

in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith a copy of the Advocates (Third Amendment) Bill, 1962, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 24th August, 1962."

Sir, I lay the Bill on the Table.

#### REFERENCE TO PROPOSED PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): We would like to know where the matter stands with regard to the Committee on Public Undertakings. A statement by you is called for in the situation.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The matter is under the consideration of the Government. I understand that the motion has been taken out of the Lok Sabha list of business for the time being.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Therefore I take it that the matter is under discussion not only in the Government but also you are being consulted from time to time.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Yes, yes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Thank you.

#### MOTION RE PROGRESS OF THE THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN—continued

SHRI V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI (Nominated): Mr. Chairman, Sir. As I spoke at considerable length on the Plan in May last I propose to detain the House only for a few minutes. When moving the motion, Mr. Nanda pointed out that the achievements under our Plans should be viewed in the context of the long-term objectives which we have placed before the country. This objective, as he

explained, is doubling by 1976 the per capita national income as it stood in 1956 at 1952-53 prices, constant prices. The per capita national income in 1956 was Rs. 281 and it is expected if this programme goes through, that by 1976 it will rise to Rs. 546. This, the House will concede, is a very modest goal. When work began on the Third Five Year Plan we found that the population estimates on which the 1956 perspective was based were very conservative. On the basis of the provisional census figures the Central Statistical Organisation made revised population estimates. Under these the population in 1961 which was estimated at 408 million was re-estimated at 433 million. In 1966, 434 millions was the original estimated and 492 millions is the revised estimate. For 1971, the figures are 465 millions and 555 millions. For 1976 they are 500 millions and 625 millions. This is the order of increase in population estimates on account of the revised estimates made on the basis of the census figures. I understand that the provisional census figures are again proved to be rather conservative and ultimately the population figures are going to be rather higher than the provisional figures I have given. In other words, the population is expected to rise from 433 million in 1961 to 625 million in 1976. The objective we have placed before ourselves for 1966 has therefore to be achieved under much more unfavourable conditions than we anticipated. But the House will agree that as the original objective was a modest one, the country should make efforts in spite of all these increases to achieve it by making increased internal efforts. The objective of all our Plans is to build up a highly developed economic structure with balanced development in the different sectors of the economy which would be capable of self-sustained growth in a short period. In 1956, as the House knows we said we proposed to initiate the process which was called 'take-off'. We have not ceased to use that word: we stand by it. How long this

[Shri V. T. Krishnamachari.]

process of take-off will last depends on our internal efforts and the availability of foreign assistance. Our estimate is that by 1976 with the doubling of the *per capita* income, the economy may become capable of growing on its own strength. It is obvious that a Plan of this magnitude has to be revised from time to time not only when the annual Plans come up but at all times. As conditions change the Plans have to be changed. This applies specially to the industries part of the Plan because large industrial projects take a long time to mature and they lean very heavily on foreign assistance. Our industrial Plans have therefore got to be revised from time to time according to the availability of foreign exchange and the progress made. In allocating foreign exchange there should be priorities not only for the public sector industries but also for the private sector industries and the foreign exchange which is available should be allocated strictly according to these priorities. This is the only way in which an industries plan of this magnitude can be carried out. I want to emphasise another point. I think I made this point when I spoke last. Whether there is planning or not, Government has to control foreign exchange allocations. The internal and the external value of the rupee cannot be separated. The only course, therefore, as I said, is for the industries plan to be settled from time to time on the basis of priorities. At all times, power and transport have the highest priority because without them the industrial plan cannot be carried out.

Hon. Members spoke a great deal about the rural sector. I myself made lengthy remarks on it when I spoke on the last occasion. Our aim is the adoption of scientific agriculture in the widest sense by all families in the countryside within the shortest possible time. In other words, the results of research should be carried to the fields within as short a time as possi-

ble. This is sought to be achieved by the community development movement, what we call the extension service. I want the House to realise for how short a time our extension service has been working in this country. In the United States the extension service has been working for over fifty years. There are only six million families in the United States cultivating about 700 million acres. In India we have seventy million families cultivating about 350 million acres. There is no country in the world which has established or which has attempted to establish extension services reaching such large numbers of families. After all, when did our extension service begin? It began somewhere about 1953 and in the First Five Year Plan it covered only a small area. At the present moment about 40 per cent. of the country may be said to be covered by extension services, which have been in existence for two years. In giving this figure of 40 per cent., I am omitting areas to which the movement was extended during the last two years, because it takes about two years for an extension service to get to working. In spite of the small coverage of the extension service, in spite of the fact that our extension services have been working for a short time only, we have achieved quite satisfactory results in the shape of production. I hope the House will appreciate the large increase that has taken place in these ten years in agricultural production, in spite of the fact that only a small portion of the country has been covered by extension services.

Doubts have been expressed whether these improvements have reached the smaller agriculturist. I am quite certain that in the last ten years more and more agriculturists, medium and small agriculturists, have adopted scientific methods. Now, the proof of this is to be found, to a certain extent, in the number of families that have come into the rural agricultural primary societies. I am not including other societies. I gave figures relat-

ing to this some time ago and I should like to repeat those figures again. In 1951, all the societies in the country—I am talking of rural agricultural societies—had only 4.4 million members. In 1961, there are 17 million members. In 1951, short and medium-term credit extended to agriculturists through the co-operative movement came to about Rs. 22.9 crores. In 1961, it is about Rs. 200 crores. I look forward, in the next ten years, to these societies having 80 to 90 million members and the movement giving credit of about Rs. 900 to Rs. 1,000 crores. This sort of development will become possible now because Panchayat Raj will cover the entire country by 1963.

Mention was made of a committee appointed to find out how far all sections of the community have gained from our Plans. The report of that committee has not yet been received and I am informed that the newspaper reports of conclusions reached by the Committee are not quite correct. Not even provisional conclusions have been formulated by that committee. That is what I understand.

The community development movement is now entering on a new phase with the establishment of Panchayat Raj all over the country. The primary function of Panchayat Raj is to see that village, block and district development plans are prepared. These development plans will cover not only agricultural production, but also amenities. The aim is that every village should have a minimum scale of amenities within the shortest period. These panchayat institutions are to prepare plans from the village upwards—village, block, district—out of which the State Plan will have to be constructed. On the 17th August, I submitted to the Planning Commission a report on Studies in Administration which I undertook on behalf of the Planning Commission, the Home Ministry and the Community Development Ministry. This report deals with two questions which have

an intimate bearing on the problems of rural development we are discussing.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

The first part of the report relates to the recruitment and training of officers of the Indian Administrative Service and the State Civil Services—what should be the rate of recruitment in the next five years to these Services, and also what improvements should be effected in the systems of training followed for these officers. That is the first subject dealt with in the report. The second subject is how the Panchayati Raj institutions should work in order to achieve the primary objective of bringing about all round improvement in our rural economy. I understand the report is being printed and will be circulated quite soon. The main point which I made in the second part of the report is that on account of the Panchayati Raj institutions covering the entire country by 1963 there should be village production plans which would benefit within the next three to five years all families in a village. That is the test which should be applied to the production plans and works programmes prepared for each village, block and district.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY (Mysore): For that purpose is it not necessary that individual family production plans should be prepared instead of village production plans?

SHRI V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI: The village production plans being prepared, the Panchayat and the co-operative will be responsible for seeing that family production plans are prepared by the co-operative. I take the view that every family in a village should be represented on a co-operative in its own right and that the co-operative should see that every family is covered by a village production plan.

[Shri V. T. Krishnamachari.]

Yesterday, in the course of the debate reference was made to the increase in jute production, and it was suggested that the increase was due to large-scale diversion of land from paddy to jute. I find that the yield per acre of jute was 899 pounds in 1956-57 and it has risen to 1100 pounds in 1961-62. The production is largely due to increased yield per acre.

Mr. Nanda spoke about price policy—the need for holding the price line in regard to essential commodities and in regard to commodities that enter into the cost of production of agriculture and into the consumption of agriculturists. This of course is essential if our Plans have to be carried out. But I must point out that whether there is planning or not, no Government can allow prices to rise to the detriment of the vulnerable sections of the community. So, this kind of control should not be associated with planning; whether there is planning or not, the controls needed for keeping down prices must be brought into existence.

I do not think I need detain the House any longer. I submit to the House that there can be no doubt that the economy has been considerably strengthened in the last eleven years and that with increased efforts in the directions indicated by the Planning Minister we should be able to achieve the objectives we have placed before ourselves. What we need is public support in the largest measure possible.

SHRI SUDHIR GHOSH (West Bengal): Madam, I wish to make a few brief remarks on the problem of resources for the Plan, and the substance of my remarks is to give a friendly warning to my esteemed friend, the Planning Minister, that our actual requirement of external assistance during the Third Plan period is going to be appreciably more than what he thinks it is going to be. I consider it important and wise that

we talk about it at this stage of the Third Plan, in the second year of the Plan, instead of talking about it two or three years hence, in the fourth or fifth year of the Plan.

Madam, it is very important, as the hon. Minister himself said yesterday in the morning that we must not make some of the mistakes which we made in the Second Plan period. We are just now hearing rather bitter complaints all over the country about power shortage, about fuel shortage, about transport shortage and various other shortages. It is fairly easy for us to see how these shortages have taken place. They have occurred because we did not make enough advance preparation during the Second Plan for the Third Plan. We did not initiate enough schemes in the Second Plan so that there might not be any hiatus between the Second Plan and the Third Plan. If there were enough schemes ready in the pipeline, so to speak, some of them would have materialised by the first year or the second year of the Third Plan, and thus perhaps we could have avoided some of these embarrassing shortages of power transport and fuel. But there were, of course, perfectly good reasons why we could not initiate these projects. We could not make commitments about these projects because of the shortage of foreign exchange towards the end of the Second Plan.

Planning is a continuous process. We cannot prepare the Third Plan and the Fourth Plan in two entirely separate compartments. We must make advance preparations of projects for the Fourth Plan before the end of the Third Plan. This means that during the Third Plan period we shall need more commitment of resources, if not actual disbursement. The Planning Minister says that the estimated disbursement of foreign exchange during the Third Plan period is Rs. 2600 crores, and to that he has added Rs. 400 crores as a spillover from the Second Plan to the Third

Plan. There I have a slight disagreement with my hon. friend. In the first place, the spillover from the Third Plan to the Fourth Plan is going to be larger than Rs. 400 crores. If the spillover from the Second Plan to the Third Plan was Rs. 400 crores, the spillover from the Third Plan to the Fourth Plan will be larger than that for the simple reason that the Third Plan is very much larger in size than the Second Plan. In the second place, if we are to avoid inadequate preparation for the Fourth Plan and thus avoid some of these embarrassing shortages that have taken place in the country of transport, power and fuel, it will be necessary for us to make additional commitments of foreign exchange. My guess is that the additional commitment that will have to be made will be to the tune of Rs. 400 crores to Rs. 500 crores more. In other words, we shall have to request the World Bank consortium to give us a commitment of approximately 1000 million dollars over and above the 5.2 billion dollars which is our present estimate. And, as I said, it is much better and wiser that we talk about this in the second year of the Plan instead of talking about it in the fourth or the fifth year of the Third Plan.

Madam Deputy Chairman, another point that I wish to raise is our requirements of foreign exchange for non-project needs. As the country develops more and more and we get more and more industrialised, non-project need, that is components and spare parts, increases and the need for whole projects decreases. India is not just an undeveloped country which is starting from scratch. We have reached the half-way house, so to speak, in our industrialisation of the country. When you begin from scratch, it is all right if external assistance is given only for projects. But the difficulty is that all the aid-giving countries like their names to be associated with spectacular big projects. For instance, the Bhilai

Steel Plant is associated with Russia, Rourkela with Germany and Durgapur with Britain. Well, their desire for credit or kudos is perfectly legitimate and we do not grudge it. But if you ask a country to provide twenty or thirty crores of foreign exchange for the purpose of acquiring components and spare parts for the rolling mills of these steel plants, for instance, you will find a certain amount of lack of enthusiasm.

What we need in this country at this stage is the sort of assistance that was given under the Marshall Plan to the countries of Europe. Of the 14,000 or 15,000 million dollars which, in a feat of extraordinary generosity, the United States of America made available to the countries of Europe after their devastation in the war, more than half was in the shape of components and the lesser half was in the shape of projects. Well, now we are in a somewhat similar situation although we were not devastated by the war. We are a partially industrialised country. Now, while we are grateful to the World Bank and to the members of the Bank Consortium for the generous assistance that they have so far given us and the continuing interest that they have shown in our Plans and programmes, I think the time has come when we have to impress upon the aid-giving countries the nature of the change that has taken place in our requirements because of the progress that we have already made in our industries.

Now, Madam, some people in this country seem to think that we should be ashamed of ourselves because we need more and more of external assistance. Hon. Members may have noticed that even the richest country in the world, the United States of America, has invited external assistance from an Asian country like Japan, which may sound very curious. They may have seen the newspaper report recently that the United States

[Shri Sudhir Ghosh.]

has invited Japanese capital and Japanese technical know-how for investment in some of the depressed areas of the richest country of the world, like West Virginia and so on, because American capital is rather choosy and it is somewhat difficult to persuade American capital to go to the less attractive areas for investment. Well, if there is nothing derogatory in the United States of America taking assistance from a country like Japan, I do not see why we should be ashamed of ourselves because we are taking assistance from more industrially advanced countries of the world. In fact, it is to our credit that we need more external assistance. The fact that we shall require more shows that we have developed the capacity to use more resources. The main consideration of the World Bank or the members of the Bank Consortium is not the size of our requirements; they are far more interested in our capacity to make good use of the resources and there we have given them proof of our capacity to make good use of the resources that they have so far made available to us and of our capacity to make better use of the resources at a faster rate in the future. As regards the size of requirements, only a short time ago, the Bank Consortium very willingly raised to one thousand million dollars the requirement of Pakistan for the second and third years of their Plan from a much smaller figure; and the population of Pakistan is, in fact, about one-fourth of the population of India.

In an underdeveloped community such as ours, it is possible to calculate the rate of savings that can take place and the rate of investment that is necessary for us to make in order to reach, within a reasonable period of years, a state of self-sustaining economy. And to fill in the gap between the rate of savings and the rate of investment, there are only

two known ways. One is the Communist way of forced savings which is not feasible in our circumstances and the other is to arrange for the transfer of capital from those areas of the world which have a surplus of capital to those areas where capital is needed but on terms which the receiving country can afford and which do not in any way infringe its sovereignty or its freedom of action in international politics. Now, no aid-giving country has ever attempted directly or indirectly, to infringe our sovereignty or to influence our decisions or actions in international politics on the strength of the economic assistance that they have given us. And external assistance does not mean taking other peoples' charity. There is no question of this country building up its economy on the basis of free gifts given by the more prosperous countries. As hon. Members must have noticed, even during the Third Five Year Plan period we are repaying to other countries of the world as much as Rs. 500 crores or one thousand million dollars of debt which is going to mature during this Third Five Year Plan period.

Now, Madam, Deputy Chairman, I would add, if I may, just one more word and that is about the much-talked of take-off stage in our economy. It has been said many times and at many different levels that in another eight or ten years' time, that is by the end of the Fourth Plan period, we shall reach the stage of self-sustaining economy and that we shall not require any further foreign assistance. I am afraid I do not agree with this view. I think it is unrealistic, and I would advise the Government and its representatives abroad not to repeat this statement again and again. If a country of the size of India with its 430 million people and taking into consideration the rate at which the population is increasing, can reach the stage of self-sustaining economy after thirty years of hard work, that is by the end of the Fifth or the Sixth Plan period. I

am sure the whole world will look upon it as a very creditable performance. Therefore, I suggest that we should not be in too great a hurry to declare that we shall not need external assistance after the Fourth Plan period.

As I sit down, Madam Deputy Chairman, may I very humbly make one very brief submission to this House? And that is that if we want friendliness and friendly assistance of other countries of the world in our great endeavour to build up a better life for our people, it is, I think, necessary for us also to develop an international outlook. Of course, we must be firm where questions of national policy, domestic or foreign, are concerned. But, Madam, damage to good relations between two countries or between different countries is often done not due to differences over important matters of policy, but over words or phrases or the spirit in which words are spoken. If, for instance, the people and the press of the United States of America kick up a row over the proposed purchase of some M.I.G. supersonic jets by this country from Russia, of course, it is only right that we should firmly reject any such uproar. If we can buy a million-ton steel plant from Russia without buying their Communism, we are mature enough to know how to buy some aircraft or enter into collaboration with them for the manufacture of aeroplanes or aeroplane engines without buying Communism from them. But it is wholly unnecessary for anyone of us in this country to attribute motives, for instance, when the members of the World Bank Consortium postponed their meeting from the month of May to the month of July, because the Americans went to the meeting with their money but the others wanted a little more time to get together their part of the money, it is not really necessary or dignified, it is not worthy of the citizens of a great country like ours, to say on such an

occasion that they did so because they wanted to bring us down to our knees . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): The American papers wrote like that before the 'Aid-India Club' meeting . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): Nobody on this side said it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: . . . and said that the money should not and would not be given.

SHRI SUDHIR GHOSH: I am not expecting any self-restraint from the hon. Member or from people of his political persuasion, I am talking about people of . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: On the Congress side there was somebody who would be pleading for the Americans over this matter. I never knew Congress has become so broad to embrace such people.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Sudhir Ghosh, your time is over. Please wind up.

SHRI SUDHIR GHOSH: It is because of the interruption by my hon. friend.

Now, all that I was trying to say is that on such occasions it is not worthy of citizens of a great country to show lack of patience or lack of forbearance. All that I plead is that on such occasions we who claim to be a mature people should show more patience and more forbearance.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House will sit through the lunch hour and the Minister will reply at 4.30. Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It seems everything is settled according to the Ministers. Generally, in such debates, Madam Deputy Chairman, we have a

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

two days' debate we have full two days, and then, the next morning, the Minister replies. Now, I am told that the Minister has got some appointment and so his reply has been fixed for 4.30, not even 5. Now, if that is so, just tell us . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, you are mistaken. The time has been allotted in consultation with the Chairman. Even so we are sitting through the lunch hour. Yesterday, also we cut down the lunch time by half an hour. Therefore, the time has been extended, and therefore there is no grievance on the score of time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Let me tell you what the grievance is.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Lunch hour we can sit through, but the grievance is this. When you fix two days' time for such a debate, generally it is understood that the lunch hour is cut or altogether given up. And secondly, when two days are given for the debate, only the first speech is made by the Minister. Very often we have been told by the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs—he is not now here—that in calculating this time they do not take into account the reply or the Ministers' speeches. Now if you say that it should be like that, you have it that way, but tell us before hand. Now, it is half past four; that means you have cut out the time of the House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What about the time of the House you are taking now? Let us begin.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not know if the House does not want the debate. It is all very well. Let us begin, but I do not like that thing. Why must we be dragged by the tail

of the Minister all the time? Cannot we assert ourselves?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are going according to plan. Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena.

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA (Nominated): Madam Deputy Chairman . . . . .

THE MINISTER OF PLANNING AND LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT (SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA): May I speak a word at this stage? It is this, I believe that the time is being adjusted according to whatever the allotment was, and given that allotment, some time at least the Minister is to have. I do not think anything is being done for the sake of the Minister.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am not blaming you; I say you should have your time, but you can reply tomorrow. That is all that I am saying. Or you can reply later in the day, not at 4.30, so that the hon. Members will get a little more time and we would like to have your comprehensive reply after that.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have explained the whole position. We will see how the debate progresses and then in consultation with the Minister . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But it irritates us to hear that the hon. Minister has to attend a Cabinet meeting and therefore the debate should be cut. I have been told that way.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have had your say Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I have been told that the Minister has to go to a Cabinet meeting and so the debate is to be cut.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I do not think, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, this is the proper way you conduct yourself. We have listened to your point and I have answered you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How you say that? I have been told like that. Were you told, Madam Deputy Chairman, that the time has to be cut because of a Cabinet meeting which the Minister has to attend?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. I have not been told that the Minister has got any other appointment, but according to the schedule the Minister is to reply at 4-30. We will see; if there are speakers, the time could be extended with his permission and we may go on till tomorrow.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA: Madam Deputy Chairman, with your permission I shall speak from this seat, because I can keep my papers here. Yesterday, the Planning Minister opened his speech by giving an extract from the Prime Minister's speech in this House last year, that the Plan had been going on notwithstanding the difficulties that had been encountered and that it would go on notwithstanding the shortfalls and failures. Now, the question is not whether the Plan will go on or goes on. The question which we have to answer is whether the Plan has been able to achieve the objectives for which it was drawn up. The question is: Have we been able to fulfil the self-assigned tasks that we had undertaken? The Plan is only a means to an end, the end being the well-being of the whole country. The Plan aims at the moral and material advancement of the people of the country. Have we been able to make an advance in those directions and, if so, to what extent? It will not do to say that we have got difficulties, that there are uncertainties and all that and that still we have to go on. It is not a question of one year's review. The question is whether we are on the right road, whether we are likely to achieve the objectives which we have set before ourselves.

With your permission I would like to read a few extracts from a letter I had written to the Prime Minister on 25th October, 1961. It was after his speech last year:

"While you feel thrilled at the performance of the two Plans and often refer to the rhythm which planned economy has generated, with due deference, I am unable to share these feelings notwithstanding my great faith in planning and co-operatives. To me the unemployed person in the village and the town, who is prepared to do even manual labour but cannot be provided with any work, remains the biggest challenge to the planners, politicians and administrators and to every one of us."

Not only that, Madam. I had also written:

"Such persons number nearly one crore and their number is going up by millions every year"

I had further written:

"The tightening of the belt, due to the two-fold pressure of soaring cost of living and increasing taxes is proving too much for the poor people and even the middle classes. Their groans are more audible to me than the rhythm I cannot forget what I had overheard, two cyclists talking on the morrow of Morarji Bhai's first Budget, and I had told you two days later."

"अंग्रेज तो खून चूसते थे ये तो हड्डी तक पड़च गये हैं।"

I cannot forget these words I overheard. Since 1958 the prices have gone up and even the taxes have gone up. This is what I had written to him.

Not only that. In regard to foreign aid also, about which Shri

[Shri Mohan Lal Saksena.]

Sudhir Ghosh had just now spoken, I cannot share his feelings. I had written to the Prime Minister:

"Nor am I able to appreciate the feelings of elation at the prospect of getting foreign aid on a very large scale.

" . . . It is neither politically prudent nor economically wise for any country to lean so heavily on foreign aid and to invite foreign investments on such a large scale, for it should be remembered that foreign trade has often been the forerunner of foreign domination in this and other countries. Nor is it safe to make the implementation of the national plans dependent on the whims and caprices of foreign powers arrayed against one another. I had hoped that the joining of the E.C.M. by the U.K. notwithstanding our entreaties and protests and the caustic and sarcastic comments in the U.S.A. press after the Belgrade Conference would serve as an eye-opener and induce second thoughts on the question of foreign aid."

SHRI SUDHIR GHOSH: What is the hon. Member reading from?

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA: I am reading from a letter which I had written to the Prime Minister on the 25th October.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Which October?

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA: Last year immediately after my speech to which the Planning Minister has referred.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please continue. You can give a gist of the letter.

SOME Hon. MEMBERS: It may be laid on the Table.

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA: Yes, it can be laid on the Table of the House. Madam Deputy Chairman, I wanted to point out that we

have to face facts and we have to take into consideration the present situation. Supposing all the uncertainties, to which Nandaji had referred, were not there, supposing all the objectives of the Third Five Year Plan were fulfilled, will we be nearer our social objectives? What are these objectives of the Plan? The first is that there will be a socialist pattern of society. There has been too much talk about it, we have harped too long on socialism and still people do not know what is what, and the Planning Minister had to devise another way of having a new body of Planning, the Socialist Forum or something like that so that the Plan might be able to achieve all its socialist objectives. Therefore, Madam Deputy Chairman, all along my suggestion has been that you must have a term which the people can understand because, after all, however well-balanced, however sound the Plan may be, it will not succeed unless you enthuse the people, unless you secure their active participation. It is not a totalitarian country where Plans can be worked and imposed from above. We are a democratic set-up. The success of the Plans will depend upon the goodwill and co-operation of the people.

Madam, the Planning Commission has referred to natural uncertainties and uncertainty about people's co-operation. But will the people co-operate? What has been our experience during the last twelve years of planning? They have not been enthused, they have not co-operated and we go on dangling the proverbial carrot before the horse, "You will get butter and jam day after tomorrow". But what about giving them dry bread today? Are they getting it?

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE (Bihar): Are the people starving?

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA: Yes.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: You are wrong.

**SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA:** I would be glad if I am wrong. Let the hon. friend go to the villages and see things for himself. A person, who is unemployed, who is prepared to do manual labour and is not provided with work. Certainly, he is starving. If he has to live on begging or to live on the earnings of others, well, it is as good as starving. I may remind my hon. friend of what Mahatma Gandhi had said. He said that so long as there was one person without work and without food, we should not rest.

**SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE:** Why are the people producing so many children?

**SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA:** Madam Deputy Chairman, if they are producing children, you have to provide in your Plans for them too. You should have a place for them in your Plan. After all, they are coming into this world with two hands to work and only one stomach. You should be able to give them employment. The number of unemployed is going up, it is increasing. You have not been able to provide facilities for these persons, not only to the new population but even to the old population. So we must face facts. It is no use running away from these realities.

The Planning Minister said that there was uncertainty about nature. If there are natural phenomena, we must know what they are; we must not go against them. Now, we find that the fury and frequency of floods are on the increase. Why? Several times I have submitted before the Planning Commission that our rivers are getting silted up. Their banks are getting eroded. Then, the construction of dams, I understand, is also, to some extent, responsible for the frequency of floods. I have got facts and figures before me to show that India has got large quantities of subsoil water, and if you do not use the underground subsoil water for irriga-

tion purposes, the level of subsoil water is bound to go up and the seeping capacity of the land will decrease. Therefore, whatever rains we get, the water overflows. Then, there is the problem of de-forestation. I will not refer to what I said in my last speech but I will refer to what Prof. Rene Dumont has said in an article written in the 'New Statesman' of London. Prof. Dumont was a member of the United Nations Organisation for evaluating the community development schemes in India. He says that it is not natural difficulties but it is the human factors which come in our way. I will quote:

"The variations in the monsoons are notorious. India's soils are exhausted by inefficient farming but a little humus and nitrogen can make them very productive so long as there is enough water. Indeed much of India is well supplied with moisture, bringing prospects good and with a permanent supply of water two or three harvests are feasible—an impossibility in north and central China which suffers from winter frosts. The chief obstacles, in fact, are not natural but human.....Manual labour is considered degrading. It is more respectable to do nothing at all than to supervise let alone toil."

In the concluding paragraph Prof. Dumont has written:

"She (India) relies too much on external aid which cannot replace internal efforts."

Gandhiji also, a few months before his tragic end, had warned us. He wrote:

"The first lesson we must learn is of self-help and self-reliance. If we assimilate this lesson we shall at once free ourselves from disastrous dependence upon foreign countries and ultimate bankruptcy. This is not said in arrogance; but as a matter of fact. We are not a small place, dependent for its food supply upon outside help. We are a

[Shri Mohan Lal Saksena.]

sub-continent, a nation of nearly 400 millions. We are a country of mighty rivers and a rich variety of agricultural land, with inexhaustible cattle wealth. That our cattle give much less milk than we need, is entirely our own fault. Our cattle wealth is any day capable of giving us all the milk we need. Our country, if it had not been neglected during the past few centuries, should today not only be providing herself with sufficient food but also be playing a useful role in supplying foodstuffs." etc

1 P.M.

Madam, my submission is this. We have gone contrary to the advice or warning given by the Father of the Nation. You know in the Planning Commission, in every room and in every hall, you have got the picture of Mahatma Gandhi but they are more for the purpose of decoration than inspiration.

AN HON. MEMBER: It applies to you also.

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA: Of course, it applies to me. I take full responsibility for what is happening there. I may be there or I may not be there. If there had been even 10 disciples like Vinoba Bhave, things would have been quite different. Every one of us has betrayed him. As I have written in a note under the caption 'A Call from Rajghat', if even such of us who profess to have faith in Gandhian ideas and ideals, could work for their realisation in our day to day life and our neighbourhood, things would have been different. Oppressed by untoward developments in Gandhiji's life time, somebody had asked him whether he was buried alive and the reply was: 'No, I am not buried alive. I have still full faith in my views, I will continue to swear by them—not only that—'Even from the grave I will continue to speak'. Dazzled by the glamour of the West, we may just set our heart after the

golden fleece against which he had warned us. I have got the quotation also in which he said that for India to run after the golden fleece will be certain death. 'To India I can recommend only what a Western philosopher has said: "Plain living and high thinking".' What has become of that? We are thinking of pomp and show. In Delhi itself you see that Delhi has grown. The skyline has gone up but the depth of degradation has also increased. The number of slums has grown up. Notwithstanding the two Plans and the two years of the Third Plan, how do you propose to solve the housing problem? Your land policy is capitalistic and your rent policy is socialistic. You can never solve it. Your approach is wholly statistical. You require for building a rural house Rs. 2,500 and, therefore, there are so many houses to be built and you multiply it and say in fifty years' time so many will be built. That is the note I was given and I was asked to comment on it. I said: "What is it, what is going to happen in 50 years we do not know". Suppose we had all that money, how shall we be able to build all those houses? Do not we require timber, do not we require other materials? Therefore, those trees have to be planted but we are going on in spite of all these. As the Prime Minister said, the Plan goes on, but the Plan goes on with what result? That is the whole question. Therefore, I do not want to take up much more time.

I have a feeling that the time has come when we have to face facts. Recently, the Chairman—he is not here—the Vice-President of India, had written a letter to the Chairman of the Basic Education Board. \* \* \* They have got a place in these. I think the time has come when we have to speak out our minds. We have to face facts. We have to take a long-range view of things. We know that one cannot go on dangling the proverbial carrot before the horse for all time to come. There is a limit

\*\*\* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

to it, unless the horse collapses or revolts. Even about the villages. Mahatma Gandhi had told us that when we are out for planning, it is the villages which must get priority.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** I think you have referred to the Vice-President's letter. You made some comments on it. I was talking to another Member. I think that will have to go out. That will have to be expunged. I do not know what comments you have made.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** He made no bad comments.

**SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA:** It might be expunged.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Your time-limit is over, Mr. Saksena.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** There are rules about expunctions. He referred to a letter. We heard him. He did not say anything derogatory.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** I shall look into that.

**SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA:** I said that the time had come when we have to speak frankly and face facts and say how things are going on. I know sincere words are not fine and fine words are seldom sincere. So people indulge in fine words. There are so many people to laud and applaud the Ministers, but there are a few people who are prepared to differ and tell what is what. So . . .

**SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE:** You never told like that as Minister . . .

**SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA:** I did say that . . .

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Do not take the interruptions please . . .

**SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA:** I have got all the facts and figures. I would like to refer to another fact

**SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA** (Andhra Pradesh): I want to know whether that letter was written when he was the Vice-President or before that.

**SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA:** I do not know. It came out in the papers. It was read.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Which year?

**SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA:** If he wrote in his capacity as a private individual . . .

(Interruptions)

**SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA:** Recently, there was a meeting of the Board of Basic Education. The Chairman of the Basic Education Board, the Education Minister, referred to the letter written by the Vice-President. So it has come in the papers. I do not know when it was written. Whatever the date, whenever it might have been written—even before that—I think he has done a duty which he should have done instead of being a party to it. He was invited to that meeting perhaps. I do not know what are the circumstances. Anyway, my feeling is just now this. I may say that there was a meeting of the Bharat Sewak Samaj on the 12th of this month. The Prime Minister spoke there. He said that we have to develop a spirit of self-reliance and mutual co-operation. He had also pointed out if everybody in the country produced goods worth an anna every day, it will be possible for us to meet the entire expenditure of the Third Plan. But then, what exactly are we doing in that direction? Why are we not producing sufficiently? For that I have pleaded with the Planning Commission, with the Ministers and others that they must issue a guide to the public to show in what way they can co-operate. You only appeal for funds. You say they must contribute and subscribe to the funds. But how many of the Ministers are subscribing to these funds? Are they not investing in private concerns? Such

[Shri Mohan Lal Saksena.]

appeals will be effective only in times of a national crisis, like a war, for instance. But for national development or economic development or for earning higher rates of interest, they would not make an appeal. You must have schemes so designed that they would benefit the people themselves. For instance, I suggest that you should issue housing bonds. *(Time bell rings)* Is my time up?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your time was up long ago.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: But he was interrupted.

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA: I can go on for hours. I have got the facts. But I will conclude any time you want me to conclude. Now, I will conclude by just referring to a letter I had written to Dr. Rajendra Prasad. I had circulated it before publishing it, to a few friends, like Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Shri Vinoba Bhave and others and I will only read an extract from the letter that Dr. Rajendra Prasad wrote to me in reply.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You need not read it. You may just give the summary of it or the gist of it. That will save the time of the House.

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA: He has written:

"I have read it with great care".

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I would like you to wind up now, in any case in one minute's time. You have taken too much time.

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA: Yes.

"There is much in it with which I agree entirely. The only question is how to set about getting things done. I think people of this way of thinking should find occasions to meet together and to evolve some practical programme. There is no

doubt that there is much in the present state of affairs which causes us anxiety."

I think I will stop here. Madam Deputy Chairman, my suggestion is that instead of having more and more taxes and foreign aid, it would be better if we could effect economy for which there is much scope. We are spending a crore of rupees on entertainments. The Central Government is spending a crore of rupees. And one Chief Minister went about asking peasants in the villages who had only one bread and who wanted two, to give at least one-tenth of what they had for national development. There was another Chief Minister who made an appeal to the housewives saying: You control the kitchen. You should economise so that the earning members may be able to invest. I would like to know how much economy the Government have effected. I am sure if the Government were so minded, they could effect economies to the tune of Rs. 50 crores every year. I do not want the people to be thrown on the road. We have got the projects for employing them. By the savings that we are able to effect, we can finance those projects.

Now, I will conclude with this appeal and just one more suggestion. So as to avoid uncertainty, the Plan may be divided into two parts. One part will be the Industrial Plan and the other will be the Basic Plan. The Basic Plan should cater to the needs of the people, and will depend for its implementation on indigenous resources, on self-reliance and on mutual co-operation. In that case there will be no uncertainty. The responsibility for the implementation of the Plan should be placed on the people themselves and if they are not able to implement it, they will have nobody but themselves to blame, as is being done now. The Central Government blames the Planning Commission, the State Government blames the Central Government and vice versa. So we must give the people this Plan

and say: Here is a Plan which you have to execute yourself. The Government will give you so much aid. The people will be told that they are not able to control the population. Why are they producing so many children? You have spent a crore of rupees on family planning, but with what result?

(Time bell rings)

Therefore, my suggestion is that we must have a separate Plan by which we will be able to provide the basic needs of the people like housing, food, shelter and even drinking water.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do, Mr. Saxena. Thank you.

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA: Thank you.

श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
महोदया, . . .

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: In English please. Otherwise I can't understand.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can understand Hindi also.

श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी : नियोजन मंत्री के भाषण से यह स्पष्ट नहीं होता कि तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के पहले वर्ष में जो कठिनाइयाँ उत्पन्न हो गई हैं उनके लिए कौन उत्तरदायी है। जो कठिनाइयाँ पैदा हुई हैं उनके कारण कृषि और उद्योग के क्षेत्रों में हम ने उत्पादन के जो लक्ष्य रखे थे वे खटाई में पड़ गये। केवल इतना ही कहना काफी नहीं है कि आगे आने वाले वर्षों में हम अधिक प्रयत्न करके उन लक्ष्यों को पूरा करने की कोशिश करेंगे। यह भी बताना चाहिये कि इस वर्ष में कृषि और उद्योग के क्षेत्रों में बिजली के, कोयले के, सीमेंट के और फर्टिलाइजर्स के हम ने जो उत्पादन के लक्ष्य रखे थे उनको क्यों नहीं पूरा किया जा सका। अगर आप आंकड़े देखें तो इन क्षेत्रों में उत्पादन

अपेक्षा से बहुत कम हुआ है। १९६०-६१ हम ने ६२ लाख टन कपास का उत्पादन किया था, लेकिन १९६१-६२ में वह ४६ लाख टन रह गया। फर्टिलाइजर्स के बारे में तो स्थिति और भी चिन्ताजनक है। यह भी समझ में नहीं आता कि जो हमारी इंस्टाल्ड कैपेसिटी है उतना भी उत्पादन हम क्यों नहीं कर पाते और उस क्षमता का पूरा उपयोग क्यों नहीं किया जाता। १९६१-६२ में हमारा लक्ष्य था कि हम ४ लाख टन फर्टिलाइजर्स पैदा करेंगे, लेकिन हम केवल २ लाख ९६ हजार टन फर्टिलाइजर्स पैदा कर सके। सन् १९६२-६३ के लिए हम ने ५ लाख २५ हजार टन लक्ष्य रखा था और अब उसे हम घटा रहे हैं और ४ लाख ४ हजार टन का लक्ष्य हम रखना चाहते हैं। अगर हम एग्जिस्टिंग प्रोडक्शन कैपेसिटी देखें तो वह २ लाख ४८ हजार टन है और हम १०.४ लाख टन कैपेसिटी फर्टिलाइजर्स के प्रोडक्शन की बढ़ाना चाहते हैं। इसके बाद भी जितना रसायनिक खाद हमें चाहिये, वह हम क्यों नहीं पैदा कर पा रहे हैं, इसका नियोजन मंत्री ने कोई स्पष्ट उत्तर नहीं दिया है। हमें नया फर्टिलाइजर प्लांट लगाना था। वह भी हम नहीं लगा सके। उसके लिए जितना फारेन एक्सचेंज आवश्यक है वह भी हमें प्राप्त है। लेकिन फर्टिलाइजर्स के उत्पादन के लक्ष्य में हम पिछड़ गये हैं और जब कभी कृषि उत्पादन क्यों नहीं बढ़ा यह सवाल किया जाता है तो खाद्य मंत्री फर्टिलाइजर्स हमें उपलब्ध नहीं हैं इसकी ओर संकेत कर देते हैं और फर्टिलाइजर्स उपलब्ध क्यों नहीं हैं इसका अभी तक कोई स्पष्ट जवाब नहीं दिया गया है।

जहां तक सीमेंट का सवाल है, ९० लाख टन की हमारी मांग है और हम ८० लाख टन सीमेंट पैदा करके दे रहे हैं जब कि हमारी कैपेसिटी ९१.६ लाख टन की है। सीमेंट का भी हम पूरी क्षमता के अनुसार उत्पादन नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। सन् १९६२-६३ में सीमेंट की मांग और बढ़ेगी, लेकिन हम उसे

[श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी]

पूरा कर पायेंगे इसके कोई लक्षण दिखाई नहीं देते ।

सब से बड़ी विफलता तो स्टील के क्षेत्र में हुई है । स्टील के हमारे कारखाने हमारी औद्योगिक प्रगति के चमकते हुए प्रतीक थे । लेकिन आज यदि औद्योगिक उत्पादन में सब से बड़ी बाधा आ रही है तो हमारे स्टील प्लांट्स के अच्छी तरह से काम न करने के कारण आ रही है । इस वर्ष ३५७ मिलियन टन का हम ने लक्ष्य रखा था और हम अभी ३ मिलियन टन पैदा कर सके हैं ।

कोयले के बारे में भी हमारे लक्ष्य पूरे नहीं हुए । हम ने ६० मिलियन टन लक्ष्य रखा था, लेकिन सन् १९६१-६२ में केवल ५४.३५ मिलियन टन हम कोयला पैदा कर पाये । कोयले के बारे में एक बात ध्यान में रखने की यह है कि पब्लिक सेक्टर ने जो टार्गेट्स रखे थे, उन टार्गेट्स को पब्लिक सेक्टर पूरा नहीं कर सका जब कि प्राइवेट सेक्टर कोयले के मामले में अपने लक्ष्य पूरे करने में सफल हुआ है । सन् १९६२-६३ में, चालू वर्ष के चार महीनों का कोयले के उत्पादन का जो व्यौरा है वह बड़ा निराशाजनक है । सन् १९६१ में हम ने चार महीनों में २०.१०५ मिलियन टन कोयला निकाला था । लेकिन सन् १९६२ के इन चार महीनों में यह मात्रा घट कर १९.६९३ मिलियन टन रह गई । मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि इस उत्पादन की कमी का कारण क्या है ? क्या हम ने लक्ष्य अपनी क्षमता से बढ़ा करके रखे हैं या उन लक्ष्यों को पूरा करने के लिए हमें जिस तरह के इंस्टिट्यूशनल और ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव चेंजेज करने चाहिये थे, वे हम ने नहीं किये, जिस तरह का देश में राजनैतिक और आर्थिक अनुशासन पैदा करना चाहिये था वह अनुशासन हम ने पैदा नहीं किया और जिस तरह की लोगों में प्रेरणा उत्पन्न करनी चाहिये थी, वह प्रेरणा हमने उत्पन्न नहीं की । आखिर

तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना का यह पहला साल देश की आर्थिक स्थिति के लिए चिन्ता का साल बन कर क्यों आया है ? मैं स्पष्ट करना चाहूंगा कि विदेशी मुद्रा का जो संकट पैदा हो गया है उसका कम से कम जो ये उत्पादन के लक्ष्य हम ने पूरे नहीं किये इनके साथ कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है । विदेशी मुद्रा का संकट गम्भीर है और सरकार अगर अपनी आर्थिक योजनायें विदेशी सहायता के आधार पर बनायेगी तो यह संकट कभी भी हमारे सामने खड़ा हो सकता है । दूसरी योजना के दूसरे साल में विदेशी मुद्रा का संकट पैदा हुआ था और आज वह संकट एक गम्भीर रूप धारण कर चुका है । हमारे फारेन रिजर्व्स १०० करोड़ के करीब रह गये हैं । हम ने इंटरनेशनल मानेटरी फंड से एक १०० मिलियन डॉलर का स्टैंडबाई क्रेडिट लिया है जिसमें से २५ मिलियन डॉलर हम अभी तक खर्च कर चुके हैं और हमारे वित्त मंत्री कहते हैं कि पहले दो सालों के लिये अभी ३८ करोड़ के फारेन एक्स्चेंज का गैप है । यह गैप कैसे पूरा होगा ? अगर ब्रिटेन कामन मार्केट में शामिल हो गया तो उसका हमारे निर्यातों पर असर पड़ेगा और उस घाटे को, उस कमी को हम कैसे पूरा करेंगे ?

एक बात विदेशी सहायता के सम्बन्ध में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि विदेशी पूंजी के साथ उत्पादन के विदेशी तरीके आते हैं, फारेन टेकनालाजी आती है, फारेन टेकनिक्स आती हैं । विज्ञान में जो भी खोजें होती हैं उनका लाभ उठाने से हम वंचित नहीं रह सकते लेकिन एक विदेशी टेकनिक या टेकनालाजी का अनुकरण करें तो हमें यह देखना होगा कि वह देश की परिस्थिति के अनुरूप है या नहीं । हमारे यहां पूंजी कम है और श्रम ज्यादा है इसलिये हमारी योजनायें पूंजी-प्रधान नहीं श्रम-प्रधान होनी चाहियें लेकिन विदेश की जो टेकनालाजी है वह हम से उल्टी स्थिति में विकसित की गई, वह श्रम की बचत करना चाहते थे और हमें अधिक से अधिक श्रम को काम देना है । विदेशी विरोध भी हमें

चेतावनी दे रहे हैं कि हम फारेन टेक्नालाजी का अंधे हाँ कर अनुसरण न करें। प्रोफेसर गालब्रेथ ने भी एक भाषण में कहा था, मैं उनके गम्भीरों को उन्नत करना चाहता हूँ :

"But much of the technology of the more advanced countries represents an accommodation to labour shortages or reflects the other special requirements of the more advanced economy. The mechanical cotton picker or the modern heavy farm tractor are innovations of this sort. Their use on the farms in the United States reflects the fact that labour for hire is exceedingly scarce. This technology should not be taken over by countries in the earlier stages of development. To do so is to waste scarce resources and handicap development, and much more incidentally, to add to unemployment."

पिछले साल पूना में सर्व सेवा संघ की ओर से और गोखले इंस्टीट्यूट आफ पालिटिक्स एंड एकनामिक्स की ओर से एक विचारगोष्ठी हुई थी, उस विचारगोष्ठी का भी यही निष्कर्ष निकला था कि हमें विदेशी टेक्नालाजी को बहुत सावधानी से अपने देश में लाना चाहिये। लेकिन यह जो भी विदेशी पूँजी आती है वह कट्टावाइज, प्रॉजेक्टवाइज जुड़ी हुई है, हम उस में कोई बदल नहीं कर सकते और वह अपने साथ उत्पादन का एक तरीका लेकर आती है जिसका एक परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि हमारे देश में अर्बनाइजेशन बढ़ता जा रहा है और अर्बनाइजेशन बढ़ने से इन्फ्लेशन हो रहा है। आखिर, देश गाँव-बहुल है और अगर हम गाँव में रहने वाले लोगों के लिये उसी जगह काम की व्यवस्था नहीं कर सकते, हर एक ग्राम को उत्पादन का इकाई नहीं बना सकते तो फिर गाँव से आने वाला जनता का जो प्रवाह है वह नगरों में हमारे लिये अनेक समस्याएँ पैदा करेगा। लेकिन तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के निर्माण में इस बात की ओर ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है।

अब कहा जाता है कि विदेशी मुद्रा की

अगर कमी है तो हमें विदेशों को अपना निर्यात बढ़ा कर इस कमी को पूरा करना चाहिये लेकिन निर्यात बढ़ाने की भी सीमाएँ हैं और हम उन सीमाओं से बाहर नहीं जा सकते। दुनिया के जो भी देश हैं वे अपना आर्थिक विकास कर रहे हैं, वे अपने देश में अपने लिये बाजार तैयार कर रहे हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में मुदालियर कमेटी की एक सिफारिश की ओर मैं सदन का ध्यान दिलाना चाहूँगा। जब कभी सरकार का कोई रूपी-पेमेंट-एग्रीमेंट करने का मौका आता है तो इस विचार से कि उस में फारेन एक्सचेंज समाप्त नहीं होगा सरकार रूपी-पेमेंट का एग्रीमेंट करने के लिये तैयार हो जाती है लेकिन अनेक ऐसे देश हैं जो कि हमारे देश से रूपी-पेमेंट एग्रीमेंट करते हैं और हमारे देश में ऐसा माल ज्यादा खरीदते हैं जिनकी उन्हें जरूरत नहीं होती लेकिन चूँकि उनको रुपया खर्च करना है इसलिये वह माल खरीदते हैं और फिर वही माल ले जा कर के हमारे जो ट्रेडेशनल मार्केट्स हैं उनमें सस्ते दामों पर वह बेचते हैं। तो रूपी-पेमेंट एग्रीमेंट से मिलने वाले लाभ का प्राप्त करने का यह तरीका नहीं है। एक और तो हम ऐसे समझीते करने के लिये प्रेरित होते हैं जिनको शायद हमारे आर्थिक विकास के लिये आवश्यकता नहीं है और दूसरी ओर हम अपने ट्रेडेशनल मार्केट्स खो देते हैं क्योंकि हम से ही खरीदा हुआ माल सस्ते दामों पर उन देशों में उन देशों द्वारा जिनसे हम रूपी पेमेंट एग्रीमेंट करते हैं बेचा जाता है। मेरा निवेदन है कि हम को योजनाओं के फारेन-कंटेंट्स को कम करना चाहिये। विदेशी सहायता के भरोसे हम अपनी आर्थिकविकास की नींव को दृढ़ता के साथ नहीं रख सकते। आज हमें विदेशी सहायता मिल रही है लेकिन अगर इतनी मात्रा में हम विदेशी सहायता पर निर्भर रहे तो यह हमारे भविष्य को, हमारी स्वतंत्रता को, हमारे स्वाभिमान को कभी भी खतरे में डाल सकता है।

मैं नहीं समझता कि जब तीसरी योजना बनाई गई तब उसके लिये साधन जुटाने का जो

[श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी]

हिस्सा लगाया गया, वह किसी आधार पर लगाया गया, अभी हम तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के काल में १,७१० करोड़ रुपये के नये टैक्स लगाना चाहते हैं और हम ने राज्यों से आशा की है कि वे ६१० करोड़ रुपये के नये टैक्स लगायेंगे। अब जरा इस बात की पाच होनी चाहिये कि राज्यों को जो ६१० करोड़ रुपये के टैक्स लगाने हैं, उनमें से योजना के पहले वर्ष में कितना टैक्स वसूल किया गया। क्या राज्य सरकारें ६१० करोड़ रुपये के टैक्स वसूल कर सकती हैं? योजना आयोग ने स्वयं अपनी रिपोर्ट में लिखा है कि १९६१-६२ में राज्य सरकारों ने जो टैक्स वसूल किये हैं, वे लक्ष्य से बहुत कम हैं और आज अलग अलग राज्यों में आम आदमियों पर लगाने वाले टैक्सों के खिलाफ जनता के आन्दोलन चल रहे हैं। इन आन्दोलनों की ओर से कोई भी सरकार आखे नहीं मूढ़ सकती। ये आन्दोलन राजनैतिक नहीं हैं, ये आर्थिक आन्दोलन हैं। अगर किसान पर लगान का बोझ बढ़ाते जायेंगे तो किसान उस बोझ को ढोने की स्थिति में नहीं है। उत्तर प्रदेश में किसान के लगान को बढ़ाने की बात हो रही है। जब जमींदारी खत्म हुई और किसान से दसगुना वसूल करके उसे भूमिधारी के अधिकार दिये गये, तब सरकार ने यह वायदा किया था कि ४० साल तक किसान का लगान नहीं बढ़ेगा, लेकिन उस वायदे की खिलाफी करके किसानों पर ज्यादा बोझ लादने की कोशिश की जा रही है। पंजाब में हरिजनो के कल्याण के नाम पर एक ऐसा टैक्स लगाया गया है, जो जनता में भेद पैदा करेगा, लोगों में फूट डालेगा। अगर आपको समाज के किसी वर्ग का सुधार करना है तो उसके लिये उस वर्ग के नाम पर टैक्स लगाने की जरूरत नहीं है, आप टैक्स लगाइये और टैक्स से आने वाला जो रुपया है, वह उस वर्ग के कल्याण के लिये खर्च करिये लेकिन इस तरह से एक वर्ग को दूसरे वर्ग

के खिलाफ उभारना आर्थिक दृष्टि से भी और राजनैतिक दृष्टि से भी ठीक नहीं है। मैं चाहूंगा कि प्रान्तों में जो टैक्स लग रहे हैं और उनके खिलाफ जो आन्दोलन चल रहे हैं उनको हम ध्यान में रखे और इस बात का हिस्सा लगाये कि क्या हम पांच सालों में राज्यों की तरफ से ६१० करोड़ रुपया टैक्स के रूप में वसूल कर सकते हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त हमने ४५० करोड़ रुपया पब्लिक इटरप्राइज से वसूल करने का लक्ष्य रखा है, अभी तक पब्लिक इटरप्राइज का जो भी कांटीव्यूशन है उससे तो यह आशा नहीं होती कि हम ४५० करोड़ रुपया पब्लिक इटरप्राइज से पा सकेंगे। और राज्य सरकारों से हमने कहा है कि वे १५० करोड़ रुपया पब्लिक इटरप्राइज से वसूल करके हमें दें, किंतु केन्द्र की तुलना में राज्यों की जो पब्लिक इटरप्राइजेज हैं उनकी स्थिति तो और भी ठीक नहीं है। मैं नहीं समझता कि इस हालत में हमने जो रिसोर्सेंज का हिस्सा लगाया है, वह रिसोर्सेंज हम कैसे पूरे कर सकते हैं? अगर हम रिसोर्सेंज पूरे नहीं कर सकते हमने जो टैगेंट्स रखे हैं उनको अगर हम पूरे नहीं कर सकते और अगर हम देश में आर्थिक और राजनैतिक अनुशासन पैदा नहीं कर सकते, तो प्रधान मंत्री ने प्रगति के पथ पर बढ़ने वाले देश की जो तस्वीर खींची है और जिसका उल्लेख कल नियोजन मंत्री ने भी किया है, वह तस्वीर कैसे पूरी हो सकती है? हमारी प्रगति की जो गति है, जो मन्द गति है, उससे किसी का भी समाधान नहीं हो सकता। अभी इकाफे ने एक विवरण निकाला था, उसने एक जाच की थी कि उससे सम्बन्धित जो देश हैं उनकी "रेट आफ ग्रोथ" क्या है और उनकी जो रिपोर्ट आई है उससे पता लगता है कि इस क्षेत्र में पाकिस्तान को छोड़ कर सभी देशों की तुलना में हमारी "रेट आफ ग्रोथ" कम है। १९५३ और १९५६ के काल में जब कि हमारी रीयल नेशनल इकम १६ फीसदी बढ़ी है, जापान की ६२ फीसदी बढ़ी है, बर्मा की ३१ फीसदी बढ़ी है,

है, कम्बोडिया की २६ फीसदी बढ़ी है, थाईलैंड की २८ फीसदी और इंडोनेशिया की २१ फीसदी बढ़ी है। तो इस तरह से रेट आफ ग्रोथ बढ़ी है और इसकी तुलना में हमारी १६ फीसदी रेट आफ ग्रोथ है। यह तो किसी को संतोष नहीं दे सकता। स्पष्ट है कि हमारा विकास अधिक तीव्रता में, अधिक गति से होना चाहिये। लेकिन इसके लिये हमने जो योजना के उद्देश्य रखे हैं, उन उद्देश्यों की प्राप्ति के लिये हमें जिस तरह के इन्स्टीट्यूशनल और एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव, चेन्जेज करने चाहिये थे, क्या वे हम कर रहे हैं? खेती का उत्पादन क्यों नहीं बढ़ता? हम मौसम को दोष देकर अपनी जिम्मेदारी से बच नहीं सकते, क्योंकि जब काफी उत्पादन बढ़ता है तो हम मौसम को धन्यवाद नहीं देते कि मौसम अच्छा था इसलिए पैदावार बढ़ गई, बढ़ती हुई पैदावार की शाबाशी हम खुद लेना चाहते हैं और हमारे नियोजन मंत्री दावा करते हैं कि उनके नियोजन से पैदावार बढ़ गई है। अगर मौसम को दोष देना है तो मौसम को शाबाशी भी देनी है। लेकिन अगर मौसम को दोष देना है और मौसम को शाबाशी नहीं देनी है, तो नियोजन का कोई अर्थ नहीं रहता। नियोजन का अर्थ है कि सारी कठिनाइयों के बावजूद, हमन जो लक्ष्य निर्धारित किये उनको पूरा करने का प्रयत्न करेंगे और अगर मौसम की कठिनाइयां बीच में आती हों तो दूरदर्शिता में उनका आंकन करके, हम उनकी काट करने की कोशिश करेंगे। खेती की पैदावार के लिये ज्यादा रुपये देने की आवश्यकता नहीं है, यह कोई रिसोर्सेज का सवाल नहीं है यह तो आर्गेनाइजेशन का सवाल है। हम खेती का आर्गेनाइजेशन ठीक नहीं कर सके। केन्द्र में कोऑर्डिनेशन नहीं है, सिंचाई का विभाग अलग है, खेती का विभाग अलग है, कम्प्यूनिटी डेवलपमेंट का विभाग अलग है—एक द्रोयका है, तीन दिशाओं में दौड़ने वाला रथ है। प्रान्तों में खेती के विभाग में और सिंचाई के विभाग

में समन्वय नहीं है, केन्द्र और प्रान्तों में समन्वय नहीं है। जिस पंचायत राज के गुण गाये जाते हैं, हम उसका स्वागत करते हैं। हमें आर्थिक स्वतंत्रता, राजनैतिक स्वतंत्रता गांवों तक ले जानी है। ये सारी पंचायतों खेती के उत्पादन में कितना योग दे रही हैं इसकी जांच हो रही है। लेकिन नई दिल्ली में बैठ कर अगर हम आशा करें कि पंचायत राज हमारे देश में फैला दिया तो अनाज की पैदावार बढ़ जायेगी, तो इस मुगालने में हमें नहीं रहना चाहिये। गांवों के स्तर से लेकर नई दिल्ली तक खेती के उत्पादन के लिये जैसा वातावरण बनाने की आवश्यकता है, जैसी संस्थाएं, जैसे संगठन करने की आवश्यकता है, वैसा हम नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। विदेशों से अनाज मिल जाता है और हमारे खाद्य मंत्री उस पर संतोष प्रकट करते हैं और हम समझते हैं कि हमारा कर्तव्य पूरा हो गया है। अगर हमें खेती की पैदावार बढ़ानी है तो हमें एक निश्चित खेती की नीति अपनानी होगी। इस संबंध में मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि ऐसी कोई भी नीति, ऐसा कोई भी सुधार जो किसान के मन में अपनी भूमि की मालिकियत के प्रति अनिश्चय पैदा करे, खेती के उत्पादन को बढ़ाने में सहायक नहीं हो सकता। जो कम्प्यूनिस्ट देश हैं, उनके लिये भी खेती अभी एक समस्या बनी हुई है। रूस में, चीन में अभी तक खेती की पैदावार बढ़ाने का कौन सा पक्का, संतोषजनक ढंग निकाला जाय, इसकी वे कोई व्यवस्था नहीं कर सके हैं। चीन को तो एक बड़े अकाल के संकट का सामना करना पड़ रहा है। हम भूमि सुधारों को दृढ़ता से लागू करें, हमारा जो भी किसान जमीन को जोतता है, बोता है, उस किसान को हम जमीन का मालिक बनावें। अगर हम कोऑपरेटिव फार्मिंग के नाम पर कोई ऐसा काम करे जिससे किसान को लगे कि उसकी जमीन उसके हाथ से जाने वाली है, तो पैदावार नहीं बढ़ सकती। इस देश की परिस्थिति अलग है और हम केवल नारों के आधार पर देश के आर्थिक निर्माण की पक्की नींव नहीं रख सकते।

[श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी]

अभी श्री मोहनलाल सक्सेना प्रोफेसर डूमंड की बात कह रहे थे। अगर हम किसानों को कर्जा देने वाली सोसाइटियों की हालत देखें तो हमें पता लगेगा कि किसानों को खेती बढ़ाने के लिये, खेती की पैदावार बढ़ाने के लिये, हम कितनी सुविधाएं दे सकें। प्रोफेसर डूमंड १९५९ में, ये यूनाईटेड नेशन्स की तरफ से हमारे देश की कोऑपरेटिव क्रेडिट सोसाइटीज़, जो गांवों में काम करती हैं, उनकी जांच करने के लिये आये थे। उन्होंने अपने क्या विचार प्रकट किये, मैं उनको सदन के सामने उद्धृत करना चाहता हूं।

"An inquiry made some time ago into the credit needs of the Indian peasant showed that the Co-operative credit associations provided only 3 per cent., the public treasury the same, and relatives and friends 15 per cent. The remainder, that is 79 per cent, was furnished at the time of inquiry by merchants and usurers. It is possible that this proportion has diminished in the meantime, but only very slightly"

हमने क्रेडिट सोसाइटीज़, सर्विस को-ऑपरेटिव्स का लक्ष्य निर्धारित किया है, मगर अभी किसानों को कर्जा देने वाली समितियां ठीक तरह से नहीं चल रहीं। जौ समितियां बीज देती हैं, खाद देती हैं, वे भ्रष्टाचार से भरी हुई हैं। किसान के पास जाकर हम बात करते तब हमें पता लगेगा कि नई दिल्ली में बैठकर जिस पंचायत राज का हम गीत गाते हैं, वह वास्तविकता में आने पर किसानों को उतना मोहक, उतना आकर्षक नहीं लगता और इसलिये किसानों को बीज की, खाद की, कर्जों की सुविधाएं देने का हम ठीक ढंग से विकास करें, खेती के मामले में एक पक्की नीति पर चलें।

नियोजन मंत्री ने मूल्यों का बढ़ना रोकने की बात कही है कि मूल्यों के बढ़ने को रोकना चाहिये। लेकिन यह स्पष्ट नहीं है कि यह मूल्यों का बढ़ना किस तरह से रोका

जायेगा। वे कहते हैं, कन्ट्रोल तो हम नहीं लगायेंगे लेकिन मूल्यों का बढ़ना रोकेंगे। अब जिस अनुपात में हम पब्लिक एक्सपेंडीचर कर रहे हैं, उस अनुपात में अगर उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ता तो मुद्रा स्फीति होगी, इन्फ्लेशन बढ़ेगा, चीजों के दाम बढ़ेंगे, उसे कोई रोक नहीं सकता। और अगर हम फिजिकल कन्ट्रोल लगायेंगे, तो आज की स्थिति में उससे भ्रष्टाचार पैदा होगा, नौकरशाही की ताकत बढ़ेगी और जनता को तकलीफ होगी। कोई ऐसा कदम उठाया जाय कि हम फिजिकल कन्ट्रोल से बचें, क्योंकि अगर हम अनाज के दामों को निर्धारित करने की नीति अपनायेंगे तो फिर हमें किसान से प्रोक्योर करने से लेकर डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन तक अपनी मशीनरी कायम करनी होगी। क्या उसमें किसान को उसकी फसल का ठीक दाम मिलेगा? क्या उसमें उपभोक्ता को उचित दाम पर अनाज दिया जायेगा? लड़ाई के जमाने में जब कन्ट्रोल लगा था, उससे जनता को कितनी परेशानी थी, उसको हम भुला नहीं सकते और इसलिये मैं कहूंगा कि कोई भी आर्थिक नीति देश की वर्तमान परिस्थिति से आंख मूंद कर नहीं चल सकती। मैंने आपसे कहा कि हमें देश में पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं की सफलता के लिये जैसा राजनैतिक और आर्थिक अनुशासन पैदा करना चाहिये था, वैसा हम नहीं कर सके हैं। देश की जनता में कहीं संगठन का भाव नहीं है। हम राष्ट्र निर्माण के एक महान् यज्ञ में लगे हैं और लोकतांत्रिक ढंग से आर्थिक समता स्थापित करने का हम प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं यह हमारे लिये जिंदगी और मौत का सवाल है। इस प्रकार की एक सेन्स आफ अरजेन्सी देश में पैदा नहीं की जा सकी और उसके लिये अगर सबसे अधिक कोई दोषी है, तो वह है जिसके हाथ में शासन की बागडोर है, क्योंकि जो बड़े आचरण करते हैं, जनता उसका अनुसरण करती है। श्रीकृष्ण भगवान ने गीता में कहा था :

यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठस्तत्तदेवेतरो जनः ।

स यत्प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्तदनुवर्तते ॥

जो बड़े लोग आचरण करते हैं, लोग उसका अनुसरण करते हैं। जो स्तर बड़े लोग कायम करते हैं लोग उस स्तर का पालन करते हैं मगर जो बड़े लोग हैं वे देश में आर्थिक निर्माण के लिये जैसा वातावरण पैदा करना चाहिये वैसा वातावरण पैदा नहीं कर सके हैं और अगर हम वैसा वातावरण पैदा नहीं करेंगे तो तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के पहले वर्ष में जो कठिनाइयाँ पैदा हुई हैं, वे आगे भी पैदा होंगी और उनका निराकरण अगर हमें करना है तो नियोजन के प्रति हमारे दृष्टिकोण में आमूल परिवर्तन होना चाहिये। हमारी योजनाएं पूजी प्रधान होने के बजाय श्रम प्रधान होनी चाहियें, हमें अपनी टेकनालाजी का विकास करना चाहिये, खेती के उत्पादन के लिये हमें एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव्ह तथा इन्स्टीट्यूशनल चेन्जेज पर जोर देना चाहिये और सबसे बड़ी बात, हमें देश में इकानामिक और पोलिटिकल डिमिप्लिन पैदा करने के लिये सारी जनता के सहयोग को आमन्त्रित करना चाहिये। धन्यवाद।

SHRI B. RAMAKRISHNA RAO (Andhra Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to congratulate the hon. Minister for Planning for his opening speech in which he frankly and sincerely admitted our failures and did not mince matters in explaining the causes for our failures including our own mistakes and miscalculations. In doing so he largely anticipated the criticism of the House and gave his reasons and indicated the measures proposed to be adopted for correcting some of the mistakes of the past and for making a more concentrated and a better effort for the future. I have listened to the trenchant criticism which has been made in this House regarding the implementation of the Plan and a large part of it is, I admit, very legitimate but I am afraid I do not agree with the note of pessimism which I observed in the speeches of many speakers though I agree with the

warning administered by them. It is true that the results of the Five Year Plans have not been spectacular and we cannot say that we have succeeded, in any large measure, in increasing the national income or in increasing the *per capita* income. It is also true that we have not made much headway in securing for the people the five primary necessities to which certain Members of this House alluded yesterday, namely, food, clothing, shelter, education and health. The Plans and their implementation have not also evoked, as was observed by many Members, including the hon. Member who just preceded me, that enthusiasm and sincere zeal which we expected to evoke among the masses of people in our country. There are many reasons for that and those reasons have to be taken into consideration in passing a dispassionate judgment about the success of the Plans and their implementation. It is true that the people, whom the Plans are intended to benefit, are not so much enthused over them. Shortfalls in the physical targets are there. They have been many and regrettable. Above all, the most regrettable factor remains, namely, the implementation of the Plans has not evoked, in the requisite measure, a sense of satisfaction which should have resulted after the implementation of the two Plans even in the 1st year of the Third Plan period. But the reasons for all these, I think, are inherent in the situation. We are a vast country, both in area as well as in population. We have listened to speeches here that showed the enormous increase in population. Our ex-Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Shri V. T. Krishnamachari, gave those figures. All our calculations about the increase in population and about our needs of food and other things have been falsified and it is proved that there was some miscalculation on our part. But there is also another thing. We must realise that we are not a small country, where any kind of economic planning can take root and rouse the enthusiasm of the people generally

[Shri B. Ramakrishna Rao.]

with a view to its successful implementation in a limited period. After all, even the most sanguine expectations of the planners were not that within such a short time as we have spent during our planning we could achieve those objectives of securing all the five primary needs to our people without any failures. That was not expected. It was not to be expected. And I think that on an overall consideration of the attempts that we have made during the last eleven years, though we have no cause to be satisfied, we have also no cause to be pessimistic. That is what I feel I should say on the subject.

I do not disagree with the criticism that has been made in regard to certain aspects of our planning. I also feel that if the objectives of our Plans were confined merely to the fulfilment of those five primary needs, namely, food, clothing, shelter, education and health, probably we could have shown better and more spectacular results. But considering the various needs of the country and considering the need that our country should also participate in the great industrial and technological upsurge that is going on throughout the world, we had partially at any rate to sacrifice some of those objectives to other objectives, such as industrialisation. Even if we had confined our attempts to the formulation and implementation of irrigation and power schemes and had not gone forward to set up big factories and thereby tried to raise the industrial status of the country, even then there would have been shortfalls because in any planning in any country whatsoever—whether it is a democratic country or an authoritarian country—there are bound to be shortfalls. Our achievements are always bound to be less than our expectations.

There are several factors which contribute to the difficulties and

troubles that are created during the implementation of our Plans. There is the human factor. There are also other external factors which contribute to our failures. We make certain assessments, and those assessments are based on certain facts which we collect at the time of making those assessments. But in between circumstances intervene which change those calculations. Therefore, whenever we build some expectations, we have to allow a margin for difficulties and troubles that we might encounter and also in the matter of the quantum of success that we may achieve ultimately. That is in the nature of planning itself.

Then, one outstanding reason for shortfalls, whether physical shortfalls or other shortfalls, is that we have not been able to make full use of the human material in our country. To this extent I agree with my friend, Shri Bhupesh Gupta. The human material in our country is certainly enormous. To make the fullest use of that material, I think, perhaps a rethinking in respect of our planning is extremely necessary. Our schemes, industrial or otherwise, are not able to give employment to the people to that extent to which we desire. That is one of the reasons, why I have personally, always held that greater stress should be laid and greater emphasis should be laid on the establishment of small-scale and village industries in the rural areas than what is done today. I think it is true that over Rs. 300 crores have now been allotted to small industries—I am subject to correction in the matter of figures—but I do not think that the allotment is sufficient. As we have been told, certain rural industries schemes and rural development schemes are going to be started and a certain machinery has been created for that. We may hope to see some development made in that direction, but all the same if our desire is to see that adequate employment is given to the vast population, with the almost staggering increase in our

population, I do not know whether we can formulate sufficient schemes in the matter of rural industries etc. in order to meet the demand. But an attempt should certainly be made in that direction and greater emphasis should be laid on both the agricultural and industrial sectors, in the rural areas particularly. Madam, I do not wish to dilate upon other aspects of planning. I entirely agree with a lot of criticism that has been made that there are defects in our planning, and that unless all attempts are made to see that the defects are corrected, we will not be able to give a good account of ourselves before the people whom we intend to serve through the Plans.

There is one point to which reference has been made by a friend of mine, Mr. Raghunatha Reddy, who spoke yesterday, and I wish to emphasize that point myself. Coming from Andhra Pradesh as I do, I can testify to the fact that there is great dissatisfaction in Andhra Pradesh over what is considered by them to be a somewhat discriminatory treatment given to them in the matter of allotting Central industries. After an absence of five or six years from Andhra Pradesh I recently went back to my home State, and I may tell you, Madam, that what my friend, Mr. Raghunatha Reddy, said yesterday is absolutely correct. That feeling of dissatisfaction is shared by the people and also, if I may say so, by the Andhra Pradesh Government. For example, with regard to the irrigation scheme of Nagarjunasagar, both the Government and the people feel that the policy adopted towards financing that great scheme by the Government of India and the Planning Commission is not at all good and proper. They think that merely giving a loan of the amount and trying to secure the interest on it also is putting a great burden on the newly formed State of Andhra Pradesh economically. They want that the scheme of Nagarjunasagar should be taken over by the Centre and financ-

ed by the Centre as some of the other great irrigation schemes like Bhakra Nangal and others in the country. There is also a great feeling of frustration in regard to some of these irrigation and power schemes that are still under consideration. I may say that there is great dissatisfaction over the postponement of the Pochampad project which is of vital importance to the economy of Andhra Pradesh. I do hope that the Planning Commission will, generally speaking and also in this particular case, see that some sort of balance is established in the allotment of Central industries or Central Schemes for development to various States. There has been a tendency in the past to concentrate industries in certain places, in certain centres. That should not be followed and a change is necessary in that respect. I do hope that some kind of regional balance will be established hereafter in allotting industries to various States. Not that every demand of a State deserves to be agreed to but, all other things being equal, other economic and technical aspects being equal, an attempt should be made by the Planning Commission to see that all parts of the country are satisfied in some way or other and that these schemes are dispersed.

I have done, Madam. I only want that this House should take a very objective and realistic view of the Plan and should not unnecessarily adopt a pessimistic attitude about the implementation of the Plan in the future.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** The House will sit till 6 P.M., and even so I would request the Members to co-operate about time. There are quite a number of speakers. I do not think that even after extending the time they will all get a chance. Shri D. B. Desai.

**SHRI D. B. DESAI (Maharashtra):** Madam, I am glad to get this opportunity to place my observations on the motion moved by the Planning Minister. Looking at the time at my

[Shri D. B. Desai.]

disposal, I would like to limit my observations to some of the fundamental problems of planning.

Madam, problems of planning in India, as they are in an underdeveloped country and everybody is agreed on that, are not exactly like the problems of highly developed countries, mechanically and scientifically developed countries. We have basically two problems. One of them is agricultural production. The second is, while increasing our agricultural production, we have to establish an industrial base for our economy which is very vital to the growing nature of the economy itself. The Planning Commission itself has complained a number of times that the slow rate of agricultural production is a sort of impediment, is a bottle-neck that is experienced in the growth of industries. We want basic industries to be developed. We want consumer industries to be developed. But at the same time we are always circumscribed, we are always obstructed by the slow rate of agricultural production in the country. It is rather surprising that after twelve years of planning, after spending something like Rs. 2500 crores in the last decade on the agricultural sector, we still are complaining that there are shortfalls in agricultural production. But the Planning Minister yesterday gave some figures to show that an overall increase of something like 39 or 40 per cent has taken place in agricultural production. I want just to draw the attention of the House to this. Are we really having agricultural production increased? Have we got the rate of productivity increasing? We have got agricultural production increased by 40 per cent, no doubt, but is it really an increase in production? I say this because in the last twelve years we have been importing foodgrains from other countries. According to census figures the population has increased by something like 23 or 24 per cent. Production has also increased by

something like 40 per cent. Still we are short of foodgrains. Still we are short of agricultural production. We are short of raw materials, short of agricultural products like cotton, oilseeds, sugarcane, etc., and in some fields we are even shorter than these things. So, actually what is the position? The Ministry itself or the Planning Commission itself has not given a correct picture of the situation, I should say. They have already said that 40 per cent. of increase has taken place in agricultural production. But I would like to say that we have to compare actual production with the rate of productivity. We have got some increase in actual production no doubt, but what is the reason for which the production has increased? Have all the planning efforts resulted in the growth of production? I should say positively "no", because we have already seen a practice in the Government's circulation of documents and other papers and reports that whenever there is an increase in agricultural production or whatever it is, the Government praises itself by saying that due to planning it has increased agricultural production. But if we have to face some shortfalls, if we have to face some decline in agricultural production, we blame nature, we blame the human element in Indian society. But have we considered how far the Government is itself responsible for creating a sort of obstruction in the economy? Let me make this point clear. As regards productivity, I would refer here to the All-India average. The production increase is 36.4 per cent. This year it may be 39 per cent. But actually the area under cultivation has also increased up to 15 per cent. and the rate of productivity has only increased to 18 per cent. in twelve years. That means that we have growth at the rate of 1.9 per cent. per year. I think the Planning Commission has visualised something more. Here we are having some statistical trickery because in 1950-51 there were some areas which

were not reported in the statistical reports. In 1956-57 some areas were added on and the production increased. In 1956-57 we had the highest annual production in agriculture. But that was due to the addition of the areas which were already under cultivation but not covered by statistical reports. They were just added for statistical purposes. Till then they were not taken into consideration because some States had no statistical organisation as such. In 1959-60 we were having rather the same figure in regard to agricultural production, we had a very slight increase. That means that actually we are not having any increased production. What is the reason? And underdeveloped country has to look more carefully to its rate of productivity. That we are short of the estimated gross production, there is no doubt. We have to increase it but we cannot increase it by just getting some figures of actual production. We have to see actually whether the rate of productivity per acre has increased or not. In India, after twelve years of planning, we have got only 18 per cent. increase in production and there is some imbalance. In some States, even in the case of rice, there is no uniform growth in productivity. In other States, there is less of productivity. In regard to wheat, Punjab and some other States have shown an increase but in States like Madhya Pradesh there is some decrease also. That means that we have not had a uniform rate of productivity in this country. And throughout we have been saying that these shortfalls are due to some uncontrollable element, that is nature. Some people blame the rains or floods. Others blame some other factors. But in spite of the fact that we have spent something like Rs. 2,500 crores, there is not much progress. Therefore, I have to ask the House to take into consideration whether only investment in agriculture is going to help increase production. We are investing no doubt, we have invested quite a large amount, a large share of our national saving. There are a number of problems such

as national savings, taxation and others. I do not want to go into them. But actually what have we achieved now? We have invested a large amount of money but at the same time we are not getting results. So, now is the time to consider whether this investment programme is going to result in any increased agricultural production and if not . .

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): Co-operative farming is coming in the way.

SHRI D. B. DESAI: Co-operative farming does not come in the way. Actually the Government comes in the way.

I would here like to quote one very important observation made by Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, a member of the Planning Commission. This is in his presidential address before the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics held during December last year. He says:

"I am also not certain in my mind that the investment contemplated in agriculture during the Third Plan period would be sufficient to bring about the desired increase in agricultural production in view of the fact that there is no longer much scope for increasing the area under cultivation. I am even less sure in my mind that the investment in agriculture contemplated for the different States does adequate justice to the principle of balanced regional development and the need for minimising a part at least of the startling differences that now exist in inter-State agricultural productivity."

We have just heard an hon. Member from the Congress side, one who has been a Governor and a Chief Minister of a State, and he has come here with a complaint that his State is treated partially by the Planning Commission and the other higher bodies. This sort of complaint in this House by a senior member of . . .

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Mysore): But the reservation of the Presidentship of the Congress is for Andhra Pradesh.

SHRI D. B. DESAI: Let it be. That does not seem to change the element in planning. Dr. Rao further says:

"Above all, I am convinced that the size of the targets contemplated during the Third and Fourth Plans, and, even more, that which will be necessary during subsequent Plan periods, cannot be achieved merely by attention to investment."

Therefore, there is some other factor which is lacking. What is it? Even a member who has worked in the Planning Commission, who is really recognised as an expert in Indian economics, is quite sure that investment itself cannot solve our problem. We can save something. We can invest it. We can get loans from other countries and invest them. But that investment alone is not going to solve the problem. But where is the way? The human element has to be considered, not the investment but the human element. The First Plan emphasised agriculture, the Second Plan emphasised industry and the Third Plan has come out again with plans for the development of agriculture. Agricultural development in our country has to be achieved through the efforts of 80 per cent. of the population. It is not in the hands of some people who are here planning or in the hands of people who can only discuss it but it is in the efforts and labour of 80 per cent. of the population in the country, and that population is neglected. I will say that at least 40-45 per cent. of the people in rural areas have no means of production, have no means of employment, have no means so that they can contribute something to the Indian economy or something to the national income, and the rest 40 per cent. have got something but they cannot do without the help of labour,

and there is a sort of discord, I should say, in the rural economy itself which must be removed. This can be done; this ought to have been done by land reforms. The expert committees on land reforms, or the enquiry committees which had been appointed through some private institutions have come to the conclusion that the land reforms effected never touched even the fringe of the problem. Just I shall quote an instance and I shall finish.

There was the problem of personal cultivation. The Planning Commission gave a directive to the States that the absentee land-owners or the zamindars or the jagirdars should be allowed to resume their lands only on the basis of personal cultivation, and personal cultivation means, or it should mean that the owner or the holder should participate in agricultural operations. In all the States personal cultivation has been defined like this. A man who participates in agriculture by way of supervision, by way of control, by way of personal labour is supposed to be cultivating personally. It is exactly because of that the non-cultivating section of the owners of land has resumed the land; I should say that the non-agricultural section has entered the profession, those who do not know the profession. That is what it has come to. Perhaps the Government or the Planning Commission wants agriculture to run on the American pattern, but actually the non-cultivating people, ignorant people are coming into the agricultural sector, those who are destroying the real agriculturists. Therefore, agricultural production is always at the mercy of nature and is always also at the mercy of these big landlords although the big landlords have been eliminated technically. They are still there and on account of this sort of anomaly they have been allowed to retain their grip in the Indian economy and therefore agricultural economy has come to a point of stagnation. The Planning Commission, I should say, or the Government,

I should say, is the real obstacle in the way. The Government has created this sort of obstacles. These are Government-made obstacles, not nature-made obstacles. The Indian society has not created these obstacles but actually the Government has created these obstacles. Since I have no time I cannot go into the actual principles of planning here, but it is time for Government to look into the matter. They have accepted the socialistic pattern of society—I do not want to go into that. They should examine the growth of agricultural production. It is high time for Government to re-examine and correct the agricultural imbalance in the country.

Thank you.

**SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA:** Madam Deputy Chairman, it is easy to criticise the Plan. Everywhere, whoever is not responsible for planning can easily criticise this. Although it is not with a view to criticise, when some people are really affected, they want to give out their mind, mention all their difficulties, but it becomes a criticism. We really cannot say that this is a bad Plan. I feel that the Planning Commission are trying to do their very best; they are attending to all aspects of our problems. We can say that we have achieved a number of things. We are developing; we are progressing very speedily and even other countries are appreciating our progress. In spite of that, we cannot say that we can remain satisfied with what has happened, with the results. The population is increasing. For that also we have to give credit to our Plan itself. The Plan is attending to the health and care of mothers and children. Infant mortality is going down. Our family planning is a failure; it is not a success. That also adds to our difficulties. Whatever effort we may make to solve the problem of unemployment, of food, clothing, etc.—the five basic needs of our people—we are not able to fully satisfy all our wants, because the pro-

blem is very great. Particularly, we have to be thankful to our Planning Commission because they are attending to social welfare and also women's education, etc. They are taking particular care of these things, of women and people who are backward, and so we cannot fail to thank them for the care and attention they are giving us. There is also the other thing. They are paying very much attention to education and so the number of people who are getting education now is increasing with the result that the number of the educated unemployed is also increasing, and it gives a lot of dissatisfaction, particularly when people who are educated remain unemployed. So whatever effort we may make, the problems still remain unsolved. Governments from several States send their representations and their schemes, for their schemes to be included in the Plan, but it is difficult for all of them to be included, because it will give rise to an outlay of several crores of rupees more if all of them have to be included, but even the State Governments know to their cost, when they present their budgets, how difficult it is to satisfy all the districts in their own States. I should not take more time in putting these general remarks before the House. Now, I have to come back to my own State.

After all, the State of Andhra Pradesh has been recently formed, and just as India remained very undeveloped when the Britishers left, we had to start from scratch when our State of Andhra was formed and when it was very undeveloped. Except for the two river projects that were taken up by Sir Arthur Cotton, that great engineer, because of whom we are able to get some food, except for that there was nothing in our Andhra when we started, when Andhra Pradesh came into being. Industrially, we are very backward, and that also is another vicious circle. We do not attract industries because we have no power, and Mr. Raghunatha Reddy told the House how backward we are

[Shrimati C. Ammannaraja.]

with regard to power. We are the lowest consumer of power and no encouragement is given. We have sent so many schemes to the Central Government asking for their help, but our troubles are going on, are becoming greater in number. For example, the river waters dispute is another thing that is standing in our way; our schemes have to be delayed due to this fact. This dispute is still there and no award has been given. I feel really that it was very unnecessary to have taken up this matter again since there was an agreement agreed to by all the States at that time—in 1951—and the Planning Commission which gave the award then said that it should not be reopened for twenty-five years. Now, that has been reopened and it is giving rise to all sorts of troubles, particularly to Andhra. If we want to get power we have to start our Srisailem project which is being delayed because sanction will not be given for it till the water dispute is decided. About the Pochampad project, as Shri Ramakrishna Rao said, sanction has not been given to it, again, because of this dispute. So, instead of our problems being solved they are becoming more and more complicated due to these things.

Then, there is the Upper Sileru Project which both, we and Orissa, have to take up together. There is disagreement between the two States with regard to the location of the project. They want it to be located in their area and Andhra feels that it will be economic and can be taken up easily if it is started in Andhra. We wanted the Centre to mediate, but nothing has been done so far. Not only that, as soon as a decision is taken, we have to take up that project, for which we want machinery which we shall have to get from abroad and for that foreign exchange has to be sanctioned. That also we are not getting. So, our problems are many. The Government says that we do not attract industries and even

the few that we have got are migrating to other States because there is no power which is so necessary for them. So, we are in a deplorable state.

As Shri Ramakrishna Rao said, we have the Nagarjunasagar project. It is a huge thing. And except agriculture Andhra has nothing. It has no other resources. There is very little coal there. So, the main industry that we have got is agriculture and nothing else. But Andhra has rivers and we can start these projects. But the burden of financing them should not be put on us; otherwise we will have to stop all other projects. We will not be able to take up any other scheme. It involves a huge amount. For financing it we have been requesting the Centre. Madam, the Centre gets rice and wheat worth about a hundred crores of rupees or more every year from abroad. If it gives a little help to us, we can finish this project and supply, if not to the fullest extent, at least half of what is imported from abroad to the Centre. So it is a very reasonable demand. I do not know why we do not see reason and fairness. Andhra Pradesh has just started and it has so many things to do. We cannot afford spending all our money on this one project alone. As a matter of fact, we do not require that additional paddy or wheat that we will be getting after the project comes up. It will be supplied to the nation. So, it should be really treated as a Central project. So, although the Planning Minister and the Prime Minister are not here, others who are present here, I hope, will impress upon the Central Government that it is really a fair request and a fair representation. The Andhra Pradesh people as a whole, without any difference of opinion on the subject, feel that it is necessary that the Centre takes up the project so that Andhra may be able to attend to more pressing things which are so necessary for its development.

As far as industries are concerned, there are a few industries which can

be started in Andhra Pradesh. Experts come and make a survey and all that and we are waiting to see that some industries will be started, but they are actually started in some other places. We want all these industries in Andhra Pradesh because we also want to give our people a little employment. It will give us some satisfaction that we are also producing something, that there is something for our State also. The Central projects really must be distributed all over the country and not concentrated in Bangalore, Madras, Bombay and Bihar. There are other States also. If we say like this, people at once say that Andhra is parochial. Madam, we are here to represent our State. What else are we here for? We are not here to please somebody, satisfy somebody and say good things and walk away. We have to represent our State. We have to place our people's grievances, their wishes before the Central Government. It is, therefore, necessary that Andhra should get a little fair deal in these matters.

With regard to railways also, I have said so many times that we have no direct train from Hyderabad, which is our capital, either to Bombay or to Madras or to Delhi or to Calcutta. A few bogies are attached and the train from Madras has to carry them to Delhi, or to Bombay or to Calcutta. It is very unfair. Andhra is an agricultural State. People have to travel. They have to take their produce out, they have to go to other places to get what they want for their agricultural purposes. And what do you find in these trains? All the third class compartments are overcrowded. People are overcrowded like cattle. Still nobody is there to listen to our grievances and attend to them. Thank you.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras): Madam Deputy Chairman, as year after year, time after time we listen to speeches made by the Planning Minister and the apologia made by other Government spokesmen, we feel that every successive Plan report looks like a tombstone

raised in affectionate memory of the late lamented one. Targets are placed before the people but the achievements fall short of the targets. To restrict ourselves to the years 1961-62, we find that in foodgrains the target was 80.5 million tons and the achievement is 79.3 million tons. In cotton textiles, the target for mill made cloth was 5,350 million yards and the achievement is 5085 million yards. Even in khadi, which is a government-sponsored industry, the target was 3,150 million yards but the achievement is 2,349 million yards. In cement, the target was 13 million tons but the achievement is 7.8 million tons. In finished steel, the target was 4.3 million tons and the achievement is 2.4 million tons. That seems to be the story with regard to every Plan period. The reason is obvious. Our achievements are not growing in strength because in the whole Plan period, as in the 1961-62 period, there has been a transvaluation of priorities. Priorities which are to be placed first are placed on the same footing as priorities which may come last. Foundations are given the same priority as superstructure. For instance, out of the Rs. 1,148 crores allotted for the year under review, large-scale industry gets as much as Rs. 333 crores and agriculture which is the foundation of our economic life gets only half of that, about Rs. 192 crores. Transport and communications get Rs. 349 crores of which roads, according to the proportion fixed for the whole Third Plan period, get only Rs. 100 crores. Primary education gets Rs. 40 crores out of a total allotment for education of Rs. 80 crores. Unless these priorities undergo a radical change, we cannot expect any rapid or spectacular economic growth. The underlying assumption in the whole Plan, whether it is the first year, or the second year or the third year period, seems to be a sort of unexpressed implied tribute to the British rule. It looks as if the Planning Commission assumes that the British regime had laid all the foundations necessary for the fast industrial development of the country.

[Shri M. Ruthnaswamy.]

It forgets, for instance, that when the British left there was only 15 per cent. literacy in the most advanced States and only 5 to 7 per cent. literacy in the backward States. Similarly, in regard to roads, the British neglected the roads in favour of the railways. So also the Congress Government is neglecting the roads in favour of the railways. With regard to village improvement, that was one of the most scandalous omissions of the British rule but village improvement has not fared any better under the Congress regime, under the Planning Commission.

**SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN:** The Community development projects are only for that purpose.

**SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY:** I am coming to the community development projects and I will say what it has achieved. Unless you reverse the priorities in the Third Plan, you cannot get any appreciable economic growth. Priority must be given to primary education so as to make the people literate as rapidly as possible. Not the Rs. 40 crores that are allotted for 1961-62 but it must be at least Rs. 100 crores for a year allotted solely for primary education. Then we can expect literacy growth of about 5 per cent. per year and so at least within 15 years, we may be able to achieve 75 per cent. Literacy is the basis of all economic and social developments. I need not go to academic economists or to economic history but take what Russia has done. Russia also had undeveloped parts of it to develop. The Russian Government, when it took over the government of the Central Asian Republics, the first thing they did was to establish schools everywhere and promote literacy as rapidly as possible. Besides improving the provincial administration and putting it on an efficient basis, the first thing the Russian Government did before it started any kind of industry, before it tried even to improve agriculture, was to make

the people literate. Secondly roads, especially village roads must be developed. Only Rs. 259 crores are allotted for road development in the Third Plan while Rs. 890 crores are allotted for railway development and the Planning Minister announced yesterday that it would get an additional allotment of Rs. 50 crores. Under this scheme of development of roads, the annual addition to roads per year will be 4,000 to 4,500 miles and the village roads under the community development scheme would be about 5,000 miles per year. For the economic development of the country, at least 50,000 miles of additional roads per year are required if we are to meet the economic requirements of the country. It is a well-known principle of economic development that for every square mile of territory there ought to be one mile of road. It is only then that agricultural development can be ensured because that is one of the ways by which agricultural economy can be raised from the standard of subsistence economy to the standard of market economy. It is only when the village or farm is connected by road with the nearest market town or with the nearest railway station that there will be an incentive for the farmer to produce more.

So also, housing is another fundamental priority. Under the enthusiastic regime of our Minister for Housing, we are promised only 10,000 village houses to be constructed or reconstructed in the Third Plan period, while the Planning Commission has estimated that there are 50 million village houses to be reconstructed or newly constructed. At the rate of 10,000 new houses to be constructed or reconstructed, it will take about 500 years before we can get the salutary and hygienic housing that is required for the promotion of agricultural development. Agriculture as a whole requires not only village roads but markets. Unless you organise your market, unless you make it easy for the farmer to trans-

port his crops to the market and unless his crops are protected at the market by means of warehouses, grainhouses, etc. it will not be possible to offer him any incentive. The co-operative principle might be used in organising co-operative markets instead of wasting time, men, personnel and money upon co-operative farming. Another thing that the Planning Commission ought to attend to and the Government as a whole ought to attend to is to ensure the multiplication of economic holdings. Unless the holdings are economic, you cannot expect agricultural economy to develop. Shri Akbar Ali Khan referred to community development. You know that the evaluation report of Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari itself says that the community projects system has touched only the fringe of the agricultural problem. When one compares the money spent on the personnel of the community projects system and the money spent on the services, one wonders whether the community to be developed is the village community or the community of community development officers. They have done nothing for the reconstruction of housing. The community projects system has done nothing for the building of village roads. One thing it has done, to which Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari drew pointed attention this morning, and that was extension of the agricultural services but when you have no economic holding, and when the farmer has not the capital, how can he make use of the new seeds and the new manure that you are placing before him? In this connection, I might say that another important way of promoting the economic growth of the country is to have a policy and programme of conservation. Only yesterday we learnt from the Member from Assam the great havoc done year after year by the Brahmaputra, and in Bihar we have the Kosi doing as much damage. It has been called a 'river of sorrow'. We find hills, as we go travelling about the country either by rail or by road, being eroded. The land is eroded. Nothing is

done or very little is done to save land or water. According to the admission of the Planning Minister himself, only 20 per cent. of this erosion work is being attended to under the scheme. The Planning Minister, like the Finance Minister under the British days, said, everything depends on the monsoon. There was one British Finance Minister who described the Indian budget as a 'gamble in rain'. That seems to be the philosophy of the present Congress Government also, putting the whole blame on the rains, on the monsoon. What is the Planning Commission for, what is the Government for when it does not take precaution against the possible failure of monsoons? If you give your farmer an economic holding, if you allow him to build up his capital, if you give him incentives for improving his farming, he will lay by stores of grain for the year in which the locusts may eat. This anti-erosion work, this water saving work, this conservation of our forest wealth, all this calls for a separate ministry of conservation. There is a famous maxim or advice of President F. D. Roosevelt who said: "The nation that destroys its soil destroys itself". That is what is going on under our very eyes. The soil of India is being destroyed by floods, by heavy rains on the hill tops, forests and on the fields and water is going to waste.

Another sources of wealth in a growing economy which is not being developed by the present Government is the development of inland trade. Inland trade is about fifteen times in value of external trade or foreign trade, and still everything is being done to develop foreign trade, exports and exports, because you receive foreign exchange, you have to increase your exports. It is a vicious circle but if you develop your inland trade through the development of trade within the country—look at the 40 crores consumers you have in the country for whom you can provide incentives to trade and industry—

[Shri M Ruthnaswamy]  
there are prospective consumers—if you develop internal trade through sales taxes, through taxing the incomes of merchants who will become prosperous, you might receive all the capital that you want or nearly all the capital that you want for economic development.

Another field which has been neglected by the Government and even by the Planning Commission is the field of social education. Observers and even the government spokesmen have deplored the fact that the people are not taking interest, that they do not co-operate in planning schemes. But why do they not co-operate? They do not co-operate because they are not educated to see the need for development, the need for economic development, for going above the subsistence standard. They must be educated towards social progress. They must be educated out of superstitions and prejudices that stand in the way of economic growth. With all the mass media at the disposal of the Government, with the radio which is a government monopoly, with the press and other mass media that are open to them, this programme of social education is badly neglected. Here, the Government has got a great asset for the purpose of social education in Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. He is a great asset, but they are not making use of this asset for spreading social education. All that he does is to speak about the plans which are his party's plans. There must be more fundamental education. The people must be educated towards accepting the need for economic growth. Today our people, our farmers, are quite satisfied with mere subsistence. They do not look beyond subsistence. President Roosevelt in the USA, by means of his weekly chats, educated the people on the general principles of progress. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru should not speak only of his party's principles and his party's programmes, because then he would be bringing himself down to the position of a

party leader. He must look upon himself as a national leader and do what he can to raise the social standard of the people. He can speak in weekly chats over the radio of the evils of early marriage which is the prime cause for the explosive increase of population which most people deplore. He must spread among the people the feeling of the necessity for girls' education. If he does these things, if he educates the people as a necessary step to be taken before they embark upon any ambitious plans, he would be doing more for the substantial progress of the country than by these plans. What we want are practical and practicable programmes, not these ambitious plans. Ernest Bevin, a great socialist and labour leader, when he was asked by a French Planning Minister why England did not take to planning, said "In England we do not believe in planning. We believe in practical annual programmes".

Madam Deputy Chairman, as I look upon those front benches, I see them occupied by men who are competent, who are honest, who are well-meaning. But they are not able to do anything, because they are caught in a vice, the vice of socialism, this ideology of socialism, and they cannot get out of it. If they were freer, then they would take up any plan, any programme, any project, which would be absolutely necessary and urgent for the country. But being victims of this ideology, being prisoners of an ideology, they have to take to large-scale industries and they have to force the Government to enter into business without attending to what is absolutely and fundamentally necessary namely, the building up of the foundations of economic structure, the building up of the infra-structure of economic growth. Unless and until they get out of this prison house of the ideology of socialism, we cannot expect any practical or substantial or lasting progress in the economy of our country.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN** Mr Govinda Reddy Take only ten minutes please.

**SHRI M GOVINDA REDDY** (Mysore). Madam Deputy Chairman, in a discussion like this where one has to deal with the subject of planning in ten minutes, one can only deal with broadest aspects of the Plan. So when making an assessment of the progress that the various Plans have made, one can only broadly say that the Plans have made progress. It is true that we have made progress. That does not mean that we have made progress in all directions. This is not the place or time to go into the achievements in individual targets, because however perfectly we may plan, it is not possible to always reach the maximum achievements and to fully reach the targets. In some we may reach the target. In some we have over-reached the targets, but in others we have failed to reach the targets. So that is no criterion.

**SHRI DAHYABHAI V PATEL** (Gujarat) In what have we ever reached the targets, except in our population?

**SHRI M GOVINDA REDDY** The question is whether the Plan is proceeding on the right lines or not, whether the priorities that have been visualised have been properly arranged or not, whether the circumstances, in view of our having had the experience of implementing these Plans for well over a decade now, do call for a re-appraisal of the Plans. This is the question which we have to attend to, not the question of our failing to achieve some targets in individual items.

Madam Deputy Chairman, we have now been planning for well over a decade. The broad objectives of the Plan as a whole were to raise the standard of living of the masses, and to reduce the disparity in incomes. These can be stated to be the broad objectives of the Plan. Of course,

this involves greater production and a rise in national wealth. Without an increase in national wealth and in the national income, we are unable to raise the standard of living of the people. It also means distribution of the wealth. In this respect, Madam Deputy Chairman, it is admitted that we have not been able to reach the target, or that we have not been able to raise the standard of living to the required degree although we have a rise in the national income and although we have also a rise in the per capita income too. We have also to take into account the spiral of prices which are rising. If we take into account this spiral of prices that are rising day by day, month by month and year by year, we cannot say that the rise in the standard of living is to a degree with which we can be satisfied. When we attend to these questions, this position has to be admitted. There is also the other objective of planning, namely, the reduction in the disparity in incomes. There also it has not been a success. That is why the Planning Commission has appointed a sub-committee—the Mahalanobis Committee—to go into this question and to find out where this wealth that we have sunk in the several projects in the Plans, has actually gone, whether the masses have really been benefited, whether the question of unemployment has been solved to the required degree, and whether the people are really receiving the benefits to the extent shown by the rise in the per capita income. So this is an admitted fact. If these two are admitted facts, namely, that we have not been able to raise the living standards of the people in the manner we desired, and if we have also failed to reduce the disparity in income, then we have to see what exactly is wrong with the Plan? That is the question which we have to ask ourselves. Because we ask ourselves this question, it does not mean that we do not appreciate the general successes of the Plan or the progress that has been made by the Plan. In my opinion, Madam, the main defect is that in the Planning

[Shri M. Govinda Reddy.]

Commission there is more of theory than practice. They are very good scholars and people who have served the country and who have known the country but in one respect at least I honestly believe that there is lack of real knowledge of the conditions in the country. I will elaborate this point. At the time of the drawing up of the Second Plan, we were discussing the core of the Plan and then steel, coal and fuel were stated to be the core of the Plan whereas at that time agriculture ought to have remained the core of the Plan. When the price of agricultural commodities rises, when there is shortage of agricultural commodities, naturally the cost of living rises resulting in a rise in wages and naturally all the Plans are affected. This is the basic question and this basic question has to be attended to if we want to achieve success in the Plan. In order to see that agriculture reaches its maximum achievement, we ought to have had a Plan to ensure maximum production but unfortunately in our Constitution agriculture has remained a State subject and in spite of the Prime Minister writing to the Chief Ministers of the States to give importance to agriculture and to entrust the portfolio of agriculture to an important and active man, still, I am sorry to say, the State Governments have not regarded the Prime Minister's letter with the due respect that it deserves. This also shows that they have lost sight of the urgent need of the country. It is up to the Planning Commission to see how best they can mend this defect. My only suggestion is that they must reinforce the Planning Commission with somebody who has real knowledge of agricultural conditions in the country. I dare say without the fear of being challenged that there is now in the Planning Commission nobody who has actual intimate knowledge of agriculture and that is true of all the departments of agriculture, whether it is the Agriculture Ministry in the Centre or the agriculture departments

in the States. We have very few officers who have real knowledge of the conditions of agriculture and who are really imbued with the spirit of serving agriculture. This is a difficulty which should be removed.

There is another difficulty with regard to the Planning Commission and that is that they have not taken care to see that there is co-ordination between the different departments for the effective implementation of the Plan. I will give just one example. In one of the panel meetings, I enquired as to whether the indent for agricultural implements had been placed beforehand and, if so, what the nature of the indent was. There was no indent called for in a thing like this. Is it not a fact that agriculturists require implements as the first item and then comes fertiliser, bullock power, etc. Now, the first thing is not taken care of. In that year, there was no indent and in fact, neither the Planning Commission nor the State Governments had finalised the requirements of agricultural implements for the country and, therefore, they had not directed the Steel Ministry to make available sufficient quantity of steel for the production of agricultural implements. Even today, Madam, I am sorry to say, that the agricultural implements are not available in adequate numbers and people who want agricultural implements have to hunt for them, have to pay blackmarket prices. This is an elementary thing which should have been attended to. Next comes fertiliser and that has been pointed out very well. There should be co-ordination between the various departments of agriculture.

The other point is that the Members of the Planning Commission must go round the country and acquaint themselves with what is happening in regard to the implementation of the Plan. Sometimes they go; I do not say that they do not go but my point

is that they have to go out more often and meet others, not only the officers.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARNAND (Madhya Pradesh): They should go *incognito*.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: They cannot go *incognito* because they are all famous people, known all over the country. If they can go *incognito*, very well but even if they cannot go *incognito*, they can very well draw experience *incognito*. They can meet people, they can meet the agriculturists and the industrialists. They can meet people outside their circle of officers or concerned departments and then discuss with them the whole thing. They can then find out how much of the implementation has taken place in practice and how much is on paper only. Unfortunately, a very considerable portion of our resources is being wasted by people, the services, who do not believe in implementation but believe only in cooking up figures and showing them to the Planning Commission. Of course, I can give instances to prove this, but I have got no time. With all the emphasis at my command, I would request the Planning Commission Members to go on tour more often and have special projects for inspection. Let them go more often, meet the common labourers, the agriculturists and so on and then they will come to know the real state of affairs as to how far the Plan is really being implemented.

The last point I want to stress relates to social education. Of course, this point has been referred to. We have, as our objective, a socialist pattern of society. I do not agree with the hon. Shri Ruthnaswamy because in this poor country, this talk of individualism takes us nowhere. His friends will remain rich and my company will ever remain poor.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: The rich are all on your side.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: My regret is that the socialist objective

is not kept in view and we have not tried to educate the services, the industrial magnates and others about this objective. This is all, Madam, that I had to say and I thank you for the indulgence shown to me.

SHRI T. S. PATTABIRAMAN (Madras): Madam Deputy Chairman, after ten years of the Plan and implementation of the Plan, it gratifies me to note that the country has after have originally opposed planning and planned development. We do see its reflections in this House when persons belonging to parties which have originally opposed planning have now come to accept the principles of planning and are only questioning the tempo and details of the Plan.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY) in the Chair.]

After twelve years of experience, it is time for an appraisal of the effect of the Plan in this country. Some sort of appraisal by the Planning Commission is going on but I have a different sort of appraisal in view. Many people have suggested and even there have been complaints that there has been imbalance and that regional disparity has developed in these past twelve years which need immediate correction. Among the galaxy of persons who have made these charges are ex-Governors, ex-Deputy Speakers and ex-Ministers. Therefore, these things cannot be brushed aside lightly. India is a vast country and it is imperative that all regions should be given equal importance in the matter of development and also in the matter of location of the Plan projects. When these complaints have been made, I would like to know whether the Planning Commission and the Government have considered it necessary to have an expert body to go into these allegations and find out whether there is any truth in them or not. All these years we have only been thinking of an all-India plan and the business of planning is done

[Shri T. S. Pattabiraman.]

at two stages. The first stage is that the States are asked to submit a plan and the Planning Commission sitting at the heights of Delhi prunes it and trims it and then puts it into the picture and an overall Plan for India is made. We now hear that the States have neither the resources nor the imagination to have full utilisation of all the natural resources of their respective areas. It is necessary that we must now look at things on a regional basis. I am not suggesting any novel or a new programme. Already, in the political field, we have got Five Regional Councils and these Councils are looking after the problems both political and sometimes economic too. I would like the hon. Minister to consider whether one Planning Commission in Delhi with a few Members and with a vast magnitude of problems will be able to do justice and have a proper perspective of the whole country before it in deciding things and matters.

It is necessary that we must 3 P.M. have regional planning boards. Instead of having State boards it is better to have some regional planning boards, which will look into the integration of the economic resources of the respective regions. Why I am saying this is because the States have been quarrelling and the available resources have not been utilised to the maximum benefit. For example, take the rivers of the South. While the politicians are quarrelling, while the legislatures are fighting with each other about rights, treaties and obligations, the entire waters of the Godavari, Kistna and many rivers, of Kerala are flowing into the sea. Is it right, is it just, that because the people and the politicians are quarrelling, the natural resources of the country should be left to be wasted and people made to suffer? If the regional planning boards are there, they will be able to co-ordinate and formulate plans which they can send to the Centre and the Planning Commission can integrate all those plans. Then it will be better. For example, if a river

board is set up for the east-flowing rivers, rivers that flow into the Bay of Bengal and another one for the rivers that flow into the Arabian Sea, they can look after the economic development of the entire region and the benefits that will accrue will be vast. The projects which they send up can be financed by the Centre. If that is done much of the rancour, bitterness and the complaints that have been made in this House and outside will disappear. It is necessary also that we sponsor schemes which will be of interest and benefit to more than one State. For example, a number of hydro electric projects can be located in the Western Ghats in Kerala and Mysore which could be used for the benefit of all the three States. But they have not been done because there is quarrel going on between these States. Therefore, I suggest that the Planning Commission should consider setting up regional planning boards. They may be subsidiary ones; I do not suggest that they must be autonomous bodies or they must be completely independent bodies. There can be subsidiary bodies for the five regions and those boards can formulate schemes for the development of the respective regions and submit them to the Planning Commission and the Planning Commission might integrate them in their Plan.

One such project of great importance is the Hogenakkal Project in Madras concerning the river Cauvery. Sir, flood control is the responsibility of the Centre and I think the Centre has spent about Rs. 90 crores so far but the South has not benefited by it. Last year there were unprecedented floods in the Cauvery and vast areas in Mysore and in Salem, Tanjore and Tiruchi districts were laid to waste because of the flood waters. The Tiruchi and Tanjore districts are the rice bowls of Madras State and if those districts are affected, the entire food production of Madras State will be affected.

Therefore, we must safeguard against such things in future; otherwise it will be a calamity if floods recur in this river. I would therefore, request the Planning Commission to give top precedence to the Hogenakkal Project, which may cost Rs. 60 to Rs. 70 crores, in the Third Plan and get it implemented. It is not merely a flood control project; it is a multi-purpose project.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: What is that project?

SHRI T. S. PATTABIRAMAN: Hogenakkal, in the river Cauvery. It is adjacent to Mysore; it is on the border of Mysore and Madras.

Now, the entire power output in Madras is only 8 lakh kws, whereas if this Hogenakkal Project is commissioned, this project alone will produce one million kws. of electricity; this one unit alone will give one million kws. of electric power and it can certainly be of benefit both to Mysore and Madras States. Further, it can also be used for irrigation. During times of flood the waters of the Cauvery which flow into this Hogenakkal reservoir can be diverted to the Pennar river and in that way the floods can be avoided. At the same time the water can be utilised for irrigation in the districts of Salem, North Arcot and South Arcot.

There is one thing which I think is engaging the attention of the Ministry also. I understand from very reliable sources that one friendly foreign Government has already assured the Government of Madras that that country will provide all the foreign exchange resources needed for this project and that they will be very happy to help Madras State in this respect. I earnestly request the Government and the Planning Commission to give top precedence to this project and see that this project is executed in the interests of all concerned within the Third Plan period.

Now, the Minister of Planning was referring to the transport bottleneck in the country and the schemes to alleviate the sufferings of the people with regard to these bottlenecks. In spite of all his best attention I am afraid that the railways can never cope with the increased demand for wagons for the transport of coal and iron and steel from one part of the country to another within any reasonable period. Fortunately we have got a very long coastline and it is for the Government to utilise it. But it is a matter of great regret that coastal shipping has not been adequately utilised or developed in the first two Plans. Coal movement to the South can be fully covered by coastal shipping if proper encouragement and facilities can be given to coastal shipping but this has not been done. Of course, there is a bottleneck here also which should be removed immediately. As the Gulf of Manager is not navigable, the ships plying between the eastern and western shores have to make a detour of about 300 miles covering the whole of Ceylon and it takes up additional time of three days each way. If the Sethusamudram project is executed immediately, as has been suggested by experts, it can save a lot of money and time for the country. Let me not be misunderstood that I am advocating the execution of this Sethusamudram project just for the simple reason that it is a project which is in the South. It is an all-India project; it will help the entire economy of the country. We all will be benefited; the nation will be benefited. The Sethusamudram project, if executed, will enable a ship to save three days each way and a ship that plies from Calcutta to Cochin and back carrying coal or any other merchandise will be able to save six days in all. This can be a great saving to the country. For example, if two hundred ships are required for the coastal traffic of the country to carry millions of tons of goods, if the Sethusamudram project is executed there can be a saving to the tune of 25 per cent. Forty to fifty ships can be saved and 150 ships can handle the traffic and forty

[Shri T. S. Pattabiraman.]

to fifty ships will certainly cost about Rs. 50 crores. It will be a great saving. Further there will also be addition to the tonnage transported to the extent of 25 per cent. This will also be a great saving.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Your time is up.

SHRI T. S. PATTABIRMAN: I will take just two minutes.

The Government is now committed to the development of the Tuticorin port as a major port. We welcome it. But what is the use of a port if there are no bunkering facilities for big ships. The Tuticorin port alone will not be of much benefit to the country unless the Sethusamudram project is also tied up to it. And there is one other great advantage. It will earn millions of rupees worth of foreign exchange if the Sethusamudram project is executed. The ocean going ships that now touch Colombo, which go from London to Australia and Singapore, will be able to make use of the berthing facilities and the bunkering facilities at Tuticorin and that will give us a lot of foreign exchange.

With these few remarks, Sir, I conclude.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: Sir, when the Third Plan was drawn up, we had the experience of one decade of planning. We utilised the experience in formulating a blueprint, a realistic blueprint, with limited goals and modest ambitions and this was meant to be implemented. When this Plan was drafted, the whole country, except perhaps a small section, supported it. There was goodwill and unanimity for the Plan. In spite of this very favourable climate, what do we find? It seems that in the very first year of the Third Plan our ship of progress is stuck in the mud, in a slough of despond. It looks as though we have

reached a point of no return and the law of economic dynamism seems to be operating in the reverse gear. In spite of bold, calculated, realistic and forward planning, India's rate of development is only 3.5 per cent. since the last one decade of planning. This has been exceeded and surpassed even by smaller countries like Malaya, Indonesia and Ceylon, countries which have no planning at all. This is a very modest, limited growth. But how this rate of development of 3.5 per cent. is distributed? Nearly, two per cent. is neutralised by increase in population, half a per cent. is taken away by growing inflation. Only a slender, ridiculously low margin of one per cent. is left for economic growth and development. The Third Plan envisages a rate of growth of five per cent. in the national income and this five per cent. was the target fixed in the Second Plan itself. Unfortunately, as I said, the rate of development in the last one decade is between 3 per cent. and 4 per cent. In the Second Plan period it was 3.5 per cent. Unfortunately, this target, which is a very modest target, had to be repeated in the Third Plan itself. That target could not be realised in the Second Plan. Because of failure in its realisation previously, we have had to conform to this very limited, modest objective.

Then how are we going about in order to realise this objective? The Plan was started with such gusto, with a lot of good feeling all over the country. How are we progressing with the implementation of the Plan then? To our amazement, the rate of development in the first year of the Third Plan is 3 per cent. It is estimated that it is only 3 per cent. May I point out that it is less than the average during the last one decade and definitely less than the average achieved in the Second Plan? If this is the rate of growth that will be repeated in the next four years, where will we be? And how do you make up this shortfall? Suppose, this 3 per cent. rate of growth, continues.

then only half a per cent. is left for economic growth and development. The whole country has to depend on this half a per cent. It is remarkable that the Planning Minister yesterday was very complacent, or may I say that he led himself into a delusion that certain imbalances have emerged, and that they will be set right.

In any planning we normally expect progress step by step. There is continuity in growth and development. But unfortunately, there is a setback now. How does the Planning Minister explain this situation? He says that he is not at all responsible, nor other Ministries. Perhaps the monsoon is responsible. After all if there is nothing else to blame, they blame the weather all right. May I ask him: What is the performance in industry? If the agricultural sector has failed, let us agree that it is because monsoon has failed, that weather conditions were adverse and that agricultural production has increased therefore by only one per cent. But what about the progress in the industrial sector? Now, there has been an increase of about 5 per cent. only in industry and this 5 per cent. is the fixed rate of growth for the entire Third Plan. Normally, we expect, if one sector falls behind, the other sector, more prosperous, dynamic industrial sector should lift it up, make up the slackness in growth or set-back in another sector. Nothing happens. The industrial sector also goes on at the rate of 5 per cent. What is the reason for this slow growth of industry?

One obvious reason to me is that the public undertakings have not worked well at all during all these years. We pin our hope and faith on the public undertakings. And what is their return? The expected return is only 4 per cent. on the investments made. Normally, in the private sector ten to twelve per cent. or even fourteen per cent. is expected as return on the investment made. At least we must expect ten per cent. from the public sector undertakings. For

instance, take the case of steel. It has become a proverbial case of failure. We did not achieve the target fixed in the Second Plan. The Second Plan was heavy industries-oriented. We pin our hopes on the heavy industries, particularly the steel industry, because without steel one cannot build the superstructure of economic growth. It is not possible to move forward. But what do we find? We failed miserably in the Second Plan period to achieve the target. Now also the same thing is repeated. We have not drawn any lessons from past experience. In the first year the shortfall is heavy. Now there has been considerable delay even in placing orders for expanding the existing steel plants in the public sector. Early in 1961, the Ministry indicated that orders for machinery and equipment for Bhilai would be placed by March 1961 and for the other two steel plants by March 1962. But at the end of 1961, after twelve months, the target dates were changed, were put back by a year, because the preparatory work for placing orders could not be finalised. This delay in the placing of orders alone will postpone the construction, a part of the programme for expansion, to the Fourth Plan. We have lost literally one Plan period, one full quinquennium is lost for no strong or obvious reason. Merely because there was delay in preparation, in placing the order, we have lost this period in a project which is so necessary and vital for our economic development. And then what is the performance of these steel projects in Bhilai, Rourkela and Durgapur? Eightyfive per cent. of the rated capacity is utilised in Bhilai. In the case of Durgapur it is only 53 per cent., and in the case of Rourkela it is 35 per cent. The result is that there is a growing gap between steel availability and steel requirements in the country, and this naturally and inevitably results in the need for maintenance imports. As the House is aware, the foreign exchange allotted in the Plan for import of steel is Rs. 238 crores. It is only Rs. 238 crores. Out of this

[Shri M. S. Gurupada Swamy.]

Rs. 238 crores, Rs 100 crores has been used up in the very first year, and only Rs 138 crores is left. Because of the growing gap between requirements and availability, the import bill for steel alone in the Third Plan will be near about Rs 615 crores. Yesterday, the hon. Planning Minister was talking loud about proper and effective utilisation of foreign exchange. This is how foreign exchange is being utilised. Foreign exchange is scarce. It has to be utilised most judiciously, but how are we utilising it? This is the way. We do not function at all in certain sectors. There is no performance. Even if there is performance, it is so little that it produces a huge shortfall, and in turn we get artificial gaps, and in order to fill up the gaps we have to import. This is how the Ministry is fulfilling its promise of proper utilisation of foreign resources.

What about coal? The output of coal in 1961-62 was 55.2 million tons compared to 55.5 million tons in the preceding year. It is a remarkable progress in decline. The note circulated by the Ministry to Members says that there are a variety of reasons for the low output of coal by the N.C.D.C. I do not understand these varieties of reasons. I understand neither the variety nor the reasons. I cannot understand it at all. Anyway the reasons must be full of variety. The Government, I think, had deliberately glossed over facts instead of facing the realities of failure.

These are two vital sectors on which we pin our hope and faith. But what about other sectors? How is their performance? Take the scheme of basic education. Sir, the less said about it the better. Our Chairman, the Vice-President of India, who is a great educationist—it was he who formulated the scheme of basic education, he was one of the important authors of the scheme—what did he say? He said some time ago that it was a big fraud.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA:  
When did he say that?

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: He said that it has failed.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY:  
I remember the words much better than you do. You please refer to his statement or you ask him, and he will tell you. He said that the basic education in India is a big fraud as it is practised. It was published all over India in all papers. There was no admission on the part of the Government of their failure in this respect. Monies were drawn and schemes were produced by various State institutions under the name "basic". Institutions became suddenly "basic". The adjective was liberally used. Under the use of the name "basic" lakhs and crores of rupees have been provided, Rs 4 crores perhaps in the Second Plan and Rs. 10 crores in the Third Plan. So much money is drawn under cover of the name "basic". There is nothing basic about it, and in spite of the criticism made by such a high personage no notice was taken of it even during Budget time when the budget was sanctioned for Basic Education. The Minister had not the grace to admit the failure of the schemes or to suggest various remedial measures as to how to set right the whole scheme. Nothing was done, but the expenditure goes on merrily all right. The fraud is perpetuated and expanded, and this is what is going on under planning.

Then again, take land reforms. I do not call it a fraud, but it is fairly bordering on fraud. Now, 80.2 per cent of the people live in the countryside. They live on land, live on agriculture. What is the impact of land reforms on them? Your reform is very superficial. It is more propagandist than otherwise. Then what about Panchayati Raj? This is another camouflage. I stand by Panchayati Raj, but it is not a success. The right kind of approach is not made. Then how are the co-operatives and the community development projects working? How are they working in the countryside? People

**SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY:** If there has been any lapse on the part of the Opposition in regard to the working of the Plan, I regret it. But sometimes co-operation is not wanted by the Government. And there is ...

**SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN:** In every Consultative Committee and in the Boards in the States and at the Centre, they are all there and they are most welcome.

**SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY:** May I point out that real consultation is not done with the Opposition parties? And in bodies and agencies where real work is to be done, participation of the Opposition parties is not there because it is not taken. I am not making a grievance or criticism of it. We want to co-operate. But here I am pointing out why there is no people's co-operation, why there is no enthusiasm, no reaction no response on their part. May I point out that 80 per cent. of the people who are staying in the countryside do not feel the impact? That is the real crux of the problem.

We want the Plan to succeed, we want that it should succeed more than it has. We must go forward. But, unfortunately, only the burdens are increasing and the poor Indian has to go on, like Sindbad the sailor, carrying the old man on his back. His burden is increasing all the time. The old man is always tightening his grip. The burden becomes heavier and heavier. But he is carrying him with a fond feeling of hope that perhaps the old man might show a way out of the darkness. But in the process, the poor Indian may suffer, may break down. The old man sitting tight on his back may go on sitting, nothing may happen to him.

I say that the greatest drawback with regard to the Plan is that there is no sufficiently effective organisation at any level to implement the Plan. The administration has proved to be incompetent. And I feel that this Government, consisting of so many

people from all over the State, looks like a refugee Government. People who are not wanted at the State level, who are rejected by the States, come and flock together and form a Cabinet and it really looks like a big refugee Government. How can this refugee Government fulfil the targets fixed by the Planning Commission?

Sir, finally I wish that the spirit of complacency or delusion from which the Minister of Planning and the Planning Commission is suffering should be given up and effective, concrete steps should be taken in the matter of realisation of the targets which are by any standard low and modest and which are feasible.

Thank you.

**SHRI SURESH J. DESAI (Gujarat):** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, while discussing the progress of the Third Five Year Plan, it is desirable to examine both the sides, the achievements of the Plan on the one side and the shortfalls and the drawbacks on the other. We have been hearing more about the shortfalls and the drawbacks from certain quarters and that also from an angle which is not rather constructive. If anybody thinks that to bring up the standard of living or rather the level of living—because we have hardly any standard—of 44 crores of people is an easy task and that this ideology or that ideology can achieve it in a year or two, I think he is living under an illusion. We have certain inherent difficulties. We hardly have any technological know-how, we hardly have any capital resources and our people have not got that hard-working habit which the Westerners have got. And notwithstanding all these difficulties, we have made all-round economic progress. The public sector and the private sector both are progressing very well. In the public sector the three steel mills are already in operation. The fourth steel mill is being planned. Projects like the Hindustan Machine Tools which have been working for a long time are already progressing very well and new projects like the Heavy

are not enthused at all about them. Monies have been spent, offices have been created and officers have been recruited for this purpose, but these officers are always too ready to supervise the work done by the people but they will never learn how to work with them in the countryside.

Sir, I have got a feeling that there is a growing vulgarisation and degeneration of our economy all round. There is administrative disorder at all levels, and people ask why it is that we are failing. Perhaps the Minister also would ask himself in private whither we are going, why we are failing, what the real cause is for this failure, for these lapses. May I tell you, Sir, with all humility that the greatest crisis today is the crisis of organisation, the crisis of administration. There is a failure of administration, there is a failure of organisation. Whatever you do, however good a plan you may produce, however perfect a blue-print it may be, let me tell you that if there is no competent leadership, it will fail.

**SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE:** The P.S.P. has got competent leadership!

**SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY:** The P.S.P. is very clear about its leadership. Do not bother about the P.S.P., but bother about yourself. *(Interruption)* The country's problems are big and complex. But the greatest problem of today is the standard of living of the people. Where do we stand there? After years of development and economic growth nearly 60 per cent. of the people have a level of consumption which is lower than Rs. 25 per capita per month and about 30 per cent. less than Rs. 15 per capita per month. The Nutrition Advisory Committee has recommended that for a proper nutritious diet an individual requires a minimum of Rs. 35 per month, but only 20 per cent. of the people in India can afford this amount. So, looking at it from any point of

view, you will find that there is a decline, there is a setback, there is a shortfall. No relief is forthcoming except the promises of the Prime Minister from time to time. The other day the Prime Minister was talking about the big projects calling them temples. Yes, they are like real temples. After all, if they had been good economic projects, they would have had an impact on the people, on the living of the people. But when these temples are so remote, they have no impact at all on them, they can be seen only from a distance. You have been able to create a few temples and the people have to see them from a distance and admire them. No direct influence is felt. The other day, the Prime Minister was saying, "I see plenty of bicycles on the road." Most of them are of course without brakes or lights. But we see the number of beggars growing. Even in areas where there was no begging, we see a lot of beggars. Go to the railway trains, there are plenty of beggars and they are swarming and increasing all the time. We see distress, frustration everywhere, but no prosperity. I think the Prime Minister and his coterie may be living in ivory-towers. They have lost their eyesight or they may turn what is called a Nelson's eye, a blind eye, to all these things. There cannot be any other explanation. I can go on with more facts to show that there has been very little impact on the masses. The Minister may wonder. How is it that when the Plan has been accepted by all and there has been approval given to it by every political party we are stuck up and there is no move forward?

**SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN:** There is no co-operation from all the Opposition parties. That is also a factor which is needed in this respect.

**SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE (Maharashtra):** It depends upon how the co-operation is taken from the Opposition parties.

**SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY:** They were not consulted in regard to the formulation of the Plan. How can they co-operate?

Electricals at Bhopal are commencing operation. A number of fertiliser projects and other projects like the Heavy Engineering Corporation, the Heavy Machine Building Corporation and so on are now nearing completion and within a short time they will be functioning. In the private sector also they have done very well. The number of applications for licences under the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act was 16 per cent. higher in the year 1961 than in the previous year. A number of new items are being produced by our industries now, engineering goods like hydraulic presses, chemical goods like butyl alcohol and other vital miscellaneous goods like rayon cord.

In the agricultural sector also the production has been increasing. Perhaps it may not be as much as we desire, but there is no doubt that agricultural production has improved in the course of the last ten years. A number of social services have been extended, schools, colleges, roads, etc. All these things have come about, and anybody who has got eyes to see, anybody who moves about in the country can easily find that the level of living of our people is improving gradually. After all it is a tremendously difficult task but still, because of the effort of the Government and because of the effort of the Planning Commission and our planners, the standard of living of our people has improved. When I go to the villages, when I go to the countryside, I find that in the homes of the villagers there are radios also. People who were taking jowar and bajra previously are now taking wheat and rice. People who were putting on very coarse cloth are now putting on finer cloth and people who were taking only gur are now taking sugar also. These are small improvements. Of course, they are not perceptible improvements, as much as people would wish them to be, but these are significant improvements which are coming about in a vast population of 44 crores of people, and certainly our Planning Commission and the planners are to be thanked and congratulated

for what they have done so far. But at the same time, Sir, in view of our vast population of 44 crores of people and in view of the rapidly rising population of the country, which is rising at the rate of more than 2 per cent every year, much more has to be done. This certainly we cannot ignore; we cannot be self-complacent; we cannot be self-satisfied that everything has been done. We must look into the other side of the picture also, and we must admit that there have been shortfalls, that there have been drawbacks and that we have got to remedy them anyhow. In the case of steel manufacture the shortfall is something like 50 per cent; in fertilisers the shortfall has been something like 60 per cent. In the matter of supply of electric power there has been so much difficulty; not only the public have been inconvenienced as recently it happened in Delhi—in cities like Delhi, Madras, Calcutta and Bombay there have been power cuts—the industries also have been very greatly handicapped. As far as generation of power is concerned, it is not merely a question of putting a few transformers here and there but even we should have the industry to manufacture power-generating machinery in the country. That can be done either in the public or private sector. As far as possible, we must see that electric power is generated more and more and at an early date.

The question of coal has been a very difficult question. It would perhaps require a few hours for me to go into that question, but this much I will say here. Coal raisings have been not satisfactory and the movement of coal has been still less satisfactory. Raisings of coal can be improved by providing electric power to the collieries, by providing certain machinery requirements and also by giving a sort of incentive, by way of an increase in prices. But the question of movement of coal is a very difficult question and now that we are building some roads also in the colliery area we are trying to move coal by all means of transport by rail by canals and by sea also, but still that question is bound to

[Shri Suresh J. Desai.]

remain difficult for a few years to come, and I think that not enough attention has been paid to that question, as much as was required.

These shortfalls and drawbacks, by themselves, are distressing; they are certainly deplorable. On the other hand they produce certain other repercussions also, which are equally serious. For instance, for our maintenance imports we require something like Rs 3700 crores during the period of the Third Five Year Plan. In addition, we require capital goods, and so far—in the first two years of the Third Five Year Plan—we have available for capital goods imports about Rs 1890 crores, as the hon. Minister said the other day, and for the remaining three years of the Plan we may require about Rs. 1100 crores for capital goods imports. These requirements may also be met. But for our maintenance imports of the value of Rs 3700 crores, which will be required during the Plan, we have got to meet these by our exports. Our exports are extremely difficult to expand in the conventional items, like jute or tea or cotton textiles. In these items we face international competition and so it is very difficult to expand the exports of these conventional items. In the non-conventional items also, like light engineering goods, sewing machines or bicycles we have to meet the competition of so many other countries, of countries like Japan or Hong Kong, leave alone the other highly developed Western countries and thus it is difficult to expand the exports of these items also. If the shortfall in our finished steel production had not been 50 per cent., then we would not have been required to spend Rs. 140 crores in the year 1960-61 for importing finished steel from foreign countries. These Rs 140 crores we could have saved if the target of our steel production had been more or less met. Similar is the case with fertilisers also. We had to import fertilisers also and spend quite a large sum of money on

them. Such is the case with food items or with cotton also. Though we are getting cotton and food items under P.L. 480 . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): You have to conclude now

SHRI SURESH J. DESAI: Yes, Sir. We are getting food and cotton under P.L. 480; we have not to spend foreign exchange for them, but at the same time if we could have produced these commodities ourselves, then we could have imported certain other more essential articles under P.L. 480. Similar is the case with our oil production also. If our oil production had been planned much earlier, if there had been more oil production, then some of our foreign exchange could have been saved. So these maintenance imports have certainly become a problem with us, and unless the maintenance imports are there, the other industries will be handicapped.

On account of these shortfalls some people say that the Plan should be pruned. I am very much against pruning the Plan. Why should there be any pruning of the Plan? The Plan should not be pruned, but then we should try to achieve our targets as much as possible.

There is one last thing which I would mention here and it is this. In certain sectors of planning doctrinaire considerations should not be there. After all there are kinds and kinds of ownership. Under the Industrial Policy Statement of 1956 we envisage public ownership and we envisage private ownership. But there can be shades and shades of ownership. There can be a combination of Government ownership, private ownership and foreign collaboration also. So there can be various shades of ownership, and this doctrinaire consideration should not be brought into play. While we plan our production, the first necessity today to my mind is to increase our production by every means possible. Only if we increase

our production, we shall be able to raise the level of living of our people.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we have heard the speeches of hon. Members from the Congress Benches and we have noticed that they have made contradictory statements. They are blowing hot and cold. Just now Shri Suresh Desai spoke. In the beginning he observed that we have made considerable progress during the last year but immediately, after the first half of his speech was over, he himself quoted facts and figures to point out that there had been considerable shortages in achieving the targets which were fixed by the Planning Commission. Now, what is the actual position? Many Members have referred to the shortfalls in achieving targets. Even in basic and fundamental industries we could not achieve our targets. In steel we had the target to produce 4.3 million tons but actually we have produced 2.2 million tons. So far as nitrogenous fertilisers are concerned, it was decided to produce 290,000 tons but actually we have produced only 110,000 tons. In phosphate fertilisers the target was 120,000 tons but actually we have produced only 55,000 tons. In cement the target was 13.5 million tons but the actual production was 8.5 million tons. So in all these vital industries we find that there has been considerable shortage in achieving the targets.

Now, the first thing that we should consider is this. If for some reason or other it is difficult to achieve our targets, we should try to fix the targets on a practical basis. No doubt our country being backward we would like to make as much progress as it is possible for us to make. Even then we have to take into consideration all our resources. We have got the experience of ten years of planning and we know what targets can be achieved. Taking into consideration our past experience we should fix the targets; otherwise there will be a sort of frustration among the mas-

ses and they will begin to think and feel that no progress can be achieved through planning. Already there is such feeling in the people.

Another effect of the failure in achieving targets will be that the public sector will become contracted and the spokesmen of the private sector will come forward to claim that our achievements in the public sector are not so glorious since we could not achieve what we planned to achieve and as such, more scope should be given to the private sector. That, I may say, will be a retrograde step. Because the purpose of our Plans is to achieve social justice, to reduce inequalities in wealth and income. And if we have to achieve that purpose we must make considerable progress in the public sector without giving the private sector any excuse to make encroachment on the public sector, which would result in social inequalities being widened.

Now, Sir, what is the effect of the first year's achievements? There has been a rise in prices and decline in the real wages of labourers. They do not get the value of their earnings. There is heavy taxation imposed on these people. This is the fate of the first year of the Third Five Year Plan.

Sir, as pointed out by Mr. Gurupada Swamy, there is lack of co-ordination amongst the Government departments. It is very essential that when we are implementing our schemes and plans, there should be co-ordination and co-operation between the various departments of the Government. Mr. Gurupada Swamy has just pointed out one instance where even the order for the necessary machinery to increase the capacity of Bhilai and Durgapur plants has not been placed so far. We should like to know in what way the hon. Minister would achieve the targets of this Third Five Year Plan.

So far as steel production is concerned, we are still behind the target. We want to produce 6.8 million tons

[Shri B. D. Khobragade.]

of steel. But actually at present we are producing only 2.2 million tons. How this balance of 4.6 million tons is going to be achieved I would like to know. We are informed that by increasing capacity of Durgapur, Rourkela, Bhilai and Mysore Iron and Steel Works this production has to be increased. But we are sorry to learn that no steps are being taken to bring in the machinery to enable these plants to increase their capacity. It is the same case today with all other projects.

Sir, in this connection, I would like to point out one thing. If it is difficult to implement our projects through the public sector, then we should allow the private sector some share in these industries which are exclusively reserved for the public sector. We have already allowed the private sector to make encroachments in industries reserved for the public sector. Because the Government could not achieve the targets in fertilisers, they have given licences to ten private firms to produce 70,000 tons of fertilisers. Similarly, because our projects in the public sector could not produce sufficient iron ore and steel, the Government has given licences to many private firms to set up pig iron plants. Sir, we should try to give some share to the private sector also. Of course, as already pointed out by me, it would mean a retrograde step because by allowing the private sector to increase their capacity we will be rather increasing the existing economic inequalities also. But we have to increase the wealth of the nation. Since we have to produce wealth, let us produce it by allowing the private sector to contribute towards the increase of national wealth.

Sir, there is no co-ordination. I have already mentioned that ten firms were given licences to set up fertiliser plants. But the question whether or not a private firm should be allowed to set up fertiliser plants required one year for taking a decision, and after

one year some licences were given. But these licences were given to such firms which could not raise sufficient capital and which could not go into production. I know of one case in the Chanda district. A licence has been given to the Hind Traders to set up a pig iron plant. We raised this question on the floor of the House on a number of occasions. That project could not materialise because the licence was given to a firm which could not raise sufficient funds. And what do they say? "We are lagging behind in production." So, while giving licences to private parties we should see that they are in a position to get sufficient capital and start the working of their project within a considerably short time.

Sir, the second point that I would like to raise is about the imbalance that we notice. There is a great imbalance so far as regional development is concerned. I would quote certain figures only in respect of Maharashtra. Sir, in many respects Maharashtra has been a backward State and no steps have been taken to remove the regional disparity which we notice. I will quote only certain figures so far as agricultural and other industrial production figures are concerned. The yield per acre in Maharashtra in respect of many crops is below average. Taking the index of average yield per acre as 100, and comparing the yield in some of the other States with the yield in Maharashtra, we find there has been no progress in agricultural production in Maharashtra. Whereas the index of yield of wheat is 142 in Punjab, it is only 54 in Maharashtra. For cotton, the index number for Maharashtra is only 77, it is 248 again in Punjab. For groundnuts, the index for Maharashtra is 89, it is 178 for Kerala. So, we find that the progress made in agriculture in Maharashtra is comparatively very little and there is this imbalance.

So far as irrigation is concerned, Maharashtra is the last in the list of the States in India. The highest per-

centage of acreage under irrigation is in Jammu and Kashmir, that is 44 per cent. In Punjab, it is 41 per cent. In Madras, it is 38 per cent. In Assam, it is 30 per cent. In U.P., it is 27 per cent. and in Maharashtra, it is only 5 per cent.

Sir, in electric consumption also we find the same disparity. The average consumption per capita for the whole of India is 27 kilowatts. For Maharashtra, excepting Bombay and Poona region, it is only 20.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): Why exclude these regions?

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Bombay does not mean whole of Maharashtra.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: But these are parts of Maharashtra.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: That is why I say we should not have regional imbalance. If you develop only Bombay and keep the whole of Maharashtra backward, do you mean to say that the whole of Maharashtra has advanced or progressed? Definitely not. The development of one Bombay city does not mean development of the whole of Maharashtra State. That is my contention and that is why I am trying to point out to you that we should try to avoid such regional imbalances. So 4 P.M. far as railways and roads are concerned, the percentage of rail-mile per 100 square miles is only 2.5 in Maharashtra. So far as roads are concerned, there are only 19 miles per 100 square miles. This is very little. We should try to remove these regional imbalances. Speaking from the mineral point of view, there are huge mineral deposits in Maharashtra. We have got coal deposits in Vidarbha. We have got iron ore deposits in Vidarbha. Therefore, we should try to exploit all those mineral resources and try to develop Vidarbha and Maharashtra. But unfortunately as I have already

pointed out, no steps have been taken to make progress in Vidarbha. We have been trying to get one or two steel projects but we could not get them. Ultimately, one small pig iron plant of one lakh ton capacity was given to Vidarbha and that too has not gone into production. Only one small plant has been given and it has been given to such a person who could not even raise sufficient capital. There are huge deposits and therefore the Government should try to exploit these mineral deposits in Vidarbha and try to remove the regional imbalance that we notice. There is one last point that I would like to make.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): You have to make it very briefly.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Yes. We have been told that the purpose of the Third Plan is to increase the national income by 5 per cent. per year but we could not achieve even this target this year because the rate of growth is 3.5 per cent. Even if we achieve a target of 5 per cent., it is eaten away by the increase in population which increases by 2 per cent. per year. I want to know from the hon. Minister what steps he has taken to check this growth in population. Considerable efforts and research have been made in foreign countries. We are informed that in Great Britain, birth control pills are being used very largely and on a wide scale. They are being sold in the markets at economic rates but no steps have been taken in India which is suffering acutely from this problem. Only about 3 or 4 years back Dr. Sanyal had invented one drug but no effort was made to find out whether it could be really effective and whether we could take to that. Now, Dr. Ghosh has come forward . . .

THE MINISTER OF HEALTH (DR. SUSHILA NAYAR): I might tell the hon. Member that Mr. Sanyal's pills have been tested. They have been found to be effective in 50 per cent. of the cases and he should know that we have been making elaborate arrange-

[Dr. Sushila Nayar.]

ments for the extension of family planning programmes to bring down the population growth rate.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: There is another invention made.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Please finish.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: I will finish with this. The Minister has taken some of my time. Therefore, I will reply to the point raised by her. There has been another invention also. Dr. Ghosh had invented another herb. He has stated that he has tested it for the last 12 years. Even in India he has used that herb on 60 persons in the past and in 59 cases he has proved that it is very effective and no conception could take place. Only in one case the conception took place after 9 months. Therefore, his herb is quite effective and very cheap and therefore the Government should take to it. It has also been told that it is not harmful to health. Of course, people will take to it. Therefore, the Government should try to find out whether this can be used on a large scale and whether it can be sold to people at economic rates. The people in the villages want family planning. It is not only that the Government want it but the people themselves want it because they cannot feed their children. The difficulty is that they want oral contraceptives which they can purchase at economic prices. They cannot afford other expensive contraceptives. If you want to check population growth, it is the responsibility of the Government to take all those steps to provide the people with cheap oral contraceptives.

DR SUSHILA NAYAR: Research is being carried out on that. The hon. Member can come and ask us about it if he is interested.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: I want to know whether it has been found popular among the people.  
(Interruptions.)

SHRI DHANANJOY MOHANTY (Orissa): Many hon. friends have made suggestions. Besides my appreciation of the working of the Plan I propose only to speak about some of the loopholes and lacunae. Though agriculture had so far been the basis of our economy, proper attention has not been paid to it. Production is increasing very slowly and I think our planning is somewhat responsible for it because the interior parts of our country gained nothing absolutely out of these plans as regards promotion of agriculture which requires mainly three things—water, manure and seeds. In the rural areas, there are certain parts, particularly in Orissa, in the coastal areas, where there is no forest. There people use up all the cowdung they have for fuel purposes. That is never replaced. The chemical manures that are being supplied either they do not reach the farmers due to lack of transport or the farmers have no means to purchase. In this context there is another thing which I would lay stress upon. Very recently to a question of mine in this House regarding the properties of the chemical manure and how far they help in the growing up of nutritional foodgrains, the answer was highly disappointing. It has not yet been examined whether foodgrains grown by application of chemical manures contain more nutrition than foodgrains grown by application of organic manure. I would submit that this is due to lack of proper planning. This should have been examined before we started spending such a lot of money over the manufacture of these chemical manures. There are these research centres and I had some personal experience of the Central Rice Research Centre at Cuttack. The Director in charge of that Centre started in a very peculiar way while answering me. He said like a *guru* in an old *gurukul* who first tells the disciple only one thing and after one month or

so finds out whether that person is suitable or capable of receiving instructions and then tells him something more, he would tell me only one thing, how on the same plant two different types of fruits could be grown, with particular reference to maize. But these things are practically not helpful. Particularly in Orissa which is a flooded part of the country, we want flood resistant plants. I was told that there is a flood-resistant paddy seed and that the roots of the plants from these seeds do not rot even if they are under water for more than one week or about two weeks. But to our great disappointment, these seeds have never been tried anywhere there.

There are many other things which I have to refer to in this connection, but I will now pass on to another point. We know many things are grown in the interior parts of the country. Rice sells in towns at 1½ seers per rupee, whereas in the interior parts, in the interior villages, rice is available at the rate of 3 seers per rupee. The difference is too great. The man in the interior gets less for his produce. He sells it at a cheaper rate whereas for every commodity that he wants to purchase, he has to pay a much higher price in the interior. This is how the rural masses who have no outlet and who cannot have the advantages of the current market trends are suffering. They are disappointed and they lose.

It has been rightly remarked by many learned Members and also by our hon. Prime Minister that it is agriculture which will improve the lot of the masses, because only a few people will be able to take advantage of the industrial developments. But how will the agricultural masses improve their lot if they have to sell the products which they grow by hard labour, at such a low cost? That is much lower than the price they can be expected to get. Therefore, the main hurdle before the peasant is the difficulty he experiences in marketing his produce. This difficulty should

have been foreseen and even now this problem should be given special attention, indeed the best attention possible.

Apart from agriculture, there is the problem of education also. Education is fundamental and the primary thing for the development of any country in all aspects. I do not grudge the amenities and advantages given to the Adibasis, the tribal people or to the backward classes. But I would make this suggestion that there should be no discrimination in the matter of education and health. I mean by health medical treatment. In these two matters the discriminating factor should not be caste or religion but only the financial status of the people concerned. All other poor persons who cannot afford to educate their children should be treated on a par with the others, I mean the backward classes. I do not want to minimise the privileges of the backward classes, but the other poor classes should be promoted. That is what I mean. In this connection, one thing has always been lost sight of. Of course, it is very pleasing to find that the Christian missionaries in the tribal areas are doing a lot. But as has been already observed, they are creating or injecting a very bad tendency into the minds of the tribal people, a separatist tendency, which is growing day by day. Unless this is stopped we cannot get whole-hearted co-operation of all the people in these backward areas. This has to be checked. Therefore, some sort of thinking is called for here.

**SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY:** May I know in which tribal areas the Christian missionaries are injecting this separatist tendency?

**SHRI DHANANJOY MOHANTY:** In Sundargarh district, for instance and in Madhya Pradesh—in Sarguja and also in Bihar.

**SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY:** Are the Christians asking for a separate State in the country?

**SHRI DHANANJOY MOHANTY:** Yes, in an indirect way.

AN HON MEMBER: Jharkhand State they want.

SHRI DHANANJOY MOHANTY: There is one more thing I want to refer to and that is this. Removal or disparities in incomes should be considered along with our creed. We stood for a socialistic pattern. But in these new plans and projects if I may state one example . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): There is no time. You please finish.

SHRI DHANANJOY MOHANTY: I am finishing.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Please conclude.

SHRI DHANANJOY MOHANTY: The HSL General Manager's house at Rourkela which was constructed at a cost of Rs. 81,000/- only three years back has now been improved at an additional cost of Rs. 52,500/- whereas a labourer has hardly a hut on a 300 sq. ft. plinth area. There you find the carpet, roads, Mercedes Benz cars and plastic . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): That will do.

SHRI DHANANJOY MOHANTY: One more point. Our friend over there made some remarks against certain matters in Orissa and it was said that in Orissa the Planning Commission was not being wanted by the State or by the Chief Minister. It is said that this was a talk in a party meeting where my hon friend belonging to the Swatantra Party was not at all present. But he has heard something from some place and he says things without looking at the other side of his medal. He has been crying unnecessarily. I would say that the Chief Minister of Orissa never stated that the Planning Commission was not wanted. He simply envisaged a Planning Board at the State level. Actually when the Chief Minister referred to some of his ambitious plans,

these very friends shouted from platforms: "Where is all this money to come from? There is no provision in the Plan." Now, when the money is available, there seems to be some heartburning and now they say this. In this context, I would say that it is like that story in the Panchatantra where . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): That will do. No time for any more stories.

AN HON. MEMBER: One more story.

SHRI DHANANJOY MOHANTY: On the subject of prohibition I would like to say this.

AN HON. MEMBER: One more story.

SHRI DHANANJOY MOHANTY: On statement was made by the Chief Minister in answer to a question in the Assembly and that statement is being misunderstood. If the Chief Minister had a particular idea, that has nothing to do with the Planning Commission or with the Plan itself. He has to run the administration and in the present circumstances perhaps certain of his statements may be justified.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): That will do. Mr. Mohanty, Mr. Ramamurti.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Madras): Mr. Vice-Chairman, barring two gentlemen from the Congress Party, Mr. Sudhir Ghosh and Mr. Suresh Desai, who spoke with the zeal of new converts, nobody else in the House whether belonging to the Congress Party or to the Opposition parties is there who is not concerned about the state of affairs at the end of the first year of the Third Plan. Only these two gentlemen were extremely happy and extremely satisfied. Therefore, I am not taking them seriously at all. I do not know if the hon. Minister himself would have been happy over the speeches of these two hon. Members, because the Minister comes and makes statements

before the House in which he says that on the question of the national income, unfortunately, our national income has increased only by 3 per cent as against the target of 30 per cent.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: All five years.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: As against a target of thirty per cent. the present increase is of the order of three per cent. only. Even in the second year of the Plan, it cannot be expected to be much more for the simple reason that the agricultural production, as has been admitted already, in the second year of the Plan, has increased only by one per cent. In the first year also, it increased only by one per cent. and knowing as we do that agriculture forms more than fifty per cent. of our national income, we cannot also be quite sure that the increase in the national income in the second year of the Third Plan is going to be very much. This presents a very serious picture and not only on this but on the question of foreign exchange also the position is pretty serious. Things are pretty serious on the question of prices. The Minister himself admitted all these things and that is why I do not want to go into all these things. It is not necessary for me to refer to all these things. There has been a very serious shortfall in the matter of production in respect of steel, cement and certain other basic commodities. All these things are there but the question is, what is the remedy? That is what we are concerned with. My friend, Prof. Ruthnaswamy, would ask us to go back to the period when the British imperialists were ruling this country. It amounts to the same thing. We know at the time the British imperialists were ruling this country, they did not allow industries to develop in our country. They wanted to condemn India to the state of an agrarian appendage to the metropolitan country. He would also like to do the same thing.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: On a point of personal explanation, I did not say that we should go back to the days of the British imperialists. All I said was that the Congress assumes that the British had done everything for improving the foundations of economic growth and was proceeding on that basis whereas I contended that neither the British nor the Congress regime so far has improved or strengthened the infrastructure of our economy.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: I certainly did not mean to say that Prof. Ruthnaswamy was saying straightway that he would like the country to go back to the British imperialist days but what he said tantamounted to that. That is my contention. I am just telling you about this. We are now, for example, talking about the concentration of basic and heavy industries in this country but what would happen if we are to concentrate only on agriculture as he would like us to do? What would happen if we concentrate only on road making as he would like us to do? What would be the state of our country? As a matter of fact, ever since the end of the Second World War, we know that agricultural communities have been losing in terms of trade. We know how these advanced countries have been exploiting all these underdeveloped countries in the matter of terms of trade. We know all that. Should we be condemned further to that state of affairs? That is why we cannot think of these things. This is one aspect and when we come to the other side, I have my quarrel with the Government and with the Minister. The trouble comes here. The Congress Government is wedded to socialism. That ideological grip is not the trouble because my contention is that there is no such ideological grip. The ideology of theirs is something different. Despite all their talk about socialism, I would say that the Congress Party talks of socialism, develops capitalism and thinks in terms of feudalism. They have developed a feudalistic outlook,

[Shri P. Ramamurti.]

developed capitalism and talk of socialism. This is my complaint and that is the reality of the whole question. Therefore, let us see where we stand in the second year of the Plan. I will deal with every one of the aspects. We depended upon the private sector entirely in some respects. My opinion is, that barring certain heavy industries which were to be in the public sector and which the private sector was in no position whatsoever to undertake at that time, we depended entirely upon the private sector. Later on, when the private sector found fertiliser to be a profitable item, they came forward to develop it with Government help. Excepting these, they were not prepared to undertake production in any of the other basic industries because they were not in a position to do so. In fact, they were unwilling to undertake production excepting in the few fields I have indicated and for the industrial development of our country, we depended entirely upon private enterprise and that too upon the monopolist sections of private enterprise and we had been very badly let down, very very badly let down. I will take one example. The private capitalists in our country, particularly the monopoly sections of the capitalists are not the same as the Calvinists of England; they are not the same as the Methodists of England. Unfortunately, in our country, the capitalists have developed under a sheltered market right from the beginning, even from the year 1920. At that time it was the nationalist movement that gave them protection against competition from foreigners and later on they got protection as a result of the pressure that was brought to bear upon the British Government at that time; and because of this pressure protection was given to the textile industry and the sugar industry and to ever so many industries. This is how they have developed. They were not the people of that time, the British capitalists who developed in the earlier period. There is a proverb in the English language which says, "Honesty is the best

policy". They do not say that honesty is the best virtue but only say that it is the best policy. At that time, when capitalism was developing in England, when there was a competitive system of capitalism they found honesty to be a paying proposition and hence said that "Honesty is the best policy". Today, when our capitalists are developing very well, when there is not much of competition, when the State gives them a full protection, when the State gives not only protection against foreign competition but when the State gives them all the scarce resources that are made available today, it is precisely in this period that our private capitalists have let down the Government. Government has been let down very very badly. Take, for example, the cement industry. As against a target of 13 odd million tons, it has been able to produce only 8 million tons. Is it because that the Government have not been able to give them sufficient amount of foreign exchange? Certainly, foreign exchange was made available to the cement industry but nonetheless they did not produce the targeted figure. They did not do so because it was more profitable for them to create an artificial scarcity and sell cement in the blackmarket. Hence, they are not very much interested in producing more. This is where we are. Take again Tatas, a model and an example of the best and efficiently run concern and all that. They got their expansion scheme sanctioned long before Bhilai. Government guaranteed the World Bank loan and Government also gave them loan without any interest whatsoever but what has happened? Where is the increase in production in Tatas? When we should have had an increase of more than five lakh tons the increase during the last two years has only been of the order of two lakh tons. The Tatas have let you down. Take the question of foreign export. What is the remedy? Our Minister said that it was a precarious thing but what is the way out? I have here his speech made in the other House:

"In the matter of widening the opportunities for trade. . ."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Mr. Ramamurti, I think you should not refer to the speech made in the other House.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: Why?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): This is the convention here.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: All right, Sir.

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA: He can tell me afterwards.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: The hon. Minister referred to it and that is why I am forced to refer to it. He referred to it in the course of his speech. Anyway, at some other place, the hon. Minister stated that as far as foreign exchange is concerned, a more enlightened understanding of the needs of underdeveloped countries by the more developed countries of the world will be very good. Can we depend upon that? I would like to ask him whether we can depend on that. After all, see what has happened in the E.C.M. Day before yesterday, we read in the papers a cartel being formed of the countries which supply fertilisers to India in the E.C.M. area. India purchases nearly 10 per cent. of the total fertilisers exported from these E.C.M. countries and they have today entered into a cartel arrangement so that they do not compete with each other. Are they understanding our position better? This is what I would like to understand.

There is another thing. He thundered against those people who are under-invoicing and over-invoicing and he threatened very great action against them, dire action against them. But the question arises, will you be able to find it out? How are you going to find it out? Recently, two cases have come out. The "Statesman" published two days ago a case of under-

weightage. The total weight given there was far less than the jute actually loaded. What is the action you take? The Assistant Collector of Customs will fine them about Rs. 1000/-. They will go in appeal to the Collector of Customs and it will be reduced. Wires will be pulled and pressures will be brought to bear and nothing will happen. For example, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta brought it to the notice of the Government how Messrs. Jardine and Henderson had created a bogus Indian concern for the purpose of their foreign trade. Because the East Germans were not willing to purchase from European concerns, they were actually exporting their products and from there exporting to East Germany. All these things were brought to their notice. What is the action they have taken? You have not taken any action against them and precisely for the reason that you are dependent upon these very people for the implementation of your policies.

Take, for example, the textiles. What happened? You depended for your export promotion on giving incentives. In 1957, you gave them incentives. In Ahmedabad, for example, special automatic looms were installed on the understanding that this production would be used entirely for export. But where has it gone? We protested at that time and said that it would not go for export and it did not go. Why? For the simple reason that the textile magnates of this country found it more profitable to sell it in the internal market where they are able to make greater profits than by exporting it to other countries. All along it is profits that have been moving them.

For example, take the sugar industry. What has happened there? In order to induce them to export, what have you got to do? The State Trading Corporation has to buy sugar at the price at which it is selling internally and the S.T.C. will have to incur a loss and later on it will have to be made up and reimbursed by importing

[Shri P. Ramamurti.] certain scarce items and making profits on those scarce items. That is how the S.T.C. has tried to make up the loss. This is how the capitalists are functioning and you are dependent upon them for the fulfilment of these Plans.

Take the tea industry. Today, our tea exports are falling. Why is it falling? Is it due merely to our export duties? I do not think so. Ceylon, for example, pays much better wages, almost double the wages that our tea planters pay to our Indian workers. None the less Ceylon's tea export is increasing. We are not able to stand them in competition. Why? For the simple reason that the tea planters in our country for the last 15 years, ever since we attained independence, refuse to replant the plants. In 1953 itself Mr. Sivaswamy of the Tea Plantation Enquiry Committee had brought to the notice of the Government that more than 50 per cent. of the tea plants in our country were not replanted. They are very old, over 60 years old, and therefore production is going down. What have we done about it? And as far as the export trade is concerned, it is in the hands of a few monopoly rings. They are also owners of the tea industry. Did you try to do anything with regard to the breaking of this monopoly ring? So long as our foreign trade continues to be in the grip of these very big groups and individuals and so long as you depend upon giving them incentives, how are you going to increase our foreign trade? When we point that out, it is not a question of any 'ism'. I am not bothered whether it is capitalism or socialism or this 'ism' or that 'ism'. I am not bothered about it at all.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: Then you are not a pucca Communist.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Order, order. You have to conclude now.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: Now, this is the actual position which is staring you in the face. Take the question of price increases. What is the remedy

that is suggested? Nandaji says that the Government will take every action that Government deems necessary and State Trading Corporation and all sorts of things are promised. After 12 years, we are now told that the Planning Commission is studying this subject. May I remind Nandaji that as early as 1957 at Nagpur the All India Congress Committee passed a Resolution demanding State trading in foodgrains? Who sabotaged it? Has the Communist Party sabotaged it? Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru went and thundered in Bombay that no intelligent person can be against State trading in foodgrains. It meant that all those people who were opposed to State trading in foodgrains were unintelligent. Where are those unintelligent people? Are they not inside your Congress Party itself? After four years you are today thinking of State trading once again. That is why I say you are dependent upon this capitalist class, upon this big monopolist class for everything. On the question of prices they have let you down; on the question of exports they have let you down; on the question of industrial development they have let you down. On everything they have let you down and still you are thinking in terms of depending upon them and that is why all this trouble comes. I am sorry I have not got the time to develop this point but what I would like to point out is, unless this basic question is gone into, you are not going to solve this problem, and the same kind of picture will be given year after year and people will be in a slough of despondency. Therefore I would ask the Government to rethink about the basic policies and think in terms of changing them.

श्रीमती उमा नेहरू (उत्तर प्रदेश) :

श्रीमान जी, पेश्तर इस के कि मैं प्लान के बारे में कुछ कहूं, मैं अपने भाई श्री गुरुपाद-स्वामी के दो तेन सवालों के जवाब देना चाहती हूं। गुरुपाद स्वामी जी ने यहां खड़े होकर न बड़ी शान से यह कहा कि पी० एम०

समझने है, पी०एम० कहते हैं कि हमारे मुल्क में जो प्रोजेक्ट्स बने हैं वे हमारे मन्दिर हैं। मुझे गुल्पाद स्वामी जी से यह कहना है कि आजाद के जमाने में, जो साइंस का जमाना है, जो चीजे बनती हैं, जैसे भाखड़ा नांगल बना या दूसरी चीजें बनीं, वे हमारे लिये तीर्थ हैं। उनको टेम्पल कहना बुरा लगा। यह ठीक है कि वहां कोई मूर्ति नहीं है, लेकिन वे इस ख्याल से देखें कि वे हमें जान देने वाले हैं, वे हमारी जिन्दगी बढ़ाने वाले हैं। जो चीज इन्सान की जिन्दगी बढ़ाती है, वही हमारे ईश्वर होते हैं। और वही हमारे मंदिर होते हैं तो यह मैं जवाब उनको दे रही हूं। वे अभी छोटे हैं और उनको समझ लेना चाहिये कि जो हमारे प्रोजेक्ट्स बने हैं वे मन्दिर के समान हैं।

दूसरी बात उन्होंने यह कही कि हमारी गवर्नमेंट रेफ्यूजी गवर्नमेंट है और जिनकी स्टेट्स को जबरत नहीं थी, फासतू थे, वे यहा पर भेज दिये गये हैं। यह बयान उन्होंने यहा पर दिया। वे यहां इस वक्त हैं नहीं, लेकिन उनका जवाब यह है कि हम रेफ्यूजी नहीं हैं। रेफ्यूजी होने में हमें कोई शर्म नहीं है, लेकिन हम रेफ्यूजी नहीं हैं, हम रिबेल हैं। तो यह जवाब मेरी तरफ से है कि हम रेफ्यूजी नहीं हैं बल्कि हम रिबेल हैं जिन्होंने मुल्क आजाद किया और जिन्होंने मुल्क आजाद किया, वे आज हुक्मन कर रहे हैं। मुझे गरूर है कि इस थोड़े अरसे में उन्होंने जिस तरह से हुक्मत की है वह तारीफ के काबिल है। जो लोग यहां बाहर से आते हैं वे जब यह देखते हैं कि हमने इन १५ वर्षों में कितनी तरक्की की, कितनी उन्नति की, तो वे तारीफ करने लगते हैं। लेकिन हालत हमारी क्या है? जैसी कि कहावत है कि चिराग के तले अंधेरा, वही आज हमारी हालत है कि बहार वाले हमारी तारीफ करें और घर वाले जो हैं वे हर वक्त हमारे पीछे तालिया पीटते तो यहा पर यह हमारी हालत है, यह मुझे उनसे कहना है।

तीसरी बात उन्होंने यह कही कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर जिधर देखते हैं, उवर उनको प्राइमपैरिटी ही दिखाई देती है, लेकिन जिधर वे देखते हैं उधर उनको डिस्ट्रेंस दिखाई देती है, गरीबी दिखाई देती है, बेकारी दिखाई देती है, भुखमरी दिखाई देती है और नहीं मालूम कितनी बुराईया दिखाई देती हैं। मुझे नहीं मालूम कि देश में कितने गरीब और भूखे लोग मारे मारे फिरते हैं, लेकिन उन्होंने यह बयान दिया। इस का जवाब मेरा यह है कि हिन्दी में एक कहावत है कि जैसी जिसकी भावना होती है उसको वैसा ही दिखाई देता है। मिस मयो, जिनने मदर इंडिया किताब लिखी थी, उन को भारत में कोई सुन्दर चीज दीखी ही नहीं थी। उनको भारत में सिर्फ नालियां और दूसरी गन्दी चीजें ही दीखीं तो जो ऐसी बातें कहने हैं उनको यह समझाना है। तो प्राइमपैरिटी उसी को दिखेगी जो उसको देखना चाहेगा। यह तो दिल की कैफियत है कि हर चीज में उन्हें तरक्की नहीं दिखाई देती है, जो तरक्की देखना चाहता है उसको तरक्की दिखाई देती है। तो यह मुझे उन को जवाब देना है जो कि उन्होंने आज कहा।

**श्री शीलभद्र याजी :** कम कर दिया जाय।

**श्रीमती उमा नेहरू :** मैं ज्यादा नहीं कहूंगी जितना उन्होंने कहा है उतना ही मैं उनको जवाब दूंगी।

अब मुझे प्लानिंग के बारे में कहना है। हमारे मिनिस्टर साहब जो प्लानिंग कर रहे हैं उनके सामने बहुत सारे दिक्कतें हैं। मैं जानती हूं कि कितनी मुश्किलों से उन्होंने इस काम को लिया है और कर रहे हैं। सारा मुल्क एक विचार का होता, सारा मुल्क एक ख्याल का होता तब उनके सामने इतनी दिक्कतें नहीं होतीं लेकिन जब मुल्क में अलग अलग मुस्लिम खयालात हैं, अलग अलग राये हैं, जब लोग एक दूसरे की टांग घसीटने रहते हैं तब मुश्किल पैदा हो जाती है। यह सही है या नहीं है लेकिन यह नक़्सा

\* [ श्रीमती उमा नेहरू ]

डैमोक्रेसी का है और डैमोक्रेसी में यही नक्शे दिखाई देंगे ।

हमको अच्छी तरह से मालूम है कि देश के विकास के लिये किन किन चीजों की जरूरत है । देश को बढ़ाने के वास्ते या प्लान की उन्नति और तरक्की के वास्ते पहली चीज जो होती है वह परिश्रम होता है । हर एक को, चाहे वह किसी पार्टी का हो, हम सब को मिल कर काम करना चाहिये, इस में कोई पार्टीबन्दी नहीं होनी चाहिये, सब को मिल कर एक हो कर परिश्रम करना चाहिये । दूसरी चीज यह है कि हमको इस के लिये धन की जरूरत होती है और तीसरी चीज यह है कि हमको इसके लिये त्याग की जरूरत होती है । जब तक देश में ये तीनों चीजें नहीं होंगी, परिश्रम, धन और त्याग जब तक नहीं होगा तब तक प्लान का आगे चलना बहुत कठिन होता है । इसलिये मुझे अपने भाइयों से जो मेरे खिलाफ बैठते हैं कहना है कि क्रिटिसिज्म अच्छा लगता है, क्रिटिसाइज करना हमें बुरा नहीं लगता है, उसमें हमें मजा भी आता है लेकिन अगर प्लान को सफल करना चाहते हैं तो इस को अपना प्लान समझें । प्लान में कोई खामी है तो कोई मना नहीं करता है कि आप आ कर उसे बतायें लेकिन प्लान तभी सक्सेसफुल होगा जब कि आप यह समझेंगे कि यह हमारी प्लान है और हम सब को मिल कर इसे सक्सेसफुल करना है । जब तक यह भावना नहीं आयेगी तब तक प्लान सफल नहीं होगा । जो आप कहते हैं कि वे कमियां प्लान में हैं तो प्लान की वे कमियां तभी हटेंगी जब हम और आप मिलकर एक साथ चलेंगे और प्लान के लिए परिश्रम और त्याग करेंगे ।

अब जहां तक त्याग का सवाल है, कम्युनिस्ट मुल्कों की तरफ जब मैं देखती हूं तो यह बात पाती हूं । जब मैं वहां के इतिहास को पढ़ती हूं तब मैं देखती हूं कि मिनिस्टर्स ही नहीं, बल्कि सारा देश

का देश त्याग करता है और इसलिये उनके प्लान्स कामयाब हुए । अगर उनके यहां खाने की कमी हो गई तो सब मिल कर एक ही खाना खाते हैं, गरीब से लेकर अमीर तक जो हैं सब एक ही खाना खाते हैं, अगर गेहूं की कमी है, गेहूं नहीं है तो सब शकरकंद खा रहे हैं । सब उसी को खा रहे हैं और न किसी को शिकायत है न किसी को गिला है कि हमारे ऊपर मुसीबत आई है । अगर मुसीबत है तो देश भर में मुसीबत है और सभी को मुसीबत है । तो जब तक यह भावना नहीं होगी तब तक प्लान नहीं चलेगा ।

मिनिस्टर साहब ने प्लान बनाने समय कोई उद्देश्य अपने सामने जरूर रखा है क्योंकि बगैर किसी उद्देश्य के सामने रखे प्लानिंग करना आसान नहीं है लेकिन अक्सर मैं सोचती हूं, मुल्क की हालत को देख कर के मेरा खयाल यह होता है, कि प्लानिंग में जो सब से बड़ी चीज करनी थी वह यह थी कि इंसानों की जरूरियात की जो चीजें हैं, जो नेसेसिटीज आफ लाइफ हैं, वह उनको हमें पूरी पूरी देनी चाहिये थी । जहां हम जाने हैं वहां हम देखते हैं और सुनते हैं कि लोग कहते हैं कि रोटी नहीं है, खाना नहीं है, हमारे पास कपड़ा नहीं है, हमारे पास मकान नहीं है । जब हम ये चीजें उनकी सुनते हैं तो हम सोच में पड़ जाते हैं कि हमने बड़ी बड़ी मशीनें तैयार कर दी हैं, हम बड़े बड़े काम कर रहे हैं लेकिन इनकी ये जरूरत की चीजें पूरी नहीं हुई हैं । हमें दुःख होता है और हम सोच में पड़ जाते हैं कि किस तरह से हम इस दुःख को हटायें । हमने सब कुछ किया है और आगे भी करने वाले हैं लेकिन उनके साथ ही हमें इस पर भी गौर करना है कि जो चीज हमको शुरू शुरू में करनी चाहिये थी वह हमने नहीं की । जैसे कि लैंड रिफार्म की बात है लेकिन उसका कोई खास जिक्र नहीं है । आप देहातों में जायें तो आप देखेंगे कि कितने ऐसे लोग हैं जिनके पास जमीन नहीं है । आज हमारे साथी बिनोवा भावे जी हैं वह

इस चीज को पूरा करने के लिये निकले हैं फिर भी हमारे सामने यह प्रश्न है और इसको हमें हल करना है। तो ये सब प्रश्न हमारे सामने हैं और हमें सोचना है कि हम किस तरह से इनका माकूल बन्दोबस्त कर सकते हैं ताकि लोगों को हम फायदा पहुंचा सकें। अगर प्लानिंग के बारे में कभी बाहर जाकर कोई चर्चा आप करें, जो गरीब है, असल में जिनके पास कुछ नहीं है उनसे इसके बारे में चर्चा करें तो वे बड़े रंज से कहते हैं कि हमको समय नहीं है कि हम इन बातों में पड़े, हमारे पास खाना ही नहीं है और जो आटा हम लाना चाहते हैं वह इतना महंगा है कि उसे ला ही नहीं सकते हैं। इसी तरह से कपड़े की बात है। तो इतनी महंगाई है और होती जा रही है कि गरीबों को छोड़ दीजिये जो मिडिल क्लास के लोग हैं वे भी बिल्कुल मिटे जा रहे हैं। मिडिल क्लास बिल्कुल मिटता चला जा रहा है क्योंकि उसके पास खाने को नहीं है, बच्चों को शिक्षा देने के लिए पैसा नहीं है, यह नहीं है वह नहीं है। जो धनी हैं, रईस हैं, उनके ऊपर तो पैसा असर नहीं पड़ता है, वे जिन्दा हैं और घूमते फिरते हैं लेकिन दूसरे लोग मिटते जा रहे हैं। तो मैं मिनिस्टर साहब से कहूंगी कि उन्हें इस बात का खयाल करना है। गरीबों की हालत को देख करके मैं सोच में पड़ जाती हूँ।

अब मुझे यह कहना है कि कोआर्डिनेशन की जरूरत है और कोआर्डिनेशन मुझे कम दिखाई देता है। जब तक कोआर्डिनेशन नहीं होगा तब तक प्लान नहीं चलेगा। एग्री-कल्चरल प्रोडक्शन की चर्चा हम सुनते हैं और यह भी हम जानते हैं कि इसके बारे में क्या क्या दिक्कतें हैं, मिनिस्टर साहब को उन दिक्कतों को दूर करना है। इसी तरह से जो कच्चा माल बगैरह तैयार होता है वह चाहे पड़ा पड़ा सड़ जाय लेकिन उसके लिये ट्रांसपोर्ट का कोई इन्तजाम नहीं है। तो इस पर भी गौर करना है।

ज्यादा न कह कर मैं इतना ही आपसे कहूंगी कि आप जितने हैं सब मिल कर यह सोचें कि अपने मुल्क में यह जो प्लानिंग हो रही है इसको हमें कामयाब बनाना है और तभी हम इसको कामयाब बनायेंगे। हम सब मिल कर जब स्पेड वर्क करेंगे तभी यह सफल हो सकेगी। केवल स्पीच देने से, व्याख्यान देने से एक दूसरे की कमियां बताने से यह प्लान आगे चलने वाला नहीं है।

मिनिस्टर साहब से भी ज्यादा न कह कर इतना ही कहूंगी कि दो, तीन ऐसी चीजें हैं जिन के ऊपर उन्हें विचार करना है। एक तो मुझे यह कहना है कि प्राइसेज के बारे में सरकार को कोई न कोई बन्दोबस्त करना है। प्राइसेज के बारे में हमारी हालत यह है कि दुकानदार जिसके जी में जो चाहता है वह दाम मांगता है और हमको वह कीमत देनी पड़ती है। तो जब तक आप प्राइसेज को कंट्रोल नहीं करेंगे तब तक बड़ी मुशकिलें आपके सामने आनी हैं। इसके साथ ही जो इस वक्त हालत है कि करप्शन फैलता ही चला जाता है, ब्लैक मार्केटिंग खूब फैली हुई है, इस तरह जो चीजें हैं जो मुल्क को आगे बढ़ने नहीं देती हैं उन सब को आप को खत्म करना है और खत्म मामूली तरीके से नहीं, डेमोक्रेसी के तरीके से करना है कि हां, भइया यह कर ले, हां, भइयां वह कर ले, ऐसे नहीं; बल्कि आप को इसमें मस्ती इस्तेमाल करना है। वह सस्ती आपको करना है जिससे यह ब्लैक मार्केटिंग खत्म हो, करप्शन खत्म हो। जब तक इन बुराइयों को आप खत्म नहीं करेंगे, आपका देश इन बुराइयों से पाक-साफ नहीं होगा तब तक आपकी उन्नति भी होनी बहुत कठिन है।

**श्री गोड़े मुराहरि (उत्तर प्रदेश) :**  
योजना के बारे में जब हम आलोचना करते हैं तो पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना, दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना और तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना को

## [श्री गंडे मुराहरि]

पहले एक साथ लेकर अंदाज़ लगाना पड़ेगा क्योंकि अगर देश की प्रगति का अंदाज़ लगाना है तो चूंकि एक योजना से दूसरी योजना सम्बन्धित है और आखिरी योजना की अभी तक जो प्रगति हुई है उस को हमें पिछली योजनाओं की कमी के आधार पर आंकना होगा। पहली दो योजनाओं में जो कमियां रही हैं उन को देखते हुए हम लोग एक नई योजना बनाते हैं तो कोई बजह यह नहीं होनी चाहिये कि तीसरी योजना में भी उसी तरह की कमियां रहें। जो कि कमियां हमारे सामने हैं उनको देखते हुए यह मालूम होता है कि पहली योजना और दूसरी योजना के जो कुछ लैमन्स हैं उनको सामने नहीं रख कर भी हमने वह योजना बनाई है जिसमें उन पहली और दूसरी योजनाओं के दुर्गुण थे।

मैं दो, तीन चीजों के बारे में कहना चाहता हूं। एक तो विद्या की प्रगति के बारे में है। अपने कांस्टीट्यूशन में हम लोगों ने यह प्रयत्न किया है कि चौदह साल तक की जितनी भी बाल बालिकायें हैं हिन्दुस्तान में, सब को कम्पलसरी और फ्री एजुकेशन देनी चाहिये। हम लोगों ने इस दिशा में कुछ प्रयत्न किया है लेकिन कहां तक उसमें हम सफल हुए हैं उस को अगर देखा जाय तो हम को लगता है कि चौदह साल तक का छोड़िये, ग्यारह साल तक के जो बाल बालिकाएं हैं उन को लिये भी अभी तक हम कम्पलसरी और फ्री एजुकेशन ला नहीं पा रहे हैं। यही सबसे बड़ी कमी है योजना की।

सोशल सर्विस का जहां तक सवाल है, हम देखते हैं कि देश में एक बहुत बड़ा भारी जो अटकाव है योजना की सफलता में, वह हमारी जाति प्रथा है। उसको खत्म करने के लिये हमारी योजना में कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। जब तक यह जाति प्रथा रहेगी और ऊँच नीच और छोटा जात, बड़ी जात का सवाल खत्म

नहीं होता है तब तक हमारी पूरी जनता का सहयोग किसी योजना में पाना मुश्किल है क्योंकि देश की जनता में जो सब से बड़ा हिस्सा है वह सामाजिक दृष्टि से और आर्थिक दृष्टि से इतना पिछड़ा रखा गया है कि वह कोई योजना में अपना भाग नहीं ले सकता है और जब तक कि सारी जनता कोई भी योजना में भाग नहीं लेती है तब तक वह योजना सफल नहीं हो पायेगी। हम देखते हैं इसका पहला असर कृषि के ऊपर पड़ता है। जब हम देखते हैं कि प्रोडक्शन में कोई वृद्धि नहीं होती है तो उसका नतीजा हमें यह निकालना चाहिये कि हमारे जो किसान हैं, जो ज्यादातर छोटे वर्ग के हैं उन पर हमारे प्लान का, हमारी योजना का, कोई असर नहीं पड़ा है और उस का सबसे बड़ा कारण यह है कि हमारी जाति प्रथा अभी तक कायम है। इस चीज के बारे में हमारी योजना में उल्लेख नहीं है कि हम जाति प्रथा को खत्म करें। आर्थिक दृष्टि से भी हमारे कृषि क्षेत्र में उत्पादन कम क्यों हो रहा है, इस के बारे में सोचना है तो छोटे किसान के बारे में भी सोचना पड़ेगा। हमारे देश में छोटे किसान के ऊपर इतना बड़ा करों का बोझ है कि वह कुछ सोच ही नहीं पाता है, वह आप की योजना में सहयोग क्या देगा? वह हमेशा यह सोचता है कि कर कैसे भरा जायेगा। उसके ऊपर जो लैन्ड टैक्स है, जो अनइकानामिक होल्डिंग कही जाती है, उस पर भी टैक्स लिया जाता है। जब आप लोग यह कबूल करते हैं कि उनकी होल्डिंग अनइकानामिक है, उस में कोई आमदनी नहीं होती है तो फिर क्यों कर लगाते हैं। लेकिन हमारी सरकार कहती है कि अगर कर हटाया जाय तो बड़ा नुकसान होगा, प्लान में नुकसान पहुंचेगा। लेकिन मैं बता सकता हूं कि जो अनइकानामिक होल्डिंग पर रेवेन्यू आता है वह इतना कम है कि कोई भी प्लान में वह दखल नहीं देगा, वह एक छोटा सा फ्रैक्शन है। लेकिन फिर भी यह हमेशा कहा जाता है कि अगर यह कर हटा दिया जाय तो बड़ा नुकसान होगा इसलिये यह हम ने लगा दिया

है। मेरी समझ में यह इसलिये रखा गया है कि छोटा किसान जो है वह और किसी चीज के बारे में न सोचे और हमेशा ही परेशानी में रहे कि कर कैसे अदा करना है। अनइकानामिक होल्डिंग्स पर जितनी जल्दी कर हटाया जाय उतनी जल्दी हमारे देश के किसानों को थोड़ी सी मुक्ति मिलेगी और वे अपनी योजना के बारे में भी सोच सकते हैं।

इसके बाद, जो योजना का "बेस" है उसके बारे में भी कुछ कहना चाहूंगा। योजना बहुत गलत ढंग से बनाई गई है। एक तो हमारे देश में पूंजी नहीं है और जिस देश में पूंजी की कमी है और आबादी बहुत है उस देश में इस तरह की योजना बनाना जिसमें पूंजी को प्रधानता दी जाय और हमारे देश का जो मैन्युअल लेबर है उसको प्रधानता न हो, वह बिल्कुल गला ढंग से योजना है और जब तक हम ऐसी योजना चलायेंगे तब तक इस तरह की कमियां हर साल आती रहेंगी। हमारी आबादी में जो वृद्धि होती है उसको दृष्टि में न रख कर हम जो यह योजना बनाते हैं उसको कार्यान्वित करते करते पांच छः साल लगेंगे और पांच छः साल के अन्दर यह कहने लगेंगे कि पांच साल के अन्दर आबादी में वृद्धि हो गई है, कुछ प्रगति नहीं हो पाई है, तो यह एक गलत ढंग का बयान होगा क्योंकि कोई भी योजना जो बनाई जाती है वह आगे की आबादी की वृद्धि को सामने रख कर बनाई जाती है कि आगे इतनी वृद्धि होगी और उस वक्त तक जब हमारी यह योजना पूर्ण होगी तब उसके क्या फल निकलेंगे। लेकिन हमारी जो योजना बनी है उसमें इस बात को नज़रअंदाज़ कर दिया है और पांच साल के बाद हमको फिर कहना पड़ रहा है कि हमारे देश में आबादी की वृद्धि हो गई है इसलिये उसका फायदा उताना नहीं हो पाया है। यह भी एक गलत ढंग अस्तित्वात् करना है और योजना में एक कमी है।

तीसरी चीज मैं फारेन एक्सचेंज के बारे में कहना चाहता हूं। यदि हमको फारेन एक्सचेंज की कमी ही को, जो कि आज बनाई जा रही है, पूरा करना है तो सब से पहले जो विदेशी कम्पनियां यहां पर हैं, जो अपनी आमदनी यहां से बाहर भेजते हैं, उनका हम राष्ट्रीयकरण करे या उस आमदनी का बाहर भेजा जाना बन्द करे। जब तक ऐसा हम नहीं करते हैं हमारा काम जैसे का तैसा बना रहेगा और हमको अन्य देशों से "एड" लेने की नौबत रहेगी। हमारे देश में आज जो विदेशी पूंजी है, उनके डिवीडेन्ड जो बाहर भेजे जाते हैं उन पर भी रोक लगा दी जाय जब तक कि हमारी फारेन एक्सचेंज पोजीशन इम्प्रूव नहीं होती है। इससे कम से कम कुछ फारेन एक्सचेंज हमारे देश में रुक सकता है और साथ ही साथ जो विदेशी कम्पनियों में बड़े बड़े नौकर हैं, बड़े बड़े अफसर हैं उनका जो वेतन यहां से बाहर भेजा जाता है उस पर भी रोक लगनी चाहिये। जब तक कि फारेन एक्सचेंज की पोजीशन ठीक नहीं होती है तब तक यह बाहर जाना बन्द हो जाना चाहिये और रुपये में हो रहना चाहिये। और जो प्राफिट यहां पर विदेशी कम्पनियों को होता है वह यहीं पर फिर री-इन्वेस्ट हो, तो उससे देश को प्रगति में सहायता मिल सकती है। मैं तो यहां तक चाहूंगा कि जितनी बड़ी बड़ी कम्पनियां यहां हैं उनका राष्ट्रीयकरण हो जाय। अगर राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं भी करते हैं तो इन तीनों को कर ही मकी है कि जो उसमें प्राफिट होता है उसको देश से बाहर न भेजें। जब हम फारेन एक्सचेंज की बात करते हैं और कहते हैं कि फारेन एक्सचेंज की कमी है तो हमको यह भी देखना पड़ेगा कि कौन सी चीज प्राफिट पर रहेगी और कौन सी नफ़ में। तो जब हम फारेन एक्सचेंज के यूटिलाइजेशन को बात करते हैं तो सब से पहले हमकी बेसिक इन्डस्ट्रियां के एडवान्स करने का जो प्रोग्राम है, उसमें फारेन एक्सचेंज को लागू करना ठीक है। लेकिन हम यह

## [ श्री गोडे मुराहरि ]

देखते हैं कि यह फारेन एक्सचेंज इतना कम होते हुए भी इस योजना में कुछ ऐसे चोजें हैं जो बेसिक इन्डस्ट्रीज से सम्बन्धित नहीं हैं, जो विलासिता की चीज हैं, जिन पर खर्च किया जाता है और उन चोजों को बिल्कुल बन्द हो जाना चाहिये। साथ ही देश में खर्च ज्यादा हो रहा है और उसके बारे में भी कहना चाहूंगा कि चूंकि हमारा देश एक गरीब देश है और अपने को ऊपर उठाना चाहता है, उस देश में अगर कोई एक वर्ग अपनी विलासिता के लिये इतना ज्यादा खर्च करे और उसकी कोई सीमा न रह जाय, जिसकी कि देश की बाकी जनता की हालत से कोई तुलना न की जा सके, तो यह एक बिल्कुल खतरनाक चीज है और इसको बन्द करना चाहिये। और उसमें सभी लोग आ जाते हैं, प्रधान मंत्री जी से लेकर नीचे तक के जितने आफिसर्स हैं इन सब के ऊपर जितना खर्च होता है वह कम किया जा सकता है और जल्द से जल्द इस चीज को किया जाना चाहिये क्योंकि एक गरीब देश में इस तरह से खर्च किया जाना बिल्कुल मुनासिब नहीं है।

अभी हाल में मैंने एक बयान पढ़ा था जिसमें कहा गया है कि प्रधान मंत्री जी के ऊपर रोजाना २५ हजार रुपया खर्च होता है। अगर यह बात सही है तो इस खर्च को जल्द से जल्द बन्द किया जाना चाहिये।

डा० श्रीमती सीता परमानन्द : इस चीज के निकलने के बाद प्रधान मंत्री जी ने एक सभा में इस बात को गलत बताया और कहा कि इतना खर्च मेरे ऊपर कैसे हो सकता है।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : इस जवाब के बाद ही २५ हजार रुपया रोजाना खर्च की बात

निकली है और अखबारों में छपी है। अगर यह बात सही है तो प्रधान मंत्री जी का देखना चाहिये कि कहां तक यह बात सही है या नहीं है।

श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा : आप इतमिनाम रखिये, यह बात बिल्कुल गलत है।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : अगर गलत है तो उन्हें इसका खुद जवाब देना चाहिये।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): You have to conclude now.

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : अगर इस योजना को सफल बनाना है तो सब से पहले उसमें जनता का सहयोग लेना होगा। जनता का सहयोग हम तभी ले सकते हैं जब हम ऐसा काम करे जिससे जनता को उसमें विश्वास हो कि यह हमारे फायदे के लिये किया जा रहा है। जब तक आप जनता की दृष्टि से प्लान नहीं बनायेंगे, जनता की दृष्टि से कार्यान्वित नहीं करेंगे, तब तक उसमें जनता का सहयोग मांगना अनुचित होगा।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Dr Shrimati Seeta Parmanand Please take ten minutes.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am glad for getting this opportunity to make a few observations on the progress of the Plan that is before us. In making these observations, one cannot lay claim to saying something new because it is not possible that the planners who have given nearly ten years of their labour to the Plan and its implementation, and who have listened to criticisms on the floor of the House are not aware of these things.

First of all, I would like to say that there is no doubt that the Plan has

achieved, to a great extent, the objective before it. Without the Plan, it would have been almost impossible for us to have some of the major schemes like the steel plants, river valley projects, etc., etc. It would not have been possible to have them in a systematic and well laid-out way and spread all over the country. Secondly, it is necessary to remember that whoever prepares the Plan, whoever carries it out, whoever may be the party, it will always be open to criticism, and suggestions will always be there for improvement because whatever human machinery is there is bound to make some mistakes and without some room for improvement, all action itself will come to a stop.

With these remarks, I would like to point out to hon. Members in the House that it is necessary to appreciate what has been done because destructive criticism alone takes away from those in charge of the Plan—I refer to the officials and others—the zest for working; destructive criticism in itself cannot lead to progress.

Having said that, I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to some of the things that he might apply himself too. My colleague, Shrimati Uma Nehru, towards the end of her speech pointed out the need for co-ordination between the Ministries. There is no doubt, leaving aside the question of agricultural production and the need for devising methods for transport and distribution, that there are other spheres in which co-ordination is necessary. For example, what are the chief things that work as drawbacks in carrying out the Plan? One of them, for instance, is the inability to inculcate a real spirit of service in those who carry out the Plan. When I make these observations, I do not say that nobody is liable to make mistakes; the fault does not lie in the workers themselves but in our inability to lay down certain norms and examples other than precepts. Attention was just now drawn to the point that some sort of austerity is required. The people should feel that they have

to save, they have also to sacrifice, they have to give away part of their wealth. As my colleague, Shrimati Uma Nehru, was pleased to say:

“कन और त्याग की जरूरत है” ।

Where is the money to come from? If we have to save, then we have also to sacrifice, and we have to restrict our expenditure. The country must set an example. To take one instance, I would ask. Where is the need for the country to spend on huge limousines, the need for allowing the import of such huge cars, with so much of foreign exchange expense incurred on them, when for the price of one such car, three or four small utility cars could be purchased and used? It is good for the country to remember that there is something at stake and that sacrifice is called for. I would remind the House of the embargo—I was told—that was put on the use of new cars in Britain about the years 1954 to 1956, and every car produced there, new car, had to be sent out. I would, therefore, like the Government to see what can be done, not only about stopping import of new big cars but also selling away those that are with them because they consume a lot of petrol too, apart from other difficulties into which I do not want to go, and they should not allow the embassies and others who bring big cars here to sell them in this country. Beyond that, we cannot do anything more. Today in the Press there was some news about how the embassies were bringing big cars here and how these were being sold here at a price that is perhaps not what it should be.

From the point of austerity, I next come to the point about the need for removing corruption and introducing a sense of dedication to duty. The hon. Minister is not here but if he were to be here, I would like to ask him to tell the House . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: His Deputy is here.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND: That does not help. But what I am going to say is about his own

[Dr. Shrimati Seeta Parmanand.]

little baby, the Bharat Sadhu Samaj. I am referring to that. The hon. Minister, from the time planning started, has been thinking that the Bharat Sadhu Samaj would be able to play an important part in the renaissance of India, in raising the character of the younger generation. From that point of view, I would ask him whether he has thought of an organisation like that of the Quakers Society or the Ramakrishna Mission or any other organisation of that kind. The Bharat Sadhu Samaj, in collaboration with the people of different religions like Christians, Buddhists etc. should institute a course of two or three months' duration—call it a refresher course or an initiation course—for all the officers who have to do something with planning, right from the top to the lowest rung, so that they can learn that their job is not only what they can take by way of monthly wages and other emoluments, but it is more than that. They have to see that they can give more than they can take. Unless that spirit is there, I am afraid our Plan is not going to succeed.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: It is there from the beginning.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND: As has been said by my sister, Shrimati Uma Nehru, already, this Plan is a national *yagna*. It is a nation-wide sacrifice and in this *yagna*, all the people in the country participate in it. Criticism for the sake of criticism is not what is going to deliver the goods. All criticism of Government which is perhaps the first legitimate duty of the Opposition, can be reserved for other normal actions of Government in connection with the Budget and other things. But as far as the Plan is concerned, money has to be borrowed from other countries. It is a disgrace to us that we go to other countries with a begging bowl. The success of our Plan and the removal of poverty are dependent on our efforts. Therefore, unless and until every per-

son of the country, man, woman and child, is made to feel, and not left in doubt and diffidence all the time by constant criticism of a destructive nature, that the Plan is working for their betterment and that with all the drawbacks or defects that are inherent in any big scheme it must succeed or else we shall perish, we shall not survive. Otherwise, with it we perish or survive.

(Time bell rings)

Now, Sir, you have rung the bell. I do not know how I have taken ten minutes by now. Perhaps I have two more minutes and I want to make one point. I have said about it during my Budget speech, and that is with regard to consumer prices. The hon. Minister has made a promise which has been flashed in papers, that he hopes to hold the price line. The days for hoping are gone. The time is immediate and today. We have raised the minimum wages of workers, of industrial workers, and made it Rs. 70 in the colliery field. We thought it was a very grand wage. But today we find that a family of four cannot sustain even on Rs. 100, even at the lowest standard, and those are few industrial workers. And what happens to the others who are not lucky enough to get into well organised industries where the wages are regulated? Therefore, Sir, I would appeal to Government that they must come forth with some legislation by which any profiteering, any blackmarketing, any adulteration of food will be made punishable, will meet with a very severe punishment, punishment like transportation for life or at least six or seven years. Only 7 or 8 or 10 cases of exemplary punishments like that in a State will put down this evil as in the Communist countries where nobody would say that a person should be liquidated but he must be severely punished—not with a fine of Rs. 10,000 or Rs. 15,000. Even the fine is not going to act as a deterrent, because the man can hope to make more money.

Well, as you have rung the bell I am again emphasising the urgent need to control the prices of consumer goods. I would request the Planning Minister not to mind the other criticisms of this House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Mr. Mani, ten minutes.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): The debate on the Third Plan must have convinced Government that while the country sympathises with the difficulties of Government in regard to the Third Plan, it is highly critical of the shortcomings of Government in the matter of the operation of the Plan. We are meeting in the first year of the Plan with grave shortages all round. Steel production missed the target by more than 50 per cent. and had to be supplemented to the extent of about a million tons in the very first year of the Third Plan. Fertiliser production too has slumped and is below the targeted level by about 60 per cent. The target of 60 million tons of coal set in the Second Plan can be reached only two or three years later. All these show that something is lacking in our planning, and the first charge that anyone would bring against the Government is that it has failed to create a Plan consciousness in this country.

I had the good fortune to visit some of the Communist countries recently—Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Hungary, and I studied in particular the planning techniques. I might inform the House that in Czechoslovakia, I was told that the person in charge of the ministry of steel production got the out-turn figures day by day and if there was any shortfall on any particular day, he asked for an explanation from the manager of the steel factory and set right those processes to correct the shortage. We do not have any such machinery at our disposal. Further, we have not created a sense of consciousness about reasonable prices. The Minister spoke

about price regulation, and I may mention in this connection that I have discussed and canvassed for an idea with some of the State representatives, about a scheme of fair price control. My suggestion would be that in every State, in every district, there should be a fair price control board. This board would take into account the cost of the product, the cost of the movement of the product, the reasonable margin that a merchant can get on the product by selling it, and then fix a price and give a label to every shop which observes that price. It is like publishing more or less a list of approved shops where the goods are available at fair prices. It is possible for us to implement this idea immediately with the co-operation of the State Governments. In the case of essential articles, I would go further and say that there ought to be statutory price control. Somehow, the Congress Party, though it might disagree with the Swatantra Party, is haunted by what Rajaji said in 1948, that price control cannot be enforced in our country on account of corruption in the administration. I agree with the speakers who have mentioned it here that in regard to the punishment given to persons who charge unconscionable prices the punishment should be heavy. The country knows that those who violate foreign exchange regulations, who are guilty of malpractices in trade and commerce are welcomed at parties by Ministers of the Government. Government cannot impose a fine in the foreign exchange court and also meet the person concerned at a tea party the same evening.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: Why not?

SHRI A. D. MANI: This has happened in our country. You must show social disapproval. We show no social disapproval of the malpractices in trade.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to go on to another aspect of the absence of a Plan consciousness. The Planning Commission, I believe, sent a circular to all the States asking them to set up

[Shri A. D. Mani.]

planning boards in their States, and I put a question to the Minister here the other day asking him in how many cases he has received replies. I do not think that any State has accepted the suggestion of the Government. I made enquiries from my own Government, from the Government of Madhya Pradesh. They too have not come to any decision regarding the setting up of planning boards.

In the matter of agricultural production, where we have to widen the area under cotton cultivation, there ought to be some measure of control on the part of the Centre over State Governments. In a planning board of the kind, that I have in view, there would be a representative of the Planning Commission represented on the board, who will advise the Government in regard to agricultural production in the State. Unless there is a co-ordinating agency and a co-ordinating link all through in the form of planning boards, it may not be possible for us to increase agricultural production so that we may have all the necessary cotton at our disposal and we may be in a position to dispense with imports of 700,000 pounds of cotton every year.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to go on to one other matter.

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVAR-GIYA (Madhya Pradesh): There are in all States, Planning Advisory Committees.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Yes, yes, but my idea of a planning advisory committee is this. It should not consist of politicians; it should not consist of Ministers; it should consist of technical experts and a representative of the Central Government who will be functioning as a co-ordinating agent all through the year. Unless we have a planning board of that type, planning is not likely to succeed.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to go on to one aspect about the foreign exchange crisis to which reference has

been made by previous speakers. The foreign exchange gap for the Third Plan is going to be of the order of Rs. 1,100 crores. England is not in a position to help because she has got a critical balance of payments position. Belgium and Switzerland do not have the resources to give the necessary help for us in regard to the Third Plan. The American gold reserves have fallen to the lowest point during the last thirty years. Germany is having serious revaluation problems in respect of costs, and Mr. Khrushchev has declared the other day that he cannot continue the nuclear race and also assistance to the under-developed countries. I should like to ask Government from which source do they expect Rs. 1,100 crores for the Third Plan.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Having won the nuclear race, Mr. Khrushchev may perhaps be more helpful.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Now he is going on to the Moon; he is going on to Venus. So the expenditure will go on multiplying.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): You make your other points if you have any

SHRI A. D. MANI: I would like up ask the Minister what is the source of the optimism of the Government in regard to their obtaining Rs. 1,100 crores during the Third Plan.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I should like to mention that when we discussed in this House the report of the Import and Export Policy Committee familiarly known as the Mudaliar Committee, the Minister for International Trade, Mr. Manubhai Shah, said that the Government has accepted the recommendations of that Committee. I should like to ask the Planning Minister if they have accepted paragraph 63 on page 65 of the recommendations where the Mudaliar Committee has recommended a three-fold system of income-tax remission. If the statement of Mr. Manubhai Shah is correct, it means

that the Government has accepted the three-fold system of income-tax remission in order to boost up exports I would like the Minister to make a statement on the subject, because there is a good deal of feeling on the subject that export promotion, in that context of the capitalist society that we are having in our country today, is not possible unless incentives on a fairly recognised scale are offered

The Mudaliar Committee also recommended that the Railways should give a 25 per cent rebate on traffic which is put on board and which is exported Has that recommendation been accepted? On the one hand, the Minister of International Trade says that the recommendations of this Committee have been accepted, but we have not seen any formal announcement by the Government that they have accepted the recommendations

There is one other point that I would like to mention

AN HON. MEMBER: Did he say that he accepted all the recommendations?

SHRI A D MANI He said that they had accepted the recommendations of the Committee

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN Not at all.

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVAR-GIYA: Broadly

SHRI A D MANI I want a specific answer from the Minister of Planning

I would like to refer to one other aspect about increase in productivity. It has been found that in the textile industry we have reached the optimum of our industrial development. The textile industry of our country is recognised as one of the world's best textile industries. The production of the Indian worker is 6540 yards, the production of the worker in Japan is 13,000 yards, the production of the worker in the UK is 9,595 yards and

the production of the worker in the United States is 27,290 yards. Why is there so much of a gap between the productivity of the Indian worker and the worker in other countries?

Sir, I think the Government has got to change its labour policy in many of the industries, and in particular the public sector industries. There is an attempt on the part of the management to force a certain union on the workers. They want unions, with which the Congress is associated, to be recognised.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE Where? It is not a fact.

SHRI A D MANI INTUC in the Heavy Electricals in Madhya Pradesh (Interruptions.) I do not yield.

SOME HON. MEMBERS At what place?

SHRI A D MANI Rourkela, Bhilai all these places. The only way in which we can really give expression to our socialistic ideas is for us to recognise that union which has got the majority support among workers, whatever that union may be. It may belong to the Communists, it may belong to the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, let us recognise that union which has got the largest support.

Then, Sir, I would like the Government to make a bold and daring experiment of workers' participation in the direction and control of factories. Unless that is done, it is not possible to increase productivity and we may not be able to export those articles which are necessary to earn Rs 750 crores a year.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND Is the hon Member aware that not in every country that the hon Member mentioned, where the worker's production is more, the workers participate in the management of the industries?

شریمتی انیسر قدوائی (اتر پردیش):

مسٹر وائس چیرمین - صدیوں تک غیر ملکی لوٹ کھسوٹ کا شکار رہنے والے ملک کے لئے پلاننگ بہت ضروری چیز تھی - اس کے بغیر دیس کا سدھار اور ترقی ناممکن تھی اور ہم سب پلاننگ کمیشن کے شاندار پلان اور پلاننگ مسٹری کی انھک محنت کی تعریف کئے بنا نہیں رہ سکتے - ملک کے ہر طبقہ کو اوپر اٹھانے اور اگے بڑھانے کے لئے جہاں تک اسکیم - شانہ اور کوشش کا سوال ہے کوئی کمی نہیں ہوئی - لیکن کوئی بھی اسکیم جب عمل میں آتی ہے تو اس کے اندازہ اور عمل میں بڑا فرق ہو جایا کرتا ہے اور جمہوریت میں اس کے ذمہ دار پبلک کے کارکن بھی ہوتے ہیں - واقعہ یہ ہے کہ اس کام میں کوئی بڑا پچھلا تجربہ ہمارے پاس نہ تھا - دوسری اور سب سے بڑی وجہ یہ تھی کہ کام جلدی کرنا تھا اور حالت ایسی تھی کہ کام کو شروع کرنا ضروری تھا اس لئے نیشنل کیرکٹر قبول ہوئے سے پہلے ہی ہم نے کام شروع کر دیا اور ہم کو اس طرف زیادہ توجہ دینے کی فرصت نہیں ملی کہ ذاتی خود غرضی کہیں قومی فائدہ کی نہو نہ دھا دے -

بہر حال ان گیارہ بارہ برسوں میں جو کچھ ہوا ہے وہ اتنا کم اور اتنا چھوٹا تو نہیں ہے کہ اس کی نلدا کی جائے - جس ملک میں سوئی ترک

نہی بلتی تھی اس میں اتنی بڑی بڑی چیزیں - ہوائی جہاز - ریل - موٹر ہر ضرورت کی چیز تیار ہونے لگی ہے - اور اسے آپ انڈسٹریل ترقی نہیں کہہ سکتے تو کیا کہہ سکتے - لیکن اس میں شک نہیں کہ آج بڑی اور اہم ضرورت اس بات کی ہے کہ دوسری پانچ سالہ پلان میں پچھلے تجربوں سے فائدہ اٹھا کر اپنی کمزوریوں اور خامیوں کو دور کیا جائے - جب کوئی نیا کام شروع ہوتا ہے تو فضول خرچی اس میں ضرور ہوتی ہے - چونکہ کام بڑا تھا اس لئے فضول خرچی بڑی ہوئی - مگر اب تو سب کام تھیک طرح سے چالو ہو چکے ہیں - اس لئے اچھی طرح سے چھان بین کی جا سکتی ہے کہ کس تیار تیلنگ کا خرچہ کام کے نشانے سے پڑھ گیا ہے اور آیا وہ مفید بھی ہے یا نہیں - اگر وہ مفید نہ ہو - اگر وہ نشانے کے مطابق نہیں ہوا ہے تو اس کو بند کیا - جا سکتا ہے یا اس کا رخ دوسری طرف موڑا جا سکتا ہے - جیسا کہ ابھی دو تین روز ہوئے چھوٹی کار کا معاملہ یہاں آیا تھا اور وہ پراجیکٹ قرار کر دیا گیا ہے - اس طرح ایک آدھ چیزیں ایسی ہیں جو کہ قرار کی جا سکتی ہیں - مجھے تو اس اندازہ و گیان مند اسکیم کا ہوا ہے اور میں یہ کہنے کے لئے مجبور ہوں کہ آٹھ سال دیکھنے کے بعد میں نے یہ اندازہ کیا ہے کہ وگیان مند اسکیم سے گاؤں کے قوالہمت میں کوئی خاص

فائدہ نہیں ہوتا ہے - وگین مندر اسکیم سے نہ تو گاؤں کے کسان کو کوئی خاص فائدہ پہنچتا ہے اور نہ عام پبلک کو کوئی فائدہ پہنچتا ہے - ایک خیال تھا کہ ایگریکلچرل سائنس کے متعلق وہ کوئی ریسرچ کریں گے اور جو ایگریکلچرل سائنس - زراعت پیشہ کسان - ہیں ان کو ان سے بڑی مدد مائیگی ویسا نہیں ہو سکا اور میرا خیال ہے کہ اگر اس کے بارے میں کوئی انکوائری یا جانچ کی جائے گی تو جو میں کہہ رہی ہوں وہ صحیح ثابت ہوگا - کیونکہ جو سب سے بہتر وگین مندر تھا - بلونت رائے مہتا کمیٹی نے سارے ہندوستان کے وگین مندر کو جب دیکھا تھا اور ان میں سے جو سب سے بیسٹ وگین مندر انہوں نے بتایا تھا - اس کا تجربہ میں آپ سے بیان کر رہی ہوں - میں نے اس کا کوئی اثر وہاں اس بلاک ایریا میں یا اس ضلع میں نہیں دیکھا ہے -

تیسری پانچ سالہ یوجنا کی دو تین خاص چیزوں کی طرف میں آنریبل منسٹر کی توجہ دلانا چاہتی ہوں اس میں ایگریکلچر کا معاملہ سب سے اہم ہے اور گاؤں کی جو اکنامک صورت حال ہے وہ بھی بہت اہم ہے - جب ذمہ داری ختم ہوئی تھی تب کسان ایسا سوچتا تھا کہ شاید اب ہم پلپ حائیں گے اور ہمارے بھلے دن آجائینگے لیکن چھوٹے چھوٹے زمیندار ہونے اور

چھوٹے چھوٹے پلاٹس کے مالک ہونے کی وجہ سے یعنی کسی پاس دو بیگہ ہے تو کسی نے پاس دس بیگہ ہے حالت دوست نہیں ہو سکی - بمشکل کسی کے پاس پانچ ایکڑ زمین بھی ہے بڑے فارمرز کو چھوڑ دیتے جو بہت بڑے کسان ہیں انکی بات تو جائے دیتے لیکن عام طور پر چوتے چھوٹے کسانوں کو اپنی زمین میں سے لدا نہیں ملتا ہے کہ اس سے وہ اپنا خرچہ پورا کر سکیں - تو ظاہر ہے کہ ایسی حالت میں وہ نئے ٹیکسز کو برداشت نہیں کر سکتے ہیں - یہ جو نئے ٹیکسز ہیں اس سے انکے اندر ایک ایسا جذبہ پیدا ہو رہا ہے کہ شاید گورنمنٹ ان کو اور بھی تباہ کرنا چاہتی ہے - سب سے بڑی چیز یہ ہے کہ پلاننگ میں ہر چیز کے متعلق ایک نشان - ایک ڈارکٹ - مقرر ہے لیکن کسان کی آمدنی کے بارے میں کوئی ایسی چیز نہیں ہے - لوگ کہتے ہیں کہ آخر شہر والوں کی آمدنی پر کوئی حد کیوں نہیں لگائی جاتی ہے - دیہات میں اگر زمین پر پابندی لگائی جاتی ہے کہ زمین اتنی ہونی چاہیئے تو کم سے کم اس کا اندازہ تو کر ہی لینا چاہیئے کہ کتنی آمدنی ایک پریوار کے ایک خاندان کے پالنے کے لئے چاہیئے -

اس لئے جس طرح سے آپ شہر میں آمدنی کا اندازہ کرتے ہیں اس

[شریمتی انیس قدوائی]

طرح سے گاؤں کی آمدنی کی بھی پلاننگ کرنا اور اس کا حساب لگانا ضروری ہے۔

ایک اور بڑی دقت جو کسان کو اپنی زمینوں کے معاملہ میں پیش آتی ہے اور خاص طور پر ترائی ایریا میں جہاں نہیں ہیں اور برسوں سے نہروں سے سینچائی ہو رہی ہے وہاں بھی کسانوں سے میں نے پوچھا تو ان لوگوں نے بتایا کہ کچھ نہیں ہونہمی وجہ سے پانی کا لیول بہت اونچا ہو گیا ہے۔ آپ نے چھوٹی آبپاشی — شمال اریکیشن — کا ذکر کیا ہے اس لئے میں کہتی ہوں کہ اس طرف تیسرے پنچ سالہ پلان میں خاص توجہ دینے کی ضرورت ہے۔ پانی کا لیول بعض جگہ اتنا اونچا ہو گیا ہے کہ عورتیں اپنے دوپٹے میں ڈگری باندھ کر کٹیں سے پانی بھر لیتی ہیں۔ ایک کلوں میں نے ایسا دیکھا ہے جس میں پورا ہاتھ لٹکا کر پانی نکالا جا سکتا ہے۔ یہ ترائی علاقہ کا حال ہے۔

श्री गौरीकृष्ण विजयवर्गीय : बरसात में ।

[شریمتی انیس قدوائی : نہیں]

ہمیشہ ہی تو تو حازوں کا زمانہ تھا جب میں نے دیکھا تھا — ایک ترائی ایریا کا حال ہے — ہمارے یہاں اودھ کے ضلع میں ایسی صورت نہیں ہے۔ مگر ان میں بھی پانی کا لیول

اتنا اونچا ہو گیا ہے کہ اس کی وجہ سے کافی مشکل ہوتی ہے۔ زمین خراب ہو جانے کا تر اور پھر کسانوں کو وقت پر پانی نہیں ملتا ہے۔ جب انکی کھیتی ہوکنے لگتی ہے تب ان کو پانی ملتا نہیں۔ نو آپکو نہ کے پانی دینے کا دستور بھی بدلنا ہے۔ اس تھو پلان کے ماتحت اس پر کوئی نہا خرچہ نہیں ہوگا۔ صرف اس پر تھوڑی توجہ دینے کی ضرورت ہے اور دوسرے علاقہ میں جہاں پانی کا لیول اونچا ہو گیا ہے وہاں زیادہ سے زیادہ تیوب ویل لگائے جائیں۔ کیونکہ یہ جو بار بار راپتی اور گھاگڑہ ندی کے بڑھنے کی خبر آپ ملتے ہیں گاؤں کے گاؤں جو قریب رہے ہیں وہ زیادہ تر اس لئے ہو رہا ہے کہ پانی کا لیول روز بروز اونچا ہوتا جا رہا ہے۔ خود ہماری طرف بارہ بھکی میں پہلے تیس گز پر پانی تھا اب پندرہ گز پر پانی آ رہا ہے۔ اس کی وجہ کسانوں کو یہی بتانا ہے کہ شاید نہر کی وجہ سے ایسا ہوتا ہے۔ اگر آپ کے ایکسپریٹ اس طرف دیکھان دینگے تو وہ سوچیں گے کہ یہ ٹھیک ہے یا غلط۔ چھوٹی آبپاشی میں میں سب سے زیادہ تیوب ویل کو ضروری سمجھتی ہوں اور اس کی طرف آپ کو خاص دھیان دینا ہے۔ اگر سچ سچ آپ پیداوار بڑھانا چاہتے ہیں تو تیوب ویل کا انتظام زیادہ سے زیادہ کیجئے تو اس سے آبپاشی اچھی ہوگی

اور پھدارار آپ سے آپ بڑھ جائیگی -  
کسانوں کو زیادہ سکھانے کی ضرورت  
نہیں ہوا کرتی ہے - لیکن جو کچھ  
ان کو کھیتی اور بیج کے بارے میں  
بتایا جاتا ہے اس سے وہ فائدہ اُٹھاتے  
ہیں اور نئے طریقے استعمال کرنے کے  
لئے تیار ہیں بشرطیکہ افسران کو  
پہلے سے متوجہ کیا جائے اور وہ انکی  
طرف توجہ دیں -

(Time bell rings)

• عاف کیجیگا - پرائمری تعلیم کے  
لئے بلڈنگس تو بھی گئیں مگر ٹیچرس  
کی ٹریننگ کا بلڈویسٹ کم ہے -  
اس لئے ٹرینڈ ٹیچرس کی دیہاتوں  
میں سب سے زیادہ ضرورت ہے - اور  
تیسری پوجا میں اسکول سے زیادہ  
ٹریننگ پر توجہ کی ضرورت ہے -  
ملدوستان میں ہر جگہ گاؤں کے لئے  
کوئی بھی ٹرینڈ ٹیچر جانے کو تیار  
نہیں ہوتے ہیں - اگر ہر ضلع میں  
ٹریننگ اسکول کا بلڈویسٹ کیا جائے  
تو یہ مصیبت دور ہو سکتی ہے -

ایک اور چیز ہے - گاؤں میں  
بہت سے ایسے ہسپتال پڑے ہوئے ہیں  
جن میں ڈاکٹر نہیں ہے ، نرسز نہیں  
ہیں - یہاں شہروں میں ہر جگہ نرسز  
کا ، ڈاکٹرس کا ، ٹیچرس کا سرپلس ہے  
بہت بڑی تعداد میں موجود ہیں -  
لیکن چونکہ ان سے پہلے کوئی فارم  
نہیں بھرا لیا گیا ، ان سے کوئی وعدہ  
نہیں لیا گیا کہ اگر وہ پاس کریں گے  
659—RS—10.

یا ٹرینڈ ہونگے تو انکو گاؤں میں جا کر  
کام کرنا ہوگا اس لئے وہ گاؤں میں  
جانے کے لئے تیار نہیں ہیں - نتیجہ  
یہ ہے کہ ہسپتال بن گئے ہیں لیکن  
صرف کھانڈر چلا رہا ہے یا صرف  
ایک نرس چلا رہی ہے - بہت سے  
ہسپتال خالی پڑے ہوئے ہیں -

(Time bell rings)

† [ श्रीमती श्रीमती किशोरी (उत्तर  
प्रदेश) : मि० वाइस चैयरमैन, सदियों तक  
श्रीमूलकी लूट-खसोट का शिकार रहने वाले  
मुल्क के लिए प्लानिंग बहुत जरूरी चीज  
थी। इसके बगैर देश का सुधार और तरक्की  
नामुमकिन थी और हम सब प्लानिंग कमिशन  
के शानदार प्लान और प्लानिंग मिनिस्ट्री  
की अनथक मेहनत की तारीफ किये बिना  
नहीं रह सकते। मुल्क के हर तबके को  
ऊपर उठाने और आगे बढ़ाने के लिये जहाँ  
तक स्कीम, निशाना और कोशिश का सवाल  
है कोई कमी नहीं हुई। लेकिन कोई भी  
स्कीम जब अमल में आती है तो उसके अन्दाजे  
और अमल में बड़ा फर्क हो जाता करता है  
और जम्हूरियत में इसके जिम्मेदार पब्लिक  
के कारकुन भी होते हैं। वाक्या यह है कि  
इस काम में कोई बड़ा पिछला तजुर्बा हमारे  
पास न था। दूसरी और सब से बड़ी वजह  
यह थी कि काम जल्दी करना था और हालत  
ऐसी थी कि काम को शुरू करना जरूरी था  
इसलिये नेशनल करेक्टर डेवलप होने  
से पहले ही हमने काम शुरू कर दिया और  
हमको इस तरफ ज्यादा तवज्जह देने की  
फ़संत नहीं मिली कि जाती खुदगर्जी कहीं  
कौमी फायदे की नींव न डहा दे।

बहरहाल इन ११-१२ वर्षों में जो  
कुछ हुआ है वह इतना कम और इतना  
छोटा तो नहीं है कि उसकी निन्दा की जाये।

† [ ] Hindi transliteration.

### [श्रीमती अनीस किदवाई]

जिस मुल्क में सुई तक नहीं बनती थी उसमें इतनी बड़ी बड़ी चीजें—हवाई जहाज, रेल, मोटर हर जरूरत की चीज तैयार होने लगी है और इसे आप इंडस्ट्रियल तरक्की नहीं कहेंगे तो क्या कहेंगे ? लेकिन इसमें शक नहीं कि आज बड़ी और अहम जरूरत इस बात की है कि तीसरी पंचसाला प्लान में पिछले तजुर्बों से फायदा उठाकर अपनी कमजोरियों और खामियों को दूर किया जाय। जब कोई नया काम शुरू करना है तो फ्रिजूलखर्ची उसमें जरूर होती है। चूंकि यह काम बड़ा था इसलिए फ्रिजूलखर्ची बड़ी हुई। मगर अब तो सब काम ठीक तरह से चालू हो चुके हैं। इसलिए अच्छी तरह से छानबीन की जा सकती है कि किस डिपार्टमेंट का खर्चा काम के निशाने से बढ़ गया है, और आया वह मुफ़ोद भी है या नहीं। अगर वह मुफ़ोद नहीं है, अगर वह निशाने के मुताबिक नहीं हुआ है तो उसको बन्द किया जा सकता है या उसका रख दूसरी तरफ मोड़ा जा सकता है। जैसा कि अभी दो-तीन रोज़ हुए छोटी कार का मामला यहां आया था और वह प्रोजेक्ट ड्राप कर दिया गया है। इसी तरह एकाध चीजें ऐसी हैं जो कि ड्राप की जा सकती हैं। मुझे थोड़ा सा अन्दाज़ा विज्ञान मन्दिर स्क्रीम का हुआ है और मैं यह कहने के लिए मजबूर हूं कि आठ साल देखने के बाद मैंने यह अन्दाज़ा किया है कि विज्ञान मन्दिर स्क्रीम से गांव के डेवलपमेंट में कोई खास फायदा नहीं होता है। विज्ञान मन्दिर स्क्रीम से न तो गांव के किसान को कोई खास फायदा पहुंचता है और न ग्राम पब्लिक को कोई फायदा पहुंचता है। एक खयाल था कि एग्रीकल्चरल साइन्स के मुतल्लिक वह कोई रिसर्च करेंगे और जो एग्रीकल्चरिस्ट्स—जरायत पेशा किसान हैं—उनको इनसे बड़ी मदद मिलेगी वैसा नहीं हो सका और मेरा खयाल है कि अगर इसके बारे में कोई इन्क्वायरी या जांच की जायेगी तो

जो मैं कह रही हू वह सही साबित होगा, क्योंकि जो सब से बेहतर विज्ञान मन्दिर था बलवन्तराय मेहता कमेटी ने सारे हिन्दुस्तान के विज्ञान मन्दिरों को जब देखा था और उनमें से जो सब से बेस्ट विज्ञान मन्दिर उन्होंने बताया था उसका तजुर्बा मैं आपसे बयान कर रही हूं। मैंने उसका कोई असर वहां उस ब्लाक एरिया में या उस ज़िले में नहीं देखा है।

तीसरी पंचसाला योजना की दो-तीन खास चीजों का तरफ मैं आनरेबिल मिनिस्टर की तवज्जह दिलाना चाहती हूं इसमें एग्रीकल्चर का मामला सब से अहम है और गांव को जो एकोनामिक सूरतेहाल है वह भी बहुत अहम है। जब जमींदारों खत्म हुई थी तब किसान ऐसा सोचता था कि शायद अब हम पनप जायेंगे और हमारे भले दिन आ जायेंगे। लेकिन छोटी छोटी जमीन और छोटे छोटे प्लाट्स के मालिक होने की वजह से—यानी किसी के पास दो बीघा है तो किसी के पास १० बीघा है—हालत दुस्त नहीं हो सकी। बमुश्किल किसी के पास पांच एकड़ जमीन भी है, बड़े फारमर्स को छोड़ दीजिये जो बहुत बड़े किसान हैं उनका बात तो जाने दीजिये, लेकिन आमतौर पर छोटे-छोटे किसानों को अपनी जमीन में से इतना नहीं मिलता है कि उससे वह अपना खर्चा पूरा कर सके। तो जाहिर है कि ऐसा हालत में वह नये टैक्स को बढ़ाई नहीं कर सकते हैं। यह जो नये टैक्स हैं उससे उनका अन्दर एक ऐसा जज्बा पैदा हो रहा है कि शायद गवर्नमेंट उनको और भी तबाह करना चाहता है। सब से बड़ी चिज़ यह है कि प्लानिंग में हर चीज के मुतल्लिक एक निशाना, एक टारगेट, मुक़रर है, लेकिन किसान का आमदना के बारे में कोई ऐसा चीज नहीं है। लोग कहते हैं कि आखिर शहरवालों का आमदना पर कोई हद क्यों नहीं लगाई जाता है। देहात में अगर जमीन पर पाबन्दा लगाई जाता है कि जमीन इतनी होनी चाहिए तो कम से कम इसका

अन्दाज़ा तो कर हो लेना चाहिए कि कितनी आमदनी एक परिवार के—एक खानदान के—पालने के लिए चाहिये ।

इसलिए जिस तरह से आप शहर में आमदनी का अन्दाज़ा करते हैं उस तरह से गांव की आमदनी की भी प्लानिंग करना और उसका हिसाब लगाना जरूरी है ।

एक और बड़ी दिक्कत जो किसान को अपनी ज़मीन के मामले में पेश आती है और खास तौर पर तराई एरिया में जहां नहरें हैं और बरसों से नहरों से सिंचाई हो रही है वहां भी किसानों से मैंने पूछा तो उन लोगों ने बताया कि कच्चा नहर हलने की वजह से पानी का लेवल बहुत ऊंचा हो गया है । आपने स्माल-इरिगेशन, छोटी आबपाशी का जिक्र किया है । इसलिए मैं कहता हूं कि इस तरफ़ तोसरे पंचसाला प्लान में खास तवज्जह देने की जरूरत है । पानी का लेवल बाज जगह इतना ऊंचा हो गया है कि औरतें अपने दुपट्टे में गंगरी बांध कर कुएं से पानी भर लेती हैं । एक कुआं मैंने ऐसा देखा है जिसमें पूरा हाथ लटका कर पानी निकाला जा सकता है । यह तराई इलाक़ का हाल है ।

**श्री गोपीकृष्ण विजय गोंय (मध्य प्रदेश) :** बरसात में ?

**श्रीमती अनीस किदवाई :** नहीं, हमेशा ही । वह तो जाड़ों का जमाना था जब मैंने देखा था । यह तराई एरिया का हाल है । हमारे यहां अवध के जिले में ऐसी सूरत नहीं है । मगर उन में भी पानी का लेवल इतना ऊंचा हो गया है कि उस की वजह से काफी मुश्किल होती है । जमीन खराब हो जाने का डर और फिर किसानों को वक्त पर पानी नहीं मिलता है । जब उन की खेती सूखने लगती है तब उन को पानी मिलता नहीं । तो आपको नहर के पानी देने का दस्तूर भी बदलना है । इस थर्ड प्लान के मातहत इस पर कोई नया खर्चा नहीं होगा, सिर्फ़ इस पर थोड़ी तवज्जह देने की

जरूरत है और दूसरे इलाक़े में जहां पानी का लेवल ऊंचा हो गया है वहां ज्यादा से ज्यादा ट्यूबवेल लगाये जायें, क्योंकि यह जो बारम्बार राप्ती नदी और घाघरा नदी के बढ़ने की खबर आप सुनते हैं गांव के गांव जो डूब रहे हैं वह ज्यादातर इसलिये हो रहा है कि पानी का लेवल रोज़ बरोज ऊंचा होता जा रहा है । खुद हमारी तरफ़ बाराबंकी में पहले तीस गज पर पानी था अब १५ गज में पानी आ रहा है । इस की वजह किसान तो यही बताता है कि शायद नहर की वजह से ऐसा होता है । अगर आपके एक्सपर्ट इस तरफ़ ध्यान देंगे तो वह सोचेंगे कि यह ठीक है या गलत । छोटी आबपाशी में मैं सब से ज्यादा ट्यूबवेल को जरूरी समझती हूं और उस की तरफ़ आपको खास ध्यान देना है । अगर सचमुच आप पैदावार बढ़ाना चाहते हैं तो आप ट्यूबवेल का इन्तजाम ज्यादा से ज्यादा कीजिये तो उस से आबपाशी अच्छी होगी और पैदावार आप से आप बढ़ जायेगी । किसानों को ज्यादा सिखाने की जरूरत नहीं हुआ करती है । लेकिन जो कुछ उन को खेती और बीज के बारे में बताया जाता है उस से वह फ़ायदा उठाते हैं और नये तरीके इस्तेमाल करने के लिये तैयार हैं बशर्ते कि अफ़सरान को पहले से मुतवज्जह किया जाये और वे उनकी तरफ़ तवज्जह दें ।

(Time bell rings.)

माफ़ कीजियेगा । प्राइमरी तालीम के लिए बिल्डिंग तो बन गई मगर टीचर्स की ट्रेनिंग का बन्दोबस्त कम है । इसलिए ट्रेन्ड टीचर्स की देहातों में सब से ज्यादा जरूरत है और तीसरी योजना में स्कूल से ज्यादा ट्रेनिंग पर तवज्जह देने की जरूरत है । हिन्दुस्तान में हर जगह गांव के लिये कोई भी ट्रेन्ड टीचर जाने को तैयार नहीं होते हैं । अगर हर जिले में ट्रेनिंग स्कूल का बन्दोबस्त किया जाये तो यह मुसीबत दूर हो सकती है ।

[श्रीमती प्रनीस किदवई]

एक ग्रौर चीज़ है। गांव में बहुत से ऐसे अस्पताल पड़े हुए हैं जिन में डाक्टर नहीं हैं, नर्सों नहीं हैं। यहां शहरों में हर जगह नर्सों का, डाक्टरों का, टीचर्स का सरप्लस है। बहुत बड़ी तादाद में मौजूद हैं। लेकिन चूंकि उन से पहले कोई फार्म नहीं भरा लिया गया, उन से कोई वायदा नहीं लिया गया कि अगर वह पास करेंगे या ट्रेन्ड होंगे तो उन को गांव में जा कर काम करना होगा इसलिये वह गांव में जाने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं। नतीजा यह है कि हास्पिटल बन गये हैं लेकिन सिर्फ कम्पाउन्डर चला रहा है या सिर्फ एक नर्स चला रही है। बहुत से हास्पिटल खाली पड़े हुए हैं।

(Time bell rings.)

SHRIMATI K. BHARATHI (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is really a feat to produce a five minutes' or ten minutes' speech on such a vast subject as our Third Five Year Plan. At the flag end of the debate I do not want to go into the details. I will just reserve my comments only to my own personal grievance, if I may say so.

I have a grievance, a personal grievance, against our Government. For the last nine years, I had been trying to focus the attention of this august House as well as the Government on the immediate necessity to industrialise that small State of Kerala. It had been always said that Kerala is the problem State of the Indian Union. Yes, it had been a headache to the Central Government and it still remains as such and it will remain as such, if you are not going to solve or tackle our problem with the utmost care and wisdom and foresight. Kerala is the weakest link in the chain of the Union of India, with its over-population, educated unemployment and all sorts of discontented elements including the various political parties. Our masses are politically conscious. They are conscious of their own rights and privileges as well as conscious about their own

competence in good and evil alike. Above all they are conscious of the regional disparities in locating big industrial projects, especially public sector ones by the Government of India. Of course the Communists are more vigilant than anybody else about this regional imbalance, regional disparity and if they make capital out of the situation, nobody is to be blamed for it.

Yesterday Mr. K. V. Raghunatha Reddy was moving an amendment in this House. The House will be shocked to hear that only Rs. 78 lakhs were spent in the First and the Second Plans in the public sector for a D.D.T. factory in Kerala. During the last general elections, I myself howled from hundreds of platforms that Kerala is not going to be neglected any more, that they are going to get in the Third Plan the shipyard, phytochemicals, oil refineries, precision instrument factories, heavy electricals and what not. Now, we are not in a position to face our people because we fear that we are going to lose each and everything. The assurance given by the Planning Commission then is not going to be realised at all. I hate the word pressure exerted by any State to get things done by the Centre. If the Government wants to choose sites to establish their major industries, let that be chosen in the best of national interests. If pressure prevails over reason, woe unto the unity of India. Every State will vie with the other to bring in pressure till at last the pressure exerted from all quarters of this sub-continent will pull us apart into pieces. Let reason and logic and the best national interest be the guiding factor to choose sites, to instal our major industrial projects. The agitational approach to get at things is quite wrong, quite immoral and illogical in the set-up of our democracy. Let each party advance their case as the children carry their needs to the parents or at worst, like the lawyer taking up the case of his party to the court. I have no doubt in my mind that the Union

of India can be maintained only if our passion is for reason and not for intimidatory tactics. I pray that all Members from all parts of the country join to face this pressure tactics from whichever source or area or zone that it comes. The strength of the chain of the Indian Union depends upon the strength of each and every link which comprises the chain.

I do not ask you to pity Kerala and give her a beggar's dole. In the First and the Second Plans only Rs. 78 lakhs was spent on the D.D.T. factory and nothing else. Kerala earns foreign exchange for this country. I only ask to exploit the human and natural resources in that State for the benefit of the whole nation. Kerala must be the industrial area of India. The potentialities of Kerala for industrial development, is well known to our Government and the planners. And if they say that we are an incessant source of headache to the Government, well, I do not know what answer to give. We have no strength to exert pressure of any type. Ours was like a *vana rodan* a cry in the wilderness for the last ten years.

The major port of Cochin and the minor ports of Calicut, Alleppy, Quilon, Valiathura and Vizinjom, afford opportunities for the locating of industries meant for export. Sir, all these ports, the five minor ones and the one major port, had been flourishing in the by-gone days. They can still be revived and used to import raw materials and for the export of the finished products. We have the educated youth, who if harnessed to industry, can provide the best industrial labour and technical personnel. Educated intelligent human material is available in abundance in Kerala. This material is highly inflammable, if allowed to rot without work. No wonder the Communists find a rich grazing ground there. I have to warn the House that it is even now not too late to harness them. Let all the political parties and trade unions of Kerala declare that for ten years they will rule out strikes,

that they will settle industrial disputes by negotiations and arbitration. They owe to the State and the nation at least so much of consideration.

Then, Sir, if the Government of India is kind they can develop hydel power rapidly and supply to industries at the cheapest rate, and to Madras also if they want. I welcome Mr. Pattabiraman's suggestion for regional boards. Take the case of Alleppy town. Sir, this once flourishing industrial town is in rack and ruin today. I do not forget the part played by our Communist friends, to bring Alleppy to this sad plight. Sir, Alleppy has a labour force which has an industrial tradition. It has waterways running right up to the heart of the city and has factory sites and godowns that are idle today. You have only to plan and plant industries there. It is linked up to Cochin harbour by waterways, road transport. It can be linked up by railway also very easily. But I do not find any such plan even now.

About the much coveted oil refinery, I have to say a word. The finest harbour linked up with broad gauge and metre gauge lines, waterways and national highways and also airways, we have. We are nearer to the oil producing centres of the world, if the sources are the Persian Gulf area, Russia or Cambay.

Sir, let not an impression be created that matters are decided by pressure. Let it not be said that the Centre yields to pressure and not to reason or justice. It will be an evil day for India, if such an impression gains ground, due to the weight of Central Ministers drawn from certain States or otherwise. Let there be no premium for the D.M.K. type of agitation. And, Sir, our people in Kerala even talk that they may invite Shri Annadurai to lead an agitation for our benefit. Sir, the feelings of the people are roused to such a pitch that they even ask the present pusillanimous Coalition Ministry to resign so that we may have Central Administration.

[Shrimati K. Bharathi.]

Another thing I want to touch upon and that is about this newsprint cut. Sir, the meagre amount saved by the newsprint cut is not worth the labour, and are not our newspapers the best vehicles for our plan propaganda? Thank you.

**श्री ब्यालबास कुरें (मध्य प्रदेश) :**

उप सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारी तीसरी पंच-वर्षीय योजना बड़ी ही आशान्वित है और हम अपनी इस योजना पर गर्व करते हैं। हमने इन दस वर्षों में दो योजनाएँ पार कीं और उसमें हमें बड़ी सफलता मिली। आज हम तीसरी योजना के दूसरे चरण में हैं और इस बीच में हम देखते हैं कि जो आंकड़े प्रति वर्ष योजना के खर्च के बारे में बतलाये गये हैं वे आशान्वित हैं। मैं यह देखता हूँ कि सन् १९६१-६२ में ११४८ करोड़ रुपया योजना के खर्च के लिये निर्धारित किया गया था और सन् १९६२-६३ के लिये १४८४ करोड़ रुपया रखा गया है। जब हम इन दोनों राशियों को देखते हैं तो हम इस पंचवर्षीय योजना में जितनी रकम खर्च करनी है उसका ३५ प्रतिशत खर्च कर पाते हैं। किसी चीज की आलोचना और प्रत्यालोचना करना एक सरल बात है। हमारी योजना के सिलसिले में भी इस सदन में बड़ी बड़ी आलोचना की गई। इस योजना के बारे में यह कहा गया है कि यह सफल नहीं हो रही है। मैं तो यहां तक कहूंगा कि हमारे एक माननीय सदस्य श्री रत्नस्वामी ने यहां तक कहा कि जो सामने की बेंचों में बैठने वाले सज्जन हैं, जो योजना तैयार करते हैं, वे सफल नहीं हो सकते हैं और न ही उनकी योजना सफल हो सकती है। अगर इस बात को देखा जाय और कल हमारे मिनिस्टर साहब ने जो भाषण इस विषय में दिया उस को सामने रखा जाय तो हमें मालूम होता है कि उन्होंने

अपने भाषण में यह कहा कि योजना तो योजना कमिशन और सरकारी अफसर बनाते हैं और उसको चलाने वाली जनता है। योजना की सफलता जनता के सहयोग पर ही निर्भर करती है, प्लानिंग कमिशन के आधार पर योजना को हम सफल नहीं बना सकते हैं। अगर सरकारी अफसर यह कहते हैं कि हम इसको सफल बना सकते हैं तो योजना की सफलता उनके ऊपर नहीं है। अगर हमारी योजना सफल हो सकती है तो हमारे देश में जो ८०, ८२ प्रतिशत किसान गांवों में रहते हैं उनके हाथों द्वारा ही हो सकती है क्योंकि हमें उनसे ही इसको सफल बनाने के लिये काम लेना है। यदि हमने ठीक तरीके से अपने किसान भाइयों की मदद की, हमने ठीक तरह से अपने ग्रामीण भाइयों को प्रोत्साहन दिया, उनकी शक्ति का ठीक तरह से उपयोग किया, तब ही हम अपनी योजना को सफल बना सकते हैं। प्रोफेसर रत्नस्वामी जी ने जो कुछ कहा, कुछ अंशों में तो उनकी बात सही है लेकिन उन्होंने ग्रामीण भाइयों की स्थिति को सामने रख कर अपनी बात नहीं कही और न विचार ही किया। आज हमें गांव की हर स्थिति को देखना चाहिये कि वहां पर क्या हालत है। दो पंचवर्षीय योजना को खत्म होने के बाद, जब हम तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के दूसरे चरण में जा रहे हैं तो हम यह अवश्य पाते हैं कि हमारी योजनाओं ने कुछ न कुछ अवश्य परिवर्तन किया है। अगर हम खेतों के उत्पादन की तरफ देखें तो हमें यह दिखाई देता है कि हमने इस क्षेत्र में काफी तरक्की की है। आज हम देखते हैं कि गांवों में किसानों को सुधरे हुए बीज और औजार दिये जाते हैं। उन्होंने अपनी अपनी कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटियां बना ली हैं जहां वे अपने गांव की बनी हुई चीजों को ले जाते हैं। लघु सिंचाई योजनाएँ तथा दूसरी तरह से किसानों को प्रोत्साहित किया गया और जिसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि हमारे अनाज के उत्पादन में वृद्धि हुई।

जहां तक शिक्षा का सम्बन्ध है पहले हमारे ग्रामीण भाई शालाओं में जाने से हिचकिचाते थे लेकिन आज हम देखते हैं कि हमारे देश के प्रायः हर गांव में प्राइमरी शिक्षा की व्यवस्था हो गई है। इसी प्रकार गांवों में दवा की भी व्यवस्था हो गई है। आज छोटे छोटे जो लघु उद्योग हैं वे हर ग्राम में किसी न किसी रूप में स्थान पाते हैं और इन सब बातों को देख कर यह मालूम पड़ता है कि हमारी योजना बहुत अंशों में सफल हो रही है और होती जा रही है। हम आशा करते हैं कि निकट भविष्य में जो हमारी तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना है वह पूर्ण हो जायेगी और हम बहुत कुछ कर ले जायेंगे। हमारा यह देश बहुत बड़ा है और इसकी ४४ करोड़ के लगभग आबादी है। इतनी बड़ी आबादी वाले देश को एक रास्ते पर सफलतापूर्वक ले आना कोई सरल बात नहीं है। हम इस ओर संलग्नतापूर्वक और सतत प्रयत्न करने हुए आगे बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं और मुझे पूर्ण आशा है कि हम अपनी तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना को सफलतापूर्वक कार्यान्वित करेंगे।

अब मुझे थोड़ी सी बात खेती के सम्बन्ध में कहनी है। इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं कि हम खेती के सम्बन्ध में तरक्की करते जा रहे हैं। आज हम देखते हैं कि किसानों को अच्छा बीज और अच्छे औजार प्राप्त होते हैं। किसानों को सहकारी समितियों के द्वारा रुपया दिया जाता है ताकि वे अपने खेती के काम में लगा सकें। आज किसानों को फर्टिलाइजर दिया जा रहा है और इसी तरह से और भी कई सुविधायें दी जा रही हैं जिससे वह काफी तरक्की कर रहे हैं। लेकिन फिर भी हमें एक चीज की कमी महसूस होती है और वह है हमारी लघु सिंचाई योजना। उसका अभाव है और जितना हमें करना चाहिये, उतना हम अभी तक नहीं कर पाये हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में हमारी योजना अभी उतनी सफल नहीं हो पाई है जितनी कि होनी

चाहिये। इसलिए हम बादल की ओर देखते हैं और वर्षा के ऊपर ही आधारित रहते हैं। तो हमें इस ओर तरक्की करनी है। जैसा कि इस रिपोर्ट में बताया गया है और कल स्पीच में भी कहा गया कि ५० करोड़ रुपये की एक अलग राशि कृषि के लिए निर्धारित कर दी गई है, यह बहुत खुशी की बात है और मैं आशा करता हूं कि इससे हमारी लघु सिंचाई योजना सफल होगी। मैं यह भी आशा करता हूं कि इस सम्बन्ध में सेंटर की ओर से प्रदेशों को खास तौर से हिदायत जायेगी।

दूसरी चीज मैं यह कहूंगा कि सीलिंग की भी एक बहुत बड़ी समस्या है और केन्द्र सरकार का इस ओर बिलकुल ध्यान नहीं है। प्रादेशिक क्षेत्रों में तरह तरह के कानून बनते हैं, किन्तु वे कानून आज केवल कागज में ही पड़े हुए हैं। जब तक हम सीलिंग की व्यवस्था को जितनी जल्दी हो सके उतनी जल्दी अमल में नहीं लायेंगे तब तक हम कृषि के क्षेत्र में आगे तरक्की नहीं कर पायेंगे। आप देखिये कि आज हजारों एकड़ जमीन बड़े बड़े जमींदार, ताल्लुकेदार, मालगुजार और एक्स-राजाओं के पास पड़ी हुई है। यदि सीलिंग की व्यवस्था हम जल्दी प्रदेशों में लागू कर सकें तो उस जमीन को हम उन लोगों के हाथ से निकाल कर और कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटी की जो हमारी योजना है उसमें उसको लाकर हम कृषि के उत्पादन को अधिक से अधिक बढ़ा सकते हैं। तो केन्द्र सरकार को इस ओर जल्दी से जल्दी ध्यान देना चाहिये ताकि राज्य सरकारें शीघ्र से शीघ्र सीलिंग की योजना को अमल में लाने का प्रयत्न करें।

तीसरी चीज मैं यह कहूंगा कि आज हम यह देखते हैं कि लघु उद्योगों को ऊपर उठाने की जो योजना है वह केवल एक कागजी चीज बन कर रह गई है। बहुत ही कम स्थान हैं जहां कि हम इसको सफल बना सके हैं।

[श्री दयाल दास कुरें]

उसका कारण यह है कि पावर की कमी है, इलेक्ट्रिसिटी की कमी है और बहुत सी दूसरी आवश्यक चीजों की कमी है। मैं जिस ज़िले से आता हूँ उसमें मैं समझता हूँ कि २१ लाख या २२ लाख की आबादी है और वहाँ एक भी स्थान ऐसा नहीं है जहाँ हम लघु उद्योग कायम कर सकें हों। हमारे यहाँ कोरवा का थर्मल प्लांट है जहाँ से हम बिजली भिलाई को भेजते जा रहे हैं, फिर भी वहाँ पर लघु उद्योगों को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए बिजली की बहुत कमी है। एक स्कीम में यह बताया गया है कि सरकार ४६ लघु उद्योगों के प्रोजेक्ट निर्धारित करने जा रही है। हमारा इतना बड़ा देश है कि उसमें ये जो ४६ प्रोजेक्ट निर्धारित होने जा रहे हैं वे ऊँट के मुँह में जीरा के समान हैं। इसके लिए मेरा एक नम्र सुझाव है कि ज़िलों में जो मिडिल और हाई स्टैंडर्ड तक पहुँचकर लड़के निकलते हैं उनके लिए ऐसे सेंटर खोले जायँ जिनमें उनको लघु उद्योग सम्बन्धी ट्रेनिंग दी जा सके। बड़े बड़े शहरों और कस्बों में जहाँ पावर मौजूद है, कोयला मौजूद है और दूसरी सुविधाएँ मौजूद हैं वहाँ यदि हम इस तरह के सेंटर खोल सकें तो इस योजना में बड़ी तरक्की हो सकती है और लघु उद्योगों को हम ज्यादा सफल बना सकते हैं।

इसके अतिरिक्त मेरा एक नम्र सुझाव और है। सरकार ने स्कालरशिप्स के सिलसिले में यह बताया है कि एक बहुत बड़ी रकम शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइव्स के लड़कों को दी गई है और उसका एक आंकड़ा भी इसमें दिया है कि कोई ६१ हजार स्कालरशिप्स अलग से दिये गये हैं। २४ सी पोस्ट मैट्रिक स्कालरशिप्स का भी इसमें उल्लेख किया गया है। मैं यह कहूँगा कि इस दिशा में हमारी योजना में काफी अच्छी प्रगति हुई है और जैसा कि मुझे अपने मध्य प्रदेश में भी देखने में आया, जिसका एक तिहाई हिस्सा शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइव्स के

लोगों से भरा हुआ है, इस क्षेत्र में सरकार ने काफी ध्यान दिया है और यह प्रशंसनीय है। लेकिन मैं एक चीज़ यह कहूँगा कि इसके अन्तर्गत जो होस्टल की योजना चालू की गई है उससे अस्पृश्यता निवारण में काफी सहायता मिल सकती है। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं यह भी निवेदन कर दूँ कि चार दिन पहले मैं ईश्वर शरण आश्रम देख करके आया हूँ। उसमें इतनी सुन्दर व्यवस्था हर एक बात की थी कि मैं उससे बहुत प्रभावित हुआ। मेरे कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि इस प्रकार की होस्टल योजना से हम अस्पृश्यता को दूर कर सकते हैं। उसमें हम हर कास्ट के लड़कों को रख कर के बहुत अच्छी तरह से हम अपनी योजना को सफल बना सकते हैं। इसलिए हमको चाहिये कि हम अधिक से अधिक रकम होस्टल बिल्डिंग्स के लिए ग्रांट करके लोगों को ज्यादा से ज्यादा सुविधा दें और इस प्रोग्राम को सफल बनाने का प्रयत्न करें।

SHRI MAHESH SARAN (Bihar):  
Mr. Vice-Chairman, as there is very little time I wish to emphasise only one point. There is no doubt that, in spite of all the shortfalls that have been referred to by people, those who tour the country know that even in the first and second year great progress has been made all round. Anybody who goes round can see the progress for himself, the people of the cities, people from abroad, everybody. As there is no time I cannot enumerate the items where progress has been made but the progress has been made. But why are these shortfalls there? My submission is that the planning is very good but the implementation is defective. I wish to emphasise this point that the planners are not very careful about implementation. Do they ever find out whether those who are in charge of implementation are serious people, whether they have that burning desire to see their country go forward or whether they are only such a set of people who work for money alone? Unless they have that zeal, unless they

have faith in the Plan, things will not improve. I am therefore glad that now they are going to look into this, as I understand that the Planning Commission is now engaged in improving the system of reporting on progress. No reporting of progress is really done; it might be there on paper. The real reason why we are suffering, the real reason why there is no progress is that implementation is lacking. Money is being wasted and sometimes money is not spent at all. Only if the people who are in charge of implementation are serious, only if the cause of the country is dear to them, then alone there will be progress. My submission, therefore, is that strict measures should be taken against those who do not do their work properly because the whole future of the country depends upon implementation.

The other point, which I wish to emphasise is, that all progress is good but if people are hungry, if people have no clothes, if prices are high, no happiness can be found on the faces of the people. And whatever progress has been made, the reputation is not increased because there is lack of food, lack of cloth and prices are high. Unless these defects are removed, unless people are properly fed, they do not feel any enthusiasm for the Plan. To them improvement means nothing because a hungry man does not see anything except hungry children, hungry wife and hungry family members. Therefore agriculture is the primary thing where improvement should be made. I admit that some improvement has been made but the whole point is this. The only method of improving agriculture, in my opinion, is through co-operative farming, co-operative societies and

service co-operatives, because in India the majority of the people have got small holdings and they have no bullocks, they have no money, they have no seed and they have no other facilities for raising crops. Unless there are co-operatives and unless they are properly managed, unless there are people to help in the proper management of these co-operatives, the face of the country will not improve.

Now, so far as industries are concerned, there has been progress, but I am sorry to say that in the private sector, only a few people have gained by the industrial progress. In the private sector the industries are in the hands of a few people. Cottage industries are practically nil in the country; there are a few here and there. Therefore, my submission is that the cottage industries, the small-scale industries which are necessary for the village people, which are necessary for the majority of the people in the country, should be looked after and efforts should be made to introduce them as far as possible in the country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): It is six now.

SHRI MAHESH SARAN: Thank you very much. I am glad that I have been able to say something.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): The Minister will reply tomorrow. The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 30th August, 1962.