

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]  
a remark there. What did he say  
the Prime Minister should know

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI  
I was not there because I was here

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA You  
go and find it out from the Chan

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN  
Let her begin now her speech on  
the Plan

### MOTION RE FOURTH FIVE YEAR PLAN

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI  
MATI INDIRA GANDHI) I beg  
to move

"That the Fourth Five Year  
Plan, 1969-74 (Draft) "

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश)  
मैडम, यह तो मैटर दूसरा चला गया।  
मेरा एक प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर है। (Interrup-  
tion) प्रधान मंत्री महोदया ने हमारे बारे  
में यह कहा कि हमने उनके ऊपर व्यक्तिगत  
आक्षेप किया है। मैं आपको बिल्कुल  
तहे दिल से बताना चाहता हूँ कि मेरी  
कभी स्वाहिन नहीं हुई कि प्राइम  
मिनिस्टर के ऊपर कोई व्यक्तिगत आक्षेप  
करूँ। ये आक्षेप व्यक्तिगत नहीं है।  
मेरे एक सवाल पूछना चाहता हूँ कि श्री  
पाटिल के चुनाव के बारे में प्राइम  
मिनिस्टर को जानकारी कब हुई

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN  
This is no point of order. I will  
not allow all this to go on record.  
She has explained and there is  
nothing for you to rise on that.

SHRI RAJNARAIN (Continued  
to speak)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN  
You cannot go on entering into an  
argument.

SHRI RAJNARAIN (Continued  
to speak) (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN  
I have directed that nothing will go  
on record except the speech of the  
Prime Minister.

SHRI RAJNARAIN (Continued  
to speak)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:  
You have said a few things when  
you stood up. That will go but the  
rest will not go on record. Nothing  
will go on record—from both sides.

SHRI RAJNARAIN (Continued  
to speak)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN  
Please sit down. You make some  
charges. It is the right of the Prime  
Minister to reply. You cannot stand  
up again on that.

The Prime Minister

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI  
As I said earlier, I beg to move

"That the Fourth Five Year  
Plan, 1969-74 (Draft), laid on the  
Table of the Rajya Sabha on the  
28th April, 1969, be taken into  
consideration."

Madam, I have pleasure in initiating this discussion because we always welcome the opportunity to get the advice of the House on important documents before us. The draft Plan has been before the country for some time now and our object is to secure not only the widest publicity for the Plan which is a national Plan but even more important to have a wide public discussion and appreciation of its basic objectives, priorities and programmes. As the hon. House knows, the implementation of the Plan began on April 1st. However, as I announced on another occasion, as we go along and more especially after the Planning Commission has reassessed the resources position in the light of the Report of the Finance Commission suitable adjustments may be made and in this process the views which are expressed here in the House, in the NDC

and other forums will naturally be kept in view.

Whenever we have a debate of this kind, it normally assumes a set pattern which has become familiar to us; but recently we have seen a slight shift in the position of some of the parties, who did not previously approve even of the process of planning. Today we find that some approve of planning but do not approve of this particular Plan; others are for what might be called indicative planning. Similarly we have our other friends opposite who think of their own favourite alternative strategy. The House is aware that ours is the first country which has taken to this kind of planned economic development in the conditions of parliamentary democracy. We have therefore to take along with us people of widely differing, in fact sometimes diametrically opposed points of view. That is why it is not possible for the Plan to be an ideal Plan. We cannot suit the desires, or, I may say, even the needs of all the people. The Plan must take all these viewpoints broadly into consideration yet keep its objectives clear. Our own approach is unambiguous. We do not believe that planning is a piece of equipment which can be taken from any one country and transplanted into our soil. Our plans have to be Indian plans, rooted in Indian soil and nurtured by Indian thought. We seek Indian solutions to our problems. Therefore our planning has to take into account our own conditions and circumstances. Also of course it has to take into account not only the elements of our strength but also the elements of our weaknesses.

Now this Plan has sought to emphasize our objective of swadeshi or self-sufficiency. This is reflected in the aim to completely stop imports of foodgrains in two years' time, to bring down the net foreign aid to half the present level and thirdly to emphasize the development of indigenous designs and consultancy organisations. There is sometimes a mis-

leading impression in the public mind as to the extent of our reliance on foreign aid. We must realise that although foreign aid is important and it has helped us in times of difficulty, the fact remains that our Plan is predominantly a national effort which is undertaken with the help of our own resources. The net foreign aid in support of the Fourth Plan is matched by another Rs. 21,900 crores or so of our own resources. Thus foreign aid will supplement domestic savings only to the extent of 8 per cent in the Fourth Plan. This is a significant reduction from the 25 per cent in the Third Plan.

We are also anxious to give full and free play to Indian scientific and technological talent. This question is constantly before us. I know there are Members in this House who take a special interest in this matter and I have also been trying to see in what ways we could remove the difficulties which face our young scientists. Only yesterday I was conferring with some of them and I know that Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao is also giving serious thought to this matter and is having a number of meetings in this connection. We feel that our scientists and technical people are among our most valuable Plan resources and we have reason to be proud of their achievements. We should try and use their talent and capacity to the full. Self-reliance is necessarily linked with self-sufficiency in food production. The present trends also point to the possibility of self-sufficiency in the Plan period. Agricultural production is poised for a break-through. In fact, our experts and outside experts tell us that a break-through in wheat has been substantially achieved. Research on rice, which is the most important cereal crop, is also being intensified. Our farmers are responsive to new ideas and new techniques to an extent which was not visible before.

Investments in rural education and the infra-structure in rural areas are now beginning to be felt and to pay

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off. The Plan lays increased emphasis on agriculture and related sectors. Nearly a third of the total outlay in the public sector in the Fourth Plan has a bearing on agricultural development. The Plan also recognises the overriding importance of rural areas in our economy and pays special attention to the fulfilment of the needs of rural areas in such fields as water supply, roads and electricity. A quick estimate has shown that 40 per cent of the outlay will directly benefit rural areas, exclusive of the investments and programmes which benefit the national economy as a whole, and in which it is difficult to apportion what part of it goes to urban areas and what part to rural areas.

A matter which has been of deep concern to the Members of the House and to all of us is the question of imbalances in regional development and, therefore, we have to take care to see that the benefits accruing from increased agricultural and industrial production are as widely dispersed as possible. Imbalances in the development of different States and regions must be rectified as soon as possible and that is why it is necessary for the Government to have positive intervention to counteract the operation of natural economic forces. It is proposed to initiate an action-programme comprising a package of measures aimed at redressing regional imbalances on the basis of the Wanchoo Committee's Report, soon after the Chief Ministers have expressed their views on this Report. This Committee, as hon. Members know, was to look into the whole question of regional imbalances and say what concessions should be given through central financial institutions, what incentives for industries in the rural areas and what disincentives to industries in the metropolitan areas should be given. The objective is to give every part of this large Union the feeling that it gets a fair deal and that it has a sense of involvement and commitment to the Plan.

because any country's strength cannot be more than that of its weakest link. It must be our endeavour to give special assistance to areas which have lagged behind due to historical and other reasons and also to those sections of the people who have been under-privileged as these brothers and sisters of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I am fully aware that it is not possible in the period of one Plan to make any substantial difference, but certainly a big step forward can be taken and that is what this Plan attempts to do.

The other question which is of great concern and the foremost and most important problem which confronts us is that of unemployment. Government fully shares the concern which is expressed here and outside and we are most anxious to find not only immediate, but also a long-term answer. This problem is two-fold *viz.*, the problem of unemployment in the rural areas and the problem of the educated unemployed, especially engineers and technical personnel. A Committee of Experts is engaged in examining certain aspects under the Chairmanship of Prof. Dantwala and Prof. Raj and Prof. Lahiri as Members. Various other suggestions made by hon. Members in the House and outside are being closely and carefully examined and everything possible will be done, but here also sometimes misconceptions arise. The unemployment problem really does not admit of a separate solution outside the Plan for the overall development of the national economy. In a sense, one of the objectives of the Plan is to provide employment in every sector and inevitably the sizeable investment in the agricultural, industrial and other sectors will provide employment in various forms, direct and indirect.

Another misconception, which is often put forward, is that there has been no growth of employment opportunities in these last few years. Now, it is true that the problem of a growing labour force and a still

widening gap between it and available job opportunities is a real one, but it is not correct to say that there has been no growth in employment opportunities. In the Third Plan period the average annual growth rate of employment opportunities was 6.8 per cent. Employment in the organised sector increased from 12.1 million at the end of 1960-61 to 16.2 million at the end of 1965-66. If we look at the figure sector-wise, indicating the rise in job opportunities in certain sectors between 1961 and 1968, it is as follows: In trade and commerce by 112 per cent; in power and supplies by 53.8 per cent; in the manufacturing sector 31 per cent; in agriculture and related sectors 29.4 per cent. In the public sector alone it rose between 1961 and 1968 from 5.2 million in 1956 to nearly twice that figure, *i.e.*, 9.8 million last year. Now I do not want at all to suggest that this problem is not serious or important or minimise it, but we must look at this problem, as at other problems, in their perspective. In the long run the answer does lie in a faster and self-sustaining growth of our economy and that precisely is the underlying objective of the Plan.

On the question of unemployment most people are agreed, but the point of controversy is that of the public sector. The public sector will play a key role in the fulfilment of the objectives which we have in view. It aims at a reduction of income and regional disparities and substantial investments in these undertakings have given the public sector a commanding role in certain lines of production, *i.e.*, steel, heavy engineering, electrical equipment, fertiliser, etc. An efficient and expanding public sector is the only effective answer to the problems of monopoly and concentration of economic power in the private sector, which we are committed to deal with. Now, the public sector has come in for a great deal of criticism. It is constantly in public view and therefore all its deficiencies and shortfalls

are immediately visible and exposed while a similar deficiency in the private sector escapes notice. A number of units in the public sector such as Indian Oil, Oil and Natural Gas Commission, Fertilizer Corporation, etc., have done well, and their achievements deserve to be more widely known. The public sector has also now begun to make a significant contribution to our export effort. Of course we are fully conscious that in some other areas it is not doing so well. We know the causes. These have been studied and pointed out to us, and we are making every attempt to see how we can improve the performance and make up for the time lost.

The aim of this Plan is to improve the efficiency of the public sector enterprises so as to generate larger resources for the expansion of social services such as education, medical relief and public health, which alone can concretise the benefits of the Plan for the common man and give substance to our conception of a more egalitarian society in which the needs of the under-privileged sections are met in a more ample measure than has been so far.

Madam, I commend the Plan to the consideration of the House not because I think it provides all the answers to all our problems but because I am convinced that it will take us forward nearer to our goal of self-reliance. But even self-reliance is not the ultimate goal. It is our target for the coming decade. Beyond self-reliance there are so many other things to be done before poverty can be really conquered and our people, the poorest and the weakest of them, can be assured of a proper place in the sun. No single Plan, no single programme can achieve this. It involves long and hard work. I think hon. Members are aware that the path to prosperity is not a magic carpet journey and also that in the last few years we have faced specially difficult situations. Some people are apt to speak of it lightly and say that we blame

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everything on the drought or everything on the fighting on our borders, but these were exceptional and unprecedented events which could not have been foreseen in any measure and they really set us back a great deal, but in spite of that we have made headway. One of the points which is constantly being put is—I have replied to this point in the House but I would like to say again—this question of plan holiday. As I said earlier, neither planning nor progress came to a halt during these years while we had the Annual Plans because these Annual Plans witnessed appreciable progress in several fields such as agricultural production, major irrigation, power generation, etc. They also took us some steps forward in the direction in which we wished to go. Now we have to continue on this journey building our road. We have nobody to show the road to us. In fact there is no road. We have to make the road as we go along breaking stones, removing obstacles and making the journey perhaps a little easier for those who will follow behind us. I am not going into all details just now, Madam Deputy Chairman, because I think after the Members have had an opportunity of expressing their views, then I will be able to deal with the points which they raise.

*The question was proposed.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are 111 amendments. Nos. 1 to 103 stand in the name of Shri Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Madam, one little correction I would like to make in my amendment No. 2. The others are minor. No. 2 will read:

“and having considered the same, this House strongly deplores the failure of the Government to prepare the Draft Fourth Five Year Plan in time and the delay in its presentation after the expiry of the three years of the Five-Year

Plan period which betrays the utter incompetence of the authorities concerned in the matter of economic planning.”

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am permitting him.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam, I move:

1. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

‘and having considered the same, this House condemns the Government for declaring a “plan holiday” for three years under the veneer of the so-called annual Plans which were misnomers.’”

2. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

‘and having considered the same, this House strongly deplores the failure of the Government to prepare the Draft Fourth Five Year Plan in time and the delay in its presentation after the expiry of the three years of the Five-Year Plan period which betrays the utter incompetence of the authorities concerned in the matter of economic planning.’”

3. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

‘and having considered the same, this House notes with grave concern that the U.S. neo-colonialists and their collaborators in India have largely succeeded in sabotaging national planning.’”

4. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

‘and having considered the same, this House notes with revulsion the submission of the Government and the Planning Commission to the dictates of

the monopolists in formulating the approach of the Plan specially in regard to (i) tempo of development, (ii) the launching of new industrial and other projects, (iii) the relative attitude to the public and private sectors, (iv) the question of the so-called "incentives", (v) mobilisation of resources, and (vi) the question of wages to workers, etc.' "

5. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes with dismay and anguish the failure of the Government and Planning Commission to learn from the experience of the working of the three Five Year Plans particularly the failures of the Third Plan.' "

6. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House cannot but note with concern that the Government yielded to the pressure of the World Bank, International Development Authority and other U.S. agencies in determining the guide lines for the Plan.' "

7. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House is surprised at the complacent attitude of the Government and Planning Commission notwithstanding the fact the rate of growth of national income and of the *per capita* income limps far behind what is required even for maintaining the existing level of living, not to speak of raising it, in view of the population growth at the annual rate of 2.5%.' "

8. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes with great disappointment that despite the howling failures of the Third Plan, the Government refuses to change the policies which come into sharp conflict with the declared socio-economic objectives such as the reduction of the concentration of wealth and economic power; narrowing down of the disparities in incomes; the reduction of unemployment; the raising of the living standards of the masses; the attainment of self-reliance; the rapid industrialisation with the public sector attaining the commanding heights in the economy, effective land reforms; the removal of regional imbalances; the uplift of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and the backward sections of the community etc.' "

9. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the problem of planning in India is not merely one of the fixation of certain physical targets and allocation of funds only but, more importantly, of certain structural changes in the economy and of a correct social approach.' "

10. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House is of the view that so long as planning is not conceived, formulated and implemented with the working people, whether in agriculture, industry or other branches in economy, in the Centre, there is going to be no basic change in our socio-economic conditions.' "

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11. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House feels that the Government and the Planning Commission have yet to realise that the planning in India must be for the well-being of the masses and that the masses must be given the assurance, not in platitudinous words but in the facts of their day-to-day life that the planning means here and now the constant improvement in their material and cultural standards.'"

12. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes with profound pain that the masses are still treated in the Plan as the hewers of wood and drawers of water instead of the makers of a modern India.'"

13. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House cannot help the feeling that the Government and the Planning Commission have, while formulating the Draft Plan, forgotten the Preamble and the Directive Principles of the Constitution.'"

14. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes with surprise that the findings and recommendations of the Committee on Distribution of Incomes and Levels of Living (Mahalanobis Committee), the Monopolies Inquiry Commission, the Hazari Committee's Report, Rural Credit Survey, etc., have no impression on the

Planning Commission and the Government.'"

15. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes with astonishment that the Government and the Planning Commission do not seem at all concerned by the fact that since the Monopolies Inquiry Commission the seventy-five big business Houses have grown stronger with the industrial assets of the Tatas and Birlas alone rising from Rs. 707 crores in 1964 to nearly over Rs. 1,061 crores.'"

16. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes with surprise the unconcern of the Government and the Planning Commission that after 18 years of planning or whatever it may be, 82 per cent of the Indian population, as the National Sample Survey has pointed out, are not in a position to spend even Rupee one per day.'"

17. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House strongly deplores the treatment of the problem of unemployment and under-employment in the Draft Plan which purposely evades even to tell the country as to how many people are today unemployed, this being the first time when a plan Draft has omitted to mention the backlog of unemployment.'"

18. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House considers it

necessary to remind the nation that with every Five Year Plan unemployment has grown, the rise being 3.3 million at the start of the First Five Year Plan to 12 million now.’”

19. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

‘and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission and the Government are not concerned at the phenomenal growth of unemployment among the educated even though it is estimated that by 1975 the figure, if the trends are not checked, would rise to 6 millions.’”

20. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

‘and having considered the same, this House is astonished at the manner in which the Draft Plan approaches the problem of agriculture and greatly underplays, if not altogether bypasses, the urgency of effective land reforms and distribution of surplus and cultivable waste and fallow lands to the agricultural workers and poor peasants.’”

21. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

‘and having considered the same, this House notes that the Draft Plan has no worthwhile proposal to offer to reduce the concentration of ownership of land by a handful of landlords with the result that as the Mahalanobis Committee pointed out, 5 per cent of the total rural households own 40 per cent of land while the bottom 20 per cent do not own any land.’”

22. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

‘and having considered the same, this House finds that the Draft Plan is not interested even in enforcing the existing ceiling laws and thus in acquiring the surplus lands from the landlords for distribution.’”

23. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

‘and having considered the same, this House notes with amazement that the Planning Commission thinks that there can be a break-through in agriculture without radical land reforms and reorganisation of agriculture on the basis thereof.’”

24. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

‘and having considered the same, this House warns the Government and the Planning Commission that their methods of promoting capitalist farming and building up capitalism in agriculture, while neglecting the radical land reforms and distribution of lands to the agricultural workers and poor peasants, is fraught with grave socio-economic consequences inasmuch as this would intensify exploitation of the toiling peasantry and aggravate social disparities and polarisation in the countryside.’”

25. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

‘and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the financial outlays on agriculture are not going to yield commensurate results in the absence of reorganisation of the agrarian relations, but, on the contrary are liable to be misused and grabbed by landlords and capitalist farmers to the detriment of the toiling peasantry.’”



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26. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes with regret and revulsion that the Draft Plan holds out no prospect of achieving economic independence, which is a sacred commitment of our great freedom movement, or self-reliance.'

27. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes that the Draft accepts the plunder of our national resources and wealth by foreign private monopolies whose investments have increased from Rs. 256 crores (pre-devaluation) in 1948 to Rs. 1100 crores, with the result that about Rs. 50 crores is annually pumped out of the country through remittances abroad of profits, dividends, interests, royalties, commissions, etc. by these foreign investors.'

28. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission and the Government are both unmindful of the fact that the net annual outflow of Capital from India exceeds now the net inflow of foreign private capital.'

29. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House deplores the refusal of the Government and Planning Commission to critically review the so-called "collaboration agreements" with the Western monopolists which are tied to purchases of spares, components and raw materials and

also to the import of technical know-how from the creditor countries even when this could be avoided.'

30. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House reminds itself and the nation that these so called "collaboration agreements" are an instrument of neo-colonial penetration into our national economy as they also at the same time build up a sinister link-up between Indian monopolists and their counterparts from the imperialist countries, thereby bolstering extreme reaction and causing serious threat to India's independence.'

31. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes with considerable surprise that the Draft Plan has no proposal to put a stop to such harmful "collaboration agreements"; to stop foreign private investments and to restrict foreign remittances by foreign private investors.'

32. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes that the Draft Plan does not even envisage nationalisation of some foreign concerns like oil, tea plantations etc., which has become essential for the planned development of our economy.'

33. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes that despite India's outstanding foreign debts amounting to nearly Rs.

6,000 crores, there is no proposal to face this formidable problem whether by declaring moratorium or otherwise.'"

34. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House finds no proposal in the Draft to meet effectively the foreign exchange situation when one-half of the foreign assistance envisaged has to be spent only for servicing outstanding foreign debts.'"

35. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House does not think that unless the relevant policies are radically changed it would be possible to greatly reduce the deficits in our external trade or to attain the proposed rate of increase at the compound rate of 7 per cent.'"

36. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House wants to point out that the reduction in the envisaged foreign assistance for the Fourth Plan is not so much due to the determination of the Government to slash such assistance as to the fact that the USA and other imperialist countries are not prepared to give what the Government has been pleading for.'"

37. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes that there is no serious proposal to reorganise India's foreign trade with a view to meeting the requirements of a developing eco-

nomy, the absence of nationalisation of foreign trade being the major failure in the context.'"

38. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House is amazed to find that the Draft Plan does not even make an objective assessment of the damage caused by devaluation, not to speak of devising effective measures to at least minimise the harmful consequences of the dictated devaluation.'"

39. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House is of the view that the Planning Commission has meekly submitted to the intentions behind devaluation.'"

40. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission is not warned about the negative impact of the PL 480 on our economy and fails to take serious note of the fact that Rs. 2,200 crores have accrued to the rupee counter-part funds in the hands of the Americans, there being no proposal even to freeze these huge funds.'"

41. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes that there is no real assurance in the Draft Plan that the reliance on the PL 480 would be overcome immediately, despite the fact the food production is now around 95 million tonnes.'"

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42. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes with resentment that the Draft Plan has no proposal to cut the 75 monopoly houses and other big business, but on the contrary, finds a good number of *alibis* to give them a further boost in the name of incentives.'

43. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission has basically accepted the demand of the monopolists for a free market economy in complete disregard of the fact that planning and free market economy in our conditions cannot possibly go hand in hand.'

44. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes with concern that the Draft Plan relies heavily on the pleasures of the monopolists in the private sector, while the public sector is given the back seat.'

45. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes that the private sector is allotted Rs. 10,000 crores which is Rs. 2,500 crores more than what was earlier proposed in the now defunct Draft Outline.'

46. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House comes to the

conclusion that the objective of rapid expansion of public sector in industry has been sabotaged in the Draft Plan with a view to obliging the patrons of the ruling party at the Centre.'

47. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes with dismay that the Draft Plan has ceremonially abandoned the launching of new projects while restricting itself only to the projects which are under implementation or in regard to which decision had been taken.'

48. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes with surprise that the Draft Plan has practically no proposal to tap the accumulations of the big monopoly concerns for investments on the basis of priorities keeping the larger national interests in view.'

49. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes that the national demand for effective steps to curb the monopolists has made no impression on the Planning Commission which seems to be enjoying all these months a holiday of intellect.'

50. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House wishes to make it known that without coming to grips with these monopolists there could be no planning in India worth the name.'

51. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same this House notes with disgust the eulogy which the Planning Commission offers to the so-called social control of banks, instead of even displaying the courage to recommend the nationalisation of private banks, so vitally urgent for the development of the national economy.'"

52. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes that while giving a totally undue and dangerous boost to the monopolists, small and medium industries are neglected, the small industries having been given a raw deal.'"

53 "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House deplores the attitude of the Planning Commission towards the village and small industries for which a meagre sum of only Rs. 295 crores has been allocated for the entire Plan period and the whole country.'"

54 "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House regrets to note that the Planning Commission and the Government do not still realise that the village and small industries have an important role to play in reducing regional imbalances and creating new employment opportunities.'"

55 "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House maintains that the proposed Central assistance of Rs. 3,500 crores to the States is inadequate and should be substantially increased.'"

56. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes with surprise that the Planning Commission and the Government do not seem concerned at the sad budgetary and economic situation of the States whose aggregate debt to the Centre is already over Rs. 5,000 crores' "

57. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that side by side with greater Central financial assistance to the States the latter's existing debts to the Centre must be substantially written off.'"

58. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes that the thinking of the Planning Commission continues to be in the old ruts, while it is essential to realise that the States must be given more and more initiative as well as resources for expanding their developmental activities.'"

59. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that there should be a radical change in the approach to the

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question of Centre-State relations in the context of planning and economic development.’”

60. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

‘and having considered the same, this House notes with disappointment the very inadequate allocation for minor and medium irrigation, while it is particularly urgent to rely on *minor irrigation*.’”

61. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

‘and having considered the same, this House notes that the Draft Plan has no bold proposals to solve the problem of rural indebtedness, even though for 70 per cent of the rural credit, the peasantry is still dependant on usurers and money-lenders.’”

62. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

‘and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission overlooks the fact that 4,50,000 villages out of 5.5 lakhs of villages are even now without any supply of drinking water.’”

63. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

‘and having considered the same, this House notes that there is no strategy in the Draft Plan to develop agro-industries on a large scale which is essential for the advancement of the backward areas.’”

64. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

‘and having considered the same, this House notes with

amazement that there is no basic change whatsoever in the Draft Plan in regard to the problem of resources.’”

65. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

‘and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that unless the guiding policies in regard to resources are radically changed with a view to mobilising accumulation of the wealth of monopolists and other rich persons in the most effective manner on the one hand and from expanding public sector on the other, the problem cannot be solved.’”

66. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

‘and having considered the same, this House deplores the proposal of the Plan to raise the resources by higher tax burden on the common man, deficit financing and cuts on consumption by the masses.’”

67. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

‘and having considered the same, this House notes with concern the proposal to raise Rs. 2,700 crores through additional taxation, the States having been called upon to contribute Rs. 1,100 crores out of this sum.’”

68. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

‘and having considered the same, this House notes that while deficit financing to the order of Rs. 850 crores is proposed, there is no proposal to curb the monopolists or to hold the price line.’”

69 That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely —

and having considered the same, this House has every reason to think that the deficit financing and other economic policies of the Government, particularly the appeasement of the monopolists is bound to result in inflationary pressures ”

70 That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely —

‘and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the Draft Plan takes a complacent view of the food situation on account of the current increase in the food production, while underplaying the urgency of procurement of foodgrains by the State and discounting the vagaries of the weather’

71 “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

‘and having considered the same, this House notes with concern the refusal of the Government and the Planning Commission to fix a much higher target of procurement of foodgrains, and the taking out of the wholesale trade in food grains to the maximum possible extent’ ”

72 “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

‘and having considered the same this House strongly recommends the rationalisation of private banks as a categorical imperative for the planned development of our economy’ ”

73 ‘That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

‘and having considered the same, this House is distressed

to note that the Government and the Planning Commission could not still see that the problem of resources could be largely met by a profit yielding and expanded public sector for which, nationalisation of banking and certain other monopoly concerns as well as foreign trade etc is essential’ ”

74 “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely —

and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the carrying out of radical agrarian reforms will generate capital accumulation in the country side to a great extent’ ”

75 ‘That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely —

and having considered the same, this House notes with regret that the Planning Commission has not reviewed the implementation of even the existing tax measures, which are being systematically evaded and avoided by monopolists and other wealthy sections of the community’ ”

76 ‘That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely —

‘and having considered the same, this House notes with surprise that the Planning Commission does not have the courage to recommend even the abolition of privy purses, not to speak of the acquisition of the ill gotten wealth of the former princes’ ”

77 “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely —

‘and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission has no serious approach towards the

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disturbing rise in non-development expenditure.'"

78. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes that the problem of education especially compulsory primary education is not seriously faced and that the allocation made for education falls short of the required minimum.'"

79. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes with concern the pronounced tendencies in the Draft Plan to minimise the importance of social welfare activities.'"

80. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes that the problem of public health is not correctly approached from the stand point of the rural population and the working people in the country-side.'"

81. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes that the Draft Plan pays only superficial attention to the acute problem of rural housing, especially housing for the Harijans.'"

82. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes with amazement that the Draft Plan completely ignores the urgent demands of the workers and employees, particularly the de-

mand for the need-based minimum wage.'"

83. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission has ignored the problems created by retrenchments, closures and lay-offs which are being indulged in by the capitalists to the detriment of national economy.'"

84. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission attaches no importance to the cherished trade union rights which are being attacked, causing avoidable industrial unrest.'"

85. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes with regret that the Planning Commission is yet to understand that it is the workers and not the employers who create wealth and who need to be given every incentive and encouragement.'"

86. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes that the Draft Plan has no proposal for unemployment relief, notwithstanding the fact that the unemployment problem has become a most disturbing socio-economic problem.'"

87. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes that the

Draft Plan virtually ignores that several hundred thousand displaced persons from East Pakistan, most of them working people, have to be expeditiously rehabilitated in gainful employments.'"

88. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House notes that in the name of "modest targets", the tempo of development is proposed to be slowed down both in industry and agriculture, compared to the targets of the Third Five Year Plan.'"

89. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House maintains that the envisaged rate of growth of 4.5% is not at all adequate, particularly in view of the current rate of growth in population.'"

90. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House maintains that not less than 5% growth in agriculture would be adequate.'"

91. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House is doubtful whether even the envisaged rates of growth in industry, agriculture and, generally, in national income will be actually achieved.'"

92. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion

that the domestic savings envisaged in the Plan is not adequate and that it is doubtful whether even this would be achieved.'"

93. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that adequate domestic savings cannot be ensured without vital structural changes in the economy and without mopping up the resources including the unaccounted money, with the monopolists and other big business people.'"

94. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that in order to augment domestic savings drastic curbs are called for in respect of all remittances and repayments of loans and interests etc., abroad.'"

95. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that effective steps should be taken for repatriation of Indian savings in foreign countries to the maximum possible.'"

96. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House is of the view that the problem of domestic saving must not be sought to be solved through exploitation of the working people and by denying them the barest necessities of life.'"



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97 That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely —

‘and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the planning in India is not going to succeed unless the pro-monopolists basis is abandoned lock, stock, and barrel’”

98 ‘That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely —

and having considered the same, this House is of the view that the perspectives outlined in the Draft are not only defective but are vitiated by the class outlook of the exploiting classes

99 ‘That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely —

and having considered the same, this House wishes to go on record that the present Planning Commission and the conditions in which it functions may be suitable for “command performance but not for giving the required leadership and direction to the planned development of national economy””

100 ‘That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely —

‘and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the Planning Commission is a helpless prisoner of the discredited and anti-people policies of the Central Government”

101 ‘That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

‘and having considered the same, this House directs that the Draft Fourth Five Year Plan be referred back to the Planning Commission for radical modifications in its basic approach and its attitude towards

the working people and in the light of the criticisms that have been made from a democratic and popular angle’”

102 That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

‘and having considered the same, this House puts on record that the capitalist path of development to which the Five Year Plans of the Congress regime are wedded can neither solve the problem of India's poverty, hunger and unemployment, nor can they ensure rapid all-round national development, for which a non-capitalist path of development is imperative’”

103 That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely —

‘and having considered the same, this House is not quite sure whether the Prime Minister is fully conscious that she has been presiding over the liquidation of planning as a result of her Government's continued surrenders to foreign and Indian monopolists’”

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARANJPE (Nominated) Madam, I move

104 That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

and having considered the same, this House is of opinion—

(a) that the expenditure allotted to Family Planning be reduced by half and the amount thus saved be allotted to Education; and

(b) that grants to be made to different States on the basis of population should take into consideration the increase in population in that particular State and its failure to observe the objectives of population control’”

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Delhi):  
Madam, I move:

105. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House deplores the failure of the Government to learn from past failures and to make the Plan resource-based and aimed at the most effective utilisation of our human as well as material resources.'

106. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House condemns the Government for not having aimed at full employment of the country's manpower in line with Article 41 of the Constitution (Directive Principles) and for not having provided for making the right to work a fundamental right of the people of India.'

107. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House strongly disapproves of the too much reliance of the Plan on foreign aid estimated at Rs. 3,730 crores despite the bitter experience of the past and the political strings usually attached to such aid, and despite the uncertainty of the attitude of powers giving aid.'

108. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House deplores the fact that no indication has been given of any effort to evolve an intermediate type of technology and provide for research towards that end (as briefly referred to in the "Ap-

proach to the Fourth Five Year Plan") in order to enable the country to evolve a pattern of industrialisation suited to our circumstances.'

109. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House regrets that only 15.6% of outlay has been provided for agriculture which yields nearly half of our national income, while industry and minerals are given 23.4%, when even now the bulk of our cultivation is dependent on rains and vast areas are in the chronic grip of famine.'

110. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House regrets that an amount of only Rs. 155.65 crores has been allocated to the Union Territory of Delhi which is much less than the investment planned by the Delhi Administration as well as that arrived at by various working groups of the Parliament.'

SHRI B. N. MANDAL (Bihar):  
Madam, I move:

111. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House feels that the interests of the poor and common people have not been given a pivotal place in the Draft of the Fourth Five Year Plan with the result that the burden of taxes and deficit budgets as envisaged in the Plan will increase the poverty and difficulties of the masses and the increased assets of the capitalists and the landlords will enhance the present disparities.'

*The questions were proposed.*

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat): Madam, I do not know how significant it is that we begin this debate with a reference to a railway accident. Has not planning in this country been subjected to a series of accidents all through and therefore the objectives of the plan particularly after the First Five-Year Plan have never been reached? It is also well known that we do not agree with many of the planning policies of the Government. There is too much emphasis on heavy industries and it is only recently that Government has awakened to the need of improving agriculture. Indeed how often have I pointed out in this House of the agricultural progress of smaller countries, of the need of adopting the techniques used by smaller countries for improving their yield per acre, so that we could well become more and more self-reliant, so that we could progress on the way to self-reliance, rather than depend entirely on imported foodgrains? We have pointed out again and again that this habit of deficit financing ignoring the need for economy has caused pressures and prices have been steadily rising. We have also urged that the fraud of the rupee payment agreement also has acted very adversely on our economy. What has Government done about it?

We have Plan papers circulated to us. Are they anywhere near reality? Do they take the actual conditions of the country into account? In theory they do perhaps, but how far? The broad outline of the Plan draft is substantially as suggested in the Approach Document envisaging an outlay of Rs. 24,000 crores of which around Rs. 14,398 crores will be in the public sector. It expects to generate a 5 per cent growth in agriculture, 8 to 10 per cent in industry, and 5 to 6 per cent in gross national product. As it should be, the accent is on price stability and it aims at self-reliance, but how much of this do we see in practice and how far has Government been able to achieve these hopes in the past? A critical examination of the Plan document

discloses that neither the public sector outlay proposed of Rs. 14,398 crores nor the Rs. 10,000 crores for the private sector has any firm basis in visible resources. The balance of the current revenue available during the last three Annual Plans was Rs. 219 crores. As against this, the Fourth Five Year Plan expects as much as Rs. 2,355 crores; that is, about Rs 417 crores per annum, the underlying assumptions such as that the non-Plan outlays will be restrained, economies will be effected and food subsidies will be done away with, are of a doubtful character.

The surplus of all the public sector enterprises, Central and States, has been taken at Rs. 1,738 crores as against Rs. 350 crores in the past three years. Over and above these assumptions, additional resources to be mobilised by the Centre and the States are to be at Rs. 2,700 crores. Judging by the deficit Budgets presented by the various States during the current year, it is not clear whether the States are prepared to play their role in raising resources. Another imponderable is the estimate of external assistance of Rs 2,414 crores after making repayments due to the extent of Rs. 1,216 crores. This brings us to a deficit financing of the order of Rs. 850 crores. Is our economy going to be able to bear this? How much inflationary pressure is this likely to generate?

Then, the States are expected to make efforts to raise resources to the extent possible by taxing agricultural incomes, and what is more, by using additional resources obtained from the Centre and the financial institutions strictly for productive and highly remunerative purposes. But is this going to be achieved? The Government have so far invested Rs. 3,000 crores in commercial and industrial undertakings. Further investment is made in this sector by the Government at the rate of about Rs. 400 crores per year by way of loans and purchase of shares. The investment so far has not proved fully productive and with efficient implementation

and better management, an additional output of over Rs. 3000 crores could have been produced. Since the investment in the public sector undertakings has proved less productive, Government should not invest more in new industrial and commercial enterprises until the existing units have proved their worth. It is equally necessary that the projects which are under construction should be completed speedily. Improvement in the management of the public sector enterprises will be required first. Top positions in industries should not necessarily be manned by retired civil servants or by Malaviyas or Himat Sinhs. Interference by the administration should be kept to the minimum and the public undertakings should be made accountable to Parliament in respect of their general performance only, rather than day-to-day administration. Managers should be made to have personal interest in the enterprise by linking part of their remuneration to the profit of the undertaking. Transfers at the top levels should be avoided.

It is claimed by the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission—and I think I heard the Prime Minister repeating it—that the private sector does not have a very efficient record. Only the facts are not brought to light. I do not know how this statement can be substantiated. The private sector has a vigilant shareholders' body which clamours if they do not get their dividend apart from the employees who clamour, if they do not get their regular salaries and their bonuses. It is not correct to say that they are not available to the public. The balance sheets have to be published according to law. Besides, the Company Law Administration also exercises vigilance, and scrutinises their working. Hence, the statements of the Prime Minister and the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission do not hold water. On the contrary, the public sector enterprises are shielded from the rigours of competition and therefore they are not prone to be efficient

enough. It is therefore necessary to ensure that the enterprises in the public and private sectors are treated on an equal footing.

The Fourth Plan document continues to identify the problem of resource mobilisation with a programme of taxation without examining whether taxation by itself increases or lowers the saving capacity of the nation. Any objective appraisal will readily show that taxation has already lowered, and not increased, the savings of the economy. The tax policies seem to be governed more by considerations of revenue rather than their impact on the economy. An average person in India earns Rs. 481 per year and pays Rs. 64 by way of direct and indirect taxes. This high level of taxation has already begun to show diminishing returns. A large part of the tax resources is absorbed by consumptive expenditure of Government, and tends to reduce the over-all saving capacity. It would therefore appear that a general reduction in taxes would actually increase national savings and help the economy to progress at a higher rate.

The Plans seem to be used by the Congress Party to boost its elections. I speak from my experience, particularly in Gujarat. (*Interruptions*) You will have your opportunity. Why are you impatient? Learn to be a little patient.

(*Interruptions*)

I have referred, Madam, to what is happening in Gujarat before, and I will repeat it for the benefit of some Members who need to be educated, how, at the time of the First General Election, the Tapti River Project was dangled as the carrot before the voters in Gujarat. It is 20 years after independence and it is not yet complete.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Tamil Nadu): The carrot is still there.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: At the Second General Election, the Mahi Project was dangled before the

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voters of Gujarat. At the time of the Third General Election, Prime Minister Nehru laid the foundation of the great Narmada Project. Where is it? Even two years ago...

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Now. It will be there all right.

**SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL:** ...the present Prime Minister in the other House referred to the need for implementing the Narmada Project early. Where is it? This is the treatment that has been given to Gujarat under this planning. I do not know whether it is Gujarat alone that is given this treatment. I do not think so. Madam, I have...

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Everything will go on now. You have got Mr. S. K. Patil.

**SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL:** You did not know he was there before? Did you not know that? Did you not see him in this House? Was he not here when the First and the Second Plans were there?

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Gujarat wanted Narmada Project. They have given you Mr. S. K. Patil.

**SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL:** I hope you will not interrupt me and break my chain of thought.

Madam, I was pointing out how Gujarat has been treated in the matter of the Plans. I do not think that the treatment of other States is very different. I know something of Bihar.

**SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY:** Everywhere.

**SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL:** ...and a number of projects, particularly river valley projects, are supposed to have gone to Bihar. Why should Bihar be a deficit State? Why should Bihar have such a drought two years ago if these projects had been carried out with efficiency? The planning of the Congress Government lacks efficiency. There is no

machinery to see that the work carried out under the Plans is done efficiently. Since these Plans are geared to boost the elections of the Congress Party, many terrible things happen. Work on the Plan starts just on the eve of the election year.

Before the last general elections I was in Bihar and I saw blankets being distributed when the winter was over. That was part of the famine relief work. This is how the Congress machinery works. And, therefore, however good or bad the Plan, the people have to suffer and in return they are taxed more. They are punished for the failure of the Government and its inefficient machinery. That is what we are suffering from. It is, therefore, necessary to improve the situation if we are to get on.

There is another very easy recourse when they are in trouble and when there is deficit, that is foreign loans. I have seen it during the last eleven years. At the time of the Annual Budget, or immediately soon after, the Finance Minister goes on a tour abroad and collects money. We started off with a sterling balance of 1800 crores when we started after independence. Today we are the biggest debtor nation in the world. Small countries, countries that were devastated by wars, which had been bombed, like Japan and Germany, have been giving us loans and we have been accepting them. Have we repaid any of them? Have we got any repayment programme for repaying these debts? We are rescheduling and getting concessions in interest. Since those countries are affluent they say, "All right, we will forgive your debt." We have been accepting this without shame. We should be ashamed of our performance which we call under the big name of planning. Where is the Plan to repay your debts which you should do if you are honest?

**SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra):** It is in the book.

**SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL:** There is everything in the book. The

only thing is it does not work. Look at that book and see what is the total debt you have taken. And will you see how much you have repaid with interest? On the other hand, will you examine the book and find out how many debts have been re-scheduled, how many interest instalments have the donor countries condoned, how much capital has been written off and condoned? That is your reputation in the world. The country is so large with a large population. You talk so much. You are not able to pay your debts, and your debtors, even the small countries, are so generous that they say, "Never mind. Since you are unable to pay, we forgive you." That is your planning and that is what we object to, and this happens because there is too much of State interference.

The State is trying to do every thing when it is not able to do even very little. Instead of co-ordinating the resources of the people, the intelligence of the people and letting them work—the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru said that we want two sectors, private sector and public sector to work hand in hand—hand in hand so that the economy of the country develops, that we have trade, industry and commerce, that we have employment, there are hitches. In every State there seems to be a section which is determined to see that this country does not progress.

Before we have industries which are worth calling a slice of industries, we have people thinking of monopolies. The biggest monopoly in this country is the State. And where are we? The State has got Rs. 3,500 crores in public sector undertakings, Rs. 3,000 crores in the Indian Railways. The Indian Railways used to pay dividend regularly. It used to make a contribution to the Central Revenues. That is also gone now. So on Rs. 6,500 crores we are not getting the normal, natural return which the country should get, and if this country got it, there would be no need for this high taxation. If we did not have this high taxation people would

breathe a sigh of relief. The prices would come down. If prices come down it will be good for industry. It will be good for the Government also because the Government would not have to pay this high dose of dearness allowance and it will put the government's own machinery in proper gear. But who thinks about it? It is very easy for the Government to sit here and increase the prices, increase taxes, increase this and that. Why do they not change their attitude and think otherwise? Why not think of saving money and saving the country's economy so that this high price spiral may be broken? Just as the other countries have done, reduce prices and immediately you will see that taxation has gone down. This is not a new thing. This experiment has been tried in many countries. Why should it not be done here? That is the fault with our planning. They cannot think of anything else. It can think of only big figures. What happens in practical application, they do not seem to think. That is the fault that I find with this planning.

Today they are up against all the State Governments who want to spend more. Why should they not? They take the cue from the Central Government. The Central Government spends more than its resources. Then why should the State Government not spend more than their resources? It is only when the Central Government curbs its spending, it is only when the Central Government sets an example to the States by keeping its expenses within limits, by economising and stopping wasteful expenditure that the Central Government will be able to tell the States to do likewise. Today it is the other way about. More and more State Governments come forward and demand more and more money, and then they would like to have it and write it off. Has the Government laid down any encouragement if any of the States manages its affairs well? No.

Then we talk of regional imbalances. I do not know what this phraseology means. Regional imbalances

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there are bound to be because the regions are put in different circumstances geographically. Because of different circumstances they have different type of industries. In some States industries develop quickly. The vast regional imbalances are the product of this Government's faulty planning. We have oil in Gujarat. From the day I have come here, last eleven years, I have been pointing out that the Government's policy in the matter of oil exploration in Gujarat has been slow and faulty. Gujarat has been fortunate, this country has been fortunate that the expenses of exploring oil are perhaps the cheapest in the whole world in Gujarat. Yet the Government's policy is slow. Instead of rapidly expanding and making use of the oil, the Government plans otherwise.

SHRI N. PATRA (Orissa): There is Koyali.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: My dear friend, you forget that there are three projects like Koyali and all the trains not only in Gujarat and in the surrounding areas can run on diesel oil instead of having to take coal from 2,000 miles to Gujarat by train. If you travel by bus from Ahmedabad to Saurashtra you will see the gas of the oil wells being burnt. How much money has been wasted because this power is not used and oil cannot be used because it is not taken to the refinery? Therefore, it has turned up the pressure. This is what we are doing. This is the faulty type of planning we have got. Can we not refine the Gujarat oil anywhere else? Therefore, such type of regional imbalances are inherent in industry. What we need today is to canalise them properly and see that they are put to the best use for the country instead of the wasteful method of use that the Congress has all the time. Madam, I am glad to see that of late there has been a considerable increase in shipping. But is that enough? We are a country which has perhaps one of the longest coast-

lines in the world. Where are we as regards shipping? Where are we as regards our ports? What is the hope that the Plan holds out? I dare say that in some matters the hope that the Plan holds out is there. But what is the performance? And when we come to the performance of it, we come to the great disappointment and frustration that the country feels today. Why is it that there is so much unrest among the youth all over the country? It is generated by the disappointment at the performance of the Congress Governments, whether it is this Plan or any Plan. It is because of so much inefficiency and lack of proper management that what should cost 4 annas is costing 8 annas or even a rupee and, therefore, it is hurting our economy. It is sending the prices up every day. Therefore, Madam, it is not possible to agree to or support this Plan.

As I was saying, the Plan holds out some hope but when we look at the performance there is disappointment. Let me quote some figures from their own publications. In the First Plan, the outlay, including public and private sector, was Rs. 3,600 crores; actual, Rs. 3,760 crores. The envisaged growth of national income was 11 per cent; actual, 18 per cent. That is the hope that was held out at the end of the First Plan. When we come to the Second Plan, the planned outlay was Rs. 7,200 crores; actual, Rs. 7,700 crores. The envisaged growth of national income was 25 per cent; actual, 20 per cent. There the rot began. Coming to the Third Plan, the planned outlay was Rs. 11,600 crores; actual, Rs. 12,000 crores. The planned growth of national income was 34 per cent, actual, 14 per cent. It is from there we started failing, and we have done nothing to remedy this failure. We just go on saying that we will go on and on. When we see that we are failing so badly, what are the remedial measures that have been taken? The shortfalls in the growth targets in the successive Plans were not due to lack of financial resources. In fact, in each Plan the actual outlay considerably exceeded

the original estimate. In the Third Plan, for example, the actual outlay exceeded the estimate by 4 per cent, but the rate of growth fell short by 60 per cent. This would naturally mean that the shortfall in achievements was due primarily to misapplication of the resources resulting partly from wrong planning and partly from faulty implementation of the programmes. Both these factors combined in lowering the output-capital ratio which is an index of the efficiency with which resources are utilised. In the Third Plan, the output-capital ratio would have been about 0.2 per cent. In other developing countries like the U.A.R., Mexico and the Philippines, in which the growth rate has been higher, the output-capital ratio has also been higher. Somehow we have tended to become a capital-consuming economy rather than a capital-generating economy. And if we go on consuming capital, where will we be? We are already short of resources. We ask for loans from all over the world. And yet if we go on consuming capital—which means utilisation of capital for unproductive purposes—where will we be? Will we not be in the mess, sorry mess, in which we are now? Is it not due to this faulty method? Therefore, we do not feel at all happy or enthusiastic about the type of planning that is done or this draft which has been put in our hands. It is a repetition of the same plan, it is a repetition of the same policy. Every scheme and every plan is to ensure the enshrinement of the Congress Party in office. But I think that has sufficiently been played out and that has been borne out by the last results. Certainly if the country is being taken in this way to poverty, the worm will turn one day.

SHRI A. P. JAIN (Uttar Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, I was very much interested to notice some improvement in the attitude of the Leader of the Opposition. I remember the days when the Swatantra Party used to oppose the Plan outright. And it was some consolation to find that the hon. Leader of the

Opposition did not oppose the Plan outright, but he opposed the strategy followed in the Plan.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI) in the Chair]

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): Because we had to meet half way; you have come half way and we have come half way.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: I hope you will grow wiser after some time.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: If you grow wiser first, the country will be in a better situation. Every day that you do not grow wise, the country is losing a lot.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: Have you finished, Dahyabhaiji, or have you to say anything more?

Mr. Vice-Chairman, this Plan is significant in several ways. First, it has come after three years of annual planning. Annual planning had its own meaning, but it was not planning in the sense in which we have understood it. This Plan, therefore, dispels the fear of certain people, generated lately, that planning was coming to an end. Now, it is clear that the process of planning which we undertook about 20 years ago will continue and will continue with added vigour. This Plan is a crucial Plan. Upon its success will depend the future of planning. If this Plan does not succeed, the country may lose faith in planning. Therefore, it should be the utmost effort on the part of the Government, of the people, of the members of the ruling party and also of the Members of the Opposition to make this Plan a success because I am one of those who believe that the future of this country, its economic and industrial development, depends upon a sensible and good system of planning.

Now, there are many desirable features in this Plan and to cite a few of them, the efforts to stop import of food after two years is one of the very desirable attempts. Similarly,



[Shri A. P. Jain.]

the reduction of foreign aid by one half at the end of the Plan is another good desirable object. The system of building annual Plans out of the Five Year Plan, I think, will lead to an improvement in the performance of the Plan. The emphasis on the scientist and technician, the induction of scientists and technicians in the working of our public undertakings is another feature which I consider to be a very desirable feature. Nonetheless, we must accept that this generation of ours, I believe, one or two more generations, are condemned to a life of toil and sweat, of labour and sacrifice. We have to give up present consumption in the interest of building up a nice, good and worthwhile country for the future generations. That should be our objective. When I say all this, I do not subscribe that the Plan is a complete Plan and there is nothing which one can add to it. I find that there are important shortcomings, shortcomings of a nature which, if not mended, may even jeopardize the Plan and the entire planning system. We have laid a good deal of emphasis on building new projects. But what about our existing projects? According to the Planning Commission's own figures, in the year 1965 the total value of the reproducible tangible assets was Rs. 42,500 crores. During these few years they must have increased. And now I would not be very wrong if I say that at present the value of the reproducible tangible assets would be round about Rs. 50,000 crores. I have it on very good authority—some highly placed officials of the Planning Commission—that the annual depreciation on this Rs. 50,000 crores is at the rate of 8 per cent. Our projects, our big dams, our public enterprises, our works, are not properly maintained, and that is the reason why there is a much heavier depreciation than what it should be if they were properly managed. Now, what I have said means that the depreciation alone on the reproducible tangible assets would come to Rs. 4,000 crores, and what is our investment during the Fourth Plan? It is of the

order of about Rs. 22,000 crores in the form of assets which works out to about Rs. 4,000 crores per year. In other words it means that whatever is being inducted into our economy is being at the same time washed away in the form of depreciation on the existing tangible assets. I will cite an example. Mr. Vice-Chairman, when the Bhakra Dam was planned—well, it is our great project of national pride—its life was assessed at 200 to 250 years. I think it was about 250 years. But a siltation has arisen during the last few years and we find that if this siltation goes on at the present rate, its life will be reduced to half, to 125 years or so. That is what the experts who prepared the estimates of the Bhakra Dam now have worked out. It means that every year we are losing Rs. 1 crore on the Bhakra Dam. And I believe, it is possible that if our national enterprises, if our assets both in the private and the public sectors, are efficiently managed, we can confidently reduce the percentage of depreciation. For a reduction of every one per cent of depreciation, the country gains Rs. 50 crores. That is not a small sum.

I do not find anything in the Plan for prolonging the life of the Bhakra Dam or other river valley projects, nor do I find it elsewhere. Through you, Sir, I would like to urge upon the Planning Commission that more important than planning new projects, more important than the execution of new projects, more important than the working of new projects, is the efficient working of the existing projects. I regret to say that that aspect of planning has either been totally ignored or very little emphasis has been laid on it in the Plan document.

We have been talking of the failure in implementation. I am glad that there is one chapter devoted in the Fourth Plan to implementation. But I regret to say that it is one of the vaguest chapters that could have ever been written. It is full of verbosity, chaff without grain. I would like you to refer to a remark by the very

thoughtful author of the "Asian Drama", Gunnar Myrdal. At page 903 he says talking about planning,—

"But even in India, where planning generally has achieved a much higher level of sophistication than in the other countries in South Asia, the plain fact is that in most fields there is little or nothing 'planned' to disclose."

I agree with that remark. And my contention is that our effective planning is confined to less than 20 per cent of our economic activity, and the remaining 80 per cent of our economic activity, including the entire agriculture which means 50 per cent of our economic activity in terms of income and which engages 80 per cent of our people, is left out of effective planning. Similar is the case with the organised private sector, that is, the factories and the enterprises in the private sector. It is not properly controlled as I will try to show.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA (Nominated): Before my honourable friend proceeds I would like to remind him of one thing. He quoted Gunnar Myrdal. I do not know if he was present when Gunnar Myrdal spoke to us. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was presiding over that meeting. There is one word which I still remember—

"Unless we make our labour costly we cannot have any future."

This is what he said, "Unless we make our labour costly." Since he quoted him I wanted to remind him of these words, which are there still in my mind and in the minds of everyone who was present there—about labour being costly.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: Not only that. He said other things also, about raising the wages. There is nothing new in what you said.

During the first three Plans we tried to build an institutional infra structure in the countryside, and what was the nature of it? It was the

cooperative societies, the community development and the panchayati raj. The object of this institutional infra structure was to involve the common man, the masses living in the countryside into the process of planning. Unfortunately, all these three institutions are now in a state of decay. I quote it on the authority of the Fourth Plan that the outstandings of the primary credit societies, which were 20 per cent in the years 1961—63, have risen to 33 per cent of the total loans. Among the Central Banks 20 per cent or so to have 50 per cent or more as outstandings. Now no financial institution can go on advancing money or continue to function for any length of time if it does not recover the advances. It is also well known that cooperatives have succeeded only in certain parts of the country but in other parts they are really weak. There are some reasons for it. The House will remember that the Reserve Bank appointed a Committee, known as the Rural Credit Survey Committee, which submitted a very valuable report. That report was accepted and one of the basic principles of that report was that the credit must be interlinked and integrated with the marketing. The big idea was that when a farmer takes loan from a credit society, he also fills up a bond that he will sell his surplus produce through the credit society so that the loans are recovered. Unfortunately that link was never built and the result is that the outstandings are growing. The weakness of the Central Bank is another reason and if the Planning Commission and the Government are at all keen to mobilise the surplus money being generated in the countryside it is not going to be done either through the commercial banks or through the Central banks. I have a scheme. Unfortunately during this short time I will not be able to explain it but if at any time the Planning Commission shows the courtesy to consult me, I will give them a whole plan because I feel that co-operation, which is so essential for the life of the nation, is losing ground.

[Shri A. P. Jain.]

So far as Community Development is concerned, its officers are absolutely demoralised. They have been officialised like any other bureaucrat. They are like a sub-inspector without power or a *kanungo* without a rod. It is the common experience. Everyone of us knows that the Community Development officers are completely demoralised.

Lastly about the Panchayati Raj, I will only quote what Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan, President of the All-India Panchayat Parishad, said on May 10, 1969:

"Except in two States—Maharashtra and Gujarat—there was no serious effort made in any State for Panchayati Raj".

Now the infra-structure which was created in the countryside during the three Plans and which provided for the involvement of the common man in the process of planning—all those three institutions—are in a state of decay and in the Plan I do not find anything showing how they are going to strengthen these.

I will give an instance about what is known as the green revolution. How has this green revolution come about? Firstly I will say that it is mostly confined to wheat. It is not so in the case of rice because the Taichung and other varieties have proved to be susceptible to diseases and insects and the Government is now withdrawing them. How did this green revolution of wheat come about? May I say that it is due to three institutions—the IARI, the Ludhiana University and the U.P. Agricultural University. These are situated in the main wheat-growing States and they have not only invented the new seeds but convinced the farmers of their profitability. I have been recently to Ludhiana University and I was very glad to notice the new enthusiasm of the farmers. Mr. Swaminathan was also there. He went from field to field and he told the people how they can improve their lot by using the improved seeds.

That is the type of people we want. I want every University in India to become the nucleus for the development of the areas round about it. About 8 years ago I was in the United States and went round the countryside adjoining Illinois University and asked a farmer:

"What is it that has given this big yield?"

His answer was: 'The Morrel plot and the advisory service of the University of Illinois.' We have 10 or 12 Agricultural Universities and many colleges. They should become the nucleus for the agricultural revolution.

About the organised private sector, we have got certain regulations. They have to take licences before establishment. Then there is the question of capital issue. Then there is the question of import of machinery but once that is done, the private sector is left to itself. I have a proposal to make. Just as they have created JSCs for the steel industry both of the public sector and the private sector, there is a case for putting up bureaus of what I would call the 'Planning performance'. These bureaus should watch how our industries are doing. They should not interfere in the working of the individual plants. They should see what are the shortfalls, what are the weaknesses of the industries as a whole and how they can be removed. There must be representatives of the Government, of private industry and of the consumers on it, so that they carry out a two-way liaison work. They should bring the difficulties of the industries to the notice of the Government and secure help for the removal of those difficulties and at the same time they should keep constant touch with the Government about what is happening in the industry. Unless that is done, the plan targets which depend upon the working of the private sector may not be achieved. The entire industrial system can be divided into 10 or 12 industries. For instance, the fibre section consisting of cotton fibre,

jute fibre, silk fibre, woollen fibre and man-made fibre may be humped in one group and a Bureau of Plan Performance set up for it. They must think of it and if they find that there is some validity in what I say, the planners should adopt it.

I come last to resources. I am inclined to agree with the Leader of the Opposition that there has been an over-assessment of the resources. I will not deal with all of them. He has dealt with some and I will confine to the profits from the public undertakings. In an interview given by the Vice-Chairman of the Planning Commission, Dr. Gadgil, to the representative of the *Hindustan Times*, he answered a question. The question was:

"The Plan has prescribed a 15 per cent rate of return on capital in the public sector. How realistic is this expectation?"

Dr. Gadgil said:

"I can only say that this is a figure that has been derived from a resolution of a Cabinet Committee. This is a part of the decision made by the Government. That is a sort of effort that should be made."

I was astonished by it. I wrote a letter to Dr. Gadgil and I wrote:

"In answer to another question 'How the prescribed rate of fifteen per cent. return from public sector undertakings has been reached?' the impression I gather from your reply is that the figure was based on the decision of the Cabinet Committee. Is it just a policy decision which should be implemented or is it based on any rationale?"

That was the question I asked. Dr. Gadgil's answer added further to my confusion. Dr. Gadgil wrote to me:

"I now come to the question of the prescribed rate of return from the public sector undertakings. Until recently both the Tariff Com-

mission and the Cost Accounts Branch of the Union Ministry of Finance were allowing a return generally at 12 per cent on the capital employed in the private and public enterprises. After the Bonus Act came into effect and also taking into consideration the rise in the general rate of interest, the Tariff Commission has come to the conclusion that generally any rate less than 15 per cent on the capital employed would not be reasonable."

"They are allowing the return at present of 15 per cent on capital employed in respect of the industries coming within their purview."

Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Ministry of Finance have circulated a Memorandum on Public Undertakings as a part of the Budget literature, in which the pricing policy of the public enterprises has been defined. It falls into three parts: (i) Wherever there are statutory regulations or voluntary arrangements of a binding type, introduced in the larger interests of the national economy, the enterprises would have to conform to such regulations; (ii) A number of enterprises produce goods and services in open competition with other indigenous producers in the private sector, and in respect of their products, the normal market forces of demand and supply will operate and their products will be governed by and large by the prices prevailing in the market; (iii) In the case of enterprises which operate under monopolistic or semi-monopolistic conditions it will be necessary, however, to have a prescribed procedure. They say that the prices in this case will depend upon the world prices, upon the *f.o.b.* prices.

Now I begin to think and I want this House to think how these two approaches can be reconciled.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI): Now kindly wind up.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: I shall do so just in two minutes. If this pricing policy holds good, how can this 15 per cent return work out in practice? I would like the Planning Commission to explain how this 15 per cent fits in with the pricing policy?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Is it gross profit or net profit?

SHRI A. P. JAIN: Now Mr. Dahyabhai Patel has given certain figures of the profits which the public sector undertakings have made during the last three years; there does not seem to be any prospect that 1600 or 1700 crores of profit can be made during the Fourth Five-Year Plan period.

There are other things on which I wish I had spoken, but in deference to your direction to wind up, I do so now by saying this much in the end. There has been the continuous emphasis by the planners that the planning must be realistic. Here I would quote the remarks of the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on "Strategy of the Third Plan"—

"We have often talked about how much money has been spent or why it has not been spent. It has always struck me that we are looking at things in a very imperfect way; the question is what has been done, not how much money has been spent. Maybe, the quantum of money spent is an indication of what ought to have been done, or might have been done, but the real thing is what actually has been done. This business of appraisal is therefore of the utmost importance."

I regret to say, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that there is no reflection of this healthy thinking and outlook in the Fourth Plan. It is entirely a financial Plan ignoring the real targets.

Thank you very much.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं एक निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। जब दो बजे

हम लोग बैठ रहे थे तो माननीया के कमरे में यह आया कि ला मिनिस्टर साहब अभी आ कर दो बजे बनावेंगे। फिर वहाँ हम लोग बात कर रहे थे तो खबर आयी कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब चाहती है कि वह पहले लोक सभा में बोलें और फिर यहाँ आ जायेंगे। अब आप देखिये कि 3 बज कर 35 मिनट हो गये। तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि ला मिनिस्टर साहब कब आयेंगे। (Interruption) श्रीमन्, हम ने इस लिये प्रोटैस्ट किया था कि हम को आज गजेन्द्र गडकर कमीशन के सामने गवाही देने जाना है और हम को 5 बजे वहाँ चले जाना होगा। तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि ला मिनिस्टर साहब पहले यहाँ आये और हर काम उन की कंवीनियन्स से नहीं होना चाहिये। हम जानते थे कि यहाँ ऐसे सजेशनस होंगे। हम ने उन को बता दिया था कि हम को जाना है। इसी लिये हम बोले नहीं।

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: This is a valid point. If the Law Minister is making the statement earlier in that House, the Deputy Law Minister can come and make that statement here.

श्री राजनारायण : वह तो दो बजे बोल चुके हैं।

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): We understand that the Law Minister has already made the statement in the other House at 2 o'clock. It is not fair that it should be held over here for so long. He should be immediately summoned to come and make the statement here.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: What is wrong in the Deputy Law Minister being asked to come and make the statement here?

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: He may create more problems than he can solve.

**डा० भाई महावीर :** उप-सभापति महोदय, तीन साल की छुट्टी के बाद हम फिर से अपनी पंचवर्षीय योजना के मिलसिले को शुरू कर रहे हैं। स्वाभाविक है इस अवसर पर यह प्रश्न उठे कि यह तीन साल की छुट्टी की नौबत क्यों आयी और इस से जो कुछ शिक्षा हम ने ग्रहण करनी थी वह हम ने कर ली है या नहीं। इस की कसौटी तो यही होगी कि फिर से इस तरह की हालत न पैदा हो कि हमें अपनी योजना को आगे चलाने के बारे में सदेह दिखायी दे या हम अपने आप को उस के लिये सक्षम न पाये। आज स्थिति यह है कि इन विचारों को या इस कसौटी को सामने रख कर यदि हम सोचें तो दिखायी देता है कि शायद इन तीन सालों के अरसे में जो हमें सीखना चाहिये था वह हम ने नहीं सीखा, जो भूलना चाहिए था वह नहीं भूलाया। योजना आयोग शायद सीखने की स्थिति में नहीं है या सीखना चाहता नहीं है। इन दोनों में से कुछ भी हो, परन्तु सब ने पहली बात जो आज देखने की जरूरत है वह यह है कि हम ने पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं को बनाते वक्त जो गलती थी उस को अपने दिमाग से निकाला कि नहीं। पहली गलती मेरा निवेदन यह है कि हम योजना बनाने वक्त अपनी आवश्यकताओं को सामने रख कर सोचते थे। अपनी जरूरतों को, अपनी इच्छाओं को सामने रखते थे, अपने साधनों को, अपनी क्षमता को, अपनी कर सकने की हिम्मत को अपने सामने नहीं रखते थे। परिणाम यह होता था कि एक होड लगती थी। हर राज्य एक दूसरे से बढ़ने की काशिश करता था। हर महकमा एक दूसरे में आगे निकलने की काशिश करता था। मानो बच्चों को रंग की पिटारी दे दी गयी हो और कहा गया हो कि जितना अच्छा रंगदार कोई

नक्शा बना सकता है, बनाये और वह बनाते जाते थे। लेकिन जब उसे पूरा करने की स्थिति आती थी तो दिखायी देता कि हमारे पास साधन नहीं हैं और साधन नहीं है तो जो योजना बनायी गयी है उस को इधर से या उधर से काटना होता था। और, इस लिये कार्टून बनाने वाले कई बार ऐसा बनाते थे कि योजना बनायी गयी है, अच्छा बड़ा शरीर है, उस शरीर को ले जा कर काटने की, थोड़ा सा पैरों की तरफ से, सिर की तरफ से काटने की कोशिश की जाती थी और काट कर कहा जाता था कि अब इस का आकार जितना चाहिये था उतना हो गया। योजना ऐसी चीज नहीं है कि जितना चाहे उसे लम्बा कर लीजिये, जब चाहे छोटा कर लीजिये। बनाने वक्त किस आधार को रख कर, किस कसौटी को ले कर वह बनायी जाती है इस को देखना जरूरी है। निवेदन है कि हम ने आज की इस चौथी योजना को यथार्थवादी योजना नहीं बनाया, 'रियलिस्टिक' नहीं बनाया।

पहले की गलतियों से हम ने कुछ सीखा है या नहीं? हम ने कुछ सीखा नहीं और यह बात तीसरी योजना के 'मिड-टर्म एप्रैजल' से, उस के मध्य में जो मूल्यांकन किया गया था उसे पढ़ेंगे तो उसे पढ़ने वाला कोई भी—एक बालक भी यह समझ सकता है। उस की भाषा यह थी कि हम ने पिछले वक्त यह टारगेट रखे थे, यह लक्ष्य रखे थे। उन को हम पूरा नहीं कर पाये इस लिये इस वास्ते हम को अब इस से बड़े लक्ष्य पूरे करने चाहिये। किसी को यह कहो कि तुम ने छलांग लगायी, और तुम पांच फुट नहीं कूद सके थे इस लिये इस बार 8 फुट तुम को जरूर कूद जाना चाहिये। यह कह कर अगर उस का मज़ाक बनाना है तो ठीक है

[ डा० भाई महावीर ]

या अपने सोचने के दीवालियेपन का सबूत देना है तो ठीक है, नहीं तो तीसरी योजना के मिड टर्म एप्रैजल में भी, जब सामने दिखायी देना था कि असफलताये हमारी योजना के भाग्य को निगलने के लिये आ रही है, उस समय योजना आयोग यह हिसाब लगा रहा था कि यह क्यों नहीं हुआ। बल्कि यह कहा गया कि जरूरत कहती है कि हम इस से ज्यादा अगले दो सालों में कर लें। इस चौथी योजना के अंदर, आइन्दा वैसी गलती नहीं होगी इस बात की कुछ आशा हमें हुई थी बजट के भाषण को सुन कर। क्योंकि बजट के भाषण में यह सुनने को मिला था कि यथार्थवादी साधनों को देख कर योजना बनायी जायेगी। जितन साधन होंगे उस के हिसाब से योजना का प्रारूप बनेगा। लेकिन अगर थाड़ा भाषा का जो हेरफेर हुआ है उसको छोड़ दिया जाय तो कोई और विशेष अन्तर इस योजना के बनाने में नहीं दिखाई देता। ज्यादा मुझे इसमें कुछ सबूत देने की आवश्यकता नहीं, फाइनेसिंग दि प्लान' पर चौथा, अध्याय है। इसके पहले जो वाक्य है वे ये हैं

“The document ‘Approach to the Fourth Five Year Plan’ was presented to the National Development Council in May 1968. It indicated that additional resource mobilisation in the range of Rs. 200—300 crores a year would be necessary if the economy is to grow at the desired rate and net foreign aid is to be reduced to half the present level by the end of the Plan’

हमारा सोचने का तरीका क्या है ? तरीका यह है कि क्योंकि यह ग्रोथ रेट तय कर ली है, क्योंकि हमारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था और हमारी राष्ट्रीय आय को इस गति से बढ़ाना है इसलिये हमका उसके लिये इतने साधन चाहिए चाहे वे साधन कहीं से आये, कहीं से किसी तरह से लाये, चाहे मागे, चाहे डाका

मारे, कुछ करे, साधन चाहिये। ‘बैंग, बारो आर स्टील’ की बात है। ‘स्टील’ करना तो किसी सरकार के लिये कठिन होता है लेकिन बैंगिंग और बाराइंग का प्रासेस अपने यहाँ बड़े जोरों से चलाया जा रहा है। मैंने कहा कि स्टील करना सरकार के लिये मुश्किल होता है लेकिन एक तरह से स्टील करना भी सरकार के हाथ में है। वह इस तरह से कि जब बड़े लक्ष्य रखे गये तो उन लक्ष्यों का परिणाम यह हुआ कि लोगों में असंतोष पैदा हुआ, जलन पैदा हुई क्योंकि जब उनके बनाये हुये स्वप्नाकी दुनिया ने यथार्थ में जाने की कोशिश की और वह स्वप्न पूरा नहीं उतर सका तो लोगों को गुस्सा आया और उस गुस्से में कई तरह की बातें कही गईं। लेकिन उसके अलावा एक और परिणाम निकला कि हमने चूक बड़ी दिलेरी में अपने लक्ष्य तय कर लिये और उन लक्ष्यों को पूरा करने के लिये साधन हमारे पास जुट नहीं सके तो उसमें दो तरह के परिणाम निकले। एक तो विदेशी सहायता के ऊपर अत्याधिक निर्भरता हाती गई और उस विदेशी सहायता की निर्भरता ने हमें कहा ला कर पटक दिया है, हमारे देश का किम तरह में अपमान हुआ है, उसकी हमें कितनी कीमत भ्रदा करनी पड़ी है, यह हमारे सामने है। लेकिन उसका एक परिणाम और निकला कि जब कोई साधन कहीं से नहीं मिला तो फिर एक साधन है ही और वह है नोट छापने का जिसके लिए नासिक मिक्योर्गिटी प्रिंटिंग प्रेस है ही। यानी डेफिसिट फाइनेसिंग का साधन है। डेफिसिट फाइनेसिंग की जाती है और नई मुद्रा ला कर क बाजार में फेंक दी जाती है। इसका परिणाम क्या होता है ? जो साधारण मध्यम वर्ग का व्यक्ति है, जिसकी आय बढ़ी हुई, जिसकी आमदनी घट बढ़ नहीं सकती है, उसके ऊपर यह एक

तरह का डाका है। मैंने पहले कहा कि सरकार चोरी नहीं कर सकती है परन्तु यह तरीका सरकार की ओर से चोरी करना है। यह इफ्लेशन चोरी नहीं तो और क्या है? ऐसे लोगों की जेब में से पैसा उनके बिना देखे हुये, उनके बिना समझे हुये और उनके बिना जाने हुये ले लेते हैं। जो कुछ वास्तविक क्रयशक्ति उनके पास है वह ले लेते हैं, उसकी वह क्रय-शक्ति नहीं रहती है। यह चोरी में लेने जैसी स्थिति है। और यह हालत आई है ऐसे नियोजन के कारण।

अब, अगर इससे भी वांछित परिणाम निकल गया होता तो कुछ लोगों के साथ अन्याय हो गया है इस पर भी हम सतोष कर लेते क्योंकि देश के लिये कुछ लोगों को तो बलिदान देना ही चाहिये। लेकिन इससे और ही परिणाम निकला और वह परिणाम यह था कि हमारी सारी कीमतें बढ़ने लगी और उन कीमतों के बढ़ने के परिणामस्वरूप इन योजनाओं के अन्दर जो अलग अलग अंग थे, जो अलग अलग प्रायोजनाये थी, प्राजेक्ट थे, उनके खर्चें बढ़ने लगे और उन खर्चों को पूरा करने के लिये और ज्यादा डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग की जरूरत पड़ी। उससे और ज्यादा कीमतें बढ़ी और ज्यादा खर्चा बढ़ा और एक ऐसा दौर चला, एक ऐसा चक्र चला कि जिसके अन्दर हम लोग किसी सिरे को पा नहीं सके, किसी किनारे को पकड़ नहीं सके। यह स्थिति जो आई है वह आगे भी न आये, इसका भरोसा तभी हो सकता है जब कि हम अपनी योजना को यथार्थ के वास्तविक धरातल पर, साधनों की पक्की भूमि के ऊपर खड़ा करे और केवल स्वप्नों की दुनिया के अन्दर न खो जाय। योजना के बनाने में स्वप्नों की दुनिया के अन्दर नहीं खोना है, स्वप्नों की दुनिया के अन्दर

काव्य रचा जा सकता है लेकिन योजनाये नहीं बनाई जा सकती है और अगर योजनाये स्वप्नों की दुनिया के अन्दर बनेंगी तो जो कुछ आज तक देश ने भुगता है, जो कुछ कष्ट देश ने उठाये हैं उनसे और अधिक भुगतने की, कष्ट उठाने की ही नौबत आ सकती है, यह भूलना नहीं चाहिये।

महोदय, मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी इन सारी चीजों का, इन भूलों का एक परिणाम और हुआ है। इसका एक और भयंकर पहलू है और वह यह है कि जो कुछ राष्ट्र के उत्पादन में वृद्धि हुई है उस वृद्धि में कुछ लोग बिल्कुल भागीदार नहीं बने। धनी लोगों के हाथ में ज्यादा धन गया है, जो सम्पन्न लोग हैं, जो पूँजीपति हैं, उनके पास ज्यादा क्रय-शक्ति गई है और जो मध्यम वर्ग के हैं, निम्न मध्यम वर्ग के हैं, जो बिल्कुल बधी हुई आय वाले हैं, उनकी स्थिति बंद से बदतर होती गई है, उनका जीवन पहले से और कठिन हो गया है। यदि किसी निष्पक्ष एजेंसी के परिणामों को देखा जाय, उसको भी सामने रखा जाय तो उसमें भी यही दिखाया गया है। एक नेशनल कौंसिल आफ एप्लाइड एकानामिक रिसर्च का जो, सर्वे पहले हुआ है उसमें बताया गया है कि 1 करोड़ हमारी देहाती आबादी ऐसी है जो आज 27 पैसे प्रति दिन की आमदनी के ऊपर जी रही है। 27 पैसे की आमदनी क्या होती है और उसके अन्दर उनको क्या मिलता है उसका वर्णन करने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। लेकिन इसके अलावा एक और भयंकर विषमता है। अलग अलग वर्गों आय की जो विषमता है उसके अन्दर भी वृद्धि हुई है। वह विषमता कम नहीं हुई है। ऊँचे से ऊँचे, सब में ऊँचे 5 प्रतिशत के लोगों को लिया जाय तो



[ डा० भाई महावीर ]

1952 ई० में राष्ट्रीय आय का 14 प्रतिशत उनको मिलता था लेकिन 1962 में राष्ट्रीय आय का 24 प्रतिशत उन 5 प्रतिशत के लोगों को मिलता था दूसरी ओर नीचे के जो लोग हैं, यानी अग्न आय की एक सीढ़ी बनाई जाय तो सब से नीची आय की सीढ़ी पर जो लोग हैं वह 20 प्रतिशत हैं और उनको राष्ट्रीय आय का 1952 ई० में 7.5 प्रतिशत यानी साढ़े सात प्रतिशत मिलता था और वह घट कर के 1962 ई० में 6.4 प्रतिशत हो गया था। इन दस वर्षों के अन्दर यह प्रवृत्ति रही। 1962 ई० के बाद इसमें कुछ बदल हुआ होगा ऐसा मैं नहीं कह सकता। यह ठीक है कि ये जो आकड़े हैं वह 1952 से लेकर 1962 तक के ही हैं लेकिन इस प्रवृत्ति में बदल होने का कोई कारण दिखाई नहीं देता। और साथ ही यह भी देखा जाय कि सामान्य आदमी के हिस्से में जो अन्न आता है, जो कपड़ा आता है, जो खाने का तेल एडीबल आयल आता है उनका अग्न और सत निकाला जाय तो वह बढ़ा नहीं है, वह कम होता जा रहा है। देश ऊँचे स्थानों को जा रहा है, देश बड़ी बड़ी मजिले तय कर रहा है, हम स्वप्नों की दुनिया का निर्माण कर रहे हैं लेकिन सब कुछ होते हुये भी जो साधारण, पीडित, पददलित मानव है उसके जीवन को जब कोई राहत मिलती हुई दिखाई नहीं देती तो वह कभी कभी बौखला कर के पूछता है कि क्या यही योजना है, क्या हमें बर्बाद करने की ही योजना बनी थी। फिर भी हम कहते हैं कि योजना सफल हुई। हाँ, सफलता किसी न किसी हिस्से के अन्दर जरूर हुई और अगर उस सफलता को हम काफी सफलता समझ लेंगे और आगे भी उसी तरह से योजना के रास्ते पर चलते रहेंगे जैसी कि तीन योजनाएँ हमने बनाईं तो उसका

परिणाम भी कोई सतोषदायक नहीं होगा, यह आज हमें समझ लेना चाहिये।

महोदय, मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जो एक बात हमने कही कि विदेशी सहायता के ऊपर हमारी निर्भरता कम होगी। विदेशों के ऊपर हमारी इस निर्भरता ने हमको आज जहाँ लाकर छोड़ा है, इस पर कहने के लिये हम आत्मनिर्भरता की बात बोलने लगे हैं, 'सेल्फ-रिलायंस' का फ्रेज इस्तेमाल करने लगे हैं। सेल्फ रिलायंस का फ्रेज एक पापुलर फ्रेज के रूप में अच्छा होगा लेकिन क्या इस फ्रेज को दुहराने से ही हम सेल्फ-रिलायंस हो जायेंगे? सेल्फ रिलायंस हो जाना तो बहुत अच्छी बात है लेकिन केवल फ्रेज को दुहराने से कुछ नहीं होगा। इस योजना में भी 3730 करोड़ रुपये की विदेशी सहायता की राशि कूती गई है, 3730 करोड़, यानी लगभग 750 करोड़ की मुद्रा प्रति वर्ष विदेशी सहायता के रूप में मिलेगी। क्या हम विदेशियों की सज्जनता के ऊपर इतना भरोसा करते हैं और क्या हम यह समझते हैं कि इन परिस्थितियों में जो कि आज दिखाई देती है उसमें बिना किसी दबाव के कोई विदेशी सहायता दे देगा। जो विदेशी सहायता कोई देता है तो कहने को हम चाहे कह लें कि उसके साथ कोई पोलिटिकल स्ट्रिंग जुड़ी हुई नहीं, कहने को चाहे हम कह लें कि कोई राजनैतिक दबाव उसके पीछे छिपा हुआ नहीं है लेकिन कोई ऐसी बात यथार्थ में नहीं है। जो देने वाला है वह वक्त पर गर्दन दना कर अपने मन की बात करवाना चाहता है और वह हमें करनी पड़ती है। हमें अपनी मुद्रा का अवमूल्यन करना पड़ा इस तरह के दबाव के कारण, हमें अपनी आयात-निर्यात की नीति के अन्दर फेर बदल करना पड़ा उसी दबाव के कारण।

यह ठीक है कि जवाब देने हुए प्रधान मंत्री महोदय कहेंगी कि हम किसी दबाव को नहीं मानते, हम किसी दबाव को अपने ऊपर नहीं आने देते लेकिन यह सच है कि जब यह पूछा गया था कि हमने अपनी मुद्रा का पिछला अवमूल्यन क्यों किया, तो हमें बताया गया कि अशोक मेहता साहब गये थे अमेरिका और वहाँ वर्ल्ड बैंक और अमेरिका के बड़े ऊँचे अधिकारियों से मिल कर आये थे तथा उन्होंने कहा था कि विदेशी सहायता का फैसला हम अभी कर पायेंगे जब कि रुपये को रियलिस्टिक वैल्यू पर ले आया जाय। इसके सिवाय और दबाव का मतलब क्या है? यह तो होता नहीं कि हमारे गले में फासी का फंदा डाल कर हमारे हाथ से अंगूठा लगवाया जाय, वह दबाव का तरीका नहीं होता। हम सब लोगों को इसे बुद्धि से समझना चाहिये और इसको सब समझने है ऐसा मैं मानता हूँ।

मेरा निवेदन यह है कि जब हम लोग इस तरह की चीजों को ले कर चलते हैं तो हमें यह देखना है कि वास्तव में कितनी सहायता पिछले वर्षों में मिली है और उसके आधार पर ही हम तय करें कि हमें आने वाले वर्षों में जितनी पहले मिलनी रही है उससे कुछ कम ही मिल पायेगी और उसको ही सामने रख कर सोचें। बड़ी उदारता से इस राशि को रखने का परिणाम यही होगा कि आगे चल कर के जो घण्टे की वित्त व्यवस्था करनी जरूरी है उससे कहीं अधिक, कई गुना, डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग होगी और उस डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग का फिर से दुष्प्रकार चलेगा, जिससे कि कीमतें बढ़ेंगी, खर्चें बढ़ेंगे और उसका भयंकर परिणाम यह होगा कि हमारी बहुत सारी योजनायें धराणायी हो जायेंगी।

इसके अलावा एक और मुझे निवेदन करना है। हमने यह मान रखा है कि डोमेस्टिक मैनिंग्स जा है वह 8 परसेंट से बढ़ कर 12 परसेंट हो जानो चाहिये। 'हो जानो चाहिये' तो बड़ा अच्छा शब्द है, चाहना तो बड़ा अच्छा है लेकिन मचमुच में हो जायेगी क्या? जिस वक्त कीमतें बढ़नी जा रही हैं तो जो बचत है वह कम होनी जानी है, नष्ट हो जा रही है तो उस वक्त जब कि आप कय-शक्ति को स्थिर रख सकें तब तो आप लोगों को बचाने के लिये कह सकते हैं नहीं तो कहना भी बड़ा कठिन है।

फिर पब्लिक सेक्टर में उम्मीद यह रखी गई है कि इसमें प्रति वर्ष 200 करोड़ रु० के रिसोर्सेज हम लोगों को मिल सकेंगे। 35 करोड़ रु० का घाटा पिछले वर्ष में उठाने के बाद हम एक वर्ष में इससे लगभग 200 करोड़ रु० प्राप्त करने लगेंगे, यह कितनी बड़ी बहादुरी, कितनी बड़ी दिलेरी रखने की बात है इसके बारे में किसी प्रकार की टिप्पणी करने की आवश्यकता मुझे नहीं प्रतीत होती।

परन्तु इस सारे माहौल के बीच में, इस सारे वातावरण के बीच में, जो सबसे बड़ी कमजोरी दिखायी देती है वह यह है कि जब हमारी चौथी योजना बननी थी तो साग बल इस बात पर था कि कितनी बड़ी योजना हो, कितनी बड़ी योजना हम बना सकते हैं, मानो कि पूरे दिल और जान में एक होकर उसको तय करना यह सबसे बड़ी जरूरत थी और फिर उसमें से 24,700 करोड़, और 1960-61 की कीमतों पर 31,000 करोड़ रु० का आकार 'लॉनिंग कमीशन' का पर्सपेक्टिव डिविजन है उसने शुरू में विचार किया था। आकड़े वहाँ से घटते घटते

[ डा० भाई महावीर ]

कुछ नीचे आए, लेकिन आज भी जितना 'एम्ब्रीशज' हमारा प्लानिंग है उसके परिणामस्वरूप हम लोग वास्तव में जो देना चाहते हैं, या देश जिसको पाने की अपेक्षा करता है, उसको दे सकेंगे या नहीं, यह संदेह उत्पन्न होता है। तीसरी योजना में हमने आशा रखी थी कि साढ़े पांच सौ करोड़ रु० का डेफिजिट फाइनेंसिंग करना पड़ेगा। करना पड़ा 1133 करोड़ रु० का और इस सारी चीज के अतिरिक्त एक और बात जिसको मैं यथार्थवादी न होने का कारण मानता हूं वह यह है कि हमारी योजना देश के साधनों को देखकर नहीं चलती। हमारे देश के सबसे बड़े साधन जो हैं उनमें कुछ प्राकृतिक स्रोत हैं और उनके साथ फिर हमारी जन शक्ति है, हमारी "मैन पावर" है। हम जनशक्ति को ठीक प्रकार से इस्तेमाल करने में समर्थ नहीं हुए। यह हमारे सामने इसी से साबित होता है, जो हमारे बेकारी के बढ़ते हुए आंकड़े हैं। पहली योजना के आरम्भ से तीसरी योजना के अंत तक देखा जाये तो 53 लाख से बढ़कर 1 करोड़ 30 लाख के करीब बेकारों की संख्या हमारे देश के अंदर हो गई पिछले तीन सालों के अंदर बीस, तीस लाख बेकार और बढ़ गये होंगे। लेकिन इस चौथी योजना ने बड़ी बुद्धिमत्ता की है कि अन्डरप्लायमेन्ट के आंकड़े देने की कोशिश नहीं की क्योंकि पहले के आंकड़ों के अंदर जो बड़ी कमजोरी थी उसका ठीक फेसला नहीं कर पाते थे। इसलिये यहां इस योजना में अनुमान लगाने के बजाय हमने एक एक्सपर्ट कमेटी बना दी है। वह एक्सपर्ट कमेटी इस बात को देखेगी और फिर हमें मालूम होगा कि कितनी बेकारी इस देश के अंदर है। शायद किसी भी सवाल की तरफ आंखें बंद करना उसको हल करने का एकमात्र सफल उपाय हम

लोगों को अपने पाम दिखायी देता है। वैनी ही बात इस समय इस चौथी योजना के अंदर नजर में आती है—अगर मैं इसको छोड़ दूं तो मेरा निवेदन है इस बेकारी का ऐसा एक पहलू है वैसा दूसरा पहलू यह है कि अपने साधनों का उपयोग हम लोग नहीं कर पा रहे। हमारे यहां की जनशक्ति, हमारे इंसानों के हाथों की मेहनत, इतनी बेकार जा रही है कि वह न केवल उपयोगी नहीं बनता समाज के लिये बल्कि वह समाज के लिये एक तकलीफ देने वाला कारण बन सकता है, समस्याएं पैदा करने वाला तत्व बन सकता है। इस वास्ते हम लोगों ने बार बार यह कहा, जन संघ ने बार बार यह कहा, कि काम करने का अधिकार—यह व्यक्ति का एक मौलिक अधिकार माना जाना चाहिये। सरकार यह मान कर चले कि अपनी योजना का एक सबसे बड़ा लक्ष्य यह है कि पूर्ण रोजगार वह देश को देगी और इस पूर्ण रोजगार को देने के लिये अपने देश के संविधान के डाइरेक्टिव प्रिन्सिपल के अंदर निर्देश भी है, जिसका उल्लेख चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना के प्रारम्भ में भी किया गया। अगर यह ऐसी बात होती जैसे धूप दीप दिखा कर कोई देवता खुश हो जाता तो प्रसन्नता की बात थी लेकिन उससे तो काम होता नहीं। जरूरत इस बात की है कि बेरोजगारी को दूर करना, लोगों को रोजगार पहुंचाना योजना का लक्ष्य होता और उस लक्ष्य को उसके अंदर रखकर हम पूरा करने का इरादा करते और उसे पूरा करते। यदि यह नहीं होता और इस समस्या का हल करने के लिये हम अपने देश के अंदर साधन पैदा न कर सके तो किसी काम में हमें सफलता नहीं मिलेगी। इसमें मेरा निवेदन यह है कि एक नयी टेकनालाजी का निर्माण करना होगा। इस नयी टेकनालाजी में... (Time

bell rings) मुझे तीन, चार मिनट और देने की कृपा करे। इस नयी टेकनालाजी मे हम लोग अपने देश के साधनों का जो अनुपात है, उसके हिसाब से उत्पादन की पद्धति को बनाए, यह आवश्यक है, और इसमे जब मैं कहता हूँ एक नयी टेकनालाजी चाहिये, तो इस नयी टेकनालाजी की जरूरत इस कारण भी है कि हम लोग जो अभी तक चिल्लाते रहे, और पब्लिक सेक्टर और हेव्ही इन्डस्ट्रीज पर हमारा आग्रह रहा, उस पर हमें पुनर्विचार करना पड़ेगा। दुनिया के विशेषज्ञों की जो राय है कि किसी देश की जो राष्ट्रीय आय है उस राष्ट्रीय आय के अनुपात के रूप में नया निवेश कितना है—New investment as a ratio of the National Income यदि वह जो फिगर है यह उस देश की जनसंख्या की वृद्धि का यदि चौगुना है तो वहां पर इतने “जाब्स” पैदा हो जाने चाहिये कि बेकारी पहले से ज्यादा न बड़े। लेकिन हमारे देश में तीसरी योजना में हमारा निवेश, हमारा इन्वेस्टमेंट, 10 प्रति शत से ज्यादा था हालांकि हार्ट प्रतिशत आबादी बढ़ी, चौगुना 10 प्रति शत होता था लेकिन यह 10 प्रतिशत से अधिक अनुपात प्राप्त नहीं हो सका। प्राप्त करना चाहते थे लेकिन कर नहीं पाए। दुनिया के दूसरे देशों ने भी इम्प्लायमेंट जनरेट किया है, उससे ये स्टैंडर्ड निर्धारित किये हैं, लेकिन हमारे यहां वह पूरा नहीं हुआ। कारण केवल यही हो सकता है कि हमारी, प्रायोरिटीज, हमारी प्राथमिकताओं, के अंदर कुछ गलती थी। यह जो योजना है उसके अंदर हमें न केवल उन गलतियों से बचना होगा बल्कि इस ढंग से विकास करना होगा जिससे हम अपने देश के साधनों का पूरा पूरा इस्तेमाल कर सकें।

मुझे यह कहने में थोड़ा सा अशुचर्य

इसलिये होता है कि हमारे योजना आयोग के जो उपाध्यक्ष हैं श्री गाडगिल, उनके शब्दों को यदि मैं यहाँ पर दोहरा दूँ तो मैं समझता हूँ मेरा बहुत बड़ा काम सरल हो जाता है। उन्होंने एक नोट भेजा था प्लानिंग कमीशन को, उसमें उन्होंने इन्डस्ट्रियलाइजेशन, औद्योगीकरण, का जो लक्ष्य था, उसके बारे में यह शब्द लिखे थे कि वह कैसा होना चाहिये

“as widely dispersed, at as small a scale, with as high an employment potential as is compatible with efficient technique and requirements of the process of development.”

यह शब्द जो उन्होंने लिखे थे 1963 में योजना आयोग को भेजे गये एक नोट के अंदर लिखे लेकिन आज जो उनके विचार हैं उनको कम से कम वह पूरा करना चाहते हैं या नहीं करना चाहते हैं या पहले जो उनके विचार थे आज भी वही है या नहीं इसमें मुझे संदेह नहीं है, लेकिन ऐसा जरूर है कि नमक के खान में जैसे आदमी नमक बन जाता है, वहां प्लानिंग कमीशन के ढर्रे में खुद भी ढल गये हों इस बात का खतरा है। लेकिन हमारी योजना की मारी गैली ही ऐसी रही है। मैं डाक्टर गाडगिल को फिर से उद्धृत कर रहा हूँ। अपने नियोजन को उन्होंने

“The most centralised system of planning and the most highly officialised planning in the world.”

हाइली आफिशियलाइज्ड का मतलब उनका यह है कि यहां पर सरकार के मेन्टेरियेट में बैठे हुए आफिसर योजना की खुरेखा को तय कर देते हैं। एक्सपर्ट्स का, विषय के जानने वालों का, समस्याओं की अनुभूति करने वालों, जिनको पता है, जूता कहाँ कसता है— who know where the shoe pinches

[डा० भाई महावीर]

उनका महयोग उसके अंदर नहीं आता है। परिणाम यह है कि एक वर्किंग ग्रुप बना दिया। वर्किंग ग्रुप क्या करता है? कुछ आंकड़े तय करता है, कुछ टार्गेट्स तय करता है जिनका व्यवहार में कोई उपयोग नहीं होता। दिल्ली की योजना के बारे में हम गाडगिल साहब से मिले हैं। हमने उनसे कहा है कि देखिये इस योजना में आपके वर्किंग ग्रुप ने जो फिगर्स तय किये हैं दिल्ली की सड़कों के लिये, अस्पतालों के लिये, कम से कम उनको तो पूरा करने की कोशिश कीजिए। वह कहने लगे: "Their figures have no relevance at all." हमने कहा तो इन लोगों को क्यों लगा रखा है? कहने लगे:

"I do not know why they have been set to work" पता नहीं, वह यह काम क्यों करते हैं, काम करके क्या निकालने है? इस प्रकार उन आंकड़ों का व्यवहार से कोई संबंध नहीं है। यह जो officialised process of planning है, यह कोई काम तो करता नहीं लेकिन टैक्सपेअर के ऊपर एक बोझ जरूर बनकर रह जाता है।

महोदय, आज हम लोग एक नये टेकनालोजी की बात जब कहते हैं तो मेरा निवेदन है—मैं डा० गाडगिल का ही एक छोटा सा उद्धरण देना चाहूंगा जहां पर उन्होंने कहा है कि हम योजना के कान्सेप्ट को लेकर नहीं चले lack of conceptual clarity के शीर्षक के अन्तर्गत।

... तीसरी योजना के बाद यहां पर 4 P.M. एक सेमीनार हुआ, उसमें उनका जो एक पेपर था उसका एक छोटा सा अंश पढ़ रहा हूं:

"Lack of Conceptual Clarity:

At the time of the formulation of the Second Five Year Plan it was assumed that the main invest-

ments in the field of industry would be in basic and heavy industries and that the needed increased supply of consumer goods would be forthcoming through full utilisation of the existing capacity of modern industrial units producing consumer goods and through the development of traditional industry. It was further laid down that traditional industry would undergo as rapid technical transformation as was compatible with avoiding technological unemployment and that the widening field of new consumer goods industry would be occupied by small scale dispersed modern industrial units. The working out of this approach required detailed planning and vigorous implementation. No attempt was made in either of these directions and the approach fell through. Today there are no guidelines of policy indicating any overall concept of the strategy or the route of industrialisation."

यह हमारे आज योजना आयोग के उपाध्यक्ष का कहना है। अगर इसको भी अपने सामने रखकर, लक्ष्य लेकर चले, तो मैं समझता हूं कि आज योजना में जो कमी है वह हमारे सामने आ जायेगी।

आखिर मैं, मैं अपनी बात एक आध मिनट में कहकर खत्म कर दूंगा। पब्लिक सैक्टर के बारे में सरकार बहुत प्रेम और बहुत लाड भाव लेकर चलती है जैसा कि कोई बड़ा फौन्डिड, फेवॉरिट और बड़ा लाइला पेटू बेटा होता है बाकी सबके मुकाबले में। इसी तरह का मलुक सरकार पब्लिक सैक्टर के बारे में करती है। इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि पब्लिक सैक्टर की स्कीमों में सरकार को घाटा हो जाता है, जैसे बुढ़ापे में पैदा हुआ लड़का शराबी हो जाता है, जुआ खेलता है इधर उधर आवागर्दी करता है और वाप का पैसा जाया करता

है, लेकिन फिर भी वाप अपने बेटे को डाटता नहीं है और सारे दोषों से अपनी आख मूद लेता है।

अभी प्रधान मंत्री महोदया ने कहा कि जो कुछ पब्लिक सैक्टर में कमिया है, वही प्राइवेट सैक्टर में भी है, लेकिन वे लोगो के सामने नहीं आती हैं। मेरा कहना यह है कि प्राइवेट सैक्टर की कमियों को सामने लाने के लिए काम्ट एकाउन्टेड वहाँ पर बैठा हुआ है। अगर किसी कारखाने में घाटा होता है तो वह अपने घाटे को ठीक करेगा, उसमें एफिशियन्सी लायेगा और वह अपने अपव्यय तथा वेस्टेज को रोकेगा। अगर वह नहीं रोकता है तो चार दिन के अन्दर लिक्विडेशन कोर्ट, इनसोल्वेन्सी कोर्ट में जाकर खड़ा होगा और लोग डण्डे मार मार कर अपने पैसे हाजिर करने के लिए कहेंगे। यह स्थिति पब्लिक सैक्टर में मौजूद नहीं है। यहाँ पर टेक्सपेयर का पैसा बरबाद होता है, गरीब आदमी के पैसे की कमाई बटोरी जाती है और उसकी मेहनत की कमाई छीनी जाती है तथा इस तरह से घाटे को पूरा किया जाता है। पब्लिक सैक्टर जिसको हमने सोशलिज्म का समानार्थ माना है उसको पनपा पनपा करके बढ़ाते चले जा रहे हैं। यह एक इस तरह का लाडला है जो देश के लिए उपयुक्त नहीं है और अच्छा नहीं है। चाहिये यह था कि सारे देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था को हम एक साथ लेकर चलते, सारे देश के लिए एक नेशनल इकोनोमी बनाते और एक नेशनल सैक्टर बनाते और उसमें जो हिस्सा जिम के हाथ में चला जाता उसे चलने दिया जाता।

इस योजना में 14,398 ₹० पब्लिक सैक्टर में दिये गए हैं और 10 हजार प्राइवेट सैक्टर को दिये गये हैं। इसको देखकर

लगता है कि प्राइवेट सैक्टर की कार्यक्षमता और सफलता के बावजूद तथा पब्लिक सैक्टर की नालायकी और अक्षमता के बावजूद जो आकड़े दिये गये हैं उसका मतलब यह होता है कि हम लोग किसी प्रकार की योग्यता या पात्रता को साथ लिये बिना ही किन्हीं डाक्ट्रीनियर और किन्हीं डागमैटिक कंसिडरेशन को लेकर चल रहे हैं। इस समय देश के लिए इकोनोमी बहुत आवश्यक है लेकिन हम जो कुछ खर्च कर रहे हैं, अपव्यय कर रहे हैं क्या वह उचित है। क्या हम इस देश के अन्दर शान व शौकत की चीजों को लाने की कोशिश नहीं कर रहे हैं। मैं इस सबध में कई उदाहरण रख सकता हूँ। हम गांधी जी का नाम लेकर बड़े बड़े सिद्धान्तों की घोषणा करते हैं। लेकिन जब हमारे यहाँ कोई सरकारी फक्शन होता है, जब किसी मिनिस्टर का आना होता है या कई बार ऐसा होता है कि जितना उस प्रोजेक्ट में कुल खर्च होता है उससे ज्यादा अधिक उसके उद्घाटन में खर्च हो जाता है कहा कहा में पक्कारो को लाया जाता है और कितना उनके खाने पिलाने में खर्च किया जाता है, यह सब इस लिये किया जाता है कि दो, चार शब्द अखबारों में तारीफ के छप जाये। इस तरह से यह सरकार आज इस देश की जनता का पैसा बरबाद करने में लगी हुई है। इस तरह से हम इकोनोमी और बचत नहीं कर सकेंगे। अब आवश्यकता इस बात की रह जायेगी कि सारे देश के अन्दर जो स्वदेशी की और आत्म विश्वास की भावना है, वह किम तरह से आये। यह कमी रह जायेगी।

(Time bell rings)

इमलिए मेरा निवेदन है, मेरा आग्रह है कि शासन के अन्दर जो बातें की गई हैं, सरकार जिस तरह से खर्चा कर रही है प्लान के खर्च की बात में नहीं कहता

[डा० भाई महावीर]

हूँ बल्कि जो कुछ डिपार्टमेंटों में एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में दूसरे तरह के खर्च किये गये हैं, संजावटों में, झालरों में जो खर्च किये गये हैं, उन्हें कम किया जाना चाहिये। इस सरकार को सारे देश के सामने सादगी और बचत का उदाहरण पेश करना चाहिये ताकि देश में उस तरह की भावना पैदा हो सके और देश को आगे बढ़ाने में सहायक हो सके। यही मेरा निवेदन है और उन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना कथन समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRIMATI LALITHA (RAJAGOPALAN) (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have glanced through the Draft Fourth Five Year Plan for 1969—74 and I find this not only as a valuable document but a document which is going to take the people of India in the path of progress and economic stability. In this Plan outline a total outlay of Rs. 24,319 crores is envisaged. Out of this, the public sector outlay will amount to Rs. 14,000 odd crores and the investment in private sector is anticipated to be about Rs. 10,000 crores. It is not a question of only allocation for the public sector or the private sector. The more important factor is the implementation in time more especially of projects of importance to the nation as well as the States concerned. In this connection in Chapter 5 on implementation it is stated:

“Continuous appraisal of progress is of vital importance for ensuring successful implementation. Suitable information and reporting systems will have to be devised so that those responsible for implementation can anticipate difficulties, judge at each step the progress and performance in relation to pre-determined targets of costs and time and take corrective measures”.

This is very clearly stated. If this is really to be implemented and if this is really taken seriously by every State which is going to implement

the Plan, then I think this Plan will be a success.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, at the same time I have a doubt about the implementation of this Plan as anticipated or as it is devised because the present environment is such that while the nature is unkind and unpredictable, at the same time, even more than that, the anti-social elements are out to destroy the national property without even thinking that these properties belong to them first and then to the nation as a whole. Of course nature is uncontrollable but not the people. Mere law and order situation cannot in any way bring these people down to a proper temper. The Government should realise that the root cause is economic frustration that is existing in the country in all spheres and take quick remedial steps to see what they can do about it. Unless the economic unrest is completely removed, I do not think any Plan can be successful, but this cannot be done only by the Central Government. It is also the responsibility of the State Governments and the people at large. Also as already stated by the Prime Minister, the masses should be educated. Rather I would go even further to the extent of saying that they should be brainwashed and a method should be adopted to rouse their civic consciousness in understanding the significance and benefits of the Plans. Unless the people realise how important the Plan is, how important a project is, I do not think that the expected results will be forthcoming.

Planning in India essentially began as a Central effort in the first stages. The First Five Year Plan was only an effort to co-ordinate the schemes of the various State Governments. The Second Five Year Plan was a much larger effort with strategy. But even in this the States did not take so much interest except in the field of irrigation. The Centre had to take the responsibility to give guidelines to the States. Later on when the States started realising their role, they borrowed the standard schemes from the Centre and created plans of their

own and presented them to the Planning Commission. Thus, the States which had greater resources got greater grants and the States which had lesser resources got lesser grants. This ultimately resulted in the inflated State Plans. This is how we find that Plans are inflated and the target is not achieved. It is not the fault of the Central Government as pointed out by Shri Dahyabhai Patel. It was the result of this scheme adopted during the Second Five Year Plan in formulating plans.

Shri D. R. Gadgil, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, has stated:

"As often happens with our plans they are a collection of bits of schemes in all kinds of directions. This is because we have not got adequate criteria. We are unable to choose, our resources are wasted."

This is very correct. For these schemes which are presented to the Central Government, the Central Government is not responsible for them. As far as the public sector projects are concerned, of course they are the Central Government's concern, and the Central Government should see that wherever there are public sector projects they are finished in time within the targeted time. If a project or a scheme is accepted and approved, whether it is progressing in the right direction or not from Plan to Plan, its size is increased and the implementation becomes very difficult and delayed. Perhaps, this is the main reason why the public sector projects have delayed.

I am happy to note that the Prime Minister in her address to the All India Manufacturers' Organisation has sought the whole-hearted support of the industrialists in the implementation of the Fourth Plan and gave a pat on the back of the private sector and the public sector, and she has stated—

"It must justify itself by effi-

ciency"

And she has also stated there should be scrutiny of the implementation year by year. And if that be the principle and if what I have read just now from the Implementation Chapter is also adopted, I think the public sector can attain a status in developing the economic and industrial progress of our country.

At the same time, we have to admit that we are a poor country and that we have to mobilise our resources and utilise them in an economical manner. In this connection, the Administrative Reforms Commission, in going into the total Central aid, recommended—

"the multiplicity of matching grants and patterns of assistance be abolished. The Centre should give to the States total assistance divided into grants and loans."

This was accepted by the Chief Ministers at the National Development Council and by the Finance Ministry of the Government of India. This is a new-found freedom for the States. Hereafter, the States have to formulate the schemes they like. But only let the Planning Commission know the priorities and the objectives and the particular pattern in which they are going to implement them. As far as the Central assistance is concerned, the Planning Commission would hold discussions with the Government of India and ascertain the total assistance available during the Plan period, that can be given by the Centre to the States. This clearly shows how much freedom the States have got, and the States have not now to blame the Centre for not giving. Now it is left to the States to implement the Plan within the target and if any additional resources have to be mobilised then it is the responsibility of the States and not of the Centre. I think this recommendation is a very good one and this also gives a little bit of freedom to the States to have their way. The States now clamour for more power and more resources and I hope that this recommendation will be given



[Shrimati Lalitha (Rajagopalan).] considerable thought by the Prime Minister.

Coming back to the Plan Document, at page 4 it is said—

“Planning in India has thus to organise the efficient exploitation of the resources of the country, increase production and step up the tempo of economic activity in general and industrial development in particular to the maximum possible extent. The basic goal is a rapid increase in the standard of living of the people, through measures which also promote equality and social justice. Emphasis is placed on the common man, the weaker sections and the less privileged.”

In this connection, I would like to point out how far we have done for the common man, the weaker section and the down-trodden. The basic needs of the common man is only to secure two square meals a day, shelter and clothing and above all, drinking water facilities. The Plan should devote more of its attention to these kinds of things. Unless you touch the common man's heart, it is not possible for you to build up economic progress. And he should feel that we are doing something for his welfare and well-being. Of course, we cannot satisfy everybody, as the Finance Minister one day said. But we have to satisfy somebody, especially the common man who is all the time the pulse of the nation.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Where is he now?

SHRIMATI LALITHA (RAJAGOPALAN): Of course, this Plan has brought about measures beneficial to the small farmers, the co-operative sector and the craftsmen. But they are inadequate and more has to be done in these spheres also.

Agriculture has been given greater emphasis in the Plan. I hope that by increasing use of fertilisers and by boring more tube-wells, self-suffi-

ciency will be achieved in the coming few years. The responsibility lies with the States and not with the Centre.

I would like to point out that the outlay sought for irrigation in the Fourth Plan is Rs. 1,140 crores. Of this Rs. 839 crores are recommended for the speedy completion of continuing projects and Rs. 250 crores are sought for new schemes. But in the Plan the continuing schemes have been given Rs. 717.4 crores and new schemes Rs. 97.4 crores only, and the entire sum is only Rs. 857 crores, when Rs. 1,140 crores have been demanded according to the Working Group's proposal. It is not a matter of Rs. 200 crores but when we have flood control measures and when we have so much of relief measures, we waste a lot of money. But if these Rs. 200 crores are given according to the Working Group's proposal, I think something concrete can be done. It is not that I say that we should not do relief work. But at the same time I would say that from time immemorial we are having floods and every time we are doing relief work and we are not having any concrete proposals in this regard, for controlling the floods absolutely. As an expert we have got Dr. K. L. Rao who is an expert in this field; he has gone to the USA and has had consultations with U Thant as well as other people there and has come out here with all proposals. I hope that he will take speedy measures, flood control measures, which are effective.

As far as the public sector and the private sector are concerned, I have nothing to say. I have always been emphasising that the public sector and the private sector should go hand in hand and that all encouragement should be given to the private sector also. In this connection, I would like to say that as far as the public sector is concerned, there are sectors, as Mr. Dahvabhai Patel rightly pointed out, that have not been completed and which are there for a very long time uncompleted. In this connection, I

would like to point out the heavy loss that we have incurred in the Hindustan Machine Tools. There is further delay in the completion of the Bokaro Steel Plant. And about this Bhilai Steel Plant there was a write-up in the *Hindustan Times* the day before yesterday and it says—

“To the extent that the loss is due to a faulty pricing policy imposed on the company and to the mistakes of national economic planning, one can sympathise with the sentiment behind the question.”

It says that there is non productive expenditure. It goes on—

“Is it fair, for instance, that the recurring expenditure of Rs. 1.5 crores on the township should be borne by the plant?”

The Bhilai Steel Plant has to bear the cost of the township. And again—

“Is it right that costly management time should be devoted to problems of the township? Should the question of evicting squatters now occupying land belonging to a school for Bhilai employees' children take up the time and energy of top management?”

The top management is not bothered about the Bhilai Steel Plant, it is bothered about evicting the squatters. I think much time is wasted. It is stated that there are as many as 2,772 employees at Bhilai who do purely administrative work. Only for doing administrative work, they are having such a number. You just imagine how the plant will work. These things which have been stated in the *Hindustan Times* and other things also should be looked into and some changes should be effected.

I would like to say about the small car industry. When the people are willing to produce small cars, indigenous cars in India, still the Government is hesitating to give the

green signal to them. I think this should be taken up.

I would like to say what the Prime Minister has said at the All India Manufacturers' Organisation. I quote—

“If we do not take a second look at foreign collaboration, it can easily become a habit-forming drug”

I am sure the Prime Minister has realised that we should not think always in terms of foreign collaboration. We are already having foreign collaboration for manufacturing many items. Even for sewing machines we are trying to have foreign collaboration, sewing machines which we are manufacturing in India. Our sewing machines have proved very popular abroad and we are exporting them. What will happen then to the manufacturers of sewing machines here. They have submitted a representation to the Government regarding this. So, I am sure, since the Prime Minister has made such an observation, she will think over it. Last but not the least, I am very happy to note that in this Draft Plan is included a special chapter on Youth Services. The inclusion of youth in the shaping of the country has been very well thought of. At the same time I would like to point out that the basic cause of youth frustration is unemployment and we are going to have a demonstration tomorrow or so by the students who are unemployed.

There is already the problem of Town Planners' unemployment, Engineers' unemployment etc. Unless we solve all these problems there cannot be any sound progress.

Lastly, I would like to say something about tourism which I always touch upon whenever I speak. Tourism all over the world is the world's largest single industry. In countries like Lebanon it is their bread and butter. Spain earns more

[Shrimati Lalitha (Rajagopalan).] of foreign exchange by tourism than from any other source. I learn that at one resort on the Adriatic coast hotels "guarantee" sunshine and offer rebate if it rains on any day. So this is how countries all over the world open their gates to tourists which is the best form for common understanding, co-existence and friendly relationships. International friendship can be developed through this channel. India has vast potentialities for tourism. It has natural scenery, so much of heritage, culture and everything which can yield almost instant result. India is yet to capitalise this advantage to the full extent not only because of paucity of funds but because of the inadequate facilities it can provide to the tourist from the world over. The single city of Bangkok which I had the opportunity of visiting attracts more tourists each year than all India all over the year. India has so much and such variety to offer in terms of natural beauty—snow-capped mountains of the Himalays, the paradise holiday resort of Kashmir, mountaineering scope, the wonderful Taj, etc. There are all sorts of things. But we are yet to tap all these resources.

According to the Fourth Plan, by package deals, chartered flights, holiday resorts and motels, etc. it is expected that tourism will increase from 200,000 to 600,000 by 1974. How far this will be carried out depends upon the imagination and dynamism of the Minister for Tourism.

In this connection I would like to make a suggestion to develop Indian tourism. Presently they project our image abroad in such a way that India is depicted only as a poverty-stricken country, a country full of labour unrest all over so much so that one cannot go anywhere. This image should be erased from the minds of the people.

In this connection I would suggest that India and Nepal should combine for purposes of developing tourism, for the Himalayan region, for the

South Indian places of attraction and Ceylon. These countries should join together for package tours. This will complete the picture.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI): Your time is over.

SHRIMATI LALITHA (RAJAGOPALAN): You gave others 35 minutes. Can you not give me another five minutes? I have not spoken on the Finance Bill, the Budget or the Appropriation Bill.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: You should give her another twenty minutes.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Since she is searching for some point, in the meantime I would make a suggestion . . .

SHRIMATI LALITHA (RAJAGOPALAN): Lastly, Mr. Vice-Chairman, the country is faced with labour problem. Labour unrest is dangerous to the very basic economic structure in an undeveloped economy and sooner we try to rectify it the better it will be if we are earnest in executing our plans. The need-based minimum wage should be implemented and labour representatives should be there in the management. Labour should be made to feel that they are builders of our economy.

Lastly, the A.R.C. has recommended the creation of a Plan appraisal and evaluation wing in the Planning Commission. It will help the Commission to identify the lags and bottlenecks. I hope this recommendation will be accepted.

To make the Draft Plan a success needs the courage, determination and hard work of the 500 millions of our people irrespective of parties and castes, and I am sure the country which showed its oneness in two successive aggressions in 1962 and 1965 will take up this challenge once more and will strengthen the economic structure to make the nation strong and self-reliant in all aspects.

Lastly, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I thank you very much for giving me more time. I never speak beyond time. This is the only occasion when I exceeded my time.

**SHRI LOKANATH MISRA:** Mr. Vice-Chairman, the House has got a chance to discuss the Plan after three years. Naturally many Members in the House would like to speak.

**SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA (Bihar):** Annual Plans were discussed.

**SHRI LOKANATH MISRA:** Kindly do not bring in that thing. The Five Year Plan is being discussed after three years and Members from each party feel that they must have an opportunity to speak on it. Since we are short of time.....  
(*Interruption from Congress Benches*) Kindly listen. Your spokesman will have to reply. Either he has to agree with me or he has to oppose me.

Therefore, Sir, since the feeling in the House is that more time should be allotted, all the same not extend our session beyond the 19th, let us sit till 7 o'clock today and till 8 o'clock tomorrow so that we can accommodate more Members. If really the Members are interested, they should sit till 7 p.m. today and till 8 p.m. tomorrow.

**SHRI ABID ALI (Maharashtra):** And let there be no lunch hour tomorrow.

**SHRI LOKANATH MISRA:** No. We shall have lunch hour but we shall sit till 8.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI):** What is the sense of the House? Shall we sit up to 7 p.m.?

**SHRI ABID ALI:** And without quorum.

(*No hon'ble Member dissented*)

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI):** The House will sit till 7 p.m.

17-12 RSS/ND/69

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** And for every one year's delay in the formulation of the Fourth Plan, four hours should be given for discussion.

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्रीमन्, मेरा निवेदन यह है कि मैंने लिखित निवेदन किया, नेता सदन को लिखित निवेदन किया कि कानून मंत्री सदन में... (*Interruption*) हल्ला मत करिए। मैंने निवेदन किया था कि कानून मंत्री सदन में आयें। कानून के सम्बन्ध में मुझे भी कहना है। देखिए गजेन्द्रगडकर कमीशन के सामने हमारी गवाही है और हमारा बहुत पहले से एप्वाइन्टमेन्ट है। 5 बजे तक हाउस चलता है, 5 बजे से पहले हमें चला जाना है। इतना इम्पारटेंट विषय है। हमारी और प्राइम मिनिस्टर की कन्ट्रोवर्सी हो गई (*Interruption*)।

**श्री ओम मेहता (जम्मू और काश्मीर) :**  
वे यहां आ रहे हैं।

**श्री राजनारायण :** हमारा निवेदन है कि अण्णासाहेब शिन्दे 1969-70 में चीनी की कीमत क्या होगी इसके बारे में बयान देंगे 6 बजे। इतना इम्पारटेंट विषय है, उस पर पहले बयान होना चाहिए...

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री दत्तोपन्त ठेंगड़ी) :** राजनारायण जी, पहले जो तय हुआ था उसमें यह था कि लोक सभा में वक्तव्य देने के पश्चात् यहां आएंगे, वह फालो किया जायगा।

**श्री राजनारायण :** लोक सभा में बयान हो गया।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री दत्तोपन्त ठेंगड़ी) :**  
वहां से वक्तव्य देकर यहां आ जाएंगे।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, लोक सभा में बोले हैं, चाहे जो बोले हों। अगर आपको यह खबर दी गई है कि नहीं बोले तो यह खबर गलत है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री दत्तोपन्त ठेंगड़ी) : वह खबर नहीं है।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, we should not disturb him very much.

श्री राजनारायण : फरदर इनफार्मेशन क्या है? फरदर इनफार्मेशन क्या होगी? एलेक्शन रिजल्ट डिक्लेयर हुआ या नहीं, हम रेडियो से इस को जान जायेंगे: . . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I think he should come.

SHRI OM MEHTA: He is coming.

श्री राजनारायण : सुनिये आप। हमारा प्वाइंट यह है कि वहां का रिजल्ट घोषित होने से रोक दिया गया क्यों। बहस तो इस पर है कि इस प्रकार रिजल्ट का घोषित किया जाना जो रोका गया है वह ठीक है या नहीं। उस का नतीजा क्या है? रिजल्ट डिक्लेयर हो गया या नहीं? एस० के० पाटिल आयेगे या नहीं? उस से हम को मतलब नहीं। हमारा मतलब यही है कि एलेक्शन का रिजल्ट किस राइट से, किस तह में रोका गया? इसी पर बहस है और बहस इसी पर होगी। इस लिए फरदर इनफार्मेशन मिले या नहीं, इस से मेरा कोई मतलब नहीं।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: My suggestion is, quite apart from other things, we should not bring in very much of politics here. In that house, Mr. Vice-Chairman, they have allowed even a discussion and the discussion is taking place—I just found out. I do not know whether it has ended now. A statement has to be made in this House also. I would

demand that let a statement be made and let there be a brief discussion. It is not a question of individuals. Mr. Krishna Menon is also leading by 65,000 votes. Let us discuss it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI): There is no question about that. A statement will be made and it will be made to-day. That is certain.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: There are divergent points of view. Mr. Rajnarain has one point of view.....

श्री राजनारायण : आप हमारा प्वाइंट सुन रहे हैं। मैं आप से रिक्वेस्ट कर रहा हूं कि आज हमारा अपना एप्वाइंटमेंट है। काशी विश्वविद्यालय के सिलसिले में गजेंद्र-गडकर कमीशन के सामने आज हमारा विट-नैस है। आज पांच बजे। तो मैं चाहता हूं कि उस से पहले यहां बहस हो। और यह कोई जरूरी नहीं है कि कानून मंत्री यहां बोलें। डिप्टी मिनिस्टर हों तो वे भी स्टेट-मेंट दे सकते हैं। वह क्यों नहीं बोलते हैं। फिर जिस को बहस करनी होगी वह करेगा।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is very important. He has to appear before that Commission. Is it not possible to send a message to the Law Minister whether he could come a little earlier?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI): I will explain the position. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, you will appreciate that from the Chair it has been said that this statement should be made to-day. So far as his convenience is concerned, he has conveyed his request. Whether it will be considered or not, whether it is possible or not, that is a different thing.

श्री राजनारायण : यह कन्वीनियेन्स की बात नहीं है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI): On behalf of the

Chair, I have said that the statement would be made to-day. There is no question about that.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA: Let the Law Minister come. We are discussing the Fourth Five-Year Plan now. (*Interruptions.*)

श्री राजनारायण : क्या हल्ला मचाते हो  
इस तरह बार बार ।

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, two persons should not be allowed to monopolise the time of the House on everything that they choose. Protect us from the onslaught of these two gentlemen.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I thought it was three persons—Mr. Rajnarain, myself and he.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA: No, no, I never fight with you. Let us carry on the normal business of the House. Mr. Vice-Chairman, please call the next speaker on the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI): Mr. Mulka Govinda Reddy is the next speaker.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, planning has come to be accepted as an important economic activity in both capitalist and socialist countries. We, who belong to the socialist parties, have believed in the planned development of the economy of the country and we have been insisting that planning should be on socialist lines so that disparities in income and inequality of opportunities are ended, and equal opportunity is provided to every man and woman in this country to grow to his or her full stature. Rightly, in the Fourth Plan Draft, in the first chapter, the planners have drawn the attention of the Parliament of the country to the two articles of the Constitution, articles 38 and 39, with regard to the Directive Principles of State Policy. Again in

this chapter on page 2, paragraph 1.4, it is stated:

“Parliament adopted a resolution which contained the following clauses:

(1) The objective of economic policy should be a Socialistic Pattern of Society; and

(2) Towards this end the tempo of economic activity in general and industrial development in particular should be stepped up to the maximum possible extent.”

We must find out whether after three Five-Year Plans we have been able to achieve any of these objectives to any appreciable extent. It is true that there is some progress; there is no doubt about it. But the progress is not to the extent of solving these important problems. The Deputy Prime Minister said yesterday that 22 years of independence is not a big time for any country to show any gigantic improvement in the standard of living of the people. Mr. Vice-Chairman, if we go through the history of the economic development in other countries after the last World War, in some countries there is an economic boom. As was rightly pointed out by some of the Members, there is so much economic boom that their currency is very strong to-day. After the devastation that they suffered during the last war they have been able to build up their economy. In China they have built up their economy to-day; and in the U.S.S.R., they have built up their economy, and to-day it is considered to be one of the world powers. But unfortunately, we have not been able to build up our economy, or to solve any of our problems. The standard of living has not improved. We have not been able to implement many of the directive principles adumbrated in our Constitution, particularly compulsory education. As some Members pointed out the other day, it may take more than half a century for us to liquidate illiteracy in this country. So it is very important to consider

[Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy.] whether in the last 20 years, after having spent Rs. 20,000 crores, we have been able to implement to any appreciable extent the policies adumbrated in this Fourth Five-Year Plan Draft. The disparities are increasing. The rich are becoming richer and the poor are becoming poorer. The opportunities that are provided to the backward classes are meagre. It looks as though it is not a socialist goal or a socialist plan that this Government is placing before us. It looks like a capitalist plan. They have confessed that it is a mixed economy. But in this mixed economy, the socialist content of the Plan is given a go-by. We find pockets of affluence here and there and they debase the whole atmosphere in the society. Unless this is put an end to, it is not possible to bring about the egalitarian society that the Prime Minister was placing before us as the goal that we want to achieve through the Five-Year Plans. Unemployment is growing. There is so much of underemployment today. With the successive Plans we are having this problem of unemployment going out of proportions and today there are 3 million educated unemployed as per the employment exchange registers. And there might be another 10 millions whose names have not been registered with the employment exchanges. And the number of uneducated unemployed is much more, may be more than 50 millions. In spite of the fact that in some States land legislation has been passed, land reform laws have been passed, the respective Governments have not been able to implement them.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, we are seeing our Government going to foreign countries with a begging bowl asking for food, and we have spent more than Rs. 2,000 crores on our food imports. If only they had invested this money on the development of agriculture, today there would not have been any need for going abroad with a begging bowl for food, and today we would not have had thousands of crores of rupees accumulated

under the PL 480. And to this sorry state of affairs has this Government brought us through its trumpeted Plans. Mr. Vice-Chairman, they say they have increased the allocations towards agriculture. But if we just go through the figures we will find that in the Third Five Year Plan 14 per cent of the Plan outlay was allocated for agricultural and allied sectors and in this Fourth Five Year Plan they have allocated only 15.6 per cent. It is a negligible increase. For irrigation and flood control it was 6.3 per cent in the Third Plan and in the Fourth Plan it is 4.3 per cent. For power it was 10.2 per cent in the Third Plan and in the Fourth Plan it is 9.6 per cent. So, from this it is evident that the monies that are allocated for agricultural improvement are going down and they are not going up. And added to this they are imposing so many taxes. They are imposing water cess, irrigation development tax, taxes on fertilizers, so much so there is no incentive for the farmer to grow more. Therefore, Mr. Vice-Chairman, unless we change our approach, unless we allocate more funds for this vital sector of our economy, we are not going to have this much trumpeted green revolution and self-sufficiency in food.

In this Fourth Plan the Plan outlay that we have allocated is Rs. 24,398 crores out of which Rs. 14,398 crores are under the public sector and Rs. 10,000 crores under the private sector. Mr. Vice-Chairman, what has happened during these years is that they are pampering the private sector. Almost all the credit institutions give as loans hundreds of crores to the private sector. On the other hand they have invested more than Rs. 3,000 crores under the public sector, but what is the performance of the public sector? With the exception of a few exceptional public sector undertakings, most of the public undertakings are a heavy burden on the exchequer. Please permit me to quote from an article written by Shri N.G. Goray, Chairman of the Praja Socialist Party,—

"So scandalous has been the management of industries in this sector that with a few honourable exceptions, it has exposed the concept of nationalisation to unprecedented ridicule. The public sector has come to be equated with corruption, with nepotism, with culpable squandering of tax-payer's money and with the worst form of inefficiency and mismanagement."

Mr. Vice-Chairman, we are all ardent advocates of the public sector, but the performance of the public sector is such that one wonders whether the Government is sincere when it established these public sector undertakings. It looks as though they are conspiring with the private sector to bring discredit to these public sector undertakings and these public sector undertakings are suffering such huge losses. If only they had managed them properly, there would have been proper returns and those returns would have been useful for the programmes adumbrated under the Fourth Five Year Plan. I would very much urge upon the Government to see that proper steps are taken so that these public sector undertakings give proper returns.

Then, drinking water is not made available in many of the villages in India. In many thousands of villages, in about seven lakhs of villages, drinking water is not made available and wherever drinking water is made available, the Harijans are prevented from drawing the drinking water from the same well and in some cases some States have provided wells for the Harijans alone. This is perpetuation of the untouchability which we want to eradicate from this country. We have passed many laws prohibiting such practices. But here the States indirectly encourage the separatist tendency. I, therefore, urge that the Central Government should take care and evince more interest in putting down such untouchable acts and they should see that drinking water is provided to all the villages. That is such a simple thing which if the Government cannot fulfil after

22 years of freedom, then, this Government has no right to exist.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, there are regional imbalances in the economic development of our country. There are certain States where the economy is booming, where there are so many industries established, and where the unemployment problem is mitigated. But there are other regions which have remained backward and still backward, and the Central Government has invested thousands of crores of rupees in State undertakings. With your permission I would like to quote an answer given by the Minister of Industries in reply to one of the questions raised in this House:

"The quantum of the Central investment in the Mysore State during the period 1951-68 has been very low. Out of the total investment of Rs. 2,450 crores, the investment in the Mysore State was only of the order of Rs. 48 crores. In Bihar it was Rs. 356.5 crores, in Madhya Pradesh Rs. 459.1 crores, in Madras Rs. 245.8 crores, in Orissa Rs. 418.1 crores and in West Bengal Rs. 408.2 crores."

Such imbalances we must try to avoid. There are regional imbalances within a State and that is one of the reasons why there is so much agitation going on in the Telangana area in Andhra Pradesh. So we should avoid such regional imbalances and the Central Government in taking up the question of industries, should look into these matters and avoid such regional imbalances and rectify these regional imbalances. In 1966 when we devalued our currency, it was said that it would give a good fillip to our exports. After devaluation, for nearly two years, there was no improvement at all in our exports. On the other hand there was a fall in our exports. Now they are trying to improve our exports. On account of this drag they wanted to have a 7 per cent. increase in our exports. Well and good if we can improve our exports but this devaluation of our rupee has been a crime to the economic development of our country. It should not have been done. Some of the credit institutions till some



[Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy] time back were helping the private sector more than the small-scale sector or the agricultural sector. That is why we have been pleading that this social control on banks has not been of such a great help in the improvement of the small scale sector or agriculture. The commercial banks borrowed at 4.5 per cent. from the Reserve Bank and gave loans to the small scale sector and the agriculturists at 9 per cent. Instead of giving more benefit to the agriculturists and the small scale sector, it is the commercial banks that are going to be benefited and therefore this social control on banks is not going to help our economy. The only thing that will help is the nationalisation of the banks. The earlier the better. We have to find resources for our Plans and too much dependence on foreign aid may not help and therefore we have to realise more resources from our internal savings and if we tighten our tax machinery, it should be possible to increase our income and revenues to the State but unfortunately the tax machinery is such that it is not able to improve the tax collection. Nearly Rs 4000 crores of unaccounted money is there and they have not been able to tap this source at all. A stringent measure is necessary. They have not been able to punish the blackmarketeers. Stringent measures like the currency reform is very necessary in order to mop up this unaccounted money. I am glad the Minister for Education who is an economist of repute is here. I would request him to advise this Government to bring in currency reform in order to mop up this unaccounted money that is now in the hands of these blackmarketeers and tax evaders. The currency reform was undertaken in many other countries. That is the only way to immobilise this unaccounted money in the hands of these monopolists. According to the report of the Monopolies' Commission, 75 big business houses have grown and lakhs of people have become paupers. So in order to put down these monopolists, this currency reform is one of the methods by

which we could immobilise the resources that these monopolists have

There should be a ceiling on urban property. There are people who own not one but tens of building in metropolitan cities. Their income per month may be a lakh of rupees. Unless you impose a ceiling on their property and their income we cannot think of bringing about equality of opportunities or bring about or mitigate the evil of this wide disparity in wealth. This concentration of wealth should be put an end to by fixing a ceiling on urban property.

Lastly, in many countries, even in USA to day, the disparities are not as much as you find here. It may be in the ratio of 1:2 but here the disparity is so much and the ratio may be 1:1000. Unless this is brought down—and it should not be more than 1:10 it is not possible to give a concrete shape to the socialistic pattern of society that you want to bring in and to remove the disparities in income and to provide equal opportunity for all. We should accept this principle that the income should not be beyond the ratio of 1:2 and then only it is possible to bring about an egalitarian society that we want to establish. This draft looks as if it is a retreat from the socialistic professions and the goals that we have all accepted.

श्री राम सहाय (मध्य प्रदेश)

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना के सबंध में प्रधान मंत्री महोदय ने विस्तार से बहुत अच्छी तरह से सारी बातें हाऊस के सामने रखी हैं। मैं समझता हूँ उन सब को फिर दोहराने से कोई प्रयोजन नहीं होगा। जब योजनाएँ बनाना शुरू हुआ था, उस वक्त जो उद्देश्य गवर्नमेन्ट ने रखा था वह यह था

“To promote a rapid rise in the standard of living of the people by efficient exploitation of the resources of the country, increasing the

production and offering opportunities to all for employment in the service of the community."

देखना यह है कि जो इस तरह का ठहराव, गवर्नमेन्ट ने सन् 1950 में किया उसमें हमने कुछ उन्नति की है या नहीं की है? मेरा ऐसा खयाल है कि हम चाहे किसी भी क्षेत्र में चले जाये, हमने सब में ही बहुत अच्छी प्रगति की है और यदि इतनी अच्छी प्रगति नहीं की होती इन्डस्ट्रीज इत्यादि में तो चीन और पाकिस्तान का जो हमला हुआ था उसमें हम कभी भी किसी प्रकार से कामयाब नहीं हो सकते थे। मुझे यह अर्ज करना है कि इस तरह प्रगति के जो काम हुए हैं और जो साधन हमारे पास हैं उन सब को सामने रखकर अपनी स्थिति पर विचार करना चाहिये।

अभी डा० भाई महावीर ने फर्माया था कि डा० गाडगिल ने क्या कहा था और उनको कोट किया था। भाई महावीर ने कहा कि नमक के खदान में जो चीज जाती है वह नमक ही बन जाती है। यह बात उन्होंने डा० गाडगिल को लक्ष्य करके कही। मैं अर्ज करता हूं कि वह जरा सोचें ऐसा क्यों बन जाते हैं। डा० गाडगिल वही आदमी हैं, जिनकी स्पीच को उन्होंने कोट किया था, लेकिन जब कोई आदमी गवर्नमेंट में आ जाता है तो गवर्नमेंट में आने के बाद उसके ऊपर एक जिम्मेदारी आ जाती है और वह जिम्मेदारी के तरीके पर सोचता है और उसके सोचने 5 P.M. का तरीका दूसरा हो जाता है। तो मैं अपने मित्रों से यह अर्ज करूंगा कि वे अपनी जिम्मेदारी को महसूस करें, कम से कम जिम्मेदारी महसूस कर के यह सोचें, तो तब ही वे सही नतीजे पर पहुंचेंगे। महज क्रिटिसाइज करने से देश की उन्नति नहीं हो सकती है।

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मेरा उनसे यह निवेदन है कि उन्हें इस बारे में गम्भीरता पूर्वक विचार करना चाहिये।

हमारे डह्या भाई जी ने अपने गुजरात की बहुत सी बातों के बारे में शिकायत की। मैं यहां पर शिकायत के रूप में नहीं कहना चाहता हूं बल्कि उनके संतोष के लिए कहना चाहता हूं कि वे देखें कि मध्य प्रदेश की क्या स्थिति है आप इस बारे में गौर करें।

श्री डाह्या भाई व० पटेल : वही तो कहता हूं कि सारे मुल्क को भिखारी बना दिया है।

श्री राम सहाय : मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि हाल में पर केपिटा इन्कम के बारे में जो आंकड़े निकले हैं उसमें मध्य प्रदेश की सारे भारतवर्ष के मुकाबले में क्या स्थिति है। पर केपिटा इन्कम जहां सारे भारतवर्ष की 372 रु० है, वहां मध्य प्रदेश की 325 रु० है। इरिगेटेड एरिया जहां सारे भारतवर्ष का 20 परसेंट है, वहां मध्य प्रदेश का 6.2 परसेंट है। इसी तरह से परसेंटेज आफ इरिगेशन पोटेन्शियल, जहां सारे भारतवर्ष का 55 परसेंट है वहां मध्य प्रदेश का 23 परसेंट है। बिजली के कंजैमेशन का पर केपिटा खर्चा जहां सारे भारतवर्ष का 66 KWH है वहां मध्य प्रदेश का 43 KWH है। इसी तरह से लेन्थ आफ सरफेस रोड जहां सारे भारतवर्ष का 9 Kms है, वहां मध्य प्रदेश का 6 Kms है। लेन्थ आफ रेलवे लाइन पर 100 किलो मीटर, जहां सारे भारतवर्ष का 18 Kms था वहां मध्य प्रदेश का 12 Kms है। इंडस्ट्रियल वर्क्स इन फैक्टरीज पर लाख आफ पापुलेशन जहां सारे भारतवर्ष का 934 था वहां मध्य प्रदेश का 570 है। कांटीब्यूशन तथा इन्कम बाई इंडस्ट्री एण्ड माइनिंग, जहां

[श्री राम सहाय]

सारे भारतवर्ष का 33 परसेंट है, वहा मध्य प्रदेश का 18 परसेंट है। लिट्रेसी रेट जहा सारे भारतवर्ष का 240 है, वहा मध्य प्रदेश का 171 है। तो मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इस बारे में विचार किया जाय और गौर किया जाय कि दरअसल देश की स्थिति क्या है। हम यह चाहते हैं कि दुनिया की जितनी भी चीजे हैं वे हमें हासिल हो जाय, लेकिन यह सम्भव नहीं है। तो मैं यह अर्ज करूंगा कि वह इस बात पर खास तौर से विचार करे प्राइवेट सेक्टर और पब्लिक सेक्टर के बारे में जो बातें कही गई हैं वे कहा तक सही हैं। इस समय पब्लिक सेक्टर और प्राइवेट सेक्टर में जो अन्तर है वह यह है कि पब्लिक सेक्टर में जो काम करने वाले लोग हैं वे अपने आपको पूरी तरह से जिम्मेदार नहीं समझते हैं। जिस तरह से प्राइवेट लाइफ में वे अपनी जिम्मेदारी को समझते हैं, उस तरह से वे पब्लिक सेक्टर के बारे में नहीं समझते हैं। यह बात कोई ऐसी बात नहीं है क्योंकि हमारे देश में राष्ट्रीय भावना की कमी है और उसी के कारण से इस तरह की दिक्कतें पेश आती हैं। यही कारण है कि पब्लिक सेक्टर में लोग अपनी जिम्मेदारी को पूरी तरह से नहीं निभा सकते हैं और यही कारण नुकसान का होता है।

वैसे तो हमारे मुल्क में बड़े बड़े कारखाने चल रहे हैं और निश्चय ही उनमें बहुत अच्छा काम हो रहा है और जब कोई कमी रह जाती है तो वहा पर वेस्टेज भी हो जाता है। सिर्फ वेस्टेज की बात को ख्याल में रखकर हमें इस सबध में विचार नहीं करना चाहिये, उसमें जो खूबियां हैं उन पर भी विचार करना चाहिये। तो मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमें यह देखना चाहिये कि हम देश का प्रोडक्शन

किम तरह से आगे बढ़ा सकते हैं।

हम देखते हैं कि बंगाल में घेराव होने हैं और लोग शिकायत करते हैं कि वहा के लोगों की इन्कम कम हो गई है। जब घेराव होगा तो इन्कम भी कम होगी क्योंकि जब इंडस्ट्रीज बंद होगी, काम नहीं होगा तो स्वाभाविक है वहा आमदनी भी कम हो जायेगी। तो मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि मुल्क में चाहे किसी की भी पार्टी की सरकार हो क्योंकि हमारे देश में प्रजातन्त्र है और प्रजातन्त्र में कभी ऐसा नहीं हो सकता है कि एक ही पार्टी की सरकार हमेशा बनी रहे और कभी कभी दूसरी पार्टियों को भी मौका मिलता है। ईश्वर की कृपा से और हमारी सद्भावना से विरोधियों को यह अवसर प्राप्त हुआ है कि वे कुछ राज्यों में मिलीजुली सरकार बनाये। कुछ ही जगहों पर कांग्रेस का शासन नहीं रहा। जहा पर भी विरोधियों की मिलीजुली सरकार बनी वहा पर उन्होंने क्या तीर मारा। सिवाय उल्टी बात करने के, जनता को नुकसान पहुंचाने के उन्होंने वहा पर कुछ भी अच्छा काम नहीं किया और इसी का यह परिणाम निकला कि कुछ राज्यों में मध्यावधि चुनाव कराये गये। उनकी सरकार से जनता को लाभ नहीं हुआ। लेकिन मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमें चाहे कहीं भी रहे, हम सब लोगों का यह कर्तव्य होता चाहिये कि जो चीजें जायज हों, जो बात ठीक हो उसको स्वीकार करना चाहिये। केवल विरोध करने की भावना से किसी अच्छी चीज का विरोध नहीं किया जाना चाहिये। आज हम यह देखते हैं कि जो भी अच्छा काम हो उसको भी हमारी विरोधी पार्टियां नामजूर करती हैं और उसकी मुखालिफत करती हैं। इस तरह की मुखालिफत करने की उनकी आदत बन गई है।

हम यह भी देखते हैं कि हमारी पार्टी में भी कुछ लोग ऐसे हैं जो अक्सर अच्छी बातों का विरोध करते हैं। वे सरकार को भला बुरा कहने तथा सरकारी कर्मचारियों को भला बुरा कहने के सिवाय और कुछ नहीं कहते हैं। जो मिनिस्टर हैं, उनकी आलोचना करते हैं और उनको बुरा भला कहने के सिवाय और दूसरी कोई बात नहीं कहते हैं। लेकिन इससे लाभ क्या होता है? मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इससे देश में अनुशासनहीनता फैलती है और अराजकता फैलती है। हमारे विद्यार्थी-गण जब उनके रवैये को देखते हैं तो वे भी उसी तरह की बातों को अख्तियार करते हैं और समझते हैं कि इस गवर्नमेंट से कोई सबध नहीं है। इस देश में और इस शासन में हमारा कोई सबध नहीं है। ये विद्यार्थी मुल्क में तरह तरह की बर्बरता करते हैं, कही सरकारी सम्पत्ति को आग लगाते हैं और कही उसका बर्बाद करते हैं। तो मेरा निवेदन करने का मतलब यह है कि विरोधी पार्टियों को यह बात ख्याल करना चाहिये कि उन्हें भी किसी दिन इस सरकार में आना है। जब वे सरकार में प्रायेण तब उन्हें मालूम हो जायेगा कि कितनी मुश्किलें शासन चलाने में आती हैं। इसलिए आज वे जिन लोगों को बढावा दे रहे हैं, जिस चीज को बढावा दे रहे हैं, कल वे चीजे और वे लोग ही उनके लिए घातक बनेंगे।

मैं कोई नई बात नहीं कह रहा हूँ। आज आप केरल में जाकर देख लीजिये। वहाँ पर क्या स्थिति आज है। वेस्ट बंगाल में जाकर देखिये, वहाँ पर क्या स्थिति है। जहाँ जहाँ इस तरह की गवर्नमेंट बनी है वहाँ पर कांग्रेस की गवर्नमेंट को कोसा जाता है और उसके खिलाफ दुरी बाने कही जाती हैं। उन्हें मञ्चे

हृदय से तथ्यों के बारे में विचार करना चाहिये और तब ही भला बुरा किसी को कहना चाहिये। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि जब तक हम जनता की भलाई की बातों की तरफ ध्यान नहीं देंगे तब तक देश का हम भला नहीं कर सकते हैं। इसलिए हम सब लोगों का यह कर्तव्य है कि हमें जनता को अच्छी बातों की ओर ले जाना चाहिये ताकि उनका सहयोग देश को उन्नति की ओर ले जाने में मिल सके।

अभी सदन में बहुत सी बातें सदस्यों द्वारा कही गई हैं। स्टेट ग्रीनार्गनाइजेशन की जो रिपोर्ट बनी थी उसमें मध्य प्रदेश के बारे में यह कहा गया था कि विन्ध्य प्रदेश में बहुत जगहों पर रेलों की आवश्यकता है क्योंकि वहाँ पर रेलें बहुत कम हैं। लेकिन उस रिपोर्ट को निकाले हुए वर्षों हो गये हैं मगर अभी तक शासन ने इस बात की ओर तनिक भी ध्यान नहीं दिया है। शायद शासन इस सबध में मजबूर होगा, लेकिन फिर भी मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि भिलाई और बस्तर का जो इलाका है, जहाँ ग्रामनीय आदिवासी लोग रहते हैं, वहाँ पर सबसे मुश्किल बात यह है कि यातायात के साधन न होने की वजह, आवागमन ठीक न होने की वजह से, उन लोगों का सुधार जैसा होता चाहिये था वैसा नहीं हो पा रहा है। हम उनकी शिक्षा के सबध में ठोस कदम उठा सकते हैं और उन लोगों के साथ अधिक से अधिक सम्पर्क बढ़ा सकते हैं। तो मेरा अर्ज करने का मतलब यह है कि भिलाई का जो क्षेत्र है, बस्तर का जो क्षेत्र है जिसमें अभूजभांड का भी इलाका शामिल है, वहाँ पर रेलों द्वारा सुविधा देना आवश्यक है ताकि वहाँ के लोगों के साथ कम से कम सम्पर्क तो स्थापित हो जायेगा। मुझे

[श्री राम महाय]

आशा है कि सरकार इस बात की ओर अवश्य चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना में ध्यान देगा और वहां पर धनागत के माध्यम अवश्य प्रदान करेगी।

बेकारी की समस्या के बारे में यहां पर बहुत सी बाने कहीं गई है। बेकारी की समस्या के बारे में मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे यहां पर इंजीनियरिंग और पोलिटैकनिक कालेज हैं और बहुत अरसे से हम लोग उनको चला रहे हैं। पाकिस्तान और चीन के साथ लड़ाई छिड़ने में पहले हमने यह देखा कि जब कोई विद्यार्थी वहां के कालेज से पास हो जाता था चाहे वह इंजीनियर हो, चाहे पोलिटैकनिक हो, घर बैठे ही उसके नतीजे पर उसको नाकरी मिल जाती थी। लेकिन लड़ाई के बाद जो स्थिति पैदा हुई, उसमें जितने भी कारखाने थे, जितनी भी इंडस्ट्रीज थी, जितने भी प्रोजेक्ट्स थे, वे खूब नहीं मके और उसी की वजह से इस तरह की दिक्कत हमारे सामने आई है। आज इसी चीज की वजह से हमारे देश में बेकारी की समस्या बढ़ गई है। हमें इस चीज का सब्र के साथ देखना चाहिये क्योंकि गवर्नमेंट इस बारे में मतर्क है। उसने बेकार विद्यार्थियों को कई तरह के वर्जीफे दिये हैं। उसने इंडस्ट्रीज के उपर यह बात लगा दी है, यह रेस्ट्रिक्शन लगा दिया है कि जो भी उनके वहां जगह होगी उनमें बेकार इंजीनियरों और दूसरे तरह के बेकार लोगों का ही लिया जाना चाहिये। तो मेरा अर्ज करना यह है कि जब हम शांति में इन सब बातों पर विचार करेंगे और ठीक दग में मोचेगे तब हमारे देश की उन्नति जैसी हम चाहते हैं वैसी हो सकेगी। महज क्रिटिसिज्म कर के हम कोई लाभ नहीं उठा सकेगे।

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

श्री राजनारायण मैडम, अब मैं जा रहा हूँ। ला मिनिस्टर आये नहीं इसलिये मैं यह फिर आप से कह कर जा रहा हूँ कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर के इशारे ही सारा काम हुआ है।

श्री आबिद अली : जाइये, जाइये, मुबह जल्दी आइयेगा।

श्री जगजीवन राम कहा जा रहे हैं ?

श्री राजनारायण : जो बी० एच० यु० इक्वायरी कमीशन बना हुआ है

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : He is speaking. Let him finish his speech

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Mr Rajnaram, is this parliamentary procedure?

श्री राजनारायण : जगजीवन राम जी ने जो बात कही उसका मैं जवाब दे दूँ। श्रीमन्, जरा एक मिनट के लिये बैठ जाइये

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : What do you want to say?

श्री राजनारायण : मैडम, मुझे यह निवेदन करना है कि बी० एच० यु० इक्वायरी कमीशन जो बना है हेडेड बाई श्री मजेंद्रगडकर, उसके सामने हमारी गवाही है और उसको हम से समय पूछ कर के रखा गया है

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : What will do.

श्री राजनारायण : हम को अप्वाइटेड टाइम पर साढ़े 5 बजे वहां जाना है। इसलिये मैं जा रहा हूँ।

श्री आबिद अली जाइये न हम सब को जाना है।

**श्री ए० जी० कुलकर्णी:** राजनारायण जी, आप बड़ा अच्छा काम कर रहे हैं।

(Interruptions)

**श्री राम सहाय :** मेरा विरोधी माह्वान से मिर्फ यही अर्ज करना है कि वे इस बारे में देखें कि वे अपने किसी अमल से अपने देश में खास तौर पर विद्यार्थियों में कोई अनुशासनहीनता न आने दे क्योंकि हम यह देख रहे हैं कि वे जिस तरह से विचार करते हैं और हर एक बात को क्रिटिमाइज करते हैं उससे उन लोगों को प्रोत्साहन मिलता है, जो विद्यार्थी हैं उनको गलत रास्ते पर चढ़ने का मौका मिलता है और जो दूसरे उट्टुड लोग हैं उनको गलत रास्ता अखित्यार करने का मौका मिलता है। यही कारण है कि हम देखते हैं कि जगह जगह जो राज्य की सम्पत्ति है, स्टेट की सम्पत्ति है, जो हमारी केन्द्र की सम्पत्ति है उसको नुकसान पहुंचाया जाता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि एक और हमारे यहाँ इस तरह से नुकसान पहुंचाया जाय और दूसरी तरफ हम यह उम्मीद करें कि हमारे जो प्लान हैं वे अच्छी तरह से चले, तो यह संभव नहीं है। अगर दरअमल हम यह चाहते हैं कि हमारे प्लान बहुत अच्छी तरह से चले तो हमारे यहाँ जो इस प्रकार की विरोधी शक्तियाँ काम कर रही हैं, जो अनुशासनहीनता फैला रही है और जो विद्यार्थियों में गलत प्रचार हो रहा है, उसको दूर करने में कम से कम हमारे विरोधी भाइयों को सहयोग देना चाहिये। हमारे कामि-ट्यूशन में यह बात खास तौर पर आई है कि हम किस तरह से गवर्नमेंट को चेज कर सकते हैं। जो गवर्नमेंट के चेज करने के तरीके दिये हैं उनका लोगों को अखित्यार करना चाहिये। लेकिन उसमें जब लोग काबू नहीं पाते हैं और जब वे देखते हैं कि हम इसके

अहल नहीं हैं, हम नाअहेल हैं, तब ये इस प्रकार के तरीके अखित्यार करने हैं कि बिना वजह शामन को बदनाम करते हैं और किसी न किसी रूप में जो शामन में काम करने वाले लोग हैं उनको बदनाम करने हैं। मेरा यह कहना है कि चाहे किसी भी पार्टी के लोग हों, चाहे वे कांग्रेस के हों या किसी और पार्टी के हों, जब तक उन कामों के बारे में, उनकी अच्छाई और बुराई के बारे में हम तस्फियी नहीं करेंगे, उसका इजहार नहीं करेंगे तब तक यह बात हर्गिज नहीं हो सकती है कि हमारे देश में कुछ उन्नति हो। प्रजातंत्र में कभी भी ऐसा नहीं हो सकता कि एक ही पार्टी वर्षों तक चलती रहे। दूसरों को भी इस प्रकार के मौके आसानी से मिल सकते हैं और जब उनको इस प्रकार के मौके मिलेंगे तो उनकी स्थिति क्या होगी यह मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ। उनको यह देखना चाहिये कि हमारे जितने भी कार्य हों वे हमारे नौजवान लोग जों हैं उनमें स्फूर्ति पैदा करें और उनमें ऐसा अनुशासन पैदा करें जिस में राष्ट्रीयता के प्रति उनकी भावनाएँ प्रबल हों और वे यह सोच सकें कि उनका कर्तव्य क्या है। बिना वजह के क्रिटिमिज्म से उन लोगों को हम सही रास्ते में दूर हटा देंगे, जैसा कि आज हो रहा है। तो मेरा अर्ज करना यह है कि जब तक हम इन सब बातों पर अच्छी तरह से विचार नहीं करेंगे तब तक हम किसी सही नतीजे पर नहीं पहुंच सकेंगे।

यह जों प्लान हमारे सामने हैं यह जैसा कि मैंने पहले अर्ज किया कि यह मनुष्य का बनाया हुआ है और इसमें गलतियाँ हो सकती हैं, लेकिन उनकी दुरुस्ती भी हो सकती है। अभी तो यह ड्राफ्ट है। इस पर जो सुझाव हों वे दिये जा सकते हैं और उन पर भी गौर

[ श्री राम सहाय ]

हो सकता है। कुछ सुझाव अभी हमारे अजित प्रसाद जैन जी ने दिये हैं और मैं समझता हूं कि उन सुझावों पर जो कमीशन है वह जरूर विचार करेगा।

मेरा एक अर्ज करना यह है कि जैसा कि मैंने अपने आंकड़ों से बताया कि हमारे मध्य प्रदेश की क्या स्थिति है उसको ध्यान में रखते हुये मुझे उम्मीद है कि कमीशन उस पर अवश्य विचार करेगा। दूसरे मैं समझता हूं कि वह इस बारे में भी गौर करेगा कि यह जो स्थिति वहां की बन गई है वह क्यों कर बन गई है। जब तक इस बारे में खास तौर पर गौर नहीं किया जायगा तब तक कोई नतीजा निकलने वाला नहीं है। मैं आपसे अबूझभाड़ के बारे में कह देना चाहता हूं कि 1958 से लगातार मैं वहां की स्थिति के बारे में कहता आ रहा हूं, लेकिन मैं आपसे सही अर्ज कर दूं कि आज तक मुझे ऐसा नहीं मालूम हुआ है कि कभी किसी जिम्मेदार मिनिस्टर या किसी जिम्मेदार आदमी ने वहां जा कर के वहां की स्थिति देखी हो। मैंने देखा है कि हम यहां बड़ी ऊंची ऊंची बातों के लिये ख्वाहिश जाहिर करते हैं, लेकिन वहां की माताओं और बहनों को हमने बिल्कुल नंगे देखा है। उनकी कमर से सिर्फ एक रस्सी लगी रहती है और छोटा सा एक चीथड़ा कपड़े का, खाल का या छाल का उनके सामने रहता है। तो यह जो प्लान बना है इस में कम से कम जो पिछड़े हुये इलाके हैं उन पर जरूर ध्यान देना चाहिये। मैं मध्य प्रदेश के बारे में इस वजह से अर्ज कर रहा था कि वहां 30 फीसदी से ज्यादा हरिजन और आदिवासी बसते हैं और जब तक हम उनकी तरफ पूरा ध्यान नहीं देंगे तब तक हमारे देश की उन्नति नहीं हो

सकेगी। यही मेरा अर्ज करना है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:  
Mr. Abid Ali.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL:  
Madam, the Law Minister is here.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:  
Five-thirty was the time fixed but if the House is agreeable I can call the Law Minister now. And Mr. Abid Ali can speak after that. But I also want to tell you that since the time is fixed at 5.30 some of the Opposition Members may not be here now. I think we should wait for 15 minutes.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Yes, that will be better.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:  
Yes. Mr. Abid Ali.

SHRI ABID ALI: Madam, everybody will have to acknowledge that much progress has been made in the country after independence but it will also have to be accepted that this progress could have been much more effective and in more proper direction. Firstly, agriculture should have been given more importance and the progress of village economy ought to have been much more actively thought about. For instance, we were used to earthen pots for cooking and even for eating but that has been completely not only ignored but discouraged. Today on the one side we find, as my friend has just now said, women in some parts of the country are almost naked and here on the other hand we find that television is having good priority. If you go in some shops, even in the super market, plastic bags are used for giving us grain. This sort of comparison is made. If someone goes to the shops, he finds that India has made substantial progress. But when they go to a village—they have gone and they have said—they find it different. Those who come from foreign countries say they could never dream that there is so much poverty in this country. Our big projects, steel plants and all that are good and might have been

more useful after some years. The world can wait and has waited for electricity for centuries. It did not care for electricity and things like that, but it could never wait for food. Our price-line could not be maintained, in spite of the Government's assertion that they will not permit the cost of living to go up, it is going up. Even in respect of milk which is being sold by the Government, the Delhi Milk Scheme, and in other places, the prices have gone up by more than double. We have not been able to check the prices of essential foodstuffs and most of the evils today are because of that, e.g., strikes, indiscipline, etc. If we had cared from the beginning to produce enough food, people would not have been compelled to leave their villages and add to the troubles which are there already in the urban areas.

Madam, our system of this Plan and planning has not been very satisfactory. I may mention here that all that we have been thinking of is a more civilised sort of life, forgetting what we were. Not that we were uncivilised people, but we had our own system. Why have not the Americans been able to defeat China in Korea and other places? I have gone to the front and I have seen it. The Americans there cannot live without ice-cream, Coca-Cola, refrigerator and all sorts of things, whereas the Chinese will eat in their hands. They will keep rice and eat like this. They know how to die and the Americans have learnt how to lead a luxurious life. The American soldiers, although so powerful, have not been able to defeat the Chinese. Of course, the Chinese might be having atom bombs now. Even formerly, the Americans were not able to defeat the Chinese. The Chinese know how to fight and these people know how to lead a luxurious life. We have been also in India thinking of luxury and a luxurious life, without taking care of the requirements of the masses. That has been the defect in this country's planning.

Then, education has been completely on wrong lines. Have we taught our students what is the country, what is the Government, what is their duty? See the text-books. They are completely silent on this point. So far as integration is concerned, so far as the communities are concerned, there have been books in some of the schools which are responsible for creating misunderstanding between members of two communities, telling incorrect things about the leaders of religions. In some cases I had also to write to some of the Chief Ministers. How many years it took me to persuade the education department of certain States to change these books. Some people use their influence and get their books passed. There should be a commission for settling what sort of books should be taught in schools and colleges. My friend, Ram Sabaiji, was speaking about indiscipline among students and the youth. We are responsible for that. We have not been able to make them alive to their responsibilities. If due care had been taken to take up this essential attitude from the very beginning, the youth of this country would have been certainly responsible and dutiful. Of course, they are patriots. They should know the value of the property of this country which belongs to them. Why do they go and burn buses? Wherever there is a little trouble, for whatever it may be, they go and attack the railway station and burn railway property. The Opposition parties and one or two of them very prominently have been exploiting the youth and they do not care for anything. The moment they come to power, and God forbid that situation, they will use nothing but bullets and machine guns as they have done in Czechoslovakia and other places. These imperialists know how to curb these activities. So far as we, democrats, are concerned, we ought to have taken up these essentials first, which we have not done.

Unemployment is there. Of course, there has been much of employment. If you see the figure when we became independent and compare it with the



[Shri Abid Ali.]

number of persons employed today, the figure is much more. There is no doubt about it, but that is not enough. The Plans ought to have taken cognizance of the employment opportunities to be created for the persons who would be coming into the market. Our educational system is wrong, I submit. Then, up to a certain level we are opening a large number of schools. Very necessary. We are having a large number of colleges. Very essential. Even in communist countries and in other countries, so far as colleges are concerned, there are restrictions. Only brilliant students, those who are competent to become journalists or doctors or scientists and the like, get admission. Scientists have full opportunities, but not everybody. They have the satisfaction of becoming a BA or an MA. Now, after becoming a graduate, people have been trained to go and milk the cow. Here the moment one becomes a middle-pass or a matriculate, he leaves his village. And the villagers may have to walk two or three miles to get letters read or written. These boys come to Delhi and want to become *chaprassis* if not clerks. At least the Government, I hope, will be able to see that the system of education which has now been proposed is according to the conditions and requirements of our country. All these things should be properly planned.

Then, we have population. There has been so much of population increase. From the very beginning some of us were urging that family planning should be taken up in all seriousness. I am happy that at least in this Plan a sum of more than Rs. 300 crores has been provided for family planning. I should explain again that the way it is being done, my feeling is that some re-thinking is necessary. On this family planning some time we go to a Mulla and take his certificate that family planning is according to the Muslim law. As against one Mulla, ten Mullas will come and say that it is not according

to the Muslim law. Why should we take the help of Mullas for this purpose? People do not need that. People should be convinced from economic point of view. You have got plenty of people. Go and propagate it from the economic point of view, from the responsibility point of view. Formerly a Lohar's son would be a Lohar and a carpenter's son would be a carpenter. Now, everyone's son should be properly educated and he wants to go high up. He can become the President of India.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:  
Now, it is 5.30. You will have five minutes after the Law Minister

#### STATEMENT RE BANASKANTHA BY-ELECTION

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND SOCIAL WELFARE (SHRI P. GOVINDA MENON): Madam, it is after coming to Parliament today that I came to know that there is a controversy about this matter of the steps taken by the Chief Election Commissioner in directing that the result of the election shall be withheld. In the Lok Sabha also there was a reference to that matter and in the debate that took place there I was able to understand that two Members of Parliament, Prof. Ranga and Shri Piloo Mody, belonging to the Swatantra Party, that is the party of the defeated candidate, made representations to the Chief Election Commissioner in the night yesterday, one by letter and the other personally that there have been certain ballot boxes which have been tampered with, that seals were not there, etc. When that information was received, the Chief Election Commissioner immediately sent his seniormost Deputy, Mr. Jacob, there to enquire into it, and the direction given is that till the enquiry is complete the result may not be declared. Beyond that the facts are not known.

As you know, Madam, the Chief Election Commissioner is one of the