

[Shri B. D. Khobaragade.]
the absence of our Ambassador from Washington that he could not have any appointment with the Secretary of State there and we could not put forward our point of view before the United States.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Well, I assure the hon. Member that both in the United States and in the United Kingdom, our diplomatic missions are continuously and constantly putting forth our point of view before the British Government and the State Department of the United States. I do not want to go into the details why I did not ultimately meet Mr. Dean Rusk, and to tire this House. But I was given to understand that our Ambassador there had some talks with the State Department and the State Department was fully conversant with our case.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We now proceed with the remaining discussion of the Mid-term Appraisal of the Plan.

MOTION RE REPORT ON THE MID-TERM APPRAISAL OF THE THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN—contd.

PROF. M. B. LAL (Uttar Pradesh): When the Third Plan was being finalised, we hoped that very soon State Planning Boards would be established and that the Planning Commission would be able to function more efficiently than it did before. But our expectations are, by and large, belied. In most of the States, Planning Boards are yet to be established and the old State Planning Departments are functioning more or less as inefficiently and leisurely as before. They failed even to supply the Planning Commission with the necessary information for preparing reports which are required to be presented to this Parliament. The Planning Commission, it seems, for reasons best known to itself, is functioning less efficiently and more leisurely than before. In

less than two years, it was able to present to this Parliament a review of the First Five Year Plan but a review of the Second Five Year Plan is yet to be prepared and presented to this Parliament though about three years have elapsed. Even this Mid-term Appraisal of the Third Five Year Plan cannot be compared favourably with the Mid-term Appraisal of the Second Five Year Plan. In the Mid-term Appraisal of the Second Five Year Plan certain important problems such as the problem of irrigation and that of the foreign exchange requirements were discussed in sufficient detail and with sufficient candidness.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

In this Mid-term Appraisal of the Third Five Year Plan there is hardly any discussion of any problem with which the country is faced. This so-called Mid-term Appraisal, I beg to submit, Madam, is at best a progress report on physical targets. In the Third Five Year Plan Report, many recommendations and suggestions were made regarding the qualitative improvement of the various services as well as industrial and agricultural undertakings and projects. No attention worth the name has been paid in this Mid-term Appraisal to these suggestions and recommendations. No attempt has been made to ascertain whether any attention was paid by the Government to these suggestions and recommendations.

Madam, even as a progress report, it is an unsatisfactory report. No doubt the Mid-term Appraisal can be said to be better than the ordinary annual reports of the departments because whereas in these departmental reports stress is laid only on achievements, in this Appraisal attention has also been invited to shortfalls. But, as has been pointed out by Mr. Santhanam, a Member of this House, in one of his articles in 'The Hindustan Times' this appraisal is smothered "by common clap-traps,

pious platitudes and lame excuses" which have tended "to distract the reader from making a true appraisal of the changes that have occurred."

I beg to submit, Madam, that this Appraisal cannot claim to be a scientific study of our achievements and shortfalls even in regard to the physical targets. Even for the acceleration of the speed of physical developments certain suggestions were made in the final report, but sufficient attention has not again been paid to those suggestions and recommendations.

It is said in this report that the Third Plan was intended to make a significant advance towards the achievement of socialism and to give equal opportunity for every citizen. But no appraisal is made of the actual advance in these directions. I beg to submit that socialism is not a *mantram* which only needs to be chanted repeatedly, or now and then, for its realisation. To realise socialism, to build up a socialist society or a democratic socialist order, constant efforts and constant vigilance are required to see that the programmes decided on for building up a democratic socialist order are implemented. But no such attempt is made in this Appraisal. The National Development Council which took into consideration certain suggestions of this Appraisal and made certain recommendations is also silent on the question of building up a democratic socialist society. This silence on the part of the Planning Commission, on the part of the National Development Council, leads people to feel that the Government and the Planning Commission are not very serious about their objective of a democratic socialist order.

Madam, while we are repeatedly told that socialism is being promoted through planned economy, many Ministers including our distinguished Prime Minister often say that the growth of oligopoly is a natural feature of the growing economy of underdeveloped countries. If the

growth of oligopoly continues and cannot be checked, there is no use of talks about democratic socialism. The Planning Commission has failed to let us know whether any serious steps have been taken by the Government in the last two years to check this growth of oligopoly in this country, to check the concentration of economic power in the private sector of large-scale industries. Do we not know that nothing of the sort has been done in the last two years? Do we not know that even the managing agency system, which has no place even in the capitalist economy of capitalist countries continues in this country, continues to be a source of exploitation by a handful of capitalists?

Madam, it is true that under the Constitution every citizen has equal opportunity. But when the Planning Commission says that the object of the Third Plan is to make a significant advance towards equal opportunity for every citizen, I am sure the Planning Commission meant something more than the mere legal equality guaranteed under the Constitution. I would like to know in what way in the last two years the weaker sections of the community are provided increased opportunities, greater facilities for their march towards equality. In the final report of the Third Five Year Plan it was confessed that the weaker sections of the community are not being benefited by our projects of economic development. A committee appointed under the chairmanship of Shri Jayaprakash Narain also made that statement after a careful study of the situation. We would have liked to know what steps are taken by the Government to see that the weaker sections of the community are equally benefited or more benefited by various development schemes that are going on in this country. No attempt in this direction has been made by the Planning Commission in this Mid-term Appraisal, and I am led to believe that nothing very substantial has been done in this direction.

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Can we say that there has been a reduction of inequalities in income or there has been a significant advance towards industrial democracy? There is nothing to prove that any significant step has been taken to reduce inequalities in income between the rich and the poor. And in the Mid-term Appraisal itself it has been confessed that the scheme regarding workers' participation in management has not made any significant progress. In the private sector of large-scale industries the old capitalist attitude continues to prevail, continues to determine the relations between employers and employees? Not to speak of private undertakings, nothing worthwhile has been done to promote industrial democracy in the sphere of public undertakings? Even today the public undertakings are administered and managed more or less in as bureaucratic a fashion as before. Distinguished scholars like Professor Robson maintain that the company type of management of public undertakings cannot be the instrument of democratic socialism. And yet, most of the public undertakings which are not managed by the department, are organised on the pattern of company management.

It is further stated in the Mid-term Appraisal of the Third Plan, Madam, that the Third Plan was intended to give a more precise content to the social objective of the Constitution. We know that these social objectives are embodied in the Directive Principles of State Policy, and if really the Planning Commission thought that the Plan was intended to give a more precise content, to the social objectives of the Constitution, it was its duty to make a detailed assessment of our achievements and of our shortfalls in that direction. I beg to submit that there has been no assessment of our achievements in the implementation of the Directive Principles of State Policy.

What are these Directive Principles of State Policy and what do they require us to do? They wish us to

provide adequate means of livelihood to every citizen to see that there has been an increase in the standard of living of the common man. Can we say that there has been any progress in that direction? From the report it is but obvious that in the last two years we have made hardly any progress so far as per capita increase in income is concerned. There has been an increase of 2.5 per cent. every year in national income, and more than 2 per cent. per annum increase in the population. Consequently, there has been no worthwhile increase in per capita income. There has been no shift in income from the upper classes to the lower classes. There has been considerable increase in prices but there has not been adequate provision of dearness allowance even to industrial workers, not to speak of others. Consequently in the last two years there has been no increase in the standard of living of the common man. On the other hand, there might have been some deterioration of the economic conditions of the poorer sections of the community.

Equal pay for equal work for both men and women is another directive of the Constitution. No attention has been paid to this question for quite a long time and anybody who knows the conditions of India can say that women do not get the pay which is allowed to men in the various fields.

Right to work is another important objective laid down in the Directive Principles. Has any progress been made in this direction? Are we in a position to say that right to work has been made a reality for every citizen in this country? The Government was conscious of its own limitations and, therefore, the Government only said that unemployment would be reduced. Has unemployment been reduced or kept stationary? Not more than 50 per cent. of new entrants in the labour force are being absorbed in gainful employment.

The situation is particularly disquieting in respect of the educated

classes and the agricultural sector. As is pointed out in the Mid-term Appraisal, the total numbers on the live registers, with qualifications Matriculation and above increased from 5.7 lakhs in June 1961 to 7.8 lakhs in June 1963. Thus in two years the unemployment amongst the educated has increased by more than 35 per cent.

Conditions are worse so far as the agricultural sector is concerned. The Planning Commission no doubt expects some increase in agricultural employment. But it is likely to be of a marginal character. While the progress of schemes, both for reclamation and resettlement on agricultural was as is admitted in the Mid-term Appraisal, very slow, the employment created by rural works programmes was not much. It is reported in the Appraisal that employment was created in terms of man-days up to 75 lakhs, which means employment to some 15,000 workers for 250 days a year. From this it is obvious that there has been a considerable increase in unemployment in the rural sector.

Madam, the Directive Principles of State Policy requires us to provide public assistance in cases of unemployment in old age. The Planning Commission, neither in its Third Five Year Plan report nor in its Mid-term Appraisal, has paid any worthwhile attention to this particular problem.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You may continue later. The House stands adjourned till 2.30 P.M.

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

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

PROF. M. B. LAL: Madam, I was saying that the Planning Commission in its appraisal of the Third Five Year

Plan made a wide assertion that the plan was intended to concretise the social objectives of the Constitution but the Planning Commission did not try to find out whether any progress in that direction was made in the last two years. I must point out that the Directive Principles of the State Policy which lay down the social objectives of the Constitution require the State to secure by suitable legislation or economic organisation or in any other way to all workers, agricultural, industrial and others, "a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure, social and cultural opportunities". Not to speak of the living wage, even minimum wage is not assured to agricultural workers and to-day the economic condition of the agricultural workers is worse than what it was, I should say, even two years before. Their conditions are constantly deteriorating

On village housing schemes less than 25 per cent. of the Plan provision is likely to be spent in the first three years of the Third Plan according to the appraisal itself.

Again the Directive Principles of the State Policy require the State to promote, with special care, the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and to protect them from social injustices and all forms of exploitation. Is it possible for us to say that in the last two or three years, any significant progress has been made in this matter? If we study this Third Plan appraisal, along with the report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, we will note that in the case of de-notified tribes, the percentage of utilisation of Plan provisions is as low as 21 per cent. in three years and consequently, the shortfall in the Third Plan period will be much higher than that which accrued during the Second Five Year Plan period. In the case of the Scheduled Tribes, the shortfall continues to be about 20 per

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cent, a year. In their case the utilisation of educational provision was as low as 17 per cent. in the first two years of the Plan. In Madhya Pradesh, the shortfall in expenditure on Scheduled Tribes was as high as 50 per cent. in the State sector and 75 per cent. in the Central sector in the year 1961-62. The Third Plan envisaged a higher priority for economic development programme for the Backward Classes, but the State Governments seem to have paid inadequate attention to it. In the case of Scheduled Castes stress continues to be laid on educational schemes. As a result of the recommendations of the Scheduled Tribes Commission, the target of tribal development blocks was raised by 120 blocks in the Third Plan period. But most of the recommendations with regard to the economic welfare of the Scheduled Tribes and their protection against the exploitation and the high-handedness of forest contractors, the Forest Department officers and money-lenders, continue to be mostly ignored. The forest rules continue to be as rigid as before and no steps are taken to ensure security of tenure to the tenants of forest villages and to protect them against contractors' exploitation. And also no significant change in the attitude of forest officers is reported.

The Planning Commission, it is maintained in the Mid-term Appraisal, has repeatedly emphasised in its Third Plan Report the importance of ensuring that the backward classes get adequate benefit from the general progress and that the special programmes financed from Plan provision should not be used as substitute for the measures necessary to enable these classes to get due advantage from the general progress. But no attempt is, however, made in the Mid-term Appraisal to assess how far this recommendation of the Planning Commission was effectively implemented by the Central and the State Gov-

ernments. There is reason to believe that as before, adequate benefits did not accrue to the backward classes from the general progress.

No doubt some significant progress has been made in the field of education. But here too shortfalls are very glaring. Our speed in the direction of literacy has not kept pace with the increase of our population, and today, there are more illiterates in India than there were in 1951. The Mid-term Appraisal itself confesses that the standard of education, both at the primary and at the secondary stages, has gone down. There has been no improvement, so far as the discipline of students is concerned. No attempt whatever has so far been made to cultivate in the students the democratic spirit, to educate them in the art of democratic citizenship to befit them for discharging their duties as democratic citizens. Despite the recommendations of the Radhakrishnan University Education Commission and of the Mudaliar Secondary Education Commission, the social ideals of education are yet to be determined by this Government and attempts are yet to be made to reorientate our educational system on the basis of those social ideals.

The Directive Principles of State Policy required that by January, 1961, provision for free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of fourteen was to be made by the State. I do not know if even by the end of the Fifth Five Year Plan, it would be possible for us to provide free and compulsory education to all children up to the age of fourteen.

Madam, from all this, it is but obvious that in the last two years we have not made any significant progress in achieving the social objectives of the Constitution laid down in the Directive Principles of State Policy. It might be maintained that I have enlarged the scope of the social objectives, that in the Third Five Year Plan, attention was paid only to some

of the social objectives of the Constitution. In reply to this, I have two things to submit. Firstly, the Planning Commission had no business to limit the scope of the social objectives of the Constitution. It has only to implement the Directives for the State. Secondly, I wish to point out that in the Third Five Year Plan, special attention was invited to three objectives: first, that as citizens, men and women equally have the right to adequate means of livelihood; second, that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good; and third, that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment. I beg to submit, Madam, that no progress whatever has been made even in regard to these three social objectives chosen by the Planning Commission for its special consideration in the Third Five Year Plan Report.

Madam, I may point out that the Directive Principles of State Policy also required the State to pay special attention to the promotion of cottage and rural industries and even in the Third Five Year Plan Report considerable stress was laid on this matter.

But, have we really made any significant achievement even in this matter? The mid-term appraisal confesses that there has been a certain decline in the production of gur and khandsari and vegetable oils. In great many other village industries, relatively a marginal increase is reported. The production of handloom cloth and khadi no doubt showed a sizable increase, but at the same time production is estimated to fall short of the Plan target at the end of the Third Plan period by about 100 to 150 million yards in the case of handloom cloth and 50 to 60 million yards in the case of khadi. It is admitted in the mid-term appraisal that small industries and industrial estates generally

suffered for want of certain raw materials especially since the onset of emergency. I beg to submit, Madam, that while our Government claims to be imbued with the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, and claims to stand for the promotion of small-scale industries, cottage and rural industries, as required by the Father of the Nation, this Government is according stepmotherly treatment to cottage and rural industries as well as to other small-scale industries. Take the case of gur and khandsari. Sometimes the Government becomes very enthusiastic about promoting khandsari. Sometimes all sorts of restrictions are imposed on the production of gur and khandsari. This very year the Defence of India Rules were used to regulate the supply of sugarcane for the purpose of producing gur and khandsari and the Defence of India Rules were utilised to control inter-State movement of gur. I do not know, Madam, in what way national security was going to be affected if such restrictions had not been imposed on the inter-State movement of gur. I have no doubt in my mind that it was a misuse of the powers granted by Parliament under the Defence of India Act and Defence of India Rules to strengthen national security. Acharya Vinoba Bhave was right in condemning this use of the Defence of India Rules as an offence against India. National security demands national integration, better distribution of commodities throughout the country. National emergency and national security do not demand such restrictions as might create scarcity of commodities in certain parts of the country. I beg to submit that these controls on inter-State movements of gur tend to generate corruption and smuggling on a wide scale. When I was a boy, there used to be black-marketing and smuggling of opium and cocaine. Now, there is smuggling of gur in trucks. May I know in what way these activities, smuggling and corruption, are conducive to the promotion of national security in this country? Madam, under the Defence

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of India Rules we have empowered the Government even to destroy any property if it deems necessary in the interests of national security. But the Government will not be justified in destroying any property unless it is necessary to promote national security. To save India from foreign aggression, wide powers had to be given to the Government but these wide powers are to be used by the Government with adequate care. If they are used indiscriminately, they may, instead of protecting democracy and freedom of the people, tend to destroy democracy in the country. I submit that the Government is not using the Defence of India Rules for the purposes for which they were intended and are utilising those Rules for purposes for which they were not intended.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): They are using on those people who gave them.

PROF. M. B. LAL: Madam, the Third Plan was conceived of as a first phase of intensive development leading towards a self-reliant and self-generating economy. Stress was laid on strengthening both agricultural economy and industrial development and yet this mid-term appraisal points out that no progress whatever has been achieved so far as agriculture is concerned. What does it say? It says that in the first year of the Third Plan, agricultural output was slightly higher than in the previous year. The index number of agricultural production increased from 139.6 in 1960-61 to 141.4 in 1961-62 but in 1962-63, there was a set back in the out-turn of foodgrains as well as of sugarcane, jute and oilseeds, and consequently the index of total agricultural production dropped down to 136.8 in that year.

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Foodgrain production was of the order of 76.5 million tons in 1962-63

as compared to 79.7 million tons in both 1960-61 and 1961-62. There is no doubt that this reduction is due to bad weather. But can it be denied that it is also due to our own acts of omission and commission? In the Third Five Year Plan Report many suggestions were made to bring about coordination of various agencies functioning for agricultural development but no efforts in that direction were made. Only day before yesterday Mr. Bhagat, Planning Minister, told us that now the problem of co-ordination was being looked into.

It is said that in the case of big irrigation projects the shortfall at the end of the Third Plan period is likely to be of the order of 5.2 million acres of potential and 2.8 million acres of utilisation. In the case of minor irrigation the achievement is expected to exceed the plan target by one million acres. But this gain is largely offset by the loss of irrigation arising from inadequate maintenance of tanks, tubewells and diversion works. Considerable shortfall is also reported in the case of soil conservation, dry farming, use of chemical fertilisers and increase in the area under improved seeds. The problem of flood control continues to defy solution.

Madam, I have in my hand a Report of a Committee which tried to assess the working of tubewells in Uttar Pradesh. If you read this Report you will find that instead of going ahead we are going backwards. According to this Report in the year 1951-52 each tubewell irrigated on an average 426 acres while in 1959-60 each tubewell on an average irrigated only 314 acres. Again while in the year 1950-51 each tubewell worked on an average 3621 hours, in the year 1959-60 each tubewell on an average worked for 2350 hours. Thus, Madam, in the last ten years instead of making any progress in better utilisation of our tubewells we were utilising them less by 25 per cent in case of irrigating land and by 33 per cent so far as working per hour of tubewells was

concerned. That indicates whether we are proceeding. No doubt, some progress has been made so far as development of certain basic and heavy industries is concerned but here too there has been considerable shortfall. As is pointed out in the Report itself, industrial production increased by only 6.5 per cent and eight per cent respectively in the first two years of the Third Plan as compared to the rise of something like 11 per cent per annum anticipated in the Third Plan. And if the shortfall is to be estimated on the basis of the contemplated increase in production during the Third Plan period the shortfall at the end of the Plan is likely to be of the order of 25 per cent in iron and steel, 75 per cent in alloy, tool and stainless steel, more than 20 per cent in aluminium, more than 40 per cent in cast iron pipes, about 35 per cent in steel wire ropes, steel castings and forgings, more than 20 per cent in machine tools, more than 50 per cent in boilers, more than 50 per cent in fertilisers, more than 25 per cent in sulphuric acid, more than 60 per cent in soda ash and so on. There will also be a shortfall of 33 per cent in the production of coal in public sector collieries though the private sector is likely to fulfil the allocated target. Progress in respect of coal washery has also been behind schedule.

From all this what can be our conclusion? We have made no progress towards the building up of a democratic socialist society. We have made no significant progress so far as social objectives of the Plan are concerned. We have made no progress worth the name so far as small-scale, cottage and rural industries are concerned. In regard to agricultural development our condition has deteriorated. There is no significant progress so far as consumer goods industries are concerned. The actual production of cotton textiles in cotton factories has gone down. Some progress has no doubt been made so far as heavy industries are concerned but the shortfall is very great. This

Mid-term Appraisal of the Third Plan can at best be called a progress report. But it is not a report of achievement. It has turned out to be a report of shortfalls and failures.

When there was a national emergency the Government felt that there was need for greater taxation. As is pointed out by a Member of this House last time, while we have failed all along the line we have been able to impose higher taxation than what was contemplated in the Third Plan.

I beg to submit that the national emergency created by the Chinese aggression required of us a greater sense of urgency, a better sense of direction as well as considerable reduction in wasteful expenditure and stupendous efforts for strengthening the national economy. To meet the ideological challenge of communist China considerable orientation of social and economic life was also needed. Although there have been brave pronouncements to this effect by responsible leaders and Ministers including the Prime Minister of India, both Central and State Governments do not seem to be very serious about them. The Government machinery is not geared to a greater sense of urgency and a better sense of direction. It continues to suffer from corruption, inefficiency and lack of co-ordination. A great many State Governments are fraught with internal dissensions which hardly permit them to deal with even such matters as demand immediate attention. There has been no effective check on wasteful expenditure. Even the rate of growth of economic development has not been quickened much in the last several months. There is nothing to warrant a better economic system and a steady economic development commensurate with the national requirements.

I am here reminded of a recent resolution of the ruling party regarding democracy and socialism. When

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the resolution was passed, our Prime Minister maintained that work should be carried out with a sense of greater urgency. The resolution is said to be intended to bring into focus the Congress approach to democracy and socialism. But it is nothing but a bad summary of a chapter of the Third Five Year Plan Report. There is nothing very definite about the picture of democratic socialism. The Congress definition of socialism continues to be as vague and woolly as it was before Bhubaneswar-resolution.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: They will define it in their next election.

PROF. M. B. LAL: I beg to submit to my friend, Mr. Misra, and other members of the Swatantra Party that while they think that the Congress is marching ahead towards not only socialism but totalitarian communism, I feel convinced that the Congress brand of socialism is not socialism, it is only an *aide-de-camp* of capitalism. It is not intended to promote socialism. It is intended on the other hand, to build up an infra-structure, without which even today capitalism cannot function in this country. If the Congress stands for socialism, it must finally say so clearly and march ahead towards socialism and if it does not stand for socialism, for God's sake it must not talk of socialism and thereby let them not be responsible for misleading the people about the connotation of socialism.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN (Kerala): How does the hon. Member define the present merger between PSP and Socialists?

PROF. M. B. LAL: I may point out to my hon. friend that if he wishes to know the PSP's conception of socialism, he has only to spend eight annas. He will get a copy of the policy statement of the Praja Socialist Party, which is in more than sixty pages, defines in the clearest possible language the PSP's conception of

socialism and democracy, the PSP's conception of socialist democracy, socialist economy, socialist morality and socialist culture.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: Now, you have surrendered to Lohia socialism.

PROF. M. B. LAL: As far as our co-operation with Socialists is concerned, it is a reunion of two brothers. We were together. Somehow we lost our tempers. We separated. We are meeting again. When we say we are meeting unconditionally, we meet on the basic principles of democratic socialism, which, we have always maintained, are similar.

SHRI P. L. KUREEL URF TALIB (Uttar Pradesh): They are one and the same.

PROF. M. B. LAL: Therefore, today while we are trying to promote socialist unity, we are in no way diluting our faith in democratic socialism. We are only forging the unity of socialist forces, of those who have stood for democratic socialism since 1934.

SHRI M. C. SHAH (Gujarat): Madam, I think the Planning Commission and the Minister concerned deserve our compliments for their presentation of this very useful document which examines how we have progressed and where we have failed in the Third Plan. I remember there was a similar appraisal of the Second Plan also and as a result of the discussion and the suggestions made during the appraisal of the Second Plan, it was possible for the Planning Commission and the Ministries concerned to reach many of the targets which would not have been reached if there was not this free and frank discussion. It is well known that we have not much experience of planning in our country. During the last decade, that is, the first period during which we had a sort of planning, we gained some experience and as a result of that experience we have framed the

Third Plan. And now we are examining in the midst how we have proceeded, where we have failed and what steps should be taken to achieve the targets that have been laid down. It is also well known that in a democratic set-up it is very difficult to have successful planning as in totalitarian countries like Russia and China. Even then we have noticed that both these countries have not been able to achieve the targets they have laid down in their plans and practically both Russia and China have failed in achieving the targets set in their plans. We can, therefore, visualise what difficulties a democratic country has to face in reaching the targets when it has to carry the entire country and it has to be implemented by the people at large. We know that we are a country of 44 crores of citizens and for a successful implementation of the Plan, unless each and every citizen considers the Plan to be his own, it will be very difficult to reach the successes which we anticipate.

This appraisal deals with very important subjects like economic background, Plan outlay, financial resources, Plan implementation, administrative machinery, etc. Together with these we are also aware of our difficulties such as want of up-to-date technical skill and knowledge, lack of experience, procedural delays, lack of administrative co-ordination, etc. In the Third Plan the greatest emphasis has been laid on the development of agriculture, which holds the key to our economic growth.

The Third Plan postulated an increase in agricultural production of about 30 per cent, but actually the first half of the Third Plan has been for a variety of reasons a period of very slow economic growth. Seasonal conditions have played their part and actual production has not corresponded to the targets that have been laid down. We all know that about 80 per cent of our population is dependent on

agriculture. Agriculture gives more than 50 per cent as its share to our national income. But in spite of all this agriculturists who cultivate the lands are not in a position to make both their ends meet. Those who come from the rural areas have experience of the difficulties that are faced by our farmers in agriculture in spite of the fact that they are very anxious to see that agricultural production rises because it is to their own advantage and to the advantage of the country as a whole. But even then we find that agriculturists are, if I may say so, a neglected part of our community, and we have as a matter of fact no full appreciation of the difficulties and obstacles that come in the way of our agriculturists. We know the conditions prevailing in our rural areas. Any intelligent and educated youth would always like to leave his village and go to a town for bettering his prospects. We find that our villages are denuded of intelligence, because whenever we find a bright boy who is well educated, who seems to be a promising youth, he is not enamoured of the environment in the village because he cannot reach his ambitions there. He has therefore to leave the village and go to the cities or to the towns, and therefore the village becomes poorer to that extent in the matter of intelligence.

Then what are the social conditions and the economic conditions prevailing there? They are such that nobody would like to live in a village if he can afford to go to a city or to a town. Under these circumstances how can we expect that our villages will under independence thrive like anything? As a matter of fact we find that the villages are going down every day. There is unemployment. Agriculture does not yield to the farmers what they expected. Then there are so many drawbacks and handicaps to progressive agriculture. The main drawbacks are untimely and irregular rains; non-availability of sufficient

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farmyard manure and organic manure; uneconomic holdings; lack of reasonable prices; lack of appreciation of the economic condition of the farmers; lack of finance at the crucial period; and lack of agricultural credit. One might say that agriculture suffers from seed to marketing. This is the actual condition in which our agricultural profession is functioning today, and yet we expect, too much from this profession in order to see that our economy succeeds. In these conditions it is very necessary that on those areas which are favoured with assured rainfall or where there are irrigation facilities to see that agriculture becomes progressive and the per acre production also goes up. But that depends upon so many factors, and allround co-operation is very essential.

It is very necessary that in agriculture also we must have a progressive view. We must take advantage of the new inventions of chemistry. We must take the benefit of the new techniques that are evolved in other advanced countries.

Then there must be at least the minimum economic holding. What do we find today? On the one hand we are trying to establish more and more co-operative farming societies. Last week a question was put by me as to how many co-operative farming societies are actually functioning in the country and what our experience is as to whether as a result of co-operative farming agricultural production per acre has gone up. The Minister informed me—I do not exactly remember the number of societies but he said—that it is the experience of the co-operative farming societies that the production per acre continues to rise. That means that we must have economic holdings. To take advantage of the technical “know-how” it is necessary that we must have large holdings, and small

holdings cannot give us the desired results. On the other hand what do we find? There is this Bhoodan movement. There are millions of people who are landless and who are land-hungry. They want that they should be given one acre of land, some “guntha” of land, and as a result of this Bhoodan movement what do we see? The agriculturist or farmer donates one acre or half an acre or whatever small land he can afford to part with. This is donated to the Bhoodan movement. These lands that are collected under the Bhoodan movement are distributed to those landless labourers who are land-hungry to become farmers. We give them half an acre or three-fourths of an acre or an acre at the most. This is the true position that is prevailing in our country. On the one hand we want this co-operative farming to have higher production. On the other hand under this Bhoodan movement landless labourers are given an acre or half an acre of land. How will both these things ensure our ultimate aim? I would therefore urge very seriously that the Government must come to a decision as to whether we want this agriculture to proceed as it is or we want it to take advantage of the new inventions, the new techniques in which case economic holdings are a must. We cannot afford to have small holdings. Of course I know that it is very difficult in a democratic set-up to compel the people to join together and have economic holdings, but unless we do that, I am afraid we are going to fail and there will be no economic growth by way of higher agricultural production. From one report I have found that in 1948-49 the country imported 30 lakh tons of foodgrains, and in 1962-63 38 lakh tons of foodgrains had to be imported. See our progress. I remember our Prime Minister telling the country—it was in the year 1953 or 1954, I am not sure of the exact year but he told the country—that he was not going to import even one grain of foodstuff; the country may have to suffer but it

must come up and raise the agricultural production to that level where the people of India would feed themselves. He was against importing any foodstuff whatever so that the people could put their best to increase agricultural production. In spite of that the position is that in the year 1962-63 we are importing 38 lakh tons of foodgrains to feed our people. Just see the position. This is a country which is for centuries agriculture-minded, a country of agriculturists, if I might say so. The other people are very few and far between. Even then in spite of all this in the blessed year 1962-63 the country had to import 38 lakh tons of foodgrains to feed its population.

Then we are told that during the first three years of the Third Plan about Rs. 630 crores were spent in various forms for agricultural development, that is, Rs. 300 crores on major and medium irrigation schemes and the rest on other projects. But when we discuss with the Irrigation Ministry about the utilisation potential, we find that there is a great lag. The potential that has been created is not utilised by the farmers. That is a fact known to everybody who has some idea of our agricultural set-up. Now what are the difficulties? The difficulties are about the feeder channels. Where a canal passes through a certain area fields abutting on this canal can take advantage of it. But owners of such fields do not permit the digging of a field channel to take the water from the canal to other fields, which are behind. I know in Gujarat they have passed a law under which a farmer could be compelled to allow a canal to be dug in his field in order to take water to the other fields situated behind the abutting field. But the fact remains that we are not in a position to utilise the entire potential that has been created for irrigation.

For the due development of agriculture, the following measures are

necessary—security of tenure to the farmer, economic holdings, improved seeds and implements, full utilisation of the irrigation facilities, an adequate and reasonable price for the agricultural produce based on the cost of production, agricultural research and irrigation. Now, the farmer is the only producer who takes his produce to the market for selling. In all other industries the buyers go to the sellers but here the seller has to go to the buyer, and he has to undergo the evils of a buyers' market, and as a result thereof, he does not get his due.

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

Another thing to which I want to draw attention is that whatever results are achieved by us as a result of planning, they are wiped away as a result of increase in population. What do we find? The population has been rising like anything. In spite of efforts at family planning, the population goes on increasing and the little benefit that we get by way of economic development in the country vanishes because of the increase in population, and as a result thereof, a man in the village or an ordinary citizen does not feel any impact whatsoever of the functioning and the execution of our Plans. The average citizen looks with wonder at the rich people becoming richer. Not only do they become richer, but they display their wealth, and the poor are becoming poorer; the disparity between the two is daily increasing. So, the ordinary citizen feels perturbed as to why it is that in a democratic and independent country like ours this disparity is increasing in spite of all the promises given by our leaders off and on. In addition to this, the prices are soaring high, the essential commodities are scarce and people with fixed incomes are at a loss to understand how to maintain themselves and their families with this rise in prices. It is therefore very essential to note

[Shri M. C. Shah.]

that the two most important targets are to increase our agricultural production and to see that the wealth that is produced is fairly and equitably distributed to all the parties concerned.

Then there are two more things. The administrative machinery has not proved itself competent enough to implement in the right spirit the national goal of economic growth. It is therefore necessary that the agricultural prospects of the country should be reviewed off and on during the year. Only the National Development Council reviewing this progress will not suffice, it is very necessary that the Ministers at the State level and even people at the district level should review agricultural production frequently, and the farmer should feel that he has a place, a status and that he can do something for the welfare of the country. My friend, Shri Vijay Singh, narrated how in his State and in his district non-officials are totally neglected in the implementation of these plans. Then, how are we going to make the Plan succeed if leaders and people who count are not associated with this progress? It is therefore very necessary that the administrative machinery should rise to the occasion; the local leaders, the popular people, should be associated with all these projects, and then and then alone will it be possible for us to see that the Plan succeeds.

Thank you.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM (Madras): Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is of supreme importance to the country that the Plan succeeds but the success of the planning cannot come out of mere wishful thinking. Therefore, we must clearly visualise the existing situation, determine the needs of that situation and take action accordingly.

Now, what are the basic facts as disclosed by the Mid-term Appraisal?

The first fact is that the outlay has proceeded according to the Plan; that is, 56 per cent of the promised outlay has been spent in the first three years and only 44 per cent remains for the next two years. But as a result of this outlay, no increase has been shown in agriculture. It is not for want of outlay in agriculture itself. "During the first three years of the Third Plan, about Rs. 65 crores were spent on various forms of agricultural development including nearly Rs 300 crores on major and medium irrigation schemes, Rs. 125 crores on minor irrigation and the rest on other programmes." I am reading from a review of the Mid-term Appraisal by a member of the Planning Commission, Mr. Tarlok Singh.

Secondly, the increase in industry has been only 20 per cent as against the planned 42 per cent. for three years and the increase in national income is only 5 per cent as against 15 per cent, and there has been a sizeable increase in the price level.

Now, what are the conclusions we have to draw from these basic facts? The first conclusion that I draw is that outlay in agriculture has become unproductive altogether. Why? I tried to indicate the reasons in my speech on the debate on food. Then I pointed out that in our enthusiasm to show more acreage under irrigation we are allowing an equal or a larger amount of acreage to go out of irrigation from tanks and minor irrigation schemes. We are multiplying the seed farms, but the seed is deteriorating. Similarly, in all other respects, agricultural programmes have developed big leaks so that though there is more outlay there, though we are pouring in more money into agriculture, no progress is being achieved. I am fortified in this conclusion by these observations of the member of the Planning Commission that I have already mentioned. He says—

"But the problem has grown in size, the agricultural effort is

spread over too vast an area, and the existing organisation and personnel are not really sufficient for achieving the results expected of them. whether in carrying out various agricultural programmes or in utilising the existing resources such as irrigation and the results of research".

Again, in industry, our investment is beginning to show rather a tendency of diminishing returns but equally investment

SHRI C. D. PANDE: No returns.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: No, in industry, it is not 'no return'. Our industrial development shows that, there is a diminishing return in industry. And why? It is because we are anxious to build newer and newer plants, we do not take steps to see that the plants which are already set up are working to capacity. In the beginning stages it was possible to contend that the new industry will take time to give results; there is a time-lag between the setting up of an industry and its giving returns. The industrial plants started in the first two years of the Third Plan may not be yielding fruit, but the plants set up at the end of the Second Five Year Plan must be yielding fruits now. Therefore, there is no reason why our industry has not shown an expansion of 14 per cent per year which was forecast in the Third Plan Report.

And again, why should there be an increase in prices? It is because more purchasing power is pumped into the economy than can be absorbed by the increased production. Again, I wish to quote Mr. Tarlok Singh. He says:

"A major lesson to be drawn from the present debate in the country is that planning and policies connected with planning must come much more intimately into the sphere of current economic policy and action than has been the case so far."

"Now construction and development will of course be a special concern of those responsible for planning, but success in this sphere depends to no small extent on the success with which the existing economy is being currently operated."

Therefore the issues before the country are : Is the present state of planning as indicated by the trends of the Third Plan only the fault of implementation, or is there anything radically wrong in the planning itself? The Mid-term Appraisal assumes that everything is right with the Plan, that what is wrong is only with implementation. I do not agree with this assumption. I think there is something radically wrong with the planning itself, and unless this is remedied, the same failures will be repeated again and again, and therefore a radical revision, a radical overhauling of the planning machinery and the Planning Commission itself is essential before the crisis in planning can be overcome.

Now what are the serious defects in planning as I conceive of them? First there is over emphasis on the financial outlay, and the financial outlay is divorced altogether from the physical results. In fact, in many parts of this report we read only that—fortunately!—there is no setback in the outlay. Now in the matter of soil conservation there is deep regret that the States have not spent the amounts allocated. I wish a proper commission were appointed to find out what have been the results of the money invested in the so-called land reclamation and soil conservation during the last 12 years. I do not deny that they are very important aspects of agricultural development. But in our country almost all useful land has been cultivated for hundreds and hundreds of years. Therefore, except where it is connected with new irrigation schemes, almost all land reclamation is a waste of effort, and this soil conservation is a thing which must come later, when the country

[Shri K. Santhanam.]
can afford it. Today it is an unproductive investment and I think, except in some cases where of course it is useful, by and large the so-called investment on soil conservation is merely an investment which does not lead to any results in the immediate future, and we cannot afford any investment which does not produce results in the near future. In the same way everywhere the spending of money is very important—according to them—not the results. It is this attitude towards planning that has been mainly responsible for the untoward results indicated in the Appraisal.

Then again the idea is that in every field, in agriculture, in cottage industry, in small industries. we have to put down a target, spend a certain sum of money and hope that a certain result will be obtained; that seems to be the underlying idea. Target planning is useful in certain spheres, for instance in education, how many schools you want to open, how many medical colleges you want to establish, and so on. Similarly in the case of industry you can say you want to set up so many industries. But where the co-operation of a large number of human beings is involved, as in agriculture, in cottage industry, etc., you cannot say, "I am going to spend so many crores of rupees", and say, "I am going to produce this result." I say, target planning in such fields where human co-operation is the essential ingredient, is altogether wrong, and it involves a tremendous amount of waste of funds. So what I would suggest is this, that planning must be directional, not target-planning. You must say you want to go in this direction, and the money will be spent to the extent that you move. If you do not move, you do not spend money; otherwise you spend money. Therefore the idea that target-planning should pervade the entire field of planning is one of the fundamental mistakes in our planning. Then there is complete lack of initiative and growth from below; everywhere it is

something which is imposed. Take for instance minor irrigation. The Planning Commission says, "I shall give you money if you increase minor irrigation works and extend it to a certain number of acres." But all the *panchayats* which I visited, they complained that they want money not for new irrigation works but for repairing the old tanks, for keeping the old irrigation works intact. If for five years the Planning Commission decides to have no more new minor irrigation schemes and put to use all the money that it can find to restore old tanks, wells and other sources of supply which had been built up through the ages and gone into disuse, then I am sure it can show much more agricultural production than is the case now of showing paper figures of increase of acres. I have discussed it with many persons, with high officials, District Magistrates and others, but I find there is no money at all for repairing the tanks. They have been transferred to the *Panchayat Samitis* or the *Panchayat* Boards, and they were all asking me, "How are we to repair these? No funds have been transferred to us."

New minor irrigation works are being developed but at huge cost. There have been minor irrigation schemes in which as much as two thousand rupees per acre have been spent whereas for the same result a mere hundred rupees or a hundred and fifty rupees would have sufficed in the other case I mentioned. It is all because you have got a set scheme imposed from above that minor irrigation must be extended to such and such an extent, and you have allotted the money for that purpose. and it cannot be spent for maintaining or improving the old sources of irrigation; it can be spent only for showing some kind of new minor irrigation works. Therefore, in all these matters which concern human beings, the initiative must come from below both for planning and for implementation. Therefore, in our report on *Panchayat* finance we have suggested that Rs 400 crores should be set apart as

a lump sum, and each *Panchayat* should be asked to choose its own development projects and as it implements them money must be given. You should not impose a scheme of development on the *Panchayats*. The people must be left to choose it themselves. They must have the vitality. They must be able to think and say, "This is what we want". Even if they want to build a temple, I say they should be allowed to build a temple, because in the building of the temple the whole people come together; their emotions are aroused. But today the position is not so; everything comes from above; it is a dead imposition and it does not evoke any feelings in the people.

Now I want to save the time of the House and I do not want to go into unnecessary details. There are some lessons to be learnt from the Mid-term Appraisal and the points made by many members. This false division between maintenance and development must go. Maintenance is much more important, at least as important as development and only the money which is surplus must go for development. Take, for instance, roads. I have already mentioned minor irrigation. Everywhere roads are in a very sad condition. They are not being maintained properly and then you want to go on building new roads. What is the use of building new roads if the existing ones cannot be maintained. Every road programme in the Plan itself should provide for improvement and maintenance of existing new roads. And then wherever there is surplus, you can build roads. To that I have no objection. The so-called national highways in many parts of the country are neither national nor highways. They are in the most pitiable condition. How can any national highway be maintained by less than Rs. 6,000. Rs. 7,000 or Rs. 10,000 a mile? But for that purpose they give only a pittance. The State Engineers say, "How can we maintain these national highways if no proper grants are given?"

Then we must have concentration. The idea that the Plan should be spread over the entire economic activity of the country is a false idea. If we want to do it, we must have not 10,000 or 5,000 crores of rupees every five years but 100,000 crores of rupees, if we want to spread our Plan over the entire economy of the country. What is being done now is like a little bit of butter spread over a big loaf of bread. Amounts are spread over the entire country, and, therefore, we do not see any result. We must have concentration. We must leave certain things alone. Let the people wait and when the turn comes, concentrate on it. I do agree that on basic industries, power and transport there should be concentration. Similarly, there should be concentration in the production of fertilizers, agricultural implements and insecticides. Similarly, there must be more and more concentration on the maintenance of irrigation schemes than on new irrigation schemes. Take education. Why should we have these multi-purpose schools, three-year courses and all kinds of things which involve crores and crores of rupees? We must concentrate on having universal elementary education and then expand junior technical education, technical colleges and institutes. They are the immediate need. Instead of that the amount on education is being spent over a variety of schemes, a little here and a little there and a little in some other third place and the result is very small.

Then there are areas in which consolidation is highly important these days. Take, for instance, our technical institutions. We have built a large number of technical institutions, medical colleges, Engineering colleges and scientific laboratories, but they are not properly staffed, they are not properly equipped, and unless we consolidate them, further expansion will mean deterioration in quality. Therefore, consolidation is another principle that we must adopt.

Then, the flow of purchasing power in the form of Plans should be regu-

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lated with a view to controlling the price level. If you say that you would put in some crores in a certain project irrespective of whether the purchasing power is going to be matched with production or not, then inflation becomes something inherent and inescapable. Therefore, there should be some machinery by which every year the purchasing power must be computed *vis-a-vis* production. If there is less production in a year, reduce the purchasing power for the next year so that the price level will be more or less stable.

I think the Planning Commission themselves are lacking in some essential information to decide issues properly. For the last four years I have been crying hoarse for a proper balance-sheet of investment—how much of investment is productive, how much is semi-productive, how much is unproductive. Unless we know that, we cannot in future regulate our investment. So only the productive investment will result in larger production. And if possible, we must eliminate unproductive investment.

Now the Finance Minister is here. I wish to remind him of his suggestion that hereafter our investment should be income-oriented, not consumption-oriented. If I understood him correctly, he means that the investment must be more and more—productive. It should be giving a return and not merely be absorbed in pure consumption. Such a balance-sheet should be given. Unless it is given, neither the Planning Commission will know what they are doing nor will the country know how the so-called investments are being put to use.

Then there must be a close correspondence between potential and performance. So far as irrigation is concerned, we know that there is a lot of potential which has not been utilised. But that happens in industry also. In the case of each industry which has been set up in the last ten or twelve years we would like to

know what is the capacity and what is the actual utilisation. The gulf between the potential capacity and use is increasing. We find that instead of increased investment the industry is showing diminishing returns. Thirdly, we must know how the income is being distributed.

We are talking of socialism. But actually capitalism is getting strengthened, by the method in which the income is getting distributed, rural masses are not getting much. Nor are the proletariat in towns getting much of this income. The upper classes may get some. The richer classes are getting a lot. Therefore, this income distribution is one of the regressing factors in our economy and so long as the Planning Commission is not able to rectify it, much of the Plan is bound to go wrong.

Again, lastly, I want that the planning bureaucracy should be completely overhauled. I have no doubt that if the planning bureaucracy is reduced to one-fourth, that is, instead of spending a crore of rupees we spend only Rs. 25 lakhs a year on the staff of the Planning Commission, the planning efficiency will be improved four-fold. It is the vast bureaucracy that is absorbing the energy of the Planning Commission. The Planning Commission should be sitting as a committee, deciding on policies. But they have become a Cabinet. Each member has his portfolio and he goes on adding to his activity. I think that the whole thing is a mistake. The whole thing should be scrapped and probably we shall have to start again from the scratch.

4 P.M.

श्री विमलकूमार मन्नालालजीचौरड़िया
[मध्य प्रदेश] : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय जो तीसरी योजना का मध्यवर्ती प्रतिवेदन पर विचार हो रहा है उससे थोड़ा यह तो मालुम पड़ता है कि हम किस दिशा में जा रहे हैं। आज तक जितनी भी योजनाएं बनीं और बनने वाली हैं उन सब का लक्ष्य एकमात्र यही है कि हमारे यहां के निवासियों का जीवन सुखमय हो, सब

सुखी रह। हम ने दो योजनाएं तो पूरी कर लीं, किन्तु कुछ ऐसा लगता है कि हम अपने लक्ष्य की प्राप्ति में सफल नहीं हो पाये। मैं ऐसा नहीं कहता कि हम कुछ काम कर नहीं पाये, किन्तु जो हमारे लक्ष्य थे उन लक्ष्यों की प्राप्ति में हम सफल नहीं हो पाये। हमारे नागरिकों का जीवन सुखमय होने की बजाय दुःखमय होता जा रहा है। इतना ही नहीं, योजनाएं होने के बावजूद भी, हमारे सारे अच्छे नक्शे बनने के बावजूद भी कभी कपास की कमी हो जाती है, तो कभी सूत की कमी हो जाती है, कभी अनाज की कमी हो जाती है, कभी शक्कर बहुत बढ़ जाती है और कभी शक्कर बहुत कम हो जाती है। अगर यही हमारी योजनाओं का स्वरूप है, तब तो मुझे कुछ कहना नहीं है। अगर अभी तक का इतिहास इसी बात को बतलाता है कि हमारी ये योजनाएं किसी तरह से भी ठीक चलीं, ऐसा लगता नहीं। गेहूं का भाव जब वह काश्तकारों के घरों से निकलता है १५ रुपये मन होता है और काश्तकारों के घर से निकल जाने के बाद, कुछ महीनों के बाद वह ३० रुपये मन हो जाता है। अगर यही हमारी योजना है तो इस को मैं योजना कह नहीं सकता।

इस योजना का सारे समाज पर क्या असर पड़ा इसको अगर श्रीमान् देखना चाहते हैं तो किसी भी गांव में चले जाइये किसी नगर में चले जाइये या दिल्ली के किसी एक कोने की झोंपड़ी में जा कर के पूछ लीजिये, वहाँ पता लग जायेगा कि इन योजनाओं के परिणामस्वरूप जो महंगाई हुई है, जो उन की यातनाएं बढ़ी हैं वे हमारा जीवन अधिक दुःखमय बनाती जा रही है। यह उसका स्पष्ट चित्रण है। अगर इस साटिफिकेट से आप संतुष्ट नहीं होते और आपको यह साटिफिकेट चाहिये कि विदेशियों ने हमारे बारे में क्या साटिफिकेट दिया, उन की क्या राय है, तो अभी थोड़े दिन पहले ही, राष्ट्रसंघ की ओर से जो आर्थिक सर्वे रिपोर्ट निकलती है, उसमें जो उन्होंने साटिफिकेट

दिया वह हमारी वास्तविक स्थिति को प्रदर्शित करने के लिये पर्याप्त है। उन्होंने बताया कि एशिया में कम विकसित देश २५ हैं और उनमें से हमारे भारत का नम्बर बीसवां है। दूसरे उन्होंने बताया कि ग्रामदनी के लिहाज से भारतवर्ष में जो ग्रामदनी होती है वह इस प्रकार है कि ४५ प्रतिशत लोगों की मासिक आय १० रुपये से २० रुपये तक है। ३० प्रतिशत लोगों की मासिक आय २० रुपये से ३० रुपये तक है, २४ प्रतिशत लोगों की मासिक आय ३० रुपये से ५० रुपये तक है, और एक प्रतिशत लोगों की मासिक आय ५० रुपये से ऊपर है। यह हमारी जो प्रगति है, इसी को हमारी सरकार यदि प्रगति मानती है, इसी को यदि ग्रामदनी मानती है, और यही सच्चा चित्र मानती है, तो मुझे कुछ कहना नहीं है, मगर यह स्थिति अच्छी प्रतीत नहीं होती। गरीबों के बारे में यह बताया गया है कि गरीब दिन पर दिन गरीब होते जा रहे हैं और मूठड़ी भर अमीर दिन पर दिन अमीर होते जा रहे हैं जैसा कि अभी माननीय सन्तानम् साहब ने अपने भाषण में इसी आशय के ऊपर प्रकाश डाला।

बेकारी के सम्बन्ध में वैसे तो लक्ष्य यह रखा था कि बेकारी दूर करना चाहिये, उसके लिये बड़ी बड़ी योजनाएं बनाई गईं, सब कुछ हुआ, लेकिन उसके जो उन्होंने आंकड़े दिये, उस हिसाब से सन् १९५६ में ५३ लाख लोग बेकार अनुमानित किये गये थे। वे सन् १९६१ में बढ़ कर ६० लाख हो गये। इसी रिपोर्ट में यह भी बताया गया है कि आशा यह की जाती है कि अगले पांच वर्षों में यह संख्या बढ़ कर १ करोड़ २० लाख तक पहुंच जायेगी। ऐसे लोग भी हैं जिन्हें पूरा काम नहीं मिलता है। उन की संख्या १ करोड़ ५० लाख से बढ़ कर १ करोड़ ८० लाख हो गई है। तो यह हमारे शासन की योजनाओं के परिणामस्वरूप है कि हमारी योजनायें किस दिशा में जाती हैं और परिणाम किस दिशा में जाते हैं। जनता में कहीं गड़बड़ है या योजना

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया]
मैं कहीं गड़बड़ है, यह जरा विचारणीय प्रश्न है।

खेतिहर मजदूरों के बारे में उन्होंने जो आंकड़े बताये उसके अनुसार प्रौढ़ पुरुष को सन् १९५०-५१ में जो दैनिक मजदूरी मिलती थी वह १०९ नये पैसे मिलती थी। सन् १९५६-५७ में वह ९६ नये पैसे रह गई। एक प्रौढ़ स्त्री को ६८ नये पैसे सन् १९५०-५१ में मिलते थे जो सन् १९५६-५७ में ५९ नये पैसे रह गये। एक बच्चे को सन् १९५०-५१ में ७० नये पैसे मिलते थे। वे सन् १९५६-५७ में ५३ नये पैसे रह गए। इस तरह से खेतिहर मजदूरों की आमदनी किस दिशा में जा रही है, यह इशाया उसमें है।

फिर आगे बताया है कि खेतिहर मजदूरों को जहाँ १९५०-५१ में २०० दिन काम मिल जाता था, वहाँ पर सन् १९५६-५७ में वह केवल १९७ दिन रह गया। आज की स्थिति की रिपोर्ट मेरे पास नहीं है। तो यह हमारे खेतिहर मजदूरों की स्थिति है। खेतिहर मजदूरों के परिवार की औसत वार्षिक आय सन् १९५०-५१ में ४४७ रुपये थी जो सन् १९५६-५७ में घट कर ४३७ रुपये ही गई। मध्य प्रदेश में तो वह केवल ३०१ रुपये है। हमारी जो रिपोर्ट निकली है राष्ट्रसंघ की, उसमें यह उल्लिखित है।

अब दूसरी ओर कर्ज देखिये। आमदनी की स्थिति तो मैंने पहले बता दी। कर्ज देने के नये नये स्रोत बढ़ते जा रहे हैं और उस के अनुसार कर्ज प्रति खेतिहर मजदूर परिवार सन् १९५०-५१ में १०५ रुपये था और वह बढ़ कर सन् १९५६-५७ में १३८ रुपये हो गया। अगर हम पूरा चित्र देखें कर्ज की स्थिति का तो खेतिहर मजदूरों की तो सन् १९५०-५१ में खेतिहर मजदूरों पर केवल ८० करोड़ रुपये कर्ज था और वह बढ़ कर के सन् १९५६-

५७ में १४३ करोड़ रुपये हो गया और आज की स्थिति में तो और बढ़ गया है। ऐसी हालत में जो योजनाएँ बना कर आप चल रहे हैं, जो चित्र बना कर आप चल रहे हैं, उसका परिणाम यह होता जा रहा है कि ऐसा लगता है कि या तो हम लोगों को समझ नहीं पाये, हम अपने यहां की समस्याओं को समझ नहीं पाये या कुछ हमारे प्लान में गड़बड़ है। इसलिये हम को पुनर्विचार करना पड़ेगा सब बातों पर। हम यहां की जनता को बदल नहीं सकते कि एकदम स्वीच आन करने के साथ जैसे बिजली जल जाती है, वैसे ही यहां की जनता भी हमारी योजना के हिसाब से एटू जेड तक काम करने लग जाय, ऐसा संभव नहीं है।

चीन ने हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण किया। उस आक्रमण के पश्चात् फिर हम पर दोहरा वजन बढ़ गया। योजनाएँ हम को चलानी ही थीं। उसके साथ साथ चीन के आक्रमण की वजह से हम को उसकी फूटिंग पर भी काम करना पड़ा और उसके अनुसार, उस की अनुभूति करके हम ने दोनों आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति के लिए जनता पर विशेष बोझ डाला। वह विशेष बोझ डालने के बाद हम ने यह अपेक्षा की थी कि हमारा यह योजना कमिशन और सारा शासन मिल कर के ठीक तरह से प्रगति करेगा, मगर यह जो प्रतिवेदन मिड टर्म एप्रैजल, प्रस्तुत किया गया, वह खुद ही इसको सामने ला देता है कि हमारी प्रगति ठीक नहीं हो पा रही है। खेती के मामले में जो हम ने लक्ष्य निर्धारित किये थे, वे हम पूरे नहीं कर पाये। इतना ही नहीं, पिछले वर्षों में जो ज्यादा उत्पादन हुआ था, उसके आगे आने वाले वर्षों में उत्पादन कम हुआ। उसका कारण हमारी सरकार यह बता देती है कि मानसून के कारण हमारी योजना भी डगमगा गई। मानसून के झपेड़ों में हमारी योजना भी गोते खाने लग गई। मगर मैं उन स पूछना चाहता हूं कि जहां तक कृषि का सवाल है, आप यह कारण दे सकते हैं, लेकिन आप की औद्योगिक बढ़ोतरी भी

सन् १९६०-६१ में ६.५ प्रतिशत हुई और सन् १९६१-६२ में केवल ८ प्रतिशत हुई जबकि आप का लक्ष्य ११ प्रतिशत का था। इस का कारण क्या है कि आप औद्योगिक मामले में भी इतना पीछे रह गये। जो मामले या मंटीरियल के हैं उनके सम्बन्ध में आप कह सकते हैं कि कपास पैदा नहीं हुई, इसलिये हमारी सूत की मिलें नहीं चलीं। परन्तु ये मशीनों के औजार, एल्यूमीनियम, कपड़ा—कपड़े के बारे में आप कारण दे सकेंगे कि हमारे यहां मानसून की वजह से कपास नहीं हुई—कोयला और कच्चे लोहे का उत्पादन हमारे लक्ष्य से क्यों पीछे रहे इतना ही नहीं इस में भागे दिया है कि हमारा औद्योगिक उत्पादन हमारी तीसरी योजना के लक्ष्य तक नहीं पहुंच पायेगा, ऐसा सन्देह इस रिपोर्ट में व्यक्त किया गया है। क्या यह योजना हमने ठीक बनाई या योजना को कार्यान्वित करने वाले की गलती है या किस की गलती है? यहां पर हमारे मंत्री जी भी कह देंगे कि हम कमेटी बिठा रहे हैं, जांच करवा रहे हैं, और कमेटी के बाद फोरन सब काम कर देंगे। मगर आज तक दस सालका यह अनुभव है कि आपने जितना भी प्रयत्न किया वह किस दिशा में जाता है, भगवान जाने, और उस का परिणाम हमारे देश के लिए अच्छा हो रहा है ऐसा मैं नहीं मानता।

इसके अतिरिक्त जब से योजना बनी है और उसके कुछ दिनों के बाद से जब से कीमतें बढ़ने लगीं तभी से यह कहा जाने लगा कि कीमतों का स्थिरीकरण होता चाहिये। हमारे नन्दा साहब ने, जो “नेशन प्रीप्रेस” किताब है उसमें लिखा कि दो साल पहले एक कमेटी बैठाई गई इस काम के लिये कि प्राइस स्टेबलाइजेशन होना चाहिये किन्तु कीमतें बढ़ती हैं। कोई योजना बनाने से या आर्डिनेन्स निकाल देने से या एक चिट्ठी लिख देने से कीमतें स्थिर हो जायेंगी, ऐसा मान कर के अगर हमारा शासन चल रहा है तो भूल कर रहा है। इसका भी रूट काज है

और उस को वे जानते हैं। ऐसा मैं आरोप नहीं लगाता कि हमारे मंत्री जी को उस का ज्ञान नहीं है कि इन कीमतों के बढ़ने का मूल कारण क्या है। मगर हम मूल कारण का इलाज करना नहीं चाहते बल्कि उसके परिणामस्वरूप जितनी भयानकता हमारे यहां पर फैलती जा रही है उसका अलग अलग इलाज ढूँढते जाते हैं। इनफ्लेशन हो गया है, किन्तु सरकार कहती है गेहूं के भाव बढ़ गये हैं, इसलिये गेहूं पर नियंत्रण लगाओ, कपास के भाव बढ़ गये हैं, इसलिये उसपर नियंत्रण लगाओ। सब चीजों के भाव आपकी गलत आर्थिक नीति के परिणामस्वरूप और मुद्रा स्फीति होने के कारण बढ़ते जा रहे हैं और आप उस कारण को छिपाने का प्रयत्न करते हैं और उसके परिणामस्वरूप जितने व्यापक नुकसान होते जा रहे हैं उनका इलाज करने का प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं। उससे मर्ज ठीक होने वाला नहीं है। उससे मर्ज बढ़ने वाला है। और आप जो कमिटमेंट करते जा रहे हैं उस के आधार पर आपकी इनफ्लेशनरी कंडीशन और खराब होने वाली है। इसके साथ साथ हमारे ऊपर अरबों रुपये का कर्जा हो गया है और हमारे अरबों रुपये जो विदेशों में स्टॉक के रूप में जमा थे उन को हम ने ले कर के उपयोग में ले लिया है और अरबों रुपये के हम ने नये सिक्के चला दिये हैं। २१ अरब ५४ करोड़ के हमने सिक्के चला दिये जबकि सन् १९५१ में वे सिक्के केवल १४ अरब और १० करोड़ के थे अरबों रुपया हमें श्रांट के रूप में मिला। तो ऐसी स्थिति में यह जो रुपयों का फैलाव आप करते जा रहे हैं उसमें आप यह आशा करें कि कीमतें कम होंगी यह बिल्कुल असंभव है। इसलिए आपको सारी स्थिति पर पुनर्विचार करना चाहिये और जड़ को ठीक करना चाहिये।

एक झगड़ा और गुड़ नियंत्रण का नया उत्पन्न हो गया है। वैसे तो हम सार्वभारतवर्ष को एक इकाई मानत हैं, लेकिन हमारे स्वर्ण सिंह साहब यह कहते हैं कि कुछ

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया]

व्यापारी लोग यह चाहते हैं कि उत्तर प्रदेश में नियंत्रण हट जायेगा गुड़ के एक स्थान से दूसरे स्थान पर जाने में तो स्वार्थी पनपेंगे और किसी बन्धु ने उसको हटाने की बात कही तो मंत्री जी कहने लगे उनके स्वार्थी हत्व जो समर्थन करने वाले हैं, वे यहां पर समर्थन करवाना चाहते हैं। मुझे समझ में नहीं आता है कि एक दफा वह क्या दलील देते हैं और दूसरी दफा क्या दलील देते हैं। इस तरह की नीति के परिणामस्वरूप जैसे कि उत्तर प्रदेश में गुड़ का नियंत्रण कर लिया हो वहां गुड़ सस्ता मिलेगा और यहां वह महंगा हो जायेगा और इस तरह सारी सामग्री के एकत्रित हो जाने की वजह से व्यापारी नाजायज लाभ उठावेंगे। जब सारे भारत वर्ष को एक मानते हैं, काश्मीर से लेकर कन्याकुमारी तक की व्यवस्था को इस केन्द्रीय शासन के अन्तर्गत मानते हैं तो फिर यहां के जाने वालों को गुड़ अच्छा मिले, सस्ता मिले और कन्याकुमारी के रहने वालों को महंगा मिले यह कोई एक न्यायसंगत व्यवस्था का परिचायक नहीं है इसलिये तन्त्र निवेदन है कि सारे भारतवर्ष को एक यूनिट मान कर और उसके अन्तर्गत रहने वाले जितने नागरिक हैं उनको एक पैमाने पर तौल कर सब के लिये एक ही व्यवस्था करें। यह अत्यंत आवश्यक है कि प्रान्तीयता के आधार पर आपने जो नियंत्रण लगायें हैं उनको समाप्त करके सब लोगों को एक ही पैमाने पर तौलें, इसके बिना हमारा काम चलने वाला नहीं है।

अब, यह कीमतें बढ़ने की जो अव्यवस्था चल रही है वह इसलिये है कि हमारे यहां इन्फ्लेशन की कंडीशन हो गई है और आपने जो जरूरत से ज्यादा अपने कमिटमेंट्स कर रखे हैं और उसके लिये जो रुपयों का एकत्रीकरण करना पड़ता है, नोट छापना पड़ता है, रुपया उधार लेना पड़ता है, उस वजह से है। इसलिये इसको देखकर, सारी जो इसकी जड़ है, उसको ठीक करने का प्रयत्न करें।

अब कीमतें बढ़ रही हैं तो लोगों का निर्वाह खर्च भी बढ़ रहा है। नई नई डिजाइन्स निकलती हैं, नई नई चीजें निकलती हैं और उनके भी आकर्षण से लोगों की कास्ट आफ लिविंग बढ़ती जा रही है और कास्ट आफ लिविंग बढ़ने के परिणामस्वरूप लोग कहते हैं कि हमारी तनख्वाहें बढ़ाइये। फिर इधर तनख्वाहों बढ़ती हैं तो फिर कीमतें बढ़ती हैं क्योंकि तनख्वाहों के बढ़ने के साथ साथ निर्माण का, प्रोडक्शन का खर्च भी बढ़ता है, अगर किसी कारखाने में काम करने वाले मजदूर को तनख्वाह ज्यादा मिलेगी तो फिर उत्पादन खर्च भी ज्यादा होगा, चीजों की कीमत भी ज्यादा बढ़ेगी और महंगाई भी ज्यादा बढ़ेगी। फिर मजदूर कहेगा कि हमारी तनख्वाहें बढ़ाइये। तो यह जो कुचक्र चल रहा है इसको जब तक तोड़ेंगे नहीं तब तक यह सम्भव नहीं है कि आप अपनी व्यवस्था ठीक कर सकें। इसलिये अत्यंत आवश्यक है कि इस दृष्टि से विचार करके हमारी सरकार कुछ न कुछ करे।

बेकारी दूर करने के लिये हमारी सरकार ने कई योजनायें निकाली लेकिन इस का परिणाम यह देखने में आ रहा है कि बेकारों की संख्या बढ़ती जा रही है। जो हमारे अनवर साहब हैं वह कभी कभी एक शेर सुना देते हैं कि ज्यों ज्यों दवा की त्यों त्यों मर्ज बढ़ता गया, वही हालत अन्य बातों के साथ साथ बेकारी के मामले में भी है। हमारे बेकारों की संख्या बढ़ती गई है।

شری این - ایم - انور (مدراس) :

وہ ...

دل نادان تجھ ہوا کیا ہے
آخر اس درد کی دوا کیا ہے

†[श्री एन० एम० अनवर (मदास) :
वह यह है...

‘दिले नादां तुझे दुआ क्या है,
आखिर इस दर्द की दवा क्या है।’

† [] Hindi transliteration.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया:
जो दवा है वही तो बता रहा हूँ ।

इस रिपोर्ट के अनुसार, इस प्रतिवेदन के अनुसार, १९६१-६२ में १५ लाख ६० हजार लोगों ने नौकरी प्राप्त करने के लिये इम्प्लायमेंट एक्सचेंज में रजिस्टर करवाया कि उन्हें नौकरी चाहिये और १९६२-६३ में उनकी संख्या बढ़ कर २४ लाख ८० हजार हो गई तो इस तरह से हमारे यहां पर बेकारों की संख्या बढ़ती जा रही है और पढ़े लिखे बेकारों की समस्या और भी भयंकर है इसलिये हमारी सरकार का अपनी योजना पर पुनर्विचार करना अत्यंत आवश्यक है ।

पूँजी का जहाँ तक सवाल है, हमारे जहाँ समाजवादी रचना और राष्ट्रीयकरण का जो नारा चल रहा है उस नारे के परिणामस्वरूप हमारे देश की पूँजी जिसे 'शाई' कहते हैं हो गई है, वह शर्मा गई है और वह मैदान में आना नहीं चाहती है । जितने पूँजी खाने वाले हैं उन्हें हमेशा यह भय बना रहता है कि न मालूम कब सरकार मैदान में आये और हमारे कारखाने को सरकारी बना ले, हमारी पूँजी को हमसे छीन ले और इसके परिणामस्वरूप पूँजी शर्माती जा रही है । हमारी सरकार के दिमाग में जैसे यह ठ ठ गया है कि सब चीजों की दवा राष्ट्रीयकरण है किन्तु जितनी चीजों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया गया उन में जो सारी में अव्यवस्था चल रही है वह सर्व विदित है । डी० टी० यू० का हाल आपने देख लिया जो कि कारपोरेशन के तहत चलती है और जब उनका काम पूरा नहीं पड़ा तब प्राइवेट आपरेटर्स को लाते हैं । इसी तरह जहाँ राष्ट्रीयकरण हो गया वहाँ जो मोटर में यात्रा करना चाहते हैं उनको मोटर में बैठना मिलता नहीं और उन्हें पद-यात्रा करनी पड़ती है, यह राष्ट्रीयकरण का हाल है, हमारे कांग्रेस का राज है और जैसे बड़े बड़े नेता अपने शेड्यूल्ड प्रोग्राम के हिसाब से पदयात्रा करते हैं

तो वे चाहते हैं कि लोगों को मोटर में बैठने की जगह न मिले और वे भी पदयात्रा करते रहें । तो यह जो राष्ट्रीयकरण की खामखाह अव्यवस्था फैलाने की नीति चल रही है उस पर शासन पुनर्विचार करें ।

अभी हाल ही में, १६ दिसम्बर, को हमारे मन्त्री जी ने घोषणा की कि वह कई चीजों पर से नियन्त्रण हटा रहे हैं, यह सही दिशा में एक अच्छा कदम है और हम यह चाहते हैं कि इस तरह का कदम और बढ़ाया जाय जिससे कि लोग नये नये उद्योग करने को, नये नये धंधे करने को प्रोत्साहित हों और हमारे यहां पर पूँजी जो शर्मा गई है, ग्लान हो गई है वह उपयोग में आ सके और लोगों का आकर्षण अधिक से अधिक काम करने के लिये हो ।

अब, हमारे देश की आर्थिक स्थिति रुपये के फैलाव की वजह से खराब तो है ही और दूसरी ओर उत्पादन में भी कमी होती जा रही है, उत्पादन कम होता जा रहा है, जितना हमारा लक्ष्य है उसके अनुसार हो नहीं पा रहा है और दूसरी ओर हमारी सरकार कर का भार प्रतिदिन बढ़ाती जा रही है । इन सब कारणों की वजह से हमारे साधारण नागरिक का जीवन अत्यन्त दूँभर हो गया है और हमारी सारी जो योजनायें हैं वे सफल हों ऐसा कुछ लगता नहीं है । हमारा आज तक लक्ष्य की सफलता आंकने का जो माध्यम है वह केवल यह है कि इतना रुपया हमने एलाट कर दिया और उस एलाटमेंट के हिसाब से इतना रुपया खर्च हो गया उसको हम देख लेते हैं । १ करोड़ रुपया एलाट किया और उसमें से करीब १ करोड़ रुपया खर्च किया तो यह कहा जाता है कि टारगेट के हिसाब से काम किया लेकिन १ करोड़ रुपया खर्च करने के परिणामस्वरूप जो अपेक्षा करते थे कि इतना काम हुआ अथवा नहीं उसको नापते नहीं हैं, रुपयों के परिणामस्वरूप जो उत्पादन की आकांक्षा या अपेक्षा

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया] करते हैं वह पूरा नहीं होता है और उसको हम नापते नहीं हैं। इसलिये प्रार्थना करूंगा कि रूपयों के आधार पर जो टागेंट प्राप्त करने का तरीका है वह ठीक नहीं है, वह रूपयों के आधार पर नहीं हो बल्कि यह हो कि मेटेरीयल एडवांटेज क्या हुआ, फिजिकल वैरिफिकेशन करके देखें कि कितना टागेंट प्राप्त कर पाये हैं और यदि इस आधार पर होगा तो हमें मालूम होगा कि हम किस दिशा में बढ़ते जा रहे हैं।

रूपयों के आंकड़े को ही मान कर चलें और इस प्रतिवेदन को देखें तो भी हमको ऐसा लगता है कि हमको निराशा ही होती है और इस निराशा का कारण अन्य कारणों के साथ साथ हमारे शासक दल की, कांग्रेस दल की आपस की खींचातानी की वजह से है, बहुत बड़ी हद तक इसकी जिम्मेदारी कांग्रेस दल पर है क्योंकि जो एक दूसरे की टांग पकड़ कर खींचने के लिये प्रान्तों में तोड़-फोड़ चल रही है उसके परिणामस्वरूप हमारे यहाँ के टागेंट पूरे नहीं हुए और यह भी निश्चित है कि जिस प्रान्त में इस तरह का कोई झगड़ा नहीं वहाँ टागेंट बहुत अच्छी तरह से पूरे हुए और वे प्रगति पर हैं मगर जिन प्रान्तों में इस तरह की आपस की छीछालेदर और खींचातानी है उन प्रान्तों में प्रगति उल्टी दिशा में हुई है, कम हुई है, जो टागेंट फिक्स्ड था उसके अनुसार काम नहीं हुआ है। इस रिपोर्ट के पेज २२ पर बताया है और उसी में सारे आंकड़े दिये हैं कि भिन्न भिन्न प्रान्तों ने कितना कितना काम किया है, कितने प्रतिशत उनका काम हुआ है। पांच वर्षों के लिए जो काम था पश्चिमी बंगाल ने तीन वर्षों में उसका ६४.७ प्रतिशत काम किया, मैसूर ने ६०.३ प्रतिशत काम किया, मद्रास ने ५८.४ प्रतिशत काम किया इन तीन सालों में। तो ये वे प्रान्त हैं जहाँ पर कि एक दूसरे की टांग खींचने का काम नहीं हो रहा है, जहाँ की गवर्नमेंट स्टेवल है। मगर अब बिहार का उदाहरण ले लीजिये

जहाँ कांग्रेस के श्री कृष्णबल्लभ सहाय जी और श्री विनोदानन्द झा जी हैं, जहाँ उनकी आपस में कुश्ती और रस्साकशी चलती है, वहाँ ४६.८ प्रतिशत काम हुआ है। मध्य प्रदेश को देख लीजिये जहाँ श्री तख्तमल जैन और मिश्रा साहब में खींचातानी और रस्साकशी है वहाँ ४६.४ प्रतिशत काम हो पाया है। वहाँ मिश्रा जी आपकी योजना का काम करना नहीं चाहते उन्होंने अपनी ही एक योजना बना रखी है कि मध्य प्रदेश में विरोधियों को कितनी जल्दी खत्म कर सकते हैं और विरोधियों को समाप्त करने की उन्होंने तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना बिल्कुल निर्धारित कर रखी है...

योजना मंत्री (श्री बी० आर० अगत) :
किनने ?

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया :
मिश्रा जी ने।

श्री बी० आर० अगत : अभी तो बहुत पाये हैं बेचारे।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया :
अभी आये हैं और उन्होंने योजना घोषित कर दी है, विधान सभा में उन्होंने चैलेंज भी दिया था कि मैं अपनी तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना काल में मध्य प्रदेश में से विरोधियों को समाप्त कर दूंगा। अगर कांग्रेस दल का यही लक्ष्य है कि यह जो तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना है उसको दफ्तर की अलमारी में रख कर के वहाँ की शोभा बढ़ायेंगे और मिश्रा जी का यही लक्ष्य है कि विरोधियों को खत्म करें तो फिर कोई बात नहीं है, हम तो मिश्रा जी के उस चैलेंज को स्वीकार कर चुके हैं और उसका परिणाम तो मैदान ही बतायेगा, मगर यह जो खींचातानी चल रही है, तख्तमल जी की और मिश्रा जी की अलग अलग खींचातानी चल रही है, इस खींचातानी के परिणामस्वरूप जितना काम होना चाहिये वह नहीं हो पा रहा है। पंजाब में हमारे सरदार कैरो साहब

डटे हुए हैं जिनकी कि गनी साहब बहुत अच्छी तरह से आपके सामने चर्चा करते हैं और वहां भी इसी खींचातानी की वजह से कुल ५०.१ प्रतिशत काम हुआ। राजस्थान की तो कुछ पुछिये ही मत, वहां कांग्रेस के राजपूत ग्रुप और जाट ग्रुप की खींचातानी के परिणामस्वरूप वहां पर केवल ४५.३ प्रतिशत काम हो पाया। समझ में नहीं आता कि यह हमको किस दिशा में ले जायगा। मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि इन पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं को दफ्तर में बैठ कर जो बताते हैं वह तो बनायेंगे ही मगर कांग्रेस दल की आपस में जो खींचातानी चलती है, एक दूसरे की टांग पकड़ कर खींचने की जो नीति है उसके परिणामस्वरूप हमारा अरबों रुपयों का नुकसान होता जा रहा है इसलिये आपसे नम्र निवेदन करूंगा कि मेहरवानी करके मजबूत बन कर इनको ठीक रास्ते पर लाइये नहीं तो योजना बना देने से ही, यहां से आर्डर्स ईश्यू कर देने से ही काम चलने वाला नहीं है।

हमारी राजस्थान सरकार का जो विचित्र हाल है वह कुछ पुछिये मत। अभी अभी यहां पर अकाल पड़ा, अभाव की स्थिति हुई, यह हमारी योजनाओं के कारण हुआ या किस कारण से हुआ मालूम नहीं, हम तो उसे दैवी प्रकोप ही मानते हैं मगर यह जो अकाल की छाया वहां हुई तो वहां की सरकार ने घोषित किया कि यहां पर जितने भी लोग अकाल से पीड़ित हैं उनके लिये काम की व्यवस्था की जायगी। ढाई रुपये प्रति रोज उनको देने की घोषणा की, सैकड़ों मील लोग चल कर गये तो कहा गया कि ७५ न० पै० प्रति दिन मिलेंगे। इस तरह से अकाल पीड़ितों के साथ भी वहां की सरकार मजाक उड़ाने से चुकती नहीं। इसलिये इस दिशा में भी विचार करना चाहिये।

उत्तर प्रदेश आपस की खींचातानी में किसी से कम नहीं। उत्तर प्रदेश में भी गुप्ता जी का ग्रुप और त्रिपाठी जी का ग्रुप आपस

में एक दूसरे की टांग खींचने में डटे हुए हैं। चाहे अनाज के भाव कुछ हों, चाहे दुकानें लूट ली जायें, चाहे लोग भूखों मरें, उनको इसका दुःख नहीं है। उनको तो इससे मतलब है कि कौन कुरसी में बैठता है, किसकी मूख ऊंची रहती है—इस प्लान से काम चलता है—और इसी का परिणाम है कि वहां केवल ४८.५ प्रतिशत काम हुआ।

एक तरफ हमारा यह चित्र है कि हमारे भिन्न भिन्न प्रान्तों में जितने भी कांग्रेस दल के शासक हैं—जो स्टेबल हैं उनकी बात मैं नहीं कहता, उनकी प्रशंसा करनी चाहिये—उनमें आपस में जहां कहीं खींचातानी करने वाले लोग हैं वहां पर ठीक तरह से काम नहीं हो रहा है और दूसरी तरफ हमारे भगत साहब की योजना है कि यह जो तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना बनी है, यह हमारे रुपयों की है, इसमें पांच सौ करोड़ रुपये और बढ़ाना चाहते हैं। मुझे समझ में आता नहीं कि जिन हाथों से आप काम लेना चाहते हैं उनकी ताकत इतनी है नहीं और जितना काम उनको करना चाहिये वह भी कर नहीं पाते, जो पहले जिस काम के लिये रुपया रखा था उसका उपयोग नहीं कर पाये, फिर क्यों इस तरह रुपया बढ़ाते जाते हैं। हम लोगों पर क्यों उसका वजन डालते हैं? पांच सौ करोड़ रुपये कोई भी आदमी अपनी जेब से देने वाला नहीं कि भगत साहब कह द कि मेरी तिजोरी से निकाल कर दे दूं। वह होने वाला नहीं है। यह पांच सौ करोड़ रुपया आप जनसाधारण पर टैक्स लगा कर वसूल करने वाले हैं। और जैसा कि मैं कह चुका हूं, आपकी हालत यह है कि आप का जो निर्धारित लक्ष्य है, पैसों के ही आधार पर देख लीजिए, उसे पूरा करने में असफल रहे। ऐसी स्थिति में मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि मेहरवानी करके यह बढ़ोतरी का काम छोड़िए और पुनर्विचार कीजिए। आपके राजस्थान के सुखाड़िया साहब ने पहले से योजना बना ली है कि हम पूरा काम नहीं कर सकेंगे और इसलिए

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया]
संभवतः उनकी वर्तमान की योजना में—
मैं आपको एकजेट फिगर्स बता दूँ—३५
करोड़ रुपया कम करने का सुझाव हुआ है।
तो ऐसी स्थिति में आप ५०० करोड़ रुपये
और बढ़ा कर हम लोगों से टैक्स के रूप में
वसूल करने वाले हैं और बाद में अगर आप
उस योजना के अन्तर्गत कुछ कर नहीं पाए,
या आपके लोग कुछ कर नहीं पाए और आपस
की खींचातानी में रहे, तो ठीक नहीं रहेगा।

मैं सबसे पहले तो यह प्रार्थना करूंगा
कि आपकी कांग्रेस में ही जो आपस में फूट
और फजीहत हो रही है उसको मिटाने की
कृपा करेंगे। अब तो पांच साल भी नहीं रहे,
दो तीन साल आपके लिए रह गये, कम से
कम इन वर्षों के लिये ही सब प्रान्तों में स्टेबल
गवर्नमेंट हो जाय इसका प्रयत्न कीजिये,
जिससे प्लान के जितने टारगेट रखे गये हैं
वे तो पूरे हो सकें।

दूसरी बात देश में विकास कार्य हो
इसके लिये सरकारी तथा गैरसरकारी क्षेत्र
के बीच सैद्धांतिक भेद को त्याग दिया जाना
चाहिये और उन क्षेत्रों में, जहां सरकारी
क्षेत्र अपना दायित्व पूरा नहीं कर सका है,
गैरसरकारी क्षेत्र को अतिरिक्त दायित्व
सौंपे जाने चाहिये। यह पालिसी आपकी
न रहे कि हम भी न खाएं दूसरों को भी न
बाने दें, जिसको डाग इन डी मंगर पालिसी
कहते हैं। हम देश का विकास करना चाहते
हैं मगर ऐसा न हो कि आप कहें कि हम भी
नहीं करेंगे, दूसरों को भी नहीं करने देंगे।
देश की दृष्टि से जो योजना आवश्यक हैं
उनकी तरफ पुनर्विचार करना चाहिये।
जो काम आप करें अच्छी तरह से करें, कोई
भी इसको मना नहीं करेगा। मगर आपके
हाथ कैसे हैं यह स्पष्ट है। ऐसी स्थिति में,
आप यह मत सोचिये कि हम नहीं कर पाते
इसलिये दूसरों को भी नहीं करना चाहिये।
बहु अच्छी पालिसी नहीं है।

तीसरे, कृषि के उत्पादन को बढ़ाने
के लिये यद्द स्तर पर विशेष प्रयास किये
जाने चाहिये, सिचाई सम्बन्धी अजित क्षमता
का पूरा पूरा उपयोग किया जाना चाहिये
और छोटी तथा माध्यम श्रेणी की परियोजनाओं
के विकास के लिये और अधिक संसाधन उप-
लब्ध कराये जाने चाहिये। आजकल आप
उन योजनाओं को पहले कम्पलीट करना
चाहते हैं जो प्रचार की दृष्टि से आवश्यक हैं,
जैसे चम्बल बांध योजना पूरी कर ली,
हीराकुंड प्रोजेक्ट, दामोदर व्हेली प्रोजेक्ट
पूरा कर लिया—इनसे नुकसान हुआ ऐसा
मैं नहीं कहता—लेकिन उनसे आपके प्रचार
का लाभ बहुत कुछ हुआ है। मगर इतने
अधिक खर्च करने पर जनसाधारण को उतना
लाभ नहीं मिला जितना होना चाहिये था।
इसलिये आप प्रचार की भावना को छोड़
कर, देश के अन्दर ऐसी छोटी छोटी योजनाएं
चालू करना प्रारम्भ करें जिससे जन जन का
लाभ हो सके, जिससे लोग अधिक उत्पादन
कर सकें और हम देश को सही रास्ते पर
ले जा सकें।

योजना की पूर्वताओं में इस प्रकार
परिवर्तन किया जाना चाहिये कि अत्यावश्यक
उपभोज्य वस्तुओं के उत्पादन और उनकी
प्राप्यता के अन्तर को पाटा जा सके। ऐसा
नहीं हो कि कहीं तो रा मैटीरियल के अभाव
में कारखाना बन्द पड़ा रहे और कहीं इतना
रा मैटीरियल उपलब्ध कर दिया जाय कि
उसको उपयोग में लेने की क्षमता न हो
और वह वहीं का वहीं सड़ जाय। इसलिये
वगैर प्लानिंग किये हुए काम के परिणाम को
याद रखना चाहिए और आवश्यकता के
अनुसार जिन जिन कामों को प्राथमिकता
दी जानी चाहिये उन्हीं में सब से पहले काम
होना चाहिये।

मुद्रा, राजकोष, आयात और उद्योग
संबन्धी नितियों का नवीनीकरण इस प्रकार
किया जाना चाहिये कि आर्थिक क्षेत्र में किसी
भी नये विकास के लिये सहकार समितियां

बनाने की शक्त न रखते हुए यंत्र चालित लघु एककों का अधिकतम विकास संभव हो सके। आज हमारी सरकार का लक्ष्य केवल यह है कि जैसे उसी को पावर लूम की इजाजत देंगे जो सहकारी समिति के माध्यम से हो। अब मुझे समझ में नहीं आता कि क्या आपका लक्ष्य यह है कि कपड़े का उत्पादन लघु उद्योगों द्वारा हो या आपका लक्ष्य यह है कि केवल सहकारी समिति के आधार पर हो। आप का यही निश्चय है कि आपको केवल सहकारी समितियों के द्वारा ही उत्पादन करना है। लेकिन आप को अपने दिमाग से यह निकाल लेना चाहिये कि आप सहकारी समितियों के द्वारा ही सब काम करायेंगे। आपका लक्ष्य यह होना चाहिये कि हमारे यहां निर्माण होना चाहिये, उत्पादन होना चाहिये और यह तभी संभव है जब आप वह "सहकारिता" का बंधन हटा दें। सहकारी क्षेत्र में किस तरह से जघन्य पाप होते हैं उसका वर्णन कई एक मिसाल देकर किया जा सकता है। कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटी के माध्यम से जो गुड़ स्कैन्डल हुआ वह आपको विदित है। हमारा एक कैफेटेरिया अफ्रिकलचर विभाग में चल रहा है उसमें भी हजारों की गड़बड़ पायी गई है। अभी आज ही प्रश्नोत्तरकाल में मैंने प्रश्न पूछा था तो मालूम हुआ कि यहां पर शिक्षित वर्ग की, एक यातायात सहकारी समिति सोसाइटी बनी थी। आप जानते हैं ट्रान्सपोर्ट के मामले में सुविधा मिलने पर हजारों का मुनाफा हो सकता है मगर हमारी इस सोसाइटी में हजारों का मुनाफा होने की जगह लाखों का घाटा हो रहा है और उसके हिसाब किताब का कुछ पता नहीं। फिर भी हमारी सरकार कहती है कि हमें केवल सहकारी क्षेत्र को प्रोत्साहन देना है। अगर सरकार ने अपनी नीति ही ऐसी बना ली है कि वह देश को बर्बाद ही करना चाहती है और केवल सहकारी योजना से काम चलाना चाहती है तो मुझे कुछ कहना नहीं। मगर हम नीति आप को भी डुबो देगी आपकी वह सहकारी योजना को भी और देश को भी।

उसके लिये किसी तरह की मनाही नहीं हो सकती।

पांचवां सुझाव मेरा यह है कि निश्चित आय वाले वर्गों को उचित मूल्यों पर अत्यावश्यक वस्तुएं दिलाने के लिए सरकार को उचित मूल्य रखने वाली दुकानें चालू करनी चाहियें किन्तु साथ ही यह देखना चाहिये कि एकाधिकृत भौतिक नियंत्रण न होने पावे। मंहगाई कितनी बढ़ती जा रही है यह सब को अच्छी तरह से मालूम है। जो स्थायी वेतन भोगी हैं उनको कितना कष्ट हो रहा है उसकी अनुभूति सरकार को कितनी है मैं नहीं कह सकता। ऐसी स्थिति में हमारी सरकार को चाहिये कि वह ऐसे स्टोर्स कायम करे कि जहां एक ही उचित स्थिर भावों पर सामग्री मिल सके और अगर आवश्यकता हो तो सरकार उसमें सबसिडी देकर राहत पहुंचाये। स्थायी वेतन भोगियों को बहुत कठिनाइयों का सामना करना पड़ता है और इस दिशा में भी हमारी सरकार को कुछ न कुछ करना चाहिये।

छठा सुझाव मेरा यह है कि सरकारी खर्च को कम करने के बारे में नियुक्त की गई विभिन्न समितियों द्वारा बचत संबंधी जिन विभिन्न उपायों का सुझाव दिया गया है उन्हें कार्यान्वित करके उक्त प्रयोजन के त्रेतु प्रभावी कदम उठाये जाने चाहियें जिससे प्रतिवर्ष कम से कम लगभग ४०० करोड़ रुपये की बचत की जा सके। हमारे शासन ने कई कमेटियां बिठाई थीं कि हमारे खर्च में किस तरह से कमी हो। कमेटी की रिपोर्ट आती है और रिपोर्ट आने तक खर्चा ड्योढ़ा बढ़ जाता है तो फिर दूसरी कमेटी बिठा दी जाती है, इस प्रकार यह कुचक्र चला करता है। मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि इस बारे में जो कमेटियां बिठाई हैं, उनकी रिपोर्ट पर आप तुरंत विचार करें और उनके सुझाव के अनुसार जो अरबों रूपयों की बचत हो सकती है, उसको बचाने का कष्ट करें।

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया]

और अन्त में यह सुझाव है कि वर्तमान कर व्यवस्था की तथा उत्पादन और मूल्यों पर विभिन्न करों के प्रभाव की जांच करने के लिये तथा विकास के साधनों की प्राप्ति तथा जनसाधारण के लिये राहत दे सकने वाली व्यवस्था की पद्धति का सुझाव देने के लिये एक आयोग नियुक्त किया जाना चाहिये। अगर हम इस काम के लिये एक कमीशन बनाते हैं जो यह देखे कि हमारे यहां की टैक्सेज की प्रणाली कौसी है, उसका लोभों पर क्या असर पड़ता है, प्रान्तीय सरकार कैसे टैक्स लगा रही है, केन्द्रीय सरकार कैसे लगा रही है, कारपोरेशन क्या टैक्स लगा रही है, पंचायत क्या टैक्स लगा रही हैं—इन सब पर विचार करने की दृष्टि से जनसाधारण को कौन सी चीज किस भाव मिल जानी चाहिये—इन सब बातों में तारतम्य लाने के लिये यह अत्यंत आवश्यक है कि एक कमीशन बिठाएं जो सारी बातों की जांच करके अपना प्रतिवेदन दे और हमारे मंत्री जी गंभीरता से विचार करके निणय लें।

तो इन शब्दों के साथ जो प्रतिवेदन प्रस्तुत हुआ उसके लिये अन्यावाद इसलिये है कि कम से कम उन्होंने एक चिट्ठा हमारे सामने लाकर रखा और इसी बहाने शासन में क्या व्यवस्था चल रही है उसको कहने का अवसर मिला। मेरा निवेदन है कि यदि हम प्रतिवर्ष इस तरह का मूल्यांकन किया करें कि हमारी प्रोग्रेस क्या हुई क्या नहीं तो संभव है कि हम उससे विशेष लाभ लेकर, उससे सबक लेकर आगे बढ़ सकते हैं। इसलिये यह निवेदन है कि यदि हम प्रतिवर्ष योजना की प्रगति का मूल्यांकन करते जायें तो उससे सहायता ही मिलेगी। और अगर कहीं दल के दलदल में सरकार फंस गई तो सारे देश को दलदल में पसा देगी। इसलिये समय रहते अगर नहीं चेती तो अविश्व अंधकारमय है और इसलिये प्रार्थना है कि इस पर विचार करके योग्य कार्यवाही करने की कृपा करें।

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice Chairman, Sir, the approach embodied by the Plan has been repeatedly examined, discussed and approved by Parliament and the country. The various places where the stress has been laid have been discussed year after year. The objectives have been cleared and they have been embodied in our Constitution. The concepts in the objectives have a direction and a definite pace to fulfil the task of democracy and socialism. There is some section of the society, a significant section but very vociferous section, which controls the Press, which does not like the approach to our Plan. And they in their own way have tried to belittle the Plan as well as to sabotage it, to the details of which I will come later on.

Sir, there should not be a sense of gloom over the achievement of the Plan or its mid-term appraisal. It is a story of success, weakness, strength and some failures. Shall we ignore the strength of the nation, the strength of the country as a whole and the sections which have fulfilled the targets or shall we only be gloomy over the weaknesses? He will be a pessimist who will think that there is no future in planning. As a matter of fact, there cannot be any other way to remove poverty, to provide shelter and to give food except through a planned economy. Therefore while we think in terms of increased production of wealth, there should be greater stress also laid on the distribution of wealth. So I will take the factor of the distribution of wealth and see whether the Plan has worked successfully for benefit of the weaker sections of the society.

First of all, let me take the question as to whether there has been any impact upon the villages or the neighbouring areas, near the places where great developments have occurred. Some surveys have been made. Recently a survey was made by the National Council of Applied Economic Research in the State of Maharashtra.

The State of Maharashtra has got a higher *per capita* income, that is Rs. 315 against the national figure of Rs. 278 in 1960-61. The survey reveals the phenomenon that most of the industrial and tertiary activities are concentrated in and around Greater Bombay. In contrast Konkan, Marathwada and Vidarbha have remained backward. Agriculture continues to be the principal activity in those regions, about two-thirds of the population being dependent on it and allied activities. Therefore there is an imbalance in development between States and States and even within the States themselves. Another survey whose Report was published in the *Hindustan Times* dated 25th November 1963 shows that the socio-economic conditions of the villages around the industrialised area are stagnant. The study has revealed whether it is the village of Kamnara, three miles from the industrial town of Burdwan, or of Kodalia in the district of Hooghly, the story is the same. The socio-economic conditions of the villagers have become stagnant and there is not even a desire on the part of the people to strive for improvement. On the one hand you have an industrialised State where the *per capita* income has risen but it has made no impact on the periphery or what you call the suburbs.

SRI LOKANATH MISRA: What is wrong with the vociferous section to which you have referred?

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU: I will come to it; don't worry. You will have the reply.

Along with it certain other surveys have been done. One of the surveys the report of which has recently been published reveals that the rural community of India as a whole have saved 4.7 per cent of the national income in the year 1962. This is according to the preliminary estimate made by the National Council of Applied Economic Research. This may be a welcome step but I do not know whether the impression one gains of poverty

amongst plenty or gradual improvement of the living conditions of the rural areas is correct or whether the various statistics that are doled out by the economists are correct. It may be there is some truth in all the reports. A broad impression that has been created on the basis of Kuznet's study in the year 1950 and Lydall's study in 1955-56 and the study of the National Council of Applied Economic Research in 1960 is that no shift for the better seems to have occurred in the distribution of the income involved to the lower income group during the Plan decade. One will have to wait for the Mahalanobis Report to know if the impression in the minds of many of us that the average person in India is better fed, better clothed and that his level of living has slightly improved is correct or not. The impression that I have got is that people have been stirred by the Plan. Their wants have increased. The quantity and the quality of the cloth that they are consuming have both gone up. But on the question whether it is enough to cover their nakedness which has been the nakedness of centuries I will say that it is not sufficient. The pace has no doubt been slow but to say that there has been no progress is to deny the facts.

As far as the vociferous section is concerned, I would like to say that this is the section of the society which has received the highest patronage and this is the section that has shown the highest disregard because they have been thinking that if the truth is known to the people they will be denied and they may be condemned for what they have done. For instance, take the Press monopoly, the link-up of the Press with big industry in the country. According to some of the reports which have been published or some of the gists of the observations of the Mahalanobis Committee that have been published in a NAFEN message dated the 29th January, the Mahalanobis Committee seems to be perturbed over the way that the Press is being controlled by

[Dr. N. M. S. Siddhu.]

the Big Business. They are also worried about the interlocking of Big Business and the banks and also about foreign collaboration. As far as foreign collaboration is concerned, persons who are wedded to free enterprise not only want foreign collaboration to be done in a particular way which will increase the wealth of the top ten or twelve or twenty houses, but also if it is not going to happen, then there should not be any foreign aid given to India. In this connection there is one significant passage which I would like to quote at length from a book by a well-known economist, Prof. B. R. Shenoy, on "Indian Planning and Economic Development", Bombay, 1963. On page 53 he says :

"Statist policy measures are rendering the Indian Economy more and more vulnerable. The topsyturvy industrial structure is kept from toppling over, and the corrosive effect of inflation, extravagance, waste and corruption are being patched up, by massive foreign aid. Though the responsibility for these developments and the crash must be shared by Statist planners and financiers overseas—principally the World Bank and members of Aid India Club—who have helped to sustain Statist policies, it will be all blamed on Indian capitalist and free enterprise system by the leftist strategists who look upon the developments as a blessing in disguise. The crash will be the testing time for the Statist ambivalence between democracy and communism. One of the two ideologies must then disappear, as there is no room for both. A remedy to this situation—including prevention of the crash—is for the aid-given countries and institutions to include a basic policy shift from Statism to economic liberalism. In view of the acute dependence of the Indian economy on foreign aid as a powerful lever for bringing about this shift, merely to grant aid and sit back would be to defeat the purpose

of the aid. It would be playing into the hands of communists."

Then, he goes on further to say that the best way will be to use the foreign aid as a lever against India to reverse the policy of planning. If economists are pleading to other countries and especially to countries which are giving us aid that they must put pressure on India so that India may be able to reverse its planning, its policy of State ownership of industry, then they are playing against the interests of the country. It is no wonder that the World Bank also has been critical and the way they have been critical is supporting the theory that our Indian free enterprise businessmen do not want the aid to come without strings as it has been coming. That is why I say that big business has been playing a dual role.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): You take money from the World Bank.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Mr. Mani, you should ask him through the Chair.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Nobody would like any money to go waste through corruption and through nationalisation.

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU: As far as that is concerned, the Mahalanobis Committee Report will clearly show the houses which have accumulated wealth are either corrupt or otherwise and the persons who want to support them are supporting corrupt causes or corruption or liberalism.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: The hon. Member knows who is corrupt.

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU: As far as the appraisal is concerned Prof. V.K.R.V. Rao has, in an article, laid stress on about five or six points, the lessons which we must learn from the Plan. They are that great attention be paid to pre-investment surveys and—the hon. Minister has also refer-

red to it—the Planning Cells to be connected with each Ministry and the State, to pay greater attention to manpower planning, to see that the Plan is a continuous process, to go in more for the small, built widely dispersed and locally oriented projects of development, more integration of our whole programme of international trade with our investment and domestic development plans and the importance of public co-operation in their successful implementation.

The one disturbing feature which has been brought out clearly is the lack of detailed planning. Prof Rao says :

“The first lesson that strikes one is the need for much more careful and detailed pre-planning in respect of the projects that are included in the Plan than has been the case so far, and this applies to both the Central and the State spheres as also to the public and the private sectors. Failure to do this results in delays in implementation, in underestimation of costs, in the emergence of imbalances, and sometimes even in the abandonment of the projects in question. It is essential therefore that projects should be prepared with great care and in detail and be preceded by pre-investment surveys and feasibility studies. Each project should be accompanied by a provisional time-table, including phasing, programming and measures needed for securing the supplies, both human and material, that are needed for its implementation.”

We have laid too much emphasis on the outlays and very little emphasis on the physical targets. One of the weaknesses of the Plan has been that no responsibility can be fixed on any one single individual for failure. For instance, take the case of agriculture. There are tubewells which are dry. There are tubewells which do not run for the proper number of hours. There are no channels for them. The channels have been made in such a way that the farthest field receives

only about sixty per cent of water, but the person concerned has to pay for 100 per cent. By that I mean that by the time the water travels from the tubewell to the field, about 40 per cent is lost either through soaking or through bad construction of the channel. There have been reports that wells have been paid for, while no well was constructed. If even in States there are reports that payments have been made for a well which does not exist or payment has been made for a new well but there is only an old well, then who is responsible for it? Therefore, it is a question of administration. You should fix the responsibility squarely on a person and he has to deliver the goods. Then and then alone the targets will be completed. For instance, we think in terms of opening dispensaries, where there has been no planning to acquire land, where there has been no idea of the doctors who will be made available. Then what happens? Fancy apparatus are brought, the officers are replenished with stores and appliances, better type of furniture for the use of officers is taken, and so on—all that to show that something has been spent on the planning. And that is the difficulty. If you want to open a dispensary, you must make sure that you have the place, you have the building and at the same time you have the drugs available.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: And the doctor, and you want to put the blame on others.

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU: I am putting the blame on the vociferous element which is trying to grab about 40 per cent of the income of the country and have it monopolised, and everyone among them . . .

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: You know I am not.

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU: Then do not have any sympathy.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: You are wrong in your reasoning.

DR M M S SIDDHU My reasoning is that they are the vociferous section of the society, they are the persons who control the thing Will you deny it?

Take, for instance, tuberculosis hospitals According to the Plan there are supposed to be near about 200 of them How many have we? 43 So, if we are to establish 200 clinics in the Third Plan and if in nearly three years—or two and a half years to be exact—we have constructed and established only 43 clinics, what is the good of putting it as 200? Every one knows that the way the planning has been done, the way the details were not asked for, the way it was thought that it would happen, all are to be blamed

Take another instance We are thinking too much about family planning Regarding family planning, if the propaganda is to succeed if the people also want to have recourse to planned parenthood, they will need contraceptives Well, this is what the Plan Appraisal has to say

“While production of chemical contraceptives has been satisfactory, hardly any progress has been made in the manufacture of rubber contraceptives”

We are importing all the rubber contraceptives in our country So what will be the effect? Supposing for a moment a demand is created then shall we be able to meet the demand or will the Finance Ministry come in the way and say that foreign exchange is not available?

Take for instance, rural water-supply The States were asked to make a survey of the scarcity conditions with regard to rural water-supply They did not include it in the Plan It is the Union Government now which has got a Cell in each State to carry out the survey of the rural watersupply Therefore as far as the distribution of wealth is concerned, it is as important as the pro-

duction of wealth The fulfilment of the target on education, health, social security and other plans is more important, because that is the only way in which you can convince the people that they must bear the burden

A word about the rising prices. As far as the rising prices are concerned, everyone knows where the fault lies. About 40 per cent of the fault must be borne by the administrative machinery which allows the persons to stock and to smuggle. This cannot be done without the inefficiency of the administrative machinery How is it possible for one to stock without being known? How is it that they get so much of advances from the bank? How is it that they are able to make a huge profit and still not pay the taxes for that? How is it that the same section of people owes a large amount as sales tax? And this is the very section which does business by withholding the taxes which belong to the State because they get 9 to 10 per cent on that as well So by withholding the taxes of the Union Government as well as of the State Government they are able to make more and more money Is it called efficiency? Why should there not be a penal clause that the person who does not pay the State the taxes will have to pay interest at the rate of 18 or 20 percent? Then and then only, they will be encouraged to give the State what is the State's due

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M P BHARGAVA) You have already taken 26 minutes Please wind up

DR M M S SIDDHU Thank you Sir

SHRI A D MANI Mr Vice Chairman the Mid term Appraisal which the House has been debating today is a very depressing document which reflects the appalling weaknesses in our national economy It is an illustration of the significant failure of the Government in the economic field Perhaps in fairness I must say that it is not only the failure of the

Government but failure of all of us including every member of the population because we have not put forward our best effort to see that the Third Plan comes to a successful fruition.

Sir, the report has revealed that the annual rate of growth declined from 7.1 per cent in 1960-61 to 2.2 per cent in 1961-62 in real terms and to 2 per cent in 1962-63. It is true that even in the Soviet Union where regimentation is in force, the rate of growth during the last few years has not been appreciable. It is not only India that is suffering from this weakness but also the mighty Soviet Union. But there are also other factors which show that our economy has not been progressing as well as it should. The rate of growth of the agricultural output in 1961-62 was only 1.6 per cent as against 8.1 per cent in the previous year and 6 per cent per annum targeted for under the Plan. I may say here that though this House and the other House passed with acclamation the Defence of India Act at the time it was presented we expected that Government would exercise the powers under the Defence of India Rules for the economic consolidation of the country. It is noteworthy that on account of the desire of Governments run by the ruling party in the States to retain the autonomy of the States, the Government of India has not exercised the Defence of India Rules in favour of consolidation of agriculture, and to that extent the Government has signally failed in seeing that agricultural production reaches the target expected under the Plan.

Sir, Sardar Swaran Singh said the other day in Ernakulam that if agricultural production was to increase,

there had to be unified control at various levels. I had made the suggestion on the floor of this House and I repeat it here that State autonomy is not completely consistent with national planning, and we have now reached a stage when we must have unified control of agricultural production in the States. I do not want that the Constitution should be amended for this purpose, but it is possible for the Government of India to locate an Adviser with the Agriculture Departments of the various States, who will advise the State Governments on agricultural production and will also be an *ex-officio* member on the Planning Board of the State; in other words, we establish a link through the location of the Adviser between the Agriculture Department and the Planning Commission and thus seek to bring about uniform control over agricultural production.

Am I to continue, Sir?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Yes, there are still ten seconds more.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Now, Sir, I feel that unless some such step is taken by the Planning Commission and the Government of India and the Chief Ministers' Conference . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: You may continue tomorrow.

The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 25th February, 1964.