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**Wednesday, September 5, 1973
Bhadra 14, 1895 (Saka)**

LOK SABHA DEBATES

(Eighth Session)



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LOK SABHA DEBATES

I

LOK SABHA

Wednesday, September 5, 1973/
Bhadra 14, 1895 (Saka)

The Lok Sabha met at Eleven of the
Clock

[MR SPEAKER in the Chair]

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

(SHORT NOTICE QUESTION)

'दि स्टेट्समैन' के प्रबन्धकों द्वारा अपने
पत्रकारों और अन्य कर्मचारियों के प्रति
अत्याचारपूर्ण तरीके अपनाये जाने

+

7 श्री सतपाल कपूर :
श्री सी० के० चन्द्रशेखर .

क्या सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्री यह बताने
की कृपा करेंगे कि

(क) क्या दैनिक समाचारपत्र 'दि स्टेट्स-
मैन' के प्रबन्धकों द्वारा अपने पत्रकारों तथा
अन्य कर्मचारियों के प्रति अत्याचारपूर्ण
तरीके अपनाये जाने के परिणामस्वरूप एक
गम्भीर स्थिति पैदा हो गई है, और

(ख) यदि हां, तो इस समाचारपत्र को
बन्द होने से बचाने के लिये सरकार का क्या
कार्यवाही करने का विचार है ?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND
BROADCASTING (SHRI DHARAM
BIR, SINHA): (a) and (b). Govern-
ment have received a copy of the re-
solution passed on August 17, 1973 by
1827 L. S.—1

2

the General Body of the Statesman
Journalists Association, New Delhi, con-
taining *inter alia* the following grievan-
ces —

- (1) negative and unhelpful attitude
of the management towards the
genuine functional difficulties of
the journalists,
- (2) grant of adequate interim relief
pending revision of wages in-
cluding modification of the
DA formula providing for full
neutralisation of the rise in the
cost of living index,
- (3) reduction of quantum of bonus
to Working Journalists by im-
posing a ceiling of Rs 1,000

It is hoped that the management of
the Statesman Limited will hold dis-
cussions with representatives of the Asso-
ciation and take steps to redress the
grievances

श्री सतपाल कपूर : स्पीकर साहब, क्या
मिनिस्टर साहब बंलायेंगे कि यही एक
ऐसा प्रखबार है जिस के न्यूज की एडीटोरियल
पॉलिसी एडीटर के बजाय मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर
बनाते हैं ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : यह सवाल
इस में से कहाँ निकलता है ?

श्री सतपाल कपूर : इस प्रखबार के मैनेज-
मेंट और मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर न जो विक्टि-
माइजेशन किया है, उस की वजह से यह सवाल
उठता है ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप का सवाल है—
As a result of high-handed methods of
management towards journalists...

श्री सतपाल कपूर : जहाँ हाइ-हैण्डेडनेस की बात घाली है, कुछ जर्नेलिस्ट्स इस में से रिजाइन कर गये हैं, कुछ लोगों को कोर्ट में जा कर पीटा गया है.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : वह कम्प्लैट है।

श्री सतपाल कपूर : धाप गलत वाली बात कहिये।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : उन को जवाब देने दीजिये, इस को सम्बाधत कीजिये।

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRI I. K. GUJRAL): Hon. Members will recall that when there was a discussion in the House on diffusion and delinking of the Press, I submitted to the House that one of the difficulties that had arisen unfortunately in some of the major news papers had been that decision-making was passed on from the Editorial Room to the Management Room

In this case, particularly, it is very unfortunate that in the Articles of Association the *Statesman* have provided and given the powers to the Managing Director to enforce the policy of the paper and not to the Editor.

श्री सतपाल कपूर : क्या यह दुस्तर है कि इस घबराहट के कुछ स्पेशल-कारस्पोंडेन्ट्स रिजाइन कर गये हैं। एक कारस्पोंडेन्ट जब कोर्ट में ऐसी मुकदमे लगाया और कोर्ट से बाहर निकला तो उस पर हमला किया गया और उस ने कोर्ट में ऐसी शिकायत भी की है ?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: These are two separate cases. I have received a copy of the resignation submitted by Shri Sumanta Banerjee resigning from his job in which he has said:

"My conscience does not allow me to continue working any longer in the present conditions."

..... "The subsequent events culminating in the total surrender of

men at the helm of the editorial staff to the managerial bosses bartering away editorial freedom and dignity only strengthened my resolve to resign so as to avoid being a tool of business interests."

He also mentions that one of the members on the editorial side was mishandled by one of the managers and local staff. This has been mentioned in the Resolution a copy of which has been sent to me.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU. Sir, I am catching your eye. Let me be permitted to put questions

MR. SPEAKER: May I request you to allow one other Member to put his questions first since his name has also been clubbed?

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPA. It is stated in the answer that the employees of the *Statesman* have submitted a memorandum. They have also placed their grievances. I want to know whether the Government is aware of the fact that the Managing Director of the *Statesman*, Shri Irani, who is a former boss of the Insurance organisation or something like that under Tata is enjoying all kinds of facilities including a big bungalow in Delhi and in Calcutta? And whenever he goes to the other big cities, more facilities are provided to him like bungalow, car and everything. At the same time, the real journalists who are working on the staff and the correspondents from the Bureau have not been provided with such facilities.

MR. SPEAKER: Mr Chandrappa please put your question and do not make a statement.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPA: The last part of the answer says:

"It is hoped that the management of the *Statesman* Limited will hold discussions with representatives of the Association."

We are hoping against hopes. That is why I am asking this. Is it also a fact

that one of the journalists, Shri Madhok, after filing a case against the management for redressal of some of his grievances and while coming out of the Court, was assaulted by no less a person than the manager of the *Statesman*? When such things are happening, what is the kind of action that you are taking? What is the use of bringing in a Bill on Diffusion of Ownership?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: A copy of the Resolution passed by the Association was sent to me in which this incident had been mentioned. Naturally, I am not in a position to vouchsafe for the facts. But, this was mentioned by the deputation of the employees who met me. I am also told by the deputation that when the incident took place, it was brought to the notice of the Labour Court itself. The labour court is looking into it.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: May I know whether it is a fact that the *Statesman* management is planning to remove the machine which they propose to set up in Calcutta in connection with their junior *Statesman*, a weekly magazine? If you have decided to shift it to Delhi, it will cause a serious unemployment problem in Calcutta. May I know whether Government have taken note of this matter and whether. . .

MR. SPEAKER: How is it relevant to the main question?

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: Kindly see the question. The question refers to 'high-handed methods'. This is the most high-handed method that they are shifting the machines from Calcutta to Delhi, as a result of which a large number of employees will be in a very serious situation. So, I would like to know whether Government propose to set up a high-level inquiry into all the functions of the *Statesman*, especially that follow, Mr. Igani. . . .

MR. SPEAKER: I fail to understand how this question is relevant. . . .

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: It is a high-handed method to remove the machines from Calcutta thereby causing hardship to the workers.

MR. SPEAKER: After all, the machine has to be removed with hands.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: Let the hon. Minister answer whether he knows it or not.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: It has not been brought to my notice as yet.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: What about the inquiry? "Today is the last day of this session, and tomorrow nobody will come to you or to me as a Member of Parliament. I would like to know, therefore, whether he is going to set up any inquiry by the Company Law Board or any other agency regarding this aspect of the *Statesman*."

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: If the edition of a particular paper is shifted from one place to another. . .

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: It is not only that, but there are other things also which are happening. So, I would like to know whether he is going to set up any inquiry?

MR. SPEAKER: There is no question of high-handedness in this. It is their own problem. They may shift a machine wherever they like. So, let the hon. Member confine himself to the main question.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN: As this type of disgusting experiences of esteemed friends in the journalistic profession pile up not only in "the *Statesman*" but also in "the *Janmabhoomi*" and "A" or various other papers owned either by families or groups or trusts, may I know whether the hon. Minister is going to set up a watchdog machinery to inquire into such instances, because the problem has become very urgent in these media of mass communication?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: So far as retrenchment is concerned, it is receiving

attention immediately. The case of *Janmabhoomi* was also pointed out to me, and it is receiving our attention. The case of *Aj* has also come to our notice. In this particular case regarding the *Statesman*, I have received a copy of the resignation and I have not been asked to intervene on this occasion on his resignation. What has been brought to my notice by the resolution and by the representation and by a copy of the letter written by the association to the editor of the paper is that the authority of the editorial side is being eroded by the management side. That is the issue which concerns me more than the others, not that the others are less important, but this is of greater concern to me, because we have guaranteed in the Constitution freedom of expression and we are very keen to see that the editorial side is more important than the management side in a newspaper. This matter is receiving my attention, and I am looking into it.

श्री चंदूलाल चन्दाकर : मेरा ऐसा ख्याल है कि मंत्री महोदय के पास बहुत से ऐसे खबरों के संबंध में शिकायतें आई हैं कि बहुत से लोगों को नौकरी से निकाल दिया गया हो। तो क्या मैं यह जान सकता हूँ कि ऐसे कितने लोगों की शिकायतें आई हैं और कितने लोगों के साथ दुर्व्यवहार हुआ है या निकाले गए हैं? आज के जो लीगल करेस्पोंडेंट थे उन को जो चिट्ठी दी गई है निकालने की उस में साफ कहा गया है कि आज कल पेपर की कमी है, इसलिए उन को नौकरी से निकाल दिया गया है। जगदीश प्रसाद चतुर्वेदी को भी इसी तरह से उन्होंने निकाल दिया है। तो इस तरह के कितने कैसे हैं जिन के सम्बंध में मंत्री महोदय को विशेष शिकायतें मिली हैं जिन को हाल में खबरों से पेपर की कमी या और किसी कारण से निकाल दिया गया है या जैसे स्टेट्समैन में दुर्व्यवहार हुआ है वैसे उन के साथ हुआ है?

श्री आई० के० गुजराल : मेरे नोटिस में जो बात आई है वह सिर्फ यही आई है कि

‘आज’ से दो आदमियों को निकाला गया है चतुर्वेदी जी को और उन के लीगल करेस्पोंडेंट को। दोनों को मैं देख रहा हूँ। जन्मभूमि के संबंध में भी यह शिकायत आई है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मंत्री महोदय ने यह स्वीकार किया है कि स्टेट्समैन के पत्रकारों ने एक प्रस्ताव पास किया है जिस में अपनी शिकायतों का विवरण दिया है। मंत्री महोदय ने उस प्रस्ताव का हवाला भी दिया। क्या यह सच नहीं है कि उस प्रस्ताव में पत्रकारों ने सरकार से कुछ कार्यवाही की भी मांग की है? वह क्या कार्यवाही है जो पत्रकार चाहते हैं और सरकार इस मामले में केवल जवाब दे कर अपने कर्तव्य की इतिश्री समझ लेगी या कुछ कदम भी उठाना चाहती है जिस से उन की शिकायतें दूर हो सकें?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: When the deputation met me and gave me a copy of the Resolution, they were naturally keen that their problems should be looked into. Otherwise, they would not have met me. It can be divided into two parts. One is about the working conditions in regard to bonus, salaries etc. Naturally, this should be looked into by other Ministries, to which the papers are being referred. I understand copies of this Resolution were sent to those Ministries also, namely The Department of Company Law and the Labour Ministry. My primary concern in the Ministry of Information is about the authority of the editorial side, about the hegemony of the editorial side. If the hegemony of the editorial side is eroded, as unfortunately seems to have eroded, it is a matter of concern not only for Government but more for the House even because we are the custodians of freedom of expression. So we must see to it that it does not get eroded.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: It is disgraceful to hear from the hon. Minister what the management has done considering the articles of association and freedom of the press. I would like to know

from the hon. Minister what is the definition of 'freedom of the press' according to Government and what steps have been taken to protect it? Also are Government aware that the *Statesman* management has threatened a lock-out of the newspaper? If so, what steps are being taken to prevent such a drastic step?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: I would only content myself with quoting from a book which has recently been published. It is the autobiography....

MR. SPEAKER: How is it relevant to this?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: If you will kindly hear, you will know (*Interruptions*) I hope you are equally concerned about freedom of the press; if you are not, that is a different matter. This is from the autobiography of no less a person than Shri M. C. Setalvad who was one of the trustees of the board of this paper. I will only quote a few lines to tell you how the authority of the editorial side and freedom of expression has been eroded in the newspaper. Shri Setalvad as Chairman of the Board of Trustees. He says:

"My Chairmanship of the Board of Trustees of the *Statesman* Ltd. received a somewhat rude though not unexpected shock in the latter part of 1968. The story is interesting showing how difficult it is for the industrial proprietors of a newspaper to give editorial freedom to its editor and how the experiment so honestly and laudably launched by the industrialists who had reorganised the *Statesman* in 1963 failed. Probably it is a novel experiment....."

The main point is that even Shri Setalvad felt that editorial authority in the *Statesman* was being eroded.....

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: What have you been doing?

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: What about the threatened closure?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: I think the question stands replied when I quoted already from the articles of association to show that authority has been passed from the editor to the managing director. I have also quoted Shri Setalvad who was Chairman of the Board of Trustees to show that authority was passed on from the editorial side to the managerial side. That is where freedom of expression was eroded in the *Statesman*.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: I asked about the threatened lockout.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: It has not been brought to my notice. I hope they would not resort to it.

श्री मधु लिमये : मान्य महोदय, कुछ साल पहले स्टेट्समैन की सम्पादकीय नीति के बारे में मतभेद की गुंजाइश रहती थी लेकिन इसके बारे में दो रायें नहीं थीं कि उसका दर्जा बहुत ऊंचा था, हर क्षेत्र में और खास करके पार्लियामेंटरी रिपोर्टिंग के बारे में आप जानते हैं कि इतनी बढ़िया रिपोर्टिंग स्टेट्समैन में आती थी कि वे हमारे ऊपर नुक्ताचीनी भी करते थे तो भी पढ़ने में मज़ा आता था। हम चाहते हैं कि स्टेट्समैन और दूसरे अखबार एक और बड़ी पूंजी के नियन्त्रण से और दूसरी ओर सरकारी प्रभाव से मुक्त हों इसलिए मैं मंत्री महोदय से जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यह बात सही है कि एक जर्नलिस्ट मि० नाथ को मैनेजमेंट ने अदालत में धमकाया, मेरे सामने वह वाक्य है :

"You journalists, you should know that I am the management. I shall grind him into the dust."

टैक्सीज़, स्कूटर्स, टेलीफोन आदि की सुविधाओं के बिना इनकी संचार की जो स्वतन्त्रता है, लोगों से मिलने की जो स्वतन्त्रता है, खबरें इकट्ठा करने की जो स्वतन्त्रता है वह कभी भी कारगर नहीं हो पायेगी इसलिए मैं मंत्री महोदय से जानना चाहूंगा जिस तरह से पहले मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर की पोस्ट नहीं थी—यह नयी पोस्ट क्रिएट की गई है जिसके

चलते समादकीय वर्ग और पत्रकारों की स्वतन्त्रता मिट्टी में मिल गई, तो क्या मंत्री महोदय इसके बारे में सरकारी विभागों के कोई कार्यवाही करेंगे ताकि जो पुरानी परम्परा है वह स्टेट्समैन में कायम हो और जिन्होंने धमकी दी है उनके खिलाफ कोई कार्यवाही की जायेगी? टैक्सी, स्कूटर, टेलीफोन आदि की सुविधा जिनसे संचार की सुविधा बनी रहे, सारी खबरों को इकट्ठा कर पायें उसके लिए भी क्या आप लेबर विभाग से या जो भी विभाग हो, मैं नहीं जानता लेकिन सरकार एक ही है, तो क्या इस तरह की विभिन्न कार्यवाहियाँ करेंगे और सदन को आश्वस्त करेंगे कि जैसे पहले स्टेट्समैन सरकारी प्रभाव से और बड़ी पूंजी के प्रभाव से मुक्त था उसी तरह से भविष्य में भी रहेगा?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: Sir, in their memorandum and articles of association, one of the things which the *Statesman* have, in principle kept for themselves; says: "Code of principles of democratic Government and democracy." I hope they will understand after all these questions, what is the democratic wish of the country, and they will understand how this House is reacting from all sides to their present method of functioning. I hope no further action will be needed if they heed to what the country is feeling, because if they feel that democracy is to be preserved then the democratic wish is being expressed here.

So far as the particular incident is concerned, which Shri Madhu Limaye has pointed out, as I have said just now, when the deputation came to meet me that the incident occurred in the Labour Court, I was told that the presiding judge of the Labour Court has taken cognizance of that, and I hope something will happen.

श्री मधु लिमये : प्रिजाइडिंग आफिसर ने कहा लेकिन वे इतने उर्दू थे कि जज के कहने के बाद भी माफी मांगने से इनकार किया—क्या यह बात सही है ?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: It is difficult for me to say yes or no, but that is what I was told.

श्री मधु लिमये : तो आप जानकारी हासिल करके बतलायें लेकिन मेरी जानकारी है कि प्रिजाइडिंग आफिसर ने कहा आप माफी मांगिये लेकिन उन्होंने माफी मांगने से इनकार किया ।

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: I will check it up.

SHRI HARI KISHORE SINGH: I understand that the whole trouble has started after the talk of diffusion of ownership of the press. May I know from the Government whether it is aware of the fact that after this talk of delinking the press from monopoly houses, the *Statesman* management has started harassing the correspondents by cutting down their facilities such as transport convenience, telephone facilities and other allowances, and if that is so, what steps do the Government propose to take? I was very surprised to hear from the Minister that while the articles of association of the *Statesman* were changed, the Government sat tight and did not do anything. How is it that the articles of association were permitted to be changed, which has eroded the freedom of the press and of expression in the *Statesman*?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: It is difficult for me to say in terms of time when this difficulty started. In any case the *Statesman's* difficulty started definitely when Mr. Pran Chopra, former editor of the *Statesman* asserted himself and it is understood that the board of trustees stood by him and that is why not only the Editor but the board of trustees also were got rid of. This has happened in 1968; it has happened as a coincidence that in the last five or six years we have been seriously thinking of delinking of the Press, etc.

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह : माननीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, अखबारों की स्वतन्त्रता का जब जब प्रश्न उठा है तो जनता और सरकार दोनों ने जागरूकता का परिचय दिया है, इस सम्बन्ध

में मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि इसी स्टेट्समैन को लेकर जो एक बहुत बड़ी समस्या सरकार जगत के सामने उपस्थित हुई है उसको ध्यान में रखते हुए क्या कोई संवैधानिक उपायकारी कमेटी बतावेगी जो एक हफ्ते के अन्दर इसकी जांच करके आपको रिपोर्ट दे और तत्काल आप उस पर कदम उठावें ?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: This consists of two parts. So far as articles, etc. are concerned, I am given to understand that the Company Law is looking into it. So far as freedom of expression is concerned, we shall try to assert and see that freedom of expression, not as a Government but as part of this House, as preserved in every institution which is given that right under the Constitution.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: In view of the fact that the proprietorship of *Statesman* rests in the hands of a consortium of some of the big monopoly houses in this country, such as the Tatas, Marins, Burns, Andrew Yule and so on and in view of the real difficulty of any independent-minded editor in getting along with the proprietors of this type—the Minister has already referred to Mr. Pran Chopra's case; there are other cases also—I should like to know specifically from the Minister whether the Government has the capacity, how does it expect to uphold the freedom of the press for which he expressed so much concern? What concrete steps can the Government take other than bringing in the legislation for diffusion of the ownership of the press which seems to have been indefinitely shelved? What other steps have the Government in their mind, which will at least give us confidence that the freedom of the Press is not going to be limited to words only where such big monopoly houses are concerned?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: The question of shelving that measure does not arise. We are committed to delinking and we shall bring forth measures in this respect... (Interruptions) I hope it will not be long done. We have been trying to evolve methods and measures whereby delinking

can take place.... (Interruptions) So far as any friend's contention that this paper and some other papers are being controlled by big industrialists, that is a fact to which we agree and that is why we are keen. We are committed that the delinking must take place.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: My question was whether there are any other measures by which they can uphold the freedom of the Press in cases like this.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: I think freedom of the press can be restored only when those interests which are known monopoly interests are eliminated and that is the main idea; nothing short of that will serve the purpose.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: This paper, *Statesman* used to be owned by Andrew Yule Company and people like Lord Cathew and Sir David Yule ran it to protect the British monopoly interests in the country. The ownership has changed to some extent. They have planted as managing director Mr. Irani on a monthly salary of Rs. 13,500, this is Mr. Gujral's *garibi hatao*. Whilst the Government is talking in terms of removing IAS officers from professional spheres and replacing them by professionals like engineers, doctors, etc., in the *Statesman* the reverse is the process. Today the Editor has not even the functional power and if a reporter or correspondent wants some taxi hire or a typewriter or something else, the Editor has not the power to give him the clearance. It has to go to the managing director or one of their henchmen. A manager of *Statesman*, Mr. Santoshnath, went to the UN ILO conference as the employers' representative and he is the Labour Correspondent. The news are thoroughly controlled and news about the opposition is completely blacked out by the *Statesman* management and the Government jointly. Is it a fact that one of the Delhi manager's wife, Mrs.—I do not want to mention the name—is the interior decorator for decorating Mr. Irani's house at No. 28 Tughlak Road...

MR. SPEAKER: I am not allowing it. You are bringing in individuals who are not present in the House.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I shall re-frame the question.

MR. SPEAKER: You will make it worse.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: No, Sir. I assure you. Will the Minister kindly tell us whether it is a fact that a manager of *Statesman* who had gone to ILO as the employers' representative is the labour correspondent getting two columns for writing on labour issues?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: I do not know; I will make enquiries.

श्री राम सहाय पांडे : श्रीमन्, प्रेस स्वातन्त्र्य के संदर्भ में यह जितने बड़े बड़े समाचार-पत्र हैं वे बड़े बड़े मोटे उद्योगपतियों के हैं और उनके मोटापे का सब से बड़ा कारण सरकार है। आप इन समाचार-पत्रों को 25 वर्ष पहले की ज़िन्दगी को देखिये। आज इंडियन एक्सप्रेस की नारमन प्वाइंट पर बड़ी बिल्डिंग बनी है। सारे समाचार-पत्रों में चार, पांच भंगेड़ी के जो पत्र हैं उन्होंने बड़ी सम्पत्ति अर्जित की है, बड़े भवन बनाये हैं। आज जब डीलिकिंग की बात हो रही है तब उनका व्यवहार जो बड़ा काम करने वाले कर्मचारी है, चाहे बड़े हों या छोटे हों, उन के प्रति बिनम्रता का नहीं रहा। जैसा हमारे मित्र माननीय बन्तूलाल चन्द्रकार ने प्रश्न उठाया था कि "आज" समाचार-पत्र के पालियामेंटरी करेस्पोंडेंट श्री जमदीन चतुर्वेदी को जब प्रधान मंत्री कैनाडा जा रही थी तो उनके साथ जाने का निमन्त्रण दिया गया। वह बेचारे इस निमन्त्रण को पाकर कैनाडा नहीं गये क्योंकि मैनेजमेंट अपने भतीजे को भेजना चाहता था

MR. SPEAKER: You are not asking a question. Ask a question.

श्री राम सहाय पांडे : मालिक अपने भतीजे को भेजना चाहते थे। वह गये भी

नहीं और इस प्रकार उनको बर्बिस से निकाल दिया गया। इस संदर्भ में क्या मैं किसी महोदय जी से जान सकता हूँ कि उनकी व्यक्ति की सुरक्षा के सम्बन्ध में आपके यहाँ कोई प्रावधान है, जब कि वह समाचार-पत्र आप की ही मदद से मोटे हुए हैं।

MR. SPEAKER: No question is being asked. If the Minister could make out anything, he may reply.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: As I understand it, the crux of the problem which causes a lot of concern to us is the supremacy and the freedom of the editorial side has been eroded in this instance of *Statesman*. May I know whether the Minister is prepared to refer this problem to the Press Council and whether the Minister is satisfied that the Press Council can solve the problem? Secondly, in this particular case *Statesman* happens to be a commercial newspaper. Now every party has its own organ. Let us suppose tomorrow the *National Herald*, which is the spokesman or mouth-piece of the ruling party. . . . (Interruptions)

SHRI JAGANATHARAO JOSHI: He said "suppose".

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Every party has its own organ. Suppose the editor of *National Herald*, or the editor of a newspaper which is committed to a particular party as its official organ becomes a turncoat and starts writing against a particular philosophy of the ruling party. What is the position? Which shall prevail—the editorial freedom or the particular commitment of that party? I want a clarification from the Minister.

MR. SPEAKER: The question is about the High-handed methods of the management of the *Statesman* towards journalists. Now its scope is extended to the freedom of the press, instances are given and a question is asked that if they start writing like this, what will happen. After all, this is not a debate. A question can be asked only for factual information. Why do you go out of the scope of the question?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: Since a question has been asked and you have permitted me to reply to it, I may say that there is a basic difference between commercial newspapers and those papers which claim to be party organs. Everybody knows that in a party paper the policies of the party are being projected. If you exclude them, by and large the press in this country is free.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Suppose the editor of a party paper becomes a turncoat and writes against the philosophy of the party?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: I cannot reply to a theoretical question. I can only give a general projection. In order to ensure the freedom of the press the supremacy of the editor must be there. Only then the constitutional guarantees about the freedom of the press become really effective. About reference of the problem to the Press Council, it is a suggestion which we will consider.

SHRI ANANTRAO PATIL: There has been more and more encroachment by the newspaper management on the editorial freedom and the Minister has also admitted this fact. May I know whether this important and basic issue has been referred to the Press Council, which has been established for maintaining the freedom of the press and improving the standard of journalism and, if not, why not?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: Recently, the Association wrote a letter to the editor, a copy of which was sent to me. I am quoting a paragraph from that letter. It pertains to the defutation meeting. I quote:

"After reading the resolution, the witness asked whether we had taken up our problems with you—that is, the editor—and what you had to say about it. He was told that, as we understand the situation, you—that is, the editor—did not hold the authority and the Board of Directors of the Statesman Ltd. had told you that you should confine yourself to editorial matters and

that the Managing Director was the sole authority in other matters."

This is the issue which I will examine from the point of view if I can refer it to the Press Council.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA A: has been pointed out by Limaye, the editorial comments show a balanced view of the news and also help in getting a correct publicity to certain reports. The correspondents of the *Statesman* were becoming bold and critical of the Government side or of the Opposition side. In view of this, there has been a peculiar discrimination of the news that appear in the Delhi edition of *Statesman* and in the Calcutta edition of *Statesman*. Some kind of news are published in Delhi and some kind of news are blacked out in Calcutta. May I know whether it is a fact that the Chief Minister of West Bengal has been putting a pressure on the management.....
(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Please be relevant.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I know it. I am in possession of the facts.

The Chief Minister of West Bengal has been putting a pressure on the management of *Statesman* not to give publicity to Opposition view-point in the Calcutta edition of *Statesman*. I want to know whether the Government will inquire into the matter. There is a discrimination between the news appearing in Delhi *Statesman* and Calcutta *Statesman*. They have utilised the management of *Statesman* for their own benefit. The *Statesman* was critical about the Government attitude. The management was pressurised to help the Government to suppress the freedom of editor, news editor and correspondents. May I know whether the Government will look into the whole matter?

MR. SPEAKER: The Question is about high-handedness of the management towards journalists and other employees. This is too much beyond the scope of the Question. It is not a general discussion about the policy of the *Statesman* or other matters.

दुनिया के किसी बिस्तर पर ऐसा नहीं होता है कि दो तीन से ज्यादा हों। मैं इधर दो खरब करता हूँ तो उधर चार-खड़े हो जाते हैं और इधर चार खरब करता हूँ तो उधर दस खड़े हो जाते हैं।

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I swear I am in possession of the facts that there has been a pressure by the Chief Minister of West Bengal on the management of *Statesman* to black out news that appear in Delhi edition of *Statesman* and to curtail the editorial rights of news editors and correspondents.

बी बडू लिखते : पूंजी बंले और जाय दोनो गड़बड़ी कर रहे हैं।

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: May I say that Shri Samar Guha who is a very senior Member of this House and a very leading Member in public life should not make a statement like this.... (Interruptions) I can only say this.....

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I know it; I am in possession of the facts.

अध्यक्ष महोदय : इतना जोश में आने है ? बीमार हो जायेंगे कभी।

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: I want to say categorically that there has been no pressure on any newspaper including the *Statesman*.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Pressure has been brought on the management not to publish certain things. You have to set up a Parliamentary Committee to find out whether there has really been any pressure or not. (Interruptions)

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER: I want to know from the hon. Minister whether Mr. C. R. Irani, as Managing Director, has usurped the rights and powers of the Editorial Board and whether the *Statesman* has invested Rs. 1 lakh in Nachiketa Publications started by Mr. A. B. Shah and which is financed by CIA....

MR. SPEAKER: I am not allowing it. It is not relevant to the main Question. It is beyond the scope of the question.

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER: I want to know whether every newspaper in India has submitted the needed details to the fact-finding committee set up by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting but the *Statesman* has decided to go to the court. I want to know whether this is a fact or not and what steps are going to be taken against the *Statesman*.

MR. SPEAKER: I am sorry, it is not relevant to the subject of the main Question.

Mr. Banerjee.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: This is the memorandum submitted to the hon. Minister by the employees of the *Statesman*. The *Statesman* has no money to pay to its employees as interim relief as demanded by them till the appointment of the Wage Board. But I want to know whether it is a fact that Mr. Irani, the Managing Director, had paid a sum of Rs. 1 lakh to the publication called Nachiketa which is connected with the Congress culture and freedom organisation, said to be financed by the CIA.

MR. SPEAKER: It is not relevant to the main question.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: My question is whether it is a fact that this particular publication has been taken over by the *Statesman* by paying another one lakh of rupees. (Interruption) It is contained in the Memorandum. Let him say yes or no...

MR. SPEAKER: Why should I ask him? It is not at all relevant.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Let him say whether he has any information or not. I am talking about the *Statesman*, I am not talking about any other paper. They are unable to pay its employees on the ground that they are not having money, but they had paid Rs. 1 lakh to Nachi-

keta Publication and have ultimately taken it over by paying another Rs 1 lakh. I want to know whether it is a fact or not.

MR. SPEAKER It has nothing to do with this. It is not a relevant question at all.

SHRI S M BANERJEE Sir, this is concerning the *Statesman*. Let him say yes or no.

MR. SPEAKER: It has no relevance to the main Question.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: My question is specific. They have no money to pay to their employees. But, here, Mr. Israni has paid Rs. 1 lakh to the Nachiketa publication which is an organ of CLA. I want to know whether it is a fact or not

MR. SPEAKER You are bringing in allegations and names of those persons who are not present in this House or in a position to defend themselves. I am very sorry, I cannot allow this

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA At least that part of the question can surely be answered

MR. SPEAKER Which part?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA Irrespective of any comments, about the other publication he can answer whether the *Statesman* which claims to have no money to pay its employees, has actually invested Rs 1 lakh in some other publication

MR. SPEAKER That is right. No names should be involved

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL I am unable to say anything about it. This has been referred to and I am asking them to look into it.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: As you rightly pointed out, Mr. Speaker, Sir, this question originally was about the high-handed methods of the *Statesman*

But the Minister while giving several replies has chosen to expand the scope of the question and has gone into the whole question of the freedom of Press. Therefore, since the Minister has chosen to expand the scope of the Short Notice Question by quoting even from Mr. Setalvad's book, how it is going to advance.

MR. SPEAKER Please come with your question.

झापने जा कुछ पूछना है, वह प्रश्न की शकल में पूछिये। आप तो बहुत से पद पढ़े हैं।

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: * *

SHRI I K GUJRAL: * *

MR. SPEAKER If you will see the proceedings, you will find that he was making these allegations. I expressly told him that he was not putting questions but that he was making allegations after allegations against him. Why should you disturb the atmosphere of the House? Rather than asking a question which is relevant why are you making allegations after allegations against the Minister?

I told the Minister that these are mere allegations; he need not answer.

PROF MADHU DANDAVATE: What is the wrong with the allegation?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप तो जो सर्जी हो कहते जाये और दूसरा एनाय हो कर रीएक्ट करे तो वह बुरा हो गया। आप जब ऐडवा-स्फेयर को खराब करते हैं और फिर जोर करते हैं।

जी कटल बिहारी बाजपेयी : मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : व्यवस्था का प्रश्न दोनों तरफ से करिए।

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Sir, I rise on a point of order.

MR. SPEAKER: Despite my warning to him not to side-track but to ask questions, allegations after allegations and all that are made against the Minister.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर ऐसा था तो आप वह क्वेश्चन डिसएलाऊ कर सकते थे, आप उसे कार्यवाही में से निकाल सकते थे। लेकिन आप मंत्री को किसी मेम्बर की नीयत पर शक करने की इजाजत नहीं दे सकते। मंत्री महोदय उनके सवाल पर एतराज कर सकते थे **

MR. SPEAKER: The point of order should not be one-sided. It was relevant for him to ask questions. But, he should not side-track and make all sorts of allegations.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : आप उस को डिसएलाऊ कर सकते थे।

Mr. SPEAKER: I told him that he was not asking questions. But, he was making allegations after allegations. I shall see if it is objectionable.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : आप इन का सवाल देखिये और इन का जवाब देखिये। व्यवधान...

MR. SPEAKER: All I can do is to disallow the questions and answers on both sides.

No more questions. I have said that everything said is expunged.

Now, Shri Nitiraj Singh Chaudhary.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : अध्यक्ष महोदय मैं प्रारंभ से खड़ा हो रहा हूँ, आप मुझे एक प्रश्न पूछने की इजाजत दीजिये।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : एक बंदे से क्या कहा गया, अब छोड़िये इस की।

अच्छा पूछिये।

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : सभी मंत्री महोदय ने मधु लिमये जी के प्रश्न के उत्तर में इस बात को स्वीकार किया है कि यह प्रबन्धक अब इस प्रकार की मड़बड़ी को समाप्त कर देगे। इस से साफ जाहिर है कि मंत्री महोदय स्वयं चाहते थे कि मालिकों को इस प्रकार से दबाया जाय, यही अच्छा मौका है सवाल पूछने के लिए, तो मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि जो प्रबन्धक सरकार का फेवर करे उसके खिलाफ कोई सवाल यहां नहीं उठ सकता और जो सरकार की नीति की आलोचना करे उसके ऊपर मंत्री महोदय यह सवाल यहां से घाते हैं ?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: It is a strange type of question. May I submit that an allegation was made....

MR. SPEAKER: Kindly, let him not go into that matter again.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: I am not going into that. I am replying to his question. I was saying that my hon. friend Shri Samar Guha had felt that the management was under our pressure, and here my hon. friend Shri Kachwai feels that they are under our pressure. The two are self-contradictory. That is not the question at issue now; the main issue is that a working journalist had represented to me and given all the documents. The issue, definitely, as I put it to the House is, freedom of expression for editors and journalists, and I thought that all sides of the House would be equally concerned about it. So, if my hon. friend feels that the management has a case, I do not think that it is fair to this basic concept that freedom of expression must be preserved at all cost.

जी के० एन० चव्वाहा (पाठन) : मैंने एक ऐडजर्नमेंट मोशन दिया है

अध्यक्ष महोदय : कोई ऐडजर्नमेंट मोशन मैं नहीं ले रहा हूँ ।

12.04 hrs.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

NOTIFICATION RE. DELIMITATION OF ASSEMBLY CONSTITUENCIES OF PONDICHERY

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF LAW AND JUSTICE (SHRI NITIRAJ SINGH CHAUDHARY): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of Notification No. S.O. 447(E) (Hindi and English versions) published in Gazette of India dated the 25th August, 1973 containing Order No 4 of the Delimitation Commission in respect of the delimitation of Assembly constituencies in the Union territory of Pondicherry, under sub-section (3) of section 10 of the Delimitation Act, 1972 [Placed in Library. See No. LT-5613/73].

ANNUAL REPORTS, ETC. OF WEST BENGAL AGRO-INDUSTRIES CORPORATION LTD., CALCUTTA AND MYSORE STATE AGRO-INDUSTRIES CORPORATION LTD., BANGALORE FOR 1970-71

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE (SHRI ANNASAHAB P. SHINDE): I beg to lay on the Table—

(1) A copy each of the following papers (Hindi and English versions) under sub-section (1) of section 619A of the Companies Act 1956.—

(a) Annual Report of the West Bengal Agro-Industries Corporation Limited, Calcutta, for the year 1970-71 along with the Audited Accounts and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon.

(b) Annual Report of the Mysore State Agro-Industries Corporation Limited, Bangalore, for

the year 1970-71 along with the Audited Accounts and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon.

(2) A statement (Hindi and English versions) showing reasons for delay in laying the above Reports. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-5614/73].

WILD LIFE (TRANSACTIONS AND TAXIDERMY) RULES, 1973

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE (PROF. SHER SINGH). I beg to lay on the Table—

(i) A copy of the Wild Life (Transactions and Taxidermy) Rules, 1973 (Hindi and English versions) published in Notification No. G.S.R. 198(E) in Gazette of India dated the 9th April, 1973, under sub-section (2) of section 63 of the Wild Life (Protection) Act, 1972.

(ii) A statement showing reasons for delay in laying the above Notification. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-5615/73].

STATEMENT RE. CORRECTION OF ANSWER TO U.S.Q NO. 4426 RE. MADRAS-PORT BLAIR SERVICE

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT (SHRI M. B. RANA): I beg to lay on the Table a statement correcting the reply given on the 27th August, 1973 to Unstarred Question No. 4426 by Shri Shanker Rao Savant regarding Madras-Port Blair Service at a Loss by Shipping Corporation of India. [Placed in Library. See No. 5616/73].

NOTIFICATIONS UNDER ESSENTIAL COMMODITIES ACT, 1955

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE (SHRI A. C. GEORGE): I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following Notifications under sub-section (6) of

section 3 of the Essential Commodities Act, 1955:—

- (i) The Textiles (Production by Knitting, Embroidery, Lace making and Printing, Machines) Control (Amendment) Order, 1973 (Hindi and English versions) published in Notification No. S.O. 1185 in Gazette of India dated the 28th April, 1973.
- (ii) S.O. 1186 published in Gazette of India dated the 28th April, 1973 containing corrigendum to Notification No. S.O. 3166 dated the 21st July, 1971.
- (iii) The Woollen Textiles (Production and Distribution Control) Amendment Order, 1973 (Hindi and English versions) published in Notification No. S.O. 2412 in Gazette of India dated the 25th August, 1973. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-5617/73].

STATEMENT RE. CORRECTION OF ANSWERS TO U.S.Q. No. 1582 RE. PENSIONS TO FREEDOM-FIGHTER MPs AND MLAs AND U.S.Q. No. 4862 RE. CASUALTIES DURING PAC REVOLT IN U.P.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI F. H. MOHSIN): I beg to lay on the Table—

- (i) A statement (i) correcting the reply given on the 1st August, 1973 to Unstarred Question No. 1582 by Shri Ramavatar Shastri regarding grant of pension to freedom fighters amongst Members of Parliament and State Legislatures and (ii) giving reasons for delay in correcting the reply.
- (ii) A statement correcting the reply given on 29th August, 1973 to Unstarred Question No. 4862 by Shri R. R. Singh Deo regarding casualties during the exchange of fire between Army and PAC in U.P. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-5618/73].

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNTS AND BALANCE SHEET FOR 1971-72 OF TELECOMMUNICATION BRANCH OF P. & T. DEPT.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATIONS (SHRI JAGANNATH PANADIA): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Profit and Loss Accounts and Balance Sheet (On accrual basis) of the Telecommunication Branch of the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department for the year 1971-72 (Hindi and English versions). [Placed in Library. See No. LT-5619/73].

INDIAN NAVAL AUXILIARY SERVICE REGULATIONS, 1973

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (SHRI J. B. PATNAIK): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Indian Naval Auxiliary Service Regulations, 1973, published in Notification No. S.R.O. 232 in Gazette of India dated the 1st September, 1973, under section 185 of the Navy Act, 1957. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-5620/73].

STATEMENT RE. CORRECTION OF ANSWER TO U.S.Q. No. 3478 RE. SLOW BANKING PROGRESS IN BIHAR

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI): I beg to lay on the Table a statement (i) correcting the reply given on 17th August, 1973, to Unstarred Question No. 3478 by K. Mari Kamala Kumari regarding slow banking progress in the State of Bihar and (ii) giving reasons for delay in correcting the reply. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-5621/73].

STATEMENTS SHOWING ACTION TAKEN BY GOVERNMENT ON ASSURANCES, PROMISE ETC

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI B. SHANKARANAND): I beg to lay on the Table nine statements showing the action taken by

Government on various assurance, pro mises and undertakings given by the Ministers during the various sessions of Lok Sabha:

Fourth Lok Sabha

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) Statement No. XXXII | Seventh Session, 1969. |
| (2) Statement No. XXX | Ninth Session, 1969. |
| (3) Statement No. XX | Eleventh Session, 1970. |

Fifth Lok Sabha

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| (4) Statement No. XXIV | Second Session, 1971. |
| (5) Statement No. XV | Fourth Session, 1972. |
| (6) Statement No. IX | Fifth Session, 1972 |
| (7) Statement No. VII | Sixth Session, 1972. |
| (8) Statement No. VII | Seventh Session, 1973. |
| (9) Statement No. II | Eighth Session, 1973. |

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-5622/ 73]

12.07 hrs.

**COMMITTEE ON PETITIONS
MINUTES**

MR. SPEAKER: Now, item No. 12 Shri A P Sharma. He is absent. Then, Shri Ishaque Sambhali. He is also absent.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Patna). I am also a Member of that committee. So, I can lay it on the Table of the House.

MR. SPEAKER: Let him first express his regret that the other two Members are absent and then say that on behalf of those absent Members, he is laying it on the Table of the House.

AN HON. MEMBER: Shri Ishaque Sambhali has just come to the House.

SHRI ISHAQUE SAMBHALI (Amroha): I apologise for my absence

I beg to lay on the Table the Minutes of the Twenty-second to Thirtieth Sitzings of the Committee on Petitions.

MESSAGES FROM RAJYA SABHA

SECRETARY: Sir, I have to report the following messages received from the Secretary of Rajya Sabha —

(i) "In accordance with the provisions of Rule 127 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to inform the Lok Sabha that the Rajya Sabha, at its sitting held on the 3rd September, 1973, agreed without any amendment to the Reserve Bank of India (Amendment) Bill, 1973 which was passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 27th August, 1973."

(ii) "In accordance with the provisions of Rule 127 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to inform the Lok Sabha that the Rajya Sabha, at its sitting held on the 3rd September, 1973, agreed without any amendment to the Foreign Exchange Regulation Bill, 1973, which was passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 27th August, 1973."

(iii) "In accordance with the provisions of Rule 127 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to inform the Lok

[Secretary]

Sabha that the Rajya Sabha, at its sitting held on the 4th September, 1973, agreed without any amendment to the Indian Railways (Amendment) Bill, 1973, which was passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on 29th August, 1973."

(iv) "In accordance with the provisions of sub-rule (6) of Rule 186 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to return herewith the Orissa Appropriation (No. 3) Bill, 1973, which was passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 28th August, 1973, and transmitted to the Rajya Sabha for its recommendations and to state that this House has no recommendations to make to the Lok Sabha in regard to the said Bill."

(v) "In accordance with the provisions of sub-rule (6) of Rule 186 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to return herewith the Manipur Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1973, which was passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 29th August, 1973, and transmitted to the Rajya Sabha for its recommendations and to state that this House has no recommendations to make to the Lok Sabha in regard to the said Bill."

ASSENT TO BILLS

SECRETARY: Sir, I lay on the Table following two Bills passed by the Houses of Parliament during the current session and assented to since a report was last made to the House on the 31st August, 1973:—

- (1) The Appropriation (Railways) No. 3 Bill, 1973.
- (2) The Payment of Bonus (Amendment) Bill, 1973.

12.10 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS

FORTIETH REPORT AND MINUTES

SHRIMATI SUBHADRA JOSHI (Chandni Chowk): I present the following Report and Minutes of the Committee on Public Undertakings:—

- (1) Fortieth Report on 'Role and Achievements of Public Undertakings'.
- (2) Minutes of the sittings of the Committee relating to the above report.

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT ASSURANCES

SIXTH REPORT

SHRI C. K. JAFFER SHARIEF (Kanakapura): I present the Sixth Report of the Committee on Government Assurances.

COMMITTEE ON PETITIONS

THIRTEENTH REPORT

SHRI ISHAQUE SAMBHALI (Amroha): I present the Thirteenth Report of the Committee on Petitions.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): I had given notice of an adjournment motion on the shortage of supply of foodgrains to ration shops all over the country. Let me read it out.

MR. SPEAKER: No, no.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: This is the last day of the session. There is a serious food crisis all over the country...

MR. SPEAKER: I have not allowed the adjournment motion, nor have I allowed the reading of it here.

आप मीने यह फैसला किया है कि जो किसी की मर्जी हो वह कह ले। जिन्होंने मुझे नोटिस दिया है, उस पर आज मीने कोई हद नहीं रखी है लेकिन यह है कि मेहरबानी करके आज के बाद चले जाइये। . . .

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (गालियर) :
आप का क्या मतलब है ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : चूंकि आज लाइट डे है, इस लिए जितने नोटिस आये थे, मैंने सब कर दिये हैं—इस अर्थ पर कि यह लास्ट डे है।

श्री एल० एच० बनर्जी (कानपुर) :
अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप हमारी इज्जत है . . आप विदेश चले जाते हैं, लेकिन हम तो देश में रहते हैं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अगर मैं विदेश से भी कहीं बाहर चला जाऊं तो बड़ा खुश होऊंगा।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : यह आप क्या कह रहे हैं ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं सचमुच आप से अर्ज करता हूँ—इस सेशन में 31 नो टेंशन रही है—राजाना इतनी टेंशन न रखा करें।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : हम आप की लम्बी उम की प्रार्थना करते हैं, आप ऐसा न कहें।

SHRI PILOO MODI (Godhra): Do I take it that you want to become an astronaut?

MR. SPEAKER: With you, it will be very difficult to lift up any aircraft!

SHRI PILOO MODY: I will communicate with you.

श्री एल० एच० बनर्जी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी आप की साल गिराई हुई है। हम चाहते हैं कि आप की उम्र इसकी लम्बी हो, जिसमें लम्बा समय इस सदन का सदस्य रहें।

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अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं आज बहुत खुश हूँ—बहुत दिन जाने का है। इस लिये आप मेहरबानी करके दो-दो मिनट लीजिये। लेकिन जितना नाम नहीं आया है, वे मेहरबानी करके न उठें। मैं सब की बारी-बारी से बुलाता जाऊंगा।

श्री भवु लियथ (बाका) : पहले कार्य-सूचि में जो प्रश्न हैं उ-ह समाप्त किया जाये।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं उस को ही पहले लेने लगा हूँ।

श्री लक्ष्मण गुप्ता : मैं एडजर्नमेंट मोशन की बात आप से कही है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : एडजर्नमेंट कोई नहीं आयेगा।

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Would you kindly allow me to read the adjournment motion?

MR. SPEAKER: I have not allowed any adjournment motion.

Order, please. No Adjournment Motions

SHRI K S CHAVDA (Patan). I have also given notice of an Adjournment Motion. (Interruptions)

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE Sir, there has been a slash in the quantity of wheat ration distributed in Uttar Pradesh. I want to know from the Minister concerned . . . (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Order, please.

Now, the statements may be laid on the Table of the House.

12.16 hrs.

STATEMENT RE, GRANT OF ADDITIONAL DEARNESS ALLOWANCE TO CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVDA): Sir,

[Shri Yashwantrao Chavan]

to lay a statement on the Table of the House.

Statement

On the basis of the recommendations of the Third Pay Commission, Central Government employees were sanctioned three instalments of interim relief, the last being effective from the 1st August, 1972.

2. The Pay Commission in their final report have *inter alia* recommended that the dearness allowance should be granted in the context of the revised pay structure, recommended by them, which is related to the 12-monthly index average of the All-India Working Class Consumer Price Index (base 1960 = 100) for the period ending October, 1972 which then stood at 200 points. The Commission have recommended the grant of dearness allowance for every 8 points increase in the 12-monthly average of the All-India Working Class Consumer Price Index (base 1960 = 100) and not with reference to the Wholesale Price Index of commodities. Accordingly, dearness allowance in terms of these recommendations became admissible when the average reached 208 on the 30th April, 1973.

3. Pending examination of the recommendations of the Third Pay Commission relating to dearness allowance formula, additional dearness allowance has been sanctioned provisionally to employees drawing pay upto Rs. 375 per month, with effect from the 1st May, 1973, apart from the interim relief sanctioned earlier. A further instalment of dearness allowance in terms of the Third Pay Commission's recommendations can fall due when the 12-monthly average of the All-India Working Class Index (base 1960 = 100) reaches 216.

The latest available average index figure is for the month ending June 1973, which stands at 214.16. The 12-monthly average index for the month of July, 1973 is expected to become available sometime during the latter half of this month when the position can be reviewed.

12.17 hrs.

STATEMENT RE. INCIDENTS NEAR SHARDHANAND COLLEGE

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI F. H. MOHSIN): I beg to lay a statement on the Table of the House.

STATEMENT

According to the information received from the Delhi Administration, on the 23rd August, 1973 at 9 a.m., the students of the Shradhanand College, Aligarh stopped a D.T.C. bus in front of the college and deflated its tyres. The bus was placed in an oblique position on the G.T. road bringing the entire traffic to a halt. Some of the students are reported to have indulged in stone pelting. Due warning asking them to refrain from acts of violence was given. However, it proved ineffective. The use of tear-gas was ordered when an attempt was made to set the D.T.C. bus ablaze. A constable of P.S. Alipur was also reportedly attacked by some students and taken inside the college compound from where the stones were being hurled. The police was then ordered to enter the college compound. The situation was brought under control in the afternoon following discussions with the Principal and the students of the college.

The Delhi Administration have also ordered a magisterial inquiry into the incident of the 22nd August in which a student of the Shradhanand College was alleged to have been assaulted by some D.T.C. conductors. Efforts are also continuously made to redress the grievances of the student community in regard to transport arrangements.

12.17 hrs.

CORRECTION OF ANSWER TO S.Q. NO. 724 RE. INCREASE IN NUMBER OF T.B. CASES

THE MINISTER OF HEALTH AND FAMILY PLANNING (SHRI R. K. KHADKAR): I beg to lay a statement on

the Table of the House.

Statement

While replying to a supplementary question by Shri Mahadeepak Singh Shakya in connection with the Starred Question No. 728 answered on the 16th April, 1973, it was stated that the B.C.G. Vaccination Programme was not just now a part of the National Programme.

This statement was subsequently checked and I want to clarify the position that the B.C.G. Vaccination Programme is no longer a separate scheme under the National Tuberculosis Control Programme, but an integral part of it.

It is regretted that the mistake was not noticed earlier.

12.48 hrs.

STATEMENT RE. GOVERNMENT DECISION TO REDUCE THE QUANTUM OF ALLOTMENT OF WHEAT TO U.P. AND OTHER STATES

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE (SHRI ANNASAHAB P. SHINDE): I beg to lay a statement on the Table of the House.

Statement

Allotments of foodgrains from the Central Pool are made to the State Governments every month taking into account the over all availability in the Central Pool and the needs of all deficit and drought affected States. In view of the difficult food supply position in the country resulting from last year's inadequate and erratic rains and consequent wide-spread drought conditions in the country it has not been possible to meet the entire demands of the State Governments. Every effort is, however, being made to meet substantially the requirements of the drought affected and deficit States.

On account of the short-fall in the procurement of wheat a decision was taken to replenish the stocks by importing foodgrains. As it is necessary to keep a steady flow of wheat, all the coming in of

the next rabi crop, supplies to States have to be regulated taking into account the present stocks available in the Central Pool and the expected imports from abroad. Keeping in view the prospects of the current kharif crop a reduction in the allocation of wheat during September was made to U.P. and other States. Reduction of allotment in the case of U.P. should not cause undue hardship as U.P. is surplus in rice, wheat and coarse grains and due to recent wide-spread rains there has been allround improvement in kharif crop prospects in Uttar Pradesh.

12.18 hrs.

STATEMENT RE. ACUTE SHORTAGE OF FOODGRAINS IN KERALA

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE (SHRI ANNASAHAB P. SHINDE): I beg to lay a statement on the Table of the House.

Statement

Kerala is deficit in foodgrains and has to depend on supplies from the Centre. The monthly demand of Kerala for rice is 70 to 75 thousand tonnes. Till the end of 1972, there was no formal allotment of rice to Kerala. The State Government was permitted to draw its full requirements of rice for meeting the public distribution requirements from the local Food Corporation of India depots where Central stocks are held. Due to severe drought in the country during 1972-73 causing considerable damage to kharif crops, Centre has to step up supplies of foodgrains to the States and this has put considerable strain on the stocks in Central pool. The availability of rice in Central Pool was also affected due to short-fall in procurement of rice during the current kharif season. The availability of rice in the world market is also very low and prices are exorbitant. It has not, therefore, been possible to purchase any rice from abroad to replenish the stocks. The allotments of rice had, therefore, to be curtailed in respect of all deficit States including Kerala from May.

[Shri Annasaheb P. Shinde]

1973. In order to make good the cut in the rice supplies, the wheat supplies were substantially increased. The monthly allotment of wheat to Kerala from January to April, 1973 was only 7000 tonnes and this was increased to 30 to 35 thousand tonnes from May onwards. Thus there was no overall reduction in the allotment of foodgrains to Kerala as a whole. The total supplies of foodgrains to Kerala during January to July, 1973 amounted to 542.9 thousand tonnes as against 497.7 thousand tonnes supplied during the corresponding period of last year.

Steps have been taken to ensure that adequate stocks are maintained with F.C.I. in Kerala

12.19 hrs.

STATEMENT BY MEMBER RE COMPANIES PRODUCING SCOOTERS AND MOPEDS

श्री सन् निम्नये (बांका) अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा बहुत छोटा सा बयान है, इस लिये पढ़ाई हुई। भारी उद्योग विभाग के उप-मंत्री प्रो० सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद ने मेरे अतिरिक्त प्रश्न सं० 2625 के जवाब में 9 अगस्त, 1973 को कहा कि मैसर्स एस्कार्ट लि० को छोड़ कर स्कूटर तथा मोपेड बनाने वाली सभी कम्पनियों ने अपने उत्पादन की प्रक्रियात विदेशी सहयोग से की है। यह निष्कर्ष गलत है।

क्या मंत्री महोदय इस बात को काट सकते हैं कि पूना की मैसर्स कीनेटिक इंजीनियरिंग प्राइवेट लि० ने बिना विदेशी सहयोग के अपनी मोपेड की पैदावार प्रारम्भ की? कोयम्बटूर की मोपेड इन्डिया लि० कम्पनी को विदेशी सहयोग का शुभभा क्यार और तीन लाख बढ़ाने की प्रक्रियात वेने को सरकार ने जो अंतर्देशीय निर्माण किया, उस की दृष्टि में मैसर्स महोदय ने यह गलत बयानी की।

मैं मान करता हूँ कि मंत्री जी सही स्थिति सबन के सामने रखें और गलत बयानी के लिये खेद प्रकट करें।

भारी उद्योग मंत्रालय में उप-मंत्री (श्री सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद)। भारतीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस बात का खयाल नहीं किया जाता है कि मैसर्स कीनेटिक इंजीनियरिंग प्राइवेट लिमिटेड ने बिना विदेशी सहयोग के मोपेडों का निर्माण प्रारम्भ कर दिया है। लोक सभा में 9 अगस्त, 1973 को अतिरिक्त प्रश्न संख्या 2625 के भाग (ग) के उत्तर में मैसर्स कीनेटिक इंजीनियरिंग प्राइवेट लिमिटेड का नाम घुस से छूट गया है। सही उत्तर निम्नलिखित होना चाहिए —

“मैसर्स एस्कार्टस लिमिटेड और मैसर्स कीनेटिक इंजीनियरिंग प्राइवेट लिमिटेड को छोड़ कर सभी कम्पनियों ने विदेशी महबोम से निर्माण प्रारम्भ किया। इन समय मोपेडों का निर्माण कर रही कम्पनियों से से केवल एक कम्पनी विदेशी सहयोग कर रही है।”

इस त्रुटि के लिए खेद है।

उत्तर में यह कहा गया था कि मोपेडों का निर्माण करने वाली कम्पनियों में से एक कम्पनी विदेशी सहयोग कर रही है। यह कम्पनी मैसर्स मोपेड इंडिया है।

इस मामले में वरिष्ठ कारणों से रामस्ती की घटाई गई अदायगी पर तीन वर्षों की अतिरिक्त अवधि के लिए सहयोग बढ़ाया गया है। यह एकक-विशेष अंतर्गत की एक कार्य के सहयोग से कुछ समय तक उत्पादन करता रहा है, जिसमें विदेशी सहयोगकर्ता की विशेष रूप से वेस्ट की हुई अतिरिक्त का अतिरिक्त करण निहित है। इसलिए सरकार ने तीन वर्षों की अवधि में अतिरिक्त अतिरिक्त के लिए उनके सहयोग करार को बढ़ाने की अतिरिक्त की है। इससे यह है कि तीन

वर्षों की बढ़ाई गई अवधि के अन्दर वे अपनी गाड़ी का पूर्णरूप से देशीकरण करेंगे और तीन वर्षों की बढ़ाई गई अवधि के पश्चात्-पेटेंट की हुई प्रक्रिया और जानकारी का इस्तेमाल करने के लिए पूरा और अनोध अधिकार प्राप्त करेंगे ।

वैध कारण से इस वृद्धि की स्वीकृति देने पर जारी रहने वाले सहयोग के रूप में इस स्थिति में विशेषरूप से उल्लेख किया गया था । एक-एक के नाम का भूल से उल्लेख न करना, जिसका कि खेद है, इस प्रकार सहयोग की अवधि बढ़ाने के बारे में निर्णय, अथवा विदेशी सहयोग के बिना एककों ने उत्पादन प्रारम्भ कर दिया है के बारे में अन्तर्व्य से इसका कोई संबंध नहीं है ।

12.20 hrs.

RE. STATEMENTS LAID ON THE TABLE

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (ग्वालियर) : अध्यक्ष जी, कल यहां स्टेट्स का कोटा कम करने का मामला उठाया गया था । आप ने कहा था कि मंत्री महोदय बयान देंगे । मंत्री महोदय ने कोई बयान नहीं पढ़ा है, जब कि आर्डर-पेपर के हिसाब से ले करने का सवाल नहीं है, वह स्टेटमेंट देंगे ।

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): All these items 18 to 22 were just laid on the Table of the House. They should actually be read in the House.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: And Members should be allowed to seek clarification.

MR. SPEAKER: Copies were available in the Notice Office.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I came through the Notice Office and they told me that one statement was available; the others were not there.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, सारी स्टेट्स में संकट पैदा हो गया है । अखिर गेहूं का कोटा क्यों कम किया गया है ? मुझे पता नहीं मंत्री महोदय ने अपने बयान में क्या कहा है । मंत्री महोदय यहां पर बैठे हुए हैं, हम उनसे जानना चाहेंगे । (ध्वनि)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Items 21 and 22, both of which concern the very serious food crisis, were laid; they should be read out here.

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं है वह पढ़ दें ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने पढ़ लिया है, मंत्री महोदय सदन को गुमराह कर रहे हैं । उत्तर प्रदेश का कोटा आधा कर दिया है । यह सदन को गलत जानकारी दे रहे हैं । मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि हर स्टेट का कोटा कितना कम किया गया है । (ध्वनि)

MR. SPEAKER: After the statements, rules do not permit questions being asked. If there is a specific question that you want to raise, sometimes in the day he can make a statement in reply.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Patan): Rules do not permit the statements being laid on the Table of the House.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): I wrote to you in the morning, when I saw the Order Paper. I wanted to raise a point of order on two items—No. 18, dealing with dearness allowance to the Central Government employees and No. 21 about the supply of wheat to U.P. I know that 216 points will be reached next month. The dearness allowance will have to be increased and you must allow us to have a discussion. I know that they have given only Rs. 7, 8 or 10.....(Interruptions)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Mr. Banerjee had written to you already today and you said you would allow. You said it.

MR. SPEAKER: I am going to allow.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): The hon. Minister has laid a statement. My adjournment motion was precisely on this point.

MR. SPEAKER: I did not allow any adjournment motion.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: In my adjournment motion I said that there was shortage of stocks in all the ration shops in the country. (Interruptions)

अध्यक्ष महोदय : शोर करने से मसले हल करने हैं तो खुशी से कीजिये लेकिन यह पार्लमेन्ट है यहां पर बातें करने से मसले हल किये जाते हैं ।

श्री एस० एम० बनर्जी : हम कभी शोर नहीं करते, हमने आपको लिखकर दिया है ।

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (मुरेना) : सभा पटल पर रखने वाले वक्तव्य दूसरे होते हैं जिनमें साफ साफ लिखा होता है कि सभा पटल पर रखे जायेंगे । यह वक्तव्य तो मंत्री जी को पढ़कर देना चाहिए ।

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: My adjournment motion refers to all the States. But his statements relate only to U.P. and Kerala. There is shortage of foodgrains all over the country including West Bengal, Maharashtra and other States. What steps is Government going to take to supply foodgrains to all the States?

MR. SPEAKER: How can he give information about all the States at such short notice? He can read both the statements and we will pass on.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : पढ़ने से क्या होगा ? अगर सवाल पूछने की इजाजत दें तो पढ़ने का कुछ मतस्य है ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं है लेकिन जो चीज रूल्स में बिल्कुल नहीं हो सकती है उसके लिए मैं रूल्स को कैसे तोड़ दूँ ? बारबार आप इस चीज को क्यों कहते हैं, कोई नया मेम्बर आये तो उसको समझा सकता हूँ लेकिन आप तो पुराने हैं ।

श्री शिवनाथ सिंह (झुंझनू) : आज आखिरी दिन है अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप थोड़ा सा रूल्स को तोड़ कर भी दो चार सवाल पूछ लेने दें ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आखिरी दिन क्या सब कुछ तोड़ देना है—यह बिल्कुल गलत बात है । आखिरी वक्त तक जब तक सांस आती है तब तक दिमाग चलता है । यह मेरे अख्तियार में नहीं है, इसलिए मैं कैसे इजाजत दे सकता हूँ ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : तो फिर पढ़ने के लिए भी मत कहिये, हम ने पढ़ लिया है ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : तो फिर छोड़िये, इसको पढ़ना भी नहीं है ।

श्री मधु लिमये ।

12.27 hrs.

RE. QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE

श्री मधु लिमये (बांका) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सदन के सामने एक महत्वपूर्ण विषय उठाना चाहता हूँ । अखबारों में मैंने एक वयान पढ़ा कि जे० के० आर्गनाइजेशन नाम की संस्था ने, मैंने बैंक आफ बड़ौदा के फ्राड के सम्बन्ध में यहां जो वक्तव्य दिया है उसका प्रतिवाद किया है और उन्होंने कहा है कि मधु लिमये ने जे० के० आर्गनाइजेशन के सम्बन्ध में गलत बयानी की है । मैं लोक सभा वाद-विवाद की

रपट के आधार पर स्पष्ट करना चाहता हूँ कि मैं ने कभी नहीं कहा कि जे० के० धार्म-नाइजेशन के बैंक लौटाये गये हैं। दो—मैंने यह भी नहीं कहा कि जे० के० धार्म-नाइजेशन का खाता बैंक ब्रॉडबा मे है। मैंने यह भी नहीं कहा कि जे० के० धार्मनाइजेशन के बैंक वाउन्स हो गये हैं। मैंने जे० के० काटन, जे० के० रेयान आदि कम्पनियों का नाम लिया और कहा कि उनके पञ्जाब नेशनल बैंक की कानपुर वाली नयागज शाखा मे खाते हैं और उनके 1973 के प्रथम 6 महीनो मे 73 बैंक लौटाये गये हैं, वाउन्स हुये हैं आश्चर्य की बात है कि इन कम्पनियों ने कोई स्पष्टीकरण नहीं दिया। पञ्जाब नेशनल बैंक भी खामोश है और जिस संस्था का नाम मैंने लिया ही नहीं वह मेरे ऊपर गलत-बयानी करने का आरोप कर रही है और छीटाकशी कर रही है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, ऐसे मामले उठाने के पहले मैं सावधानी बरतने की कोशिश करता हूँ। जानकारी को बैंक और रोबैंक करता हूँ और जब मुझे लगता है कि मामला सार्व-जनिक हित मे है तभी उन को उठाता हूँ। अध्यक्ष महोदय, उस समय मैंने पूरी सूची आप की आज्ञा से वित्त मंत्री को दी। इस मे साफ तौर पर लिखा हुआ है कि किस तारीख का बैंक है, कौन पार्टी है, जे० के० काटन, जे० के० रेयन, जे० के० इलक्ट्रानिक्स आदि कम्पनियों के नाम हैं जो 1956 के कानून की तहत रजिस्टर्ड कम्पनीज है। यह जे० के० धार्मनाइजेशन क्या बला है, मैं नहीं जानता। पि सी ने मुझ को कहा कि यह शाप ऐक्ट या ट्रेड यूनियन ऐक्ट मे रजिस्टर्ड हो गई। यह कैसे हो सकता है मेरी समझ मे नहीं आता। लेकिन मेरा मुद्दा यह है कि मैंने उन का नाम तक नहीं लिया। और अध्यक्ष महोदय बैंक नम्बर भी दिये थे, प्रमाउन्स भी दिये थे। कुछ बैंक साढ़े तीन लाख रुपये के, कुछ ड्राई लाख २० के और कुछ एक लाख रुपये के वाउन्स हो

गये। और कारण भी मैंने बताये हैं, ऐसे कारण मैंने बताये हैं।

2 Not arranged for

4. Exceed arrangement.

मैंने यह सुना है कि वित्त मन्त्रालय के बैंकिंग डिपार्टमेंट ने भी इस की जांच करने का आदेश दिया है। ऐसी हलात मे जे० के० धार्मनाइजेशन कौन है मेरी समझ मे नहीं आता। यह मेरे ऊपर छीटाकशी करती है। हमारी ससबीय प्रणाली में यह लिखा है कि मेम्बरो के ऊपर जब रिपनेशन कास्ट किया जाएगा, छीटाकशी की जायगी, मैं संकडो केसेज के प्रीसीडेंट्स दे सकता हूँ, तो यह विशेषाधिकार का उत्सर्जन है। मेरा धरम इन कम्पनियों ने कोई प्रतिवाद किया होता या पञ्जाब नेशनल बैंक ने कोई प्रतिवाद किया होता तो बात समझ मे आती है कि हा मैंने उन के बारे मे कुछ कहा था इसलिये उन को कहने का अधिकार है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस पर कोई कट्टोबसी की, विवाद की गुंजायश नहीं है, यह दलील मामला नहीं है। सदस्य लोग जो सार्व-जनिक काम करते हैं वह हम सबन मे नहीं कर सकेंगे। अगर इस तरह की छीटाकशी की जायगी। अगर इस मे कोई बिरोध नहीं है तो नियम 227 के तहत आप इसे कमेटी को भेज दीजिये। क्या मैंने जे० के० धार्म-नाइजेशन का नाम लिया था? क्या मैंने यह आरोप किया था कि जे० के० धार्म-नाइजेशन का प्रमाउन्स बैंक ब्रॉडबा मे है? क्या मैंने कभी यह कहा था कि उन के बैंक वाउन्स हो गये? मैंने जे० के० कम्पनियों का नाम लिखा, जिन के नाम इस सूची मे हैं। और उन का कोई स्पष्टीकरण नहीं है। इसलिये यह जो मामला मैंने उठाया है इस को नियम 227 के तहत आप भेजिये। बर्ना किसी भी मोनोपली हाउस के बारे मे तथ्यों के आधार पर भी हमें बोलने का अधिकार इस पार्लियामेंट मे नहीं रह जायगा। इसलिये मेहरबानी कर के पाप मेरे निवेदन को स्वीकार कीजिये।

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN (Bada-gora): We fully support him. It is a serious matter.

MR. SPEAKER: I have seen that report by J.K. Organisation in which Shri Madhu Limaye's name is mentioned. I have seen the news also. The newspaper *Hindustan Times* has published only what the J.K. Organisation had sent them.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Gwalior): It is an agency report.

MR. SPEAKER: The Secretary, J.K. Organisation, Kanpur, has issued the following press statement:

"It has been reported in the press that Mr. Madhu Limaye, M.P., while speaking in Parliament about the alleged frauds in the Bank of Baroda said that a number of cheques issued by J.K. Organisation an industrial group, bounced. JK Organisation has no account with the Bank of Baroda, either at Bombay or at Kanpur. As such, the allegations have been made wrongly and the Organisation has incorrectly been named by the hon. Member in this context."

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA (Barmer): This is a serious thing. It is a deliberate distortion.

MR. SPEAKER: I saw the proceedings of the House. Shri Madhu Limaye had mentioned J.K. group of Industries and not J.K. Organisation.

श्री मधु लिमये : ग्रुप और आर्गेनाइजेशन में फर्क है ।

MR. SPEAKER: Why are you so impatient?

I am not contradicting him. He had mentioned 'group of industries'. Now, Mr. Limaye came with a privilege motion. I allowed him to make a statement other than under a privilege motion. If he wants to treat it as a privilege motion, this paper has just published what they have stated. Privilege against whom? They have bas-

ed it on the press reports. If he wants it, he must give me the names of papers which have misreported it.

श्री मधु लिमये : मेरा किसी पेपर पर आरोप ही नहीं है । उन्होंने गलत छपा ही नहीं है । यह लोग पेपर पर आरोप कर रहे हैं । किसी भी अखबार ने जे० के० आर्गेनाइजेशन का नाम ही नहीं लिया । दिस इज फेक्ट्रिकेशन । मेरा कोई पेपर वालों से झगड़ा ही नहीं है । अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप बैठेंगे तभी मैं बोलूंगा ।

MR. SPEAKER: If no paper has reported this, then how have J.K. organisation people mentioned, "In a certain press report....."

श्री मधु लिमये : आप खुलासा मांगिये उन से । आप चूँकि निर्णय देने जा रहे हैं इसलिये मेहरबानी कर के आप बैठ जाइये और मुझे आधा मिनट सुनिये ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : निर्णय तो सब कुछ देख कर, पढ़ कर दे रहा हूँ । उस दिन बैठे, सुबह बैठे, प्रिविलेज डाइजेस्ट पढ़ा यह देखने के लिये कि इस हाउस में क्या हुआ । और क्या चाहिये ।

श्री मधु लिमये : अगर आप इतना ऊब गये हैं तब तो बात दूसरी है ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं इस "हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स" पेपर को पूछूँगा कि आप ने जो यह खबर दी है, कहाँ से दी है ? अगर मेरा सेटिस्फेक्शन नहीं हुआ तो मैं इस को प्रिविलेज कमेटी के पास भेज दूँगा । हम यही फैलो करते रहे हैं ।

श्री मधु लिमये : इस पर मुझे एत-राज नहीं है । जे० के० आर्गेनाइजेशन का मैंने पता लगा लिया है । 12, बारा-खम्भा रोड पर उन का दफ्तर है, जो उन्हीं से पूछा जाय । इसलिये हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स को बीच में लाने की क्या जरूरत है ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : जे० के० आगनाइजेशन को भी पूछेंगे और "हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स" को भी पूछेंगे । आपके दोस्त तो नहीं हैं पुराने कहीं ?

श्री मधु लिखये : अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप को इस तरह नहीं बोलना चाहिये । मैंने डायरेक्ट्री से पता लगाया है । आप पता लगा लीजिये, मैं भी कोई जल्दबाजी नहीं करता हूँ ।

MR. SPEAKER: You leave it to us. We will get it done. We will enquire as to which J.K. organisation approached *Hindustan Times*. We will enquire all about it from *Hindustan Times* as to who are the people who gave this news, how they gave it and all that.

श्री मधु लिखये : मैं जल्दी बाजी नहीं करना चाहता, लेकिन यह जरूर चाहता हूँ कि मेम्बर जो अपने कर्तव्यों को पूरा करते हैं उस में मोनोपली हाउसेज इस तरह की बाधा न डालें ।

MR. SPEAKER: I will find out everything myself.

12.40 hrs.

MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): In the course of a call-attention motion there was a discussion whether the text of the suggestion that was made to the Netaji Inquiry Commission by the Minister of External Affairs should be laid on the Table of the House. You had then asked the hon. Minister to give you the text of that letter that was issued to the Netaji Inquiry Commission and said that you would scrutinise it and let the House know whether a faithful summary of that text could be given. (*Interruptions*) I want to draw your attention to the fact that the finding of the Netaji Inquiry Commission depends on three factors: one, about documents; the second, about Col. Habibur Rahman; and the third, about the visit to Taiwan. Col. Habibur Rah-

man is not appearing before the Commission. The Government has not supplied the documents to the Commission. The whole visit to Taiwan which is the reported place of the alleged occurrence of the plane crash by the Netaji Inquiry Commission has been practically sabotaged when Government issued an instruction that they will not have any contact, either official or non-official, with the authorities of the Government of Taiwan or with any other non-official organisation.

I want to submit to you that this may lead to filing a writ petition. From the 10th September, the argument session of the Netaji Inquiry Commission is going to be held. On behalf of the National Committee to assist the Netaji Inquiry Commission, Shri Ashok Sen will argue the case. So, this is very relevant. The text of the letter should be made known because we have to know whether the terms of reference that were given to the Commission have been violated or not, whether the freedom of the Commission has been violated or not, whether the Commission has conducted the inquiry in accordance with the terms of reference on the basis of which the Commission was formed or whether Justice Khosla has somehow allowed his authority to be circumscribed by the directive of the Government to practically sabotage the whole inquiry. For that reason it would be necessary for us to know the text of the letter. Unless we know that the text of the letter will be made available, we shall have to go to the Supreme Court to have a writ petition because without that letter the proceedings on behalf of the Defence Committee of the public cannot be conducted and our lawyer will not be able to argue the case in an efficient manner. Therefore, I would make my first submission that, if you feel satisfied that a faithful summary must be made available, it should be made available.

Even then I will request you that if it is a faithful summary of the text of the letter, it should not be considered as a classified document but it should be made available at least to our Committee.

[Shri Samar Guha]

Another point. In the last session there were a number of questions I have given. Altogether there are nine questions. The reply given was that the information is being collected and it will be laid on the Table of the House. Now, it is nearly four months. I want to know how this House can function like this. How can we exercise our right to extract information from the hon. Minister if he can go to sleep for three or four months and no information is given even till the last day of the session? I have given the date and the number of the question.

The last point—I have given a privilege motion a week before about a question. The hon. Minister of Industrial Development in reply to one of my questions regarding the Philips company has not only suppressed the facts but he has given distorted information which tantamounts to forgery of a letter. For that reason, you may permit me to lay the privilege motion that I have given you on the Table of the House. It was a big news in the West Bengal papers. I waited for your decision but you have not permitted me. Is this the reward of my patience when a four column news appeared on the report of my question? Therefore, I want to know what I am to do. I seek your guidance.

MR. SPEAKER: So far as the letter which was sent to me by the External Affairs Ministry is concerned, I assure you that it was a very faithful summary.

As far as handing over the paper to you, is concerned it was sent to me in confidence. So, I cannot do it.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Therefore, I will say that it will form a very relevant paper in regard to our arguments. Can you make a suggestion to the Government that they may consider...

MR. SPEAKER: I cannot further involve myself in it. I have done my duty.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: What about my questions?

MR. SPEAKER: I am not here to answer on behalf of the Ministers as to what will happen to the questions. I am sorry I cannot do it.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: You should give some directives to them.

MR. SPEAKER: If you write to me, I will send it to them.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I have already written to you.

MR. SPEAKER: Then why do you raise it again?

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN (Wandiwash): The Life Insurance Corporation of India owns a costly land in Delhi—in the heart of Delhi, about 1000 sq. yards. It is worth about Rs. 30 lakhs. Very recently, the Chairman of the LIC rushed to Delhi to personally supervise and finish a shady deal. The land has been disposed of for a meagre four lakhs of rupees, the land worth Rs. 30 lakhs. He did not even trust the officials of LIC in Delhi. He himself came and finished the shady deal.

I want the Minister to make a statement on this and immediately everything should be inquired into and if there is a *prima facie* case of misappropriation of public money, I want that he should be immediately suspended from the post of Chairmanship.

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Chandrika Prasad—not here.

Shri B. V. Naik.

SHRI B. V. NAIK (Kanara): Under Rule 377 no directions have been given, and it would have been extremely helpful if a direction had been given that what ever such subjects listed under Rule 377 are taken up, the concerned Minister, at least when advance notice has been given, should be present in the House. In my constituency, 10,000 people are affected and nearly 2500 acres of land are being taken over by the firm of Messrs Karamchand Thapar,—this is the shadiest of the deal, more shady than what Mr. Vis-

wanathan has said about the LIC. This was a deal that was carried through in the year 1968 under the then Syndicate Government in Mysore. The present Government has been trying to be helpful but its hands are tied too much. This is meant for the manufacture of common salt for the ultimate preparation of caustic soda. It is not equal to the value of the paddy and the shrimps which are meant for export purposes. But under compulsion, the small cultivators are being deprived of this land. I had requested the hon. Minister for petroleum and Chemicals to visit the place during this period when excellent crops are there, but this visit has not taken place. I hope he will come and inspect the site.

Actually the factory was licensed to be constructed at Karwar whereas it has been built at Binaga. For this factory land even compensation has not been paid and we have still not raised our little finger against this acquisition for factory purposes. These 2500 acres acquisition is not so much for factory purpose but for raw material production. If every sugar factory or sugar cooperative were to go on acquiring land for sugarcane growing, for the purposes of processing sugar, where will all end up? Even under the Monopoly and Restrictive Trade Practices Act the firm has committed an offence and therefore the licence of the firm needs to be cancelled. I request the Petroleum and Chemicals Minister to visit the place and see for himself the situation there and come to a judicial, moral and legal conclusion.

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री (पटना) :

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं बिहार के अन्न संकट की ओर सरकार का ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूँ। आप जानते हैं कि वहाँ कई जिलों में सूखा पड़ा हुआ है और लोगों को खाने के लिये अनाज नहीं मिल रहा है। बिहार सरकार ने केन्द्र से हर महीने दो लाख टन गल्ले की मांग की है, लेकिन केन्द्र की ओर से केवल पैंतालिस हजार टन दिया जाता है, जिस की वजह से पूरा गल्ला शहरों में नहीं जा पाता है और देहात में तो बिल्कुल ही नहीं मिल रहा है।

मैं पटना शहर से आता हूँ। वह बिहार की राजधानी है और वहाँ की आबादी पांच लाख से अधिक है। वहाँ राशन की किसी भी दुकान में गल्ला नहीं मिल रहा है। अगर कमी गाहे-बगाहे वहाँ गल्ला पहुँचता भी है, तो वह ब्लैक मार्केट में चला जाता है। सहीमानों में गल्ले के खरीदार हैं, उस को गल्ला नहीं मिल पाता है। सरकार पहले वहाँ के नागरिकों को 1375 ग्राम गल्ला देती थी, लेकिन अब उस को घटा कर 600 ग्राम कर दिया गया है, और वह भी नहीं मिलता है।

इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि बिहार सरकार ने जितने गल्ले की मांग की है, उतना गल्ला उस को दिया जाये। आज पटना शहर में एक हंगामे की स्थिति है। वहाँ अशान्ति होने की स्थिति पैदा हो गई है। अगर यहाँ से पर्याप्त गल्ला भेजा जाये और वहाँ छिपे हुए गल्ले को निकाला जाये, तो राशन की दुकानों को गल्ला दिया जा सकता है और वहाँ की स्थिति सुधर सकती है।

हाल ही में वहाँ की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने पूरे सूबों में, और खास तौर से पटना शहर में छिपा हुआ सामान निकालने का आन्दोलन चलाया—जैसा कि उस ने सारे देश में किया है—और इस प्रकार वहाँ हजारों क्विंटल छिपा हुआ गल्ला, डाल्डा और दूसरी चीज निकाली। अगर इस तरह काम किया जाये, तो गल्ले की स्थिति सुधर सकती है।

देश में सब जगह डी० आई० आर० के तहत ब्लैकमार्केटियर्स और होर्डर्स के खिलाफ कार्यवाही की जा रही है, लेकिन बिहार में वह नहीं के बराबर है। शायद ही एक दो आदमियों के खिलाफ कार्यवाही की गई हो। मैं चाहूँगा कि सरकार वहाँ की गल्ले की स्थिति को सुधारने के लिये वहाँ ज्यादा से ज्यादा गल्ला भेजे और चोर-ब्राजारियों के खिलाफ कार्यवाही करें।

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, you must have received my,

[Shri S. M. Banerjee]

adjournment motion. I am sure you are also aware that we have represented to this House about the drastic cut in the wheat quota in U.P. Now, the Government has slashed the monthly quota from 4 k.g. to 2 k.g. Now, the total quota for the U.P. has been cut from 45,000 tonnes to 25,000 tonnes this month. So, the people are agitating against this. I am surprised that when the U.P. is under the Central Rule, today the people of U.P. are being famished because they are not being supplied with adequate foodgrains. There are also malpractices going on. The Deputy Commissioner, Shri Tandon issued a series of directives to the district officials to collect the foodgrains from the manufacturers and bring them into the fair price shops.

I would request you to see the statement which has been issued by the hon. Minister, Shri Shinde which does not contain anything. But the quota has been reduced. I would request that the Government should take serious note of this and act at once to avoid food riots in U.P.

Sir, the statement issued by Shri Chavan today regarding the grant of additional dearness allowance to the Central Government employees says that the index figure—though it has reached 216 points—for July is not yet available. It would be available by the end of this month. But, I request the Minister to consult the employees' representatives who are meeting the Government officials tomorrow at 4-30 P.M. on the payment of dearness allowance before announcing it. The D.A. is paid at the rate of Rs. 7, 8 and 10 which is not in accordance with the formula adopted by the Pay Commission. According to them, six-monthly average has to be taken into account. The present demand of the employees is that there should be cent per cent—full—neutralisation and it should be based on four points average and not on six monthly average. That is what the employees have suggested. Now the index has reached 216 points and so the Central Government employees throughout the country are entitled to another increase in dearness allowance. It should be announced only

after having discussions with them. I would request you to ask the Minister to make a statement in this regard. The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs is here. But he is not hearing me. Otherwise I may have to repeat the whole thing again.

MR. SPEAKER: No, please.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (स्व. लि. वर) :
अध्यक्ष महोदय, आज सारे देश में शिक्षक दिवस मनाया जा रहा है। शिक्षकों को पुरस्कार दिए जा रहे हैं, शिक्षकों का अभिनन्दन किया जा रहा है। लेकिन दिल्ली के हजारों शिक्षक दिल्ली अध्यापक परिषद् के नेतृत्व में बोट क्लब पर 24 घंटे की भूख हड़ताल कर रहे हैं। उन की शिकायत है कि पार्लियामेंट ने पिछले सत्र में जो दिल्ली एजुकेशन एक्ट पास किया था उसे लागू नहीं किया है। इस में वर का कारण क्या है, समझ में नहीं आता है। उन का कहना है कि जिस दिन कानून पर राष्ट्रपति के हस्ताक्षर हुए उस दिन से उसे लागू किया जाना चाहिये जिस से जिन अध्यापकों को बीच में रिटायर कर दिया गया है वह भी उस का लाभ पा सकें। दिल्ली के शिक्षक यह भी शिकायत करते हैं कि पन्द्रह वर्ष नीकरी करते हो जाते हैं और एक भी तरक्की नहीं होती। एक ही स्थान पर एक ही ग्रेड में वह सड़ते रहते हैं। इस से उन में असंतोष पैदा होता है। वह आशा करते थे कि थर्ड पे कमीशन उन के साथ न्याय करेगा। लेकिन पे कमीशन ने भी उन्हें न्याय नहीं दिया है। यहां तक की स्कूल में काम करने वाले कर्मचारी सी जी एच एस की सुविधा से भी वंचित हैं। सरकार ने पुलिस वालों के लिये सी जी एच एस की सुविधा दे दी है, उस का हम स्वागत करते हैं। लेकिन स्कूल में काम करने वाले कर्मचारियों को जो दिल्ली में है उन्हें सी जी एच एस की सुविधा मिलनी चाहिये। अध्यापक यह भी चाहते हैं कि विद्यालयों में किसी तरह का राजनैतिक हस्तक्षेप न हो और मैं चाहता हूँ कि आज शिक्षक दिवस पर शिक्षकों की दयनीय स्थिति पर भी थोड़ा विचार किया जाय।

MR. SPEAKER: Now, Shri Jagannaath-rao Joshi.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): Since I have to speak on the subject, if I just tag on to Shri Vajpayee, then it may not be necessary for me to repeat many of the things what he has said.

Sir, I entirely agree with what Shri Vajpayee has said; he has precisely said what I wanted to say, and I am very glad that he has said it, and, therefore, I am not going to repeat it.

13 hrs.

Today is Teachers' Day. For all these years, teachers' day has been celebrated by the Delhi Administration, but this year they have not celebrated it, and the teachers are celebrating it by doing a hunger-strike at the Boat Club.

The demands which they have been agitating for many many years have been left unattended to, and this is now becoming the pattern of this country, and I do not know how many times and on how many problems we shall have to represent. But there is a certain administrative vindictiveness that has crept into it. We can understand this Government remaining insensitive. I can understand this Government having deaf ears; I can understand this Government not functioning, but when it becomes vindictive and politically motivated and does all manner of things, by transferring staff here and there like this Principal Chhadda who has been sent out to a place 45 km. away to punish him for his having not conformed to their things, I would say that that sort of thing cannot be allowed. The Government should take serious warning of this that if they continue to do this sort of thing, then we have to do other things and we shall have to find better answers than we have been finding hitherto against this Government.

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी (श.जा.पुर.):
अध्यक्ष महोदय, 377 के अन्तर्गत मैं निम्न-
लिखित विषय रखना चाहता हूँ ? दक्षिण
मध्य रेलवे केशोलापुर-दौंड लाइन के हजारों

कर्मचारी इस को मध्य रेलवे में शामिल करने की मांग को ले कर पिछले एक वर्ष से एजीटेशन कर रहे हैं। अभी 24 तारीख से उन के आन्दोलन में बड़ी तेजी आई है जिस से कई गाड़ियां बन्द हो गई हैं। आन्ध्र प्रदेश और केरल की तरफ जाने वाला अन्न, फर्टिलाइजर और डीजेल इत्यादि गाड़ियां बन्द होने से वहां भोजना संभव नहीं हो रहा है। यातायात रुक जाने से कई तरह की तकलीफ लोगों को हो गई हैं। इसलिये हम चाहते हैं कि मंत्री महोदय कुछ न कुछ दखल इस में दे और उन की मांगे पूरी करने की दिशा में कुछ कदम उठाएँ।

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR (Ahmedabad): I am obliged to you for permitting me to speak on Teachers Day. I would on this day invite your attention to one grave case of discrimination and what I consider to be a disgraceful affair at Jawaharlal Nehru University, right here in the capital. As I said, today is Teachers' Day and my esteemed friends, Shri Vajpayee and Shri Piloo Mody, referred to the harassment of the teachers of Delhi. I endorse the sentiments of these two friends. On this day, September 5, we all wish good health and long life to our ex-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan. The President of India has today issued an appeal and said that teachers are the architects of New India and we must go all out to help them.

I want to bring to notice a terrible case of mental torture resulting in death of a Chinese language teacher by name of Mr. C. T. Hu. He died on 18th July, this year after repeated humiliations and mental torture inflicted on him by the authorities of Jawaharlal Nehru University.

Prof. C. T. Hu was a very respected teacher of Chinese language studies. He was brought to this University by Dr. Tan who happens to be the Director of Chinese Language Studies at Shantiniketan. Incidentally Dr. Tan and Mao Tse-tung

[Shri P. G. Mavalankar]

belong to the same village in China. Dr. Tan had a good and high opinion of the competence of Prof. C. T. Hu, but we find that Prof. Hu without any valid reason was asked to go on long study leave because he had apparently no Ph.D. He was asked to go to some other university. His salary was stopped and another man has been appointed in his place. He is one Mr. Tsai. It is absolutely a mystery as to what are the academic qualifications of this new man. I understand that a long time back he was a truck driver in Burma and later he was employed in Hong Kong. What are his academic qualifications and what is his fitness for this post? I want to know this from the hon. Minister.

I also want to know how the Jawaharlal Nehru University authorities are making appointments to important academic posts.

Then as regards the treatment meted out to Prof. Hu, here was a man who was not only not given his salary but when he died on 18th July, the authorities of the University did not even have the ordinary courtesy of passing a condolence resolution mourning the passing away of a respected teacher who had so many students in Chinese language and literature. This is what has happened. The new man has been appointed under some influence and by nepotism. It is said that he was appointed because of the interference and political influence of a high-placed official of the Ministry of External Affairs. It is also alleged that this new man who has been appointed was involved in some corruption charges including violation of foreign exchange regulations. He had purchased a car and had made payment for it in Hong Kong violating the foreign exchange regulations.

Therefore, I would request that this whole matter be probed into fully and seriously. The fair name of not only the Prime Minister, who, I understand, is the Chancellor of the University, but also of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, respected leader of the whole country, is involved. We want to be absolutely sure that teachers and professors are given good treatment.

Before I sit down, I would remind you that besides being the hon. Speaker, you have also been a very respected teacher yourself. I say you were also a great teacher.

MR. SPEAKER: I was not a great teacher.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: At least on Teachers' Day let us have an assurance from Government that professors and teachers teaching the arts, literature and sciences will be treated well. We want Chinese language and literature to be developed in this country irrespective of our political differences with China. We should treat all teachers well. This is my request.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Patan): Sir, on a point of order. Today, the Rajya Sabha is not in session. Different points have been raised by different Members, but the Cabinet Ministers are not present in the House.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, please, Shri Ravi.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Chirayinkil): Mr. Speaker, Sir, through you, may I draw the attention of the Government once again to this point. There was a long agitation by the employees coming under the Employees' Provident Fund organisation for the restoration of their pay-cut in the last year. The Minister was good enough to restore the pay-cut and issue an order. But surprisingly enough, the Government Secretary is sitting on the file and is refusing the pay the amount which has already been allotted. Sir, Onam is a national festival of Kerala where the people recall the ancient days of socialism flourishing in different ways, and so, the employees are expecting to get the payment at least before the 10th September, before Onam. The Secretary of the Labour Department is sitting on the file; he is an arrogant and impertinent officer who is not prepared to give the amount. So, I request the Government, through you, that this amount must be disbursed at the earliest, before September 10, or at least the Onam advance

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should be given to the employees and staff of the Provident Fund organisation in Trivandrum.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): Sir, I feel rather frustrated because no Minister is here and particularly the Minister in respect of whom I wish to raise this matter has chosen to be away.

THE MINISTER OF PLANNING (SHRI D. P. DHAR): You do not take me seriously!

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I take you very, very seriously when we come to the Planning debate a little later.

Sir, references have already been made here by my colleagues from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar to the sudden cut in the monthly Central quota of wheat to those States. I do not know what the Minister has said in the statement which he laid on the Table this morning because you did not allow him to read it out, and we do not know what its contents are. But the fact of the matter is that this seems to be a general phenomenon. I wanted to raise the point particularly in the case of West Bengal, where the State Government has been continually pressing on the Centre to raise their monthly wheat quota from 1,37,000 tonnes to 1,60,000 tonnes in order to enable them to maintain the public distribution system. But instead of that, it has been now suddenly cut down from 1,37,000 tonnes to one lakh tonnes, and the result is that I am told—I have received telegrams—that the statutory weekly rationing of wheat per capita in Calcutta is also going to be cut by 300 grammes per week. This is in addition to the cut which has already been inflicted three months ago, reducing it from one kilo to 750 grammes. So, the public distribution system is slowly, step by step, collapsing. That is the point. Parallel with that, the black market outside is naturally getting added strength and is flourishing.

Therefore, I would like to point out that the day before yesterday, when we were constrained to walk out because we

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failed to get any assurance from the Minister about the rice wholesale trade take-over, in our absence, Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed made a statement which of course I had to read afterwards, and I find from that statement that everything has been put on to that great meeting which everybody is so keen about, which is to be held tomorrow morning at 10 O'clock. The Government, in that statement of Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, gives the impression that this very important measure, whether it is actually to be implemented or not, is now going to be decided only in consultation with (a) the Chief Ministers, the majority of whom are known to be against this take-over, and (b) the Opposition parties, the majority of whom are also known to be against this take-over. So, I would like to say that, on the one hand, they are reducing the wheat quota and, on the other hand, suddenly they have become enamoured of a policy of getting into consultation with and a consensus from other parties and all that. They never do it in the case of any other policy. I would welcome it if, for decisions on their major policies, they made it conditional on getting the consensus of the Opposition parties, but they never do it; only in this case I find they are very keen to do it because they know that Mr. Vajpayee, Mr. Shyamnandan Mishra and Mr. Piloo Mody will all oppose this question of take-over. Then they will say what can we do; this is the position, and so we are not going to implement it. I refrain at the moment from saying what my party is going to do with respect to tomorrow's meeting; that remains to be seen. All I can point out is that the whole public distribution system is collapsing and I want to know whether the rice that is now ripening in the paddy fields will come into people's homes or will be diverted into the godowns of the black-marketeers.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA (Domarganj): The strike of Bombay doctors is almost spreading throughout the country; it has come to Delhi and the sympathetic strike is causing great anxiety to all of us. Yesterday one of the hospital of Delhi refused to admit a

[Shri K. D. Malaviya]

patient who was dying because they were expecting a strike from this morning; the patient was returned this morning—one of our neighbours. I want to draw the attention of the Minister of Health to this very serious situation and would like to request you to ask him to make a statement with regard to the latest situation and what the Government proposes to do in this connection. When I spoke to the Minister of Health, he kept mum and he also seemed to be very much worried about the whole affair, and promised to make a statement if the Speaker permitted him to do so.

MR. SPEAKER: Surely, I will ask him to make a statement.

SHRI ARJUN SETHI (Bhadrak): Under rule 377 of the Rules of Procedure, I should like to draw the attention of the House to the following matter of urgent public importance. The recent occurrence of successive floods in Orissa, especially in the river Baitarani. Brahmani, Budabaling and Subernerekha made the lives of the people in the districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Mayurbhanj miserable. My own Constituency—Bhadrak, has been affected severally and thousands of houses were washed away and lakhs of acres of land had been affected. Hence I request the Government to take expeditious measures to rescue the people and solve the present scarcity problem in the affected areas. The State is under the President's Rule and hence I request the Centre to look into this matter expeditiously.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA (Serampore): Yesterday I tried to draw the attention of the House to a serious matter which is now prevailing in Calcutta and other areas of West Bengal. On the 2nd of this month, a dead body was taken by some persons to Sarkar Medical College and the doctor was forced to treat that dead body. It appears that the man fell from a bicycle and died and they brought in the dead body and forced the doctor to treat it, even though he declared him dead. Still

they did not disperse; a large number of persons were carrying Congress flags assembled there and assaulted the doctor and ransacked the whole emergency department of the medical college. As a protest against this incident all the doctors in Calcutta and West Bengal observed a token strike against this sort of attack. Not only in Calcutta, a few days back on the 25th of August in Burdwan in the clamber of the Vice-Chancellor one youth by name R. K. Banerjee was killed by some youngmen. They are known to be Yuva Congress workers. This is the situation prevailing in West Bengal. There is no security of profession, security of life and property throughout West Bengal. What is the Centre going to do about this matter?

Another point which was also raised by Mr. Banerjee is about dearness allowance. The Pay Commission gave their award after three years. Its report was placed by the Finance Minister in this House long back. Now when prices gone up and the employees are demanding increase in DA, Government says, provisionally we are giving this amount, trying to create an impression that in spite of the fact that on the basis of the recommendation of the Pay Commission, until and unless there is a rise upto 216 points, the employees are not entitled to more DA. This is depriving the Central Government employees of enhanced DA, without which they cannot maintain themselves now. This aspect should be taken into consideration and no injustice should be done to the employees.

श्री पन्नालाल बाखूपाल (गंगानगर) :

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस वर्ष हमारे क्षेत्र में प्रकृति की कृपा है, फसल बहुत अच्छी है, भारी जवानी में है लेकिन अगर किसानों को उचित मात्रा में उर्वरक नहीं मिलेगा तो सारी फसल मारी जायेगी। इस वर्ष मेरे जिले में खाद की बहुत कमी रही है लेकिन 80 रुपये में ब्लीच में चाहे कितनी ही खाद कोई खरीद सकता है परन्तु सरकार की निर्धारित नीती के मताविक खाद नहीं मिलती है। इसलिये

मैं आपके द्वारा सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि गंगानगर जिले को अधिक से अधिक मात्रा में खाद की सप्लाई की जाये।

इसी प्रकार से हमारे जिले में सीमेंट की बहुत कमी है परन्तु ब्लैक में 40 रुपया प्रति थैली कितनी ही मिल सकती है। सरकार की निर्धारित नीति के अनुसार सीमेंट जनता को नहीं मिल रही है। इसी तरह से जनता को डीजल कोयला इत्यादि नहीं मिल रहा है। किन किन चीजों के लिये मैं आपसे निवेदन करूँ? मेरे क्षेत्र में इन सभी चीजों के न मिलने के कारण बड़ा असंतोष व्याप्त है। मेरे क्षेत्र में किसी भी उद्योग की स्थापना नहीं की गई है। वहाँ पर उर्वरक के कारखाने, सीमेंट के कारखाने तथा अन्य प्रकार के कारखाने आसानी से खोले जा सकते हैं। मेरा निवेदन है कि मेरे इलाके का ख्याल रखा जाये तथा किसानों को शीघ्र से शीघ्र अधिक मात्रा में खाद की सप्लाई की जाये। हमारे क्षेत्र के किसानों में बड़ा असंतोष है, उन्होंने मुझ से कहा है कि यदि गवर्नमेंट उचित मात्रा में खाद नहीं देगी तो अगले वर्ष पूरी मात्रा में हम खाद्यान्न का उत्पादन नहीं करेंगे।

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Patna): Sir, the movement of goods and passenger traffic on the railways has been seriously affected by the public agitation for the transfer of Sholapur Division from South Central to the Central Railway. The Minister should make a statement outlining the steps he is taking to end the agitation.

UP is now under President's rule. Today it is reported in the press that a Harijan girl was raped by a Sub-Inspector in Ayodhya. The Home Minister should make a statement about it.

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI (Patna): It is a religious place.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: Yes; it is the birth-place of Shri Rama. The Minister should make a statement on it.

SHRI P. M. MEHTA (Bhavnagar): Sir, I want to point out...

MR. SPEAKER: He should have given notice.

SHRI P. M. MEHTA: I thought it was decided that questions under rule 377 will not be taken up today. That is why I did not give notice.

I want to draw the attention of the House to the charge of corruption which has been made against the Agro-Industrial Corporation of Gujarat in the matter of purchases of essential commodities like oil and groundnut. The Agro-Industrial Corporation purchases tonnes of groundnut without taking into consideration the position of the market and the quality of the product. It purchased inferior quality groundnut and paid the price for the better quality. It was purchased at a time of scarcity which resulted in boosting the prices further up and the consumers were compelled to pay higher prices for edible oils in Gujarat and other places. The displaced Minister of Food and Supplies and one MLA are involved in unfair practices in this corrupt deal. As a result the Agro-Industrial Corporation of Gujarat will get a deficit of Rs. 1½ crores. I, therefore, demand that Government should immediately order a CBI inquiry into the affairs of this Corporation.

MR. SPEAKER: I do not know how this is relevant in this forum. Every conceivable subject is being brought here.

श्री मधु लिख्ये (वांका) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने भी नोटिस दिया है पांच सवालों के बारे में सभी को इजाजत दी आपने, क्या मुझे ही एलाऊ नहीं करेंगे ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : किस बात की नोटिस ?

श्री मधु लिख्ये : पांच आइटम्स के बारे में नोटिस दी थी, नाम कैसे कट गया ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मेरे पास तो नहीं है। पहले जो था उसके लिये दे दिया।

श्री भवु सिन्हा : वह तो प्रिविलेज में चला गया ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप कुछ बात करके आये, सेक्रेटरी ने बताया 377 में उठाना चाहते हैं ।

श्री सवु सिन्हा : वह तो प्रिविलेज का ही मामला है । उसमें खुलासा मांगने का भी आपने निर्णय किया है । लेकिन यह मामला बिल्कुल भ्रम है । 377 का उससे क्या मतलब है । आप पांच मुद्दों को नहीं तो दो की ही इजाजत कीजिए ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अच्छा बी मिनट में आप खत्म कीजिये ।

श्री भवु सिन्हा : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरे सत्यक मित्र ने स्टेट बैंक ऑफ इंडिया के चेयरमैन की बात उठाई । सार्वजनिक संस्थाओं की क्या हुआ है, मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है । माइक इम्पोरेन्स कार्पोरेशन के बारे में भी श्री बिम्बेनार्थ जी ने एक बात को उल्लेख किया । सदर बाजार में एक हजार बच एल० आई० सी० की भी जगह भी जिसका बाँधारे में दाम आज तकरीबन तीन हजार रुपए पर स्वाययर यार्ड है वह 400 रु० स्वाययर यार्ड में बेच दी गई है शक्तिशाली सैठों के आर्गनाइजेशन को जिससे 26 लाख का मुकतान पालिसी होल्डर्स का और पब्लिक का हुआ है । एल० आई० सी० के चेयरमैन इस तरह के काम करते चले जा रहे हैं । उन्होंने जीवन प्राप्ता नाम की बम्बई की जो कोओपरेटिव सोसायटी है उसमें 25 हजार रुपए का इन्स्टालमेंट देकर एल० आई० सी० के कर्ज से एक फ्लैट लिया और उसे बेस्ट अर्मेन कासुलेट को चार हजार माहवार पर दिया । उन्होंने म्युनिसिपैलिटी के टैक्सेज नहीं दिये हैं । इतना जब किराया मिल रहा था तो उनकी एल० आई० सी० को इन्स्टालमेंट भी ज्यादा देना चाहिये लेकिन वह भी नहीं दिया । एल० आई० सी० के निधियों का स्वयं

उसके चेयरमैन उत्सर्जन कर रहे हैं । बम्बई म्युनिसिपल कार्पोरेशन के निधियों का भी उत्सर्जन कर रहे हैं । वहाँ दिल्ली में सदर बाजार की जमीन के सम्बन्ध में भी उन्होंने फाड़ किया है ।

दूसरी बात मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ क्या दिल्ली के मोतिया खान में गरीब बच्चों को सड़ो हुई डबलरोटी, फंगस लगी हुई डबलरोटी देने का काम दिल्ली की सरकार द्वारा किया जा रहा है ? और क्या महाराष्ट्र के जो डॉक्टर हैं उनकी हड़ताल के समर्थन में दिल्ली में भी हड़ताल होने वाली है ? तो यह बात फैल रही है । आज घाबिरी दिन है, योजना यंत्री से मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि दिल्ली में इस तरह की सड़ो हुई डबलरोटी बच्चों को न दी जाय, केवल इसलिये कि वह गरीब हैं, पिछड़े वर्ग के हैं । साथ ही साथ डॉक्टरों की हड़ताल के बारे में भी वे कुछ कहें तथा एल० आई० सी० फंड के बारे में भी पूरी जांच होनी चाहिये । यह मेरी माँग है ।

SOME HON. MEMBERS rose—

SHRI R. K. SINHA (Faizabad): No discussion on the Plan is being allowed. During the last session, we waited for a deputation on you. It was told that three days will be allotted for the Plan. It is a shame on the Opposition, it is a shame on this House that we are not allowing enough time for discussing the Plan. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I could not follow you. What were you telling me?

SHRI R. K. SINHA: The Members should be brief in their speeches. These self-advertising M.P.s must know what exactly to talk.

श्री रामाबास्तर कास्ती : यह पब्लिक से संबंधित है । हम आप से सहमत हैं कि बहुत होनी चाहिये ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : वह ठीक कह रहे हैं ।

श्री शिव शंकर प्रसाद यादव (बगरिया): अध्यक्ष महोदय, 24 सत्रों की जवाहरलाल नेहरूवादी के एक प्रोफेसर ने पासपोर्ट के लिये हिन्दी में आवेदन पत्र दिया था जो यह कह कर लौटा दिया गया कि यह हिन्दी में है, जब तक अंग्रेजी में प्रार्थना-पत्र नहीं देंगे तब तक पासपोर्ट नहीं मिलेगा।

श्री अशु लिखरे: बहुत बर्ब की बात है, माननीय योजना मंत्री सुन भी नहीं रहे हैं, और फिर कहते हैं, I am being ignored!

श्री शिव शंकर प्रसाद यादव: इस सम्बन्ध में मैंने यह एक अल्पसूचित प्रश्न भी दिया था। मंत्री महोदय इस बात को स्पष्ट करें कि जब देश आजाद है और हिन्दी राष्ट्रभाषा है तो हिन्दी के प्रति ऐसा उपेक्षा का भाव देश के लिये लज्जा की बात है। यद्यपि और भी इस किस्म का जवाब रोज़ आ रहा है, और इस सम्बन्ध में मैं ने आप को आवेदन पत्र दिया था तथा आप ने आश्वासन दिया था कि इस को मिनिस्टर के पास भेजेंगे।

अध्यक्ष महोदय: मेरे आश्वासन पर आप ने विश्वास नहीं किया और आप हाउस में कह रहे हैं। मैं आप को भेज दूंगा।

12.38 hrs.

MOTION RE. APPROACH TO THE FIFTH PLAN—Contd.

अध्यक्ष महोदय: प्लान डिस्कशन के बारे में 15 घंटे रखे थे, उनमें से 4 घंटे 40 मिनट लग चुके हैं और 10 घंटे 20 मिनट बाकी है।

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN (Bada-gara): The House must be allowed to continue the discussion on the Plan in the next Session.

MR. SPEAKER: It is a very good suggestion. I was very happy when he had fixed three days for this. I thought

that the discussion would be finished. But the poor Plan has receded in the background; many other things came up. If you could put it in the background for three days, you can also put it to the next Session.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN (Wandi-wash): Next Session the Draft will come. How can we discuss the 'Approach'?

MR. SPEAKER: That is why we had fixed three days. But you were all not much interested in the discussion of the 'Approach'.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMEN-TARY AFFAIRS (SHRI K. RAGHU-RAMIAH): We shall continue today as much as we can and whatever is left over—and there will be plenty of members left over—we shall continue in the next Session.

MR. SPEAKER: All I can say is that you take as much time as is available today and the rest of the time will be taken in the next Session.

SHRI SEZHIYAN (Kumbakonam): The discussion on Plan is always taken up at the lag end of the Session and then it is postponed to the next Session. It has happened twice—this happened last time also.

MR. SPEAKER: These three days were purely meant for the Plan; we had fixed the time for this, but some other things were coming up.

श्री अशु लिखरे: अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा एक सुझाव है। ऐसा किया जाय कि इस बहस में दो मंत्रियों में से एक मंत्री कुछ कहें और ज्यादा विरोधी दल के लोगों को सुना जाय। एक मंत्री का जवाब जरूर आये और अगले सत्र में जो बहस होगी उस का जवाब माननीय दुर्गा प्रसाद धर जी दें।

अध्यक्ष महोदय: हर बात को अगले में नहीं डालते हैं।

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): Does it mean, under this arrangement, that the Minister will not reply today?

AN HON. MEMBER: Mr. Mohan Dbaria can reply today.

MR. SPEAKER: It will be seen.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN: He can only intervene.

श्री पिलू मोदी : हमेशा हुआ है। दो मिनिस्टर होते हैं तो एक मिनिस्टर इन्टररीन करता है और दूसरा मंत्री अंतिम जवाब देता है।

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN: He cannot reply now. The reply will come only at the end.....

MR. SPEAKER: Why are you replying on behalf of the Government? Why are you assuming to yourself the powers which you do not have?

SHRI PILOO MODY: Mr. Unnikrishnan thinks that he is the super-Government here.

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Amrit Nahata. You will speak after lunch. We now adjourn for lunch to re-assemble at 2.30 p.m.

13.38 hrs.

The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till Thirty Minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at Thirty-two Minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

MOTION RE. APPROACH TO THE FIFTH PLAN—Contd.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now we resume the discussion on the 'Approach to the Fifth Plan.'

Mr. Amrit Nahata.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA (Barmer): It has now been accepted that there is a national consensus that a plan holiday would be suicidal. Those who are the protagonists of a plan holiday plead for themselves the present economic difficulties. We know that these economic difficulties themselves are a product of a plan holiday and a very long period of what we call limping plans. It is precisely because we are passing through a grave economic situation that planning is very essential because only through a planned effort can we overcome the present economic difficulties.....

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): Question.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA: I know Mr. Piloo Mody is determined to interrupt. But I am talking of a national consensus.....

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Muvattupuzha):in which he is not a part.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA: I am not talking of aberrations of history, birth and biology.....

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: All the three apply to him.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA: So far as the objectives of this document on the Fifth Plan approach go, I think there can be no dispute and no two opinions that there cannot be a better approach or a more appropriate approach to a plan and especially to the Fifth Plan than what we have been presented.....

SHRI PILOO MODY: Question.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA: One of the objectives of the Fifth Plan Approach is the removal of poverty through a redistribution of consumption levels. Only yesterday my friend, hon. Mr. Maran was labouring very hard to tell us that a reduction in the consumption level of the top 30 per cent might lead to a reduction in the consumption level of the middle 30 per cent. It is a great tragedy of our present-day economic situation that even

a Class IV employee of the Government of India is above the poverty line. It is a fact. It is a tragic fact. So, when we talk of reduction of the consumption level of the top 30 per cent, I would say, the top 20 per cent, that should contribute considerably to what we call the redistribution of the consumption level.

Another plan objective, namely, self-reliance through more exports, through more import substitution and through curb on import of unessential articles is equally unexceptionable. Now I will deal with the theory of planning in under-developed economies. It is said that the Economics of Growth has failed in the developing countries and therefore the World Bank School, the McNamara School, has been claiming what they call a new approach of justice which would automatically lead to growth.

Sr, Economics of Growth has not failed. Secondly, what is being paraded as Justice is not Justice, it is merely what I call, Welfarism, more education, more roads, more health facilities, more social welfare, more nutrition etc. This is Welfarism and even welfare activities, welfare-developmental activities are not possible in a social order where growth is stagnant. I am one of those who is of the opinion today that justice should be defined very clearly. Justice means what? It means, the toiler should get the fruits of his toil. This is justice. A few schools here or a few hospitals there or a few roads do not by themselves constitute justice. If the toilers are to be assured of the fruits of their labour, I am definitely of the opinion that this kind of justice does contribute to growth. More welfare activities may lead to some investments in man, but that investment is productive over generations together and we cannot afford to wait that long. Professor Baran some years ago said that 'Even in order to keep standing, India must run.' Sir, I hope this law of momentum was considered when the Planning Commission did various exercises in variables of growth. Mr. Maran was telling us that a growth of 5.5 per cent was sought to be justified on the plea that a higher rate of growth though possible

would not be desirable. It is not so simple as that. Various variables of growth models which have been placed before us in the Plan Approach Document show this clearly. Looking to our resources, looking to our need for momentum, the growth of 5.5 per cent should be reasonable and we should aim at that.

The Plan objectives as defined in our Approach Document are very much integrated. This is my first point. The strategy is correct. The strategy is scientific. It answers our present requirements. A growth rate of 5.5 per cent would need a marginal rate of saving of 27 per cent and an annual rate of saving of 18 per cent but we never had all these years an average rate of marginal saving above 12 per cent. From 12 per cent if we have to have 18 per cent saving we have to do a lot. During the sixties our average rate of growth was only 3.8 per cent. If we want to achieve 18 per cent savings from 12 per cent and 5.5 per cent rate of growth from 3.8 per cent, it would require herculean efforts not only on the part of the Planning Commission but on the part of the Government and the entire nation.

Therefore, I would like to place before you some of the pre-conditions and some of the pre-requisites which are essential in order to attain such a high rate of growth and savings. Even in the Plan document, a certain policy framework has been suggested. But, it has not been very clearly spelt out. But, by implications, a certain policy-framework is inherent in the Plan approach. I would like to make it explicit. If we have to attain a growth rate of 5.5 per cent, we have to make explicit some of the policy frames that are inevitable. There are no soft options before us. Hard decisions will have to be taken. The climate of indecision that prevades our country today will have to be removed and the people will have to be convinced that the Government means business.

What has happened all these years is that on this pretext or that pretext compromises are made and accepted principles are compromised and sacrificed with the result that in the long run we find that we are far away from the objectives that we had placed before ourselves. We find that

[Shri Amrit Nahata]

even the ministries of the Government of India are working at cross-purposes. After all, the Planning Commission is not just an advisory body. There are constant attacks from the Opposition, especially from the protagonists of the *laissez faire* that the Planning Commission has become an over-riding ministry, that it is a monster and that it is a super-Cabinet. The result of all this is that the Planning Commission's role has become very much undermined. Its advisory function is left to various ministries to implement or not to implement the recommendations. With such an abdication of the authority by the Planning Commission we can never reach the rate of growth of 5.5 per cent. The Plan document itself suggests that unless the land reforms become a reality and unless there is a re-distribution of lands and unless we give employment to millions of our villagers in the countryside we won't be able to reach the planned growth. I am not suggesting this from a doctrinaire or a dogmatic approach. The compulsion of growth in the countryside, of greater employment, of more agricultural production demand that land should be given to the actual tiller. It has been established that the modern farm technology is ideally suited to small-scale intensive farming, with the optimum size of the holdings, which shall give us a maximum production with a certain amount of inputs, to be a small holding. In order to give employment to millions of our villagers and in order to have more production in the agricultural sector, the land-reforms are unescapable. Legislations have been passed in this regard. But, they all have remained only on paper. These land-reforms must become a reality if we want to attain our planned growth. Similarly, a viable, an effective and a very competent public distribution system is a pre-requisite and a pre-condition for the successful implementation of our Fifth Five Year Plan. We should establish this public distribution system for all the essential article of everyday life. Through procurement, through levy, through State take-over or through any other method or whatever may be the method that may be adopted—I am not dogmatic about a parti-

cular method—an effective public distribution system for all essential articles of everyday life is a must without which prices cannot be curbed and without which, inflationary trends cannot be checked and without which the common people cannot be enthused for making this Plan a success.

Lastly, the most important pre-condition for the successful implementation of the Fifth Plan should be a very rigid, a very hard discipline in all spheres of life—financial, economic and social disciplines. I feel that the elite of our country including you and me....

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I am not an elite. I do not belong to that privileged class of the elite.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA: The elites are holding our entire economy of the country to ransom.

SHRI PILOO MODY. I agree.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA: Unless this entire elitist approach is completely eliminated, we shall never be able to fix a rational system of priorities. All the distortions that have come up in our planned growth are because of the compromises made at the level of the elite. They want biscuits, and good biscuits, and, therefore, foreign collaboration is allowed. They want TV they want tape recorders and they want all these luxuries of life.

SHRI PILOO MODY: And subsidised canteen food and subsidised tea.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA: As a well known French economist said, these cultural expatriates of our country are holding the entire country to ransom. The tragedy is that some of our Ministries also fall a prey to this type of elitist distortions. That is why we have so many crores allotted for TV, so many crores for airports, for Jumbo jets, five-star hotels and so on. This kind of elitism will never help us.

All these years we have been planning for the public sector, but the investment in the private sector has never been regulated, and never been planned with the result that we have unmet needs of

foreign collaboration for luxury articles and we find private capital being invested in unessential items and in undesirable items without any check on it. So long as the entire investment pattern is not set according to hard and fast priorities, we shall never be able to check the distortions. What the nation decides and what the nation requires should be produced. The nation requires coarse cloth, and so coarse cloth should be produced and not superfine cloth....

SHRI PILOO MODY: And not what the people want.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA: The nation needs edible oils, and so edible oils should be produced and not refined oils. What the common man needs is ordinary soap and not so many liquid soaps, detergents etc.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Everybody wants crude cloth and nobody wants superfine cloth.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA: Luxury articles need more import component and more import on luxury articles must be stopped.

Then, there is so much talk about people's involvement in the implementation of the plan. People's involvement means popular committees being set up statutorily for the implementation of ceiling, for the effective functioning of the public distribution system. People's involvement means that people's institutions for area development must be set up. People's involvement means that workers' participation at all levels of management of public sector undertakings must be ensured. It also means that the whole administrative machinery has to be restructured so as to professionalise it and so as to lead to effective implementation of our policies.

Lastly, may I say a few words about Western Rajasthan which can contribute considerably to the growth of our country provided the policy of optimum use of water is adopted by the Planning Minister, and not affluence of water on the one side and no water on the other? It should be equitably and justifiably distributed through lift channels and through small channels

to those places where there is no drinking water and there is no fodder. With the involvement of the people of the desert areas I would submit that we could place before the Planning Commission a very integrated area development programme, and we can assure the Planning Minister of people's involvement physically and literally to make this Plan a success.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I have a request from the Congress Chief Whip to allow only seven minutes to each Member from the Congress Party. I do not know how to do it myself

SHRI R. K. SINHA (Faizabad): Extend the debate by two hours.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It will be extended to the next session. Even if we extend the debate for the whole of tomorrow, it will not be possible because there are about 60 Members from the Congress Benches alone.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE SHARMA (Dausa): This is a vital subject and members should be given adequate opportunity. After all, we are discussing the fate of the nation.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I cannot agree more with you. I am just putting before you the realities of the situation.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE SHARMA: More time should be allotted.

श्री दरबारा सिंह (होशियारपुर)

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं ने बहुत दोस्तों की स्पीचेज सुनी। मैं बहुत जल्दी में सारी बातें अपनी रखना चाहता हूँ ? प्लानिंग के बारे में कुछ लोगों ने यह एतराज किया कि प्लानिंग हमेशा डिफेक्टिव रही है और कोई इस का इम्पेक्ट, कोई असर नहीं पड़ा ? मैं कहता हूँ कि पहली प्लान में हम ने फैसला किया था कि इंडस्ट्रियल बैस कायम हो और ग्रोथ रेट ज्यादा हो सके। सेकेंड प्लान में गरीब और अमीर तबके का फर्क जिस हद तक कम किया जा सके उस को किया जाये और केमिकल्स वगैरह को बढ़ाया जाय, यह फैसला हम ने किया

[श्री दरबरा सिंह]

बा। तीसरे प्लान में हमारी जो जंग भी हुई लेकिन हम ने अपने एग्रीकल्चर का बेस बढ़ाया और चौथी में भी ऐसा हो रहा। मेरा मतलब अर्ज करने का यह है कि निऊने 20-22 साल में हम ने कुछ काम किया है, देश आगे बढ़ा है। यह कहना कि डग से कोई फायदा नहीं हुआ यह गलत बात है। प्लानिंग निहायत जरूरी है। हमारी धीय के लिये यह बहुत आवश्यक है। ये फैंक्ट्स अरि रीप्रिजेंटेशन है जो मैं कह रहा हूँ। आज कहा जा रहा है कि बहुत सी मुश्किलों का सामना करना पड़ रहा है। यह सही है। इस में कोई दो राये नहीं हैं। लेकिन यह जो पाचवें प्लान की अप्रोच है इस में कोशिश की गई है, मैं यह नहीं कहता कि यह कामगोहनिय है, लेकिन कोशिश की गई है कि इस अप्रोच को इस ढंग से बनाया जाये जिस से कि ज्यादा से ज्यादा हम आगे बढ़ सकें और हमारी प्रोग्रेस बढ़ सके। जहाँ हम कहते हैं कि 5.5 परसेंट हमें बढ़ाना है, अगर हम रीप्रिजेंटेशन को फेस न करें और कह दें कि 8 परसेंट या दस परसेंट होना चाहिये तो वह केवल कहने की बात होगी। उस में कोई वह फायदेमंद बात नहीं होगी।

इसके साथ साथ मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि प्रायोरिटीज अब चेंज हुई हैं। इस पाचवें प्लान में बिल्कुल मुश्किल चीजें हमारे सामने आई हैं। हमें रूरल डिस-पैरिटीज को दूर करना है। यह तभी दूर होगी जब जो चीजें हमारे सामने हैं हम उनको देख कर हम फैसला करें। लैण्ड लेजिस्लेशन में कोई काम स्टेट्स ने नहीं किया। स्टेट्स ने बाच से निकलने की कोशिश की है और लैण्ड लेजिस्लेशन जो किया गया उसमें ऐसे सुधार पैदा कर दिये गये कि जिससे बड़े बड़े जो लैण्ड लार्ड्स हैं वह उसमें से निकल जायें। उसका मंत्रीज फूड ग्रैन्स के टेक ओवर के मामले में हमारे सामने है। तो यह एक बात है सारी स्टेट्स सर-

कारों से थाप कहें कि वह उप पर अवसर करें। जो वह कहते हैं वह करते नहीं हैं। यहीं आपका प्लान सकता है। वही वह लोग हैं जो स्टेट्स में आपके काम की आगे चलने नहीं देते।

अब मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि जो देहात में पड़ा हुआ मजदूर है उसको भी आपको काम में लगाना है। मैं मानता हूँ कि सिर्फ जमीन के बटवारे से ही सारी चीजें मिलने वाली नहीं है। इसके लिये समाल स्केल इण्डस्ट्रीज की यूनिट्स को बढ़ा ले जाने की आवश्यकता है। जो अन्विस्ड लेबरर्स वहाँ हैं उनको वहाँ काम मिलना चाहिये। यह नहीं कि भूमि सुधार पर ही इसको छोड़ दिया जाय।

समाजवाद हम अपनी मोबायटी को रीग्रांडर करने के लिये करते हैं नाकि उसके साथ साथ हमारा पब्लिक सेक्टर बढ़े। अगर पब्लिक सेक्टर नहीं बढ़ता है तो नमाम चीजें वही की वही खड़ी रह आयेगी क्योंकि प्राइवेट सेक्टर अपनी तरफ खींचता है। वह मांज के वैलफेयर के लिये नहीं काम करता। वह अपनी तरफ खींचता है। इसलिये पब्लिक सेक्टर में बढ़ावा आये, इसके लिये समाजवाद को हम तर्फ हमें ले जाना है। हमारे सामने इकितमार्द जो चुनौतिया है—मैं बहुत जल्दी में अपनी बात कह रहा हूँ क्योंकि कोई जस्टिस तो है नहीं इस सबजेक्ट के साथ—पाच मास मिनिट में—लेकिन मैं यह अर्ज करूँगा कि फारेन एक्सचेंज जो है इसके हम डिफेंड नहीं रह सकते। इसका हल हमें ढूँढ़ना है। बहुत सा फारेन एक्सचेंज हमें दूसरे मुल्कों को देना है। अभी 530 करोड़ हमें दे चुके हैं, कई हजार करोड़ अभी बकाया है। उसके लिये हमको चाहिये कि हम अपने एक्सपोर्ट को बढ़ावा दें और इम्पोर्ट की संख्या को अपने यहाँ हल कर सकें। ऐसी ट्रेनिंग, ऐसी टेक्नीकल नो हाउ की हमें जरूरत है जिससे

आपनी ज़रूरत की चीज हम अपने यहां पैदा कर सते ।

पापुलेशन एक फैक्टर है जिसको हमें अपने सामने रखा चाहिये । यह नहीं कि हम इसको नजरअन्दाज कर दें । क्योंकि आबादी हमारी दुगुनी सीड से बढ़ रही है । जो ग्रॉथ रेट है उसको वही हजम कर लेती है । 55 करोड़ आज है । पांच साल बाद में और ज्यादा बढ़ जायेगा । हैल्थ के मुद्दे गिनाह से लोगों को उग्र भी बढ़ी और बीमारियां भी कम हुई हैं । फेमिली प्लानिंग चाहे जितना जोर लगा ले हमारी पापुलेशन बढ़ती जायेगी । क्योंकि मुश्तलफ किस्म के लोग यहां हैं जिनके रस्मोरिवाज ऐसे हैं और उनके सोचने का ढंग ऐसा है कि जिसमें चेंज आप नहीं ला सकते । हम थ्यरों के पेंडेंस बहुत से लोग हैं । इनलिये पापुलेशन बढ़ती ही जायेगी ।

रूअल इण्डस्ट्री बेस को मैं अर्ज करूंगा, आप यह न समझ लीजिये कि विलेज की इकनॉमी जमाने के बंटवारे से हो दुबला हो सकता है ? जमाने कितने लोगों को आप दे सकते हैं । कितनी जमाने आप आज निकाल सकते हैं ? बड़ी बड़ी बात आपके चीफ मिनिस्टर लिख कर आपको भजते हैं । लेकिन जब बंटवारा होगा तब पता चलेगा कि कितनी जमाने उससे मिलेगी । इसलिये रूअल सेक्टर में ऐसा इफ्रॉन्ट्रकर देना चाहिये ताकि उनको थोड़ा बहुत रोजगार वहां मिल सके और जो अगंस्क्रिल्ड लेबरर है उसे काम मिल सके ।

इसके बाद मैं एग्रीकल्चर के बारे में अर्ज करना चाहता हूं । हमारे 75 फीसदी लोग एग्रीकल्चर पर डिपेंड करते हैं । नेशनल इनकम का 40 परसेंट वह है । 7 हजार करोड़ रुपया आपने एग्रीकल्चर के लिये रखा है । लेकिन इसमें वह रकम भी शुमार है जिससे बड़े-बड़े इरीगेशन के प्रोजेक्ट तामीर करने हैं । इसलिये पिछले प्लान के बराबर

हैं वरिच 4 हजार करोड़ आप खेती के लिये दे रहे हैं । इन के बारे में आपको सोचना चाहिये ।

लॉग कहते हैं कि बड़ी इकानामी फेल हो गई है । मैं कितनी मुल्क का नाम लिये बयान कहता हूं कि किसी ने 30 मिलियन टन लिता है, किसी ने चार-पांच मिलियन टन लिता है उसी यू० एस० ए० से जिससे कि वह पालिसी में इश्तलाफ रखते हैं । लेकिन अपने को राहत देने के लिये और आइंदा के लिये अपने को दुस्त करने के लिये उन्होंने हजारों नहीं, लाखों नहीं मिलियन अफ-टन्स लिये हैं इसलिये कि अपने यहां लोगों का पेट पाल सके तो हमने कौन सा गुनाह किया है जो हम अर्नाज बाहर से मंगाकर लोगों को दे रहे हैं ताकि कोई मुल्क में भूख से नहीं मरे हैं समाजवाद में अगर हम लोगों का रोटी न दे सकें तो समाजवाद बेइपानी है । अगर लोगों को खाना नहीं मिलता, पहनने का कड़ा नहीं मिलता, रहने को मकान नहीं मिलता तो यह समाजवाद बेइमानी है । भकान के लिये भी हमने बंटवारे की कोशिश की है । हर स्टेट में हुआ है, कितना हुआ है यह दूसरी बात है । लेकिन नीयत ठीक है, इंटेंस क्लियर है ।

अब मैं बहुत ज्यादा इस पर न बंधकर हायर ईल्लिंग ग्रेडिज के बारे में अर्ज करना चाहता हूं । मैं आपको काशन करता हूं, आइन्दा के समय में यह ग्रेडिज किसान के काम में आने वाली नहीं हैं । क्योंकि तीन साल के बाद उसका सीड बेकार हो जाता है । आपकी ईल्ड घट जाती है । आप स्टेट्स के लिये इतने इतने टार्गेट्स मुकर्र करते हैं । लेकिन वह जब पैदा करते हैं उरती बीज को लगाते हैं तो वह बाज उतनी दावार नहीं दे पाता । कम अर्नाज पैदा होता है । उसकी ईल्ड बहुत घट जाती है । फिर आपको अपने टार्गेट्स री-एडजस्ट करने

[श्री बरबारा सिंह]

बढ़ती है। इसलिये इस बात का ध्यान रखा जाये कि सीड फार्मर्स जितने भी धान के हैं उनमें यही हार्ड ईलिंग बराहटी का सीड पैदा करके दीजिये। नई हायर ईलिंग बराहटी निकालने से बेहतर है कि जो आपके पास के हायर ईलिंग बराहटी है उन्हीं को फाउन्डेशन रख कर और वहाँ से पैदा कर लोगो को दीजिये ताकि लोग ज्यादा उनसे पैदा कर सकें। रिसर्च का काम धान बढ़ाना चाहिये।

इन दिनों में जो खबरे आ रही हैं उनसे पता चलता है कि राइस में कोई बीमारी लग गई है। उसकी ईल्ड कम हो गई है। तो उसका इन्तजाम करना चाहिये और आइन्दा भी जो ऐसे पेस्ट्स लगत है उसके लिये पेस्टीसाइड्स और दूसरी चीजें मुहैया करने की जरूरत है। आपके टागेंट्स बड़े हैं लेकिन उसके लिये पेस्टीसाइड्स, फटिलाइजर और दूसरे इन्पुट्स आप कितना दे सकते हैं और कितना सस्ता दे सकते हैं यह देखना बहुत जरूरी है।

15 00 hrs.

आप जो किसान पैदा करता है, जो छोटे फार्मर्स हैं, मार्जिनल फार्मर्स हैं, उनके लिये मुसीबत बनी हुई है। टेक-ओवर के बाद ये किसान सब से पहले मार्केट में धनाज लाये, लेकिन कोई बैंक उनको कर्जा नहीं देता है। बीसियों फार्म्स हैं—लेकिन उन को कोई फायदा नहीं है। आप ऐसा फार्म बनाइये, जिस से छोटे फार्मर्स को, मार्जिनल फार्मर्स को, स्माल फार्मर्स को ज्यादा से ज्यादा फायदा पहुंच सके।

हमारे पावर मिनिस्टर साहब चले गये—वह कहते हैं कि पावर का बिलारा सभी जारी रहेगा, कापी देर तक वह बिलारा रहेगा, क्योंकि पैसा नहीं मिलता है। डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब—आप बरा सोचिये, कहा जाता है कि तीन सौ एकड़ जमीन को एक ट्यूब-वैल पावी दे सकता है—वैले दे सकता है, बिल्कुल नहीं है

सकता है, वह गलत बात है। ये कहते हैं कि इतने ट्यूब-वैल बना दिये, इतनी कमीन की बावपावी हो जाएगी लेकिन उतनी बावपावी हो नहीं सकती। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इसके निशाने को नये सिरे में रीवाइज करें। 300 एकड़ जमीन को एक ट्यूब-वैल पावी दे सकता है—आप का यह धन्दावा बिल्कुल गलत है।

आप इन्वाल्वमेन्ट की बात करते हैं—सारे राज्यों में पंचायती राज्य है, श्री-टायर सिस्टम कायम है, लेकिन अब यह टूट रहा है। हर सूबे वाले उसे तोड़ रहे हैं, सिवाय महाराष्ट्र और गुजरात के। वे सारी ताकत अपने हाथ में ले रहे हैं। ताकत का बटवारा होना चाहिये, डी-सैन्ट्रलाइजेशन होना चाहिये। आप उनको कहिये कि जितनी देर तक श्री-टायर सिस्टम कायम नहीं करेगे सोचो का इन्वाल्वमेन्ट नहीं हो सकता, हर जगह पचायते हैं, उन को बढ़ावा मिलना चाहिये। वहाँ कोई भी इन्स्टीचूशन कायम कीजिए, लेकिन जो बनी हुई है उनको आज नोडने की कोशिश हो रही है—यह उन के साथ बहुत ज्यादा है।

जितने बड़े बड़े प्रोजेक्ट्स हैं, उन के बारे में धनो से ध्यान नहीं रखेंगे तो फिर कब ध्यान रखेंगे। राजस्थान कर्नाल नहीं बनी, बीम-डैम नहीं बन रहा है, जितने बड़े बड़े प्रोजेक्ट्स हैं, सब बाधुर पड़े हैं—मैं इस के खिलाफ प्रोटेस्ट करता हूँ। मटिष्ठा के बर्मस पावर स्टेशन के एक्सपैन्शन के लिये कोयला मांगते हैं तो कहा जाता है कि कोयला नहीं दे सकते, क्योंकि कोल-पिट बहुत दूर है। आप पूर-शिब बनाइये और शिब बना कर जिस को जितनी जरूरत है, उतना दीजिये। जो प्लांट बना हुआ है, जिस की एक्सपैन्शन हो सकती है, उस के लिये आप इजाजत नहीं दे सकते—आप कब बर्मस प्लांट को सेंने, कब पिट्स बर्मने इस तरह से तो पावर और इल्लुमिनेशन को बढ़ावा नहीं मिल सकता, इस तरह से मुक्त जानें नहीं बढ़ सकती।

कस ने सब से पहले ऐसा किया कि सब को विजली दो, इस से लोगों के दिमागों में रोशनी होगी, खेती में रोशनी होगी, कारखानों में रोशनी होगी—इस से काम चलेगा, लोगों को रोजगार मिलेगा।

डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, कहना तो बहुत कुछ चाहता था, लेकिन वक्त न मिलने से कुछ न कह सका।

SHRI RANABAHADUR SINGH (Sidhi): The present Plan that is being discussed today appears to me to have boiled down to the core and in the short time available to me I should try to touch the core of the plan in this discussion. Planning is a unique mechanism for any developing country to meet the needs of social justice and also to fulfil the minimum needs of the population.

We in this country have for the last 20 years or so carried out the experimentation of this unique mechanism. In this process, while we consider the fifth plan, a few questions pose themselves. The first question is whether in the process of the fifth plan, we shall be able to fulfil these two points—social justice and minimum needs of the people—without bringing in regimentation in train? The second question is, having lived in a village for more than 15 years, I am likely to feel that planning has in the last 20 years reached a stage of ritualism. This ritualism is almost like the old mantras of the Hindu religion which have lost substance and retain only forms.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): Thank God, no Jan Sangh member is present!

SHRI RANABAHADUR SINGH: I am not being disrespectful to the mantras. If they are properly chanted, they may still work.

Also there is a feeling going around that planning itself has developed a sort of a vested interest in itself. Lastly, I also carry a misgiving that like any human being, on a national level also a nation

can be afflicted by the malaise of *nouveau riche*. In this country too after independence we have had this malaise and while we basked in the affluence that was available to us as a nation by virtue of foreign aid, we have developed traits of administration and approaches which are now taking their toll. As an hon. member said yesterday meaningfully, there is expenditure to the tune of about Rs. 1000 crores in this country which has no productivity at all, expenditure like having a *mal* work in a big official's house with no provision for a *mal* in that particular house. His pay and other expenses are met from the contingency of the office to which this officer belongs. Other cases too can be cited. For example, who milks the cows of the big officials? The person who does it belongs to the cadre which is supposed to run the office. Such unproductive expenditure is the malaise I am talking about.

Apart from this, this nation has carried out the experiment of the procurement of wheat and the take-over of the wheat trade. I know personally that for about three months, the total official machinery of a certain district was kept totally preoccupied by running around in trying to meet the target of procurement. The amount of petrol that must have been wasted in this process, if it was added up to the cost of the wheat procured, the cost price of wheat in that area would have been Rs. 200 per quintal. This expenditure, in spite of the best efforts and planning, is bound to dampen the efforts.

In the process, a strange situation is developing. Even on the floor of this House there have been many occasions when tangential references have come up wherein, after abolishing the top 20 or the 10 per cent of the most affluent people in the country and trying to do away with all the impediments that hold up progress, after this abolition or that nationalisation, voices are heard wherein the official machinery will some day be demanded to be abolished or nationalised.

In this context of things I have only one suggestion to offer, which I hope

[Shri Ranabhadur Singh]

would find consideration, if not acceptance, by the Planning Ministry. I make this suggestion based on the last five lines on page 62 of the Approach Paper. Referring to the involvement of the people, it is mentioned:

"A necessary condition for such involvement is understanding and appreciation of the Plan objectives, strategy and programme. In this task plan information and education can play an important role. High priority would be accorded towards working out and putting into practice the varied modalities of the peoples' involvement."

All the malaise I have mentioned before point out to the fact that we have for the last 20 years, and now for the next five years too, tried to bring this nation up by one section of the people alone trying to undertake the job whereas the majority of the people, those who are not entrusted with this task of executing the plan, they are more or less almost dead weights on the machinery which is supposed to bring them out of the backwardness. This can never work in a country wherein we have the legacies that we have in this country. The only possible method is to involve the people meaningfully. As I have read out, the modalities have been left to be worked out. And this whole intellectual exercise, and I think it is an impressive one, will again suffer the same fate that has been the lot of the previous plans.

AN HON. MEMBER: Much worse.

SHRI RANABHADUR SINGH: So, I pose a very simple question. Is it possible to get the people involved in the methods that have been tried so far? Can the people be involved merely by giving them a proper break-down of the Plan projects and a plan of expenditure? Is it possible for the people to feel that this Plan is going to make all the difference to them? I submit it is not possible unless we take heed from two thinkers who happened to take birth in this country and who at this moment, I feel, are gradually becoming irrelevant; I am

talking of Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave. As far as peoples' involvement goes, we cannot get away from the fact that the only possible way in which free people can be involved in any planning is on the basis of equality. As things stand in the villages today, and I am speaking only of villages in this context, there is no equality between an official and a villager. As things stand today, the Plan as it is worked out in this August House, its execution lies squarely in the hands of the district official machinery, and when things are taken to the village level this official machinery suffers from that proverbial disease which was named in some political theorists' treatises by being called apoplexy at the centre and anaemia at the circumference. The only possibility of avoiding this trouble is to give a certain trial to Vinobaji's Sarvodaya at the village level. All that it tries to bring about is to put the people at the village level in such a situation wherein the people themselves feel that unless they do something about it, it will not be possible for them to progress.

It is about time that burden of development having shifted from the white shoulders to the brown shoulders is shared by the black shoulders in the villages. For this, there shall have to be a complete break with the past. It is not possible in the present context of things. It can only happen when people are given true freedom; it can only happen when people are trusted; it can only happen when the functions of the Government are decentralised. For this, a certain amount of trust is necessary.

I am told, when Churchill was asked to give freedom to India, apart from saying that he could not preside over the liquidation of British Empire, he also said that the people who are half-fed and half-clothed have no sense to rule themselves and they will tax themselves out of existence. But we became free and we have existed as a free nation for the last 26 years. I plead that it is about time that in our villages too, where people are still half-fed and half-clothed, they too should be taken in trust. The functions of the Government, of the Plan, must be entrusted

ed to them, in their hands, however much we feel that they might be misused to start with.

The question of freedom is such that it cannot be tampered with. Real freedom can only be experimented with and, having been experimented with and mistakes having been committed, it can right itself. But if it were thought that freedom could be trained, that freedom could be conditioned, it is not possible. It has never happened anywhere in the world. So, it is about time that while we make these Plans, while we think about coming out of backwardness, while we think about feeding ourselves, while we think about becoming self-reliant, we should also think about the fact that the execution of these Plans, all these beautiful methodologies, can only happen when the people themselves are partners in equality and in freedom.

Lastly, a little more selfishly, I hope that when this Plan finds its real shape, the Bansagar project will find a place in it. This project seeks to cater to 36 lakhs of people in an area which has no other possibility of water. There is no underground water; the rainfall is gradually going down. It is a project which will not vitiate the existing needs of lower riparian States; it is a project which will finance itself from its own revenues after the third year of its construction and it is a project which contains in itself the whole aspirations of the people of that region.

I wind up by saying that planning is a question of orchestration and in this orchestration, it is only a good conductor....

SHRI PILOO MODY: But in this case a band-master.

SHRI RANABAHADUR SINGH:.... who is able to retain virtuosity and, in the progress, for such a retention of virtuosity, an old poet is quite relevant when he said:

मुखिया मुख सम चाहिए खान पान से एक
पाले पोसे सकल अंग तुलसी सहित विभक्त ।

श्री सुभाकर पांडे (चंदौली) : उत्तमव्यवस्था महोदय, योजना के माध्यम से जो राष्ट्र की भाग्य लिपि बनाई जा रही है, पहले भी बनाई गई थी और सरकारी ज्योतिषियों ने जो भाषा कही थी वह सही नहीं उतरी, उसके अनुभव के आधार पर नयी भाग्य लिपि गढ़ी जा रही है। इसमें बताया यह गया है कि गरीबों का सम्मान बढ़ेगा और उनके जीवन यापन की व्यवस्था होगी। इस देश में आजादी के पहले या प्रारम्भ से ही जो धन को अपने वैभव का साधन मानते थे उन्हें प्रथम कोटि की नागरिकता प्राप्त थी और जो धन को वैभव का साधन नहीं मानते थे, धन को जीवन की आराधना की वस्तु समझते थे उन्हें द्वितीय कोटि की नागरिकता प्राप्त थी। आज आजादी के बाद जो जिसके पास धन है उन्हें प्रथम कोटि की नागरिकता प्राप्त है और जो गरीब हैं, गरीब रहना भी चाहते हैं केवल जीवन यापन और के लिये धनार्जन करना चाहते हैं उन्हें द्वितीय कोटि की नागरिकता प्राप्त है, यह देखकर आश्चर्य होता है कि ऐसी मान्यता को रहते उनका मान कैसे बढ़ेगा? योजना बनायी जाती है, तो दाम की बात बहुत की गई, और कहा गया कि एम० आर्दे० ए० ए० लगा देना चाहिये, गोली मार देनी चाहिये। मैं भी इस से सहमत हूँ क्योंकि देश केवल दाम चोरों से ही परेशान नहीं है, बल्कि काम चोरों से भी परेशान है और नाम चोरों से भी परेशान है। वास्तव में इस देश में सर्वत्र मंगरावाद चल रहा है जो सब के ऊपर इस प्रकार हावी हो गया है जिस प्रकार क्षय के कोटाणु लोगों पर हावी हो जाते हैं। क्षय से ग्रस्त है सारा देश इस में काश करने वाले को मान नहीं मिल रहा है।

जिस मशीनरी से, जिस यन्त्र से आप भविष्य के सपनों को मूर्तित करना चाहते हैं वह मशीन जड़ और सड़ी है इतनी जड़ है कि आप गरम पारे को मोम की नली से निकालना चाहते हैं और चाहते हैं कि पारा न टूटे। हम लोग 5 साल के बाद साक्षात्कार कराते

[श्री सुबोधचन्द्रावती]

हैं 7.7 लाख आदिमियों से और जिसका साक्षात्कार 5 आदमी करते हैं वह तो 58 वर्ष तक चलते हैं, और जो 7.7 लाख आदिमियों से साक्षात्कार कराते हैं वे पांच लाख और वास्तव में यह 58 सालावन रक्षामी हैं, हम लोग उन के सत्कार करते हैं। सेवक जब स्वामी हो जाता है, इस राष्ट्र का पुरा इतिहास है कि राष्ट्र पत्तन की ओर गया है और हमारे जो अधिकांश राज नेता हैं वह ऐसे समर्थ नहीं कि इन सेवकों को उन की हैसियत बतावें। अब तक उन की हैसियत का बोध नहीं कराया जायगा तब तक राष्ट्र की प्रगति की सम्भावना की बात सोचना भी एक दुर्लभ कल्पना मात्र होगी। यहाँ बैठकर आप बितनी ऊँचाई से बोधना चाहते हैं, वहाँ तक पहुँचा उठ नहीं पाती आप वहाँ जाइये जहाँ लोग पहुँच रहे हैं। आप की नवरी से हम लोग अपने क्षेत्र में लौटते हैं तो जनता सोचती है कि बुद्धिमान बुद्ध की नवरी से कुछ मान कर आया होगा और वहाँ अब पहुँचते हैं तो वाब की तरह जिस के घर में भूसा न हो, टुकुर टुकुर लोग हमारी तरफ तावते हैं, देखते यह जो बड़ी बड़ी नगरियाँ बन रही हैं और सारे देश का भ्रमण कर रही है इन का भी चिकित्सीकरण कर दिया जाय। यहाँ दिल्ली में मैं देखता हूँ कि हमारे अस्पतालों में बिजली नहीं है, रोगी की सेवा नहीं होती है, और यहाँ महिलाओं के घर पर 21, 21 बत्तियाँ रात में जल रही हैं। यह कौन सा समाजवाद है, मेरी समझ में नहीं आता, और इस में किस गरीब का मान बढ़ाने का आयोजन किया जा रहा है।

25 वर्ष हमारी आजादी के हो गये। हमारे स्वतन्त्रता के सपने की भाषा जनता की भाषा थी। आज वाँट की भाषा देश की भाषा नहीं बन पायी। और यह किसनी अज्ञान की बात है कि अगली योजना में जो आपने प्रस्ताव किया है कि 5 पैसे प्रति व्यक्ति प्रति माह आप राष्ट्रभाषा को प्रतिष्ठित

करने के लिये देने जा रहे हैं। और भारतीय भाषाओं की बात तो छोड़ दीजिये, क्योंकि आप कहते हैं कि स्टेट-सम्बन्ध है। अब आप जनता की भाषा नहीं समझते हैं, जनता की भाषा के अर्थों तक नहीं पहुँचाने चाहते हैं, तो कल की कैसे समझेंगे। और जब देखता हूँ कि आप जन आन्दोलन करना चाहते हैं तो मुझे हँसी आती है। अगर जन आन्दोलन करना है तो बाँधी भी की भाषा सीखिये। बाँधी भी की भाषा में जन आन्दोलन हो सकता है और किसी भाषा में नहीं क्योंकि इस देश में जन आन्दोलन नहीं कर सकता है जो स्थान करे, जो अपना जीवन दे और जो अहर पीने के लिये तैयार हो। तो हमारे नेता अहर धान करने का आग्रह करें, वह नीलकण्ठ बनें। वह और सागर में कैबल मस्ती लेने का आयोजन न करें। और की आज मस्ती पानी की दुनियाँ है सब परेशान है एक दूसरे को समझ नहीं पा रहे हैं। बीकान की बिडम्बना है अक्षित के जोख बिन्दु बड़े हुये हैं, उनका समन्वय नहीं कर पा रहे हैं इसीलिये बरिद्धता है, बिचारों की बरिद्धता है और सारी चीजों की बरिद्धता है। जिस देश में इन्सान नहीं होता वह देश धान नहीं बढ़ाई गरीबी को हराये नहीं से इस देश में हस्त हस्त काटा है और धान भी काट लेना, किन्तु इन्सान बनाने के जो कारखाने आप के हैं, आजादी के बाद आपने उनको लूज पूज किया है। और जब कटीती करते हैं तो दो चीजों में कटीती करते हैं—एक तो शिक्षा और संस्कृति के सम्बन्ध में और दूसरी कटीती स्वास्थ्य के बारे में करते हैं। जिस देश में शिक्षा नहीं होगी तो मर्तृहरि के अच्छे में कहा जाय तो आप आदमी को साहित्य, सचित्र, कला बिहीन पशु बनाया चाहते हैं। तो पशुता की ओर ले जाना चाहते हैं। इस पंचवर्षीय योजना के विधायकों से मैं प्रश्न करना चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रश्न का उत्तर कि स्वयं अपने हृदय में हैं, और अगर आवश्यक समझे तो हम लोगों को भी उसका उत्तर दें।

आपने योजना में प्राइमरी शिक्षा के प्रसार की बात की है। बड़ी अच्छी बात है। मेरा तो यह कहना है कि आपने आजादी के बाद साक्षरता को प्रचार किया है, शिक्षा का प्रचार नहीं किया है। क्योंकि यदि शिक्षा का प्रचार करते तो इस देश में जो टूटन है, घूटन है, जो संवत्सित हैं आपको उसके कहीं दर्शन नहीं होते। आप बड़ी न्याय प्रियता की बात करते हैं और ऐसी ऊंची ऊंची बात करते हैं कि आप लोगों को साहित्यकार की श्रणी में जाना चाहिये था। लेकिन उतना करने के बाद भी साहित्यकार आपको साहित्यकार नहीं मानता क्योंकि आप न्यायप्रिय नहीं हैं।

उत्तर प्रदेश के बारे में आप बराबर कहते थे कि पिछड़ापन है, वहाँ सब नालायक बसते हैं, योजनाओं का रुपया वापस कर देते हैं। माननीय धारिया बैठे हैं, उन्होंने भी कहा था। लेकिन गत दो वर्ष में इतने क्रान्तिकारी ढंग से हमने कार्य आरम्भ किया कि प्रधानमंत्री को यह कहना पड़ा कि योजना का जितना अच्छा काम इधर गत दो वर्षों में उत्तर प्रदेश में हुआ है उतना और कहीं नहीं हुआ। आप क्या हमें दे रहे हैं, 3,500 करोड़ के बदले में? 2,100 करोड़ देने जा रहे हैं। आबादी के आधार पर आप नहीं दे रहे हैं, क्षेत्रफल के आधार पर नहीं दे रहे हैं, पिछड़ेपन के आधार पर नहीं दे रहे हैं। आपका आदर्श और सिद्धान्त कौन सा है इसको समझने के लिये तो स्वयं विधाता जी अवतार ले तो वही समझ सकते हैं, और कोई दूसरा कुछ नहीं समझ सकता है।

यह रामयोग उपयोगितावाद, जिसे सामान्य भाषा में अवसरवाद कहते हैं। यह अवसरवाद जीवन को जयंत बनाने वाला नहीं होता है। क्योंकि यह देश अवसरवादियों का नहीं रहा है, बल्कि उनका रहा है जो कि जनमंगल के लिये कफन का टुकड़ा भी सत्य और सत्व को देते रहे हैं। मैं

हरिश्चन्द्र की चर्चा कर रहा हूँ, और युधिष्ठिर की बात तो आप लोग जानते ही हैं। आप युधिष्ठिर बनने का नाटक न करें। आप सचमुच हरिश्चन्द्र और युधिष्ठिर बने तब इस देश में आपकी आराधना होगी और इस देश में आपकी पूजा होगी।

आप पिछड़े हुये क्षेत्रों की चर्चा करते हैं। अभी उत्तर प्रदेश के योजना आयोग के एक अधिकारी ने कहा कि लिंक रोड बना लो, मूल सड़क न बनाओ। तो मैंने उनसे कहा ठीक ही तो कह रहे हैं कि टहनियों को सींचो, जड़ को मत सींचो। नहीं तो मूर्ख कैसे कहे जाओगे कुछ दिनों के बाद। आप हमको क्षमा करें इतिहासकार बड़ा निर्मम होता है, वह किसी को क्षमा नहीं करता है, और कल का इतिहासकार जो आपका इतिहास लिखेगा वह काली स्याही से लिखेगा, सोने के अक्षरों में नहीं लिखेगा। आप न्याय करिये और उत्तर प्रदेश में जितना पिछड़ापन है उसको दूर करने के लिये जितने पुल हैं, सड़कें हैं, जितनी और सिंचाई की योजना है उसको पूरा करिये, केवल बात मत करिये। यह देश कर्मजयियों का है। कर्मजयी बनिये जनता आपका अभिनन्दन करेगी, जनता आपका विश्वास करेगी।

SHRI NATWARLAL PATEL (Mehsana): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am very grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak on this important subject.

Before I speak anything, I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister that this is a country of farmers, this is a country of villages. 80 per cent people of this country are living in the villages and they are getting their livelihood from the business of agriculture. When we are planning, we are forgetting for whom we are planning. Naturally, so far as the progress of the country is concerned, I understand a proper planning is required and for want of proper planning, I think, we have been suffering a lot for the last so many years. I understand one thing. Our planning should be agri-

[Shri Natwarlal Patel]

culture-oriented. Our planning should be labour-oriented and, according to me, our planning should be 'Garibi Hatao'-oriented.

When we plan we must not forget the millions of poor people in the country who live in the villages. What is their idea? What is it that they want? What is their idea regarding planning? I think before we go ahead we must see clearly about this aspiration in the minds of people; we must try to know their minds and proceed accordingly. For the last so many years we have had the First Plan, the Second Plan and the Third Plan and the Fourth Plan and now we are approaching the Fifth Plan. We have never bothered to understand the minds of these poor people. There is one common general misunderstanding among intelligent people to the effect that those who are living in villages are not intelligent, they are useless people, etc. This is not so, they are not useless people, they may not be intelligent, but they understand things, they know how planning is to be done for this country, they know how the country can proceed and how the country can be well-planned. Mr. Dhar and Mr. Dhar—there is a good alliteration of these words—understand all these problems. Both of them are dynamic persons and they are intelligent and I appeal to them: They should never forget that this country is a country of farmers and of villagers. We should not forget that India is a country of agriculture. That is what we should bear in mind when we approach any Plan.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PLANNING (SHRI MOHAN DHARIA): I was born in a village and I spent 24 years of my early life in villages.

SHRI NATWARLAL PATEL: You are an agriculturist, I know that. I am very happy to know about what you said now. That is why I bring this to your kind notice, that our Planning should be agriculture-oriented.

So far as our country is concerned, nearly 80 per cent are living in the villages and our economy is based on agriculture. Agriculture is the backbone of our country's economy and just as you cannot have a body in full strength unless you have full strength in the backbone, so also, in regard to our country's economy, if the economy is to be strong and stable, naturally, we have to see that our agriculture is strong and stable and strengthened. So far as this agricultural sector is concerned there are many problems.

Sir, I do not say that Government has not done anything in this direction. But what I want to say is that this sector has suffered due to lack of proper planning, if I may put it that way. Therefore, what I say is, when we are approaching this Fifth Plan, we should not forget our agriculturists. We should not forget our poor villagers, our poor farmers who are living today in a miserable condition. Mr. Prasannabhai Mehta said that we have miserably failed. We have not miserably failed. I would not like to say that we have succeeded, but we can't say that we have miserably failed. This is my respectful submission. To err is human. I don't say there cannot be mistakes. But we shall have to look at our outlook. We should plan in such a way that the poor people in the country get the benefit of such planning.

Mr. Dhar and Mr. Dharia are having socialistic outlook and I have great faith so far as Mr. Dhar is concerned and Mr. Dharia is concerned. And I am sure, in regard to the Approach Paper to the Fifth Plan, they will take into consideration the various suggestions which I have made. My anxiety is this. Members are speaking and speaking, just to focus attention on certain points, and giving suggestions, but these are not always acted upon.

I think that it is a great tragedy to understand that what we are saying is incorrect. If you find that there is any good suggestion that is made by us, you would like to implement it. So far as

I am concerned, I am not talking in the name of Natwarlal Patel but today I am talking in the name of so many poor people in this country. I am talking in the name of agriculturists; I am talking in the name of labourers of this country. That is why I tell you that so far as our friends are concerned, they should not think that we are not doing anything; in fact we are doing everything just to eradicate the poverty from this country and just to make our countrymen happy in this country. To plan for a big country like ours, I think, is not such an easy thing. Shri Dhar is riding a tiger. I think it is a very risky thing to ride on a tiger. Looking at our resources and looking at the position of our country, I think that he must be bold enough to face the situation and go ahead with the Plan. I want you to understand one thing. When a good doctor is giving a good medicine to a patient and if he comes to him again that the medicine is not doing good to him, naturally, a good doctor would change it. He naturally goes by the original prescription. If he is a good doctor, when he is told that his medicine is not giving him relief, he would like to change it. Similarly, we must have an open mind when we look at the Approach to our Plan.

I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister as also the attention of the House to one important point. So far as our policy is concerned, we are always thinking of taking over of foodgrains trade by Government; I am not, at the same time, opposed to the State's taking over. So far as our country is concerned, we should take over anything. I think that if Shri Dhar and Dharia want me to be taken over, I am prepared for that! As I said already, I am not opposed to this business of taking over. We shall have to go in for it. But, there are some Members in this House who are always thinking of taking over of everything by Government. But, I am always thinking of Naramada. In this House, I am not opposed to this. We shall have to read the minds of the people of this country as to whether they are in a position to support this or not. That is also to be taken into consideration. If we are not going to look

at this aspect of the problem, I think we would make our people to suffer. Sir, I am a man coming from the rural area and I understand the mind of the agriculturists. I would urge upon the hon. Minister to look into this matter while planning for the agricultural community. Both Shri Dhar and Shri Dharia are dynamic persons and both of them are marching towards the road of socialism. I am sure that this great country, under the dynamic leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, will have a bright future before it. About this, I have no doubt in mind. We have to make the country's future bright with the co-operation of everybody. We are always at the back of the Government and let us hope that everything will be good.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai). Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, it seems for Parliament, Plan is expendable. Otherwise, how can you explain that it has become the residuary item on the last day of the session? Even so, this item would remain unfinished during the current session, and, by the time we meet during the next session, the draft of the full Plan would be available to the country.

Be that as it may, what I would like to emphasise in the very beginning is that it is rather unfortunate to observe that it is, for the first time, that the Approach to a Plan or a Memorandum on a Plan, has not been presented by the Prime Minister. It is my recollection that with all the Plan documents, the Prime Minister of India had always been very actively associated in the past. Pandit Nehru always made it a point to place before the country the approach or the strategy of the next Plan. In fact, there could be nothing more important on the agenda of a Prime Minister than planning itself. The fact that it has not been so shows that planning has a very low priority on the agenda of the Prime Minister and that planning has been downgraded.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN (Wandiwash): Devalued.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: It is not a question of the Prime Minister not being here today in our midst. For the Prime Minister was here when the approach

[Shri Shyamandan Mishra]

document was being discussed in the other House, and yet she did not think it fit to associate herself with the presentation of the approach document. Again, it is not only the lack of association of the Prime Minister with this approach document to which I am taking objection, but it seems that the Prime Minister has taken leave of planning as it were; as the chairman of the Planning Commission, she does not seem to be actively involved in the process of planning.

I do not want any kind of plausible reply to be given by the other side, but I would like them to consider whether the process of planning can go on without the active association or the involvement of the chairman of the Planning Commission herself.

The Prime Minister recently said that she had been devoting about fifteen hours of her valuable time every day to State matters, but may I ask her whether she has been able to devote even fifteen minutes of her time to this most most important and most vital part of our national activity?

Pandit Nehru attended all important meetings of the Planning Commission, and probably those important meetings during the course of a year; numbered not less than 20 to 24 during the course of a year; even during the course of one month, two important meetings of the Planning Commission used to take place. I really do not know whether the Prime Minister is able to attend any meeting of the Planning Commission except on ceremonial occasions when photographs are taken and everybody says that she should be present.

But my complaint is not only about the head of the Planning Commission not taking full and intimate interest in it. The Planning Commission itself as a body seems to be largely on a holiday. By the Planning Commission, I mean the members of the Planning Commission, not those who are working in the various divisions of the Planning Commission. May I ask

how many meetings of the Planning Commission are being held during the course of a year? My information goes, and I cannot be very wrong in this matter having been associated with planning since its inception, that the Planning Commission's meetings are now as few as two or three during the course of a year. May I remind the House that during the days of Shri V. T. Krishnamachari, there used to be an informal meeting of the Planning Commission every morning? Now, those meetings of the Planning Commission are not held at all, and there are only two or three meetings of the Planning Commission during a year.

Then, some members of the Planning Commission do not seem to be functioning at all. The Finance Minister is indeed a key figure in the Planning Commission, but does he figure at all in the process of planning? And so also is the Minister of International Trade. Earlier, Shri Krishna Menon used to have a room in the Planning Commission, although he was not a full member of the Planning Commission *de jure*. Then, international trade was given so much of importance; now it is not a matter of importance as our objective seriously, then that is a matter of highest importance. Yet neither the Finance Minister nor the Minister of International Trade is associated intimately with the Planning Commission.

Parliament would also be entitled to know, and probably it has a means of knowing it also, how many times some of the members have been attending the committee meetings of the Planning Commission?

Again, one of the members of the Planning Commission has joined the Finance Commission. He was one of the important members of the Planning Commission and an expert in his own field. But now he is only nominally associated with the Planning Commission.

May I further say—this may not be because of my hon. friend, the Planning Minister himself—that now the Planning

Minister is referred to probably in all the documents of the Planning Commission as Planning Minister and not as the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission? So we have neither the Chairman nor the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission and we have got the Planning Minister with a large role for public relations or for international affairs. May I wish him well in whatever useful activities he is engaging himself in?

SHRI PILOO MODY: And those other activities also.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Because I had been associated with planning from the very beginning, I would crave your indulgence to give me a little more time.

The most important thing for planning or for that matter any kind of activity is the atmosphere in which that activity has to proceed. And in the kind of atmosphere that has been generated in the country largely by the government, the political leadership of this country, we have now a climate which is very much hostile to planning. Can we detach ourselves completely from the atmosphere in which planning has to function in this country? This atmosphere now is one of pseudo-radicalism. Pseudo-radicalism is, in fact, the one contribution that has been made by the political leadership that bestrides the stage just now.

We have then got this political constellation—here I am speaking of the political constellation which is running the country, a political constellation which is an admixture of democracy and totalitarianism. What I mean is that, really, it is not only the ruling party in a *de jure* sense which is ruling the country; the main element that has to be reckoned with, in this political constellation, is the CPI, the Communist Party of India.

This is the political constellation. It has got its own economic consequences—they cannot be escaped. The main consequence is that this constellation has destroyed the personality and the ethos of planning in the country. Our planning had developed a certain ethos or

personality which, I maintain, has been destroyed by this constellation and by the many things being mouthed by hon. members on the other side.

I stand for every achievement that has been made by planning during the course of its first 18 years or so under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. There is hardly any record in the world which can match the record of planning during its first 17-18 years and I feel proud of that period. But it is that personality or ethos which had been built up by and under the leadership of Pandit Nehru which has been destroyed by this new political constellation.

Then you have got a particular kind of psychological climate in this country which is one of disillusionment. Planning itself is being discredited. Who will believe in planning when there is more unemployment, when there are higher prices, and when there is greater disparity. And you speak of being the Messiah of socialism! May I say that the Prime Minister declaims like Lenin but performs like Maharani Gyatri Devi? (Interruptions) May I also say that probably, my hon. friend, Shri Piloo Mody, if he had been the Prime Minister of India—even this Swatantra Prime Minister—would have given more socialism to this country than this Prime Minister has? What, after all, have you got today? (Interruptions)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, why has this disillusionment been brought about in this country? Is this disillusionment the handiwork of the Opposition? As one of the Nobel laureates an economist has recently said “disillusionment is the result of illusionment.” And you, that is, the Government, had produced this illusionment.

These people have created, launched on, another element which is producing the hostile atmosphere for planning. That is economic populism which they have been preaching. Economic populism is the exact opposite of economic rationality. It is just the opposite of economic science and economic logic. But planning means rationality, planning means logic and planning means science. If you have created such an

[Shri Shyamnandan Mishra]

atmosphere of irrationality, you can very well imagine what kind of planning you would be able to operate in this country. Therefore, there is utter chaos and lack of discipline everywhere in this country.

The ruling party does not seem to realise that they cannot skip the basic economic lawser escape the consequences of their operation. What has happened to Allende in Chile, what is happening to Bandarnaike in Ceylon, what is happening to NeWin in Burma, what had happened to Soekarno in Indonesia is bound to happen here, because the same kind of populist policies and economics are being practised.

SHRI PILOO MODY: And Nkrumah in Ghana.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Yes, that too. Then the people say, "Why don't you stop it?" We are certainly trying to do it in our own humble way, but when the tower of power radiates irrationality no nook or cranny can remain safe from it. They are radiating irrationality from the tower of power in Delhi and so you find economic irrationality, prevailing everywhere. That is the tragedy of the present situation.

But all the same, the point to reckon with is that some political imperatives have been created and they demand economic correlative—how economic correlatives are to be built in order to correspond to the political imperatives is the question. In other words, one has to remind oneself of what Debre Regis said to Allende—the electoral mass has to be turned into a revolutionary mass. And this the ruling party cannot do. It has indeed been able to win the elections on the basis of certain slogans. But now they find that they would not be able to implement those slogans. This is the basic contradiction of the present situation. You can certainly win elections on certain slogans, but if you are not able to implement them, then those slogans are going to boomerang on you. All this has created a most unfortunate situation in the country as far as planning is concerned.

Now, so far as the approach paper is concerned, may I say that nobody in his senses, if I may say so with humility, can call it an approach to the Fifth Five Year Plan. For, it can be asked, if there is no Fourth Five Year Plan as such, where is the question of the Fifth Five Year Plan and an approach to the Fifth Five Year Plan. Is there a Fourth Five Year Plan now in existence? And if there is a plan called the fourth five year Plan, may I say that there could be no more a meaningless exercise than this. In fact, the Fourth Five Year Plan is a continuation of the plan holiday which was officially inaugurated in 1967.

I do not say so arbitrarily, economic activity during the Fourth Five Year Plan, never picked up the level of 1964-65, when probably my hon. Friend Dr. Rao was the member of the Planning Commission and he, did not allow things to go that astray during those days. Investments, in real terms during the years of the fourth plan had never exceeded the level attained during the three years of the officially declared plan-holiday. The Fourth Plan has failed miserably in every vital field. Had it been left to the operation of the free market forces, as my hon. friend Mr Mody would always advocate, probably the result would not have been much different from what you are having now.

SHRI PILOO MODY: They would have been much better.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: The shortfalls in the terminal year of the fourth plan are going to be substantial in every field. In fact, the shortfall would be no less than 20 per cent in food-grains, I think I can put it at even 25 per cent. In steel it would be more than 30 per cent, in cement 51 per cent, in fertilisers 50 to 60 per cent, in clothes 60 per cent and in newspaper 92 per cent. Coal has been stagnating at whatever level it was 8 years before. In the new generation of power the slippage during the first three years of the fourth plan had been more than during the three years of the plan holiday. During the three years of the plan holiday the slippage was of the order of 24 per cent. During the three years of

the current plan it was 43 per cent and in the fourth year of the plan, it may be of the order of 86 per cent. That is the achievement !

The Fourth plan is the launching pad for the fifth plan, but it does not provide the basis for what is being postulated. The fourth plan is in such shambles that the credibility of the fifth plan and its author is bound to be doubted. After all the fifth plan would stand on the shoulders of the fourth plan. The Government which does not take care of the current plan but talks about the next plan in hyperbolic and superlative terms is the one which cannot be credited with any belief in planning. You must take care of the current plan and then alone you can sound credible about the achievements to be made in the next plan or the targets that you are placing before the country in the next plan.

It appears, therefore, that we have been enjoying a plan holiday since 1967 and we would continue this plan holiday—that is my humble submission—even during the Fifth Plan as it has been postulated. May I give you a few examples? Perhaps the Planning Minister himself had stated that the Fifth Plan was now going to be reduced to the core or it would be mostly a core plan. He claimed that economies to the extent of Rs. 400 crores were being effected in the expenditure of the Government. What did he imply? It is not only a question of implication; now it is very explicit. It is known to everybody that out of Rs. 400 crores, Rs. 340 crores would be the economies effected in the plan-expenditure. Only Rs. 60 crores would be the reduction in the non-plan expenditure. If that is the economy he feels the country wanted in the context of the economic difficulties, if faces, I must say that he has wrongly understood the feeling in this country.

16.06 hrs.

[DR. SARADISH ROY in the Chair]

Maybe I am not correct—nobody knows who is going to be correct; the Planning Minister himself cannot assert he is going to be proved correct—but on present

indications, it seems to me that the new steel projects are going to be shelved or are going to be taken up only nominally. Secondly, the power programme is going to suffer a sizeable cut. New fertiliser units will be reduced at least by half in number. Goa Refinery seems to have been finally dropped. All these are in the core sector. How are we going to assure ourselves that even the core is going to be protected? If that is the fate of many of the vital projects in the core of the plan, and this is bound to be so, if prices go on rising at the rate at which they have been rising, i.e. 20 to 25 per cent during the course of a year, what will happen? May I conclude this topic by saying that the Fifth Plan is going to be a continuation of the plan holiday even with reference to what is going to happen to industry, that is, the most dynamic sector of our economy? A major portion of the industrial programme for the Fifth Plan would necessarily consist of schemes spreading over from the Fourth Plan. The House knows that about Rs. 10,000 crores have been earmarked for industry, out of which Rs. 7,000 crores are earmarked for the public sector and Rs. 3,000 crores for the private sector. Of this, an outlay of Rs. 4,000 crores would be required for the carry-over schemes and for advance action on the fifth plan Rs. 1,000 crores would be required. What remains for the new schemes during the fifth plan is only about Rs. 2,000 crores. Even this would get attenuated because of the price rise. So, you can imagine what kind of plan we are going to have.

Again, the investment ratio which is a very important factor to reckon with is not going to rise during the Fifth Plan according to the indication given in the approach document. It is rather surprising that the approach document does not mention prominently anywhere the investment ratio that would obtain during the Fifth Plan. At one place, only incidentally it is mentioned and the figure given is 16.6 per cent. Probably it is gross. I would not go into the mechanics of the calculation, but by 4 per cent or so. Thus, the net investment ratio would be of the order of 12.6 per cent, even

according to the approach document. If that is so, it is not going to approximate even to the level that was reached in 1964-65. Therefore, it would not be incorrect to say that even the Fifth Plan is going to be a continuation of the plan holiday. So, nobody can call it an approach to the fifth plan; if at all it can only be an approach to a further continuation of the plan holiday.

Be that as it may, at this stage what we are considering is only a technical exercise, a lifeless or headless body. Indeed, I must give a word of praise for the new technique that has been brought in for the formulation of the Fifth Plan. I remember how during the course of the second plan, it was exceedingly difficult for us even to construct an inter-industry table of 12 x 12. This time the inter-industry table that has been constructed runs into 66 x 66, and that, indeed is a great improvement. Much of the document has been produced, not by my hon. friend Shri Dhar or by other members of the Planning Commission but by the new God called computer. It is the computer which has produced this document and may be there is some improvement, so far as the technical formulation is concerned; it is, indeed, a great improvement. But that reminds me of a story in the United Kingdom about a get married. A young man wanted to a girl. He had in front of him the photographs of a large number of girls, about 500 or 600. He had his own ideal of beauty. It was becoming rather puzzling for him and he was completely at sea as to how to select a young girl who will be upto his ideal of beauty. So, he fed into a computer his own ideal of beauty and the data of the girls and asked the computer to give the answer. The computer selected a girl on the basis of the data made available to it. But when the girl came to know that she was selected by the machine and not by the man, she was horrified. This is true of the technical exercise here.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Gwalior): Who is the girl in this case?

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: The country has to select the girl and

probably the choice is not very much in this matter.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: In any case, Shri Vajpayee has no experience in this matter.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: That is why I want to seek the help of the computer.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: The point I was submitting was that the exercise that has been presented to us is only a lifeless exercise. It does not have the life-giving inputs like the policy frame, the administrative or executive capacity or may I say, even the political commitment, a word which has been so profusely bruited by the leaders of the ruling party. Have they given the political commitment that is necessary for the implementation of such a plan or to make the plan frame or the approach a meaningful exercise? They may say that a formal commitment has been given by the National Development Council. We know how things are presented to the National Development Council and how decision is secured from that body. In fact, the issues are never posed to the National Development Council in the way in which they ought to be and what results from its deliberations is only a cover for a formal procedure. So, the approach without a policy frame is a body without a soul. It is only a technical approach.

May I say that what we mean by approach is not a technical exercise but necessarily a political or human exercise? If it is not so, and if it is a technical exercise, it should have the backing and support of the human approach. There is no such thing that we find here. Indeed, the approach should be primarily a political and human document and only secondarily a technical document. The defect of this plan approach is that it is primarily a technical approach and only secondarily a human or political document.

Moreover, I would not be prepared to call it an approach to a Plan for another reason. This is for the first time that a plan is sought to be formulated without any backward or forward linkage. It is almost

as autonomous Plan. Have we got a prospective in this approach of the next 10 or 15 years? This is for the first time that the Plan is being formulated without any perspective. No planning exercise can be an autonomous exercise. But this is what we find being done here now.

Even the Tamil Nadu Plan-frame is superior to your Plan-Approach of the Central Government? I say, even a State Plan is superior to your Plan. In many ways, I will credit them with a much greater statesmanship and intelligence than the Central leadership here. In the Tamil Nadu Plan, they have got a perspective of 10 years. They seek to double their State income during the course of next 10 years. But there is no such perspective given in the Plan Approach here. Yet you ask us to call it a Plan Approach. It is, indeed, something difficult for us to stomach.

Now, if the Plan Approach lacks credibility, if the people takes it less seriously, it is because the Government is taking it less seriously. In fact, it is the Government which has made the future of the Fifth Plan rather bleak by not attending to the problems of the Fourth Plan. What the Government ought to have done in the given situation was to attend the problems of crisis management. The economy is in the grip of a serious crisis at the present moment. The last two years of the Fourth Plan should have been devoted mostly to the crisis management. But they have not done anything of the kind. So, the shortages plague the economy; the soaring prices plague the economy. The Fourth Plan is indeed, as somebody has remarked, like a cousin in the family who has gone astray and nobody wants to mention his name in the family. Nobody in the Govt. is talking about the Fourth Plan. This is the Government to whom we have entrusted the responsibility of formulating a Plan and implementing a Plan.

The crisis can be managed or tackled if we deal with its root, namely, the impasse or the stalemate in the policies. We go on discussing endlessly growth vs. distribution, the problem of big kulaks vs. small peasants, public sector vs. private

sector. When will this impasse end? When will we make up our mind finally? Unless this impasse ends, there can be no growth. The most indecisive animal in the world is the Central Government. It will never make up its mind about anything. If there is no decisiveness in thought, there can be no decisiveness in action. Therefore, there is complete paralysis of will, thought and action.

What was expected of the Approach to the Fifth Plan was a break-through in the statement of the policies, and that break-through in the stalemate of the policies is not visible anywhere.

At this rate, the way in which they are mismanaging the economy thoroughly to their hearts' content, the Fifth Plan too, even before it is launched, will be a non-event and the obituary notice, as somebody has said, will pre-empt the announcement of its birth.

There are four or five objectives of a conventional nature that have been placed before the country. There is absolutely no newness or freshness about them. One objective is growth in national income at the rate of 5.5 per cent—a very sanctified objective in almost all the Plans. In respect of agriculture, the annual growth rate is of the order of 4.5 per cent or so. In industry, eight to nine per cent, and export is expected to grow at seven per cent.

Before I deal with any other item among these objectives, I would like to detain the House for whole on the export objective. May I say that, if this Government practises so much of hypocrisy and tries to regale the country with statistics which are completely wrong or hollow, then they cannot operate any planning truthfully or meaningfully? They have been telling the country that we have exceeded the plan target in the matter of exports. But that is not so. We have been chalking up a growth rate in exports of not more than five per cent. but they have been claiming figures like 17 per cent, 18 per cent—really, I do not remember—, perhaps 22 per cent. The back-door devaluation of the rupee and the export to Bangladesh to the extent of Rs 150 crores for which we had to make a grant to the same

[Shri Shyamanandan Mishra]

extent and so on—all these have been credited in the matter of exports. But, this Government is not taking the country into confidence about all these things.

So far as the increase in national income at the rate of 5.5 per cent is concerned, I am one of those who think that this is not a high figure. In fact, I would advocate that the country should be in a position to achieve a rate of growth in national income of the order of seven per cent per annum. That is indeed possible, in this country, to achieve. During the course of the last 20 years or so, I have been able to locate eight years during the course of which the rate of growth had been near seven per cent. What we had been able to achieve during the course of those eight years out of 20 years should be possible for us to achieve during the course of the next five years, if you are able to duplicate the same conditions which prevailed during the course of those eight years. And those conditions can be duplicated, can be brought about, if you are able to learn the lessons from the past. There are three or four lessons which should have been learnt from the past.

The first is this. The dependence on agriculture on seasonal conditions is now to the extent of 80 per cent. That has to be reduced. If you are able to reduce it significantly, then you would be able to bring about a much greater growth in national income also.

The second is that the industrial production had been depending much too heavily on the traditional industries which have got a lesser rate of growth. That dependence also has to be reduced.

The third is that we went in for heavy and basic industries which have long gestation period. I do not regret it, but this long gestation was marred by mismanagement. Therefore, the effect of this could not be felt in the stipulated period.

The fourth factor, which we very sadly neglected, was education. Education in this country is an anti-development force;

it is not a development force. Recently when the eminent economist, Prof. Colin Clark, visited this country, he said to us what he heard from an Indian representative at a UNESCO Conference. The Indian representative had said:

"The British gave us an unbalanced system of education; we have made it worse."

If you make education worse, do you require to ask the stars why we are facing such a deplorable situation in this country?

The much-trumpeted objective of this Plan is equality. The hallmark of the approach is that this Plan would be able to bring up the level of the standard of living of the bottom 30 per cent by reducing the consumption standards of the top 30 per cent. Now one really does not know what is the concept of the bottom 30 per cent and of the top 30 per cent. We really knew the bottom 40 per cent and this also seems to have increased considerably. One estimate puts that the bottom 40 per cent would have increased to the extent of 70 per cent due to the recent price rise. The top 30 per cent were those gentlemen—ladies and gentlemen included in this category—who have a consumption standard of Rs. 24 per month and above. It is these who are included in this. So, I really do not know what is the kind of equality which they want to bring about even among those who have got this standard.

What is the present position of consumption? The top 5 per cent enjoy 18 per cent of the national consumption and the bottom 40 per cent enjoy only 20 per cent of the national consumption. So, the consumption of the top 5 per cent is almost equal to the consumption of the bottom 40 per cent. Almost equal, because they enjoy a consumption of 18 per cent and the bottom 40 per cent enjoy a consumption of only 20 per cent. If you include the top 10 per cent, then their consumption standard is 27 per cent. Should we not ask the Planning Minister why in this process of equality—which is

indeed a desirable process and which has to be stepped up—has been not confined his attention only to the top 5 per cent which enjoy a consumption standard equal to the consumption standard of the bottom 10 per cent? But, if that is not desirable, why has he not included the top 10 per cent? Why has he included the top 30 per cent? Frankly I am not able to understand this process of equality.

Lastly a word about 'Garibi Hatao' and self-reliance.....

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: Where is it?

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: If this Government were really serious about their 'Garibi Hatao' programme which was announced in the year of grace,—1969 when Mr. Subramaniam served a notice on 'Garibi' in this country at the Bombay session—"Quit Poverty"—, if the Government were really serious about this programme, then it would have had a 'Garibi Hatao' programme extending over 8-9 years since 1969. After having wasted three years of their valuable time and done absolutely nothing during this period, they want the country to believe that they are going to achieve it in the next five years. Therefore, in this country you find not a 'Garibi Hatao' programme but a 'Garibi Bhulao' programme. The very key-note of the 'Garibi Hatao' programme was placed before this country by Mahatma Gandhi

Prohibition has been dismantled by this Government. So I want to say with all the emphasis at my Command that this Government which dismantles the programme of prohibition is going to bring about much greater poverty and misery in this country.

This Government is also going to capitulate before the Americans during the course of the next two or three months...

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN (Bada-gara): It is your Mr. Nijalingappa who abolished prohibition in Mysore

SHRI PILLOO MODY: Nobody would have that courage on your side.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Let them not talk of self-reliance. What I wish to say is that during the next two or three months this Government is going to capitulate before the Americans because the problem of balance of payments is going to be extremely difficult. They are going to import more food. They will have to import more fertilisers, more steel and more petroleum and at higher prices. They have made a provision of only Rs. 240 crores which would be available to them from foreign aid—only Net Rs. 240 crores. My calculation is that they would require in the place of these Rs. 240 crores, not less than Rs. 3000 crores. So, instead of Rs. 45 crores per year, this Government would require Rs. 500-600 crores per year. That is my calculation.

Let us compare notes after sometime and see what happens. Then it will be seen that what I have said borne out by facts. What they are talking about, namely, self-reliance is a sham and hypocrisy. All in all, this approach to the Fifth Plan is truly not of much use.

SHRI KARTIK ORAON (Lohardaga): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the very first Chapter in regard to the Approach to the Plan has directed itself to certain basic objectives. These basic objectives are:

"Removal of poverty and attainment of economic self-reliance—these are the two major tasks which the country has set out to accomplish."

We have had four plan periods. Even in the First Plan the central objective of Planning has been to initiate "a process of development which would raise the living standards of the people and open out to them new opportunities for a richer and more varied life". Obviously the economy has strengthened over the years, but it has not gone to the people as a whole, it has not been able to create confidence in them. The purpose of planning should be to proceed ahead, a step forward, and at the same time it should give us promise of better days ahead. That is what the purpose of planning is and should be.

[Shri Kartik Orson]

What we find is that in regard to various programmes of development, our people still live below the poverty-line, they are underemployed and unemployed. The thinking today is naturally directed towards making a new approach to planning and bring it into focus with programmes of development which will immediately help the large masses of our people who as a consequence of unemployment and underemployment are below the poverty line. According to Mr Dandekar the people who do not consume enough food to satisfy the minimum nutrition requirement of 2250 calories per day are assumed to be below the poverty line. I belong to a community who even today even after two decades of planning, are living on the barks and leaves of trees let us think about them. Let us know what Planning has given to them. They say that 50 per cent of people live below poverty line. I say, below, below, below that. It is a very serious problem. What is the idea of Planning? We should see that Planning generates some interest in the masses. People expect, with new planning something new would emerge. If this expectation is not fulfilled, we are not going to solve the problem at all. Planning is a basic instrument of social change but mere change in approach alone is not enough, that will not produce the desired result unless it is adequately supported by constructive and practical measures. The need for a timebound programme cannot be over-emphasised.

Our Prime Minister has been stressing time and again immediately after the heavy massive mandate that she received from the people in the mid-term poll of 1971 and 1972 as follows: I quote:

"We do not have all the time in the world. We must make a dent in the next three years, or four, at the very most."

Where are we now? What does the Fifth Plan stand for? This Fifth Plan is for a period upto 1979. We must find

out what are the priorities that should be given. So far as we are concerned, we do not want a five year plan as such. We want a sub-plan for two years. But, we must give priority to the items like powers, irrigation and agriculture. We want quick results. You start talking of linking the Ganges water with the Cauveri water. Ganges flow right by the side of Sahibganj and Rajmahal which are most backward areas in our country. What have you done during the last twenty years? What the people of this region want is proper development in the matter of irrigation, power and agriculture. Power development, as you know, is necessarily to proceed ahead of expansion in all sectors. It will only then that we shall be able to do something to fulfil the ambitions of our people. The point I wish to make is that we have to divert a large part of our resources to the items under the heading 'Irrigation, Power and Agriculture'. We should try to do something in this regard within a couple of years. The people cannot afford to wait for five years. We cannot go on waiting for an indefinite period in terms of Five Year Plans. My suggestion is that our planning should be made in such a manner that we should not wait for an indefinite period for the development in all spheres. I do not know how far Shri Dhar would be able to see as to what extent he could implement the constitutional provisions made for the welfare of scheduled tribes. I understand—I do not know whether I am correct or not; I may be wrong perhaps;—that he has issued a directive to all the Chief Ministers of the States that they must prepare one sub-Plan for the development of tribals and the development of tribal areas. I think this is a step in the right direction. He has strained his nerve to find out how best he could help them. He deserves congratulations.

I would like to invite the attention of this House to Article 275(1) which says:—

"Such sums as Parliament may, by law, provide, shall be charged on the Consolidated Fund of India in each year as grants-in-aid of the revenues of such States as Parliament may determine to

be in need of assistance, and different sums may be fixed for different States:"

Why is it so? It further says:

"Provided that there shall be paid out of the Consolidated Fund of India as grants-in-aid of the revenues of a State such capital and recurring sums as may be necessary to enable that State to meet the costs of such schemes of development as may be undertaken by the State with the approval of the Government of India for the purpose of promoting the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in that State or raising the level of administration of the Scheduled Areas therein to that of the administration of the rest of the areas of that State."

That means that Parliament has no authority. They cannot question; it is not for them to consult Parliament. But, the States and the Central Government are supposed to have made such arrangements by which they can get financial assistance from the Central Government for the development of tribal areas. What have you done for these people during the last twenty-five years? They have been wanting these constitutional provisions for the scheduled tribes. What have they done for them? I would like to quote, as a matter of clarification, what Shri H. M. Patel has said in his letter dated 16th/17th October, 1956 when he was Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Finance, to the Secretary, Finance Commission, New Delhi. He says:

"The duty of the Commission to make recommendations to the President is in respect of grants-in-aid as to which Parliament can make a law under clause (1) of Article 275. It is a cardinal rule of interpretation that a proviso to a particular provision of a statute carves out an exception to the main provision to which it has been enacted as a proviso. The effect of provisos to clause 1 is thus to carve out an exception to that clause by taking away the power conferred on Parliament under its substantive part so far as grants-in-aid covered by the said provisos are concerned. As the payment

of such grants is made obligatory by the Constitution itself...".

When we come and ask why we are not being given these grants-in-aid, we are told that it is because of financial stringency, this, that and the other. In this way, they have been taking away what we are entitled to in the Constitution. Today, we are paying bonus even without there being a profit, and we are paying dearness allowance, salaries and we are providing air-conditioners. In fact, the times demand not air-conditioners, but life-conditioners for millions of people in our country. So, from that point of view, it is very necessary that provision ought to have been made for the tribals in this regard, but I am sorry to say that even the Constitutional provision has been flouted in this regard.

Again, in the First Plan, they had made a provision of 0.85 per cent of the total outlay of the Plan for Scheduled Castes and tribal welfare. But now it has come down right up to 0.25 per cent. I do not know why. Actually, it should have gone up, and they ought to have allocated more money for the tribals, but it has come down to 0.25 per cent of the total outlay. I request that in all fairness to the tribals of India and the backward communities in India, they should make the provision at least 1 per cent. It should be a minimum of one per cent of the total capital outlay and that would work out to Rs. 520 crores for five years. We had committed an offence against these people for the last 20 years, and we had been playing with the lives of these people, probably under the belief that these people do not know the Constitution, and therefore, one could do whatever one likes. Therefore, I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to this aspect.

SHRI B. V. NAIK (Kanara): It should be 5 per cent because the tribals constitute five per cent of the population.

SHRI KARTIK ORAON: Another problem is that of land alienation. This question has not been properly sorted out

(Shri Kartik Oraon.)

during the last twenty-five years. After Independence, we have actually lost more land rather than gained. That is the only benefit that we have gained after these 25 years of Independence. The problem of alienation of tribal lands has assumed very serious proportions. The lands of the tribals are being transferred to non-tribals, in flagrant violation of the rules that no such transfer of tribal lands to non-tribal lands can take place without the previous permission of the deputy commissioner. But now the tribal lands are lying mostly with the non-tribals. So, they cannot have the crops and therefore they have no means of living. They are not educated and therefore they cannot get jobs. Their lands are taken away and they are suffering. Government have utterly failed and they have done nothing in this regard. Another point that I would like to point out is that when the crops in their lands are damaged either by floods or by drought etc. Government pay compensation for the damages suffered. But what about the tribals who have lost their lands? Their means of producing the crop have gone away from them because their lands have been alienated. Therefore, they cannot get any compensation. Therefore, I would request the hon. Minister to see that there is some provision made for the restoration of their lands to the tribals once again. We have made request after request in this regard, but nothing is being done. The officers are doing nothing in this regard, and even the Chief Ministers are sleeping and doing nothing. We say that it is the responsibility of the Centre to solve this problem. When we raise it here, we are told that it is the responsibility of the State Government, but when we raise it with the State Government they say that it is the Centre's responsibility. Thus, the tribals are tossed like a shuttlecock between the Centre and the State Government. Government should make some arrangement for the restoration of the lands back to the tribals so that they could get some compensation for the crops damaged. I would suggest that the hon. Minister must make provision for a land mortgage bank in the States so that there could be restoration of lands to the tribals

again. In our tribal areas, only 2 per cent of cultivable lands have been brought under irrigation, even after 20 years of planning. This shows that nothing has been done for improving cultivation in the tribal areas. In this connection, I would like to read out one quotation.

The first sentence in Grotian's imperishable work runs as follows—it deals with what is justice:

"Justice is the constant and perpetual wish to render to every man his due."

Then it says:

"If a man owes a debt and God has flooded his field or the harvest has been destroyed or the corn has not grown through lack of water, then in that year he shall not pay corn to his creditor. He shall dip his tablet in water and the interest of that year he shall not pay."

Therefore, when today we the tribals in India have responded to the call of our Prime Minister and given her a massive mandate—almost all the tribals are under the banner of the Prime Minister—it is our duty, it is the duty of Members of Parliament, to respect, regard and heed the demands of these people. It is the will of the people which will decide the future of this country the future of the poorest people in our country. With these words I once again request the hon. Minister to pay special attention to this mute population of India.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Muvattupuzha): I shall try to examine and evaluate the Plan from three points of view, one the goal of the plan, two the strategy of the Plan three, the instrumentation of the mechanism for the implementation of the Plan. Regarding the goal, the Plan has set forth a goal which is different from the goals that have been set forth in the previous plans. Very specifically, the Plan has set forth as goals the removal of poverty and consolidation of self-reliance. Although in the previous plans big statements were made that inequalities must be removed, it is for the first time that I could remember that the concept of po-

verty and the removal of poverty is given a definite definition, a very clear dimension. Specifically, the Plan says what exactly it means by the removal of poverty. It says that the aim is to raise the lowest 30 per cent of the population from a consumption level per capita of Rs. 26 to Rs. 38 which is above what is stated as the poverty level based on 1971-72 prices. This very clear definition and shift in the emphasis of the Plan is a new thing.

So far we had been told that the goal must be a growth in the national income. It was assumed that the growth in national income would result in abridgement of the inequalities. Now growth in the national income is not the main thing, but becomes an ingredient in the strategy in the battle for the removal of poverty. Repeatedly, almost in every page of the plan document, we find this emphasis, and for, transferring to the plan document this national mandate I must compliment the Planning Commission. They have shown an awareness of the mandate the people have given Government.

With respect to self-reliance also the emphasis again is on removal of inequalities because the document says that even for the purpose of consolidation of self-reliance, inequality has got to be removed. It is a mutually reinforcing process. I am repeating this to emphasise that there is something new in this Plan, namely, the emphasis with respect to the goal.

Coming to the strategy, what exactly is the strategy of the Plan that you have in view? The strategy is, according to the Plan, to bring down the consumption level of the highest and bring up the consumption level of the lowest, and for doing this, certain modalities are prescribed. Pausing for a moment, I am also confused with your definition of the richer section. You put 30 per cent in the richest bracket. You have mentioned that the average must be Rs. 84 and whoever has not an average consumption of Rs. 84, comes in the richest bracket. If the average must be 84, it is very clear that there would be a very large section which is consuming less than Rs. 84. Otherwise, it cannot be

an average. This highest 30 per cent will include the Tatas, the Birlas and the multi-millionaires of this country also. Therefore, if it is to be 84, the Plan is absolutely silent as to what exactly is the consumption level of the lowest bracket *vis a vis* the richest 30 per cent. If you say that the consumption level, which would on an average bring it up to Rs. 80, will reach the rich consumption level, then, is it really the richest consumption level? Where exactly is the margin, and what exactly was your calculation? What is your lowest consumption level? We are not concerned about the average. What exactly is the lowest consumption level? And for bringing that up, I am not very clear about your strategy.

You say that the strategy is to give incentives to them to invest goods. But with respect to that there is nothing specific except a pious wish. I suppose that in a plan document, it is not merely a pious sentiment that is expected but we have got to spell out for the guidance of the different Ministries what exactly are the specific incentives we have got in mind and how exactly the Finance Ministry or whatever Ministry is concerned with it, is to proceed. Absolutely nothing is forthcoming.

You have mentioned incentives, for investing; incentive for saving; incentive for investing in non-corporate enterprises. The second thing is, non-availability of luxury goods. It is a highly laudable statement. I must certainly congratulate the Commission for highlighting this. In different paragraphs and in different contexts, this Plan document is emphasising as a corner-stone and as a key-matter in the entire planning frame, that luxury goods must become unavailable in this country. I entirely compliment them on it. But again, I ask you, is the Planning Commission satisfied by making that statement? What is your concept of luxury goods? You know what goods are available here; which of them are luxury goods? For instance, is TV a luxury good? Is photography a luxury good? Or, is a motor-car a luxury good? What exactly are the luxury goods? May I also

[Shri C. M. Stephen].

ask, do the goods only constitute luxury items?

Take, for example, cabaret dance; is it or is it not a luxury matter? Five-star hotels—is it or is it not a luxury matter? Is it only the corporate things or things wherein you enjoy the perquisites, luxury matters? Are not things which the common man cannot possibly have and which are in contradiction and contradictory to the culture of this country, also luxury matters? For instance, a particular person having three or four or five guest-houses in different parts of the country enjoys himself and shifts from place to place; is it or is it not a matter of luxury? One shifts his family to Simla and they stay in his own house there, or one flies to Kodaikanal for staying in his own house there. Does it not become a luxury affair? If it does, then how can you limit yourself by mentioning that luxury goods must not become available. So, about the essence of the whole Plan, there, the Planning Commission is absolutely vague. What exactly are the luxury goods that are going to be banned in this country? Nothing specific is forthcoming.

It is for the Industries Ministry to decide what exactly to be given and what not to be given. That should not have been the approach to the whole plan. I want to emphasise this particular aspect of the whole thing. This luxury matter has got to be completely limited. By your standard of Rs. 84 per head it comes to Rs. 420 for a family of five persons. Rs. 130 is the average you have struck then it comes to Rs. 560 per family. That is all that this country can afford. If Rs. 560 is the only consumption limit that under the conditions prevailing in the country a family can afford then, are you or are you not prepared to say you may have any income and any salary but anything beyond Rs. 565 will be taken away and put in savings. Can you say that with respect to Members of Parliament, with respect to Ministers of this country or with respect to the officers of this country? If you expect a person to spend only Rs. 565 where should we start from. See the

picture of Mahatma Gandhi going to Harijans. He took away his dress; he put on the dress of the common man, he identified himself with the common man and went to the bungi colony and he said; I shall identify myself completely with the common man and inspire the common man. If this country is passing through a period of difficulty, the beginning must be with us. Rs. 565 must be the consumption. Let us start it from here. There must be some mechanism, pious wishes will not take us anywhere at all.

There mechanisms are contemplated. One is the national minimum that is guaranteed to the people, namely, education, housing and drinking water. This is the promise which the Congress Party had given to people in Bhubaneswar. Years have gone by. We are now seriously at it. Certain amounts have been allotted. But the relevant proportions in this allotment are the same as they were in the previous plans. The percentage of allocation for housing, the percentage of allocation for drinking water etc. remained the same as in the previous years. Nothing more. The amounts are higher; may be your evaluation is correct. Let it be so.

Coming to the employment, very correctly you have said that if a person's living standard has got to be raised the only answer is employment. Otherwise you just cannot distribute. What exactly is the strategy for employment? Here again I find certain difficulty in understanding. You have divided this into: Wage earning employment and self-employment. For their wage earning employment there are certain sectors. The first solution is that when development takes place proportionately employment also increase. A certain percentage is stated. That is all right. Coming to technical personnel employment is possible. Thirdly you say employment will become available in the agricultural sectors through extension. On this I should like to get some clarifications. 85 per cent of the entire arable land in the country, as was stated in the fourth plan is under plough. Nothing more is possible,

You have of course stated that by agricultural operation you could bring in some acres of land. I do not know from where. If the cultivated land remained what it was, by intensive cultivation and by putting in more fertiliser the yield may raise. I do not know how by that process employment can increase. Employment can increase only if there is extensive cultivation. Extensive cultivation is limited. From the limited extensive cultivation much additional employment cannot possibly come. You can by your new innovations and all that, made a cultivator richer and his life more pleasant and more livable. Additional employment may not be available from the agricultural sector except from small irrigation large irrigation and public sector works.

You have laid considerable emphasis on construction because of its employment potential. Correct, but the allocation for construction is just Rs. 100 crores out of Rs. 51,000 crores. Then according to para 7 in page 4, in the terminal year the additional wage employment that will be created will be less than the new entrants into the employment field and the backlog of unemployment will still remain. Your solution is self-employment. Correct but for that we rely on the agricultural sector because two-thirds of the entire population is in the agricultural sector. So, self-employment must arise there. You say rightly that land reforms must be implemented for that purpose, so that those persons who are employed there may have the wherewithal to carry on. You also lay emphasis on handicrafts, villages industries, animal husbandry etc. You are going back to the Gandhian philosophy, quite correctly. We have forgotten him so far and it is time we remind ourselves about him. But then, Gandhiji said, machinery must enter only to augment production and not to displace human labour. But we find that machinery has entered to displace human labour. You want soap. Is it necessary that Tatas should be allowed to make fragrant soap? The common man can use the common type of soap. Why not limit soap industry to the villages? In large areas where human labour can produce what this country

needs, there machinery has been allowed to come in, with the result that millions of persons are remaining unemployed as a heavy load on the shoulder of the nation. The huge human resources which can be a gold mine remain untapped, sitting as a parasite on the shoulders of the small producing section in this country.

Your strategy is in regard to the distributive system. I do compliment you for emphasising this. Nobody has got the right to appropriate what the society is producing. Money is given by the banks. Resources are given by this country and labour is given by the worker. The product is a social product and that is for society. Nobody has the right to appropriate it. It is not in the producing area that socialisation must necessarily take place. What is more, it is in the distributive area that socialisation must take place. Whoever may produce, society must get a hold on it and distribute it. The common man must be assured of the elementary necessities of life to exist. I do not say you have to achieve it by tomorrow or the day after. This is not a matter for hustling. Things must be permitted to proceed. Wheat whole-sale trade has been taken over and certain difficulties have been encountered.

17.00 hrs.

The position has got to be assimilated and the machinery has to be evolved. Any attempt by anybody to hustle through this matter should not be allowed. The emphasis must be on the distributive system. At least the commanding heights of the distributive system must be with the public sector; if not necessarily the monopoly, the commanding position must be with the government. I do compliment them for emphasising these things.

Now what are the king-pins of the Plan we have before us? The first is nationwide land reforms. The Plan contemplates that it should be achieved before December 1973. Secondly, the Plan wants the slashing down of the luxurious spending and reducing the avenues of spending. Thirdly, there should be encouragement of

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labour-intensive industries. Fourthly, there should be expansion of village and small scale industries. Then there should be restructuring of the administrative framework and strengthening of the public distribution system. These are the king-pins stated here.

Are we sure that these king-pins can be achieved? The results are subject to so many "ifs" and "buts". If there is land reform, if the public distribution system can be made available, if the production of luxury goods can be curbed, if labour-intensive technology is accepted in preference to others, if expansion of small and village industries is allowed, if all these things are there then the Plan will succeed. If these things are not there the strategy of the Plan is such that the growth will be stunted. Therefore, it is not enough that we state it. According to me we have to identify the enemies of planning and we have to start attacking them. Whoever is against land reforms or a public distributive system is an enemy of the plan. Whoever is in favour of luxurious spending is a criminal and an enemy of the plan. If any Minister is issuing a licence against the strategy of the Plan, he is No. 1 enemy of the plan. The enemies must be identified. The process must start with the identification of the enemies of the plan. That alone will give you the proper background for getting the plan through. From the Ministry presided over by my dynamic friend Shri Mohan Dharja I would expect proposals for restructuring the administrative machinery.

You say that the workers must co-operate and sacrifice. For whom is the production? Unless you are able to assure that production is for the country and the common people, the co-operation of the people will remain a far cry. Unless you assure the worker that it is for his benefit, his co-operation may not be forthcoming. Why not make the worker a participant in the process of production? Now whether it is the public sector or the private sector, he gets only his wage and the fruits of production are taken away.

His wages are low even when the prices are moving up; even when the prices of raw materials are low, the prices of finished products are moving up. Who is moving it up? The middle agency moves it up. This country has got a right on that. Therefore, unless two things are ensured, firstly the participation of the producing element, the worker, no emotional identification by him will be possible because he will still be feeling, in spite of change in the political structure, that he is working for wages only and not by himself and identification will not be possible and, secondly, the socially produced goods must become the property of the society.

Here, I am reminded of the saying of Mahatma Gandhi who said, "I am a socialist who believes that any product which is produced by more than two men and by hard labour must remain the property of the society." That was the philosophy Mahatma Gandhi spelt out. The human labour is a sacred thing. Let not any machinery displace the human labour. These fundamentals have been violated by us and we stand in a particular crisis.

Let us go back to the fundamental philosophy, name the enemy, start the battle against the enemy and come to a cohesive arrangement with different Ministries. You put it before them "Are you accepting it or not?" If not, tell it to the people. And let us proceed with another Plan. Without this coordination, the Plan will result in another disillusionment.

May I say that this Plan will not result in disillusionment because the Plan as such has before it a very clearly conceived, a very clearly spelt out, a very clearly analysed, strategy. Unless this strategy is accepted by the whole country and the different Ministries, it will not succeed. Let the Planning Ministry have some more decisive deliberations of the matter in evolving a policy which is agreed to by different Ministries.

With these words, I support the strategy spelt out in the Plan. All I am asking is the implementation of it. The implementa-

tation has got to be by the people from top to the bottom, from the top to begin with and to reach the bottom later.

I have done and I resume my seat.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am one of the enemies of the Plan. After listening to the debate, I am convinced that this Plan has more enemies than friends.

It has been such an unreal debate that in many ways it reflects a sort of mind of the people involved in passing judgment on a process with which they are totally alien. Planning takes place somewhere in India and still we do not know where. I have not seen the inner sanctum sanctorum of the Plans in this country. If I have not seen that, I certainly do not imagine that many people in this House, not to speak of 60 crores of people outside, could have seen this planning process. Therefore, what has been said that there is a total lack of identification of the people with the planning process in this country is perhaps a very true thing.

I have been listening of late, not only to this debate, and I really wonder why such a debate should take place. What are the rules and norms which govern the sort of debate that should take place. We find that the debate is taking place with some of us over here trying to analyse what the Plan has been and some of them over there. About 60 of them are going to speak on the Plan. Each one of them has been given 5—7 minutes and most of them steal many more minutes. I find that even the debate to a very large extent represents what the Plan is.

It is a series of disjointed thoughts collected together and worded out by a super draftsman. I can just see Mr. Dhar giving final touches, the polish, the erudite phraseology, the articulate structure that this thing has. But, as my hon. friend, Shri Shyamnandan Mishra, mentioned a little while ago, the Plan in a very real sense is worse than a monster. The reason why it is worse than a monster is because

the monster has no past. But he still has the hope of future. This Plan has neither a past nor a future; it is a document in isolation which is likely to remain in suspended animation like the Assemblies of Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh. What has been said really when I hear some of the quotations that have been picked out from history, culture and mythology? People just love to quote Gandhi all the time and they try to justify that all the crimes they are committing in the name of Plan had something to do with what Mahatma Gandhi had in mind about how this country should develop. I think, this is just a little too much.

There was one member here—I do not see him—who said that the Plan should proceed on the basis of what Mahatma Gandhi and Vinobha Bhave advocated. Unfortunately there was a slight difference of accent. This Plan is very much a Gandhi Plan and not a Vinobha Plan but a Gandhi Plan and a baba Plan which proceeds very much on the basis of a new phraseology, a new philosophy known as Maruti socialism. If you find anything in the Plan which is typical, which is really a description of the planning process in India today, it can only be described as 'Maruti socialism'. Of course, I have always believed that all forms of socialism are bad—the Kossygin and Brezhnev variety, the Indrajit Gupta variety, the Dange and S. M. Banerjee variety, the D. P. Dhar and Mohan Dharis variety, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Sanjay variety. Therefore, there is no reason why I should applaud the Maruti socialism at all. All forms of socialism are bad. Socialism, quite frankly, is a crooked way to a promised prosperity in the distant future. I do not know of any socialist country where you can describe prosperity. You and I know it, Sir, we would not consult the others. There are five things that are common to all socialist countries without exception I think, I said this earlier on also and the professor, I hope, has learnt them by now. They are high taxes, high prices, shortages and queues for everything black markets and the brain drain. Therefore, we have socialism; It makes no difference whether it is Kossygin socialism

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or Maruti socialism, mamma and baba socialism, or Gandhi and Vinobha socialism. We have the fruits of socialism in ample evidence in this country.

Now I am going to describe in a kindergarten fashion what the planning process in this country should be, not the high phraseology of the plan document, not the high phraseology of many of the speeches that are made, but in terms of the common things that the people of India are very sorely in need of, things that we should be thinking about, not the parameters of planning, how the upper 30 per cent should be lobbied up to the bottom 30 per cent, who constitute the upper 30 per cent, and who constitute the lower 30 per cent. In any plan, certain basic needs are to be fulfilled, and if I may spell them out, it is the first lesson of an economics book....

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): Why don't you give a rhyme for a kindergarten book?

SHRI PILOO MODY: I might. I want that, ultimately, you should digest it.

It is food, clothing, shelter, education, medical care and public transport. This is all that we have to deal with and I would hope that for the next 20 years in this country the planners, the pseudo-planners, the Bengali planners, and the non-Bengali planners, all of them would forget everything else and concentrate on these.

Now, let us see what the position of food has been. After all this is more basic than all your philosophy. And the position of food has been that in the last few years—I am now talking about the era of Maruti socialism—in the last eight years the position of food has been that the consumption—ultimately food is related to the intake of a man....

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA (Serampore): Not like you.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Not like me, but like you. Therefore, to improve such miserable specimens, it is necessary that

the intake of food be stepped up. Now, what has happened in this era of Maruti socialism? The foodgrains intake, that is, the consumption has gone down by 11 per cent. The pulses consumption has gone down by 24 per cent. So, you find that whether it is *dhal* or whether it is *roti*, the people of India are today per capita eating 11 per cent and 24 per cent less respectively....

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Patan): But liquor consumption has increased!

SHRI PILOO MODY: Don't import something extraneous into the debate.

Long live the Scotch whiskey. I would be very happy if every man in this country would have a drink because it would give him the requisite calories which he would not get from his *roti* and *dhal*.

Take the edible oils. What happened here? The consumption has gone down by 25 per cent. What about sugar? 17 per cent down. Last year, we passed what we call the century in the import of foodgrains. India has now really the distinction of having imported 100 million tonnes of foodgrains by the end of 1972. The cost of 100 million tonnes of foodgrains—most of it came free—was Rs. 5,000 crores. You know what we could have done with Rs. 5,000 crores to the rural areas in this country? We could have 40 fertiliser factories. We could have supplied drinking water to everyone of these 1,52,324 villages in this country which do not have even a glass of water to drink after twenty-six years of Independence. A nation which manufactures locomotives and aeroplanes and what not, but cannot provide drinking water to 1,52,324 villages in the country. I get this monthly account from the Ministry year after year as to what is the number of villages without drinking water. With this amount we could have augmented our food production at least by another 50 million tonnes. Instead of that, we gave it away to the transport companies. We gave it away to the American farmers, the Canadian farmers, the Australian farmers. We are prepared to give everything to everybody but

not to our own farmers because we have created in this country a society in which you hate Indians. You hate Indians because you hate success. You hate anything that leads to success. The only value in your society is the value of being poor. So, if you are ignorant, then everybody will come and embrace you. This is the value and ethos of your society.

What do you expect? 60 crores of people, getting up every morning tired, dejected, frustrated, you want them to go out and build the nation? You see the condition of the College students. They come out of the college wandering all the time what their future will be and whether they will get jobs or not. Whether he be a nuclear scientist or biologist or a photographer, all end up ultimately as Bank *babus* getting a job from a bank and trying to hang on to it, to the best of their ability.

This is the sort of society you have planned and produced. You talk about planning? You talk about unemployment? What is your performance? The Second Five Year Plan advertises that at the end of the Second Five Year Plan there would be nine million unemployed. What did the Third Plan advertise? That by the end of the Third Plan there would be 12 million unemployed. Who the hell you are planning for? Are you planning for human-beings, guinea pigs, dogs, animals, birds, or really Congressmen? The Second Plan did not succeed. It was a total flop. So, in spite of having targeted 12 million unemployed, you have 15 million. Today, you have 3½ crores of people unemployed, by your own statistics. If you go into the truth, it will be much larger.

Whom the hell are you planning for? I heard Mr. Stephen say just now that at the end of the fifth year of the Fifth Plan—this fictitious thing, Fifth Plan,—we will just have overcome the inflow into the unemployment market by the provision of jobs. What ridiculous non-sense it is! There is no hope of ever achieving that. Therefore, I say, if in the document you have said, this year we have nine millions unemployed, next year we will have 8 3/4

unemployed, I would have said, it is slow, it is sluggish, but it is a certain step in the right direction and I would have supported your planning. But when planning advertises saying that unemployment will go on increasing, from plan to plan, I think the time has come to ask certain pertinent questions.

I want to know from the Minister after how many Five-year Plans everybody in India will be unemployed.

Now, what about clothing? The per capita consumption of clothing has gone down by 11 per cent. Are you aware of that? Do I see any less material on you than you are used to in the past? I know that the material I wear will go on increasing but at least on you it should stop. I am not involved in the planning process as you are. So, as far as clothing is concerned, the per capita consumption of cloth is going down.

What about shelter, that is, housing? Housing is almost unheard of in this country. The only housing that has been done in this country is by speculators. I would pin the Padma Bhushan on all of them although I dislike their black-marketing, their cheating, I dislike their speculation. But one thing we should say that, but for the speculators who built these buildings in Bombay, Calcutta and other urban areas the people would have been stranded on the streets. Government could not provide these housing facilities. But they had the energy, the virility the vitality and the potentiality to build these things. These people should have been harnessed by the Government to build good houses, social houses, houses with a social conscience, if I were to use your own phraseology. In spite of the laws and the tax structure and various difficulties, they have done that. What have you done? You cannot even compare yourself with these speculators. You are worse than that.

Then, what about Education? We all know, Educational standards have dropped. We find education which is socially unrelated to the needs of the country, to the needs of development, even of the sciences

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and technology that we already possess in our country, not to speak of the science and technology which exist in the West and which the Soviet Union is buying from the USA right now. Only a few years ago there were only 20 crores of illiterates. Today there are 35 crores of illiterates. And therefore, I would like to ask the Planning Minister. How long will it take before the whole country becomes illiterate?

You talk about medical care. The only major step that has been taken in the realm of medicines in this country has been the D.D.T. It was invented somewhere and was imported and indiscriminately spread all over the place, increasing the longevity of people, saving millions from dying from malaria, including many over here, and I don't think they will get malaria any more. But nevertheless this is the only significant health measure that has been taken, because, if you just look at the figures, about the further allocation made in this behalf, you will find, it is woefully inadequate.

Now, as for Public Transport, we have not even heard of this thing I do not know of any significant scheme for Public Transport in this country.

Nobody can imagine a society wanting to grow by talking in terms of an outlay of Rs. 51,000 crores in a Plan. They have not heard of what a public transport is. They have been fiddling about the underground railways in Calcutta, God knows for how many years more it will take? There are some urban areas which require some sort of public transport. What is happening here? You would have heard of DESU, DUSU, and what not which are occasionally burnt by the students because, that is all, one can do with that junk that masquerades under the name of public transport. And in this respect, I shall say with some pride about Bombay, Bombay is one city in the whole of India which has some concept of public transport. My Keralaite friend just now said that it might be true with regard to Madras also.

Now I come to the question of poverty. After all, we have to work within the spheres of plan activities. Now let us see the end-results of what you had been doing. In the year 1966 when Shrimati Indira Gandhi of *garibi hatao* fame came to power, two out of four Indians were below the poverty line. This was the position under her *garibi hatao* programme. Now she talks about higher prices and so on. Talking about poverty, eradication of the same is not a difficult matter. It may be a total secret to those who are advocating the *garibi hatao*. But, if you shed the slogan of '*garibi hatao*' then poverty can be eliminated. By distribution of wealth I say you will only distribute poverty. You may ask any student who is 15 years old. He will tell you that distribution of wealth will not eradicate poverty. There are some simple methods for eradicating poverty. You can, for instance, distribute the work that will eradicate poverty; for instance, you can make use of science and technology which will eradicate poverty. In fact, poverty can be eradicated by making a man productive. I do not know of any other method by which poverty can be eradicated. I shall give you one example. I shall explain it to many of these people who have not yet grasped it. That is this. If a man is given a *phaura* he can dig up 100 cubic feet of earth; if you can give him a tool and just enough knowledge and understanding to be able to maintain and utilise that tool, by virtue of it, he can double the daily wage from Rs 4 to 8. This is the direction in which poverty can be eliminated. If you were to look over the population in a demographic movement in the world over, you will come to this conclusion. Take for instance U.S.A. In 1900, a majority was involved in agriculture labour; in 1940, a majority of them was involved in the industrial labour; but, by 1960, a single largest group was involved in management and service. But, by 1980, they will form a majority of the population of the USA. Here you have an example which was not created through Five Year Plan. This is a country which is lifting itself up with its boot

straps increasing the levels of productivity of its population as it goes up to a scale of prosperity and higher standards of living. Has it been done here? This is a simple method by which poverty can be eradicated—not through a Plan.

Here we only hear the speeches of the Minister. Look at the way by which this massive document is produced. There is not a single line in this document by which poverty could be eliminated. This document speaks about '*garibi hatao*'. What is the credibility of this Government? That does not even grasp the simple concept of how to build a nation. They have demonstrated how they can ruin a nation. Let me give them one little inkling on how a nation can be built. You can only build a nation on human aspiration.

AN HON. MEMBER: By reading *The March of the Nation*.

SHRI PILOO MODY: If people would have it that way, then I would say that you cannot build a nation unless you read *The March of the Nation*. How do you build a nation? You build a nation by building human aspiration, not by destroying the hopes of men but by building human aspirations. You want people to bounce out, you want people to go out and conquer the whole world. You want people to think that there are no ceilings on their capacity to grow, except those imposed by their own capability and their desire and energy for work. This is the sort of attitude that you have to engender in the people.

It is human aspirations that have built these societies, not planning processes. The word '*planning*' belongs to people who have ideas, courage and the energy to back them up, not to people who higgie-haggle with statistics and go on saying that for three more years, let us take something from here and put it there. This is not how nations are built.

How have the great nations of the world been built up? They have been built up purely by human aspirations. I shall tell you the most patent example, and that

is France. France was the sickest country in Europe. Nothing in France ever worked. The economy was dead, the people were dead, and even the population was going down. The administrative services did not function. The only thing that ever moved was the government, and the government changed every two weeks or three weeks. This was how France worked till De Gaulle came along. De Gaulle said 'Don't be silly. You are not just a bunch of French people, but you are French people *de grande*'. Then, he produces a fire cracker and bursts it in the Sahara desert, and immediately every Frenchman walks on six feet of air and his *chhati* goes up, and everyone then says that the French economy shoots up, and everybody starts talking about the French miracle, making it the most spectacular miracle in recent history, more spectacular than the German or Italian or the Spanish or the Japanese miracle. How did it happen? The arrangement was the same, it took place with the same administrative services, the same judiciary, the same economy and the same resources, and everything the same. It was just that pride that de Gaulle gave to Frenchmen in being Frenchmen.

So, it is human aspirations that will build up society, not these niggardly planning processes that you have accepted. Ultimately, you have problems of unemployment, the problems of price-rise, the problems of education and the problems of poverty. All this requires bold thinking and not the niggardly approach that I have been hearing over here. What my hon. friend Shri Stephen who has studied his documents very well would say is that this document is based on a bunch of 'ifs'. But even if it was a bunch of 'Buts' it would not have made any difference. You can implement all your 'ifs' but it will not make any difference, unless you can make human beings in India think that they have a stake in this country, that they have a future in this country and that this country appreciates honesty, hard work and prudence and detests very much crookedness, corruption etc. Unless you create those values for your society, you

[Shri Piloo Mody]

can go on planning, spending monumental sums of money on your Yojanas and Yojana Bhavans or whatever it be, but it is not going to yield any results. Therefore, I suggest that you can go on with this exercise; after all, it will be very difficult for you to swallow the sins of 25 years; you can go on with that exercise, but let it be what it is today, an illusory plan for an illusory purpose; but move forward with the economy by creating hope in the people of India.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN: An illusory Opposition leader like Shri Piloo Mody.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I think we have not heard any lady Member up till now. So, I shall now call upon Shrimati Savitri Shyam to speak. Let us hear the lady's point of view.

जीवती सावित्री श्याम (भाबला) :
सभापति महोदय, सबसे पहले तो मैं आपको
हादिक धन्यवाद देना चाहती हूँ—आपने
मुझे इस मौके पर बोलने का अवसर दिया।

पाँचवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना का एप्रोच पेपर
हमारे सामने है, उस पर दृष्टि डालने से हमें
आभास होता है कि श्री डी० पी० घर जी और
श्री छारिया जी ने इसमें वास्तविकता लाने
का प्रयास किया है। पिछली योजनाओं
में हमने कुछ गलतियाँ की हैं, उन गलतियों से
अब हमें लाभ उठाना है। लेकिन मैं यह
मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ—जैसा कि
मोदी जी ने अपने भाषण में कहा कि योजनाओं
से कुछ नहीं बना, पिछले 20 वर्ष बेकार गये।
इन योजनाओं के डारा हमारे देश की मजल
बदली है, हमारे देश के लोगों के अन्दर जान
आई है और बहुत नई बातों में हम आत्म-
निर्भर हुये हैं।

17.35 hrs.

[SHRI K. N. TIWARY in the Chair]

पिछले साल वर्ल्ड बैंक के अध्ययन ने कहा
था कि जिनमें बढ़ने वाले देश हैं, उन्हेलपित

कमर्शियल हैं, उन सबमें हिन्दुस्तान ने बड़ी
तेजी से तरक्की की है—इसलिये सच्चाई
से धाँधे बन्ध कर धी धाँधे, तो उसके लिये
कुछ नहीं कहा जा सकता। हाँ इतना अक्षर
हो सकता है कि योजनाओं से बहुत हम
हैं, तरक्की हुई है, उसमें असमानतायें, डिस्-
रिटीज भी बहुत पैदा हुई हैं। आज किन्हीं
के हर खेत में, हर पहाड़ में हमें बड़े असमानतायें,
डिस्परिटी दिखाई देती हैं। छोटा किसान
और बड़ा किसान, छोटे उद्योग धन्धे वाले
और बड़े उद्योग धन्धे वाले, यहाँ तक कि
आज हमारे बालकों की शिक्षा के भी दो
टुकड़े हो गये हैं। आजादी के पहले हम नहीं
देखते थे कि एक बालक दूसरे से बहुत भिन्न
था, लेकिन इस आजादी के बाद और योज-
नाओं के युग में हम देखते हैं कि एक बच्चा
पब्लिक स्कूल में शिक्षा पा रहा है, उसे बहुत
से अवसर प्राप्त हैं, दूसरा बच्चा जो प्राइमरी
स्कूलों में शिक्षा पा रहा है, उसके लिये कोई
अवसर उपलब्ध नहीं है।

पंच वर्षीय योजना के अन्दर इस प्रकार
का प्रयास होना चाहिये कि ये असमानतायें
दूर हों। इस एप्रोच पेपर के प्रारम्भ में ही
यह दिया हुआ है कि हम गरीबी हटायें और
आत्म-निर्भर बनें—लेकिन मैं इस से भी ज्यादा
महत्व देती हूँ कि असमानतायें दूर की जायें।
आज जो पावर्टी लाइन 40 फीसदी है, उसका
कारण यही है कि जो समर्थ थे, वे इससे लाभ
उठा सकें, लेकिन जो असमर्थ थे, वे इससे
लाभ नहीं उठा सके और हमारी गरीबी
की लाइन बढ़ती गई।

अभी पिछले कुछ दिनों में मैंने देखा—
रिज़र्व बैंक आफ इण्डिया की रिपोर्ट के अनु-
सार—इस देश के 209 उद्योगपतियों का
प्राफिट 1968-69 में 45 करोड़ था, जो
1970-71 में बढ़ कर 97 करोड़ हो गया,
और अब तक तो और ज्यादा बढ़ा हुआ।
ऐसा किन कारणों से हुआ? बिजली क्रेडिट
इंस्टीट्यूट थी, उन्होंने उनसे कायदा उठाया,
एजीआई मार्केट, टैक्नीकल कीरेन कालाबो-

रेखन उनको मिला, हमारे देश के मजदूरों का खून और पसीना मिला, उनकी सहायता से वह बांध बढ़ा, लेकिन इसका फेब्रर-डिस्ट्री-ब्यूशन बिल्कुल नहीं हुआ। मैं यहाँ तक कहना चाहती हूँ कि प्राइवेट सेंक्टर के अन्दर और पब्लिक सेंक्टर के अन्दर आप देखें—कहा नीकरी बढ़ी है। प्राइवेट सेंक्टर के अन्दर बराबर नीकरीयों की कमी होती चली जा रही है। औरतो को कुछ बैनिफिट्स मिले हैं—स्टेट्स और सेंटर के कुछ एक्ट्स के द्वारा—लेकिन उनकी भी छतनी हो रही है। कोई सामाजिक ब्राह्मिगेशन, मॉडल ब्राह्मिगेशन उनके ऊपर नहीं है। उनके लाभ अन्न-लिमिटेड बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं—यह समाजवाद के लिये हा या विज्ञान के लिये हो या गरीबी हटाने के लिये हो, इस तरह से इस देश के अन्दर कमी गरीबी हट नहीं सकती, यह समाजवाद चल नहीं सकता, यदि भारत की अर्थ-व्यवस्था पर कुछ मिने-चुने लोगों का अधिकार रहेगा, इस तरह से आप डब्लेपमेन्ट नहीं कर सकेंगे, इसका दूसरा रूप नहीं बना सकेंगे।

इस योजना के अन्दर आपको बहुत परिवर्तन करना पड़ेगा। जिन समय यह इन्फ्लूएन्स प्लानिंग कमीशन में तैयार हुआ, उस समय हमारी यह स्थिति नहीं थी, हम नहीं जानते थे कि सूखा पड़ेगा। हम समझते थे कि अन्न के मामले में हम आत्म निर्भर हैं, लेकिन अब 450 करोड़ रुपया गन्ने पर खर्च करना है। यह जानते हुये कि पे-कमीशन अपना काम कर रहा था—हम नहीं समझते थे कि इतना बड़ा बोझ इस देश के कंधों पर पड़ेगा—अब पे-कमीशन की सिफारिशों के अनुसार 200 करोड़ रुपया प्रतिवर्ष हम खर्च करने जा रहे हैं। हम सही जानते थे कि जो उद्यान प्राइवेट सेंक्टर के अन्दर हैं—चाहे बाग़ा हो, सीमेंट हो या और कोई चीज़ हो, वे भवमाने दाम पर सरकार के सामने रखें और सरकार को मजदूर करे कि उनकी चीज़ें मन्ने दामों पर खरीदी जायें और जनता पर महंगाई का बोझ पड़ेगा।

आज 30 परसेन्ट महंगाई हमारे सामने है। आपका यह जो 51 हजार करोड़ का प्लान है उसमें निश्चय ही आपको परिवर्तन करना पड़ेगा। राज्य सभा में श्री डी० पी० धर ने जो वाक्य कहे हैं उन्होंने मैंने पढ़ा है। उन्होंने कहा है

"We will not allow plan to die; the core sector will be kept intact."

इसके साफ़ माने हैं कि कुछ न कुछ परिवर्तन करेगे लेकिन उनको यह अहसास है कि जो बेसिक चीज़ें हैं उनमें कमी नहीं आयेगी। बेसिक चीज़ें किमको मानते हैं? मेरे विचार से वह एग्नीकलचर है, इर्रीगेशन है, एनेक्ट्रि-मिटी है, फर्टिलाइजर है, स्टील है और साथ में मैं फेमिली प्लानिंग को भी कोर सेक्टर मानती हूँ। मैं जानती हूँ इसका उत्पादकता से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है, प्रोडक्टिविटी से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है लेकिन इसका उत्पादकता पर, प्रोडक्टिविटी पर प्रभाव है। फेमिली प्लानिंग की कन्सल्टेटिव कमेटी में कल ही बताया गया है कि 1972-73 में 76 करोड़ रुपाया था लेकिन 1973-74 में 38 करोड़ रुपाया रह गया। अभी इस देश के लोगों को कुछ इस बात का अहसास हुआ ही था कि परिवार नियोजन से हमारे घर की उन्नति हो सकती है, हमारे देश की उन्नति हो सकती है, हम अपने परिवार को अच्छा बना सकते हैं लेकिन उसमें बराबर रुपाया घटता चला गया तो इससे इस प्रोग्राम में कमी आयेगी। मेरा निवेदन है कि जब आप योजना को रिकार्ड करें, रिजॉप करें तो कोर सेक्टर में फेमिली प्लानिंग के प्रोग्राम को महत्व दें क्योंकि हमारी अर्थ व्यवस्था से इसका महत्व जुड़ा हुआ है।

इसके साथ-साथ मैं वह भी कहना चाहती हूँ कि जितना भी रुपाया आज तक प्लान्स में खर्च हुआ, पहली योजना से लेकर चौथी योजना तक जोकि खर्च करने जा रहे हैं, करीब सेंक्टर में 15 परसेन्ट रुपाया

[श्रीमती सावित्री श्याम]

प्राप्त हुआ है जबकि 75 और 80 परसेन्ट लोग हमारे गाँवों में ही रहते हैं, जहाँ पर कि हमारा हिन्दुस्तान बसता है वहाँ पर इतनी परीबी है, बेरोजगारी है और कोई उद्योग नहीं है। और जहाँ पर 75 फीसदी पैसा हमारा खर्च हुआ वहाँ उतनी कोई तरक्की नहीं हो सकी। इस प्लान धाउटले में करल सेक्टर को अलग करके उसके लिए डिमांडेशन करना पड़ेगा कि हम यह खर्चा गाँवों में खर्च करेंगे, वहाँ के लोगों की तरक्की के लिए खर्च करेंगे, वहाँ पर उद्योग-धंधों को खड़ा करेंगे, उनको आत्म निर्भर बनायें और अपने पैरों पर खड़ा करेंगे।

इसके साथ साथ सेन्ट्रल प्रसिस्टेन्स के पैटर्न को भी बदलना पड़ेगा। आजकल सेन्ट्रल प्रसिस्टेन्स, केन्द्र से जो आर्थिक सहायता दी जाती है उसका कोई पैटर्न नहीं है, उसका कोई फार्मूला नहीं है। जो स्टेट ताकतवर हुई, जिस स्टेट का प्रेशर पड़ गया, चाहे अफसरो का प्रेशर या पोलिटिकल प्रेशर उनको यह सहायता मिल गई और बाकी स्टेट्स को नहीं मिली। इस तरह से सेन्ट्रल प्रसिस्टेन्स का कोई आधार नहीं है—न पापुलेशन का आधार, न बैकवर्डनेस का आधार इसलिए इसके पैटर्न को भी आपको बदलना पड़ेगा और यह देखना पड़ेगा कि बोकर स्टेट्स को हायर बाल्यूय आफ प्रसिस्टेन्स दी जाये। यही कारण है कि उत्तर प्रदेश आज तक इतना पिछड़ा हुआ रहा। उत्तर प्रदेश एक प्रदेश नहीं एक देश के बराबर है, उसके 36 जिले आज बैकवर्ड हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश की पर-कैपिटल इनकम हर प्लान में नीचे चटती चली आई है। आज उत्तर प्रदेश बिहार, राजस्थान, दो एक प्रदेशों को छोड़कर बिल्कुल बाटम में है। यदि सेन्ट्रल प्रसिस्टेन्स का फार्मूला वही रहा तो वहाँ की अर्थ-अवस्था किस प्रकार सुधरेगी? मैंने देखा कि उत्तर प्रदेश

के प्लान में थाप 14 ती करोड़ रुपये काटने का रहे हैं। यदि इस प्रकार से उत्तर प्रदेश का प्लान चटता गया तो उत्तर प्रदेश कभी भी बढ़ने वाला नहीं है। या तो प्रदेश में इतनी शक्ति नहीं थी कि वह प्लानिंग कमिशन को और केन्द्र के सचिवों को बिश्वास दिला सकता, वे जानते नहीं थे किस तरह से खर्चा मांगा जाता है या फिर उत्तर प्रदेश के साथ अन्याय हुआ है। लेकिन इसको हम सहने वाले नहीं हैं, इसके लिए जद्द-जहद करनी पड़ेगी। जो कुछ खर्चा फाइनेन्स कमीशन की सिफारिश पर मिलता है और कुछ खर्चा प्लानिंग कमीशन की सिफारिश पर मिलता है, दोनों में कोई कोऑर्डिनेशन नहीं है। हम देखते हैं फील्ड में इसके अन्तर्गत जो योजनाएँ चलनी हैं उनमें ओवर-लैपिंग होती है। उनमें बेस्ट होना है इसलिए उनके अन्दर भी कोऑर्डिनेशन होना चाहिए।

एक बात मैं और कहना चाहती हूँ कि हमने योजनाएँ प्रारम्भ की और समाजवाद घोषित किया लेकिन हमारी सबिमेज पर कोई ओरिएण्टेशन नहीं हुआ हम वही ट्रेडिशनल सबिमेज से ही काम ले रहे हैं, वही पुराने क्लस् और प्रोलीजर का तरीका चल रहा है और कोई मेन्स आफ अरजेन्सी नहीं है। इस प्रकार प्लान्स के जरिए से समाजवाद का लक्ष्य हरगिज प्राप्त होने वाला नहीं है। जब तक हम इस ट्रेंड को नहीं बदलेंगे, सबिमेज में ओरिएण्टेशन नहीं लायेंगे तब तक हमारा काम होने वाला नहीं है। मैं आई० ए० एस० के खिलाफ नहीं हूँ, मैं उसे इस देश में कोऑर्डिनेटर मानती हूँ, देश का बिम्बर नहीं मानती। साइटिस्ट्स, डाक्टर्स, इंजीनियर्स का उपहास और अपमान हो रहा है, उनके साथ अन्याय किया है, वे कमीशन में, मैं प्लानिंग कमिशन और सरकार से कहना चाहती हूँ कि सेन्ट्रल सबिमेज में वैरिटी लाने की कोशिश की जाने जिससे इनका कस्ट्रेंशन मिट जाये।

सभापति जी, एक महिन्ना होने के नाते मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि बीजों की बहूगई का बोझ हमारे ऊपर है, आप लोग तो जाने जाते हैं, बनाने वाले हम हैं। जो एसेशियल बीज हैं, जो जिनगी के लिए आवश्यक बीज हैं वह ठीक कीमत पर मिलनी चाहिए और जरूर मिलनी चाहिए। आज हर बीज महंगी है। हम बेबसी में खरी को बला रहे हैं। इसलिए जब आप प्लान को रीकास्ट करे तो कम में कम जो पुराने अनुभव हैं उनसे लाभ उठाये। देश में जो वास्तविकता है उसका देखकर आप प्लान को रीकास्ट कीजिए। आप नये माधनो को ढूँढें और देखें कि नॉर्मोसॉज को टेप कर सकते हैं।

आयल को मानवाय जी न एक नयी दिशा दी, आयल कमीशन ने रिक्कारिण की थी कि आपग्राउंड ट्रिनिंग करानी चाहिये, वहा पर आयल है लेकिन उस दिशा में कोई प्रयास नहीं किया गया। जिनकी कमेटीज और कमीशन बनने हैं वह किसा अभिप्राय से कायम किये जाते हैं लेकिन अगर उनकी रिक्कारिण को कोल्ट स्टोरेज में फौक दिया जाता है तो सब बेकार हो जाता है। मैं यह बात मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ कि जो मंत्री लोग तय कर दें वही एक बात तय हो जाये, लोगों के पास भी दिल दिमाग है उनके सुझावों में भी फायदा उठाना चाहिये। बस इतना ही मैं कहना चाहती हूँ।

जो जगन्नाथ मिश्र (मधुबनी) सभापति महोदय, जितने मदन्यो के नाम आ चुके हैं उन्हें तो कम से कम 5 मिनट का अवसर जरूर दिया जाये। मैं केवल पांच मिनट ही बोलने के लिये तैयार हूँ ?

सभापति महोदय . हाउस 6 बजे उठ जायेगा, बिनाको बोलना होगा वह मैन्स्ट सेसन में बोलेंगे। मिनिस्टर ने कह दिया है कि मैन्स्ट सेसन में वे बोलेंगे लेकिन इतनी रिक्वीस्ट मैं करूँ कहूँ कि जो मिन्स्ट बनी हुई है उसको मेनटेन करें।

श्री रिक्कारिया ।

डा० व विन्स दास रिक्कारिया (भासी) सभापति जी, पांचवी योजना का दृष्टिकोण जो यहाँ पर पेश है, मे समझता हूँ निश्चित तौर से लोकतन्त्र के आधार पर समाजवाद तक पहुँचने के लिये, गरीबी मिटाने के लिये वह पहला क्रांतिकारी कदम है। लेकिन इसके साथ साथ मे मंत्री जी से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि योजनाओं के क्रियान्वयन में, जिन पर योजनाओं की सफलता निर्भर करती है, ज्यादा से ज्यादा जन सहयोग लेंगे, जनता को सम्बद्ध करेंगे क्योंकि जितना अधिक से अधिक यह हा सकेगा उतनी ही अधिक सफलता प्राप्त हो सकेगी। इसके लिये आवश्यक है कि आप देखें कि सार देश में पंचायतीराज-गावसभाये, धेत सर्मनिया जिन्ना परिवर्तन बन चुकी हैं या नहीं। यदि नहीं बनी है तो पांचवी योजना में पहला आवश्यक है कि यह तीन स्टेप्स पंचायतीराज के बन जाये। जिस प्रदेशों ने पंचायतीराज अभी नहीं बनाया या बना रहे हैं या आधे मन में बनाया है उसमें भी मुद्धार करने की आवश्यकता है। जिस तरीके से महाराष्ट्र और गुजरात में पंचायतीराज की स्थापना की गई है उसी तरह से सारे देश में पंचायतीराज की स्थापना करे और योजनाओं का क्रियान्वयन पूरा का पूरा उनके जिम्मे कर दे। आपकी योजना माओ से बनने की आवश्यकता है। जो योजना आपकी बननी है वह पंचायतीराज के जो तीन स्तर हैं वही गावों से उनको बनाने की आवश्यकता है। उस के बाद ब्लॉक स्तर पर, फिर उस का कार्यान्वयन जिला स्तर पर ब्लॉक स्तर पर और गाव स्तर पर हो सकेगा और तबो सारा राष्ट्र शामिल हो सकेगा। इस के साथ साथ यह आवश्यक है कि योजनाओं की आवश्यकता पर निश्चित तौर से विचार करें। बहूगई पर निबंधन करें। आप पैदावार बढ़ाएँ और इन के साथ जो मनुष्य की आवश्यकता कस्तुर्ने हैं उन का विचारण गरीब जातिवर्गों तक जो कि 25 प्रतिशत हैं और 25 प्रतिशत

[बीमती सावित्री रयाम]

मध्यवर्षीय हैं, उन तक जीवन की आवश्यक वस्तुयें सही दाम पर पहुंच सकें, इस को पहुंचाने के लिये आप को सार्वजनिक सहयोग स कमेटियां बनाने की आवश्यकता है ताकि सारी की सारी बितरण व्यवस्था ठीक हो सके। तभी आप योजना का कार्यान्वयन कर सकते हैं।

इसी के साथ प्राथमिकता देनी है। बिजली उत्पादन है, जहां बिजली उत्पादन का सम्बन्ध है, फिर सिंचाई और बाढ़ नियंत्रण इन तीनों की एक साथ योजनाएं बनानी है। जहां बाढ़ आती है वहां नदियों का पानी नियंत्रित कर के बिजली पैदा कर सकते हैं। इसी तरह से जहां सिंचाई होनी है, बड़ी बड़ी नदियों पर आज जो विवाद चल रहे हैं, उन को आप शीघ्र तय करे और जल को राष्ट्र की सम्पत्ति घोषित करे तथा उस को प्रदेशों के अधिकार में न दे। मर्मदा, काबेरो, सोन आदि नदियां बहती जती है और प्रदेश आपस में झगड़ रहे हैं। यह आवश्यक है कि पाचवी योजना शुरू होने से पहले जल का राष्ट्र की सम्पत्ति घोषित करे और प्रदेशों के अधिकार से उस को छोन लें ताकि नदियां को बाध कर सिंचाई हो सके, जहां आवश्यक है वहां बिजली पैदा की जा सके। यह एक बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण कार्य है जिस पर जल्दी से जल्दी विधान में परिचर्चन कर के अमल करने की आवश्यकता है।

इसी तरह से भूमि के सम्बन्ध में जितने कानून बने हैं उन पर अभी ठीक से अमल नहीं हो पाया है। हम ने जा जमीन निकासी है सीलिंग के द्वारा वह भूमिहीन या हरिजनो तक नहीं पहुंच सकी है। इस पर आप का फिर से विचार करना चाहिये। उसकी जांच करनी चाहिये। आप के पास रकबा उतना ही है, तो भूमि को समतल कर के सुधार कर के भूमि संरक्षण के द्वारा खेती के अन्तर्गत खेती लाने के लिये उदम उठाव चाहिये।

इस के साथ एक और आवश्यकता है। आप की योजनाओं के दृष्टिकोण में असमानता है। जो पिछली चार योजनाएँ हैं अगर आप देखेंगे तो निश्चित तौर से आप पायेंगे कि कुछ प्रदेश पीछे हो गये हैं, कुछ ऐसे हिस्से हैं जो पिछड़ गये हैं। किछने हो ऐसे जिले पीछे रह गये हैं। इस का क्या कारण है वह आप को देखना चाहिये। आप ने प्रति व्यक्ति को पैसा खर्च किया है वह जिला स्तर तक नहीं पहुंच सका है। आप की योजनाएँ केन्द्र या प्रदेशों के हेडक्वार्टर से बनी हैं। आवश्यक है कि आप की योजनाओं का पैसा सिद्धान्त के आधार पर जिले तक पहुंचे और जिले से उन का कार्यान्वयन हो। जहां तक मैं समझता हूँ पैसा बांटने के दा सिद्धान्त हों। एक हा आबादी का आधार और दूसरा हो कृषि का रकबा। जितनी योजनाएं भूमि से सम्बन्ध रखती हैं उन का पैसा रकबे के आधार पर बांटिये। जितनी योजनाएं मनुष्य से सम्बन्ध रखती हैं उन का पैसा आबादी के आधार पर बांटिये। इस तरह से यदि आप जिले तक पैसा बांटेंगे तो जा जिले पीछे रह गये हैं, जा प्रदेश या प्रदेश के कुछ हिस्से पीछे रह गये हैं वह भागें वढ़ सकेंगे। जहां मनुष्य में समानता लानी है, वहां आवश्यक है कि क्षेत्रीय समानता का दृष्टिकोण योजना में रखें। आप को मालूम है उत्तर प्रदेश, मध्य प्रदेश, बिहार, उड़ीसा ऐसे प्रदेश हैं जा चार योजनाओं के बाद भी प्रति व्यक्ति आप में पीछे हो गये हैं दूसरे प्रदेशों के मुकाबले में। इस लिये निश्चित तौर से पाचवी योजना में ऐसी व्यवस्था करनी है जिस से इन बड़े प्रदेशों का जिनकी आबादी और क्षेत्रफल बहुत है, इन को अन्य विकसित प्रदेशों के समान स्तर पर ला सकें। यह व्यवस्था अति आवश्यक है।

जहां तक उत्तर प्रदेश का सम्बन्ध है उस में बिजली की कमी हो चुकी है, फर्टिलाइजर की कमी है। इस के लिये आवश्यकता है कि पाचवी योजना के इस तरफ ध्यान दें। ग्राम में उत्तर प्रदेश की कुछ योजनाएँ बिजली और

विचारों की समझ की है, लेकिन सभी चीजों की बहुत ही योजनाएँ पड़ी हैं उन को शोध स्वीकृति प्रदान करें। उत्तर प्रदेश ने फटिलाइयर के कारखाने मंगे हैं जिन को आप पाचवी बीमना में दें जिस से असमानता दूर हो सके। मैं आप का आभारी हूँ कि आप न मुझे अपने विचार रखने का अवसर दिया।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Aga.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATI (Rajapur): Sir, I want a clarification. I understand that this discussion is going to spill over to the next Session. In that case, would the speakers be called in the same order listed here?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Naturally.

SHRI SYED AHMED AGA (Baraulia): If it is going to be continued the next Session, I can as well speak then.

MR. CHAIRMAN. He can start now

SHRI SYED AHMED AGA. Mr Chairman, I am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to take part in this discussion.

MR. CHAIRMAN. He may continue his speech when this subject is taken up the next Session.

17.56 hrs.

STATEMENT RE. DOCTORS' STRIKE IN DELHI AND BOMBAY

THE MINISTER OF HEALTH AND FAMILY PLANNING (SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR): Mr. Chairman, the hon. Member, Shri K. D. Malaviya raised the issue of doctors' strike in Delhi and Bombay. I have got some information which I am going to give to the House.

As hon. Members are aware, the junior doctors in the teaching hospitals in Bombay and Poona and other places have been on strike from the 17th August 1973.

Efforts to settle this strike have not succeeded so far. The junior doctors of Delhi consisting of interns, house surgeons, registrars and post-graduates held a meeting on the 2nd September, 1973 in the Safdarjung Hospital and passed a resolution in which, among other things, they have decided to observe a token strike for 48 hours commencing from 8 a.m. on the 5th September 1973, that is, today. This strike is entirely in sympathy with the demands of the junior doctors of Maharashtra and there is no local demand linked up with the same. This resolution demands the immediate reinstatement of all the victimised doctors of Maharashtra, unconditional withdrawal of all charges against those doctors, immediate settlement of issues in a peaceful manner, condemnation of the alleged atrocities committed on the doctors of Maharashtra and a request for intervention by the Prime Minister.

Consequent to this notice the junior doctors working in the different hospitals of Delhi have gone on strike this morning. I will just briefly state the position in each hospital.

In the All India Institute of Medical Sciences the normal intake of patients, even emergency and outdoor, is maintained.

In the Safdarjung Hospital there is always a great rush. The number of out-patients attended to each day in that hospital is 2,500. The bed strength is 1,220 and another 25 were admitted, making a total of 1,245. The discharge till the morning is 140. There are 30 wards.

18.00 hrs.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): One request to you. After the statement is completed, according to your usual procedure, don't declare that the House stands adjourned. We would like to have some clarifications.

MR. CHAIRMAN: After the statement, there is no question of clarification.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: I can point out the conditions in Safdarjung

[Shri R. K. Khadilkar]

Hospital. The Safdarjung Hospital will be under-maintained. In all other hospitals in Delhi, we will be able to maintain normal service. There is no information about disruption of work in any hospital in Delhi.

The Delhi Nurses' Association has issued a press release sympathising with the demands of the Maharashtra junior doctors, indicating their intention to join the strike if the demands are not met immediately. This is another threat. We are apprehensive, if the strike in Bombay is not settled soon. I am afraid, it will have repercussions all over India. I have information from U.P., Bengal and Madras. They are also preparing for it.

Another thing is, that tomorrow the representatives of doctors from all the States are meeting in Bombay and they are thinking of forming a union. So, it is an all-India move.

I would like to take the House into confidence about the consequences of such a move at the present juncture.

Regarding Bombay, I am trying to get the latest information. But I have failed. My own information is that the strike continues and efforts of settlement have not borne any fruit. I happened to be in Bombay on the 25th of last month and on the 2nd of this month and I tried to offer my good offices to both the sides. At the first instance, there was no dialogue between the two parties. With my efforts,

the doctors agreed to meet the Government representatives. On the first day, they declined even the request from two Judges to meet the Government. On the second occasion, when I went there, I found the situation was not very healthy in the sense that doctors were not in a mood to come round because there is an intense feeling about certain alleged incidents that took place at the commencement of the talks.

The entire medical community of Bombay, the entire medical fraternity, including private hospital people, have all gone on strike. I do not know exactly but from the papers it seems that the Government of Maharashtra has maintained patient-care in tact. This is my information about Bombay.

I know the House is very much exercised about the effects of this all-India strike. Therefore, I hope, both the sides will come to some settlement as early as possible.

SOME HON MEMBERS rose—(Interruptions)

MR CHAIRMAN: No questions

About the discussion on Plan Approach, after Shri Aga. Shri Shenoy will speak

The House stands adjourned *sine die*.

12.03 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourns *sine die*

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