

the counting is complete. And before the result is declared, if the Election Commission finds that large-scale corruption has taken place, by virtue of article 324 of the Constitution, he can not only order a re-poll in certain polling booths, but he can order a re-poll in all the constituencies or in all the polling booths. The honourable Law Minister has confused between the declaration and.....(*Interruptions*) Will you kindly listen to me? The honourable Law Minister has confused the declaration of the result of the election and the stage of the election just before the declaration. Now we are at the stage before the declaration. We are in the stage of counting. And if the Election Commission finds that the election has been vitiated by large-scale corruption and if it finds that the declaration has not yet been made, then, according to Article 324 the Election Commission can not merely order repolling of some booths, but it can order repolling of all the booths in the constituency. The is the interpretation. The honourable Law Minister should not try to mislead the House by interpreting Section 66. He should be fair to the House.

SHRI P. GOVINDA MENON:
(*Interruptions*) I agree with the honourable Member.

(*Some hon. Members rose to speak.*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:
That is enough. No more. Now, Mr. Shinde has to make a statement.

STATEMENT

RE MINIMUM PRICE OF SUGAR- CANE FOR CRUSHING YEAR 1969-70

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FOOD, AGRICULTURE, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND COOPERATION (SHRI ANNASAHEB SHINDE): Madam, the Government has decided that no change will be made in the minimum price of sugarcane

for the crushing year 1969-70. The minimum price at present in force is Rs. 7.37 per quintal linked to a recovery of 9.4 per cent or less with 5.36 paise per quintal for every increase of 0.1 per cent in recovery above 9.4 per cent.

SHRI A. K. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Madam, I would like to ask one point. The Government has quoted the price per quintal of sugarcane as per last year. In this very House as well as outside the honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram by a statement promised that the minimum that an agriculturist would get would be Rs. 10. But the Indian Sugarcane Mills Association and its representatives have not observed the agreement made with the Government. In view of this may I request the Government that the price to be declared should be Rs. 10 and not Rs. 7.37 in the interests of the agriculturist?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:
Any answer to this, Mr. Shinde?

SHRI ANNASAHEB SHINDE:
Madam, this is entirely beyond the purview of the statement that I have made.

MOTION RE FOURTH FIVE YEAR PLAN—contd.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:
Mr. Abid Ali, you will continue your speech.

SHRI ABID ALI: Madam, we had some interesting interlude, stormy also. During that period Mr. Bhupesh Gupta said that an agreement was there with a foreign power and all that in regard to a Member of our party. The Member himself is a stooge of foreign powers and he should be ashamed of it.

Then, I was talking about the family planning. I hope it will be taken up with much more seriousness and made effective because, as I said earlier, this has been responsible for adding to our trouble to a great extent.

[Shri Abid Ali.]

Then, Madam, I was saying that honesty is very necessary. Today unfortunately the position is that dishonesty, corruption, in the Government departments has gone up so much that persons can bring files from the Government offices. They can take files home. I know of some cases myself. A friend of mine came to Delhi. He told me that he would have to stay for two or three days in order to complete his work. But his mission became successful in a day only. He went to some office, paid some money to somebody there and brought some files. He studied the files completely and returned them to the person concerned. Perhaps that person agreed on a certain amount for this deal. This is not an isolated case. Everybody who deals with public departments knows as to what extent corruption has gone and to what extent matters have deteriorated. Whatever may be our Plans, whatever may be our progress, unfortunately our foundation is getting hollowed. Whatever may be the prosperity of the country, when there is dishonesty, when there is corruption, not only amongst small men, not only amongst high officers, but unfortunately even amongst some Ministers also, how can they improve this administration when some of the Ministers themselves are dishonest? Therefore, I would urge upon the Prime Minister to be very serious about this matter. Whatever they may be, wherever they may be, whoever they may be, do not have them in the Cabinet, either here or in the States, so that there is a proper working of the Plan to ensure its achievement on sound, strong, solid, foundations, otherwise, this kind of planning, however effective it may sound to be, will have no meaning when there is no character, when there is no honesty.

I was submitting some time back that a large number of bakeries should be established everywhere. You go to any backward country. You see everywhere that their food

is cheap. Their bread is cheap. I have submitted here that even in the costliest place in the world one can purchase a kilogram of bread for twelve minutes' wages while in India you have to spend an amount earned in three hours' time. With that amount you can purchase one kilogram of bread. So, this is the situation and this our people are tolerating. But how long will they be able to tolerate it? The Government should think of this honestly.

In concluding my remarks I may repeat that for honest village economy and its progress, reasonable food prices comparable with the wages which the people earn, should be given due care, otherwise, the result would be adding to the misery of our people to a great extent.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON (Kerala): Madam, planning in India requires fresh and new thinking. It has become a challenge to the Government, the politicians and the social scientists. After 18 years of planning, how is it that we are not able to meet the minimum needs of our people and why should there be so much discontent? We will have to very seriously consider this. The quarrels between the States, a new thing that has come up in the country, the regionalism, the class oppression, the struggle between the castes, the oppression of the Harijans, the monopolists' growth in the country, the backwardness of agriculture, all these have reached new dimensions as never before. We have not been able to advance to any reasonable extent in improving the material condition of the common man. Why is it so? How is it so that in spite of this planning we could not advance? It has been stated that our planning is a new experiment, that it is something different from the planning that the socialist countries have, that it is our own planning. I do not agree with that. Even the capitalist countries have their planning. In America a New Deal was attempted. But they did not succeed. They could not. For a certain period they succeeded

and then they could not because the very basis of planning was to keep capitalism as it is and when capitalism is allowed to grow, it will generally grow to its last and final stage of monopoly capital. All attempts of State control have been a failure even in the biggest of the countries like America because you cannot succeed if you have planning for capitalist growth.

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

Now, what is it that we want today? Let us be clear about it. We say we will have a mixed economy. Yes, when a country has to pass from its semi-feudal, feudal, conditions to a further advanced stage, it will have to adopt certain methods. But then, the social objective must be clear, you should not encourage capitalist growth, you will have to encourage for the time being a stage capitalist growth. That is what you have to do. You should not allow both sectors to develop alike, because which should have a dominating position is the question. If we are not able to have a State sector which will be the dominant sector, it means that you are allowing private capital to develop at the expense of the State sector. Both cannot develop simultaneously. Private capital and its growth will have to be restricted bit by bit. I do not say it should be done all of a sudden; but the objective should be clear and if we are clear about that, certainly the State sector can do a good deal but we have not done that. We say that we adopt a middle path. That middle path should be from the middle to the left. It should shift to the left but not to extreme left. If you are prepared to do that, then I have no quarrel but unfortunately that is not what is being done. We have been of course a backward country and we will have to depend on foreign aid but that aid should be without any sort of strings. We had better get the know-how from foreign countries. We can take their capital but that should be with no strings. What has happened

is our country has not become a happy hunting-ground for foreign capital. It is now becoming a neo-colonial country. Colonialism is this way allowed to flourish in this country by allowing foreign capital to come and penetrate into the country. The public debt of India in the course of twelve years has increased by 4, 5, times or more. If this is what we are going to do, it will mean that we are completely mortgaging our future. I would therefore request that in such cases we should not have such abject dependence on foreign aid. We should stand on our feet and that can be done by paying for what we get from them. We should only accept commercial deals. We need not require so much aid. Allow our technicians to come up. Encourage our own technical production. Depending on foreign aid and loans to such an extent will mean finally we allow the neo-colonialism to penetrate into the country of ours. See what has happened. During the period just before independence, our capitalists had not developed to the stage of monopoly capitalists but with this sort of planning—of course they also had a link with the national movement because in the freedom movement days they were anti-imperialists—they have developed into monopoly capitalists. This has become a danger to our country. With the licensing policy that the Government has, with the aid the Government gives, with the lending that the Government does and with the help that the LIC and other lending agencies give them, they have been able to come up to a great extent at the expense of the small industries, medium sized industries and even large-scale industries which have not reached the monopoly stage. This planning to-day has only strengthened the private capital. It has only strengthened the monopolists. I was surprised this morning when I read the attack launched by the Swatantra friends. They must be happy. By themselves they could not have developed an industrial base of this type and when the State has developed that and given them the products

[Shri Balachandra Menon.]

they required, they can easily develop and they have been able to develop that to an extent they would not have developed by themselves in 50 years. Such a planning will have to change. The same trend is now visible even in the rural sector. That is the biggest danger. The and monopoly is there. The whole sector is becoming the rich capital landlord holding. The rich peasant is becoming the rich peasant landholder. Even the industrialists are purchasing lands. A new social relationship is coming up and much tension is there. These new people who had nothing to do with agriculture are not the people to improve agriculture. The moment they find that the return for which they have been asking is not got, they will withdraw their money. So I say that even in the rural sector things have become very bad. There is this green revolution about which all talk. Of course there has been some improvement but that is mainly due to these rich peasants who have now come and who are making use of the help that Government gives in the shape of fertilisers, tractors and the Government has helped them to accumulate as much money as possible. This crisis in the agrarian relationship results in the perpetuation of the feudal and semi-feudal relations. This is the key to the general crisis in the Indian economy. We will have to understand it. Monopoly in industrial sector and capitalist and semi-feudalist relations in the agrarian sector result in the wide gap between the rich and the poor not only in the urban sector but in the rural areas as well. In both the urban and rural areas this difference continues. Unemployment is on the increase because the monopoly capitalist will not allow small industries. Unemployment is on the increase because the agriculture is turning out to be a big landholding because it is now becoming a sector for the big capitalist to exploit. The result is the minimum standard of living for the vast masses of people is not possible. It is accepted that the vast masses of people live below one rupee a day. Therefore we will have to very

seriously consider why we should not plan in a different way. This is now something like Hamlet without the Prince. If planning has to be done, it has to be done in the interest and with the cooperation of the peasant and the worker. These are the two people who have to decide. It will have to start from there and not from the top. Some statisticians, some planners from the top decide how much industrial growth is necessary or how much of agrarian growth is necessary. The people are not enthused. Actually in the rural areas our people are still what they were 50 years back. The same caste oppression, the same sort of degrading village life continues, with the result that the peasant or the agricultural labourer still do not think in terms of improving his present condition. He is satisfied with his lot. The fatalistic outlook is still there. It was Lord Krishna who stated: 'I am responsible for the Chatur Varnas'. The result is, these people feel: 'I am fated to this only.' A change is not taking place because they have been told: 'You should be satisfied with whatever work you have and anybody who does any other man's work is doing a sinful act'. This is what the Gita told him. So he feels 'Why should I do anything else? I am born into a tanner's family and I continue that. This is the outlook which the rural area still has. This has to change. Only one sentence I will say and that is a very pertinent sentence.

"In the conditions that prevail in rural India, however, would it not be reasonable to expect that the "side effects" of physical, institutional, and economic development will bring about the necessary adjustments in the human factor more or less automatically with the help simply of the demonstrations and exhortations of the extension services provided under the Community Development Programme?"

That is the question.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY (Mysore): Is it from any book by Mr Namboodiripad?

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON: No: I am reading from some other book, which has nothing to do with Mr. Nambudripad. I quote again:

"Though since 1947, India has enacted perhaps more land reform legislation than any other country in the world, it has not succeeded in changing in any essentials the power pattern, the deep economic disparities, nor the traditional hierarchical nature of intergroup relationships which govern the economic life of village society".

This is the position; so to improve we have to change it in a big way. The first thing is: more money will have to be spent on education. I would therefore say that the only way is to carry some light into the villages, and that can be done by only educating our people. The second thing that I would say is to see that you accept certain minimum conditions for workers, that you allow them the right to bargain, that you choose their majority union, discuss with them, understand their problems and then proceed because, today, the worker is really frightened of the dehumanisation that you see in the factories, where his future is not guaranteed; he may be thrown out any day. He is afraid of that. Unless you give him certain minimum guarantees, you will not be able to enthruse the workers; that is what is required.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI): Kindly conclude now.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON: Only one more point and I finish. There is the ten-point programme of the Congress which includes nationalisation of banks and the export-import trade, and the eleven-point programme of ours. You take it up seriously. Start it in that way, rebuild it from down below and some that you restrict the monopolists. With faith in our people, with faith in our workers, with faith in our pea-

santry, and also with a determined fight against the caste oppression that is there in the villages, if we move forward, there is yet hope. Otherwise, people will have every right to accept Naxalite leadership and you and I will have to stand by them. It is better to die fighting for a morsel of bread than live in these humiliating conditions. I believe such a situation will not be forced on the people of our country, and if such a situation comes, you and I will be responsible, because we did not seriously face the situation earlier by taking to proper planning. This is all I have to say.

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GO-SWAMI (Assam): Mr. Vice Chairman, first of all I congratulate the Prime Minister for placing the Fourth Five-Year Plan, 1969-74 (Draft) in this august House for discussion. Such a discussion is very essential because the discussion will raise and focus many important points for consideration by the Planning Commission as well as by the Government.

Coming to this Plan, I feel that this document is well thought and well written. I am almost in agreement with the Approach and Policy written in Chapter I of this Draft Plan. But I am most perturbed at—and it is a matter of grave concern for me, not only for me but for many of us like me who fought the freedom fight to achieve independence and afterwards to establish democratic socialism—what I see in the country today. Particularly I want to refer to Constitution Articles 38, 39, 45 and 46—which have been referred to in Chapter I "Approach and Policy" of this book—and here I find that we are not progressing according to the Directive Principles of State Policy enunciated in them. According to Article 45, within a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution we ought to have provided for free and compulsory education throughout the length and breadth of the country. But we have not been able to do this though the

[Shri Sriman Prafulla Goswami.]

ten years have long passed. Then this is what Article 38 says:

"The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting, as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice, social, economic, and political, shall inform all the institutions of national life."

But this has also not been done—I must say. Then this is what Article 46 says:

"The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation."

And yet, Sir, every now and then we hear of such injustice and exploitation happening, such things going on against our down-trodden and so-called socially backward communities. This is the Gandhi Centenary Year and at least in this year we ought to have been able to wipe out all sorts of social injustice from society. We should be ruthless in eliminating all sorts of reactionary forces which are exploiting and hitting our people; we cannot connive at these things as the foreign rulers did before we achieved independence.

Now I do not like to go into the figures in this Plan because, to deal with figures, it will require very much time, and so I refrain from doing so. Only I shall make some general observations on some of the basic policies. After we achieved independence, our party, I mean the Congress Party, has been ruling the country. We are wedded to democratic socialism, and specially our beloved leader, the late Jawaharlal Nehru, gave a clear definition of democratic socialism at the Bhubaneswar Congress Session; there he gave a very clear definition of democratic socialism which is different from the Russian socialism or the Chinese communism, and which, I am

sorry to say, we have not yet been able to bring about. In that Resolution of the Bhubaneswar Congress Session it has been clearly stated that the processing industries relating to foodgrains will have to be nationalised. But up till now we have not done it. Such a step is very vital now, more because the supply of and trade in foodgrains has passed into the hands of capitalists and big businessmen and the foodgrains are being adulterated like anything. Unless and until we bring on the food processing industries into the public sector we cannot eliminate this adulteration.

Then I should say about the public sector also. Now the public sector has come in much for controversy. People from all sides are saying things against the public sector, and it has given rise to many misconceptions in the minds of the public. Here I should say that public sector is the basic foundation of our democratic socialism. It may be a losing concern for the time being; because of the basic industries set up in the public sector it will be a losing concern for a long time because, as the Prime Minister amply explained, for steel industries and other heavy industries, we have to sink a heavy amount of capital. Then we have to be a model employer and take the labour with us keeping them contented all the time and enabling them in course of time to lead a happy and more contented life. So it may be a losing concern. For a welfare State profit-making is not the prime consideration. What I want to emphasise is that the public sector, in spite of its loss or anything, should more and more be expanded and the private sector should be gradually eliminated. If we would have followed the path followed by the Marxist Communists or gone the extremist communist way—the previous speaker said that the Naxalite communists are coming and the objective situation is coming if matters are not set right—then probably, by this time, the capitalists would have been liquidated by mere physical force. But they are lucky; they should feel lucky that we have

adopted the theory of mixed economy and have allowed also the private sector to operate in the country's economic field. But we cannot allow a private sector to operate at the expense of the country, at the expense of the poor man, and I feel that the sphere of the private sector should be less than the public sector, may be just half of it if not less still and the money made available for expansion in the private sector should be only to that extent, because the private sector always works for personal gain at the cost of the labourer—everybody knows this. Therefore, Sir, that is my contention, and so the controversy raised over the public sector should go if we believe in democratic socialism and if we really want to build up socialism in India. We are not for killing our capitalist people. We have no hatred for any section of our people. We were taught by Mahatma Gandhi and we had no hatred for the alien British people who were ruling us. But we had hatred for their British imperialism. Similarly I have hatred for capitalism, a capitalism which exploits the poor people. I have no hatred for any individual, Birla or Tata, but I cannot support exploitation or monopoly concentration of economic power. To my mind it is very intolerable. More and more monopolies have been taking place taking advantage of our national policy, the policy that we are not allowing foreign goods to come here and are encouraging our own people to build up industries giving them all sorts of help and a sheltered market. Even so, the industrialists do not understand; they go on exploiting people. They go on making black money. They go on adulterating foodgrains and food articles. Now this is all really very revolting to sensible people like us.

Here I should refer to the controversy going on about a small car project. I have not even a small car, nor do I want any, but I should say that, if at all, it should be produced in the public sector. This is very

essential now, because, you know, everybody is complaining, "I have no car." I never had a car of my own. I may have the cars from my party or anybody, but I was never for a car, whether small or big. But what I want is that the small car should be in the public sector and should compete with those few in the private sector. Otherwise, you know, the manufacturers of the Ambassador car or the Fiat car, for example, are using all sorts of bad materials to manufacture the car and they are making profits like anything. Therefore the small car project should be in the public sector and not in the private sector. This must be clearly understood.

Coming to education, we must have proper planning especially in the matter of training of technical personnel like engineers, doctors, etc. What do we find now? Possibly due to some defect in our planning we were going on starting engineering colleges as a result of which thousands of engineering graduates passed out of them but now they find that they cannot get any employment. They cannot take to the plough because they are technicians. But the strange thing is at the same time we have dearth of medical men. Definitely there must have been something wrong in our planning. We should have known how many engineers we would require in the next five years, how many technicians we would require and accordingly we should have proceeded. And so far as doctors are concerned even after twenty years of independence there is a dearth of medical men, whereas engineers have become surplus. This should not have happened. There must be something wrong in our planning. We must plan in such a way that we do not face such situations, so that there may not be unemployment among our technical personnel. I do not say that there will be no unemployment. There will be unemployment among ordinary graduates, arts graduates. Every arts graduate cannot be provided with a

[Shri Suman Pratlulla Goswami]

white collared job but so far as the technical people are concerned we should see that every one of them gets employed either in the private sector or in the public sector or in the Government machinery

Dealing with education I must also say that there should be a rule—since our country is passing through a crisis—that before a Degree is conferred on a student it should be the bounden duty of every student to serve for one year either in a factory or in a village. Our poverty is not yet removed and it requires hard work on the part of everybody and every student who wants to become a graduate, whether medical or engineering or arts, will have to devote one year in a factory or a village. There should be a rule providing for this. If he is a medical man he should work in a village for one year with only a little honorarium for his subsistence. Then only the Degree should be given.

Then it is mentioned that we should give more power to the panchayats and the community projects. The panchayats and the community projects should be revolutionised so that at the village level, at the thana level there should be real political and economic power. They should plan for their own development and the necessary funds should be provided. That is very essential.

Coming to the administrative machinery I think present administrative machinery we have is not efficient. The people there are not inspired by the ideology which we profess, which we believe in and therefore they can not implement democratic socialism because they have no heart for democratic socialism, I mean the top officials. There are some top officials with old imperialistic and feudalistic ideas who think they are to govern to rule to exploit. That sort of idea should go and we must revolutionise our administrative machinery. Of course we have an Administrative Reforms Commission but it is very very

slow. It is going on giving report after report in parts for the last three years. When it was started it was headed by Mr. Morarji Desai who was not then Finance Minister. But it ought to be able to finish its work at least within six months and we should be able to revolutionise the administrative machinery.

Coming to the speed or tempo of our planning, the speed is very very slow. It is slow because even though 21 years have passed our poverty is not yet redressed, the social injustices are not yet redressed. Though there are specific provisions in the Constitution about all these, all sorts of things are going on. What we are anxious about is that the speed should be more. The idea of planning should spread out. We have to mobilise the masses, we must educate our youth. We must spread the spirit of planning and production and the spirit of democratic socialism to every labourer to every educated youth so that they may be imbued by that spirit and they can participate in planning and development. They must participate to bring about democratic socialism.

Lastly, I would like to say a few words about regional imbalances. My own State of Assam is the living monument, the living example of regional imbalances. In spite of the fact that it is a border State, a frontier State, a strategic State, a very important State from the defence point of view for the whole of India, Assam has been neglected. Even during the British days, during the days of British imperialism it was left as planters' raj and now after 20 years of independence also we have not done much. Of course quite a few things have been done but the regional imbalance is so much that it requires special attention just like Jammu & Kashmir. Assam is full of mineral resources, forests and so on. All these resources are there but we have not tapped them. The first need is to set up industries there so that these resources could be utilised. Then we have the problem of floods. Flood

control is the worst problem we have to face. Last year I told our Irrigation Minister: 'Here is a challenge to the world and the world's experts. This Assam flood is a challenge to you as a scientist and as an administrator.' We must do something really for flood control.

Apart from all this I want to draw the attention of the House to the most important and urgent necessity of Assam, namely, road and railway connection with the rest of India and also sufficient transport facilities inside Assam itself. I am very much disappointed and I want to put on record here that up till now the National Highway which connects Assam with the rest of India is not yet completed. Is it not a matter of grave concern that even after 21 years of freedom this only vital link road is not completed? After partition Assam is virtually cut off from the rest of the country. The Prime Minister is not here now but I hope she will be informed of what I say now.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY:
She will read all this.

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GO-SWAMI: Otherwise she will not understand our sentiments. In fact I wanted to speak when she is here. Ever since I came here I have been trying to impress on the Government that the National Highway is the only road by which one can reach Assam. It is not only necessary for us but it is more necessary for the defence of India but that road still remains incomplete. And during floods the railway line is closed and the road is not there. After the debacle during the Chinese aggression the importance of this was realised and they wanted to construct the national highway and the bridge and when the menace has receded things have become slow. Therefore the National Highway should be completed without any further delay.

So far as the railway line is concerned, the line from Barauni to

Gauhati and in the second phase from Gauhati to Dibrugarh should be converted into broad gauge. Another line in the north from Rangiya to North Lakhimpur which is vital for defence should also be converted into broad gauge. The Karimganj-Dharmanagar line should be extended to Agartala in Tripura.

I demand with all the emphasis at my command that I want a categorical assurance from the Prime Minister that this National Highway will be completed within a month. Even the Transport Minister said last year that it will be completed in March 1968 but even up till now nothing has been done. They forget it. So, this is my request. The second refinery has become not only a popular demand, but a national demand because Assam produces most of the oil in India. The Gauhati refinery's capacity is less than that of Barauni. I want that the capacity of the Gauhati refinery should be increased. Then, a second refinery should be given. There should be at the earliest possible date a bridge over the Brahmaputra at Jogighopa and the railway line from Jogighopa should be extended to the Garo hills and Gauhati. These are vital and essential for transport facility with the rest of India and inside Assam. We are not demanding anything impossible. The railway line and another bridge over the Brahmaputra at Jogighopa should be provided in the Fourth Five Year Plan. Let them give proper transport and communications to Assam for the defence of India and for a quicker development of Assam. I know that private enterprises are not going to Assam after the Chinese aggression. Therefore, some public sector should be there. We, Assam people, are all lower middle-class. There are no businessmen, no big rich men to invest money. Therefore we want to impress upon the Government that they should start some public sector undertakings. They will get proper support. We are, almost all of us, confirmed socialists. Congress or non-Congress, we,

[Shri Sitman Prafulla Goswami.]

Assam people, are all by nature socialists and by conviction socialists. We have nothing to lose and we will gain. Therefore, we welcome democratic socialism. It should be implemented in our State and I extend all support. With these words I am thankful to you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, and I hope that Assam will get due attention. We welcome planning and democratic socialism. Progressively the ten points should be implemented. I must also mention it because I am a Congressman. We are wedded to the ten-point programme. There is unusual delay. Then, nationalisation of banks is essential. Unless and until banks are nationalised we cannot progress. We have been assured that it is a lengthy process. It will create other ugly situations, by which the country will be led to other ideologies. Then, we will have no control and we will be swept away. Therefore, I feel as a sincere Congressman, what we profess we must practise and if we cannot practise, we must not profess.

Thank you.

श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त (बिहार): उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हम तीन योजनाओं का परिणाम तो देख चुके हैं। करीब 55 करोड़ की आबादी इस हिन्दुस्तान में है और बेकारों की संख्या भी बड़ी भारी तादाद में, करोड़ों की तादाद में मौजूद है। अब 3 वर्ष के बाद, 18 वर्ष तक योजना की अर्थ नीति चलाने के बाद हमको एक नया मसविदा पेश किया जा रहा है जिसमें कोई नयी उम्मीद किसी के दिमाग में नहीं है। न यहां की काली मिट्टी वाली है, न गंदगी मिटने वाली है, न गरीबी मिटने वाली है। अभी खान साहब ने एक किताब लिखी है जिसमें दुनिया की अर्थ नीति और आर्थिक विकास की बातें कही हैं और सन् 2000 में दुनिया की क्या हालत होगी उसमें जिक्र किया है कि हिन्दुस्तान जहा है वही रहता रहेगा, वह कभी

Sugarcane

बड़ी शक्ति नहीं बनेगा, उसके लोगों की बेकारी कभी नहीं मिटेगी, यह सरकार हम सबको भुलावा देने के लिये इस तरह की योजनाएं लाद देती है। मैंने दुनिया का अर्थ शास्त्र पढ़ा है और मैं देखता हूं जिन देशों में प्लानिंग कमीशन नहीं है, जैसे जर्मनी है, जैसे जापान है, ब्रिटेन है, अमरीका है, उन्होंने बीस वर्षों में जो तरक्की की है वह वैसे कोई बात इनने बड़े योजना भवन से कुछ नहीं निकलती। बड़ी बड़ी इमारतें बनाकर बड़े बड़े पुगने ढग के प्रोफेसरों को इकट्ठा कर दिया गया है, जिनके दिमाग सड़ गये हैं, जिनका वास्तविकता से कोई रिश्ता नहीं, और ये योजनाएं हमारे ऊपर लादी जाती हैं और चीजों के दाम बढ़ा दिये जाते हैं और लोगों की बेकारी बढ़ती जाती है। इन तीन योजनाओं में चीजों के दाम हिन्दुस्तान में तीन गुने हो गये हैं, अब 2 रु० किलो भी हिन्दुस्तान के शहरों में दूध नहीं मिलता, लोगों को खाने की चीजें नहीं मिलती, दवाइयाँ नहीं मिलतीं, जगह जगह राशनिंग लागू है। यूरोप में जर्मनी और जापान दोनों तबाह हो गये थे, वहां कोई राशनिंग नहीं है और यह बात चल रही है कि जर्मनी की करेन्सी को रिवैल्यूएट कर दिया जाय, यानी और उंचा दाम कर दिया जाय। हिन्दुस्तान की करेन्सी को दो दफ़ा डिवैल्यूएट कर दिया है और अब भी ओपन मार्केट में उसका दाम 45 फी सदी आफिशियल एक्सचेंज रेट से कम है। आप देख रहे हैं कि लोगों को झूठी आशाएं दिलाकर, झूठी योजनाएं बनाकर, उनको भुलावे में डाला जा रहा है। यह प्लानिंग कमीशन यहां पर न रहे तो लोगों की स्वतः विकास की गति अच्छी रहे। मानेंटरी स्थिति ज्यादा अच्छी रखो, टैक्सेशन पालिसी अच्छी रखो, लोगों को उत्साह दो, लोगों के

लिये सड़के बनावो, रेल बनाओ, जैसा मेरे आसाम के साथी ने कहा, कुछ और चीजे करो, मस्ती चीजे करो, तो कुछ होगा। जब मैं यूनाइटेड नेशनस की इकानामिक रिपोर्ट पढ़ता हू तो मैं रोजाना देखता हू कि हमारा हिन्दुस्तान जो कभी दुनिया में सबसे ऊँचा था वह आज सबसे नीचा, सबसे गरीब, सबसे दरिद्र, सबसे निर्धन देश है। हम जब कहीं बाहर जाते हैं तो लोगों को हमसे कोई आशा नहीं रहती। हिन्दुस्तान की विदेश नीति असफल हो गई है क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान की आर्थिक नीति ने देश को बिल्कुल दिवालिया बना दिया है और आज जगह जगह देश के छात्र प्रदर्शन कर रहे हैं, जगह जगह साम्यवादी बन रहे हैं और बड़ी भारी तादाद में नक्सलाइट बन रहे हैं क्योंकि अगर देश में आर्थिक प्रगति होती तो यह असतोष की लहर देश भर में नहीं फैलती। चव्हाण साहब कड़े कानूनों से इस असतोष को दबाना चाहते हैं लेकिन जब तक आप कोई बड़ी योजना और बड़ा तरीका नहीं आख्तियार करे, तब तक इन छोटी छोटी योजनाओं से यह देश कभी समृद्धि को नहीं पहुँचने वाला है और हमेशा सड़ता रहेगा। मेरे यह साथी जो मेरे बगल में बैठे हैं उन्होंने बताया गाँवों की वही हालत है। मैंने देखा है बिहार के गाँवों में पहले से भी बदतर हालत है, लोगों के तन पर कपड़ा नहीं है, घर पर छाने को फूस नहीं है, मकान के ऊपर छत नहीं है, सड़कों में सोने वालों की तादाद बढ़ती जा रही है फिर भी यह योजना का एक बड़ा पोथा हमारे पास पेश कर दिया जाता है, लाद दिया जाता है। मैं जब कभी देखता हूँ, जहाँ कहीं देखता हूँ, मुझे कहीं समृद्धि के लक्षण नहीं दिखाई देता है, प्राइवेट सेक्टर और पब्लिक सेक्टर दोनों की गति रुक गई है, कलकत्ता

की इन्जीनियरिंग इन्डस्ट्री में बड़ी बेकारी फैल गई है, जूट इन्डस्ट्री मर रही है, टेक्सटाइल मिल्स की बुरी हालत है, सिक मिल्स की ट्रेल्दी मिल्स में तादाद ज्यादा है फिर भी हम को इन सबसे भुलावा देने के लिये एक ग्रीन रिवोल्यूशन का जिक्र किया जाता है मानो कृषि में बड़ी भारी तरक्की हो गई हो, मानो कृषि में हम आत्मनिर्भर हो गये हों। तो फिर रोजाना पी० एल० 480 का समझौता अमरीका में क्यों किया जाता है और क्यों वहाँ से गेहूँ लाया जाता है। मैं अभी जर्मनी गया था, वहाँ 30,000 टन बटर बिन बिके पड़ा है और सबको बटर मिलता है। यूरोप में कृषि की इतनी समृद्धि हुई है कि वह अपना माल नहीं बेच सकता। टीटो के इकानामिक एड्वाइजर ने मुझसे कहा हम इसलिये टुअरिस्टों को चाहते हैं कि हम अपना अग्रिकल्चरल प्रोड्यूस बाहर नहीं भेज सकते। वहाँ यहाँ पर खायेंगे तो तीन, चार गुना दाम दे जायेंगे। हिन्दुस्तान में आज बुरी हालत है और इस बुरी हालत को कांग्रेस पार्टी अपनी बार बार की हार से महसूस कर रही है फिर भी वह अपना ढरी नहीं छोड़ती। वह प्लानिंग कमिशन को बदल कर दे तो शायद हिन्दुस्तान की तरक्की ज्यादा हो। सिर्फ मोनेटरी पालिसी ऐसी बनाए जिसमें उद्योगों को प्रोत्साहन मिले, कृषि को प्रोत्साहन मिले। रेलें बनाए, सड़कें बनाये, डीजल इंजिन बनाये, बदरगाह बनाए, और आवश्यक चीजे बनाए, लेकिन वह तो कुछ करती नहीं और हर चीज में नौकरशाहों की उगली डालने के लिये प्लानिंग कमिशन के नाम से एक तकली वामपंथी तरीका चला कर मारे देश को घूमबोरी के चक्कर में फसा कर यह सब योजनाएँ बनती हैं जिनके पीछे हर आर्थिक मामले में नियंत्रण लगा रहता है और इन नियंत्रणों की वजह से, लोगों की खुद की विकास

[श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त]

की जो भावना है, जो प्रबल कामना है, वह कुंठित होनी जा रही है। यह सब क्या हो रहा है? क्यों नहीं इन तीन योजनाओं की विफलता देख कर ये लोग अपना रास्ता बदलते। जब तक यह रास्ता नहीं बदलेगा, जब तक यह कोई बड़ी चीज नहीं करेंगे तब तक हिन्दुस्तान का आर्थिक विकास नहीं होगा और हिन्दुस्तान दुनिया के सबसे बड़े गरीब देशों से भी नीचे पड़ा रहेगा। आज क्या हासल है? अध्यापक असंतुष्ट

है, छात्र असंतुष्ट है, मजदूर असंतुष्ट है, खेतिहर असंतुष्ट है, सब असंतुष्ट है। और इस असंतोष की बात को देखते हुए भी कहते हैं कि आंध्र मूढ़ कर इस पोथे को स्वीकार कर लो। इस तरह से यह पोथा हमारे सिर के ऊपर लाद दिया गया है। यह पोथा योजना कमिशन ने हमारे ऊपर लादा है। मैं यहाँ पर प्रोफेसर गाडगिल साहब का अपमान करना नहीं चाहता हूँ, लेकिन उनके विचार, उनके तौर तरीके, आज की दुनिया में 20 या 30 साल पुराने पड़ गये हैं। उनको सोचना चाहिये कि क्या इस तरीके से हिन्दुस्तान की तरक्की होने वाली है और न ही वे इस तरह से यहाँ की जनता को भुलावे में डाल सकते हैं।

आज आप वर्ल्ड प्रेस को पढ़िये, तो आपको मालूम होगा कि वे लोग हिन्दुस्तान के बारे में क्या लिखते हैं। उन लोगों को, किसी को भी यह उम्मीद नहीं है कि हिन्दुस्तान आर्थिक तौर पर तरक्की कर सकेगा और राजनीतिक तौर पर तरक्की कर सकेगा। इस तरह से उसने जनता का दीवालियापन निकाल कर उसको समुद्र के किनारे लाकर खड़ा

कर दिया है जिसमें उसका छुटकारा होने वाला नहीं है। इस कांग्रेस के शासन काल में घनघोर गरीबी, घनघोर दरिद्रता, घनघोर अन्धापन, घनघोर बीमारी और तरह तरह की कठिनाइयाँ इस देश की जनता को सहन करनी पड़ रही हैं। जब यहाँ का यात्री कहीं भीविदेश में जाना है तो उसे पहले हेल्थ सर्टिफिकेट दिखाना पड़ता है जबकि यूरोप के किसी भी यात्री को इस तरह के हेल्थ सर्टिफिकेट दिखाने के लिए नहीं कहा जाता है क्योंकि वे लोग समझते हैं कि वहाँ पर कोई बीमारी नहीं होती है। लेकिन यहाँ पर महामारी फैलती है, वाढ़ आने हैं, आग लगती है और तरह तरह की लोगों को परेशानी का सामना करना पड़ता है।

आज सरकार ने हम सब लोगों के हाथ में यह पोथी पकड़ा दी है और हम सब से कहा जाता है कि इसको पढ़ो और इसको पढ़कर ही तुम्हारे प्राण निकलगे। हम इस तरह की 3 पोथियाँ पढ़ चुके हैं और अब यह चौथी पेश की जा रही है और वह भी निर्जीव, निष्प्राण और वास्तविकता से बहुत दूर है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो यह पोथी तुमने पेश की है वह भी चलने वाली नहीं है।

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI): The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at three minutes past seven of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 14th May, 1969.