

# **TWENTY-FIFTH REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS (1968-69)**

SHRI GODEY MURAHARI (Uttar Pradesh) : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Twenty-Fifth Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings (1968-69) on Praga Tools Limited—paras in Section IV of Audit Report (Commercial), 1968.

# **FORTY-THIRD REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE (1968-69)**

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN (Gujarat) : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Forty-Third Report of the Public Accounts Committee (1968-69) on Appropriation Accounts (Civil), 1966-67 and Audit Report (Civil), 1968 relating to the Department of Food.

# **ANNOUNCEMENT RE GOVERNMENT BUSINESS**

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI AISUKHLAL HATHI) : With your permission. Sir, I rise to announce that Government Business in this House during the week commencing from 24th February, 1969, will consist of:—

- (1) Further discussion of the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.
- (2) Further consideration and passing of the Public Employment (Requirement as to Residence) Amendment Bill, 1968.
- (3) Consideration and passing of the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Bill, 1969.
- (4) Discussion on the Resolution given notice of by Shri M. K. Mohta seeking approval of the Payment of Bonus (Amendment) Ordinance, 1969 and consideration and passing of the Payment of Bonus (Amendment) Bill, 1969.
- (5) Consideration and passing of:—
  - (i) The Public Works (Extension of Limitation) Amendment Bill, 1969.

(ii) The Limitation (Amendment) Bill, 1969.

(iii) The Indian Medicine and Homoeopathy Central Council Bill, 1968.

As members are aware, the General Budget for 1969-70 will be laid on Friday, the 28th February, 1969, at 6.15 P.M.

# **NOMINATIONS TO THE HINDI SHIKSHA SAMITI**

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have to inform Members that I have nominated Shrimati Bindumati Devi and Shri N. K. Shejwal-kar to be Members of the Hindi Shiksha Samiti.

# **NOMINATION TO THE JOINT COMMITTEE CONSTITUTED UNDER THE SALARIES AND ALLOWANCES OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT ACT, 1954.**

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have also to inform Members that I have nominated Shri B. V. Abdullah Koya to the Joint Committee of the Houses of Parliament constituted under subsection (1) of section 9 of the Salaries and Allowances of Members of Parliament Act, 1954.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARWA in the Chair)]

# **RESOLUTION RE. DIVERSION OF THE BULK OF FOURTH PLAN FUNDS TO THE PROMOTION OF PROSPERITY OF VILLAGES**

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, thanks to the luck of the draw and also to beginner's luck, because this is the first time I have sent notice of a Resolution to be moved in this House, I have the honour to move this very important Resolution :

"This House is of opinion that Government should modify the Fourth Five

Year Plan so as to devote the bulk of the funds available to the promotion of the prosperity of the villages and the Tillage population of India by providing for the rapid promotion of literacy among *them*, the building of rural roads connecting the villages and the farms with the nearest town or market, the sinking of drinking water wells, the construction and reconstruction of houses, the promotion of cottage and rural industries providing employment for the millions of unemployed and underemployed of the villages' of India, and the improvement of the organisation of agriculture and methods of agriculture aiming at the progress of the economic position of the village population of the country/"

May I at the outset say that it is very auspicious that I am moving this Resolution in the year which celebrates Mahatma Gandhi's centenary because he was the first political thinker in modern times who turned the attention of the politicians and the people of the country to the villages of India and called upon the Governments to pay first and foremost attention to the improvement of the conditions of the villages and the village population of India. India he said lives in her villages; India is made of villages but our intelligentsia is neglecting them. And among the intelligentsia which is neglecting them I am sorry to count the Congress Governments that have been ruling the country for the past twenty years. I would only remind Members that 75 per cent of the population of India lives in villages. In the 600 and odd villages of India there are about 360 million people while in the 2700 towns in India there are only about 78 million people. The fundamental industry *of the country* is agriculture which everybody knows is the foundation of all economic activity. It is the prosperity of agriculture that founded industries; it is the savings of agriculture that has laid the foundations of the industrial revolution in the West.

Now, how have the villages fared during the past twenty years? Take the matter of literacy which is the foundation

not only of political but of social and economic progress. It is only when people begin to learn to read and write that their minds are open to new ideas, that their minds are open to the calls of social and economic progress. Literacy stands at about 24 per cent, that is total literacy and literacy among the villagers is about half; that is, 10 or 12 per cent. And literacy among the women population is about half of that. In this terrible condition of illiteracy how can we expect any social or economic progress?

The other thing needed for the development of villages and the prosperity of the village population is roads, village roads that connect the villages and the farms of the country with the nearest market town, with the nearest highway or district road. As a result of all development so far, we have about 250,000 miles of surfaced roads, *pucca* roads, whereas the country requires about a million miles of roads for economic progress; and economic experience have shown that in order that a country may reach economic prosperity it must have one mile of road to every square mile of area. Now, the square mile area of India is about a little more than a million. As against that we have only 250,000 miles of roads.

Another source of prosperity, health and strength of the village population is good and decent housing. Now, according to the latest Government reports, out of *>1* crores of houses in the rural parts, only 1} crore houses are *pucca* houses, i.e., houses in which decent living is possible. Therefore, there is a gap of 5 crore houses, which has to be filled, if the village population is to live in decent conditions, so that they may acquire the health and strength necessary for being efficient producers.

Then, I come to rural industries which alone can absorb the millions, the hundreds of millions of unemployed and underemployed people in the rural parts. Even according to the Fourth Plan—we have only a draft outline now—only Rs. 370 crores are to be spent on village industries, whereas the total amount that is to be spent on industries as a whole is in the neighbourhood of 2,000 crores.

[Shri M. Ruthnaswamy]

Regarding the solution of all these problems a great idea was introduced in the first few years of Congress rule, namely, the movement known as community development. Even this has been impeded. In the Second Plan we had about Rs. 180 crores allotted to it. In the Third Plan we had Rs. 249 crores. In the Fourth Plan only Rs. 260 crores have been allotted for community development. So, in view of this lag in the attention paid by the Governments, State and Central, to the promotion of the prosperity of the villages, the future requires, the prosperity of the village population requires that the bulk of the funds available for development in the Fourth Plan should be devoted to the promotion of the social and economic prosperity of the villages of India.

Literacy requires a much more rapid rate of growth. It is growing at the rate of one per cent per year. At this rate we shall reach near 100 per cent literacy, which the needs of the country require, in about seventy-five years. Now, unless we increase the rate of the growth of literacy to five per cent gradually—next year 2 per cent, then 3 per cent, 4 per cent and so on—and unless we reach the rate of growth of literacy of 5 per cent, we shall not be able to reach the required goal of literacy in a reasonable period of time, say, in the next 15 years.

Then, in regard to roads, there are about 5,00,000 villages, which have to be connected with their nearest markets. We require at least 750,000 miles of roads in order to have a satisfactory road mileage. Unless we have about a hundred thousand roads constructed each year we shall not be able to reach this goal of road making in the near future.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA. (Nominated): May I just remind the hon. Member? He is a great scholar himself. He must have read Liddell-Hart. He is\* a great military journalist. The German Generals had admitted to him that they had found the roads in Russia hopeless, that they could not reach their destination. Even the Russians' say that they are backward in regard to roads.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY : That is all right in regard to border roads. Let us leave the border roads, but what about the roads in the rest of the country?

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: Inside Russia.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY : We are not think of invasions, though, of course, there is a possibility. It is only in regard to the border that we may leave it roadless\*, but the rest of the country should be provided with enough roads.

Now, more houses should be built. Unless we build about 5,00,000 houses per year, we shall not be able to reach that ideal of housing, which is necessary for the promotion of the health and strength of the people of the villages. How can they produce more if they are living in sub-human conditions? They are not living even in huts. The vast population of our country is living in hovels, which in other countries would not be fit even for the housing of cattle.

Then, drinking water. It has been acknowledged that nearly 1,00,000 of the 5,00,000 villages are without drinking water wells. How can the health of the village population be promoted in the absence of drinking water wells? People talk of doctors settling down in villages in order to secure the health of the people of the villages. Having trained them out of all sympathy with village and village life, do you expect them to go and live in the villages in the conditions which prevail in these villages? A much better thing would be to improve the housing conditions, to improve sanitation and hygienic conditions of the villages. Destroy malaria by the methods known to experts nowadays.

Then, with regard to small-scale industries also, we must have a large number of them. All these Government reports, which are for the promotion of small-scale industries, want them to be established in each village, but these villages are not economically viable. A much better centre for the location of village industries would be the site of the Panchayat union consisting of about ten to twenty villages. There the village carpenter, the village blacksmith,

the village cartwright, the village wheelwright should be located and their methods modernised. Give them modern tools, mechanical tools, so that they will become efficient providers of the industrial needs of the villages. It is not an impossible idea that I have been suggesting. I have come across the great work done by a Calcutta social worker, Mr. Jalan, who took up a number of villages in the neighbourhood of Calcutta and asked the villagers to help themselves, to improve their living conditions. He got them to build roads connecting the village with the nearest high road. They contributed their labour, free voluntary labour. They contributed their labour to the building of better houses. So, it has been done. It has been done by voluntary work. What I am asking the Government is that they should set an example to the people of the villages by building roads, by building better houses, by sinking drinking water wells and call upon the people to help themselves. The people of the villages are willing to give their labour free in order to improve their lot and it is this that I expect of the Government to do, apart from spending the bulk of the funds available on the development of the villages and their improvement.

Then, with regard to agriculture and land reforms, the Congress Governments have tried to put a ceiling in order to ensure a certain kind of equality among the landholder. But what has been done with this ceiling law? The big landowners got notice of the ceiling policy in time and they began dividing their large estates among their families, among their friends, and thus defeat the whole purpose of the ceiling laws. It is not a ceiling law you want\*. It is a floor law you want, that is to say, you must prevent fragmentation of holdings below a certain limit, below the 5 acre limit in regard to wet cultivation and below the 20—25 acre limit for dry lands. The fragmentation, the subdivision of holdings should not go on. On the other hand these fragmented holdings should be consolidated. What has been the progress of consolidation of holdings? There are about 400 million acres of land which are fragmented, and only a few thousand had been consolidated, and that too in Punjab more

than in any other State. The greatest evil of our land system in former days as well as now is absenteeism. The greatest evil of the zamindari system was not the large holdings. Large holdings in England have contributed to the economic prosperity of the country. These large landowners have themselves taken up the improvement of the condition of their tenants of their farmers, built decent houses for them. They have been improving landlords. The greatest evil in the Indian land system as in Irish land reform has been absenteeism. That great evil has not been cured in spite of all your ceiling laws. Even the peasant landowners of the small pieces of land which they are allowed to have under the ceiling laws are mostly absentee landlords. For instance, the *mirasdar* of Tanjore. I suppose the case has corresponding instances in other States. Most of them are absentee landlords. They do not take a personal, intimate interest in the improvement of their lands. Absenteeism prevails to a certain extent among our ordinary farmers. Most of them live outside their land. They live in the congested villages and go day after day to their farm in order to cultivate their farm, losing so many man-hours per day. Whereas I pleaded in one of my articles in the papers that the old slogan 'land to the tiller' should be supplemented by a more modern slogan 'The tiller to the land' because agricultural work is a 24 hour work. The agriculturist must look after the land day and night. Things have to be repaired, the water from the channel has to be regulated, the channel has to be kept in order. Rats and insects have to be kept out of the land. Unless he lives on the land itself, unless the farmer has his bouse on the land, you cannot have any real agricultural development. That is what is happening everywhere. In France and Germany the farmer lives on the land and is thus able to look after his land most closely.

Finally, Mr. Vice-Chairman, may I conclude by another quotation from Mahatma Gandhi? He speaks of an ideal Indian village thus:

"An ideal Indian village will be so constructed as to lend itself to perfect sanitation."

{Shri M. Ruthnaswamy] Merely resiling the houses in the village in a straight line would not go a long way to solve the problem of sanitation.

"It will have cottages with sufficient light and ventilation built of a material obtainable within a radius of five miles\* of it. The cottages will have courtyards enabling house-holders to plant vegetables for domestic use and to house their cattle. The village lanes and streets will be free of all avoidable dust. It will have wells according to its needs and accessible to all. It will have houses of worship for all, also a common meeting place, a village common for grazing its cattle, a cooperative dairy, primary and secondary schools, in which industrial education will be the central fact, and it will have panchayats for settling disputes. It will produce its own grains', vegetables and fruits and its own khadi This is roughly my idea of a model village."

That is the ideal that I am recommending to the Congress Governments of today in the States and at-the Centre. Improve the villages and village population and you will improve the economic and social and consequently the political strength of the country. An Irish poet says that "a bold peasantry was a nation's pride", but I say that it is not only a nation's pride but it is also the country's surest defence. The conscript armies of today are built on the heroism of the peasants of these countries. If our country is to be prosperous", I think it is to the villages and the village population of India that the Government and the people must look.

The question was proposed.

SHR] BANKA BEHARY DAS  
(Orissa): Sir, I move :

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

"and this House is further of the opinion that measures should be taken in the fourth Five Year Plan to break the monopoly in the economy, to abolish feudalism of all sorts, to promote regional balance, and to create an atmosphere of egalitarianism in the administration."

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN  
(Kerala): Sir, I move :

2. "That at the end of the Resolution, the following be added, namely :— "and also the opening of Health-cum-Child welfare-cum-Maternity Centres and Family Planning Units in villages or for groups of villages."

The questions were proposed.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra):  
Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am very happy that a resolution has been brought mainly in connection with the increase of funds when the Fourth Plan is being formulated and is going to be discussed, *hi* this connection I fully agree that unless the Government allocates more funds for the rural areas, the unemployment and the social tensions which are being generated thereby cannot be met by any other political or economic strategy. In this connection I will elucidate my point of view particularly in connection with the infrastructure to be built for industry, the structural organisation to be built for getting more farm incomes' and the entire educational pattern to meet the problem of the educated unemployed.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, [ would like to say that in the industrial policy resolution of the Government of India of 1956 special mention has been made that the total concept of industrial development will be so arranged that the village level employment in small-scale industry and medium scale industry will fit in with the total perspective which will increase the *per capita* income of this country. In this connection I may mention what are the plan funds\* during the last three Plans. In the First Plan the large scale industries received about 63.2 per cent and the small scale industries received funds of about 38.8 per cent. In the Second Plan the share of the large scale industries including the public sector rose to 81.8 per cent and the share of the small scale sector decreased to 18.2 per cent. In the Third Plan when the Government have got a social aim and when they want a social revolution the allocation for the large scale sector is 84.9 per cent and to the

small scale sector it is" 15.1 per cent. Mr. Vice-Chairman, you will find from this that the investment in the small scale sector whereby the rural problem is to be met, is being neglected due to meagre allocations to the small scale sector and also the village industries' sector. I may also say that Prof. Ruthnaswamy was very right when he said that the allocation to village and rural areas to create an infra-structure, whether it be on the health ground for drinking water or on roads or electrification, has to take place, if we want to build up a resurgent country, with economic development all over the nation. In this connection, may I say that the Maharashtra State has taken up the study of urban and rural employment? As you know, Mr. Vice-Chairman, perhaps, people are always misguided that the Maharashtra State is very highly industrialised. If you leave out Bombay and Poona, the industries in Maharashtra State... Mr. Banka Senary Das, please do not laugh, it is a fact.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: I have got figures to show otherwise.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Excluding Bombay and Poona, the others are industrially backward. And it was found that about 2½ to 30 times' more money is required to give employment per person. They said that the Nasik area and the other hinterlands like Marathwada and Vidarbha are to be developed and that this investment near Bombay and Poona alone is very costly to the nation itself. I fully support the view that unless an infra-structure is created for industries whether it is the village industry or any other industry, it will not grow. For that purpose, I would say that roads are a must for this development. There must also be electrification and health centres. We have found that in the rural centres whenever we start an industry, it does not grow up on its' own because the infra-structure is not developed. The postal services and the telephone services are not there and thereby the industry lags behind. I am not against large industries or any bigger industries or medium industries\*. I am not against them. But what I want to plead with this Government is that the Plan must be so recast that more priority, along with agriculture and irriga-

tion, must be given to the small and village industries. Otherwise, no fruitful development of this country can take place. I can quote certain figures' which are really revealing. I have got certain figures to show industrial sectors by capital size and its employment potential. If you have got to employ one person, the fixed capital to be invested in the small sector is about Rs. 1,869, in the medium sector it is Rs. 4,111 and in the large Sector it is Rs. 16,937. Just see the staggering figure. Then there is the value added by manufacture per unit of employment. That is also an indication how the small sector industry stands on surer grounds. The value added by manufacture per unit of employment in respect of small sector industries is Rs. 2,200, medium sector industries Rs. 3,800 and large sector industries Rs. 6,000. There is also the value added by manufacture per unit of fixed capital because in this country you are very short of capital and resources. Any prudent Government or any prudent parliamentarian will always think of investing a little more money because he must get the maximum benefit. The figures in this connection\* also are very revealing. The value added by manufacture per unit or fixed capital is Rs. 1.22 in the case of small industries as against 35 paise in the case of the large industries. So you will see that a small scale industry where only Rs. 1,800 are invested is giving a value added by manufacture per unit of fixed capital of Rs. 1.22 as against 35 paise in the large scale sector. I have already stated that unless there are large scale sectors, unless there are mother industries, the small scale industries' do not grow. I know that. Having invested in the three Plans to a staggering extent in the public sector as well as in the private sector, there is now the very urgent necessity that the small sector industry must get more than priority necessity along with agriculture. Otherwise, you cannot meet this problem. In this connection, I will say that the total industrial policy in this Plan period must be so devised that the development of the large sector, the medium sector and the small sector as well as the agricultural sector takes place. When we speak of economic development, what do we find? We are discussing here time and again about social

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni] control on banks, the nationalisation of banks and the increase in monopolies. I do not want to repeat all those things because I will consume my time. All those very great people like the Birlas and the Tatas are there whose monopolies have increased. I have got no grudge against them. Let them increase their industries. Let them increase national products. I am one with them. But the point is that when there is a wide income disparity between the highest man and the smallest man in this country, this type of social tension is bound to grow.

SHRI B. T. KEMPARAJ (Mysore) : Who is the highest and who is the smallest ?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : The definition has been made that one with an investment up to Rs. 5 lakhs is a small investor, one with an investment between Rs. 5 lakhs and Rs. 25 lakhs is a medium person and one with an investment of "above Rs. 25 lakhs is the highest. You must know. and read all this.

Sir, what I wanted to say was that monopolies are growing in this country. There is no doubt about that. But what I am more interested in is this. If this Government through the credit institutions, the semi-Government credit institutions, had wielded their lever and control so that the small industries would have taken their proper place, this problem would not have arisen. About the khadi and village industries of Mahatma Gandhi's concept we have got full respect. But I must say that modern technology is taking place. A revolution is taking place all over. In the small sector we have the electronics and the aluminium industries; machine tool manufacture is taking place in the small scale sector where we have got a fully developed technological base and the educated people who are more and more going to industry are finding a suitable avocation to show their talent and take part in the industrial revolution in this country and in the increase in the national gross output through industry. But, having said all these things, I would say that we have learnt from time to time through the Industrial Development Ministry and the Finance Ministry about opening entrepreneurial opportunity for educated young men.

The figures are very staggering. I am not going to quote them again here. But what I want to say is that even that is not meeting the fringe of the problem. During the year 1966-67 a new concept in that new schemes were to be developed to get employment for educated people- and all those things'. It is all only a hope, or at least a camouflage because if I quote the figures here they will throw this theory or this policy of the Government to the ground because you know, Sir, how many educated graduates at least in the engineering sector are there. There are thousands and thousands. And what are the results ? The credit institutions in this country entertained 90 applications in 1966 and 123 applications in 1967. When there are thousands of educated young men who have got technological knowledge, knowledge of engineering technology, knowledge of chemical technology and technology of some other sort, there are only 123 applications entertained by the financial institutions. And out of them, how many are sanctioned ? Thirty-eight.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is for this House I to put the maximum pressure on this Government. This problem cannot be solved : by giving only slogans. Slogans must be stopped and some concrete work, some home work, must be made by the Planning Commission as well as by the Government to meet this problem.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, there are also the possibilities of agriculture being developed as an industry. You know, Sir, that at present the people—the economists—are going after agricultural revolution, agricultural income-tax and all those things. I am not against mobilising the resources to develop the rural areas. Even the Prime Minister has very recently said, in connection with the recession in this country, that there is vast scope for developing the rural areas where resources can be found. I fully agree that in a place where there is assured irrigation, the agriculturists there have taken to the double-crop or three-crop schemes or the cash crop scheme. That is quite

all right. I quite understand it. Sir, the concept of agricultural income tax is not so easy. People like me who are working

actually in the villages with agriculturists know that whatever extra surplus has been developed with the agriculturist has been invested in the land. Say, by installing pipes, by installing electric pumps. Very recently, at least in Maharashtra, they are taking to sprinkler system to bring water to the fields. Now they are going into the villages. I see in Bombay and Delhi we have got cars. But in villages whenever we go we see tractors and tillers running. I am very happy to see that picture.

The people who are talking of agricultural income tax, the Planning Commission which is thinking of resources mobilisation

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Please wind up.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Another five minutes

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Please wind up in half a minute under the rules you are allowed only fifteen minutes. You have taken fifteen minutes.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Mr. Vice-Chairman. I know you are very strict. But the point is, please give me two or three minutes more as a compromise.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Please try to wind up soon.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: What I want to say is that agricultural development should not be taxed. I can understand taxing cash crops and horticulture which are giving more money where per acre cess can be levied and that money can be utilised in the rural areas.

Sir, I am coming to the last point. I have got more information to place before the House but I have got short time. I am finishing. Why I am interested in this Resolution is that this resolution is necessary. But the leadership has not caught up with this idea. I am very sorry to say that it amounts to a failure of this enlightened leadership in this country which has not taken to planning as a means of development of rural areas and providing more employment not only through agriculture and irrigation but also through small industries

which have played a notable role in providing employment in the country.

As you know, Sir, the small industries are providing about 43 per cent, of the employment. They have got about 63 per cent of the factories registered also. So when you see the average employment, out of 36 crores of people living in the villages 18 crores must be eligible for employment whereas we have given employment to only 1.2 crores. It is a paltry percentage for the villages and this is the reason for Shiv Sena and Lachit Sena to grow. This is the reason for social tensions, be it Calcutta,

or Bombay or Madras or Kerala. The point is that the rural areas are not developed. And for this purpose, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I request the Government with all the emphasis at my command that the Fourth Plan must be recast to the extent necessary

to generate employment and not raise slogans alone which will catch the imagination of young people but will not meet their problem of bread.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am very much thankful to you for accommodating me for, at least two minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): The House stands adjourned till 2 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at five minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at two of the clock. THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Banka Behary Das.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS ; Sir, we are grateful to Mr. Ruthnaswamy who has given us an opportunity to discuss the Plan, despite the effort of the Government for the last three years not to have any discussion on the Plan. The entire nation was on a Plan holiday for the last three years. Whereas the economy cannot afford to take a holiday, whereas the recession continued whether we had a holiday or not, whereas the population growth was never stagnant in spite of the fact that the Government wanted to have a holiday, the



[Shri Banka Behary Das.] Government preferred a Plan holiday for the last three years. Though I do not agree entirely with Mr. Ruthnaswamy as far as the Resolution is concerned, I hope *tits* entire House will agree with me that without the acceptance of my amendment, a socialist planning can) never exist nor can ever be contemplated, because the same items that have been mentioned in the Resolution of Mr. Ruthnaswamy can well be taken care of by annual budgets. How many miles of roads we must have what should be the literacy percentage *ioi* this country and how it should be accelerated, how the infrastructure can be crea-ed—all these can well be taken care of by annual budgets with some imagination.

In 1950-51 when the entire country launched on this planned development of the economy, there was a lot of enthusiasm in the country that perhaps the economy will have a radical change sV> that the socialist objects to which we were wedded could be achieved in the near future. But I am very sorry to say, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that after the third General Elections, because of pressure of circumstances and forces in this country, the Government opted for a Plan holiday. I have not much time at my disposal, but I will give some salient points as regards the approach to the Fourth Five-Year Plan. We have contemplated, according to the Plan Approach document, a growth rate of 5 to 6 per cent in the economy, in which agriculture will have a share of 5 per cent growth and industry will have a share of 8 to 10 per cent growth. We have also mentioned in the Plan Approach document that now, after three Plans, we want to believe in growth with stability. Though we had been emphasising all these days that a Plan based on inflation cannot achieve the purpose we are all fighting for, the Government naver believed in it. At last, because of circumstances, they have come round to believe in the theory that growth with stability should be the corner-stone of the Plan.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, yon will find in the Plan Approach document that the very idea of a self-generating economy has been forgotten. They do not want to have

more of investment. They want to have a maintenance Plan during ihe Fourth Five-Year Plan. I would like to point out that the Plan can never be a maintenance Plan. There will be no difference between the Annual Plans during the Plan holiday and a maintenance Plan. If one scans this document, the impression that one will get is that perhaps the Government has forgottenj all its talk of a self-generating economy. Perhaps\* they want again to depend on other sources for economic development. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I want to point out here that in the Fourth Five-Year Plan agriculture has not been given the emphasis it deserves. During the First Five-Year Plan, a base was created. Agriculture was givea some importance, though climate favoured us for four years out of those five years. During the Second and Third Plans' we completely neglected the agricultural sector. We forgot at that time that without an agricultural base, the industrial sector cannot grow. Without the agricultural base, we cannot expand the tertiary sector. Perhaps we forgot then j that the great industry of textiles, which , is one of the traditional industries ia this ' country and contributes a lot te the natio-j nal income, depends upon agriculture for I its raw materials'. We forgot during this ' period that the jute industry which is a ! vital factor as far as export ts concerned, i also depends on the raw materials of the agricultural sector. We forgot during this period that the sugar industry, which employs a large population in our society, also depends on agriculture foj its growth. So as a result of all this, recession started not only in the engineering industry, but also affected all these sectors, and we started I blaming the climate for that. How long will this country blame the climate, after i an investment of Rs. 20,000 crores during j three Plan periods'? As I just look at the I figures, in 1967, we have imported foodgrains to the extent of Rs. 452 crores out of which the foreign exchange component, if you say it is a component, is Rs. 132.78 crores and the rupee payment is to the extent of Rs. 319 crores. Even according to the estimate of 1968 we planned to import to the extent of 439 crores worth of foodgrains. This is the result of our economic policy after three Five Year Plans,

after an investment of 20,000 crores. If agriculture had been given enough importance, then I think today we would not have faced the situation in which not only the agricultural sector remains stagnated but the industrial sector is also moving with jerks sometimes in the reverse gear. Mr. Vice-Chairman, when we discuss about the agricultural sector, the planners in this country talk of green revolution. Because of two good crops and because of some technological change, because of the agricultural scientists' in this country who introduced high yielding seeds, they have now started talking about a green revolution as if we are round the corner. They always forget that if we had two good crops in spite of cyclones, famines and scarcity in some areas, if the green revolution is round the corner, it is not because of the efforts of the Government so much, but it is because of the scientists and of the rain-God. That is why I want to quote here the figures to show that after three Plans how much total agricultural land has been brought under irrigation from the days this regime started up till now. You will find that hardly 20 per cent of the cultivable land in this country has been brought under agriculture. I go to the other aspect of the question when I discuss about the regional imbalances. There I shall talk about Maharashtra also which has suffered during the three Plans as far as agriculture is concerned. But I want to impress upon you that without the base of agriculture, without bringing water to the fields, this talk of green revolution is absolutely bunkum; it is nonsense. The maximum green revolution that can be brought is to the extent of 13 to 14 per cent of land in this country which is under perennial irrigation. The green revolution can never be contemplated in other areas which are not under perennial irrigation. So, in a nutshell I want to say that if 50 per cent of the cultivable agricultural land in this country cannot be brought under irrigation within one or two Plans and if we do not plan for it in a phased manner, then all this talk of green revolution will bring us another period of famine and scarcity. So, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I want to impress upon the Government here that the Fourth Five Year Plan should be completely changed

so that the idea of extending irrigation to the 50 per cent of land in a phased manner within five or ten years would be a reality.

Sir, here in this connection I want to draw your attention to those who take advantage of these high-yielding seeds in the society. I have forgotten to tell you that there was something like land reforms for which we fought during our national movement days. The Government have completely forgotten the fact that there are millions of people in agriculture in this country called 'tenants' according to the prevalent laws in this country. But this assistance to the agriculturist and these high-yielding seeds are taken advantage of only by those who are big landlords in the society. Unless during the Fourth Plan we stress upon land reforms such as land ceiling and peasant proprietorship, this green revolution will be confined not only to the perennially irrigated areas of this country but also to the perennially irrigated areas of the big landlords. In this connection I want to warn the Government that on the one side you may be having a green revolution, but on the other side there will be growing and imbalance in the rural areas in which a different sort of revolution will be growing. The landless labour will be fighting against the big peasants and there will be situations as we witnessed in Madras where about 30 persons were burnt to death. That will be the feature in this country. That is why I want to impress upon the Government that unless land reforms are given importance, unless water flows at least in the 50 per cent of the areas in this country, unless the high-yielding seeds are acclimatized to the climate in this country, unless fertilizers are provided, unless cheap credit goes to the small farmers and not to the big farmers, unless the idea of remunerative prices takes root in the policy, the green revolution will not be a reality.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, in this connection I want to refer to the role of banks. Just before two years I moved a resolution in this House about nationalisation of banking institutions. A promise, an assurance, was there at that time and it came in the shape of social control of banks. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I want to give you the latest

[Shri Banka Behary D; figures: In 1951, all the banks in this country, whether under the private sector or the public sector, gave 20 crores to the agricultural sector which was 2.1 per cent of the credit at that time. And even in March 1967 all these banking institutions including the State Bank of India provided a credit of 56 crores which is again 2.1 per cent of the total credit that was given by the banking institutions of the country. So, after three Plan-periods the banks in this country moved in such a direction that the 2.1 per cent credit given to the agricultural sector in 1951 remained as 2.1 per cent even in 1967. (*Time bell rings*) Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I want to finish just within two minutes by telling that great emphasis should be laid on the question of regional balances because all the imbalances that have been created in different parts of the country have some relevance to the lopsided development in different regions. I do not want to speak here about Maharashtra though I entirely agree with the Member there that the entire wealth of Maharashtra, the entire capital of Maharashtra, for historical reasons, has been concentrated in Bombay and Poona and vast areas of Maharashtra are backward. So when we talk of backwardness in Maharashtra and when we talk of backwardness in Orissa, it should be viewed in a different perspective. I want to finish it by just saying that as far as irrigation is concerned, in Orissa hardly 14.6 per cent is under irrigation whereas in Punjab it is 43.8 per cent, in Madras 34.5 per cent. As regards Maharashtra it is 6.4, Rajasthan 10.8 and Madhya Pradesh 5.6 per cent. So, when planning about irrigation is made, this aspect should be taken into consideration. As far as irrigation is concerned, Maharashtra, Orissa and Rajasthan are poor. Therefore, funds on account of irrigation should be diverted in this way so that regional balance is obtained.

When we come to the question of mileage of surface roads, as pointed out by Prof. Ruthnaswamy, I think Maharashtra is not a backward State nor is the Madras State which is the highest to extent of 27.30... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI A. O. KULKARNI : Is Maharashtra not a backward State ?

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS : No, it is not a backward State as far as surface roads are concerned. In Rajasthan the road mileage is 4.70 in 100 sq. miles

As far as factories are concerned, you will find Maharashtra, Madras and other States are very developed, but Orissa is backward. I want to impress upon you here that when different sectors of our economy are to be judged, as far as industry is concerned, as far as irrigation is concerned, as far as education is concerned, as far as roads are concerned, the Planning Commission, instead of becoming a coordinating body as it is now, should function and guide the entire planning in such a way that regional imbalances which have been created historically, would be completely eliminated, and the backward States like Orissa and Assam...

AN HON. MEMBER : What about backward areas?

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS : Backward areas are to be treated by the State Plan itself, it is not the concern of the Central Government. You allow Bombay and Poona to develop at the cost of not only India, but at the cost of the villages of Maharashtra. It is for the State Governments to create permanently such a situation so that there is no imbalance in their own State. But where we are concerned with the national plan, I want to impress on the Planning Commission that unless they think about the regional imbalances and unless they are removed, conditions will be created in which regional parties, whether they are political parties or groups, will raise their heads and you cannot control that situation by sending the Central Reserve Police or the Army. That is why I want to impress on the Planning Commission that it has been reduced to the position of a coordinating authority. It should be a policy-making body which will guide the destiny of this country. With these words I want to impress on the Government that all the amendments that I have tabled should be accepted along with the Resolution.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : May I request the speakers to limit their remarks to fifteen minutes

because according to the Rules only fifteen minutes are permissible.

SHRI Y. ADINARAYANA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh) : I support the Resolution moved by my hon. friend Shri Ruthna-swamy. The main intention of the Resolution is that the Fourth Plan which has been formulated or is in the final stage has to allot more funds for the development of the villages than it has previously done. That is the main intention and he has put in so many points in this of which the most important will be the spread of literacy. We know that in our country literacy has been very little and it has been developing at a very slow pace. Unless the people are made to learn things, unless they are literate, they will not be able to enlighten themselves about what is happening in the country and will not know how to represent their own things to the concerned people. For the Development of the villages as a whole one of the major items that should have been mentioned in this is the spread of electricity as I represented in my speech yesterday. The spread of electricity not only helps the people in the villages to enlighten themselves and gives more conveniences than what they are getting now but it also definitely helps the people to reduce the present rate of unemployment that is spreading in the country. That is one of the most important things that the Government has to look to in the development of the villages. Then there is drinking water. Dr. K. L. Rao, in one of the papers circulated to some of us says this :

"Among the basic necessities of man the need for clean drinking water ranks perhaps not only to the free air we breathe. In our country over 40 crores of people live in as many as 57 lakhs of villages for many of whom at the moment the drinking water supply schemes are either not available or are wholly inadequate".

This is said by Dr. Rao, one of the Ministers of the Government. Now in many of the places drinking water has to be carried to the villages from miles away. In our district in Rayalaseema there are places where actually people go with pots and get water by headloads. That is the present L6RS/69—6

condition in some of the villages there. I know personally that some people refuse to give their daughters in marriage in those villages because they have to do this work. After twenty years of independence if we are still so backward as to keep thousands of villages without drinking water, I can only say that it is a shame on us.

About medical facilities what do we see in the towns? Everyone who gets sick immediately has got the facility of hospital but in the villages if somebody falls sick, specially the poor, he has to go miles and miles to go to the hospital and get the necessary treatment. In the plan allocation itself we have been seeing this difference in all the three plans. Major allocation of funds are always for the developmental activities of the urban areas, and not for the rural areas. That has to be changed in the interests of the country because the country consists of majority of villages, nearly 75 per cent. Therefore I stress that more funds have to be allotted for the development of these activities in the villages, specially medical facilities, drinking water and spread of electricity to every nook and corner of the country. I once again stress on electricity because it not only gives the facility but it revolutionises the very outlook of the villager in his future life.

There is one more point regarding the area from which I come. In 1952 there was a famine in Rayalaseema. In the towns the military people were asked to deepen the wells and transport water in the lorries from one place to another. That was the condition in some of those places where water was so scarce. Water had to be transported from wherever it was available to other places in those 3 or 4 districts. Such a situation should not be allowed to continue. Not only whenever there is famine that it should be looked into but it must be made into a permanent feature to be looked into and eradicated. This feature of recurring water famine is to be looked into by the Government by providing more funds and asking the Governments of those areas to see that water is provided or by trying to find out the underground water and trying to take it both for irrigation and drinking. With these words. I thank you, Sir.

**श्री निरंजन वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) :** श्रीमन्, हमारे योग्य मित्र प्रोफेसर रत्नस्वामी ने नन्दन के सामने जो संकल्प प्रस्तुत किया है वह अभिनन्दनीय है। उन्होंने हमारी सरकार के सामने कुछ ऐसे तर्क प्रस्तुत किये हैं जिनको यदि सरकार विचारे तो देश की उन्नति हो सकती है। वास्तव में जितनी हमारी यहाँ पन् योजनाएँ बनती है उन योजनाओं के लिये कहा तो यह जाता है कि बड़े विवेकजील और बड़े अनुभवी व्यक्ति बैठ कर के उन योजनाओं को बनाते हैं किन्तु उनके बनने के बाद जब योजनाओं का देश के सामने लाया जाता है तब उसका प्रभाव उतना सक्षम नहीं पड़ता जितना कि होना चाहिए। प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना, दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना, तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना, तीनों पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में रुपया बहुत बहाया गया लेकिन गाँवों की हालत जैसी कि पहले थी उसी प्रकार की रही। हम बाहर के देशों से जब मुकाबिला करते हैं तो ब्रिटेन जैसे देश के लिये यह कहा जाता है कि वहाँ पर प्रति तीन मील पर एक सड़क है, अर्थात् किसी व्यक्ति को तीन मील से अधिक कच्चे रास्ते पर नहीं चलना पड़ता, किन्तु हमारे यहाँ पर यह हालत है कि बहुत से गाँव अभी ऐसे हैं जहाँ पर कि पक्की सड़कें पचास पचास मील तक भी नहीं हैं। फिर इन पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं को बनाने में और भी गलतियाँ हुईं और वह गलतियाँ यह हुई कि बहुत से प्रान्तों के लिये तो बहुत अधिक सुविधाएँ दे दी गई, जहाँ के प्रान्त अधिकांश में बड़े बड़े मिनिस्ट्रों के प्रान्त थे वहाँ पर उनके लिये अधिक सुविधायें मिली और जहाँ के कोई मंत्री नहीं होते थे उन प्रान्तों की तरफ देखा नहीं गया। उदाहरण के लिये तामिलनाडु और इसी प्रकार के दूसरे प्रान्त हैं, जहाँ पर कि सड़कों का जाल बिछा हुआ है और सड़कें भी उच्च कोटि की हैं, गाँव गाँव में वहाँ डामर की सड़कें हैं। हमारा मानिग इतना गलत और इतने बुरे प्रकार

का रहा है जिसके कारण हम यह समझते हैं कि मध्य प्रदेश जो कि एक बीच का प्रदेश है, वहाँ पर अच्छी भली सड़कों की बात तो दूर रही, कई जिले ऐसे हैं जहाँ पर सड़कें अच्छी नहीं हैं और नहमीलों में पक्की सड़कें तक नहीं हैं। यह हालत है। इसी तरह से जहाँ पर कि यह कहा जाता है कि हम उन्नति की ओर जा रहे हैं, तो मैं इस सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित करूँगा कि भारत-वर्ष में और भारतवर्ष के बाहर उन्नति का मापदंड अलग-अलग है। भारतवर्ष के बाहर जो उन्नतिशील राष्ट्र हैं उनका मापदंड यह है कि किस व्यक्ति के पास, किस परिवार के पास, एक मोटर है, एक टेलीविजन है, एक रेफ्रिजरेटर है, और उस परिवार में कितनी मंदा दिन में प्रति व्यक्ति के हिसाब से मक्खन और कितनी रोटी इत्यादि मिलती है। अमरीका, ब्रिटेन, कनाडा और रूस और कभी कभी फ्रान्स, ये चारों राष्ट्र इस तुलना में पड़े रहते हैं कि कौन अपने यहाँ के परिवारों को कितनी सहूलियतें, सुविधाएँ देते हैं और उतना ही वह अभिनन्दन के पात्र समझे जाते हैं। और वहाँ की सरकार उसके लिए अभिनन्दन की पात्र समझी जाती है हमें दुःख है, बीस वर्ष नियोजन करने के बाद, योजनाओं को प्रभावशील बनाने के बाद आज समान्य, प्रतिदिन काम में आने वाली वस्तुओं की बात तो दूर रही, हम अभी पानी तक, जो कि प्राथमिक चीज है या रोटी, जिसके बिना हमारे राष्ट्र का कोई घटक रह नहीं सकता, और वस्त्र जिसके विषय में बहुत कुछ कहा जा सकता है और कहा जा चुका है, इन वस्तुओं के मामले में अभी तक हम पिछड़ी दशा में हैं। उड़ीसा, छत्तीसगढ़ के इलाके और महाराष्ट्र प्रान्त का दक्षिणी भाग अभी तक ऐसे स्थल हैं जहाँ पर लोग आधे नंगे रहते हैं और उनके ऊपर कोई लकड़ नहीं किया गया। इस प्रकार, जिस प्रकार योजनाओं

में बहुत अधिक धन दिया गया उस हिमाचल से उन योजनाओं में कुछ शुभ परिणाम नहीं निकला, उसकी तरफ राष्ट्र का और सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करना अत्यंत आवश्यक है। इसी प्रकार पीने के पानी की सुविधाओं के विषय में हमारे यहां पर एक बार श्री जगजीवन राम जी की मिनिस्ट्री के द्वारा जितनी भी गणती चिट्ठियां संसद सदस्यों के नाम से भेजी गई उनमें बताया गया कि जहां तक संभव होगा, हम प्रत्येक ग्राम में गांधी शताब्दी के मिलसिले में एक-एक कुआं बनाने का यत्न करेंगे। जब उनके पास चिट्ठी का उत्तर भेजा गया तो वहां से जो परिणाम निकला वह सब संसद सदस्यों को मालूम है कि वास्तव में उन्होंने धन के अभाव के कारण कोई भी कुआं खुदवाने में या सहायता देने में अपनी पूर्णतः असमर्थता प्रकट की। यह हमारा डाल हो रहा है। देश के सामने सबसे बड़ा प्रश्न इस प्रकार का है कि, या तो देश को हम उद्योगीकरण की तरफ ले जायें या देश के लिये हम कुटीर उद्योगों की तरफ ध्यान दें, लेकिन असल में कांग्रेसी मस्तिष्क आज इसी उलझन में पड़ा हुआ है, कांग्रेस का जो विद्वान वर्ग है वह यह समझता है कि जैसे संसार अब एक बैलगाड़ी के युग से निकल कर चन्द्रलोक की यात्रा के युग में जा रहा है इसी प्रकार से आर्थिक युग में भी कुछ ढाँचों को बदलना जरूरी है। दूसरी तरफ कांग्रेस के जो पुराने कार्यकर्त्ता हैं उनका मस्तिष्क अभी तक इस बात से अलग नहीं हुआ कि कुटीर उद्योगों की तरफ से भी आगे जाया जाय, किस प्रकार से जो सिद्धांत गांधी जी ने बताये हैं उसके अनुसार ही चला जाये। उदाहरण के लिये, अगर कुटीर उद्योग या ग्रामीण उद्योग की तरफ व्यक्तियों को लगाया जाये तो वहां पर जो कुछ भी वस्तु का उत्पादन होगा उसकी लागत शहरों में मशीनों के द्वारा जो उत्पादन होगा, उसमें बहुत अधिक आयेगी अर्थात् मशीनरीज से जो चीज हम उत्पादित करेंगे, ग्रामीण कुटीर उद्योगों

के द्वारा, व्यक्ति विशेष द्वारा पैदा की हुई चीज द्वारा, तो बाजार में जाकर निश्चित रूप से इन दोनों के मूल्यों में बड़ा अन्तर पड़ेगा और प्रत्येक व्यक्ति आज के युग में जब यह देखता है कि उसे सस्ती से सस्ती चीज चाहिये तो वह महंगी चीज लेने के लिये कभी तैयार नहीं होगा। इस दृष्टि से हम वर्तमान परिस्थितियों में मशीनरी उद्योग के समय कुटीर उद्योग की तरफ नहीं जा सकते और उसकी ओर कांग्रेसी मस्तिष्क ने कभी सोचा नहीं।

माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हम सदन का ध्यान आपके द्वारा चीन की तरफ आकर्षित करेंगे। पिछली बार 1967-68 में एक जर्मन यात्री को चीन जाने का मौका मिला, उसने अपनी जर्मन भाषा में, चीन की लोह दीवार को तोड़कर वहां के जो फैक्ट्स हैं उनके बारे में एक अच्छी पुस्तिका लिखी है जो इसी वर्ष प्रकाशित हुई है। चीन भी एक बड़ा कृषि प्रधान देश है और भारतवर्ष भी एक बड़ा कृषि प्रधान देश है। दोनों देशों की समस्याओं में बहुत कुछ समानता है, केवल अंतर इतना है कि चीन वाले कुछ थोड़ा बहुत कला के दृष्टिकोण में आगे बढ़े हुए हैं, वहां पर उनकी जनसंख्या बहुत अधिक है। अगर वहां मशीनरी का युग ला दिया जाये तो उसका परिणाम यह होगा कि मशीनों के आ जाने के कारण जनता का एक बड़ा भाग बेकार हो जायेगा और वहां रोजगार की समस्या बराबर शूमेती रहेगी इसके लिये उन्होंने जो कुछ भी किया है भारत सरकार को उसके ऊपर विचार करना चाहिये। उन्होंने अपने यहां यह किया कि जहां पर बहुत-सी मशीनरियां या मशीनें इकट्ठा बहुत से आदमियों का काम करती थीं उन मशीनों को वहां पर लगाना बन्द कर दिया है, उदाहरण के लिये अगर वहां गांव-गांव से शाक-भाजी शहर में आती है तो पूरे चीन में इस बात पर पाबंदी है कि शाक-भाजी

## [श्री निरंजन वर्मा]

इत्यादि होने का काम ट्रकों से या मशीन से चलने वाली गाड़ियों या ट्रैक्टरों से नहीं किया जा सकता, उनको इस बात पर शरम नहीं आती कि बड़े-बड़े ठले जिसमें 20-20 मजदूर लगे हुए हैं, लौकी-परवल और छोटी-छोटी खाने की वस्तुएं ढोकर बड़े बड़े शहरों के बीच से निकालते हैं और मार्केट में पहुंचाते हैं। इसी तरह से उसने एक बात और लिखी है कि यहां की जो अधिक जनसंख्या है उस जनसंख्या को देखते हुए उन्होंने बड़े-बड़े शहरों पोलिंग में, नार्किंग इत्यादि शहरों में तक मोटर-गाड़ियां बहुत कम कर रखी हैं। अगर कोई मोटर गाड़ी वहां पर शहरों के बीच से निकलती है तो लोग मोटर गाड़ियों के चलने से अभ्यस्त नहीं होने के कारण, जैसे ही मोटर गाड़ी भोड़ को चीर कर निकलती है, तो बड़े आश्चर्य से उसको देखते हैं। वहां पर चूंकि मनुष्य अधिक है इसलिये जनता की आवादी का एक बड़ा भाग अगर मशीन की तरफ झुका दिया जाये तो देश के सामने बड़ी आर्थिक कठिनाइयां आ जायेंगी और उसके कारण उनके देश का आर्थिक ढांचा अस्तव्यस्त हो जायेगा।

इसी प्रकार एक और भी वहां का प्रश्न है। हमारे बहुत से मित्र समझते हैं कि जितनी भारतवर्ष में प्रगति हो वह प्रगति केवल शहरों के द्वारा ही हो, उद्योग भी शहरों में ही बढें और मानस-पटल अगर कहीं कुछ सीख सकता है तो शहरों में ही सीख सकता है। चीन उसका अपवाद है। चीन और रूस में जो इस समय थोड़ा घुड़ है वह एक विवाद का विषय है। रूस का यह मत है कि उन्नति और क्रांति, रिवोल्यूशन, ये दोनों मजदूरों के द्वारा हो सकती है, वह मजदूर उद्योगों के मजदूर हों, उनका यह विश्वास है कि कृषि के मजदूर संगठित नहीं हैं इसलिये रिवोल्यूशन उनके द्वारा नहीं हो सकता। चीन में उसके विपरीत बात है। चीन में माओ-

त्से तुंग ने मजदूरों की अपेक्षा किसानों या जो खेतों में काम करने वाले हलवाह हैं उनको इकट्ठा करके वहां पर क्रांति को और उस क्रांति के कारण आज चीन का कृषि कार्य निश्चित रूप से सारे संसार से आगे बढ़ता नजर आ रहा है। अपने देश में इसी प्रकार अपनी समस्याओं की तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिए और जब उन समस्याओं की तरफ हम ध्यान देंगे तब हम समझते हैं कि अपनी योजनाएं बहुत अच्छी हो सकती हैं। अपनी योजनाओं की असफलता का एक कारण और भी है कि अपने देश में पहले राजे-महाराजे रहा करते थे, राजे-महाराजों के समय में जो एक चाटुकारी की भावना लोगों में घर कर गई थी, चारण और भाट की तरह, और जो कुछ भी राजे राज करते थे वह सब हां में हां मिलते थे। यह भावना अब तक समाज से दूर नहीं हुई। राजे-महाराजे चले गये तो बड़े बड़े नेता आ कर के कुर्तियों पर बैठ गये। ऐसे नेताओं ने चाहे उस विशेष परिस्थिति का कोई अध्ययन न किया हो, उसके विषय में चाहे उनको कोई जानकारी न हो, लेकिन तब भी अगर उनमें से किसी ने कोई बात कह दी तो उसके जितने जीहुजूर हैं वे उस बात को आगे चलाने के लिये बिल्कुल कदम बढ़ाते चले जायेंगे। उदाहरण के लिये हमारे देश की पहली योजना में और दूसरी योजना में यह तथ्य सामने आया कि हमारे देश में इंजीनियरों की बहुत भारी कमी है और हमारे यहां इंजीनियर्स और ओवर-सियर्स इतने कम हैं कि बहुत-सा रुपया खर्च कर के भी हम अपनी योजनाओं का उनकी अवधि में अच्छी तरह से परिचालन नहीं कर सकते। बस हमारे यहां के एक नेता के मस्तिष्क में यह बात शुरू हुई और उसने कहा कि देश में इंजीनियर बहुत होने चाहिये और उसके बाद प्रत्येक प्रांत में और प्रत्येक प्रांत के बड़े-बड़े शहरों में इस बात की होड़ होने लगी कि कहां कितने इंजीनियरिंग

कालेज खुलें और कहां इंजीनियरिंग कालेज के साथ कितने टेक्नीकल इंस्टीट्यूट खुलें। उसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि इतने अधिक इंजीनियर्स, इतने अधिक टेक्नीशियंस अपने यहां हो गये कि अब बेकार तो वे फिर ही रहे हैं, लेकिन ऐसे इंजीनियरिंग कालेज और टेक्नीकल इंस्टीट्यूट को अब कहां रखा जाए, कहां उनको बन्द किया जाय या क्या किया जाय इसकी भी राय के सामने एक बड़ी समस्या उत्पन्न हो गई है। कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि योजना वह कहलाती है जो अपने देश की आवश्यकताओं को देख कर बनाई जाय और उनके अनुरूप उसके साथ तालमेल किया जाय। अगर हमारे देश की आवश्यकताएं कम हैं तो योजना भी हमें छोटी रखनी चाहिये और आवश्यकताएं अधिक हैं तो योजना भी बड़ी रखनी चाहिये और उसके अनुसार हमें तालमेल करना चाहिये।

उसी प्रकार से अभी हमारे देश में एक विचारधारा फैली और वह विचारधारा यह फैली कि धरती जो है, भूमि जो है वह प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को मिलनी चाहिये। हमारे योग्य मित्र प्रोफेसर रत्न स्वामी ने बिल्कुल सही कहा कि जो किसान नहीं हैं वे भुक्तभोगी हो नहीं सकते, उनकी समझ में यह बात आ नहीं सकती, लेकिन जो किसान हैं वे समझते हैं कि अगर भूमि का बंटवारा व्यक्तिवाद की हैसियत से कर दिया जाय तो प्रत्येक व्यक्ति के हिस्से में दो-दो या तीन-तीन एकड़ जमीन आवेगी और वह दो-दो या तीन-तीन एकड़ में जो भी उपज करेगा वह उसके साल भर के खाने के लिये काफी नहीं हो सकती और वह उसे बाजार में ला नहीं सकता और जब वह बाजार में उसे ला नहीं सकता तो जो कृषि का कार्य नहीं करते हैं उनके लिये गल्ला कहां से मिलेगा। इसलिये अपने देश में बड़े-बड़े फार्म होने चाहिये। अपने देश में जब तक बड़े-बड़े फार्म, बड़ी-बड़ी कृषि की जोते बड़े-बड़े खेत नहीं होंगे तब तक अपने

देश में अन्न की समस्या किसी प्रकार से हल हो नहीं सकती।

इन सब बातों को देखते हुये यहां की जो योजना है उसको इस प्रकार से कार्यान्वित किया जाना चाहिये कि देश की प्राथमिक आवश्यकताएं जो शहर के लोगों को प्राप्त होती हैं वे गांव के लोगों को भी प्राप्त हों। अपना देश कृषिप्रधान देश है। इसलिये हमारे भाई प्रोफेसर रत्न स्वामी जी ने जो संकल्प रखा है वह बहुत अच्छा संकल्प है और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि यह सदन उस पर विचार करेगा। इन शब्दों के साथ हम उसका समर्थन करते हैं।

**श्री सी० एल० वर्मा (हिमाचल प्रदेश) :**

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं माननीय एम० रत्नस्वामी जी को इसके लिये बधाई देता हूँ कि उन्होंने इस माननीय सदन का ध्यान देहात की तरफ दिलाया और उन्होंने यह महसूस किया कि इस वक्त तक देहात के अन्दर बहुत कम काम हुआ है। जैसा कि आज सुबह ही एक अखबार ने लिखा था कि देहात के अन्दर महज 5 फीसदी आदमी ऐसे हैं जिनका कि एक रुपया भी हर रोज खर्च नहीं है बल्कि एक रुपया से भी कम खर्च है। इस वक्त देहात की जो आबादी है वह मौजूदा अन्दाजे के मुताबिक 41 करोड़ है जबकि शहरों की आबादी 10 करोड़ है। लेकिन देहात के अन्दर लोगों की कोई खास बहुवृद्धि अभी तक नहीं हुई है।

जहां तक प्लानिंग कमीशन का सवाल है और खास तौर पर जहां तक मेरा विचार है, मैं यह समझता हूँ कि प्लानिंग कमीशन को हर एक रीजन के मुताबिक प्लान करना चाहिये। जहां एक पहाड़ी इलाकों का सवाल है, हम हमेशा से यह कहते रहे हैं कि पहाड़ी इलाकों की जो प्लानिंग है वह देश की प्लानिंग के साथ नहीं होनी है। हमारी बदकिस्मती से इस वक्त तक प्लानिंग कमीशन के अन्दर इस बात की तरफ कोई नजर नहीं दी गई। होता



## [श्री सी० एल० वर्मा]

क्या है कि जो एक चीज प्लान के लिये शुरू हो जाती है उसकी साइक्लोस्टाइल कापी सब के लिये दे दी जाती है। जैसा कि पहले मैं कह चुका हूँ कि जो चीज हमारे यहां चलने वाली हो नहीं है उसके ऊपर रुपया खराब क्यों किया जाता है। फार्थ प्लान में यह ठीक है कि ऐग्रो-कल्चर के लिये काफी जोर दिया जा रहा है और दिया भी जाना चाहिये। लेकिन जैसा कि अभी वर्मा जी ने कहा कि हिन्दुस्तान एक जराअती मुल्क है और यह शर्म की बात है कि हम लोग खाने के लिये अनाज बाहर से मंगवाते हैं। उसको किस तरह से पैदा कर सकते हैं वह एक दूसरी समस्या है। मगर जहां तक पहाड़ी इलाकों का सवाल है जहां सात या आठ हजार फिट की बुलन्दी है वहां अनाज पैदा करना काफी मुश्किल है। वहां ज्यादातर फल हो सकते हैं, दरख्त हो सकते हैं। अगर वे कुछ फलों के दरख्त लगाते हैं तो उसके लिये जो सब से जरूरी चीज है वह सड़कों की है। पहाड़ों की प्लानिंग चाहे वे यू० पी० के हों, चाहे काश्मीर के हों, चाहे हिमाचल प्रदेश के हों, वह इस तरह की हो कि उसमें जो प्रायरिटी मिलनी चाहिये वह सड़कों को मिलनी चाहिये। इसके अलावा जो वहां पर दूसरी प्रायरिटी होनी चाहिये प्रोजेक्ट्स की, बिजली के कारखानों की। बिजली वहां पानी से इतनी सस्ती पैदा की जा सकती है कि हिमाचल प्रदेश में जो हमने तफ्तीश की है उसके मुताबिक दो पैसा फी यूनिट के हिसाब से उस पर खर्च आयेगा मगर प्लानिंग कमीशन इस तरफ कोई ध्यान देता नहीं है। उन्होंने जो एक चीज साइक्लो-स्टाइल कर के रखी है वही वे सब पर लगाने की कोशिश करते हैं।

अब इसके बाद इरिगेशन का सवाल आता है। यह ठीक है कि जो छोटे-मोटे इलाके पहाड़ में मौजूद हैं वहां कुछ इरिगेशन हो सकता है। मगर बदकिस्मती से वहां जो इरिगेशन हो सकता है वह लिफ्ट इरिगेशन से हो सकता है।

वहां पम्प के जरिये पानी उठाया जा सकता है। मगर प्लानिंग कमीशन ने एक फार्मूला बना रखा है कि अगर हम एक स्कीम पर इतना खर्च करें तो इतना रकबा उससे इरिगेट होना चाहिये जो कि पहाड़ों में कभी हो नहीं सकता और उसका नतीजा यह है कि पहाड़ के लोग जहां हैं वहीं के वहीं रहेंगे और वहां पर कोई भी जराअत का काम हो नहीं सकेगा। तो इस तरफ में प्लानिंग कमीशन का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि जहां तक पहाड़ी इलाकों का सवाल है वहां लिफ्ट इरिगेशन का इन्तजाम जरूर होना चाहिये, पानी वहां दरियाओं से उठा कर जो छोटे-मोटे इलाके हैं उनको इरिगेट करना चाहिये ताकि वहां का अनाज का जो मसला है वह हल हो सके।

इसी तरह से ड्रिफिंग वाटर का सवाल है। ड्रिफिंग वाटर में भी यही बात है। यह ठीक है कि पहाड़ सारे हिन्दुस्तान को पानी देते हैं। वह चाहे गंगा हो, चाहे सतलज हो, सब में पानी पहाड़ों से आता है। मगर सवाल यह है कि अपने पीने के लिये वहां काफी मुश्किलता है क्योंकि उसके लिये भी वहां बहुत जगह पम्प लगाने की जरूरत है। तो उसके लिये भी कोई स्कीम जरूर मंजूर होनी चाहिये।

बाकी देहात में तालीम के बारे में पहले भी कहा गया है। मगर मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि देहात में इस वक्त जो तालीम की हालत है उसकी जितनी भी हम निन्दा करें वह कम है। अगर वहां कोई स्कूल खोलना हो तो पहली शर्त यह हो जाती है कि आप स्कूल की बिल्डिंग बनायें। अगर शहर में कहीं कोई स्कूल खोलना हो तो गवर्नमेंट उसको खोलती है उसका खर्चा गवर्नमेंट देती है, जमीन भी उसकी गवर्नमेंट अक्वायर करती है। मगर देहात के अन्दर अगर कोई स्कूल खोलना हो तो उसके वास्ते वहां लोगों पर यह जोर डाला जाता है कि आप उसमें श्रमदान दें। क्योंकि चाहे

सड़कें हों या स्कूल हों। देहात के हिस्से में अमदान आया हुआ है। इस वास्ते प्लानिंग कमीशन इस बात का ध्यान करे कि यह अमदान 85 फीसदी आबादी पर कब तक रखेंगे।

देहात में जो स्कूल हैं उनमें बेसिक एजुकेशन का, जो गांधी जी ने बताई थी, उसका नजुर्ग किया जा रहा है। उसके मुकाबले में शहरों में पब्लिक स्कूल हैं। देहात में अब्बल तो मास्टर पूरे नहीं होते, अगर कहीं पूरे भी हो गए तो देहात के लड़कों का और पब्लिक स्कूल के लड़कों का, दोनों का मुकाबला करें सर्विस में आने के हिसाब से तो वे किस तरह से पब्लिक स्कूल के लड़कों का मुकाबला कर सकते हैं। इसीलिए जितनी गवर्नमेंट सर्विसेज हैं, कुछ नहीं तो 90 फीसदी शहरियों से भरी हुई हैं। देहात के हिस्से में मुश्किल से 2-4 परसेंट आता होगा वरना देहातियों के हिस्से में कुछ नहीं आता। इस वास्ते मेरा एक यह भी निवेदन है कि अगर आप देहात को बैकवर्ड समझते हैं—और देहात बैकवर्ड है—और उनको प्रोटेक्शन देते हैं तो कोई बजह नहीं है कि सर्विस में भी प्रोटेक्शन न दिया जाय। ऐसा न हो जैसा कि मैंने परसों भी कहा था, पब्लिक एम्प्लायमेंट बिल पर कि हमको प्रोटेक्शन तो दिया हुआ है, हिमाचल प्रदेश में हिमाचल प्रदेश के रहने वाले ही तहसीलदार के रैंक तक लिए जाएंगे और कोई नहीं लगाया जायेगा, मगर होता क्या है, वह मैंने आपके सामने कह दिया। देहात के लोगों को कुछ न कुछ सर्विस में प्रोटेक्शन मिलना चाहिए। अगर नहीं मिलता है तो शहरों में भी उसी किस्म की तालीम होनी चाहिए जिस किस्म की तालीम आप उस 85 फीसदी आबादी को दे रहे हैं।

अब अनाज की बारी आती है। देहात के अन्दर ज्यादा अनाज पैदा किया जाता है। यह भी ठीक है कि हिन्दुस्तान एक खेतिहर मुल्क है अनाज की कीमत का सवाल है। कुछ यह उज्र किया जा रहा था

कि कीमतें बढ़ाई जा रही हैं गेहूं और दूसरे अनाज की, और खाने वालों पर बड़ा जोर पड़ेगा। इस सिलसिले में मैं प्लानिंग कमीशन से यह रिक्वेस्ट करना चाहता हूँ—आप भले कीमतों को न बढ़ाएं—आप एक चीज तो बर्क आउट करें जो अनाज है उसको पैदा करने में क्या खर्च पड़ता है जिस तरह आप इन्डस्ट्री के सिलसिले में कीमत लगाते हैं कि फलां चीज को तैयार करने में इतनी कीमत पड़ी, इतना मार्जिन आफ प्राफिट देना चाहिए। हम तो कहते हैं कि जो जमींदार हैं, जो जमीन पर काम करते हैं उनको आप नफा भी न दें, सक्स्टीट्यूट आफ लेबर तो देंगे, जितना खर्च पड़ता है क्योंकि आपने मिनिमम वेजेज बना रखी हैं, इन्डस्ट्री के लिए सब कुछ लगा रखा है। उसी केलक्यूलेशन के मुताबिक अगर आप अनाज पर भी वह चीज लागू करें तो मैं समझता हूँ कि न दाम बढ़ाने का सवाल पैदा होगा, न यह सवाल पैदा होगा कि कन्ज्यूमर को बहुत महंगा पड़ रहा है। इस वास्ते सबसे जरूरी चीज यही है कि उसकी कीमत तय करते वक़्त यह चीज जरूर देखी जाये।

इसके इलावा देहात के लोगों के लिए सड़कों का सवाल है। हिमाचल प्रदेश की बात मैंने अलग कह दी है, बाकी जगह भी यही हालत है। देहात में कोई चीज पैदा कर दें, उसे शहर तक, मारकेट तक लाना बहुत मुश्किल है। जैसा रत्नस्वामी जी ने कहा, देहात की सड़कें जरूर बननी चाहिए ताकि लोग आसानी से आ जा सकें और जो उनकी पैदावार है उसको मारकेट में ला सकें ताकि उनको उसकी उचित कीमत मिल सके। तब तो कुछ देहात का भला हो सकता है, वरना देहात का भला इस तरह से नहीं होगा।

देहात में एग्ज़िक्यूटिव ज्यादा है, मगर क्या मैं यह पूछ सकता हूँ प्लानिंग कमीशन से कि आज तक उन्होंने कभी यह सोचा है कि

### [श्री सी० एल० वर्मा]

देहात के अन्दर भी कोई एग्रीकल्चर कालेज होना चाहिए, कोई एग्रीकल्चर यूनीवर्सिटी होनी चाहिए? होता क्या है? एग्रीकल्चर कालेज जितने हैं वह सब शहरों में हैं। उनमें भर्ती कौन होते हैं? शहरी, जिनकी बैकग्राउण्ड एग्रीकल्चर की नहीं है। नतीजा यह होता है कि वे अपने फार्मुले लगाते रहते हैं, यह बीमारी हो गई तो स्प्रै कर देंगे, खत्म हो गया तो धर को चले जाओ। लज्जें भी देहात में खत्म हो रहे हैं। एग्रीकल्चर कालेज देहात में जरूर होने चाहिए। दूसरे तममें उस बैकग्राउण्ड के लड़के लिए जायें जिनका एग्रीकल्चर में कोई दखल है। जिनका दखल नहीं है उनको ले लेते हैं वे उसमें जाते हैं क्योंकि उनको नौकरी करनी है, बाकी वे अपने फार्मुले लगाते रहते हैं। यह भी हमें देखना चाहिए।

इसी तरह से देहात के सिलसिले में इंडस्ट्री की भी बात है। जब इंडस्ट्री फैलनी शुरू होती है—आप बम्बई चले जाइए—तो फिर भीलों तक इंडस्ट्री ही इंडस्ट्री हैं, वहां सिनेमा हाल भी है, यह भी है, वह भी है। पब्लिक सेक्टर में क्या आपकी कोई इंडस्ट्री देहात में नहीं लग सकती? सारे पहाड़ में दार्जिलिंग से लेकर काश्मीर तक पब्लिक सेक्टर में कोई इंडस्ट्री नहीं लगाई। हरिद्वार में कोई रेशियन मदद से इंडस्ट्री लगी है। बाकी सारे यू० पी० में, हिमाचल प्रदेश में कोई नहीं है, हालांकि हिमाचल प्रदेश में लकड़ी-वेस्ट इंडस्ट्री लग सकती है, पेपर मिल लग सकती है, मगर इस तरफ कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया क्योंकि मुश्किल यह है कि जो लगाने वाले हैं या जो नौकरी करने वाले हैं वहां न उनके लिए सिनेमा है, न क्लब है। लेकिन हमें वहां इंडस्ट्री पहले लगानी तो चाहिए। मैं बहुत अदब के साथ यह अर्ज करूंगा कि अहां तक पहाड़ी इलाकों का सवाल है, उसके लिए प्लानिंग बिल्कुल वहां के हालात के मुताबिक, वहां के

रीजन के मुताबिक की जाय ताकि वहां के लोगों की भनाई हो सके। धन्यवाद।

SHRI K. CHANDKASHKHAR \N : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I support the Resolution and also support the amendment moved by the hon. Shri Bankai Behs.ry Das. I commend my own amendment for the acceptance of the House. The Resolution proceeds on the basis that there is to be a Fourth live-Year Plan. It is true that the Planning Commission is at the finalisation of the Fourth Plan. It has been stated by the Government that in the next financial year the Fourth Five-Year Plan would begin to work, but I am not sure whether it will commence its first year of operation in the coming financial year, in any case the way it should. The Resolution, the amendments and the speeches that have been so far made in this House would certainly indicate that the working of the three Plans previously has not been satisfactory, in any case adequate enough to remove the diseases on the economic and social body politic of this country. Rural India, which is the real India, has not, by and large, benefited by the working of the previous Plans.

3 P.M.

The disparities in the social life of this country have increased during the years\* of working of the three Plans and the yearly Plans thereafter. There have been great regional imbalances. There has been criticism i>/( discrimination made against parts of the country. Certain parts of the country have outgrown quite out of proportion to what little achievements have been made in other parts of the country. There has been generally a non-utilisation of the bulk of the funds in a proper and equitable manner, and therefore there has been virtually a cry from several parts of the country that their needs and requirements have not been heeded to.

The three Plans and the Fourth Plan proceed on the basis of the same fundamental approach in regard to the two sectors, the public sector and the private sector. I think it was wrong on the part of our planners to have allowed so much of a private sector during the three previ-

ous Plans, the result of which has been that there has been an enormous and gigantic growth in the private sector in this country and in spite of all the controls and regulatory measures that Government have taken, we find that today the entire economy of this country is in a way controlled, managed and dictated to by the private sector. If at least there has been a growth in the public sector to the extent that the public sector would overawe the private sector, that the public sector will be able to control in a large measure the economy of this country, we could have said that the idea of having a public sector had succeeded. But that is not so. So far as the basic requirements of this country are concerned, the private sector

ol a dominant hand, and what sort of private sector has been developed ? It is not a private sector distributed by and

in the States in the country, owned by and large by a larger and larger num-

i individuals. but the three Plans together had the cumulative effect of giving over the private sector to three or four of the big business houses in this country.

I feel rather surprised, Sir, when hon. Members particularly from the Government Benches speak quite a lot against the malpractices within the industries control-led, owned and managed by what is called the Birla House. As we criticise the various malpractices committed by this big business house, are we not seeing the Government of India and the State Governments giving more licences and permits to groups in the Birla House of industries themselves for expanding their present industries and opening new industries ? I am therefore at a loss to understand all this criticism against the Birla House particularly when they come from the Government Benches. Government which had the upper hand in avoiding all this trouble in seeing to it that this sort of situation never developed in this country, completely failed to take the necessary measures in avoiding concentration of industries and capital in a few of the business houses alone in this country. I do not think theft when even the planners of the First and Second and Third Five Year

Plans thought of encouraging the private sector, of what they called allowing the private sector in a measure to exist side by side with their newly brought forward public sector, it was thought that concentration of wealth, industry and capital should be the result. Far from it the real expectation must have been, but we find that a few of the industries in this country have been able to grow and expand in such a way that they control the economy of this country. Let me quote one

M<sup>1</sup>c.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) in the Chair]

In this\* country particularly with a lot of expanding communications, the rubber industry, the tyre industry has become a vital industry in the nation's requirements. But we find that there is a great shortage of rubber products, great shortage of automobile tyres, and the entire rubber industry and practically the whole of the tyre industry are with the private sector. The private sector wants to see that the price of indigenous rubber is reduced. The private sector wants as much rubber from the country available at their dictated price. What happened ? A Tariff Commission was appointed for this purpose and the Tariff Commission fixed the price of indigenous rubber at Rs. 415. There was a hue and cry from all the rubber growers that this price was very low. The Rubber Board protested against it. And today we find that the price has been repealed by the Government as the statutory price fixed, and a new Tariff Commission has been appointed. But in the meanwhile, a hue and cry has been developed in this country as if there is a great rubber shortage, and the Government is allowing more and more imports of rubber. Already, about 1.1.000 tonnes of rubber have been consented to be imported, out of the nation's requirements of a lakh and odd tonnes of rubber. When during the last two or three years there was practically no Import of rubber except for special varieties, we find today a general attempt at importing being made by the private industrialists in this country and the Government conceding to their attempt. And yet, with all this, the tyre shortage in the

[Shri Chandrasekharan.] country is something of an unbelievable level. The hon. Minister of Defence stated yesterday that the number of people who actually got into some of the VIP enclosures in the Republic Day celebrations was larger than the number of tickets issued. Likewise, if you look into the accounts of the nation's requirements of tyres and the tyres that are produced or can be produced in all the factories manufacturing tyres in this country, it will not be very much a case of shortage. Yet today there is an artificial shortage created in the case of tyres.

If you want proper rural development and want all the villages in the country to be connected together and the necessities of life to reach the rural population, communications must come to the optimum and for this purpose, the importance of tyres for automobiles can never be underestimated. I should think, Sir, that it is time that at least in the Fourth Five Year Plan Government seriously considered in terms of nationalising the entire rubber industry including tyre manufacture. In any case, I would commend to the Government the idea of staffing a tyre factory in the public sector so that at least there will be one tyre factory in the public sector and the monopoly that is being exercised by some of the bigger tyre factories in the country may be broken.

My hon. friend, Shri Banka Behary Das, has suggested the breaking up of the monopoly. How can we break up the monopoly when we allow the private sector to exist? But at the same time, Sir, one would seriously ask the question: What is the position of the public sector in relation to the private sector in this country? The way in which many of our public sector undertakings work causes the utmost concern and dismay and despair and one begins to think whether after all it is not better to allow the private sector to exist rather than have this sort of public sector. There is a saying in Malayalam which is—"*Kattile inaram, devaruda <ina, valida, vail>*". "It is the forest timber tree. It is the deity's elephant that is used for uprooting any number of timber trees,

and ki as lake away all the timber trees." This is the way in which the top executives, the managing directors, of some of our big public sector undertakings work.

It has been stated, Sir, that corruption is rampant. But when we look at the corruption that exists among the top executives of our public sector industries, when we see the absolute fall of character so far as the very big people who are on the managing boards of some of these public sector undertakings are concerned, it causes dismay and sorrow that the nation's character, the nation's standard of morality, at every level is weakened. I know, Sir, of instances of some chairmen of public sector undertakings—public undertakings which are located in the same place, the board meetings of which are held at the same time, the navels and period of residence of which are all common. And some of these chairmen are men who have been holding very high positions in Government. They stoop so low as to claim travelling allowances and daily allowances from all these companies in respect of a single travel and a single residence. I know, Sir, of managing directors of some of our public sector undertakings who are not concerned with production, who are not concerned with a moderate way of expenditure but who care only to spend and spend, misspend and overspend, so that some of our best industrial and manufacturing units suffer on account of this irresponsible way of administration by those who are in charge of them. Some of these public sector undertakings are, again, being misused and exploited for the purpose of sponsoring politicians who are not able to find their existence otherwise. What has happened in Assam in respect of a public sector undertaking? A person who was unseated on account of corruption charges being proved in the High Court was put in charge of that public sector undertaking. And what happened in India? An ex-Minister of this Government? He was put in charge of one of the biggest of the public sector undertakings in this country at Ranchi just because he could not find his way into either of the two Houses, and today we find that he is rejected by that concern as well as

by the people. Therefore, unless the public sector undertakings are managed in an efficient and honest manner and are able to compete with some of those non-controversial but very high up in the production state of affairs, unless the public sector undertakings are able to compete and win as against these private sector ones, there is not much hope in so far as these public sector undertakings are concerned.

A word before I close. I find in this resolution practically everything that is injured. The monopoly that has to be broken has been referred by my hon. friend, Shri Banka Behary Das. I thought, Sir, that I would add by indicating the importance of health centres, child welfare centres, maternity centres and family planning units. In fact so far as these centres are concerned a drive is necessary in the country. We cannot simply sit quiet by stating that during the last 20 years the expectation of life has increased, the death rate has decreased, that children's death rate has decreased. For statistics, they are all good. But what is actually the present state of affairs? In many rural areas a doctor's service is not available. A maternity centre can be contacted only after miles' and miles of walking. We want a health programme, a vitalised and revolutionary health programme in this country. But I am sorry to find that all sorts of combinations have been made in the recent ministerial reshuffle so far as health is concerned.

The Administrative Reforms Commission in one of the notes that they had passed on to the Government had suggested that the Department of Health and Education be combined. But the hon. Prime Minister has thought fit that the Departments of Health, Housing and Supplies and Works be combined. I am not aware, Sir, of any country in the world which has had the radical wisdom that is displayed in the Ministerial reshuffle and allocation of portfolios by combining Health with Housing, Works and Supplies. I thought about it and I could get only one answer. It may be, Sir, that family planning today has failed and there is explosion of population and for that purpose we may require more houses and more works and more supplies.

And probably anticipating that failure of Health and Family Planning Departments, these two sets of portfolios have been combined in one Minister. I express the hope that in spite of that we may be able to better our output in the sector of public health for we want lots and lots of doctors to go to the rural areas. If we read the newspapers we find that in many of the States it is said that doctors are unemployed. We find that in one State 1,200 doctors are unemployed and in another State hundreds of doctors are unemployed. I cannot imagine doctors coming out of the medical colleges waiting to be employed by Government. It is their duty, particularly when the statistics of the nation show that the proportion of doctors to the population of this country is very low, there is no question of unemployment of doctors. Doctors who come out of the medical colleges should be able to find their own living. They should take up their own practice by going to the rural areas in this country. Thank you.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra) : Sir, our senior colleague. Mr. Ruthnaswamy, has moved a resolution and when I took at the resolution there is nothing to object to this resolution. But I expected honourable Mr. Ruthnaswamy to go deeper because it is a matter of political philosophy. On the one hand the Swatantra Party is trying to do away with planning and planned economy, on the other hand Mr. Ruthnaswamy has made an effort for bringing about a planning which should be agricultural or village-oriented.

Sir, when I look at the present state of affairs of planning I feel that planning is like an orphan without a mother. There is neither a good mother to look after it nor a modern nurse to take care of this orphan and it is just loitering here and there without any purpose. Nowadays we are having yearly plans. The Plan of the year 1967-68 was to the tune of Rs. 2,200 odd crores and the Plan for the current year is to the tune of Rs. 2,337 crores. But by figures we feel that this Plan is bigger than the previous Plan. But in case we take into consideration that during the present current year an amount of Rs. 140 crores is reserved for the buffer-stock of

[Shri M. M. Dharia.]

foodgrains, this House will kindly realise that the Plan of the current year is lesser by Rs. 50 crores than the previous year. Under these circumstances how could there be any developmental activity in this country. If we look at the figures that are yet to be finalised of the First Five Year Plan we find that an amount of Rs. 8,300 crores is reserved for the Central sector and an amount of Rs. 6,500 crores is reserved for the State Plans. Here again, as per present assessment it may not be possible for the States sector to have these additional resources, and they will be short of Rs. 4-14 crores than envisaged in the Fourth Plan. So this Fourth Five-Year Plan will actually be to the tune of Rs. 14,360 crores, including the Central and State investments. As far as the Planning Commission is concerned, the expectations we had in the Planning Commission—They had greater hopes in it because I know Dr. Gadgil who is the Vice-Chairman of the Planning Commission—have not been fulfilled. The Planning Commission has failed to satisfy the urges of the people. They have considered themselves as a political body. Instead of treating themselves as politicians, had these Planners thought of the present conditions of the country, the needs and requirements of the country and advised the Government and this Parliament that having regard to the needs of this country and of its people, this should be the Plan for the coming five years, and then had left the matter to Parliament to consider whether it is possible for the Government to mobilise the resources required for the Fourth Plan, at least the Planning Commission would have absolved itself of its responsibility, and it would have been the responsibility of Parliament to see that for the fulfilment of the Plan the resources in the way advised by the Planning Commission are mobilised. But this has not happened. Sir, when we speak of the 10-point economic programme of my own party. I know that in some quarters it is disputed. But is it not the pledge of my own party not only according to the 10-point economic programme, but even according to the Election Manifesto that by the year 1973-74, the basic needs of the common man of the country shall be fulfilled. Food, shelter, clothing, education

and health--these are the five basic needs that shall have to be substantially fulfilled. But when we look at this Fourth Five-Year Plan, is there anything to suggest that these five basic needs will be substantially fulfilled? It is stated that this Fourth Five-Year Plan will begin from the 1st of April, 1969. The Budget for the year 1969-70 will be introduced on the 28th of February. The Fourth Five-Year Plan is not before us to-day and so the first year of the Fourth Plan will not be a part of the Plan, but the year will be adjusted under the Plan. So this Five-Year Plan will actually be a four-year Plan. And then, too, what is this Plan? Have we taken into consideration what the needs of this country are to-day? As I said yesterday, and I would repeat that again, is it not a fact that 50 per cent of our people are not getting even 50 paise per day? How are we going to provide for these millions of our people who are half-starved the basic necessities? If we cannot fulfil their expectations if we cannot provide them their basic needs of life, how can we say that we are going to construct a new nation, a new society? Plan is not merely a list of new constructions; that is no Plan. Planning is the construction of a new nation, a new society. It is a new fabric through which we weave the cultural, social, educational, economic and all these dyes so that it can be a fine fabric which can beautify the country, which can glorify the country. Can we achieve that?

Along with these problems. Mr. Vice-Chairman, there is this population explosion. I have gone through all these figures of the Planning Commission regarding the further growth. They say that the overall growth rate will be 5 per cent every year, that agricultural growth will be to the tune of 5 per cent, that industrial growth will be to the tune of 8 to 10 per cent and that the increase in exports will be of the order of 7 per cent. May I know how we are going to solve the problems of the future along with the existing problems? Every day, nearly 40,000 new faces are added to our population. The total number of births every day are about 54,000 and if we deduct those who die every day, the net addition to our population every day is about 40,000. So after 21 years we shall have

to provide employment to these daily additions of 40,000 people. And from that point of view, even assuming that they will be 20,000 couples—by that time husband and wife both shall have to work—to provide employment for 20,000 couples would mean an investment of Rs. 20 crores every day. So after 20 years, an annual plan of Rs. 7,500 crores or a Five-Year Plan of Rs. 35,000 crores will be required for providing employment to those who will be born right from to-day onwards; that is, our Eighth Five-Year Plan should be of the order of Rs. 35,000 crores for providing employment to these additions to our population. With this growth rate of 5 per cent, how are we going to meet this problem of providing employment to these people? And if the Planners are lacking in foresight, I feel it is not a good symptom. From this point of view, I would beg to this House, let us think of all these serious problems, let us resolve that the Plans should be such as would be able to meet the deficiencies of the past and provide for those who will be born in the future. So when I look at this Fourth Plan, when I think of the Planners and the way in which we have been proceeding, I feel that we are heading towards a *laissez-faire* economy find that too when we are in the grip of these monopolists who are working for their own interests and not for the interests of the country or the society. Here if no decisions are taken, I fail to see how my colleague, Mr. Ruthnaswamy, can have all these things done in this country. It is not at all possible. Sir, the time has come in this country when a firm decision with all possible courage and determination shall have to be taken. These Planners are not prepared to have bigger Plans because, according to them, the resources cannot be mobilised. I say that there are enough resources which can be mobilised, but we are not prepared to tap the resources at the proper quarters. What about our present property laws? Are we prepared to have a radical change in the property law? A person who takes his birth in a rich family becomes a rich man and a person who is born in a Harijan or a poor family remains a poor person. What fault have I committed if I am born in a poor family? I am a citizen, a lawful citizen, of this

country, and whether I am born in a rich family or a poor family, it should not matter; I should get all possible opportunities in my life and such conditions shall have to be created in this country. If such conditions are to be created, we shall have to resolve that property will not go by the law of inheritance. One can have the flat; one can have the utensils. The other properly should go for the benefit of the society. Are you prepared for that? After all, the property goes to the very family. Why? It is because they are born in that family. To take birth in a particular family is not in my hands; otherwise, I can choose and have my birth in a particular family. But it is not. Have we not resolved according to our Constitution that in this country all shall enjoy liberty and equality, whether in social status or in economic status? And when we have resolved so, should we not go accordingly? Are we prepared to go accordingly? Here, Sir, we have to change these property laws. Are we prepared to change these property laws? There are mansions. There are so many huge buildings. But we cannot touch those buildings. Unfortunately, the whole atmosphere in the country is such that even small donations will be treated as a great sacrifice. Tomorrow the Aga Khan palace in Poona is to be handed over to the Gandhi Smarak Samiti. Everybody is happy for this. I can understand that feeling. But we forget that the very Aga Khan has not been asked to pay the income-tax and ultimately the Government had to decide to set off the income-tax to the tune of 65 lakhs. On the one hand, he has donated his palace, on the other he has received the concession of 65 lakhs. But people all over the country will have praise for him. I have no personal grudge whatsoever on this. Are we at the mercy of these big people? Why cannot we resolve ourselves? But we are not prepared to do it. Sir, I feel that these monopolists have taken their own share and if this country is to be saved from the clutches of these monopolists, a socialist plan in the country is the vital need of the hour. If we do not resolve accordingly, I have no doubt in my mind that the gulf between our preachings and practices will never be bridged. Are we prepared to take that sort of a



[Shri M. M. Dharia.] decision ? Sir, I have all sympathies for the resolution of Prof. Ruthnaswamy, but if we do not go to the basic causes, if we are not prepared to go to the basic causes, it will not be possible to arrive at the final solution from this point of view. With all my sympathies for the resolution I may appeal to this House that this sort of resolutions cannot change the society. If we want to change the society, a dynamic, determined effort with all possible courage and determination, is called for and let us resolve accordingly. Otherwise, these resolutions are futile and the efforts of the Planning Commission are nothing but frustrated efforts for futile purposes. Thank you very much.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON (Kerala) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would have welcomed this resolution if along with this Shri Banka Behary Das's amendment is also accepted. That means we get a proper perspective. We will be in a position to know how our planning should proceed. If this amendment is accepted, well, then this resolution can be of some help. Like Lord Shiva who had his dance of destruction; our planners planned and finally they have the plan holiday. That is where they ended. They planned for development, but they ended in destroying the plan. Their plan helped only the monopolists. The plan did not help the ordinary man. If the plan was intended for the ordinary man, how did it encourage monopolists ? Hundred and one big industrial houses got 500 per cent increase in their capital. Birlas' profits increased in the course of three years *i.e.* from 1964 to 1967, by 49 per cent. This is how we planned. If Prof. Ruthnaswamy were to direct his attention to the need for the resources, he would have certainly come forward and accepted the stand that monopolies should be curbed. He would have to accept that the State sector should be in a dominant position in our economy and not in the subservient position as we have it **now**. Such a position cannot be helpful for plan. Actually they planned for the unplanned sector *i.e.* for the private sector. Unless there is a structural change, unless we are in a position to have institutional changes, unless the direction of the econo-

my is changed towards a socialist form of planning, this planning cannot succeed. We thought just like the New Deal in America some attempt at planning could be made here too. But it is impossible for a backward country to advance by such half-hearted measures. We have to plan in such a way that we see that our resources, the scarce resources, are not spent in unnecessary luxuries. How are we to make use of our resources ? What should be the plan priorities ? The State sector should have the dominant position. Agriculture and industry, both must have their place. Roads, if they are intended to open up the resources of the rural areas, must certainly be developed. The roads for a big industrial area should certainly be modernised; in other places we shall certainly prefer to go for some time on the mud roads. The whole question is, whether it is roads, whether it is education, whether it is allotment of resources for industries, our planning should be done in such a way that we should find out whether it succeeds in helping the production of our country. If that is the aim, we are prepared to suffer and we will have to suffer. But then that suffering must be to see that our resources are properly spent, that we have sufficient capital to be invested. But the whole thing today is we are more worried about eating up the surplus. The question is : Have we got the resources ? I am sure a self-generating economy is quite possible even in this country if 15 per cent of the national income can be spent for production. We have not been able to do it. No country can reach the stage of a self-generating economy with the present amount of money that we invest. Unfortunately, that is what is being done now. In spite of the fact that the worker has produced much more, in spite of the fact that productivity in this country has improved, in spite of the fact that production has increased where is the surplus ? Where has all this wealth gone ? It has been cornered by people like Birlas. It is not because we do not have money. It is not because we do not work. It is because somebody else has been benefited by that. The gains are enjoyed by the monopolists. There is really now an attempt to have even land monopoly. All the attempt that we have made all these

years for land reforms never succeeded. It has only helped to build rich capitalist economy in the rural sector. It has helped to build the monopolist even in the rural sector. It has meant throwing out the peasant from his holding and making him a sturdy beggar. We speak of consolidation of land. At a certain stage it is possible. If in the villages we are able to have small-scale modernised industries, if we are able to drug out the people from the land to the industry, consolidation can be attempted; otherwise, it will mean you will have more unemployment in the countryside. The peasant will become the agricultural labourer and the agricultural labourer will certainly become the loafer. Is this what you want? In other countries like England, that had their kinds consolidated but it was done at a time when they wanted a good number of people to be out of jobs so that they can have their unemployed reserve army for the industries because the industrial revolution was taking place. Here we have so much of unemployment and any further increase will blow up the entire system. I would therefore submit *that*: in the case of small peasants and middle peasants an attempt should be made to have cooperative societies; otherwise the danger is a counter-revolution in agriculture. You may have more food but there will be no more jobs for so many and that will be a menacing problem. Our education, has been such that in spite of the fact that more boys have come out of the universities and the engineering colleges, they are not finding jobs. Thousands of them are without jobs. I know of a house where a young man gets out of the house at five in the morning. He is a double graduate. He tries to get a job for the last three years. He gets up before anyone else. He comes back home only after eleven in the night when every one has gone to sleep. He is ashamed. He is prepared to work but he does not get a job. Any time he looks up at the elders, we are afraid that he burst out. This younger generation do not get jobs. One of these days they will break the entire system unless we immediately move. I know there are people who speak about Naxalbari. It is the frustration of the young people that forms an expression in such adventurism.

They are people without jobs. They are sensitive and they say: 'To hell with everything, we will rather die if you are not prepared to provide us with jobs'. This has come to that. I want you to realise it seriously. You will not be able to satisfy lakhs of our youngmen the way you are planning. The workers too are dissatisfied. The planning should begin with a wage policy. It should begin with a food policy. It should begin with the control of the profits. Can you do all that? Then certainly we can push forward. So many countries have done it. A country which was as backward as ours fifty years back—Russia—to-day has become one of the biggest industrial powers in the world. So many other socialist countries of Europe have come up. China has really marched forward but you have not done because you are not sure what sort of progress you should have, whether you want capitalistic development which in today's conditions can never take place or something else. Capitalism in the whole world is collapsing. At that stage however much our friends would like, there is no possibility of developing it. Just us therefore understand that the modern trends are such that we will not allow another man to benefit at the expense of our labour. If the worker must work, he must work, he must see that the profits are not taken away by the monopolist. If we must produce more, let it be for the society and not for the few. If the peasant is to produce, let it not be for the idle man who takes his earning as rent or high interest. Are you prepared to have such a plan? In that case the plan will succeed. The question is, are we prepared to just think of the position. We have remain as it is? This proud and ancient nation should have got its rightful place if only we had got that courage to attack the vested interests and we would not have been the beggar that we are now reduced to. Just think of the position. We have allowed the foreign monopolists to come in as 2500 collaborators and drain away our wealth. We get about 30 crores a year invested in our country in the private sector by the foreigners and they take away more than Rs. 40 crores as profits and compensation for know-how. This is.

[Shri Balachandra Menon.] the sort of industrialisation we have. Every pie that is earned here goes back to some other country. This is what is called neo-colonialism. Though our country is politically free, it has become a neo-colonialist hinterland of advanced capitalist countries. Therefore I request the planners to seriously consider and understand the situation to-day, the highly explosive situation to-day. The worker is discontented, the peasant is discontented, the intellectual is discontented, the student is discontented, everybody is discontented. You have not understood that you are sitting on a volcano. It might burst out any day. It is better we understand its seriousness and take the plan seriously and everybody will support the Planning Commission if it comes forward with a bold plan. If not, if the present condition continues, I can only say it will lead to frustration on the side of the youngsters and our workers. Then you can use your military and shoot them down but it will result only in more demoralisation. We will not advance. Advance can only be on a socialist basis. That is what I say.

SHRIMATI LALITHA (RAJAGOPALAN) (Madras): Mr. Vice-Chairman, just now my colleague, Mr. Dharia, dwelt at length about the planners and the Planning Commission and also about the state of society that is existing. Perhaps he went by the theory, one for all and all for one and unless that change comes, Prof. Ruthnaswamy's Resolution serves no purpose. I do agree with him but at the same time I would say that this change in the society that has been existing from immemorial times in our country cannot come overnight and that is also a practical impossibility. I will welcome this Resolution in the sense that it has given an opportunity to everyone of us to express our views about the planning and the execution of the plan. Prof. Ruthnaswamy's Resolution has been very well drafted and that is uplift of the rural population and in that sense I welcome it. I would also like to say that the strength of India lies only in the rural population and in the betterment and uplift of the rural population which only will

help the country as a whole. We should also not forget the fact that the bulk of the population of forty crores belong to the villages and it is our duty to see that the village people get the better part of the plan allocation.

4 P.M.

Sir, in this connection I would like to say that the Planning Commission can only draft a moderate plan and the National Development Council can only initiate the Planning Commission to formulate a plan in such a way that there is common benefit for all. And it is left to the respective States how they formulate their plans and how they spend all the available resources in a very useful manner, in a manner in which the entire population of a particular State will benefit out of it, and in this connection it is already in the notes on the Approach to the Fourth Plan itself, where the Planning Commission has suggested that local conditions and circumstances should receive prior attention. And the National Development Council has also pointed out that special care will have to be taken to ensure that economy and efficiency are attained in the integration of development outlays and that there is no unnecessary duplication of staffing or of other efforts, and that schemes or operations which have not proved profitable or useful are eliminated from the next plan. As this has been directed by the National Development Council, I am sure, when their plans are formulated, the States will follow this and see that they avoid as far as possible unnecessary expenditure and overstaff.

Sir, I would like to come back to the Resolution. Now what does a village need? A village needs decent houses—as Mr. Ruthnaswamy himself put it—to live in, schools, hospitals, electrification, irrigation facilities, good roads and communications, etc. Unless a village is provided with good communication, unless it is linked with other parts of the State concerned, how do you expect a villager to know anything about what is happening around him, and how do you expect a village to have any contacts with the outside world? Of course I do not say anything about this. Our

present Government is doing their best to see, in spite of all the handicaps and hardships they are trying to see that the villages are brought closer to the cities and towns and the village people are brought closer to the civilisation. At the same time they have got many hardships including the financial aspect of it all. Also there are the natural calamities. There is the unrest cropping up here and there on some ground or the other, and there are other sorts of hooliganism in the country, which all prevent them from doing the so many things which they really want to do. Sir, in this particular thing I would like to concentrate on one point, and that is the rural roads. Unless you have proper communication from one village to another, from a village to the nearest town or city, it is not possible for a villager to get all the benefits, whatever they are. So, for any concrete rural uplift, I think the main emphasis should be on this, namely, that villages should be connected by roads, the villages in the different States. Sir, in this connection I would like to say about the recommendations made by the Committee on Rural Roads. One is to the effect that we need about Rs. 1430 crores for rural roads, and this Committee has also accepted the report of chief engineers on road development plan in India (1961-81) popularly known as the 20-year plan, which envisaged the development of 2,25,000 miles of village roads and 1,80,000 miles of other district roads by 1981. This engineers' plan has been accepted by the Committee on Rural Roads, and I hope the Government will take note of it and see that this plan is completed by 1981. Then, Sir, this Committee has also suggested another measure, that is, there should be voluntary labour by the rural people; that is, they say that at least one-third of the capital should come as contribution from the people by way of voluntary labour, free land or cash contribution. And this can be done only if the villagers are made to understand the importance of constructing roads in the villages and the benefits they will get as a result of such roads. Of course they will be willing to contribute, whatever they can, manual labour, cash contribution or any other material contribution. At the same time they should know, they should be made to realise what benefits will

accrue to them by constructing these roads. Then, Sir, another thing I would like also to point out that to ensure minimum funds for the rural roads programme—this also this Committee says—it is necessary that whatever money is derived as tax or any such thing from a particular area, connected with roads and communications, in a way a part of it should be set aside for only benefiting the construction of rural roads and other things, and it should not be utilised for other purposes. In this connection I would also like to make a suggestion that this kind of resource, which is gathered as tax in different forms and is connected with rural roads, or whatever tax it is, should be pooled together and kept in that particular area and this fund should be drawn from to benefit that particular area.

Then, Sir, as far as the 20-year rural roads programme is concerned, the Committee on Rural Roads has aimed at bringing every village in the country within four miles of a metalled road, and 1.5 miles of any road in a developed and agricultural area and within eight miles of a metalled road, and three miles of any road in a semi-developed area, and this is a very good suggestion because the cultivable land is there, and unless there are proper roads, metalled roads as well as other roads, they cannot take the foodgrains from one place to another place; in such a situation they will face difficulty in marketing their produce. This is a very good suggestion and I am sure the Government will take note of this also.

Then, Sir, there are certain areas which are level and they can be directly connected by roads and other communications, but then there are certain other parts like the hill regions in Himachal Pradesh where the communications are very very bad and once there is a heavy monsoon a whole village is completely cut off, its communication with the other neighbouring villages is completely cut off and the people there have no facilities to get anything from the other villages because of the havoc wrought to the village by the heavy downpour caused by the monsoon, when there is water everywhere, when the other villages become inaccessible because of that. So it is very essential that this sort of hill regions should have first priority in the matter of roads.

[Shrimati Lalitha (Rajagopalan).] They do not want irrigation facilities because most of the villages in such regions are situated at a very high altitude on the hills and in such high places they grow only fruits and vegetables and other things, and even if they grow wheat or other foodgrains, they are hardly sufficient for their own consumption and nothing is left for marketing purposes. Thus it is only the fruits and other things which they are marketing outside that place. And to market these things they need proper roads, good roads, and they want to have communications with the towns. So it is very very essential that these areas should not be neglected, and roads should be constructed to connect them with the respective towns concerned and thus to facilitate the marketing of their things in the neighbouring villages and towns. Besides this, Sir, I have already said what are the necessary needs of a village. The people in the villages need proper houses. They need proper schools for them to read in. They need medical facilities, and as far as this is concerned, I do not say that every village should have a hospital but four or five villages can be catered to by one hospital, and there should be a mobile van going about from village to village every week and each village should have its weekly turn, so that these people could have a medical check-up.

Then, Sir, I would like to come to my own State and say how much the former Chief Ministers, Mr. Kamaraj and Mr. Bhaktavatsalam, have done for the State. Of course I need not perhaps say all this to this august House, but I would like to say this that they had finished all the plans in their time and achieved the targets set in those plans. In rural electrification 90 per cent has been achieved. Almost every village has a school. I am not saying this to praise those Chief Ministers because they are of my party, but what I would like to point out is that it depends upon the State Governments, on how they envisage these plans and how they utilise the funds. The Planning Commission can only formulate plan, a moderate plan, as moderate as the available resources are, and the Centre can only give financial assistance. *So it*

needs the guidance and help of the State Government concerned to moderate its plan and then it is left to that State to carry on with the plan within the target of resources available for it.

Lastly, I would just like to point out that Mahatma Gandhi found life only in the village. He dedicated his life to the village and rural uplift. He knew that it was the village which was going to give strength to India. And we do derive our strength from our villages because we get our mouthful of grain only from the villages. So, it is very essential that you should pay attention to the villages. Of course the Government is doing its best to do everything it can but still the Government has got to do a lot for these villages and I hope the Government will take all possible measures and see that the Plans give prior importance to the villages of this country.

In conclusion I would like to point out that no Resolution, no sermon, can alter the situation or this strata of society existing in our country unless we do this betterment and uplift of the rural population. Unless we concentrate on the rural people the social, economic and political disparities are bound to continue and the country is bound to feel the disparities more and more. I hope the Government will consider the views expressed by Members here especially about planning and see that village uplift is given top priority in the plans.

Thank you.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) : Sir, I congratulate our esteemed friend, Prof. Ruthnaswamy, for bringing to the attention of this House and through this House of the country, the necessity, the urgent necessity, of diverting our attention to the problems of our villages. As has been pointed out. Sir, the Father of the Nation always advised and guided us that if India lives, it lives in the villages and the sooner we improve the condition of the people in the villages the better it will be for the country's progress.

Sir, sometimes I feel overwhelmed by pain and distress that while in the cities we have refrigeration, air-conditioning and all that in our villages it is difficult to get even

-drinking water. In some parts of my own State, and I am sure much more so in your State; Sir, in fact in practically all the States, the problem of drinking water is still a live problem and when I see in summer people walking miles and miles with pots on their head to get drinking water it makes me feel ashamed and I feel that we have not done anything in any direction if we have not been able to provide even drinking water to our people. I feel a little satisfied that in view of Gandhiji's centenary the Government has taken a decision (that top priority will be given to the question of drinking water. I would urge let every effort be made, let every penny be spent and let it be declared on 2nd October 1969 that every village in India has got provision for clean, nice, drinking water. Instead of all these big plans and big talks I would be really happy, and I am sure my countrymen will be happy too, if we could declare as a fact that every village has got good drinking water supply. So taking advantage of this occasion I would urge on the Government to do all that is necessary to see that this idea is implemented. We have got very good plans; we have got very good schemes. The question is that they should be brought into action. And there we all feel that we are lacking. I myself feel that I talk so much but when the question comes of action sometimes I also feel lacking. That may be our general weakness. Let it be a determined effort to see that this year brings at least drinking water to everybody.

Sir, the other problem, in this Resolution to which I would like to focus the attention of this House is the question of providing opportunities to the rural people. From two points of view it is very very urgent. Firstly, the villages are getting depleted and the people are coming to the cities, and in the cities the slums are increasing day by day. This will not happen if you provide them employment and naturally with employment certain other necessary amenities to make the village life, the country life, a little more interesting, a little more attractive, so that the people could feel that apart from city luxuries there is something in the rural areas also. Unless you give them some of these things I am sure you cannot stop them from coming to the cities and

creating problems. In my humble opinion the greatest problem of the country today is the economic difficulty and the economic imbalance. While we have people who have tremendous wealth we see people in our cities and in rural areas not having sufficient to eat, not having sufficient to clothe themselves, not having a decent place to live in. Sir, I may be pardoned for saying something which I see every day when I go for my morning walk. I see school boys of the poorer people going with just a short while we put on sweaters and all those things. Is it something which anybody could be proud of? I see people sleeping in Delhi under some sort of shelter, under an arch or something like that. Sir, unless we remove this poverty I think we cannot say we are moving forward. Whatever may be our planning, whatever may be the advances that we get, whatever may be our credit and dignity in the comity of nations, so long as our people are in that condition I think we have to feel every moment of our life that there is something seriously wrong with our working and that should be looked into and improved. When Prof. Ruthnaswamy says that the bulk of the funds available in the Plan should be utilised for this I feel that we will have to take a balanced view. We will have to take stock of the amount that is available and in that connection I welcome the amendment of my hon. friend Mr. Banka Behary Das. I think if the Resolution of Prof. Ruthnaswamy coupled with the amendment of Mr. Banka Behary Das is taken, that will represent the true mind of I won't say only Congressmen but of every true Indian because we have also to see how to find funds. If we do not have funds, whatever may be our ideas, whatever may be our feelings, we cannot go ahead. So while on the one hand we have to take every measure to improve the conditions we will also have to take every measure to find how we can get funds for these purposes.

Psychologically also it looks very, very mean that while we have people spending thousands over marriages and processions there are people who have no money even to marry their daughters. This disparity also creates anger. If you see the youth unrest in the country, at the back of it is

[Shri Akbar Ali Khan.]

the economic problem, the frustration and the psychological problem. Frustration among them comes when they see so many wealthy people roaming about in cars and rolling in wealth while they cannot get a job. Take the question of engineers and diploma-holders. Having all that in mind, let us make a very, very earnest effort to see that this resolution is implemented to a great extent and the bare necessities of life are provided. That should be the top priority. Create opportunities for the people in villages who are technically educated. How can they get it, Sir, if you do not have a plan for bigger things, for industries or bigger schemes where you can fix up these engineers? So while I fully associate myself with the sense and the spirit of this resolution, while I fully support the amendment of Mr. Banka Behary Das, having both these in mind, you will have to have an integrated programme. There is no question of Plan holiday as pointed out by Mr. Menon. May be, in view of our financial difficulties we move slowly but as we have been promised the Fourth Five Year Plan on the 1st of April, we will have to come out with a bold Plan which will meet all the requirements, particularly the rural requirements and the requirements of employment.

I am grateful to you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity. Thank you.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal) : Sir, the main purport of the resolution moved by our most esteemed colleague, Prof. Ruthnaswamy, is to bring about modification in the priority of the Plan.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) in the Chair.]

As regards modification in the matter of priority of the Fourth Plan there cannot be two opinions. But, Mr. Vice-Chairman, now the question remains as to how to modify it and in what direction the modification should be there. Before answering this very fundamental question raised by me in this House, I want the House to

look back at the history of planning itself. In doing so, Sir, I want to remind this august House what solemn declaration we made in the First Five Year Plan. It is said that:

"\_\_\_With planned conservation and utilisation of resources it should be possible to double the *per capita* income in twenty years or so. Doubling of the national income *per capita* in this' period is by no means an over-ambitious target."

This I quote from the First Five Year Plan, page 23.

Now, as regards the meeting of the bare necessities of life both of the urban population and the rural population, the declaration was quite distinct and quite solemn. But, Mr. Vice-Chairman, after twenty years of planning let us look back as to what is the actual position after the planning of the last twenty years. In this connection I only refer to you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, a particular document published by the Perspective Planning Division in August 1962 entitled "Implications of Planning for Minimum level of Planning". It was mentioned in that document that for ensuring a standard of living subsequently which could in some sense be described as the minimum needed under Indian social conditions, every family of five members should have income to sustain (at the price level prevailing in 1960-61) an aggregate consumption expenditure of not less than Rs. 100 per month in the rural areas and Rs. 125 per month in the urban areas.

I also refer to you the study undertaken by the National Sample Survey in the year 1962 which revealed that 50 per cent, of our population, both in the towns and in the villages, cannot afford this level of consumption expenditure in 1960-61 as outlined by the particular Committee of which one of the members was our present Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Prof. Gadgil, himself. I have also got facts and figures to suggest that about 60 per cent, of our population today has not got the bare necessities of life and they are being forced to live below the subsistence level. Therefore, what is the result of our twenty years of planning?

Apart from this, many hon. Members have referred to the disparity of incomes, concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, regional imbalances and so many other ills as a result of the three Five Year Plans. We are not to stop here, Mr. Vice-Chairman. I am sorry to point out that even the planning process which was started by the late Prime Minister, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, has landed in a crisis. The crisis is revealed in the fact that we could not formulate the Fourth Plan even when the time schedule was over. Not only that, the process of crisis is not being fully met. Rather there is no will to meet the crisis which is developing day by day.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, in this connection may I mention that the hon. House received a document from the Planning Commission entitled the Approach Document. I do not want to enter into the basic facts or the basic principles enunciated in that document. But I would like to mention here that that Basic Approach to Planning is nothing but the continuation of the old process, nothing but the new wine in the old bottle. In that document the root causes of the crisis have not been properly examined or remedies recommended. Therefore my whole point is this. I am one with the hon. Members and also with you when you pleaded for greater emphasis on rural development. But my point is what is the instrumentality, what are the resources, what is the machinery which can implement the bringing about of rural reconstruction. The whole thing is to be viewed from that fundamental approach. Unless the Plan is based on a certain definite ideology you cannot bring about the desired effect.

I am grateful to the hon. Member belonging to the Treasury Benches, Mr. B.K.P. Sinha when on one occasion he made it very clear that there are two ways of development : either you must go the capitalist way of development or you must take to the path of the socialist method. There cannot be a third method, and if you try a third method, the crisis will deepen and we shall be in the labyrinth, never to come out of that. Therefore, even in the approach document there

has been DO fundamental change in the approach. As I have stated earlier, it is nothing but old wine in a new bottle. Therefore, the whole fundamental question is what is the approach to planning. The approach to planning as hitherto accepted has been nothing but to entrench capitalism in this country, of course under the shibboleths of socialism, socialist pattern of society, etc., but under all these shibboleths it is capitalism pure and simple. It is capitalism, private capitalism and public capitalism or State capitalism, which has been strengthened during these last twenty years and that is the reason for the crisis, the crisis which is enveloping fast our country.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, therefore, without discussing much I would suggest that there should be an alternative approach to planning, alternative to the approach which has hitherto been resorted to, which has hitherto been pursued, because I feel the economic ills, the crisis, our economic disparities, concentration of wealth, less emphasis on rural development and a host of others, are nothing but the result of this capitalist planning, are nothing but the concomitant result of a very wrong approach to planning itself. Planning cannot be done bereft of ideology. You must have that boldness to say, yes, we are planning for socialism. Unless you are quite clear in that objective, no amount of planning is going to change the face of our country or bring about the desired result as desired by many in this hon. House. For that matter the time has come when you should think in terms of an alternative approach, and what should be the alternative approach? I want to outline some points on it.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, before propounding my alternative approach to planning, I want to mention the basic weaknesses of our planning. What are those? The basic weaknesses of our planning as pursued by the Government of India till today are, firstly, undue dependence on foreign aid. Of course it is being stated that it is aid to end aid. I do not know when that process of aid to end aid will conclude.

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN TRADE  
AND SUPPLY (SHRI B. R. BHAGAT) :  
Who said *tim* ?



SHRI CHITTA BASU : Mr. Asoka Mehta said that many times here. It has been the policy enunciated by Mr. Asoka Mehta while he was adorning your Benches that we want foreign aid to end aid. I do not know how that gentleman could say that, but I do visualise that there is no end to that process. You have started the process of foreign aid whereby our industry has been crippled, our self-reliant economy has been crippled, and there is no possibility in the foreseeable future to come out of the tentacles of foreign aid and foreign domination in our economy. Therefore, if we are to have a new approach to planning, socialist planning, we have to think about the foreign aid question.

The second weakness of our planning is, as I referred to, the Approach Document does not speak anything fundamentally different from that approach as hitherto pursued. The second weakness, Mr. Vice-Chairman, is the method of mobilising the internal resources for the planning. If you allow me to say so, the process of mobilising internal resources has been done in a way by which the beneficiaries have been the big capitalists, monopolists and the foreign aid-givers. I have got figures to prove this. On the other hand the entire burden of financing the plan has been thrown upon the back of the already crippled sections of the people of our country, who are overburdened by the taxes, who are overburdened by price increase, who are overburdened by poverty, and the entire approach of the Planning Commission is to once more throw the burden of financing the plan on those weaker sections of our population who cannot afford even to have the minimum necessities of life. This is because of the Government's policy of offering more and more concessions to the capitalists and monopolists and of inflicting more and more hardships upon the common masses of our people. This has been due to the Government's fiscal policy of increasing indirect taxes, resorting more and more to deficit financing and thereby contributing to further rise in prices. Therefore, Mr. Vice-Chairman, these are some of the weakness of the planning approach.

Again, there is the question of popular co-operation. Excuse me, Mr. Vice-Chair-

man, when I say that the planning process has received not even an iota of popular co-operation. What is called by popular co-operation is nothing but routinist popular co-operation, and this is one of the basic weaknesses of the planning process itself.

Therefore, as I have stated earlier, the major weaknesses of the planning process are related to the economic policies pursued by the Government of India, and unless the Government of India agrees to bring about a reversal of the economic policies, these weaknesses cannot be overcome. Therefore, I would urge upon the hon. Members who have supported this resolution moved by Prof. Ruthnaswamy in the matter of giving priority to certain sectors of the economy that they should consider whether the Government of India is willing to bring about a complete reversal or overhaul of the economic policies hitherto pursued by the Government. In this case also the question of political leadership comes in. Unless the Government is run by a political leadership which accepts these major basic economic issues, planning will remain a day-dream. If there is planning, this will be planning for the big capitalists, monopolists and foreign exploiters, looters and plunderers. Therefore, I would urge upon the hon. House to give proper thought to the problem and think about an alternative approach to planning. The approach should be based on socialism. The approach should be based on bringing about a reversal of the economic policies. The approach should be based on instituting a new political leadership which can alone ensure a socialist Plan, and a socialist Plan can alone implement the priorities mentioned in the resolution. I also urge upon Mr. Banka Behary Das that unless the economic policy is reversed, unless a new political leadership is there to lead the Government and to frame the Plan, his amendment for breaking the monopolies will never be put into effect. Mr. Vice-Chairman, the time is now ripe for a reversal of the economic policy, for framing a new approach to planning, socialist planning. That is the need of the hour. I think the august House will give proper thought to my submissions.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Bhagat. Minister of External Trade.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh) : Planning is external?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : Sir, I have no quarrel over the Resolution tabled by the hon. Member and the exposition that he has given. Actually, if the hon. Member end all those who have participated in this debate had followed the Approach to the Fourth Plan which was laid on the Table of this House, they would find that all these objectives have been underlined there. They seek to suggest certain guide-lines for providing a stimulus for rural development. It is very difficult for me at this stage to go into that because the Fourth Pkm is in the final stage of its pre-paration and all these very questions are being debated there, and the Planning Commission is engaged in drafting the Fourth Plan which will be put up before the National Development Council in the last week of March. Then the document wiH come up before this very House. That will be the occasion to go into some of these questions. Therefore, I am not in a position to give any definite or concrete opinion on some of the measures that have been suggested beyond saying that these are questions that are being considered in the drafting of the Fourth Plan.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : The views of this House, what we have said here today, may be communicated to the Planning Commission.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Parliament is very closely integrated with the formulation of the Plan. The concerned Committees of Parliament have given views on that and Parliament will give its views again. And whatever views are expressed here will certainly be borne in mind by the Planning Commission.

Having said this, I would like to deal with some of the questions that the hon. Members have posed. The hon. Member who spoke last—I think he has disappeared perhaps. I am sorry, ne is there,

I SHRI CHITTA BASU: I am here very much.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I am very happy. I was coming to him.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Only he has gone underground.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: He said that there are only two ways of planning. Or he quoted some other hon. Member here and said that there is the capitalistic way and also what he described as the socialist way. I do not know what he described as the socialist way is the socialist way because that is, again, a very debatable point, because about the definition of socialism or about the attempt to construct a socialist economy, there is hardly any uniformity of opinion. I would only say what we want to do and what from time to time, the House has accepted right from the beginning of the Plan which was put before this august House and which was announced by the late leader, Jawaharlal Nehru. India has accepted democracy, and we are attempting to reconstruct the society, to modernise the society, to bring about an egalitarian society in which everybody would have the opportunity to develop and to play his part. That is what we describe as the socialist society. It is futile to say that what is being attempted at is the creation or construction of a capitalistic society. I can agree with the hon. Members that we have not been able to go forward sufficiently in bringing about a socialist society. But being a student of socialism, the hon. Member will bear with me that a socialist society or the construction of a socialist society is not achieved in a day, and particularly under a .....  
{Interruptions} Please.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : It can be only in a day, not in a decade, ond that day will come in India.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Particularly under colonialism it has been a very poor society with such a large population. If it is to be modernised and if it has to achieve its momentum, it can only be done on a socialist Basis, It is accepted that

[Shri B. R. Bhagat.] socialism is not any ideology or any particular approach. But it is a necessity for a country like ours, where there are millions and millions of people. How we achieve it, is the point. What the hon. Member has described may be in a society which loses the freedom or which is not a democracy. But in a society which has accepted democracy and where we have to take the consensus of the people at large, we have to follow certain policies and principles. And we have been trying to follow those policies.

Some hon. Member said that efforts should be made to curb monopoly trends in this country. It is agreed, absolutely agreed. In the industrial sector or in the rural sector, big monopoly houses may prevail or large holdings or the feudal system may prevail. This and the construction of the society on a socialist basis cannot go together. This is accepted. Therefore, there is no difference on that. And the House knows that certain measures have been taken to curb concentration of economic power and to curb monopolistic tendencies in our system. I would not like to recount all of them. But the main things are anti-monopoly legislation, licensing policies, social control of banking, fiscal and other policies; there is no single way to do it. All the economic and fiscal policies must be concentrated to achieve that objective. And it is through a complex of these policies that we are trying to achieve it.

Therefore, Sir, in the Fourth Plan, the approach that has been determined gives emphasis to agriculture and rural development providing a minimum income to the lowliest of the groups. This cannot be achieved if agriculture and rural development do not receive priority. That is the main purpose of this Resolution. The House knows what attempts have been made in the last few years to achieve this objective. There are a number of factors. The immediate task, is to build up a social and economic infra-structure. This was what was achieved in the second and the third Plans. The First Plan was merely for reconstruction after the war, after independence. India was not an independent coun-

try during the war but it could not escape the ravages of the war. So, the First Plan was a reconstruction Plan. The Second Plan was really the basis on which the social and economic infra-structure was tried to be built up. Obviously, in that large investments had to be made, investments which could go to build up the economy as a whole. This process was continued in the Third Plan as well. Therefore, it is very difficult to isolate what projects went to develop certain sectors of the country's economy or what can be described as purely urban or what other factors went to build up the rural sector. But taking the three Plans as a whole, it can be said that more than 50 per cent of the total outlay in these Plans was devoted to the building up and strengthening of the national economy as a whole. More than 30 per cent went for building up the rural sector and about 10 per cent was provided for social services.

This is broadly the pattern of investments and outlays that has emerged over the period of the three Plans. We are at the moment engaged in the formulation of the Fourth Plan. The House will appreciate that in the paper, Approach to the Fourth Plan—Members know about it, they have seen it—the emphasis is—and it has been recognised—that agriculture must receive prime priority because it is by the modernisation of, by the breakthrough in, agriculture that the real basis for development should go forward, it is emphasised that in agriculture five per cent growth must be achieved in the Fourth Plan. With a view to achieving the target, all the other inputs must be provided, whether it be irrigation, fertilisers, equipment, tractors, credit, loans, etc. All the institutional arrangements should be there. To give rights to the people who work in the fields, land tenure and land reforms should be there. There should be decentralisation. Panchayati Raj, Zila Parishads and all other institutional changes should be made. Planning is nothing if it does not try to create institutional chances. *Status quo* cannot be planning and particularly in a backward economy, when we have to reconstruct and modernise the society, we have to bring

about institutional changes through the Plans. Social and institutional changes are the main objective of the planning process. All these factors go into this. When fifty per cent or more than fifty per cent of the outlay was spent for building up the national economy, one could say that more should have gone to agriculture. One of the criticisms made is that agriculture was neglected. Whether it is true or not, I can say that what has been done in achieving the rate of growth, in building up the social and economic infra-structure is absolutely necessary. It is on that basis that rapid progress and a more rapid rate of growth can be achieved in the coming years. In the last two or three years our economy suffered the ravages of two wars and two years of very bad weather, scarcity and diminution of foodgrain production. Still it survived and it is again poised for a speedier rate of growth. Because of all the factors of social and economic overheads, because of the basic industries, the foundation was laid. If we want to achieve a breakthrough, which we are trying to do, it is necessary to have a sound industrial structure. For example, now, without fertiliser production, we cannot achieve the rate of growth in food production or agricultural production. If we go in for fertiliser production, it raises a whole complex of industries, e.g., petrochemicals, fertilisers, chemical engineering and other things. If we accept that policy, we will have to go and collaborate with outsiders. That is why I tried to argue with the hon. Member that it has never been the policy of aid to end aid. It is a misnomer. If you read the Approach Paper, you will find that we are trying to follow a programme of progressive reduction in the net aid that we want to have in this country. An independent, national economy cannot be built on a permanent basis unless we develop fertiliser production, develop oil engineering. We must have our own national metallurgical and other industries. The know-how and various other things we may buy up in the beginning, but one day unless we ourselves develop it, there cannot be any real development. Therefore, the investment on fertilisers today is as much for rural development or agriculture as for industrial

development. It is not a factor which can be isolated. You cannot develop know-how, if there is no engineering education of that level. Now, we are turning out about 40,000 engineers every year and there is the criticism why the engineers are not being employed. We face ups and down in the planning process. At the moment some engineers may not find jobs, but it is a fact that the economy is strong enough and is gathering momentum. Not only we will need the 40,000 engineers which we turn out every year, but we will need many more and, therefore, we resisted this...

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana) : But you are reducing the intake.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : If we are reducing at a certain level, I say it is a suicidal policy...

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: The Minister says that it is a wrong policy...

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: It is true that not many engineers are... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: That is why there has been so much...

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: It is true that not many engineering students are coming forward and more are going in for medical and other subjects. That may be a different thing, but as a policy there should not be a reduction in the engineering students. That is what I am saying. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : I wanted to know from the Minister whether employment is provided to the educated. We have just now seen that about 38 applications have been granted by the banking institutions for technologically trained people. How is it going to change the position in, giving employment?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : That is a separate question. I am saying that whatever difficulties in the employment of technical personnel are there, it is a temporary phase.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: May I know

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I am sorry, I was making another point.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): He is on his legs.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I was making an entirely different point. What I am saying is that but for this policy of development of technical personnel and technical capacity in the country, it would be impossible to go forward today, if we want to have a breakthrough in oil engineering, chemical engineering and other things. I have said that the policy is sound, whatever may be the immediate difficulties. The policy is sound because, as I said, the building up of human resources, the building up of educational facilities and various other factors, are necessary. It may be considered not very necessary if you take a limited view of things. But if you see the totality of it, if you want to achieve a rate of growth, if you want to modernise society, if you want to achieve socialism, all these factors are absolutely essential. You cannot isolate one factor and say that this is not necessary or that is not necessary.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: But you must see that there is no reduction in admissions to the technical and engineering institutions. What the hon. Minister has said is not the policy being implemented by the Government of India during the last two years.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I am sorry, Sir, I am not making that point.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Dr. Triguna Sen said that they were reducing admissions. ..

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : I am sorry, my point is missed by the hon. Member.

(Interruptions) SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: Already the colleges have been closed.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : It has happened, as it does happen, because of the prospects of employment. Many students who otherwise would have gone to engineering are

not going for it. But that is a different matter. The policy is not to close down engineering colleges.

(Interruptions)

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN : Would the hon. Minister tell this House whether there has been a change in the policy of the Government of India in regard to restrictions on the admission of students to engineering colleges ?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : There is no restriction.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN : If not, we would not like to have this lecture and this sermon personally from the Minister.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : One at a time, please. Mr. Chitta Basu.

5 P.M.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: As a Member of the Cabinet, Dr. Triguna Sen had declared on the floor of this House that admission of engineering students would be reduced, and it has in certain cases been reduced also. Now the hon. Minister, also a member of the Cabinet, says that that policy is suicidal.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER (SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY) : No, no.

(Interruptions)

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: What is the actual position or policy of the Government with regard to this matter ? This is what we want to know.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: The actual position is that it is not the policy of the Government to restrict engineering or technical education in this country. This is the actual position.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: No, no you refer to the past record.

(Interruptions)

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : I am not discussing the Education policy. I am speaking on planning.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: If the policy has been changed, quite all right; I am happy with it.....

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN: No, the policy has not been changed. The hon. Minister has never declared that the policy has been changed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Let us hear him...

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN; We would like to know what the policy of the Government of India is.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I am not discussing the Education policy. I am only stating that it is not the policy... (*Interruptions*)

I am not yielding...

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : The point is very simple, Sir. You know, we in this House had objected to the policy of reduction of seats and you were one with us, Mr. Vice-Chairman, in that, and we know that. Now the hon. Minister gave a heartening news that the policy of the Government is different. We wanted, as you know, a discussion in the House. The Minister has said something which is very different from the earlier thing. We want to know from the hon. Minister whether the new policy which he is enunciating is the policy of the Fourth Plan and there has been a change in the previous policy. If that is so, we welcome it. If it is not so, will he explain what the policy of the Government is ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I think we are discussing a certain Resolution and in the course of that he has said something and he will convey the feeling of the House and its views to the Planning Commission.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: If the Minister says that there is a change of Policy, we heartily endorse it. But if the Minister wants to take back the thing, it means he does not know what his business is.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Sir, the Education Minister during the last session in reply to some of the questions in this House admitted that the Government had reduced admissions to engineering colleges. That was what the Education Minister said who is educated enough to know what he is doing. (*Interruption*) Today another Cabinet Minister, Minister for External Trade \_\_\_\_\_

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI . Foreign Trade.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: Minister for External Planning.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : Now another Minister speaking on behalf of the Government says that restricting admissions to engineering colleges is suicidal. May I know—we are entitled to know and the Minister obviously knows the meanings of the words he uses—whether the policy enunciated by Dr. Triguna Sen in this House has been changed and at least next year the number of admissions will be increased ? The Minister, if he understands what he is saying, should be able to tell us this.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I do not want to go into this. I want to stick to the point I was making----

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : No. no..

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I am not enunciating any policy, much less a policy for which some other colleague is responsible. I was saying, and I stick to it, that in the planning process we had adopted, it is necessary, if we want to achieve a higher rate of progress—and I was referring to the technical field, chemical engineering, fertiliser, etc.—that the technical capacity in the country must grow. I was saying that this was a correct policy and I stick to it. Although some people may criticise that it was unnecessary at that time and even though it might have created some temporary difficulty in that there are engineers who cannot be employed today, still I say that we must continue that policy because we will soon come to a position where we will need not only these 40,000

[Shri B. R. Bhagat.]

engineers that we are producing today, but many more. I only said this. I never referred to any policy. I said that it may be that because they think that the employment prospect is not good, many are not offering themselves in the colleges. That may be so. But I never referred to any policy. I still maintain \_\_\_\_\_

SHRI BANKA BHFARY DAS : You said it was a suicidal policy.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I never said this Government is restricting. I said that if we want to achieve a speedier rate of growth, restricting the building up of the technical capacity in the country would be suicidal; I described that as suicidal. I maintain that. I never referred to any policy.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. , would you like to continue now ?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I will finish in five minutes because I wanted to finish it today. Therefore, if we see, whether it is education or village industries or small-scale industry, in the Plan approach we are following a policy of dispersal of industries so that industries may be shifted from the towns to the rural areas, a policy of building of agro-industries based on the processing of the raw materials in the villages and giving incentives, financial and others, to industries which want to go outside the urban areas of Calcutta or Bombay or any other town. This policy we are trying to follow so that it may create a further stimulus to the rural sector.

As far as education is concerned, primary education is growing. At the end of the Third Plan there were 4.2 crores of children and the number is likely to grow

more. So literacy and all these factors are calculated to promote the development of the rural areas.

Finally, the approach in the Fourth Plan that will come before this House is precisely to generate momentum in the rural sector, to achieve a growth rate of 5 per cent in agriculture, to stimulate agriculture, to encourage dispersal of industries, to build an agro-industrial base so as to create as much employment as can be created and also to follow a policy of taking the maximum advantage from the investment that has been made in industry and create investments in those sectors, fertilisers and others, which are absolutely necessary for agriculture and for a higher growth rate, and to promote economic development on the basis of self-reliance. Less and less aid and no aid at all. That is the policy. So all these policies have been accepted and the Fourth Plan that will come before this House will bear the imprint of all these policies. Therefore, the objectives that the hon. Member has in mind are sound and are being pursued through different plans and will be followed up and intensified in the new Plan that will be put before the House. I will request him not to press this Resolution as the purpose of this Resolution has been served and the attention of the House, the Government and the Planning Commission has been drawn and there is no more necessity to press this point.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI

ALI KHAN) : We will continue the discussion. The House now stands adjourned till 11 A.M. on Monday.

The House then adjourned at ten minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Monday, the 24th February, 1969.