our own planning. Let that resolution

come here. If we were in the Government there today, we would have done it. We did not do it, but if we were in the Government today we would have done it. I do not conceal the fact that we were guilty of omissions and commissions. Because we were not in a comfortable position and we could not run the Government on our own on previous occasions there were the pinpricks of the Centre and we had to be the handmaids of the Centre, but once we were able to go on our own, things took a different turn. Anyway, those slogans were there. We do not mind that we have been ousted from power, but you remain in power. You can cry to your Government. You can cry to your people. We, from this side of the House, will persuade those persons who are with us, to follow you. You go on with the banner of limited independence for the State and we shall follow that banner behind you. Are you prepared to do that ? That is the whole point. Mere saucy words, sweet jelly-brand phrases, sonorous and pathetic—in bumptious appeals will not do. At least they must give place to demands. Demands will have to be followed up by commands. Commands will have to be followed up by sanctions. That sanction, if asked for by my friend and his party, we are prepared to give and we are prepared to take the command and give obedience to you. With these words I support this Resolution, the spirit of it and not the letter. I do not want to have a special case for West Bengal. We want to have a respectable case of Bengal. Bengal is in the vanguard leading the people throughout the country, so that we can be free, we can be independent. We cannot be over-dependent on the Centre. We shall resist the Centre in their carnal device for squeezing out the blood. If all the constituent units of the country are themselves strong, it will be unity par excellence. It will be a stronger unity and a real unity.

With these words I support the Resolution.

**कुमारी सरोज पुरुषोत्तम खापड़े (महाराष्ट्र):**  
उपसभापति जी, सरदार अमजद अली साहब ने जो प्रस्ताव सदन के सामने रखा है उसका मैं समर्थन करती हूँ। अभी तक सदन के सामने जिन मेम्बर्स ने अपना वक्तव्य दिया, मैंने उन्हें बड़े ध्यानपूर्वक सुना है। मैं भी सदन के सामने कुछ विचार पश्चिमी बंगाल के बारे में रखना चाहूंगी।

[कुमारी सरोज पुरपोत्तम खापड़े]

पश्चिमी बंगाल की वर्तमान आर्थिक स्थिति का कारण जो कुछ भी रहा हो, किन्तु मेरी दृष्टि में एक कारण यह भी है कि हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी की लड़ाई में बंगाल का विभाजन हुआ। उस विभाजन से पश्चिम बंगाल में शरणार्थी बहुत अधिक संख्या में आये और वह इतने अधिक संख्या में आये कि आज वहां शरणार्थी पश्चिमी बंगाल की जनसंख्या के 11 प्रतिशत हैं। दूसरा कारण यह भी हो सकता है कि वहां बेरोजगारी ज्यादा है। बेरोजगारी तो स्वाभाविक है। जब इतनी ज्यादा जनसंख्या वहां की है तो बेरोजगारी तो स्वाभाविक ही है। कारण, इस बेरोजगारी के कारण वहां राजनीतिक हिंसा भी होती रही और उसके साथ ही औद्योगिक असंतोष भी दिन व दिन बढ़ता गया मैं उन दिनों के कुछ आंकड़े आप के सामने पेश करना चाहूंगी।

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ^ . B. RAJU) in the Chair]

About political murders in West Bengal. Mr. Subrata Mukherjee, Minister of State for Home told the State Assembly during the Question Hour on April 29, 1972 that there were 1751 political murders in West Bengal between 19C9 and February, 1972. The number of "murders in 1969, 1970 and 1971 was 108, 436 and 1169 respectively. There were 38 murders in January/February, 1972, he added. About the labour situation in West Bengal in 1971-72, the number of industrial disputes was 10622 including 3658 cases brought forward from last year, Strikes and lock-outs were 219, workers involved were 1,48,097 and man-days lost were 49,30,412. (Hindustan Times of 27-4-72)

यह आंकड़े मुझे हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स से मिले हैं। इस पिछले चुनाव में हिन्दुस्तान के प्रायः सभी प्रदेशों ने इन्दिरा जी के नेतृत्व में विश्वास दिखाया। पश्चिमी बंगाल भी इस विश्वास के मामले में पीछे नहीं रहा। उसने भी अपना विश्वास इन्दिरा जी के नेतृत्व में दिखाया, और उनके नेतृत्व में वहां जो सरकार आयी उस सरकार ने आते ही क्या क्या किया वह आपके सामने है। वह सब आपको मालूम ही है। फिर भी जनता की आशाओं की पूर्ति करना हमारे लिए जरूरी है। मुझे व्यक्तिगत रूप से ऐसा

लगता है कि अब हमें शब्दों की जरूरत नहीं है अब हमें कार्य की जरूरत है। हम बातें बहुत करते आये लेकिन यह समय ऐसा आया है कि जब हम को अपने दिए हुए शब्दों की, वचनों की पूर्ति करना चाहिए और इन्दिरा जी ने जो भी शब्द दिये हैं, जो भी वचन दिये हैं वह उनको पूरा करती आयी हैं। साथ ही साथ मैं समझती हूं कि पश्चिमी बंगाल की विशिष्ट स्थिति को देखते हुये उनके लिए अधिक प्रयास होना चाहिए और उनकी जो समस्याएँ हैं, उनकी जो प्राबल्य हैं उनके लिए योजना आयोग में एक अलग सेल की जो आवश्यकता है तो वह सेल जरूर होना चाहिए। साथ ही साथ पश्चिमी बंगाल के शासन को भी ये समस्याएँ वहां की हल करनी होंगी लेकिन ये समस्याएँ सिर्फ शासन ही नहीं हल कर सकेगा, उन समस्याओं को हल करने के लिए शासन को पश्चिमी बंगाल की जनता का भी सहयोग प्रदान होना चाहिए, उनका सहयोग भी उनको मिलना चाहिए। मैं तो यह समझती हूं कि पश्चिमी बंगाल की उन्नति के लिये केवल पश्चिमी बंगाल के शासन को ही प्रयत्नशील नहीं रहना है, केवल केन्द्रीय शासन को ही प्रयत्नशील नहीं रहना है बल्कि समस्त हिन्दुस्तान को उसकी प्रगति के लिए, उसकी उन्नति के लिए प्रयत्नशील रहना चाहिये।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहूंगी कि यह जो अपोजीशन वाले नवयुवकों को, तरुणों को, गुमराह करके उनको गलत रास्ता दिखाते हैं ऐसे गलत रास्ते पर चलने वाले युवकों को हमें सही रास्ता दिखाना चाहिए और उनको हमें कहना चाहिए कि अगर हमें देश में समाजवाद लाना है, अगर हमें पश्चिमी बंगाल में समाजवाद लाना है तो वह समाजवाद बन्दूक की गोलियों से नहीं आने वाला है, यह समाजवाद खेतों में हल जोतने से आयेगा, खेतों में सही तरीके से यंत्रों का उपयोग करके हम समाजवाद ला सकते हैं। तो इस दिशा में हमें युवकों को भी कहना चाहिये पश्चिमी बंगाल का प्रश्न हम परिश्रम से हल कर सकेंगे।

इन्दिरा जी ने अपने योग्य सेनानी श्री सिद्धार्थ शंकर रे को वहाँ का चीफ मिनिस्टर बना



करके पश्चिमी बंगाल की जनता को एक सही नेतृत्व प्रदान किया है। मैं बहुत बार पढ़ती भी हूँ, सुनती भी हूँ कि इन्दिरा जी का वर्णन लोग इस प्रकार करते हैं कि वह रानी दुर्गावती हैं, वह झांसी की रानी हैं, वह देवी अहिल्या हैं लेकिन मैं यह कहूंगी कि अहिल्या देवी की जो शक्ति थी, रानी दुर्गावती में जो वीरता थी और रानी झांसी में जो पराक्रम था, इन सारे गुणों से, इन सारी शक्तियों से, सारी वीरता से, बनी हुई जो व्यक्ति हैं वह इन्दिरा गांधी हैं और इन्दिरा गांधी भारत के इतिहास में इन्दिरा गांधी ही रहेंगी।

दूसरे में आपसे यह कहना चाहती थी कि अगर पश्चिमी बंगाल में विरोधी पार्टियाँ हमारे शासन को ठीक से चलाने में कोई किसी प्रकार की बाधाएँ डालती हैं तो हमें उससे डरना नहीं चाहिए हमें उससे डममगाना भी नहीं चाहिये। इसी के साथ साथ मैं जनता से भी अपेक्षा करती हूँ कि जो इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स हैं जिनके बड़े बड़े कारखाने हैं, बड़े बड़े उद्योग हैं, जिनकी बड़ी बड़ी फैक्टरियाँ हैं वे अपनी फैक्ट्री, अपने धन्य, अपने उद्योग नियम के अनुसार चलायें और अगर वह नियम के अनुसार चलायेंगे तो फिर किसी प्रकार की हड़ताल नहीं होगी, किसी प्रकार का आन्दोलन नहीं होगा और जो कुछ बातें भी होंगी वह शान्तिपूर्वक होती रहेंगी और मुझे विश्वास है कि इन चीजों को हम ठीक ढंग से करें और यदि हम ठीक ढंग से, योग्य ढंग से सोचते हैं, विचार करते हैं तो किसी प्रकार की गलत चीज पश्चिमी बंगाल में नहीं हो पायेगी।

सरदार अमजद अली साहब यह जो प्रस्ताव यहाँ पर लाये हैं उस प्रस्ताव का इन शब्दों के साथ समर्थन करके मैं अपने विचार समाप्त करती हूँ।

SHRI G. A. APPAN (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I should congratulate my friend, Sardar Amjad Ali, for moving this Resolution. I am sure that there will be no single opposing voice against this Resolution. It should be carried unanimously. I entirely agree with my friend, Mr. Sanyal. You know, even to build your own house, you should get the permission of somebody else. What a

funny thing it is. This move should have rightly come from the State there. Why should you come here even for the setting up of a planning body in the State? Why should you go on seeking the permission of the Planning Minister to do anything? Can you not try to tell the people, "We want to do this, we have our own independent spirit"? Even for this, you want to go about begging. I am really surprised. I think they should have the moral support of my revered friend, Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray who is reigning in that State now. I think it should normally have the blessing of the ruling party here also. If that is so, then it is a very good augury for the whole country. Every State should have a planning body. I do not think any good State, honest State, honourable State, should go even for 'Ins favour to the Centre. Is it not a pity, is it not pathetic to see that only one Minister of State is here and not any Minister of the Cabinet rank? Out of 17 Cabinet Ministers and about 17 Ministers of State, we see only three Deputy Ministers here. Is it not a disrespect to the House when a very important resolution on planning is being discussed on the floor of the House?

SHRI NAND KISHORE BHATT (Madhya Pradesh) : On a point of information. He is a Minister of State, not a Deputy Minister.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : Excuse me then; I apologise for it. But in that case, there should be at least half of the Cabinet Ministers and half of the Ministers of State. What is the work of this Minister for Planning to-day is a thing that the House will have to examine and find out. That is why everywhere there is now a clamour for State autonomy. You know, even when we want to make a small shirt, we do planning. Even when we want to make a small house, we go in for design and planning. In everything, design and planning are very, very important. Perhaps costing has not come. Costing has also to be included. Mr. Vice-Chairman, that is why from the very beginning, in the only State which is being run by the sadarana people or the most common people, i. e. Tamil Nadu, where the common people are reigning, we have been trying to have a similar resolution or do it practically for the development of the society. Development of family, development of society, development of community, development of blocks, taluks and the State, and then the Centre comes. Planning has to start from down below, not from the Centre.

[Shri G. A. Appan]

Now, the disparity gap is yawning, is wide, like a dragon's mouth. This growing disparity and this balloonist inflation in this country in respect of prices will have to be checked. That is what the DMK Government of Tamil Nadu is advocating. We have started a Planning Commission in Tamil Nadu. Did we go about seeking any permission? Why should you want it? I think the whole House will certainly adopt this Resolution unanimously with the support of the Government, rather than the Government ask the mover to withdraw it. Let us show our mettle, our

honesty of purpose. What are the 4 immediate needs of a society? Food, shelter, clothing, education, justice, employment, judicial and social protection. How far have we been able to meet all these things? We should have planning not only at the State level but even at the block level. That is what our Tamil Nadu DMK Government is now doing . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Mr. Appan, this is about West Bengal.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : West Bengal is one of the greatest States of India which begot the greatest people of India like Subhas Chandra Bose, J. C. Bose, the first recipient of the international award, such eminent people, warriors, statesmen and others. Why should the people of such State have to go in for favours and things like that? I entirely support this Resolution :

"In view of the present political, social and economic condition of the State of West Bengal, this House is of opinion that the Government of India should take immediate steps to constitute a special cell in the Planning Commission for West Bengal, allocate adequate funds for the development projects of that State and advise the Government of West Bengal to set up a State Planning Board." Development has to start from down below, not from high up. The disparity, the yawning gap, between income and expenditure and high and low should be narrowed down. The rich has to be put under restraints and constraints and the poor has to be helped. That is what the Tamil Nadu Government is presently doing. There is a saying in Tamil which means the State should help the Centre grow strong. That should be the attitude. Some

ul" the Minister.", here feel they are not able to understand the true principles: An honest man never distrusts anybody. But a dishonest man will always distrust everybody, be he honest or not. In the same way unless one is honest, I do not think one is honourable. He will not distrust and people, will try to begin to twist matters. The Prime Minister is there. She has established a good name as one of the greatest stalwarts of the whole world, not of India. In Bangla Desh her estimation has grown greater than that of her father, than that of Mahatma Gandhi, than that of even Shastriji. When she is such a great person, some of the Ministers, some of her colleagues, try to misinterpret things in her. Do you mean to say that she does not have the common sense? She has managed the affairs in such a way and I do not want my friends there to become Sakunis. I think most of you know who Sakuni was. They were the people who always tried to misguide that great man Duryodhana and ruined him. We also know that the Tamil Nadu Government has been responsible to maintain Government of India's stature and Government of India's prestige and the prestige of the Congress Party. But for the DMK's interest and but for the DMK's support, the election of present President. . .

DR. M. R. WAS (Maharashtra) : On a point of order. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN SHRI V. B. RAJU) : He is concluding. Please wind up your speech.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : Every State should have a Planning Commission. You might have heard about our Slum Clearance Board, and Drainage Board. Most of the Chief Ministers who have visited our State have praised our work in these fields. I wish every State acts in the same way, that is, in the interests of the common man and not in the interests of the capitalists or monopolists. In Tamil Nadu, we have provided free education up to P.U. whereas in some other States they have not provided free education even up to the fifth standard. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN SHRI V. B. RAJU) : This is not very relevant. I would like to cut you to conclude your speech.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : I want to say that all States should now try to join together and

put their demand to start a Planning Cell. This would be in their own interest and to the benefit of the common man. With these words, I conclude my speech.

**डा० भाई महावीर (दिल्ली):** उपसभापति जी, श्री अमजद अली ने जो प्रस्ताव इस सदन के सामने रखा है मैं उसके ऊपर जब विचार करता हूँ तो मुझे दिखाई देता है कि यह हमारे आज तक के नियोजन के सम्बन्ध में एक-दो मौलिक प्रश्नों को हमारे सामने उपस्थित करता है। हम चौथी योजना पूरी करने जा रहे हैं, लेकिन इतने वर्षों में जो योजनाएँ हम पूरी कर चुके हैं उन्हें देखकर जहाँ पर आज देश पहुँचा है जब उसका विचार किया जाता है तो ऐसा लगता है कि योजनाओं के ऊपर हमारे सामान्य देशवासी को विश्वास ही न रहा हो मुझे उन आँकड़ों में जाने की जरूरत नहीं है जो योजना आयोग ने और सरकार ने चौथी योजना के मध्यावधि मूल्यांकन में, मिड-टर्म एप्रेजल में प्रस्तुत किए हैं। उनको देखने के बाद साफ तौर पर हमारे सामने प्रकट होता है कि आज योजना के जो लक्ष्य थे उनको पूरा करने में हम किसी अर्थ में भी सफल नहीं हुए। यह तो है ही, हम सफलता की ओर कोई उल्लेखनीय प्रगति भी नहीं कर सके। क्या कारण है कि आज इस देश में सरकार को लोगों का समाधान कराने के लिए यह कहना पड़ता है कि गरीबी की कल्पना बदलती रहती है; गरीबी हटाने के दावे को लेकर जो सरकार चली थी आज उसे यह कहना पड़े कि आपको आज यह सोचने लग जाना चाहिए कि आप गरीब नहीं हैं, कल गरीबी की परिभाषा और थी, आज परिभाषा और है, इसलिए आप उस परिभाषा में नहीं आएंगे, यह मान कर समझ लीजिए कि आपकी गरीबी दूर हो गई है। यह कहने की नौबत क्यों आती है? यह इसलिए आती है क्योंकि सचमुच में यदि देखा जाय तो योजना और नियोजन के परिणाम सामान्य व्यक्ति के जीवन को सुखी करने, उसे काम देने, बेकारी को हल करने और कीमतों को रोकने के रूप में दिखाई देने चाहिये वे आज दिखाई नहीं देते। क्या कारण है? जैसा इस प्रस्ताव में कहा गया है, सबसे पहली चीज, जो मैं समझता हूँ, और जिसका संकेत इस प्रस्ताव

से हमको मिलता है वह यह है कि हमारी योजना एक केन्द्रीयकृत ढंग से बनाई जाती है, सेन्ट्रलाइज्ड प्लानिंग है। हमने योजना बनाने के लिए जो माडल अपने सामने रखा है वह सोवियत रूस का था, लेकिन आर्थिक दृष्टि से हम एक माडल ले लें और राजनैतिक दृष्टि से बिल्कुल दूसरा माडल लें तो उन दोनों के अन्दर मेल कैसे होगा? सोवियत रूप के आर्थिक नियोजन के ढंग पर मैं टिप्पणी नहीं करना चाहता, लेकिन यह कौन नहीं जानता कि सोवियत रूस उस तरह की पार्टी सिस्टम नहीं रखता है जैसा हमारे देश में है, वहाँ केवल एक पार्टी है। वहाँ चुनाव में एक कैंडिडेट होता है, दूसरा कैंडिडेट नहीं आता, दूसरा दल संगठित नहीं हो सकता, यानी वहाँ पर सारी सत्ता एक पार्टी के हाथ में है और केन्द्रीय सरकार के हाथ में केन्द्रित है। उनको इसका लाभ हुआ है। हमने केन्द्रीयकृत ढंग का आयोजन या नियोजन तो स्वीकार किया, लेकिन हमारे यहाँ पर पार्टियाँ हैं और इसलिए कभी-कभी ऐसा होता है कि राज्यों के अन्दर और पार्टियाँ सत्ता में आ जाती हैं और केन्द्र में और आ जाती हैं, कहीं पर कुछ पार्टियों की मिलीजुली सरकार रहती है। 1967 में जो स्थिति पैदा हुई थी हम उससे वापस जा कर फिर ऐसी स्थिति में आ गए हैं जहाँ पर लगभग सारे राज्यों में और केन्द्र में एक ही दल का शासन है, परन्तु जो प्रश्न इसके पहले उठ चुका है वह आगे भी उठ सकता है। अगर एक दल का ही शासन सब तरफ रहे तो राज्यों और केन्द्र में सहयोग भी हो सकता है। जो योजना आयोग काम करे उसके बारे में राज्यों के ऊपर जो जिम्मेदारी डाली जाय वे पूरी कर सकते हैं, लेकिन यदि राजनैतिक ढाँचा इस तरह का हो तो केन्द्रीयकृत नियोजन के अन्दर कठिनाइयाँ भी पैदा हो जाती हैं और वैसे कठिनाइयाँ पैदा होती रही हैं।

महोदय, आपके सामने दोहराने की जरूरत नहीं है। योजना आयोग को बहुत शिकायतें रहती हैं कि राज्यों को जितना साधन संग्रह करने के लिये कहा जाता है वे नहीं करते, रिसोर्स मोबिलाइजेशन करने के लिए कहा जाता है राज्य नहीं करते, ओवरड्राफ्ट रोकने के लिए कहा जाता

[डा० भाई महावीर]

है वे नहीं रोकते, टेक्सेशन एफर्ट बढ़ाने के लिए कहा जाता है वे नहीं बढ़ाते। योजना आयोग क्या करता है, यह प्रश्न नहीं है, क्या कर सकता है, यह प्रश्न है। योजना आयोग करे क्या जब उसके हाथ में सत्ता नहीं है। विचार करने वाली, डिबेटिंग एजेंसी जो काम कर सकती है वैसा काम अगर योजना आयोग करेगा तो प्रश्न यह है कि कागज के ऊपर बड़ी अच्छी योजना बन जायगी। चमत्कारक, सुगंधमय, आकर्षक, सब तरह के गुण उसके अन्दर डालने की कोशिश की जायगी, लेकिन जब उसके कार्यान्वयन का सवाल आयेगा तो कठिनाइयां ही कठिनाइयां, कमियां ही कमियां दिखाई देंगी। इस लिए मेरा यह निवेदन है कि यह प्रस्ताव हमारे सामने यह प्रश्न उपस्थित करता है कि अभी तक हमारी योजना के कार्यान्वयन के अन्दर जो कमी रही है उसको हम ठीक करें। मैं समझता हूं कि एक कमी बुनियादी तौर पर यह है कि हमारी योजना यहां के योजना भवन के अन्दर बैठकर, एयरकंडीशन्ड कमरों के अन्दर, दफ्तरों के अन्दर बैठकर बनाई जाती है, उसके अन्दर सामान्य व्यक्ति का, देहात के आदमी का, जिला के स्तर के आदमी का और किसी क्षेत्र के आदमी का कोई हिस्सा नहीं होता। इसके कारण दो तीन तरह की कठिनाइयां पैदा होती हैं। एक कठिनाई यह पैदा होती है कि यहां बैठे हुए लोगों के सामने कुछ न कुछ स्पेक्टकुलर करने की कल्पना होती है। भवितव्यता का उनको मोह होता है कि कोई बड़ा बांध बने, कोई बड़ा कारखाना बने, कोई बड़ी परियोजना हो जिसको देख कर आदमी दंग रह जाय, दांतों तले उंगली दबाये, इतना ऊंचा कुछ बने कि उसको देखने के लिये टोपी संभालनी पड़े। वह कल्पना जब हमारे सामने आती है तो हम भूल जाते हैं कि बड़ी चीज बनाने के लिए एक आकर्षण जरूर है, परन्तु ज्यादा बड़ी कसौटी हमारे सामने यह होनी चाहिए कि देश के छोटे से छोटे लोगों के अन्दर, जोपड़ी के अन्दर, देहात के अन्दर जो गन्दी वस्तियां हैं दिल्ली के अन्दर और उनमें बैठा हुआ जो आदमी है, जो योजना का अर्थ समझने की भी योग्यता नहीं रखता उस

तक योजना का फल कैसे पहुंचे। इसकी तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है। योजना आयोग बड़ा बन गया। केन्द्रीयकृत ढंग से योजनाएं बनाई गईं। नीचे से कुछ जानकारी जरूर आती है। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं होता कि नीचे के स्तर से योजनाएं बना कर ऊपर भेज दी जायं जिसमें उनको अपना पार्टिसिपेशन मालूम हो, जिसमें वे अपने को भागीदार अनुभव करें, छोटे से छोटे क्षेत्र के लोग समझें कि जो योजना बनाई गई है उसके अन्दर वे हिस्सेदार हैं। यह अगर होता तो फिर एक जगह बड़ी योजना, एक जगह बड़ा बांध बनाने के बजाय महत्व इस बात का होता कि छोटे छोटे बांध हों, छोटे-छोटे उद्योग हों जो लोगों को ज्यादा काम दे सकते, ज्यादा सिंचाई कर सकते। उनपर खर्चा कम होता और सिंचाई ज्यादा होती, परिणाम ज्यादा होता, उत्पादन ज्यादा होता और उससे कीमतें भी रकतीं, बेकारी भी कम होती। यह अगर होता तो आज योजना का अर्थ लोगों के जीवन के लिए ज्यादा अर्थपूर्ण हो गया होता, परन्तु ऐसा नहीं हुआ। जो हुआ है उसके अन्दर असफलताएं इतनी ज्यादा हैं कि आज मंत्री कुछ भी कहें, किसी भी तरह से उसकी लीपापोती करें, लोगों को यह भली-भांति अनुभव होता है कि हमारा नियोजन कोई परिणाम दिखा नहीं सका। इस लिए योजना आयोग को कई बार बलि का बकरा बनाया जाता है। मैं केवल मामूली तौर पर यह नहीं कहता। सचमुच में योजना आयोग को बलि का बकरा बनाया जाता है। जब असफलताएं होती हैं तो योजना आयोग को भंग कर दिया जाता है। डा० गाडगिल जैसा बुद्धिमान, अर्थ शास्त्रियों के अन्दर एक उच्चस्थान रखने वाला व्यक्ति जब आया तो लोगों को आशा हुई कि जो अभी तक घिसी पिटी, कल्पनानुसृत स्थिति थी वह बदल जायगी। डा० गाडगिल रहे, उन्होंने योजना को अपनी बुद्धि से चलाने की कोशिश की। लेकिन जब असफलताएं आयीं तो उनका परिणाम यह हुआ कि डा० गाडगिल और उनकी बाकी टीम उठा कर बरखास्त कर दी गयी। यह और दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि उनका घर तक पहुंचने के पहले ही प्राणान्त भी हो गया। महोदय, जो चलता रहा है इस में न तो हम आत्मनिर्भर

ही हो पाये योजना के मामले में और न दूसरी चीजों में ही हम कुछ कर सके और जो टेक्नोलॉजिकल पहलू है, तकनीकी पहलू उसमें भी सरकार हमें कहती है, हमें बताया जाता है कि हम आत्म-निर्भरता की ओर बढ़ रहे हैं, लेकिन आज भी विदेशी सहायता लेने की बात की जाती है।

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** प्रस्ताव तो पश्चिमी बंगाल के बारे में है।

**डा० भाई महावीर :** मुझे मालूम है, फिर भी आपको धन्यवाद। मैं जो कह रहा हूँ, अगर उसको आपको समझना है तो उसके लिए मैं तो कुछ कर नहीं सकता। जो योजना है उसमें पश्चिमी बंगाल और बाकी सारे और राज्य भी हैं, अगर एक पश्चिमी बंगाल को कठिनाई होती है तो बाकी सारे राज्यों को भी वैसी ही कठिनाइयाँ होती हैं और अगर यह प्रश्न उठता है तो योजना के भाग में जो कमियाँ रहनी हैं, उनको हमें देखना होगा। आज सुबह एक सवाल आया था और इस्पात मंत्री से कहा गया था कि जापान कैसे इतनी प्रगति कर सका है इस्पात के मामले में। उन्होंने कहा कि जापान पहले से ही, दूसरे महायुद्ध के पहले ही काफी औद्योगिक उन्नति कर चुका था और वह उन्नति हम नहीं कर सके थे। मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि एक और छोटा सा देश है, जिसको राजनीतिक दृष्टि से हमारी सरकार अच्छी मानती है। वह देश ताइवान है जो कि हमारे बाद औद्योगिक उन्नति के रास्ते पर चला है, लेकिन आज उस देश के पास भूमि हमारे केरल प्रदेश से कम है और वह भी तीन चौथाई पहाड़ों से ढकी हुई है। उसके पास बहुत थोड़े प्राकृतिक साधन हैं, लेकिन उस छोटे से देश के लोगों ने अपने अध्यवसाय से और अपने प्रयत्न से आज दस प्रतिशत के करीब विकास दर प्राप्त कर ली है जो कि हमारे से तीन चार गुना ज्यादा है।

**डा० जैड० ए० अहमद :** वहाँ के लैंड रिफार्म सब हो गये ?

**डा० भाई महावीर :** वहाँ के लैंड रिफार्म पूर्ण हो गए 14 साल में। आज हर किसान वहाँ

अपनी भूमि का मालिक है। लेकिन नारेबाजी से सरकार के हाथ में सब चीजें केन्द्रित करने की कोशिश उन्होंने नहीं की। जो मोनोपोलिस्ट थे उनको समाप्त किया गया। जमीन के मालिकों को कंपेंसेशन दिया गया और उससे वहाँ की इंडस्ट्रीज चलने लगीं और इस प्रकार किसान अपनी जमीन के मालिक हो गये। और यह कब हुआ, जब पिछले 6 सालों से आर्थिक सहायता के नाम पर उनको कोई विदेशी सहायता नहीं मिली, जबकि हमारा देश आज भी विदेशी सहायता ले रहा है, ऐसा दिखाई पड़ता है। ((Interruption)) नहीं मिली, मैं आपको इसके आंकड़े दे दूंगा। पिछले 6 वर्ष से आर्थिक सहायता के नाम पर अमरीका से एक पैसा भी उनको नहीं मिला।

तो आज यह उनकी स्थिति है। उन्होंने एक औद्योगिक आधार तैयार कर लिया, सामाजिक सुधार के कानून लागू कर दिये और वहाँ हर किसान अपनी जमीन का मालिक बन गया और आज वह देश एक-एक लाख टन के तेल बाहक जहाज निर्यात कर सकता है, फर्टिलाइजर निर्यात कर सकता है, मोटरकार, टेलिविजन और रेफ्रिजरेटर निर्यात कर सकता है, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हमको अपनी कमियों पर विचार करना चाहिए और असफलताओं के कारणों को ढूँढना चाहिए। लोकतंत्र के नाम पर हर चीज में अनिश्चय, भीड़-तंत्र, अराजकता, हर चीज में विलंब, कोई भी फैसला न करना और जो फैसला करना उनके अंदर राजनीतिक प्रभाव, कारखाने तक कहां पर ले लेंगे यह आर्थिक कारणों के आधार पर निश्चय करने के बजाय छोटे राजनीतिक कारणों से, व्यक्तिगत कारणों के आधार पर, किसी व्यक्ति के पोलिटिकल प्रास्पेक्ट्स को मुद्धारने के वास्ते, जब किसी कारखाने को लगाने का फैसला किया जाता है तो मैं समझता हूँ कि देश के आर्थिक विकास के रास्ते में कांटा बोया जाता है। इन सारी चीजों की ओर ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। अगर आप योजना को सफल बनाना चाहते हैं, जो कि हम सभी चाहते हैं; क्योंकि योजना हमारे देश का एक राष्ट्रीय उपक्रम है। अगर यह सफल नहीं होती तो दलगत हित के लिए इसका कोई लाभ उठाने के बजाय, मैं भ्रमझता हूँ कि यह सारे देश के लिए

[डा० भाई महावीर]

चिन्ता और दुःख का विषय है। सुधार करना होगा तो सुधार करने के लिए हमें अपनी गलतियों का अनुभव करना होगा, उन्हें स्वीकार करना होगा और मोटे तौर पर जो मैंने बताया है कि योजना नीचे से बना कर चली जाय और सक्रीय रूप में, निर्णायक रूप में उसका कार्यान्वयन हो, इन दो बातों को हम कर सकें, तो आज जो प्रस्ताव रखा गया है और हमने जो समय इसकी चर्चा में लगाया है, वह सफल होगा।

**श्री रणबीर सिंह (हरियाणा) :** उपसभापति जी, सरदार अमजदअली जीने जो पश्चिमी बंगाल के सम्बन्ध में प्रस्ताव रखा है उस प्रस्ताव के रखने के पीछे जो उनकी भावना है उसका मैं समर्थन करता हूँ।

पश्चिमी बंगाल की समस्या और सारे प्रदेशों के मुकाबिले में कुछ ज्यादा पेचीदा समस्या है, निराली समस्या है। जितने हमारे प्रदेश हैं, उनमें से किसी प्रदेश के अन्दर इतनी अर्बन पापुलेशन नहीं है, शहरी आवादी नहीं है, जितनी कि पश्चिमी बंगाल में है। आंकड़े तो अभी मेरे पास नहीं हैं लेकिन मेरा खयाल है कि 40 फीसदी से ज्यादा आवादी वहाँ शहरों के अन्दर रहती है और उसका नतीजा यह है कि जहाँ तक देहातों का सम्बन्ध है, वहाँ बिजली देने में तकरीबन तमाम प्रदेशों से पश्चिमी बंगाल पिछड़ा हुआ है, वहाँ के देहात पिछड़े हुये देहात रह गये हैं, वहाँ बिजली नहीं पहुँच पाई है। इसी तरह से जहाँ तक पढ़े लिखे बेकारों का सम्बन्ध है मेरा खयाल है कि सारे प्रदेशों से पश्चिमी बंगाल में सबसे ज्यादा शिक्षित लोग बेकार होंगे। यही नहीं, जहाँ तक कि राजनैतिक हालत का सम्बन्ध है, मेरे से पूर्व वक्ता डा० भाई महावीर ने इसका जिक्र किया और मिली जुली सरकारों के चलने से जो स्थिति हुई वह बताई। यह सन् 1967 ई० के चुनाव के बाद की स्थिति का नतीजा है कि आज जो पश्चिमी बंगाल की आर्थिक और राजनैतिक दशा हम देख रहे हैं। उनसे पहले जो पूर्व वक्ता डा० सान्याल बोले थे, उनकी राजनैतिक पार्टी का इसके अन्दर सबसे ज्यादा हिस्सा था। वह पश्चिमी

बंगाल जिसके अन्दर हजारों कारखाने चलते थे और जहाँ लाखों मजदूर काम करते थे, वहाँ इनकी राजनैतिक पार्टी के काम करने के तरीकों की वजह से कारखानों को ताले लगे और वहाँ के लोगों को जितना भी धन्धा मिलता था, वह धन्धा मिलना बन्द हुआ। आज वह फिर कहते हैं कि हम वही आगे करेंगे, लेकिन बंगाल के लोग अब दुबारा उनको कभी आजमाने के लिए तैयार नहीं होंगे। उन्होंने उनको आजमा कर देख लिया कि उन्होंने पश्चिमी बंगाल को कहां ढकेल दिया था और मिली जुली सरकारों ने उनको किस अवस्था में ले जाकर रख दिया था। यह वहाँ के लोगों ने अच्छी तरह से देख लिया है। राजनैतिक वायुमंडल के अन्दर, वहाँ काम करने वालों के अन्दर आपस में जितना वैमनस्य उन्होंने पैदा किया, वह भी वहाँ के लोगों ने देख लिया।

उपसभापति जी, मैं उनमें से नहीं हूँ जो कि कारखानेदारों के हितों की रक्षा के बारे में कहते हों, मैं तो कहता हूँ कि कारखानों को सरकारी बनाना है तो पहले पश्चिमी बंगाल से ही तजुर्बा किया जाय और तमाम कारखानों को वहाँ पर सरकारी बना दिया जाय ताकि लोगों के अन्दर कुछ आस्था आये और वहाँ काम दुबारा पूरे जोरों से चले। लेकिन ये कारखाने चाहे सरकारी रहें या गैर-सरकारी रहें, पब्लिक सेक्टर में रहें या प्राइवेट सेक्टर में हों, कामकाज करने वालों और कारखानों का जो भाई इंतजाम करते हैं, उनमें सहयोग होना बहुत जरूरी है। बंगाल के अन्दर प्राइवेट सेक्टर के कारखाने ही नाकामयाब नहीं हुये, बल्कि जो हमारा बहुत बड़ा स्टील का प्राजेक्ट दुर्गापुर है वह भी बन्द रहा, वहाँ भी काम बन्द रहा, क्योंकि वहाँ जैसा वायुमंडल चलता था, जैसा राजनैतिक वायुमंडल था, उसका असर पब्लिक सेक्टर पर भी पड़े बगैर नहीं रह सकता था और इस सारे की जिम्मेदारी सी० पी० एम० और जो भाई उनसे मिल कर चलते हैं, उनके ऊपर है।

उपसभापति जी, वहाँ क्या, हालत बनी। जो हमारे प्रदेश हैं, जिन्होंने रिजर्व बैंक से ओवर-ड्राफ्ट लिया, उसके आंकड़े आप देखें तो

31-3-1972 तक 33 करोड़ 75 लाख रुपये का ओवरड्राफ्ट बंगाल की सरकार ने लिया ताकि वह अपना कामकाज चालू कर सके। योजना मंत्री महोदय से मेरा निवेदन है कि वैसे कई और प्रदेश भी हैं जहां की सरकारों ने ओवरड्राफ्ट लिया। उसमें श्रीमन्, आपका भी प्रदेश शामिल है, आन्ध्र प्रदेश। आन्ध्र प्रदेश के अंदर 72 करोड़ 72 लाख रुपया 31-3-1972 तक रिजर्व बैंक से ओवरड्राफ्ट लिया। उसी तरह से मेरा प्रदेश भी शामिल है हरियाणा, हरियाणा ने भी 30 करोड़ 30 लाख रुपये का ओवरड्राफ्ट लिया। सभापति जी, अब रिजर्व बैंक और फाइनेन्स मिनिस्ट्री की तरफ से हिदायत हुई है प्रदेशों को कि जितनी केन्द्रीय सहायता मिलेगी, वह सहायता उस ओवर-से पहले काट ली जायेगी। न बंगाल को कोई कौड़ी मिल सकेगी न आन्ध्र प्रदेश को कोई कौड़ी मिल सकेगी और न ही हरियाणा को मिल सकेगी। मैं प्लानिंग मिनिस्टर से प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि वह इसकी गम्भीरता की तरफ वित्त मंत्रालय का ध्यान दिलाएँ। बंगाल के अंदर पिछले साल आपने देखा, जहां कुछ राजनैतिक कारण थे और उनमें एक कारण यह भी था कि पड़ोस के देश में एक गड़बड़ हुई और नतीजे के तौर पर उनको ओवरड्राफ्ट ज्यादा लेना ही पड़ा, क्योंकि वहां की आमदनी घटी होगी। उसी तरह से हरियाणा प्रदेश की हालत थी। हरियाणा प्रदेश जो छोटी वचत से तहत 27 और 28 करोड़ इकट्ठा कर सकता था, लड़ाई के कारण से वहां वह पैसा इकट्ठा नहीं कर सका। 16-17 करोड़ रुपया जो हम पिछले साल के प्लान में छोटी वचतों से हांसिल करना चाहते थे, वह हम नहीं ले सके, चूंकि एक तरफ हमको लड़ना था और लड़ाई के अंदर, काम के अंदर हरियाणा सबसे आगे था और कुर्बानी देने में भी सबसे आगे रहा। उसी तरह से मैं मानता हूँ बंगाल हमेशा आगे रहा, बंगाल के बुजुर्गों ने हिन्दुस्तान की अगुवाई की, हिन्दुस्तान की आज़ादी की लड़ाई में हमेशा अगुवाई की और आज भी करेंगे। सी० पी० (एम) को मुंहतोड़ जवाब देने में बंगाल ने अगुवाई की है। जहां प्रजातंत्र आधार हो, जहां उस पर लोगों की आस्था हो, वहां सी० पी० एम० के लिए कहां स्थान है ?

महोदय, आप कानून और व्यवस्था को शायद मुझसे ज्यादा जानते हैं क्योंकि मैं वकील नहीं हूँ। सी० पी० एम० वाले जब बोलते थे तो ऐसा लगता था कि वे हिन्दुस्तान के संविधान के खिलाफ बोल रहे थे न कि हिन्दुस्तान के संविधान के मुताबिक बोल रहे थे। हम सबने यहां कसम ली है, शपथ ली है कि हम हिन्दुस्तान के संविधान के खिलाफ कोई बात नहीं कहेंगे और मुझको तो ऐसा लगता है कि हमारे इस सदन को वे फोरम बनाना चाहते हैं, यह कहने के लिए कि हिन्दुस्तान से बंगाल का रिश्ता तोड़ा जाए। इस बात की कहां तक इस सदन के अंदर इजाज़त देनी चाहिए, इसके ऊपर भी गम्भीरता से विचार होना चाहिए। बंगाल देश की समस्या मैं मानता हूँ। बहुत दूर, हजार डेढ़ हजार मील दूर बंगाल में रहने वालों के साथ हमारी हमदर्दी है और मुझे मालूम है कि बंगाल को पैसे की सख्त जरूरत है। हमारे आयोजना कमीशन को ज्यादा से ज्यादा बंगाल के लिए पैसा निकालना चाहिए और इसलिए भी निकालना चाहिए कि हिन्दुस्तान एक इकट्ठा देश रहे और शक्तिशाली रहे। उसके लिए हम 1,000 करोड़ रुपए फौज के ऊपर खर्च करते हैं। और हमारे सान्याल जैसे साथी, उनकी पार्टी अगर बंगाल के अन्दर बैसा ही बावेली करती है जैसा बंगला देश में जुलूम हुए थे। वहां पर तो जुलूम हुए थे; क्योंकि वह लाजमी था, लेकिन यहां पर कोई जुलूम नहीं है। ये लोग जुलूम खुद ही करते हैं और दोष हमारे ऊपर डालते हैं, तो ऐसे लोगों के इन्तजाम के लिए यह जरूरी है, बंगाल की तरक्की के लिए ज्यादा से ज्यादा रुपया लगाया जाय ताकि वहां के लोगों की जो भावनाएं हैं, जो चुनाव ने साबित कर दी है, वह हमारे साथ बनी रहे।

बंगाल ने हमेशा देश की अगुवाई की है और आगे भी अगुवाई करेगा। हमारे जो दोस्त हैं वे उनके बहकावे में न आयें; क्योंकि जो बेकार व्यक्ति होता है वह इस तरह के लोगों के बहकावे में बहुत जल्दी आ जाते हैं। वहां पर एजूकेटेड अन-एम्प्लाइड बहुत हैं और एक अनपढ़ बेकार के मुकाबले में पढ़ा लिखा बेकार जो है वह देश के लिए घातक साबित हो सकता है। वहां पर इतने



### [ श्री रणवीर सिंह ]

ज्यादा पड़े लिखे बेकार हैं, तो वे कभी भी उनके हाथों में खेल सकते हैं। तो उन लोगों को इस तरह का कोई भी मौका नहीं देना चाहिये ताकि उनका जो स्वप्न है, वह किसी तरह से पूरा न हो सके और देश के अन्दर किसी तरह की कोई समस्या न खड़ी हो सके। इसके लिए जरूरी है कि योजना कमिशन को बंगाल की तरक्की के लिए ज्यादा से ज्यादा रुपया देना चाहिये।

इसके साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी योजना कमिशन से निवेदन करूंगा और मंत्री जी से कहूंगा कि जिन प्रदेशों ने तरक्की के लिए इरादा किया है और तीन साल के अन्दर तरक्की करके दिखला दी है, उन्हें हर तरह की सहायता दी जानी चाहिये। अभी हमारे भाई डा० महावीर जी कह रहे थे कि ताईवान जाकर देखिये, तो मैं उनसे यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इतनी दूर जाने की क्या आवश्यकता नहीं है। आप दिल्ली से केवल चार मील की दूरी पर ही जाइये और फिर आपको ताईवान जाने की जरूरत नहीं पड़ेगी। आप यहां पर हरियाणा जाइये, जहां पर आज सारे प्रदेश में सड़कों का जाल बिछा हुआ है, वहां पर आप हर जगह पर पानी का इन्तजाम देखेंगे। जहां पर पहले पीने के लिए पानी नहीं मिलता था, वहां एक साल के अन्दर एक छोटे से प्रदेश ने प्रदेश के अन्दर पानी का प्रबन्ध कर दिया है। आप वहां पर बिजली का सब जगह प्रसार देखेंगे और आप देखेंगे कि आज हर गांव में बिजली पहुंच गई है।

जहां तक इन्डस्ट्रीज का सवाल है, हमारे प्रदेश के बुजुर्ग जनरल साहब बैठे हैं, मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे बहुत सारे साथी हमेशा इस बात की शिकायत किया करते थे कि अगर हरियाणा एक अलग प्रदेश बन गया तो वह अपने पैरों पर खड़ा नहीं हो सकेगा। हमने हरियाणा की तरक्की के लिए अगर कर्ज लिया, मिन्तों की या ओवर-ड्राफ्ट लिया, तो वह केवल प्रदेश की तरक्की के लिए ही किया और जिस पंजाब में हमारा हरियाणा का क्षेत्र सबसे पिछड़ा क्षेत्र समझा जाता था, आज उसने पंजाब को भी मात दे दी है।

1966 में जो पंजाब प्रदेश था जिसके हिस्सेदार हम भी थे और जब हम अलाहिदा हुए तो उस समय पंजाब प्रदेश के ऊपर हिन्दुस्तान का सब प्रदेशों के मुकाबले में सबसे ज्यादा कर्जा था। तो पैसे के बगैर कोई प्रदेश तरक्की नहीं कर सकता है। हां, यह बात जरूरी है कि जितना पैसा हमने कर्ज के रूप में लिया उसको हमने तरक्की पर लगाया। भाकरा डैम बना तो दिल्ली को सस्ती बिजली मिली और आज दिल्ली बिजली के लिए पैसा नहीं देना चाहता है और उसकी बिजली से अपना काम चलाना चाहता है। आज जो पंजाब का पैसा बिजली का है वह दिल्ली वाले नहीं देते हैं और उसकी वकालत हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार के मंत्री करते हैं, तो यह कोई अच्छी बात नहीं है।

उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं दो, तीन बात कह कर समाप्त कर दूंगा।

मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि चाहे आपका प्रदेश हो, चाहे वेस्ट बंगाल हो, चाहे हरियाणा हो, कोई भी प्रदेश हो, जहां ओवरड्राफ्ट ज्यादा हो गया है तो उसके कई कारण हैं। एक तो लड़ाई की वजह से इस तरह की बात हुई, कई तरह की मुश्किलात उनके सामने आई जिसकी वजह से उन्हें ओवर ड्राफ्ट लेना पड़ा, अब अगर रिजर्व बैंक या वित्त मंत्रालय अपना कुल्हाड़ा उन प्रदेशों के ऊपर मारना चाहता है, तो वहां के प्रदेशों की तरक्की नहीं हो सकेगी और मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस कटौती का इस्तेमाल नहीं किया जाना चाहिये और पूरी इमदाद मिलनी चाहिये। उनको रियायत मिलनी चाहिए।

तीन-चार साल पहले हमारे प्रदेश में पम्पिंग सेटों की तादाद सिर्फ 29 हजार थी, 71-72 में वह 1,01,500 थी। यह बंगाल में भी हो सकता है। अगर बंगाल को पैसा दिया जाय 125 गांवों में पीने के पानी की योजना को चालू किया, यह वहां पर भी हो सकता है। इसी तरह से देहातों में सड़क पहुंचाने के लिए 71-72 में 3,292 किलोमीटर सड़क बनी, इसी तरह से



बंगाल में भी बन सकती है। उपसभापति जी, हमको पैसा मिला, कर्ज उठाया, ओवरड्राफ्ट से या दूसरे तरीकों से। वह खाली नहीं गया। गेहूं हम देते हैं, उसका पिछले तीन वर्षों का फर्क देखें तो उसकी कीमत से ही पता लग जायगा। उपसभापति जी, आजकल कृषि मंत्रालय पर और खेती में काम करने वाले लोगों के ऊपर काफी टीका-टिप्पणी होती है। इस देश के अन्दर 530 करोड़ २० का अनाज बाहर से आता था, इम्पोर्ट होता था, वह इम्पोर्ट आगे नहीं करना पड़ेगा। इसीलिए हम अमरीका को आँख दिखा सके। तो न कृषि मंत्रालय की तरफ कोई ख्याल करता है, न हरियाणा की तरफ करता है, न पंजाब की तरफ करता है जिन लोगों ने हमारे देश को इस लायक बनाया।

हृद हो गई, कई दोस्त समझते हैं कि यहां जो लड़कर आए हैं उन्हें को अधिकार है और जो प्रदेशों में 72 में चुनाव लड़कर आए हैं वे लोगों के नुमाइन्दे नहीं हैं, उनको मालूम नहीं है कि पेरि-नियल (Perineal) इरीगेशन की परिभाषा मुख्तलिफ स्टेटों में क्या है (*Five bell rings*) मैं आपको दुबारा घंटी बजाने का मौका नहीं दूंगा, मैं इतना ही निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जो तरक्की हरियाणा प्रदेश में हुई उससे ज्यादा तरक्की बंगाल के भाई कर सकते हैं चूंकि वे हमसे ज्यादा पढ़े लिखे हैं। उसके लिए पैसा चाहिए। पैसा कहां से आए, यह भी एक बड़ा अजीब प्रश्न है।

**योजना मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री मोहन धारिया) :** घंटी फिर बजने वाली है।

**श्री रणवीर सिंह :** एक ही मिनट लूंगा, आपके कमीशन से बहुत वास्ता है। इन्फ्लेशन के नाम से इस देश की तरक्की को रोका गया। नोट छापने का कारखाना इनके पास है। भाखड़ा डेम के लिए 175 करोड़ रुपये लगे और हम 300 करोड़ रुपये का अनाज पैदा करते हैं। भाखड़ा के नाम पर नोट छाप दें तो उसमें कौन सी घाटे की बात हुई? तो इसी तरह से बंगाल की तरक्की के लिए, बंगाल के नाम से नोट छाप

दें। यह ठीक है कि तनखादारों को घाटा होगा। इन्फ्लेशन का नाम लेकर इस देश की तरक्की के रास्ते पर जाने से रोकते हैं। इन्फ्लेशन में तरक्की हुआ करती है, डिफ्लेशन में तरक्की नहीं होती, तरक्की रुक जाती है। हाँ, एक बात जरूर है कि तनखादारों को इन्फ्लेशन में घाटा होता है और डिफ्लेशन में फायदा होता है (*Time bell rings*), इसलिए बंगाल प्रदेश की तरक्की के लिए नोट ज्यादा छाप दें और इन्फ्लेशन से डरें न तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इसके देश का भला होगा।

**SHRI MOHAN DHARIA :** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the R solution moved by the hon. Member, Sardar Amjad Ali, has focussed attention on the various grievances and problems being faced by West Bengal. The House and the whole country is well aware of these problems and broadly the strategic and vital importance of West Bengal. So far as the people of West Bengal are concerned, several things were said here, but I can say to the House and to my friends from West Bengal that I love Bengal because I know that the people are emotionally sentimental, politically explosive, historically patriotic by blood rebellious but cultural, socially lovable and, of course, intellectually reasonable. And therefore I have all love for these friends of mine and for West Bengal.

Sir, one thing shall have to be admitted by everybody in the House that if this country is to develop, it is not only the economic development of the country which is material : along with economic development, political and social conditions are also equally important. If the social and political conditions are untabic, it will not be possible for this country or for any State to have social or economic development. And it is on this background that we I|M ' to take "lock of the situation, I am not here to challenge the figures quoted by the hon. Member. On the contrary, I am here to say, • yes, he has rightly quoted the figures from Government records. But why was such a situation reached ? Till 1965, as was rightly pointed out, there was all-round growth in the economy of West Bengal. But the moment the possession of West Bengal was taken by those who hid little faith in democracy and also in the Constitution, people who wanted to exploit the Constitution so that they could get the democratic protection in the country for their violent

[Sre Mohan Dharia] activities, since then the whole character of West Bengal changed, the economic conditions of West Bengal changed, and that is perhaps the important reason for the present situation there. I have no doubt in my mind that stable conditions are being created by the people of West Bengal. The threat was given : Why have you come to the House ? You have not come here for getting a Planning Board or a special cell or development fund, let us mobilise the people, let us command our own sanction and through such sanctions, we shall create conditions whereby we shall see what is to be done and ultimately we shall go towards self-autonomy. And Sir, the idea is not only of self-autonomy. But as was expressed by one of the Members of this very party, they believe that India is not one nation, that it is a federation of several nations. So, they have their faith again in several nationalities in the country and naturally, when such Members again want to create the very conditions as before, I have no doubt that the people of West Bengal have particularly realised that this cannot be the way. In this country, we are determined to see that we are here for a democratic rule and it is through this democratic process, it is through this parliamentary institution that we would like to have our socialistic objectives achieved. And it is in this direction that we have to go.

When I look at this Resolution, I find that there are three demands. One is regarding the creation of a special cell in the Planning Commission, the second demand is for the allocation of adequate funds for West Bengal and the third is for the creation of a Planning Board at the State level. This House is aware that a Planning Board at the State level has already been constituted by the Government of West Bengal. And here again, the approach of the Planning Commission and of the Central Government is very clear. It is not today that we are accepting that there should be a separate Planning Board, that planning should have the district as the unit and that it should start with the village. It is their right from 1951 onwards that we have been pursuing it. And I may say that it was on the 23rd August, 1971 that the Minister of Planning himself personally wrote letters to all the Chief Ministers urging upon them to have Planning Boards at the State level. And not only sub-committees for planning, we wanted Planning Boards as we have here. The Planning Commission today includes economic experts. Similarly, at the State

level also, along with political leader, along with some important officers, they should also include experts, economists, scientists, and I am happy that the Tamil Nadu Government did the job earlier; the Kerala Government has also done the same way. West Bengal Government has also constituted such body. A reference was made regarding my assurance in the House that "such a planning machinery is created by the State Governments whether the Central Government would come forward to their help or not. As was assured by me in this House, I would again assure them. Members that all possible co-operation and some monetary help will also be given for the proper functioning of the Planning Board created by the West Bengal Government.

So far as the demand for more allocation of fund is concerned, may I bring to the notice of this House that in view of the strategic importance of West Bengal the Central Government has taken all possible care in making allocations to the extent possible? Sir, the Fourth Plan of West Bengal is of the order of Rs. 322.5 crores out of which Rs. 221 crores, nearly two-thirds, comes from the Central assistance.

As for the Plan, for the Calcutta Metropolitan Area development we have allocated 1 to the tune of Rs. 150 crores. Besides we have again made Rs. 10 crores available for slum improvement schemes. Sir, these figures come to Rs. 381 crores. I can tell the House that it is not taking any partial approach towards West Bengal but because of the explosive conditions, we felt that unless and until socio-political stability is established in that area, perhaps it may become explosive for the whole of the country. And, therefore, we have made this amount available and these funds are allocated for West Bengal.

Besides that, a crash programme for rural employment has been made applicable for all districts outside Calcutta in West Bengal. In other States we have not done that. Rural work programmes have been taken up in Tumkur, Bankura and Midnapore districts to mitigate their difficulties arising from chronic drought conditions. Then, Sir, Darjeeling, Hooghly and West Dinajpur have been selected for the Small Farmers' Development Agencies. Purulia and Bankura districts have been selected for the Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labour agencies. Thank you.

Purtlia district has been selected as an industrially backward district to qualify also for the central scheme of 10 per cent, subsidy. Under these schemes, if a person invests, say, Rs. 10 lakhs, one lakh of rupees are given by the Central Government by way of subsidy so that rapid industrialisation should take place.

Sir, besides, incentive schemes have been made available through which there are reliefs given in sales tax, octroi duty, power subsidy and all those schemes. Besides, a committee was appointed consisting of the Cabinet Secretary, Finance Secretary and the Secretary of the Planning Ministry. They prepared a sixteen point programme. I would not narrate the whole scheme to the House or their recommendations. But I would like to put only a few points before you. For proper industrialisation a rapid survey of every district was necessary. Rapid surveys have not only been ordered but this House will be happy to know that almost all districts have been surveyed by the officers appointed as per the recommendations of this Committee. The whole of West Bengal except Calcutta, Howrah and 24-Pargana districts is now being treated as a backward area for concessional finance for the industrial development of West Bengal.

Then there are the West Bengal Industrial Development Corporation and the Small-scale Industrial Development Corporation. There are the two important bodies concerned with industrial development of West Bengal, and they have been vitalised. And they have also been given all possible help in having their activities accelerated.

Sir, the proposal for a second Hooghly Bridge has been accepted since long, but unfortunately there was no proper implementation of that programme. The construction of a second Hooghly Bridge can give rise to tremendous industrial activity for the small industries because several things are required for the project. Here also we have taken immediate action. The Government has accepted all the recommendations of the committee and how this second Hooghly Bridge could be immediately taken up is being referred to the Transport Ministry and they have been asked to take immediate steps in the matter.

Besides, a Raw Materials Bank is being organised for making scarce raw materials available through the small-scale Industrial

Development Board. And the Development Commissioner of the Small-scale Industrial Development Board has been asked to see that at least 2,000 industrial units are established every year in West Bengal in order to have that industrial activity in West Bengal. This is how steps are taken to see that there is industrial development there. I can assure this House that the approach of the Government is certainly one of sympathy.

Apart from this, certain demands were made that much larger allocations would be necessary. I cannot assure you beyond my limits. But I can say that we have taken up the preparation of the Fifth Five-Year Plan and the main objective of the Fifth Plan will be attack on poverty. If that attack on poverty is to be made, naturally we shall have to take up several schemes both in the Industrial sector and in the agricultural sector for more production, and more funds shall have to be made available. I can assure this House that this will be the approach of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, and the garibi hatao programme to which we have committed ourselves, is necessarily included in that and all priorities will be given for such schemes. The required funds, come what may, shall be made available for such priority schemes whereby we can meet the challenge of unemployment.

AN-HON. MEMBER : Even for Orissa and Assam?

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: It is for the whole of the country.

Coming to the third aspect; i. e. regarding the creation of a separate cell in the Planning Commission for West Bengal, now it is not the idea of the Planning Commission to have everything concentrated here. Such charges were levelled. On the contrary, we have written to the State Governments to have their own planning bodies and these planning bodies should function not only at the State level but at the district level and the village level. It should then be possible to identify the various problems in the rural areas on this basis, we can have pragmatic plans. Naturally when we are trying to have decentralisation of the whole planning mechanism, to say that we should start something here would perhaps go contrary to our present thinking. But on some occasions there are certain problems which require the help of the planning

[Shri Mohan Dharia] Commission from here because that much expertise, that much technical knowledge, may not be available at the State level. Here again may I say that in the Planning Commission we are having our divisions and there is a separate Division exclusively for State Plans. There are programme advisers for States. And naturally these programme advisers take care of the special problems of these States and it is through this mechanism that we see, if there are any special problems to be looked after. It may be an instance, there are some problems which are not concerned with only one State, like the problem of hill areas. There are hill areas in U. P., Himachal Pradesh, in Bihar, in Assam, all over the country. And they are having some special problems. Now the Planning Commission has taken a decision to set up a separate cell to consider, to locate, to identify, the problems of hill areas. So naturally for special problems a special mechanism shall have to be created. But to say that you should provide a separate cell for West Bengal is not practicable. Then why not a separate cell for every other State? In fact there are cells though they are not called as such; we are having a Division exclusively for States. It is in consultation with the State Governments that we function. We do not want to create anything like a monopoly of ours. We are well aware of our own limitations. It is for the State Government, it is for the planning bodies at the State level, to function in an effective way and it is for us to coordinate their functions. That should be the job of the...

SHRI (J. R. PATIL (Maharashtra) :  
By  
giving money also.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: Money printing of notes at Nasik is not in the hands of the Planning Commission, (interruption) I was really concerned to hear (lie criticism that came from Dr. Bhai Mahavir when he said that here in our country planning is done only at the Central level. It is not correct. In the initial stages when there was no planning mechanism in the country, when some infrastructural activity was required for the whole of the country, somebody or some mechanism was absolutely essential and it is because of the creation of that body, of the Planning Commission then at the Central level, that we could create the necessary infrastructure for the industrial, agricultural and

other development of the country. Had we not taken care then, it would not have been possible for this country to have this infrastructure today. So there was a time when this sort of machinery was required at the Central level. Now that we have created that infrastructure, the States are well aware of their jobs and responsibilities. We shall be glad and happy and that is why we had written to the State Governments to have planning bodies and we shall offer all our cooperation for the proper, systematic and scientific, functioning of these planning bodies....

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR :  
(Rajasthan : Planning- should be there at the lower levels also, not only at the State level.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: That is what I said.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR : The Resolution is for the State level. Is there any proposal for the Planning at base ? That is the point.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Please do not interrupt me. I just mentioned that we advised the State Governments so that planning comes up right from the village level and district level. From (here it comes to the State and from the State to the national level. We want that multi-level planning. Besides that, if you want effective implementation of out-plans at the State level, from State to village level, decentralisation of power through Zilla Parishads and Panchayat Samitis is equally important. It is our experience that wherever Zilla Parishads and Panchayat Samitis properly function, it has been possible for us to implement our programmes in a better way and therefore along with the multi-level planning the decentralisation of power at the local level also becomes absolutely important. I would now like to take cognisance of the speech of honourable Shri Sanyal. All the while Shri Sanyal was trying to provoke the honourable Mover of the Resolution in an absolutely different language. If it is in the mind of anybody that this present unitary-cum-federal structure of this country could be broken with some threats or with some sanctions, I would like to make it very clear that the people of India have rejected that idea long back. Even in the elections in West Bengal they have rejected that idea and they

will not tolerate it here in the country. Here in our country we are having a unitary-cum-federal system. It is like a flower 5 P.M. having several petals; but combined together somewhere ; it is like a rainbow having so many colours, but united somewhere. It is perhaps the best of all possible systems that we have accepted. If there is any move or desire to disturb this unity of the country by making demand for different nationalities or for separate autonomous units, the people of India will not tolerate that and the Government also will not tolerate such sort of thinking . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Will the Minister continue at the next sitting ?

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : I will take just five minutes more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : I hope the House has no objection to sit for five minutes more.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR : What will happen to my Resolution ? Am I entitled to move my Resolution ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : After the Minister concludes his speech, the mover has to reply to the debate. Therefore, it will take time. You can do it the next day. After the Minister's speech, the House will be adjourned.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Are you proposing that the House should sit for five minutes more just to hear Shri Dharia or to hear the reply to the mover also ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : The Minister said that he would not take more than five minutes.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE : In that case, let the Minister conclude his speech in five minutes and let the mover reply the next day.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Does the Minister agree that much of the difficulties are because of our failure at the level of implementation and because of red-tape and too much of delay ?

SHRI MOHAN MARIA : Unfortunately, Dr. Mahavir was not present when I was . . .

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : I was present. I heard you from the gallery. I might have missed to hear you somewhere.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : In the midterm appraisal report we have very candidly admitted the shortfalls. There are shortfalls to some extent. But I do not agree with this charge that there is all-told failure. It is not correct. It is true that at the time of implementation special care has to be taken. In the mid-term appraisal report we have also said that steps have been taken to see that we implement the Plan properly. If (the plans are to be implemented properly, it will not be possible at this level. We shall have to create mechanisms at all levels from the very village level up to the central level at Delhi. Besides, people's participation in planning becomes absolutely essential. Without active participation of the people, it will not be possible for us to implement any plan. But that is not the topic of the day. We are considering a Resolution. The whole of the speech of Dr. Mahavir, though intelligent, was equally irrelevant because we are today considering a Resolution. Instead of talking on the Resolution, Dr. Mahavir has spoken on the Plan and taken much of the time of the House. He said whatever he had to say regarding planning mechanism . . .

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : I did not say anything except in relation to Plan. Of course I did not confine myself to West Bengal. If there is failure of Plan in Bengal, it is failure throughout the country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : You understand each other.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : I was aware of the intelligence of Dr. Mahavir, not of his irrelevance. Today, I have gained additional knowledge.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : I do not think that would be your reply. You are escaping the points,

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Sir, some other honourable Members have made some suggestions regarding the development of backward areas. On rivers

[Shri Mohan Dharia] this House about regional imbalances and I do concede that the regional imbalances in the country are a serious danger to our economy and also to our democracy. I also feel sad when I look at the violent movements in West Bengal. Even though I feel that there should not be any violent movement in the country and that such movements should be condemned, I cannot forget the feelings of the youngsters. Sir, if their aspirations are not taken care of by the Planning Commission, by the country by the economy by the social forces, naturally they will not go according to the peaceful ways of life that all of us would like to have and there are bound to be eruptions and explosions and all possible care shall have to be taken.

Then, Sir, about allocating funds, it is the National Development Council and the Finance Commission who do the job. These are the two bodies which do the job. Regarding the allocations made by the Finance Commission, there were some discussions here. Regarding the allocations made by the National Development Council it is not only on the basis of population that it is given. 60% of the Central funds are given on the basis of population, 10% on the basis of backwardness of the State, 10% on the basis of tax efforts, 10% is reserved for spillover schemes and 10% is reserved for some special occasions like national calamities such as floods, drought, etc. This is how the Central funds are allocated. Again, here we have to remember that we are a great country, we are one country and there are various States and Union Territories and The Central Government has to take care of everyone and of all the States. We cannot have bias towards this State or against that State we cannot have malice towards this or that State. So, Sir, we have taken special care of West Bengal for the reasons that I have already stated and against this background, Sir, though I am here to appreciate the spirit of the Resolution and also the intentions of the mover of the Resolution, I feel, in view of what I

have explained, there is no need for any special cell in the Planning Commission. If there are any special problems, we shall certainly take care of them. The Planning Body that was demanded at the time when the notice of the Resolution was given has also come into existence. Regarding funds, Sir, I think I have tried my level best to satisfy this House. Therefore, Sir, against this background, I think the mover of the Resolution has served the purpose of moving the Resolution and I would like to request him to kindly withdraw this Resolution and I thank him and I thank the House for hearing me. Thank you, Sir.

## MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

### THE APPROPRIATION (NO. 3) BILL, 1972

JOINT SECRETARY : Sir, I have to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha signed by the Secretary of the Lok Sabha :

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith the Appropriation (No. 3) Bill, 1972, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 12th May, 1972.

2. The Speaker has certified that this Bill is a Money Bill within the meaning of article 110 of the Constitution of India".

Sir, I lay the Bill on the Table.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : The House stands adjourned till 11-00 A. M. on Monday, the 15th May, 1972.

The House then adjourned at eight minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Monday, the 15th May, 1972.