

MR. SPEAKER : You want them to come to the Parliament.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : There is Section 144 which prevents them from coming near Parliament House. I can assure you that this delegation of unemployed youth will be led by responsible persons and not by Naga sanyasis, and so on. There should be no ban and the ban should be lifted. It is no use arresting the unemployed youth. I request the hon. Prime Minister, through you, to say something.

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Humayun Kabir was speaking. I think we may allow one hour more for this. The Prime Minister will reply at 3-30 P.M. One more party, Marxist party, has not spoken.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK (South Delhi) : There is some time left for our party.

MR. SPEAKER : 4 more minutes left. I will add one more minute to it and give it to you. I will not stinge or deny that for you. I want to give some chance to independents who have not spoken, if they are here. Since we will adjourn for 3 months, those who have not spoken may be given a chance, I thought. Some Congress Members also, 2 or 3 of them may speak. The points raised by Shri Dwivedy, Shri Nath Pai and Shri Banerjee will certainly be replied to by the Prime Minister in her speech when she speaks on this. Unemployment is a bigger problem, a wider question. Naturally. I don't think she should make a speech now and against at 3-30 P.M.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDI : Some delegation met her.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : Planning is responsible for this unemployment.

MR. SPEAKER : He will give all those details.

SHRI HEM BARUA (Mangaldai) : What about the point raised by Shri S. M. Banerjee ? You have imposed ban round about Parliament House.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Let her speak on the unemployment situation. About Section 144 also, I want to know. The ban should be lifted. It is impossible for any one to come here.

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY AND MINISTER OF PLANNING (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI) : I shall refer to the question of unemployment when I speak this afternoon. It is true that I met representatives of the Samajvadi Yauvk Sabha. They have given me a memorandum. Now, some of those points are made earlier also. I assured that that all of us are equally concerned with the very grave unemployment situation in the country, and every effort is being made to see in what way we can help in this situation. It is obvious that the problem cannot be solved immediately but we will certainly give consideration to the points which they have raised and which also other Member of the House have also raised.

12.39 hrs.

MOTION RE : FOURTH FIVE YEAR PLAN—DRAFT—Contd

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Humayun Kabir will continue his speech.

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR (Basirhat) : Speaking on the last occasion, I referred to the present situation in the country and said that the situation is due not so much to faults of individuals as to certain wrong policies pursued by the Government ; and in my view, the basic mistake of the three Plans has been the inadequate attention paid to the problem of unemployment. We have increased agricultural production almost twofold in the course of the last 18 or 19 years.

We have increased industrial production almost seven or eight-fold in the course of the last 18 years, but simultaneously we have increased unemployment at an alarming rate. The First Plan provided for an increase of unemployment of three millions; the Second Plan provided for an increase of unemployment of four millions and the Third Plan provided for an increase of

unemployment of eight millions ; but that actually became ten millions so that as a result of these three Plans, there has been an increase of almost twenty millions of unemployed in the country.

In the amendment I have moved, I have said that these Plans have overlooked one of the major Directives in our Constitution. There is inadequate attention to Article 39 of the Constitution which lays down that every single citizen of India must be provided with the opportunity of earning his or her livelihood through honest labour. This provision of employment has not been met in the Plans.

I think many of the difficulties which we face in the country today are due to this failure. Today, we hear about conflicts, group conflicts based on language, group conflicts based on religion. Ultimately all these are due primarily to the economic factor, to the lack of opportunities. In a community where opportunities are adequate and where every man has a way of utilising his energies in creative employment and finding means of subsistence for himself and his family, these kinds of conflicts do not occur.

12.41 hrs.

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker *In the Chair*]

If only we could provide employment for everyone, many of these conflicts and clashes will disappear. I am reminded of something which I said to the Bengal Legislative Council, almost 30 years ago, in 1938. I said that the then communal situation in India could be compared with twenty hungry tigers in a circus which are given two pieces of bones and asked to keep peace among themselves. If instead of two pieces of bones, you throw twenty twenty bones, even then there will be some clashes, some grumbling, but on the whole there will be peace. This, I think, is the prime defect of the Fourth Plan Draft as it has been presented to us like also the earlier Plans. I will try to indicate why this is so.

There are three major reasons for growing unemployment in India. Firstly, it is under concentration on heavy industries. We have, to the detriment of almost every other sector of economic life, emphasised the heavy industries sector.

That is why we find that in spite of the great set-back of 1966-1968 and the crime of devaluation—I regard devaluation nothing less than a crime against the Indian people—the industrial production in 1968-69 was 155 on the basis of 100 as base for 1960-61. In spite of these great set-backs, there was this substantial increase in heavy industries in these eight years when there was no corresponding increase in other sectors. In fact there was a definite set-back in almost all other sections of the national economy.

The second reason for growing unemployment is our wrong fiscal policies. This fiscal policy has two aspects. One is increasing the cost of production on account of imposts, subsidy, excise and customs which have pushed our cost of production to a level where we produce things at two or three times the landed cost of the same commodity imported from abroad. Take the case of steel. Japan imports many raw materials from us, they take scrap iron from us and they take ore from us, but the landed cost of their steel is half the production cost of steel in India. Similarly with sugar and almost every other thing. These wrong fiscal policies have pushed up our cost of production. We then add further indignity and injury to our own consumers by giving subsidies in order to make these very commodities available at international prices to the foreign buyer. We have, Sir, a truly wonderful situation. We spend one hundred crores of foreign exchange to import superior quality cotton in order to earn Rs. 80 crores by the export of cotton textiles. I do not think there is any other country in the world where they have this kind of wonderful fiscal policy. Similarly, we spend Rs. 22 crores on subsidy in order to earn Rs. 7 crores of foreign exchange by the export of sugar.

These are only some of the glaring examples. It is true that we have been told that exports have increased. We have been told that they have increased in the last two or three years, but here also the figures are deceptive. At the present prices, the total exports in 1960-61 were Rs. 1000 crores, and today, in 1967-68, the latest figures available indicate that this was Rs. 1200 crores ; in other words an increase of about Rs. 200 crores in the course of

[Shri Humayun Kabir]

about eight years. But this is again due to the heavy subsidies which I have mentioned and of which I have given you two glaring examples. The same thing applies in almost every other field of export.

The position is truly alarming. The annual trade deficit was Rs. 54 crores a year before planning started. During the Second Plan, the annual deficit was Rs. 400 crores. During the Third Plan it was Rs. 600 crores. When we did not have a five-year plan after 1966, we had only annual plans but in 1967-68. It was a trade deficit of Rs. 750 crores. This is the picture as it was in the past and as it is today.

Thirdly there is too much interference by Government, in addition to wrong fiscal policies and undue concentration on heavy industries to the detriment of agro-industries and to the detriment of agriculture. We find, I am sorry to say, no indication of any change in the new Plan. I shall give you only one or two figures to show that there is really no change in the Fourth Plan, in spite of certain brave words used by the planners. At page 27 of the Draft Plan, the planners themselves admit :

"While continuing with effort in intensive irrigated agriculture and basic modern industry, it proposes to pay special attention to certain fields of productive activity, particularly in agriculture and related primary production which have been relatively neglected."

In other words, the Planning Commission admits that agriculture has formerly been neglected. And what is the position that we find in the provision today? We find that in heavy industries, there is an apparent reduction of about one per cent, but if we take transport and communication along with heavy industries—and the two go together—we find that in the Third Plan, the combined provision was 41.4 per cent, while it is 42 per cent in the Fourth Plan. In other words, an increase and not a decrease. This certainly is not a sign of shifting emphasis. On the other hand, in the case of village and small-scale industries we find that the meagre provision of 4.1 per cent in the Third Plan has been reduced further to 3.1 per cent in the Fourth Plan. This also shows that there is continuing neglect of agro-industries.

Similarly, the provision for agriculture is apparent little more in the Fourth Plan. It is 15.6 per cent in the Fourth Plan as against 14 per cent in the Third Plan. But if we take irrigation and flood control which go with agriculture, we find again the same story. The combined provision in the Third Plan was 20.3 per cent while it is 19.9 per cent in the Fourth Plan. Therefore, in agriculture, there has been a further reduction.

This neglect has been reflected in the very slow results in progress of agriculture. I would say that increase of productivity in agriculture has been frighteningly slow. We have been told about the green revolution, about the Intensive Agricultural Development Programme or I. A. D. P. But I am very sorry to say that the revolution exists very largely in the heads of those who speak about it...

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : in the green heads.

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR : and not in the actual world. It is only in a dreamland and not in the green land of our country.

If we take the costs, the costs of agriculture in I.A.D.P. areas are about 75 per cent more than for traditional farming, and the cost of traditional farming itself has increased by more than 50 per cent during the last eight years. But the productivity, even in the I.A.D.P. areas has not increased in a commensurate way. If we take the total productivity, in 1967-68 it was only about 10 per cent more than in 1960-61 and was actually less than that in 1964-65. This is an aspect which I think the Prime Minister and the other Members of the Planning Commission should take particular note of. Why is it that there has been a decrease in the productivity per acre from 1964-65? It is true that in certain selected areas there has been an increase but the overall productivity has not increased more than 10 per cent in eight or nine years and has actually decreased since 1964-65.

Even more alarming is the fact that of the total area under foodgrains in this country—5/7th is under kharif, 1/7th is under rabi, and 1/7th is under pulses—in

the 5/7th which is under kharif cereals, the total production has not increased by more than 10 per cent in spite of heavy investments. Though there has been increase in food production, we are still faced with a very serious situation. Food production has almost doubled, but this is due to increase in area. In India, the emphasis should be increased production not through increase of area but by increase of production per acre.

I think that the policy of mechanising agriculture is entirely mistaken. Government are pursuing a wrong policy which will place heavier burdens on this country; it will not only place heavier economic burdens but it will create a situation where there will be social explosion by creating large-scale in employment in the country's side.

I will come back to that in a minute. I will just refer for a second to the question of price. At 1952-53 prices, the wholesale price index of foodgrains in 1960-61 was only 102. In other words, in roughly about 7 or 8 years, the increase had been by 2%. In 1966-67, the index went up to 220. Today also it is over 200. Therefore, there has been a sharp increase since 1960-61. In spite of the increased production and removal of controls, prices have not fallen mainly because—of the wrong policies—food zones, restrictions on movements—which did not allow prices to find their normal level.

Another example of the neglect of the rural sector and evidence that Government has not changed its policy is seen from the fact that out of Rs. 2,000 crores provided for power, only Rs. 150 crores have been earmarked for rural electrification. If we want rapid agricultural development, if we want more agro-industries, then we must provide more for rural power.

Now I come to the last part of my speech—my suggestion of remedies. I think the situation is bad but not yet incurable, if only Government will change some of its policies. In the substitute motion I have moved, I have indicated some of the lines on which these policies should change.

The greatest emphasis must be on employment. Unless you can provide employment to people who are willing and able to work, there will be no peace in this

country. You cannot maintain law and order by the police alone. When millions of young men and women, many of them educated, do not have employment, homilies are not going to work, regulations are not going to do much good. I am therefore, frightened by the policy of Government in introducing mechanisation into agriculture on a fairly large scale. I am also surprised at the conduct of some of the so-called progressive parties who are fighting against automation where only 2,000 people may be thrown out of employment. It is a doubtful proposition; it may or may not materialise; even if it does happen, only 2,000 people may be thrown out of employment in the whole of India. Even when it has been said that alternative employment will be found for them, they agitate. But there is no agitation against the import of a very large number of tractors from all sorts of countries in the world, 25,000 tractors from the Soviet Union alone...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please conclude.

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR : I am concluding. I am suggesting the remedies.

If we develop agriculture and agro-industries on the basis of small proprietary farms, and if we take up an intensive programme of rural electrification, rural road construction and rural housing, these are the three things which can provide employment to millions during the period of construction, and when the construction is over to thousands in their maintenance. By electrification, we can convert almost every peasant home into a kind of miniature factory so that on the basis of the family unit itself, we can have small agro-industries which will largely solve the problem of unemployment in this country.

Then there must be a change in the fiscal policy with greater emphasis on development of the internal market. I am not against exports. Everybody wants exports, but exports should not be based only on subsidy. We should develop our own exports in the same way as the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. did. Buy first developing a vast internal market, the unit of production because large and the cost of production was cut down, with the result that they

(Shri Humayun Rabir)

are today able to compete on equal terms in the international market.

There should be far less interference by Government in every aspect of economic life, except only in those strategic sectors required for national defence.

There should, therefore, be a larger transference of funds from heavy industry to conservation of soil and water by afforestation, to the revival of dead and drying rivers. There should be proper measures for adequate and timely supply of water and provision for drainage.

I conclude by saying that the plan should be redrafted with special emphasis on the following three things firstly full employment or, if full employment is not possible within the next four or five years, as near to full employment as possible but the aim must be full employment. If we can reduce unemployment by even 80 per cent, most of the major problems of this country will have been solved. There will be an immediate demand for more consumer goods and this will, in turn, help the medium industries, the heavy industries and the metallurgical industries. The entire economic machinery will start revolving again.

Secondly, we should aim at rise in productivity, not merely by extension of areas in agriculture, not merely by multiplication of units in industry. Government establishes one big mill after another, but where is the rise in productivity? Unless this is done, our products can never compete in the open market. Thirdly and equally important there must be improvement in quality.

With these words I beg to move my substitute motion that the Planning Commission be asked to redraft the Plan, keeping in view the requirements of full employment, full development of agriculture and agro industries and with special emphasis on productivity and improvement in quality, rather than frittering away our energies and resources on too many things as is being done at present.

श्री चन्द्रिका प्रसाद (बलिया) : माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी द्वारा जो चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना का परारूप

देश के सामने रखा गया है, उसका मैं जोरदार समर्थन करता हूँ। लेकिन हमारे उधर के भाइयों ने यह भ्रालोचना की है कि इन तीन पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में देश में प्रगति नहीं हुई है। आप यह देखें कि पहले सुई और भ्रालपीन भी बाहर से आता था, आज यहां पर साइकिल से लेकर हवाई जहाज और रेलवे के इंजन और दूसरी बड़ी बड़ी मशीनें बन रही हैं। इस पर भी अगर हमारे उस तरफ के भाइयों को कोई प्रगति नहीं दिखाई पड़ती है तो हम क्या कर सकते हैं।

कुछ भाइयों ने यह भ्रालोचना की है कि चतुर्थ पंचवर्षीय योजना में उन्हें कोई प्रेरणा नहीं मिलती है। इनका काम सिर्फ भ्रालोचना करना है और इस तरह से ये जनता में हमारे विरुद्ध विषाक्त वातावरण पैदा करते हैं। वह तो एक रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम है और इसमें सब लोगों को शामिल होना चाहिए और सब का सहयोग मिलना चाहिए जिससे यह महायज्ञ पूरा हो सके। लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में जहाँ देश आगे बढ़ा है, उसके सम्पूर्ण भाग को आगे बढ़ना चाहिए था लेकिन कुछ हिस्से देश के उस प्रगति से बंचित रह गये हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश जो हमारे भारतवर्ष का मस्तिष्क रहा है, वह पूरी तरह से पीछे हो गया है। इन्डस्ट्रियल सेक्टर में हमारा प्रदेश इतना पीछे रह गया है कि तीन पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में जहाँ और प्रदेश इतने आगे बढ़ गये हैं वहाँ उत्तर प्रदेश बहुत पिछड़ गया है मैं आपके सामने कुछ आंकड़े रखना चाहता हूँ। पहली प्लान में जहाँ कुल इन्वेस्टमेंट 45.3 करोड़ रुपये था, यू०पी० में वह निल रहा, सैकेन्ड प्लान में जहाँ 694.2 करोड़ था और यू०पी० में निल रहा, थर्ड प्लान में 1144.2 करोड़ था तो इसमें यू०पी० में 72.1 करोड़ रुपये है। इस तरह से कुल टोटल 1883.7 करोड़ था तो 72.1 करोड़ रुपया तीनों पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में उत्तर प्रदेश को इन्डस्ट्रियल सेक्टर में मिला है। इस तरह से इसमें उत्तर

प्रदेश का हिस्सा 3.8 होता है जोकि बिल्कुल नगण्य है। इतनी बड़ी विषमता है।

हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश की आबादी सारी आबादी की 16 और 17 प्रतिशत है। हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश की पर कॅपीटा इन्कम जो सेन्ट्रल इन्वेस्टमेंट हुआ है, उसमें 9.5 परसेंट है जब कि सारे देश की 45 है। यह भयंकर विषमता है। मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूंगा कि कम से कम इस भयंकर विषमता को दूर करने के लिए हमारे यहां सेन्ट्रल प्रोजेक्ट्स दें जोकि उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार ने मांगे हैं। लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी के वक्त से उत्तर प्रदेश वंचित रहा है। इसलिए उत्तर प्रदेश में बलिया में झुगन काभापरेटिव फॅक्टरी, बनारस के राम नगर में ट्रेक्टर फॅक्टरी, इलाहाबाद में पम्प और कप्रेसर की फॅक्टरी, बरेली में हिन्दुस्तान केबिल्स और देहरादून में सीमेंट फॅक्टरी इत्यादि सेन्ट्रल प्रोजेक्ट दिये जायें। मंत्री-परिषद ने इनको मंजूर किया है और सेन्ट्रल प्रोजेक्ट के लिए लिखा है। देश में 8 या 10 परसेंट इन्वेस्टमेंट योजना में इन्डस्ट्रियल सेक्टर में लगाने की व्यवस्था है। इस तरह से हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश को, जो सेन्ट्रल प्रोजेक्ट आज तक मंजूर हुए हैं, 900 करोड़ रुपये मिलना चाहिए लेकिन अगर उतना नहीं कर सकते हैं तो प्रधान मंत्री जी से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि उसका आधा भी किया जाए तो भी कम-से-कम 350 या 400 करोड़ रुपये की व्यवस्था तो उत्तर प्रदेश के लिए करें ताकि हमारा उत्तर प्रदेश जो दो प्लान पीछे चला गया है वह कम-से-कम दूसरे प्रदेशों के समान तो आए। अगर उत्तर प्रदेश प्रगति नहीं करेगा तो पूरा देश प्रगति नहीं करेगा।

मैं प्राइवेट सेक्टर में विश्वास नहीं करता हूँ लेकिन लाइसेंसिंग की आपकी उदार नीति होनी चाहिए। जहां पर प्राइवेट सेक्टर लगा हुआ है वहां पर लाइसेंस न देकर आप ऐसी जगह, जैसे उत्तर प्रदेश, लाइसेंस दें जहां पर उद्योग नहीं हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार ने प्राइवेट सेक्टर की एक लिस्ट बना कर मेरे पास

भेजी है और मैं इसको सबन की टेबुल पर रखने को तैयार हूँ। उसमें लखनऊ में छोटी मोटरों के लिए फॅक्टरी और पूर्वी जिलों में स्कूटर के लिये लिखा है। और भी लिखा हुआ है और वह मैं सदन की टेबुल पर रखने को तैयार हूँ। वहां पर आप इनके लाइसेंस दें और लाइसेंस की आपकी उदार नीति होनी चाहिए।...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The hon. Member may continue his speech after the lunch recess. I want to inform the hon. Members on this side that I want to accommodate two Members who have not participated. So, they should restrict themselves to seven minutes. Then alone I shall be able to do it ; otherwise it will be difficult for me to accommodate them.

13.00 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till
Fourteen of the Clock*

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch
at five minutes past Fourteen of the Clock*

[Shri Vasudevan Nair in the Chair]

MOTION RE. FOURTH FIVE YEAR
PLAN—DRAFT—Contd.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Chandrika Prasad may continue his speech.

SHRI NITIRAJ SINGH CHAUDHURI (Hoshangabad) : Sir, under Rule 292, I move that the time for discussing the Plan may be extended by one hour more.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The Speaker has already announced in the House that the time for the debate will be extended by one hour and the hon. Prime Minister will reply to the debate at 3.30 P.M. It is impossible to have any further extension. I am sorry.

श्री चन्द्रिका प्रसाद : सभापति महोदय, चतुर्थ पंचवर्षीय योजना में विशेष समस्याओं वाले प्रदेश को विशेष सुविधायें देने की बात कही गई है। दस परसेंट के हिसाब से 310 करोड़ सारे प्रदेश में बांटने में हमारे प्रदेश को

[श्री चन्द्रिका प्रसाद]

25 करोड़ रुपया मिलने की बात है। मेरा कहना है कि मेरा प्रदेश जो है उसके सामने अनेक समस्याएँ हैं प्रदेश में किसी हिस्से में बाढ़ आती है, कहीं सूखा पड़ता है, कहीं भयंकर बेकारी है। उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिलों में, विशेषकर भाँसी, बुन्देलखंड डिविजनों में भूमि की समस्याएँ हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश के पहाड़ी इलाकों में चमोली, उत्तरकाशी और रिठौरागढ़ जिनकी सीमा चीन से लगी हुई है वहाँ केवल उनकी समस्याएँ नहीं हैं, उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिले गोरखपुर से भी चीन की सरहदें लगी हुई हैं। हमारा प्रदेश सबसे बड़ा प्रदेश है। इसकी आबादी सबसे ज्यादा है। हमारे प्रदेश से आधे जो प्रदेश है उनको 40 करोड़ देने की बात कही गई है। मेरा कहना है कि हमारी अनेक समस्याओं को देखकर कम-से-कम जो हमारी आबादी है—16-17 फीसदी उसके हिसाब से दें। मेरा माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी से अनुरोध है कि वह हमारा इस योजना में ब्याल करें।

हमारे यहाँ अटॉमिक पावर स्टेशन देने की बात अलीगढ़ में चल रही थी। लेकिन अभी हमको सुनकर बड़ा झुल हुआ है कि चतुर्थ पंच-वर्षीय योजना में उसको शामिल नहीं किया गया है। अटॉमिक पावर स्टेशन महाराष्ट्र को, आंध्र को और मद्रास को मिल चुका है। राजस्थान को भी मिल चुका है और अब मैं चाहूँगा कि उत्तर प्रदेश को मिलना चाहिए। उपर प्रदेश में एक अटॉमिक पावर स्टेशन लगाना चाहिए।

हमारा प्रदेश कृषि-प्रधान प्रदेश है। हमारे प्रदेश के 80 फीसदी लोग कृषि पर काम करते हैं। इस प्रदेश में बड़ी-बड़ी नदियाँ हैं, यह नदियों का प्रदेश है, लेकिन वहाँ पर सिंचाई की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं हो पायी है। हमारे यहाँ बाढ़ से सूखा बरबाद हो जाता है। पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश के जिलों बाढ़ से हमेशा बरबाद होते हैं और बाढ़ के लिये आपने चतुर्थ पंचवर्षीय योजना की श्रित्तव में, अग्र-भाग 200 पंज पर देखें तो, केवल 8 करोड़ खर्चा रखा गया है

5 वर्ष के लिए। हम समझते हैं कि डेढ़-दो करोड़ रुपया प्रति वर्ष खर्च होगा। जहाँ से मैं आता हूँ, बलिया में बाढ़ के लिए भारतवर्ष के चीफ इंजीनियर और हमारे सिंचाई मंत्री जी ने जो योजना बनाई उसमें डेढ़-दो करोड़ रुपया लग रहा है। दो करोड़ रुपये प्रदेश के एक हिस्से में लगे तो दूसरे हिस्से बैसे ही रह जायेंगे। मैं भारत सरकार से निवेदन करूँगा कि इस योजना पर 8 करोड़ की जगह पर 20 करोड़ रुपए होने चाहिए।

हमारे प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिलों में न स्कूल हैं, न अस्पताल हैं, न हमारे यहाँ कोई बँटरवरी कालेज है, न मैडिकल कालेज है। 20 जिलों में 6 करोड़ की आबादी है। हमारे स्वर्गीय प्रधान मंत्री बंदिता जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने यहाँ की दयनीय तथा को देखकर पटेल कमेटी को बैठाया था। उसके आघार पर हमें आश्वासन दिया गया था कि उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिलों के विकास के लिए सारा काम भारत सरकार करेगी। लेकिन आज तक उस कमेटी की सिफारिशें खटाई में पड़ी हैं। मैं चाहूँगा कि इस पंचवर्षीय योजना में पटेल कमेटी की सारी रिक्तियों को प्लान में लागू करने के लिए उचित व्यवस्था की जाए। कहा जाता है कि जब चीन और पाकिस्तान की लड़ाई हुई तो ये सारी योजनाएँ रद्द कर दी गई है।

हमारे बुन्देलखंड और भाँसी डिविजन की पथरीली भूमि की अनेकों समस्याएँ हैं। कहीं पर सूखा पड़ता है, पानी का अकाल है तो कहीं पर बाढ़ आती है। मिर्जापुर में पानी का अकाल है। इन समस्याओं के हल के लिए चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना में समुचित व्यवस्था रहनी आवश्यक है।

हमारे प्रदेश का पहाड़ी इलाका जैसे चम्बोली, पिथौरागढ़, उत्तरकाशी आदि चीन की सरहद के साथ-साथ हुए हैं और नगालैंड और कश्मीर की जिस तरीके से भारत सरकार सहायता करती है उसी तरीके से उसे इन पहाड़ी

इलाकों की भी और विशेषकर उनके सामरिक महत्व के कारण भी चतुर्थ पंचवर्षीय योजना में सहायता करनी चाहिए।

भ्रागामी कुछ महीनों में हम देश में गांधी सत्तान्दी-समारोह मनाने जा रहे हैं। मैं चाहूँगा कि हमारा प्रदेश जो कि सबसे पिछड़ा हुआ और सबसे कमजोर व गरीब है उसकी दयनीय स्थिति को देखते हुए सरकार उसकी सहायता के लिए विशेष रूप से व्यवस्था करे। हमारा उत्तर प्रदेश जोकि भारतवर्ष का सिरमौर है अगर वह पीछे पड़ जायगा तो भारतवर्ष आगे नहीं होगा। अगर देश को बचना है तो हमारा उत्तर प्रदेश जोकि दो हिस्सों में है, पूर्वी हिस्सा जिसमें गोरखपुर, बस्ती और पश्चिमी हिस्से में उत्तरकाशी, चम्बोली और पिथौरागढ़, यह चीन के साथ लगे हुए हैं और अगर सामरिक दृष्टिकोण से हमारी मदद नहीं की गई और अगर हमारे प्रदेश पर हमला हुआ तो सारा देश गुलाम हो जायगा। इसलिए सामरिक दृष्टिकोण से सारी योजनाओं को रखने के लिए हमें चतुर्थ पंचवर्षीय योजना में परिवर्तन करना बड़ा आवश्यक है।

मैं इस सिलसिले में यह भी निवेदन करना चाहूँगा कि उत्तर प्रदेश ने कभी भी ओवरड्राफ्ट नहीं किया है। अपने रिसोर्सेज से जो कि तीनों योजना में रहे हैं उन्हीं से उसने काम चलाया है। अन्य सूबों की तरह से ओवरड्राफ्ट या कर्ज लेकर अथवा इंडियोरेंस से कर्ज लेकर हमने कभी भी आपकी दिक्कतों को नहीं बढ़ाया है। अब अगर हम इस तरीके से वैधानिक तरीके से चलते हैं और आपकी कठिनाइयाँ नहीं बढ़ाते और न कोई संकट पैदा करते हैं तो कम से कम आप हमारे ऊपर ध्यान देकर हमारी मदद करें ताकि हमारा प्रदेश पिछड़ा प्रदेश न रह सके। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं चतुर्थ पंचवर्षीय योजना का स्वागत करता हूँ।

SHRI A. K. KISKU (Jhargram) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for the opportunity that I am getting for the first time in this session to speak and I would like

to use my time to elaborate only two points before this House.

First of all, I would like to bring before the attention of this House one simple line from the Draft Plan on page 334-20.7 where it is said :

"The first step necessary for raising the economic condition of tribal people is protection from exploitation."

Mr. Chairman, Sir, do you want us adivasis to believe this? How many thousand times Government have said so, and what have they done so far? This exploitation is from two aspects. One is economic and the other is political. As adivasis we find that the Government has proved to be the most hostile of the exploiters. What have you done in Bihar? There your public sector and private sector projects have taken away the land of the adivasis and they have been made refugees in their homeland. To verify this you have to look in the areas of Ranchi, Bokaro and other places. Do these projects provide employment for them? Go and find out in Kiruburu Iron Ore area and hundreds of other mining and industrial areas. You will find that adivasis have been deprived in large numbers from their ordinary employment. This is the picture almost everywhere.

There is political exploitation also. What is happening to about thirty lakhs of adivasis in Goalpara, Kamrup Darang, Lakhimpur, Nowgong, Cachar and Shibsagar districts and other tea garden areas of Assam? These adivasis are nurturing the tea industry of our country and helping by the sweat of their brow to earn crores of rupees as foreign exchange. But they are being denied the simple privilege of being regarded as Scheduled Tribes.

A large number of these people who stay in plain areas and produce food for our country are being denied this recognition. A *brahmin*, wherever he goes, is a *brahmin*. Why, then, a Scheduled Tribe, wherever he moves, should not be regarded as a Scheduled Tribe and allow him to enjoy all the privileges that have been guaranteed to him under the Constitution? Sir, do you know why this has been done? Because, as the Lokur Committee points out, the Government of Assam is consistently opposed to any change in the status

[Shri A. K. Kisku]

on the ground that it would seriously disturb the political picture. Is it not political suppression? It has also been reported that the settlers of the tea garden area have tended to lose their tribal characteristic in the new surroundings. This is absolutely false. Therefore, do you want us to believe that the Government is going to set up any machinery for the protection of the tribals?

Shri Minoo Masani has explained this Plan as a plan of stagnation. In our view it is not only a useless plan but it is a dangerous plan which will perpetuate the economic concentration of the group and perpetuation of slavery for us.

In this Plan there is, again, that simple 'musti-bhiksha, handful of alms in the form of Tribal Development Blocks and scholarships. But even in the matter of the Tribal Development Blocks we find that the Government have failed to implement the programme properly. Moreover, the States have been discriminated against. West Bengal has no Tribal Development Block although there are 20 lakhs of Adivasis in large concentrated pockets in West Bengal. Regarding scholarships I had put a specific question to the Minister in a meeting of the Consultative Committee for the Department of Social Welfare as to why the Central Government does not look into the proper and timely disbursement of scholarships. The reply from our Law Minister was "We are helpless." Sir, we are surprised at the most undignified escapementality that we have ever seen.

Since we are going to adopt this Plan for the entire nation, I would like that the House should specially consider this aspect of production from exploitation. There are millions of unfortunate Scheduled Castes who are still suffering from horrible untouchability.

You speak of people's participation in this Plan. Have the Adibasis been taken into consideration in the drafting of the Plan? Have they been given opportunities for participation? Or, does the country think, the planners think that we Adibasis are plan-blind? The whole world was amazed to see the plans of Mohanjo Daro and Harappa. Who made these plans? They were made by us, the Adibasis, who

are the original inhabitants of this country. The democracy that we have today has its origin from us. Even today we maintain those democratic forms in our life. There is "Kulhi-dwrup, i.e., consultation by the villagers, in the 'tribe belts. We have the *pargana* system, i.e., deliberation by the 'area-elders." Yet, in the text-books of today the Adibasis are being depicted as barbarous, as Asura, a "Asabhya" or uncivilised. The present government has failed to see and appreciate our rich heritage in art, culture, poetry, songs, language history, agriculture, science and medicine. We are as patriotic as anybody else. Yet, do the Santals, who first revolted against the British Government under the leadership of two brothers, Siddu and Kano, have a place of honour in our Indian national history? The Mudas had fought under the leadership of Biswa Bhagwan. Do they have a place of honour in our national history?

Where have this Government kept us for the last twenty years after Independence. We are patriots; we love our country. But we have been neglected, not only neglected but exploited in all kinds of ways.

Today, my hon. friend, Mr. Dwivedy, brought before the House that the youth of the country want to see our leaders about the problem of unemployment. I would like to quote a few lines from one of the recent reports of the U.N. on Youth Unrest where it is stated:

"What is being done or not being done for youth, with youth and by youth is perhaps the most important yardstick for judging the effectiveness of economic and social development plans in all the countries of the world. The youth of the world have begun to predominate the world affairs and the world opinion will come to mean the opinion of the youth and the conflict between the generations will assume proportions not previously imagined unless the impatience of the youth is seen as development potential."

A day has come when this plan must be discussed by our youth in different forums, in the universities, in the colleges and in national forums so that they feel they are participating in this national Plan and

It is for them and for the future generations—and these youth people who will be dominating our affairs in India.

I would like to focus their attention to the national aspect of the Plan. I would like to point out first to the regional imbalance aspect. In the Plan, there is a mention of keeping the regional balance and this is very important. On behalf of the people of West Bengal, I would like to say that West Bengal has a feeling that it has been deprived of its proper share in the last three Plans. Even today I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Prime Minister that in the Government, in the Cabinet, there is not a single man from West Bengal to represent West Bengal in the Central Cabinet. This is a terrible imbalance in the Government. I would request the hon. Prime Minister to kindly restore this balance.

AN HON. MEMBER : There is Dr. Triguna Sen in the Cabinet.

SHRI A. K. KISKU : I have all respect for Dr. Triguna Sen. He is a Bengali ; he is our friend. But constitutionally he comes from Tripura. I would like to say that for the Members who are elected from West Bengal, a place should be given as soon as possible in the Central Cabinet.

There are innumerable problems of Calcutta. Calcutta has been burdened with all kinds of problems because of the refugees. The refugee problem was not created by West Bengal. It was created by the leaders at the Centre. There is the question of the second bridge across the Ganges ; there is still the question of the circular railway ; there are problems of busti people, sanitation and drainage of Calcutta and of Greater Calcutta.

Finally, I would like to draw their attention to rural Bengal which needs rural electrification. Unless the rural areas are electrified soon, Bengal is going to suffer and already they are lacking in food production. It is a must. We also need proper share of Plan funds for communication and roads.

Lastly, as I am speaking of Bengal. I would also at the same time like to draw the attention of the Government to an area—I drew the attention of the Govern-

ment in my three previous speeches also—which is on the border of Orissa, Bihar and West Bengal—Thragram Sub-division of Midnapore district, Raipur and Raniland area of Bankura district, Burdware and Balarampore area of Purulia district, Singbhum district of Bihar and parts of Orissa, which is a tribal area. There are no roads or communications or tribal development blocks. It is only the line of demarcation that has been done across the States and it is artificial for us. I would say that this area should be properly looked after and development plans should be made as soon as possible.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Raj Deo Singh.

I have a fairly long list of Congress members. The time at our disposal is very short. They may take five to seven minutes each, so that I can accommodate as many as possible.

श्री राजदेव सिंह (जौनपुर) : आपने मुझे चौथे प्लान पर बोलने का मौका दिया, इसके लिए मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

हमारे अभी तक जो प्लान चले हैं, वे हमारे संविधान में जो डायरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल्स दिये गए हैं, उन्हीं पर आधारित हैं। सोशल जस्टिस, इकोनॉमिक जस्टिस, तथा कंस्ट्रक्शन आफ वॉल्य तथा मीज आफ प्रोडक्शन कुछ एक हाथों में न हो जाए, इस चीज को हमेशा ध्यान में रखा गया है। इन्हीं डायरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल्स की बुनियाद पर हमारे अभी तक प्लान चले हैं। इसी बुनियाद पर यह प्लान भी बनाया गया है।

लेकिन सभापति महोदय, मैं समझता हूँ कि जितना काम होना चाहिये नहीं हुआ है। सोशल जस्टिस के मामले में हम देखते हैं कि आज भी हमारे देश में छुआछूत है और बड़ी गंभीर शक्ल में यह हमें दिखाई दे रही है। छुआछूत को दूर करने लिए जितने ग्रान्दोलन आज तक चलाये गये हैं वे बुनियादी तौर से गलत थे। हम जानते हैं कि अछूतों की माली हालत आज अच्छी नहीं है। अगर उनकी हालत, उनकी आर्थिक हालत अच्छी हो जाए तो समाज उनको उस हिकारत

[श्री राजदेव सिंह]

की निगाह से नहीं देखेगा जिस हिकारत की निगाह से वह उनको भ्राज देखता है। इसलिए अगर अनटचेबिलिटी को दूर करना है जैसा कि हमारे डाइरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपलज में दिया गया है तो हमें उनकी आर्थिक हालत अच्छी करनी होगी, उनके लिए आर्थिक कार्यक्रम बनाने होंगे।

फैमिली प्लानिंग के लिए इस प्लान में तीन सौ करोड़ रुपया एलाट किया गया है। लेकिन जिस तरह से देश में फैमिली प्लानिंग का काम चल रहा है, यह रुपया बेकार जा रहा है। अर्थशास्त्र का यह नियम है कि जहां गरीबी अधिक होती है वहां आबादी भी ज्यादा बढ़ती है। इस वास्ते मेरा सुझाव है कि तीन सौ पचास करोड़ रुपया गरीबी दूर करने में तथा दूसरे श्रेणियों में लगाया जाय और पचास करोड़ रुपया विगोरस प्रापेगंडा फैमिली प्लानिंग के सम्बन्ध में करने के लिए लगाया जाए। जिस तरह से जिले जिले में फैमिली प्लानिंग का काम हो रहा है, उसको देखा जाए तो पता चलेगा कि कागजों पर ही सारा काम हो रहा है, उसका असर उतना नहीं पड़ रहा है जितना पड़ना चाहिए। इस वास्ते इस और आपको विशेष ध्यान देना होगा।

इकोनोमिक जस्टिस का जहां तक सम्बन्ध है, यह महसूस तो किया गया है कि देश के तमाम हिस्सों का यूनिकार्ड डिवेलेपमेंट हो। और जो ड्रप्ट फोरम प्लान में है वह इसको एफर्म भी करता है लेकिन इस तरह की चीज नहीं की गई है जिससे तमाम हिस्सों का यूनिकार्ड डिवेलेपमेंट हो। हम लोग सोच रहे थे कि प्लान के लागू होने पर ऐसी कार्रवाई होगी जिससे कंस्ट्रक्शन आफ वैल्य नहीं होगा और मीज आफ प्रोडक्शन जोकि 75 परिवारों के हाथ में चले गये हैं, उनके हाथ में नहीं रहेंगे, वे बहुत ज्यादा फँलेगे, छिटकेंगे। कंस्ट्रक्शन आफ वैल्य जो हुआ है और मीज आफ प्रोडक्शन जो अभी कुछ हाथों में चले गये हैं, इनके लिए जो हमारा इंडस्ट्रियल लाइसेंस इशू करने का तरीका है, वह डिफैक्टिव है।

सरकार के हाथ में ताकत है, शक्ति है और वह इंडस्ट्रियल एक्ट के तहत कैपिटलिस्ट्स को, इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स को मजबूत कर सकती है वोक्ेशन के बारे में, इंडस्ट्रीज के बारे में। लेकिन ऐसा भ्राज तक नहीं किया गया है। इसकी एक ग्लेयरिंग मिसाल मैं देना चाहता हूँ। हमारे देश में तीन कार फेक्ट्रीज हैं। बहुत दिनों से इन तीनों की मौनोपोली बनी हुई है। ये फेक्ट्रियां हर साल कार के दाम बढ़ाती जाती हैं। इस साल भी उन्होंने गवर्नमेंट को लिखा है कि वे दाम बढ़ाना चाहती हैं। उनका मंत्री-रियल लगातार खराब होता जा रहा है। चूंकि गवर्नमेंट इस सम्बन्ध में कई दफा आश्वासन दे चुकी है, इसलिए लोग यह उम्मीद करते हैं कि चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना में स्माल कार या पीपल्स कार को पब्लिक सेक्टर में बनाने की व्यवस्था की जायेगी, लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि ऐसा नहीं किया गया है।

हाल ही में इंडस्ट्रीज मंत्रालय के सेक्रेटरी के नाम से एक कमेटी बनी थी। उस कमेटी ने जो रिपोर्ट दी है, अभी यह हमारे सामने नहीं है। प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने भी अपने स्पीच में उस रिपोर्ट का जिक्र किया था। प्रेस में इस बारे में जो कुछ आया है, उससे पता चलता है कि रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि कैपिटलिस्टों को इस बात के लिये मजबूर किया जाये कि वे पहले ही डेवेलोप और इंडस्ट्रियलाइज्ड एरियाज में, जो कि बड़े-बड़े शहरों के करीब हैं, उद्योग स्थापित करने के बजाय पिछड़े हुए क्षेत्रों में उद्योग लगायें। अगर इंडस्ट्रीज मंत्रालय ने ईमानवारी से इस पालिसी पर अमल किया, तो इस समय देश में जो अलग अलग पावर्टी पाकेट्स हैं, वे बहुत हद तक दूर हो सकते हैं।

हमारा एक डाइरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल यह भी है कि देश में दस साल के भीतर चौदह साल की आयु तक फ्री और कम्पलसरी एजुकेशन कर दी जायेगी। आज स्थिति यह है कि अठारह

सालों के बाद भी हम उस लक्ष्य तक नहीं पहुंच पाये हैं और इस मामले में हम बहुत पीछे हैं।

प्लान में पीपल्स पार्टिसिपेशन की बात कही जाती है। कहा जाता है कि प्लान के प्रति जनता में कोई उत्साह दिखाई नहीं देता है। हम देखते हैं कि राजनैतिक, रिलिजस और लिग्विस्टिक प्रश्नों के सम्बन्ध में तो जनता बहुत दिलचस्पी लेती है, हजारों लाखों की संख्या में सभायें और प्रदर्शन आदि किये जाते हैं, लेकिन इकानोमिक प्रश्नों पर देश की जनता कोई इंट्रेस्ट नहीं दिखा रही है। इसलिए जरूरत इस बात की है कि गवर्नमेंट ज्यादा स्पेडवर्क करे और प्लान के सम्बन्ध में ज्यादा विगोरस प्रोपेगेंडा करे, ताकि लोगों में चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना के प्रति अधिक रुचि और उत्साह पैदा हो।

जहां तक पिछड़ेपन का सम्बन्ध है, यू०पी० का एक बहुत ग्लेरिंग केस है। पिछली तीन पंच-वर्षीय योजनाओं में यू०पी० की उपेक्षा की गई है, उसको इनोर किया गया है। 1951 में यू०पी० की पर कैपीटा इनकम 259 रुपये 62 पैसे थी, जब कि हिन्दुस्तान की पर कैपीटा इनकम 247 रुपये 50 पैसे थी। लेकिन इन अठारह सालों में तीन पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं और तीन एक-एक वर्ष वाली योजनाओं के चलने के बाद आज यू०पी० की पर कैपीटा इनकम घट कर 254 रुपये हो गई है जब कि हिन्दुस्तान की पर कैपीटा इनकम बढ़कर 315 हो गई है।

यह सफ है कि चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना में जो प्रोग्रस रेट डिजायर किया गया है, उस के हिस्सा से पू०पी० दो प्लान्ज पीछे है। हमारे देश में यू०पी० सबसे बड़ी स्टेट है, जहां देश की 17 परसेंट आबादी रहती है। लेकिन सेंट्रल एक्सिस्टेंस में से यू० पी० को उसका हिस्सा नहीं मिला है। पिछली पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं और वार्षिक योजनाओं में सेंट्रल सेक्टर के लिए दिये गये 1883 करोड़ रुपये में से यू०पी० को केवल 72 करोड़ रुपया मिला है। यू०पी० के साथ यह बहुत बड़ी ज्यादती है। यू०पी० तभी दूसरी

स्टेट्स के समकक्ष आ सकता है, जब कि उसे अन्य स्टेट्स से ज्यादा मदद दी जाये।

मैं कुछ फिगरज देकर बताना चाहता हूँ कि यू०पी० कितना पिछड़ा हुआ है। नम्बर ग्राफ इंस्ट्रियल लाहसेंस इस्पूड के दृष्टि से हिन्दुस्तान की तमाम स्टेट्स में यू०पी० का नम्बर 8वां है और पर कैपीटा कनजम्प्शन ग्राफ इलेक्ट्रि-सीटी में यू०पी० 1951 में तमाम स्टेट्स में तीसरे नम्बर पर था, जब कि आज वह तेरहवें नम्बर पर है। ये बातें किसी एरिया के प्रोग्रस को जाहिर करती हैं।

जहां तक पर लैस पापुलेशन पक्का रोज़ का सम्बन्ध है यू०पी० में 20 किलोमीटर है, जब कि पूरे देश का एवेरेज 56 किलोमीटर है। इसी प्रकार प्राइवेट कार की संख्या के सम्बन्ध में यू०पी० तमाम स्टेट्स में दसवें नम्बर पर है। राखस्थान और गुजरात जैसी छोटी रियासतें भी हम से आगे हैं। रेडियो सेट्स की संख्या के बारे में भी यू०पी० तमाम स्टेट्स में छठे नम्बर पर है। ये आंकड़े प्रकट करते हैं कि हम कितने पिछड़े हुए हैं।

1955 में नेशनल काँसिल ग्राफ एप्साईड इकानोमिक रिसर्च ने देश में सबसे गरीब जिलों की जानकारी प्राप्त करने के लिए 289 जिलों का सरवे किया था। उसमें यह देखा गया कि 146 रुपये से कम आमदनी वाले 29 जिलों में 11 जिले यू०पी० में थे और 173 रुपये से कम आमदनी वाले 29 जिलों में 11 जिले यू०पी० थे, जिसका अर्थ यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान के सबसे गरीब 58 जिलों में से 22 यू०पी० में हैं।

MR. CHAIRMAN : You kindly cooperate with the Chair. Your time is over. Shri Bal Raj Madhok.

श्री बलराज मधोक (दक्षिण दिल्ली) : सभापति महोदय, चौथी-पंचवर्षीय योजना के बारे में बहुत कुछ कहा जा सकता है, परन्तु चूंकि मेरे पास समय बड़ा सीमित है, इसलिए मैं कुछ बुनियादी बातों की ओर सरकार का ध्यान आँचना चाहता हूँ और कुछ दिल्ली के सम्बन्ध में भी कहना चाहता हूँ।

[श्री बलराज मधोक]

हमारे देश में किसी भी आर्थिक योजना या नीति को बनाते समय सबसे पहले यह आवश्यक है कि हम यह जानें कि हमारे देश की आर्थिक बीमारी क्या है। अगर कोई भी व्यक्ति भावजेटिवली देखे, तो वह इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचेगा कि हमारे देश में दो बुनियादी आर्थिक सवाल हैं : एक बेकारी का और दूसरा हमारे देश की खेती के पिछड़ेपन का।

हमारे देश में बेकारी की समस्या 1947 से पहले भी थी। इन योजनाओं का पहला उद्देश्य यह होना चाहिए था कि बेकारी को दूर किया जाये और लोगों को काम दिया जाये। लेकिन दुर्भाग्यवश जो आंकड़े पहली तीन योजनाओं के हमारे सामने हैं और चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना का जो प्रारूप हमारे सामने है, उनके मुताबिक बेकारी कम होने के बजाये बढ़ती जा रही है और आगे भी उसके बढ़ने की सम्भावना है। सरकार कहती है कि हम क्या करें, देश की आबादी बढ़ रही है। मगर मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि संसार के किस देश की आबादी नहीं बढ़ रही है। चूंकि आबादी बढ़ रही है, इसलिए बेकार भी बढ़ने हैं, तो फिर ये योजनायें किस मर्ज की दवा हैं।

वास्तव में इन योजनाओं को बनाते समय इस बात का ख्याल बिल्कुल नहीं रखा गया कि हम लोगों को काम दें। हमने पब्लिक सेक्टर पर 4000 करोड़ रुपया खर्च किया है, लेकिन उसमें जो नयी फैक्ट्रियां और नये प्रोजेक्ट शुरू किये गये हैं, उनका एम्प्लायमेंट पोटेंशल क्या है, उसमें नये लोगों को कार्य देने की क्षमता कितनी है, इस और कीई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है। चौथी पंच-वर्षीय योजना में भी उसकी ओर ध्यान नहीं दिया जा रहा है। अगर दिया गया होता, तो यह बेकारी कुछ कम हो सकती थी।

इतना ही नहीं, हमारे देश में बड़ी भारी इनटर्नल मार्केट है, जो शेल्टर्ड मार्केट है, उसके

लिए हम छोटी इंडस्ट्रीज पर अधिक बल दे सकते थे। हमने यह नीति बनाई कि कुछ काम, कुछ मैन्युफैक्चर, छोटे उद्योगों और छोटे कारखानों के लिए निश्चित कर दिये, लेकिन उस नीति पर भी भ्रमल नहीं हो रहा है। इसका नतीजा यह है कि बड़ी इंडस्ट्रीज स्थापित हो रही हैं, बड़ी मशीनें आ रही हैं और उनसे काम बढ़ने की बजाये कम हो रहा है।

इसलिए मेरा पहला सुझाव यह है कि हम इस योजना पर पुनर्विचार करें और नयी इंडस्ट्रीज लगाते समय इस बात का विशेष ध्यान रखें कि उनमें जितना इनवेस्टमेंट किया जाये, उसके मुताबिक एम्प्लायमेंट पोटेंशल कितना बढ़ेगा और जिन इंडस्ट्रीज का एम्प्लायमेंट पोटेंशल अधिक है, उनकी ओर अधिक ध्यान दिया जाये।

हमारे पढ़े-लिखे लोगों में बेरोजगारी के बढ़ने से देश में एक विस्फोटक स्थिति पैदा हो रही है। उनको काम देने के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि ऐसी योजनायें बनाई जायें, जिनके अन्तर्गत सरकार की ओर से उन्हें सहायता दी जाये, ताकि वे अपने पैरों पर खड़े हो सकें। छोटे-छोटे को-आपरेटिब्ज के आघार पर या उन्हें एड देकर उनके द्वारा छोटी इंडस्ट्रीज लगवाने की व्यवस्था की जाये। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि इस योजना में ऐसी कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की गई है। बेकारी के लिए और अन्य कामों के लिए रुपया दिया गया है, लेकिन बेकारी दूर करने के लिए रुपया नहीं दिया गया है।

कहा जाता है कि हमारे देश में मेंग्रीन रेवोल्यूशन हो रहा है लेकिन वास्तविकता यह है कि आज भी इस योजना में खेती को प्राथमिकता मिलती हमें दिखाई नहीं देती है। खेती की पहली आवश्यकता पानी है। मगर हम इस प्लान में देखते हैं कि अधिक बल कैमिकल फर्टिलाइजर्स पर दिया जा रहा है। मैं उसके महत्व को कम नहीं करता। मगर पानी पहली आवश्यकता है। हमने राजस्थान कैनाल के

लिए कितना रुपया दिया ? वह मुकम्मिल नहीं हो सका और उसके मुकम्मिल न होने की वजह से वहाँ जो भुखमरी पड़ती है उसके ऊपर करोड़ों रुपया खर्च करना पड़ता है। इसी को कहते हैं पेनी वाइज एन्ड पाउंड फुलिश। यदि हमने राजस्थान कॅनाल को जल्दी मुकम्मिल किया होता, छोटी योजनाओं पर ज्यादा रुपया दिया होता, पानी का प्रबन्ध किया होता तो जो रिलीफ के लिए ग्रहों रुपया खर्च करना पड़ता है वह बच सकता था। इसलिये मेरा यह कहना है कि खेती के लिये जो ध्यान देना चाहिए था। वह इस योजना में नहीं दिया जा रहा है।

14.41 hrs.

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker in the Chair]

दूसरी बात मुझे दिल्ली के सम्बन्ध में कहनी है। दिल्ली देश की राजधानी है और राजधानी होने के कारण पिछले 20 सालों में जिस द्रुतगति से दिल्ली की आबादी बढ़ी है, वह दुनिया के किसी दूसरे देश में नहीं बढ़ी। ग्रन्थस महोदय, मेरे पास आंकड़े हैं, दूसरे शहरों में आबादी जिस हिसाब से बढ़ी है वह इस प्रकार है—कलकत्ता 139.72 परसेंट, बम्बई 227.44 परसेंट, मद्रास 140.49 परसेंट और दिल्ली 427.74 परसेंट। इतनी तेजी से आबादी दुनिया के किसी भी देश में नहीं बढ़ी है। यह जो आबादी बढ़ी है इसमें 88.7 परसेंट अर्बन आबादी है। इतनी परसेंटेज अर्बन पापुलेशन की बढ़ोतरी का कहीं भी नहीं है। इस बड़े शहर के डेवलपमेंट के लिए सरकार ने एक मास्टर प्लान बनाया। उस मास्टर प्लान के मुताबिक इस शहर के डेवलपमेंट के लिए लगभग 732 करोड़ रुपया चाहिए था। यह मास्टर प्लान सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने बनाया। उसमें कहा है कि इसके अन्दर जो डेवलपमेंट का काम है, जो सोशल एमेनिटीज हैं उनको देने के लिए 732 करोड़ रुपया चाहिए। उस प्लान के अनुसार इस शहर की आबादी 55 लाख होनी थी मगर अब वह 67.24 लाख होने की उम्मीद है।

प्लान बनाने वालों को अन्दाजा था कि हर साल आबादी 3.5 परसेंट के हिसाब से बढ़ेगी मगर एकजुअली बढ़ रही है 5.5 परसेंट के हिसाब से। उसी आधार पर चले तो आज दिल्ली के डेवलपमेंट के लिए 1 हजार करोड़ रुपया चाहिए था। लेकिन अभी तक केवल 161 करोड़ रुपया खर्च किया गया है। इस चौथी योजना के लिए दिल्ली प्रशासन ने 400 करोड़ रुपये की योजना बनाई थी। मगर प्लानिंग कमीशन के बकिंग ग्रुप ने काट करके उसे 218 करोड़ के लगभग कर दिया है। लेकिन अब जो प्रारूप आया है दिल्ली के लिये उसमें केवल 155 करोड़ रखा गया है। इतने रुपये से दिल्ली की बुनियादी आवश्यकता भी पूरी नहीं होगी और दिल्ली एक बड़ा भारी स्लम बन जायेगा। सबसे बुरी बात तो यह है कि न केवल दिल्ली को उचित रुपया नहीं दिया जा रहा है बल्कि जो दिल्ली के अपने रिसोर्सेज हैं वह भी दिल्ली के विकास के लिये दिल्ली प्रशासन को नहीं दिये जा रहे हैं। इस योजना के मुताबिक दिल्ली के अन्दर जो रेवेन्यू सरप्लस होगा वह लगभग 49 करोड़ का होगा। नये टैक्सेज से हम 16 करोड़ रुपए इकट्ठा कर सकेंगे। इसके अलावा इनकम फ्राम मैनेजमेंट आफ नजुल लैंड से 5.42 करोड़ रुपया मिल सकता है। शेयर आफ सेंट्रल टैक्सेज विज इनकम टैक्स, यूनियन एक्साइज एस्टेट ड्यूटी एन्ड एडीशनल एक्साइज ड्यूटी से 31.18 करोड़ मिल सकता है। शेयर आफ यूनियन एमाल्यूमेंट्स से 670 करोड़, रीडम्बर्समेंट आफ एक्सपेंडीचर ग्रान सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ऐक्टिविटीज बीइंग अटेंडेड टु बाई दि एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन से 6.65 करोड़ और लॉस ग्रॉग्रेस्ट रीसिट्स फ्राम नेशनल सेविंग स्कीम एन्ड प्राबिडेंड फंड आफ एम्प्लॉईज से 10 करोड़ रुपया मिल सकता है। इस प्रकार यह जोड़ें तो दिल्ली जो अपने रिसोर्सेज से रुपया इकट्ठा कर सकता है वह सब मिलाकर 120 करोड़ के करीब आता है। हम कहते हैं कि जो 218 करोड़ रुपया माना है प्लानिंग कमीशन के बकिंग ग्रुप ने उसके साथ

[श्री बलराज मधोक]

दिल्ली के अपने रिसोर्सेज भी जोड़ दिये जायें तो दिल्ली का प्लान लगभग 350 करोड़ का बनता है। उसके बजाय 155 करोड़ रुपया दिल्ली को दिया जा रहा है। तो मेरा कहना है कि यह दिल्ली के साथ भेदभाव है। आज दिल्ली के अन्दर जनसंघ का प्रशासन है। मगर दिल्ली देश की राजधानी है। दिल्ली में तो आपका भी शासन है। अगर दिल्ली का विकास होता है तो उसका क्रेडिट आपको भी मिलता है। इसलिए दिल्ली के साथ ऐसा भेदभाव करना क्योंकि जनसंघ का शासन यहां पर है, मेरी प्रार्थना है कि यह बड़ी गलत बात होगी। मैं प्रधान मंत्री से और गवर्नमेंट से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि इस प्रारूप पर पुनर्बिचार कीजिए और दिल्ली की प्रावश्यकताओं को देखिए। दिल्ली के प्लान के लिए जो रुपया मंजूर किया है, उसे बढ़ाइए और दिल्ली को स्लम बनने से रोकिये। धन्यवाद।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : श्री मृत्युंजय प्रसाद।

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Mettur) : He is collecting his papers.

श्री मृत्युंजय प्रसाद (महाराज गंज) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, समय के लिए धन्यवाद। मेरे मित्र ने कहा कि "ही इज क्लेविंग स्टैटिक्स"। स्टैटिस्टिक्स क्लेक्ट करके क्या करूंगा? इतना समय तो मेरे पास है नहीं कि मैं कोई स्टैटिस्टिक्स रख सकूँ और रखने से लाभ ही क्या है? क्योंकि दो एक बायें कहने से काम चलता नहीं है। यह विषय इतना बड़ा है कि इसके बारे में बहुत बातें कहनी होंगी और वह संभव नहीं है। इसलिए मैं सिर्फ दो चार बातों की ओर सरकार का ध्यान दिलाऊंगा।

पहली चीज तो यह है कि किराये की वृद्धि ने शुरू से ही यह नीति बनाई, ऐसा लगता है कि जो कच्चे सब खराब। ऐसी बात नहीं है। मैं तो इसमें विश्वास करता हूँ कि आपको बहुत निराशा हुई है, इस योजना से, मुझे भी निराशा है:-।

हजारों स्वाहिशें ऐसी कि
हर स्वाहिश पर दम निकले।
बहुत निकले मेरे घरमान
मगर फिर भी कम निकले ॥

यह दूसरी लाइन आप भूल जाते हैं। मेरी भी बहुत सी स्वाहिशें बाकी हैं और बाकी रहेंगी कोई उपाय नहीं, उनको पूरा नहीं किया जा सकता परन्तु साथ ही साथ जो चीज हो चुकी है, जो घरमान निकल चुके हैं, उन्हें भी याद रखें। उन्हें भूलने से तो काम नहीं चलेगा और शुरू से आखिर तक सब उलटा ही देखियेगा तो तब तो कोई काम आगे चलने वाला नहीं है।

दूसरी तरफ यह भी हमें देखना है कि यह होता क्यों है? इसलिए होता है कि हमारे पास साधन कम हैं हर तरह के साधन कम हैं। पैसे के ही साधन नहीं, आदमी के भी साधन कम हैं। आदमी गिनती में बहुत हैं, काम के कम हैं। और यह बात मैं इसलिए जोर से कह रहा हूँ कि मैं देखता है कि आप के यहां या तो टेलेंट्स की कमी है या टेलेंट्स का सदुपयोग जैसे होना चाहिए, वैसे नहीं हो रहा है। मैं पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग्स का समर्थक हूँ, पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग्स का कुछ अनुभव मेरे पास है। मगर साथ ही साथ वहां की हालत देख कर मुझे तकलीफ होती है और मैं मानता हूँ कि पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग्स की शिकायत हमी लोग करा रहे हैं जो उसके समर्थक हैं। इसलिए कि उसके भीतर जो असली कमजोरियां हैं उनको न लेकर केवल किताबी सिद्धांत की बात करने लगते हैं। बात अच्छी है, मगर क्यों ऐसी कमजोरी आती है? मैं सिर्फ दो तीन बातों पर ध्यान दिलाऊंगा। पहली बात तो यह है कि जो कोई प्रारूप बनाता है, प्रोजेक्ट रिपोर्ट तैयार करता है उसे इसकी फिक्र रहती है कि मेरी स्कीम जरूर मंजूर होनी चाहिए और इसलिए जहां वह दिल में समझता है कि सौ करोड़ का खर्च है वहां वह 50 करोड़ की बात करता है जिसमें किसी तरह मंजूरी तो मिल जाय और फिर उसके बाद में जहाँ वह धामदनी 2 करोड़ की देखता है वहाँ

4 करोड़ की दिल्लीलाता है अपने कागजों में । नतीजा यह होता है कि सब्जबाग दिल्ली कर प्रारूप मंजूर करा लेता है, काम शुरू हो जाता है । आधी दूर तक पहुँचते पहुँचते हालत यह हो जाती है कि गवर्नमेंट के लिए कोई चारा नहीं रह जाता है और दूसरी स्कीम्स को बरबाद करके जो चालू है उसको पूरा करने की कोशिश करनी पड़ती है । यहाँ पर दो बातें आ जाती हैं । पहली बात तो यह है कि जो प्रारूप बनाता है, जो प्रोजेक्ट रिपोर्ट तैयार करता है वह कितनी सावधानी से, कितने मनो-योग से अपना काम करता है, यह देखने की दरकार है और इसमें अगर वह कसर करते हैं तो क्या उन्हें समझाया जाता है कि आपने तारीफ का काम नहीं किया, आपने शिकायत का काम किया, इसलिये आगे से आपके ऊपर ऐसी जिम्मेदारी का काम नहीं दिया जायगा ? दूसरी तरफ जो उनकी जांच पड़ताल करते हैं उनको भी तो देखना है यह कहां तक सब्जबाग दिल्लीलाया जा रहा है, कहां तक इसमें तथ्य है और अगर उस जांच में वह चूकते हैं तो उसकी कीमत सारे देश को देनी पड़ती है ।

इधर दूसरी तरफ हमें कर्ज के पैसे मिलते गये और हमें सहज में पैसे मिले इसलिए खर्च भी किया । मगर यह नहीं सोचा कि उस कर्ज का पैसा एक दिन हमें चुकाना पड़ेगा । चुकाने का रास्ता दुनिया में एक ही है दूसरा नहीं—प्रोडक्शन बढ़ा करके, जिस काम को हाथ में लिया है उसको पूरा करके, उससे जितना काम निकलना है वह निकाल करके कर्ज चुकाया जा सकता है । मगर इसमें फिर कठिनाई दो तीन तरफ से आ जाती है । एक तो मैनेजमेंट की तरफ से, उसके बारे में मैं बार-बार कह चुका हूँ, इसलिये ज्यादा जोर उस पर नहीं दूंगा । सिर्फ इशारा कर दूंगा कि जो व्यक्ति एक जगह सफल हो जाता है आप मान लेते हैं कि वह सभी जगह सफल हो जायगा । मेरा संकेत आपके ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव कैंडिडेट के आफिसरों के प्रति है । वह ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में होशियार होते हैं, उन्होंने अच्छा काम किया नभी इतने ऊँचे पद

पर पहुँचे, मगर इसके माले यह नहीं कि कम-शियल वेंचर्स में भी कैसे सफल हो जैसे कि ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में हुए । हाँ, एक्सपेन्स हैं । उसका एक ही उदाहरण मैं दूंगा । आपके देशमुख साहब बोटैनिक एक्सपर्ट थे जो फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर थे । मगर यह तो एक्सपेन्स है, इसको हम रूल तो नहीं बना सकते, और इसी अन्दाज से सबको तो नहीं तोल सकते ।

दूसरी चीज यह आ जाती है कि आपके यहाँ इसका कोई हिसाब ही कभी भी नहीं लगता है कि जो काम होगा उसका पक्का हिसाब रोज होता जायगा । दूसरे शब्दों में यों कहें कि पर-मैन पर-डे मिनिमम क्वैन्टम आफ वर्क का कोई हिसाब अभी तक नहीं रखा गया है । इसलिये बहुत से ऐसे आदमी आपके पास है जो काम छोड़ा करते हैं और यश ज्यादा लेते हैं और उधर काम में खराबी आती है ।

तीसरी बात यह आ जाती है आपके कारखानों की जो कार्यक्षमता है यानी प्रोडक्शन कॅपेसिटी के हिसाब से काम बहुत कम होता है । मैं आंकड़ों की बात को छोड़ रहा हूँ, लेकिन मेरे पास सब आंकड़े मौजूद हैं—एक जगह पर सिर्फ 4 परसेंट काम हो रहा है और 96 परसेंट बरबाद हो रहा है । 30-40 परसेंट काम तो बहुत जगहों पर हो रहा है । जब इस तरह से काम किया जायगा, ओवर-कॅपिटलाइज किया जायगा, इनएफिशियेन्टली मैनेज किया जायगा और जितनी उसकी कार्यक्षमता है, उससे कम काम लिया जायगा तो ऐसी स्थिति में घाटा नहीं होगा तो क्या होगा ?

इसके साथ ही साथ हम यह भी सोचें कि जितना माल हमने बनाया है, वह यदि बिक नहीं रहा है तो क्यों बिक नहीं रहा है ? क्या हमने काम शुरू करने से पहले मार्केट स्टडी की थी, क्या हमने उस माल की संभावित बिक्री का हिसाब लगाया था ? अगर नहीं लगाया था तो जिन लोगों ने ऐसी स्कीम बनाई, हमें सबसे पहले चाहिए कि आप जितना काबिल अपने

[श्री भृत्बुंजय प्रसाद]

को सनभूते हो, उतने काबिल साबित नहीं हुए—हमें यह बात उनको बतला देनी चाहिये।

चौथी चीज—जहाँ हमें कुछ करना नहीं है, सिर्फ माल को उठाकर भेज देना है, जैसे माइज के काम में, वहाँ भी हम नुकसान पर नुकसान उठा रहे हैं। एन०सो०डी०सी० कई सालों से लौस पर लौस दे रहा है, नेवेली लिग-नाइट कारपोरेशन ने लौस दिया, बैलाडीला जहाँ सिर्फ आयरन-ओर उठाकर भेज देना है, वहाँ भी लौस हो रहा है—आखिर यह चीज कितने दिनों तक बरदाश्त करते रहेंगे? जहाँ आपको कुछ बनाना है वहाँ उससे भी बढ़कर हेवी लौस हो रहा है, जैसे हिन्दुस्तान स्टील, जिसके नुकसान का अन्त ही मालूम नहीं देता, कहां जाकर उसका अन्त होगा। दूसरी तरफ प्राजकल भस्त्रबारों में निकला है कि आप स्टील का, लोहा इस्पात का एक और कारखाना लगाने की बात सोच रहे हैं—नया कारखाना लगाकर आप क्या करेंगे जब कि आप पुराने से ही पूरा काम नहीं ले रहे हैं, जो माल वहाँ बनता है, वह बिक नहीं रहा है साथ ही साथ आप बाहर से माल मंगाते जा रहे हैं, जिस माल की आपको दरकार है वह आप वहाँ नहीं बनाते हैं—ऐसी स्थिति कब तक चलेगी।

दूसरी बात गांवों के बारे में है—गांवों में जो हमारे ट्रेडीशनल रोजगार थे, परम्परागत रोजगार थे, वे अब छूटते जा रहे हैं, बन्द होते जा रहे हैं, उनके कम्पीटीशन में हम बड़ी-बड़ी फॅक्टरीज खड़ी करते जा रहे हैं—चाहे प्राइवेट सेक्टर में करें या पब्लिक सेक्टर में करें। बाटा ने मोचियों को मार दिया, लेकिन अभी भी शहरों में मोचियों के पास कुछ काम है। आज गांवों में बिना कल के चक्का का आटा मिलना मुश्किल है, आपको घानी का तेल नहीं मिलेगा, ढेंकी का चावल नहीं मिलेगा। इन सबके अन्दर जो एक प्रकार का कन्स्यूजन होता है उसकी भी एक मिसाल आपको देना चाहता हूँ खाण्डसारी मिल्ज पर इतना खर्च होता है, आपने इतनी व्यवस्था की, मिल वालों

ने इतनी व्यवस्था की, इतना कन्ट्रोल किया, फिर भी वे लोग रोते हैं—इसकी क्या वजह है? या तो वहाँ इनएफिसियेन्सी है या असली फिगर्स आपके पास नहीं आने देते। दूसरी तरफ हम किसान मारे जाते हैं। दुनिया में कोई ऐसा विज्ञान नहीं है जहाँ रा-मॅटीरियल का दाम कारखाने वाले बिना दिये ले जाते हों, लेकिन यहाँ पर ऐसा ही होता है। हम अपने सिर पर माल ढोकर वहाँ पहुंचाते हैं और वहाँ रास्ता देखते रहते हैं कि दाम मिलेगा या नहीं मिलेगा।

एक तरफ अन्न-एम्प्लायमेंट की बात होती है। मगर यह बात सोचने की है कि क्या हम एम्पलायेबल यूथ को एम्पलायमेंट देना चाहते हैं? या अन्न-एम्पलायेबल यूथ को देना चाहते हैं? क्या हमने अपने यूथ को ऐसी ट्रेनिंग दी है कि वे एम्पलायबल बन सकें, अपना काम कर सकें? एम्पलायमेंट के मायने यही है कि वे इतना पैदा कर सकें जिससे कि उनका सारा खर्च निकल सके। अगर वे अपने काम से, उत्पात्ति से इनना नहीं निकाल सकते कि जिसमें उनका गुजारा हो सके तो आप सबसिद्धी देकर तो किसी को एम्पलायमेंट में नहीं रख सकते, यह सम्भव नहीं है। 10-5 वर्ष तो चल जायगा, लेकिन आगे चलने वाला नहीं है। क्या गेनफुल एम्पलायमेंट के लिये आप उनको ट्रेनिंग दे रहे हैं—यह एक बड़ा टेढ़ा प्रश्न है। इसमें एड्युकेशन का सवाल है, टैक्नीकल एड्युकेशन का सवाल है और इन सबके बाद उनकी मनोवृत्ति का सवाल आ जाता है।

अब आखरी बात में बिहार की लेना चाहता हूँ। मैंने पहले भी कहा है और अब फिर उसी बिहार के रोने को लेता हूँ। कहने को तो बिहार में पब्लिक सेक्टर में आपने काफी पैसा लगाया है। प्राइवेट सेक्टर का भी काफी पैसा लगा हुआ है—इस बात से इंकार नहीं किया जा सकता, लेकिन तमाशा यह है कि उसमें हमारा क्या है, बिहारियों का क्या है? आज वहाँ मजदूरी मिलने में कठिनाई हो रही है। ऊंची

नौकरियों तो दूर की बात है। सिर्फ हमारी जमीन है और जमीन के भीतर जो माल है, वह हमें परमात्मा ने दिया हुआ है, लेकिन हमें उसका क्या लाभ मिल रहा है? सब कारखानों, उद्योगों के केन्द्रीय या मुख्य दफ्तर बाहर है, कलकत्ता, बम्बई और कानपुर में दफ्तर हैं, इंफ्रमेटक्स का हिसाब वहीं लगाया जाता है, एम्प्लायमेन्ट वहीं से होता है। सरकारी कारखानों के भी ज्यादातर दफ्तर आपके यहाँ दिल्ली में हैं। एक छोटा सा पाइराइट का कारखाना बिहार में बचा हुआ था, उसको भी हटाने की बात थी, लेकिन टेम्पेरीली उसको रोका गया है। दबा करके इसका स्थल कीजिए। वही न किया जाय जो कम्पलेशन में आपको करना पड़ रहा है। हमारे पास कोयला है, लोहा हैं, इसलिये आपको दक्षिण बिहार में कारखाना बैठाना ही पड़ेगा—ऐसी बात नहीं होनी चाहिये। बिना कम्पलेशन के आपने क्या किया, यह बात सोचने की हो जाती है।

यहाँ बार-बार इस बात को छोड़ा गया है, आपकी एस्टीमेट्स कमेटी ने भी कहा है कि बिहार की डेवलपमेंट के लिये बहुत जरूरी है कि गंगा में फिर से स्टीमर नॉर्बिस को शुरू किया जाय। लेकिन आपके फोर्ब फाइव इयर प्लान में इसका कहीं भी जिक्र नहीं है। आपने भासाम में ब्रह्मपुत्र पर नेशनल वाटर वे मान लिया है, इसके लिये दो जगहों पर—पाचू और जोगी गोपा में पोर्ट्स बना रहे हैं लेकिन आपको यह कुत्रल करना पड़ेगा कि आप उस रास्ते से कलकत्ता तक नहीं पहुंच पाते हैं क्योंकि बीच में पाकिस्तान आ जाता है। मगर इलाहाबाद से लेकर हावड़ा तक जाने का रास्ता बना हुआ है—उत्तर प्रदेश, बिहार और बंगाल तक—जिसमें कोई कठिनाई नहीं है, उसके लिए आप कुछ नहीं सोचते हैं, इसे आप नेशनल वाटर वे डिक्लेयर कीजिये और पटना और अन्य दो जगहों पर पोर्ट्स बनाइये। अगर आप ऐसा नहीं करेंगे तो आपने आपको कठिनाई धार्येगी, स्ट्रैटेजिक प्वाइन्ट से भी यह बहुत जरूरी है। इस पार और उस पार में बहुत बड़ा अन्तर हो

गया है, और हमेशा के लिये यह अन्तर रह जायगा, केवल एक या दो पुल से काम नहीं चलेगा।

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Madurai) : I should like to point out that this discussion of about seven hours on the whole gamut of the plan is supposed to cover all the aspects of planning and the policies underlying the various aspects of planning such as agricultural policy, industrial policy, foreign policy in the sense of foreign collaboration and foreign capital investment and the method and manner of raising resources. If all these aspects have to be discussed in Parliament in speeches of ten or fifteen minutes duration by different Members, it does not lead us anywhere. If real justice has got to be done, it would have been much better if Parliament had divided itself into a number of small committees and discussed more intimately the various aspects of planning. Then, we could also make some impact on the thinking of the ruling party. As it is, the ruling party comes here to defend this Plan : A, B, C,—we will not change a comma. What is the use of this kind of discussion, I wonder. But this is what we are supposed to participate in ; that is all. Anyway, since this is the only way that we are left with, I will deal with certain aspects of the planning that we have undertaken, but I do not go into all the aspects of it.

15.00 hrs.

The Plan document begins with the objectives of the Plan. It is a reiteration of the earlier plans. What does it say? They speak that our objective is the socialist pattern of society. What does it mean? They say :

“Essentially, this means that the basic criterion for determining lines of advance must not be private profit, but social gain, and that the pattern of development and the structure of social-economic relations should be so planned that they result not only in appreciable increases in national income and employment but also in greater equality in incomes and wealth. Major decisions regarding production, distribution,

[Shri P. Ramamurti]

consumption and investment—and in fact all significant socio-economic relationships—must be made by agencies informed by social purpose. The benefits of economic development must accrue more and more to the relatively less privileged classes of society, and there should be progressive reduction of the concentration of incomes, wealth and economic power."

This was the objective proclaimed even when the second Five Year Plan was promulgated. It is just a copy from the second Five Year Plan. Does the Congress party or those people who drafted this Plan, go into the question how far this prime objective, namely, the entire decisions to be taken, must be governed by social purpose: private profit, individual profit, should not be the main criterion of decisions. But did they at all go into the question whether in the plans that have so far been fulfilled, this objective has been fulfilled; if it was not fulfilled, whether we have gone in that direction, or whether we have gone in the opposite direction. This is the fundamental question and that question is today being burked, and when the question is put, the Planning Commission says that unfortunately, with regard to social justice, sufficient data are not available to come to any conclusion, and yet they want to plan. This is a wonderful thing.

15 years after that, they say sufficient data are not available. Why are not sufficient data available? Are they unaware of the fact that the whole country is talking of the 75 families who have amassed wealth? Just the other day, one officer from the Company Law Administration who had studied it, issued the figures to show that within the course of four years, the House of Birlas had increased its wealth from Rs. 293 crores to Rs. 509 crores. The figures with regard to the other families are also available. The administrative reports are there. Their enquiry reports are there. And yet, the Government of India comes forward and says we do not know anything about it. There is the Agricultural Labour Enquiry Report, and it has been again and again pointed out that the income of the agricultural labour decreased from Rs. 107 to

Rs. 100 in the course of the Second Five Year Plan. The best way is to stop the Agricultural Labour Enquiry Report itself! In fact, this kind of Committee was never appointed, for a long time because when such committees are appointed, they unearth inconvenient facts. Therefore, stop that.

15.04 hrs.

[Mr. Speaker in the Chair]

For example, do not the Government know that the biggest concentration of wealth, as far as this country is concerned, where the majority of the people are concerned, namely, the agricultural population, is the biggest concentration of wealth in the hands of a few people? Do they not know that? Do they not know about their own reports? Are there not reports, even by the Planning Commission's Panel, which go to show that all the laws that have so far been enacted by various Governments with regard to the tenure of land and all these things have resulted not in security of tenure but they have resulted in the eviction on a large scale which has never been seen even during 100 years of British rule?

A HON. MEMBER: What forcible occupation of land?

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: You want to enice the people with the help of Government. Therefore, people retaliate by using force against you. There is no other way. Concentration of land has gone on. Blackmarketing has been going on all these years. Still the Planning Commission says, we do not have facts.

Instead of lessening, disparities have in fact grown on a colossal scale. Mr. Masani was right when he pointed out some of these things, though his conclusions are not correct. But Mr. Masani should not be angry with the Government, because the plans have only helped the class he represents here. He said, the targets of the plans have not been fulfilled. But I shall make an amendment in that. All the physical targets the industries have not been fulfilled, but some targets have not only been fulfilled, but over-fulfilled.

For example, the amounts of taxation budgeted for have been over-fulfilled. On whom has this taxation fallen? From Rs. 50 crores in 1947-48, the excise duties have gone up to Rs. 1,500 crores in 1967-68. Now it is much more. Deficit financing target also has been over-fulfilled. The first plan budgeted for a deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 290 crores, but the actual deficit financing was Rs. 420 crores. In the third plan, the budget was for deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 550 crores, but the actual amount went up to Rs. 1,200 crores. Therefore, so far as taxing the common man and putting more and more burdens on him is concerned, in the name of the plan, it has been over-fulfilled.

Today we are in a dilemma. After fleecing the people so much, even the consumer goods industries like textiles are in doldrums. People are not able to buy cloth. The consumption has fallen from 16 yards to 14. 70 to 80 mills have closed down. Cloth produced in this country does not find a market. When these basic questions are not tackled, Mr. Masani should not be angry about what the planners have done earlier. After all, these plans have helped them. Our country is not like Great Britain or France which could develop on a capitalist basis, on the basis of the loot of the empire. Unfortunately, our capitalists do not have any other country to loot. So, capital formation here is done by looting the common people. The entire policy pursued by the Government of India during the last three plans has been to transfer the wealth created by the common people into the hands of the richer sections of the community like Tatas and Birlas. Hence this deficit financing and burdens of taxation on the common people.

Despite tax evasions galore, the Government of India did not arrest and put in jail a single person all these 15 years for tax-evading. Even their names should not be published in the papers. That is the law! Now, how much is due from the different people is being published. What is the use of fighting over corruption which has become so rampant? When so much black money is there, naturally corruption will increase hundredfold.

That way we try to enrich these people so that they can get capital for starting

industries. Shri Masani would be glad about that because otherwise they would not have got the capital.

Whom do the governmental institutions help? Whom do the so-called nationalised Life Insurance Corporation help? Birlas alone got Rs. 30 crores from them. If you go into the investment portfolio of LIC you will find half a dozen houses got more than 50 per cent of the investible funds. All the other financial institutions created by the Government help only some of these people. They guarantee the loans for which these people enter into agreements with foreign countries. They guarantee ever so many things for helping them to enter into collaboration.

What type of collaboration agreements do they enter into? They enter into collaboration agreements that would require permanent import of intermediary goods costing us heavy foreign exchange. The Government of India says, we will go and take loans from foreign countries so that your needs for import of these intermediary goods would be met. You will be able to find that Government has been helping them in every possible way.

The same is the case in the matter of export. How is export promotion to be done? It is not due to any patriotism. They have no patriotism. Even for export promotion you must give them incentive. What is the type of incentive given? They are told they can import a certain kind of scarce goods and sell them at a premium of 60 per cent. That is corruption legalised by the Government of India in the name of export promotion.

Sir, this is the type of things that have been going on. What is the result of all that today? Today the Government of India does not know when its dependence on foreign countries will stop. The Prime Minister makes a virtue of the fact that in the Fourth Five Year Plan which they have brought the total investment by means of these foreign loans will be only 8 per cent and therefore it is very much less. I am reminded of the Sanskrit proverb *vidha naree pativrata*—an old woman is always a virtuous woman.

AN HON. MEMBER: What about an old man?

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : You can take it the other way. He is also virtuous. Rs. 4050 crores is budgeted for and if a major portion of it goes for paying old debts and interest charges on that and therefore what you have is a very small amount which could be invested, what is the fun of making a virtue of that ? There is no other go. Dependence on foreign countries depends only on this. If for mere return of old loans and payment of interest charges on old loans we take more loans, just like the peasant in our country who goes and gets loans in order to pay back his old loan to mahajans, how will our dependence on foreign countries go ? It will not in any way be lessened.

We have been getting aid through foreign collaboration. How has it helped us ? Shri K. C. Pant gave a statement in the other House according to which for the last four years the total amount of money given by way of investment in this country amounted to Rs. 92 crores whereas the out-flow from these companies by way of interest, by way of dividends, by way of profits and various other items has gone up to Rs. 165 crores. This is in addition to the intermediary goods that you have permanently to import into this country. Therefore, this does not mean lessening of the drain on foreign exchange from this country. On the other hand, foreign exchange problems have been created as a result of this policy of collaboration that we have been having all these years. How have our capitalists helped us ? How they helped us to lessen this dependence ? No. The type of collaboration agreements they have entered into, the terms of such agreements are such that we have perpetually to depend on those countries for the import of intermediates and things of that nature. That is why when Birlas in 1946 entered into an agreement with Nuffields, a British firm, Mahatma Gandhi, when informed of it, came forward denouncing Birlas for entering into such an agreement. Today, in the centenary year of the same Mahatma Gandhi who denounced foreign collaboration agreements, here is a government which, while claiming itself to be the follower of Mahatma Gandhi, has made this anti-national act of foreign collaboration the sheet-anchor of its policies. That has been done and that

is why you find yourself in this terrible difficulty.

Now, what is this wonderful collaboration ? Do we get the know-how ? No, not at all.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA (Delhi Sadar) : What about Tito ?

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI ! I am not a follower of Tito. I am speaking as an Indian.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA : I am glad to know it.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : Now, what is the wonderful collaboration, agreements that we have entered into and what are the results ? In our own country, our own scientists are starving. They are not able to do or get any work. The other day I gave the example of aluminium industry with respect to the manufacture of aircraft. It is a well-known fact that every country produces aircraft with the raw material available in that country. Aluminium is not a raw material which we have got in abundance. Yet, whenever we enter into collaboration agreements for the aircraft industry, we agree to make them with aluminium merely because those foreign countries which manufacture aircraft have plenty of aluminium in their countries. In that way, we become dependent on that country for our raw material for such a vital and strategically important industry as the aircraft industry. On the other hand, we have chromium in abundance in this country. Our scientists have discovered the method of using chromium for the manufacture of aircraft. Yet, our government do not held these people to produce it on a commercial scale.

I pointed out the other day how our scientists have developed even electronic computers on a small scale. Our country does not need big electronic computers at present because we are not developed so much. If these people are encouraged to develop the electronic industry, in the next ten years they will be able to develop big electronic computers when we have developed so much and we need them. But our government is not prepared to do it. Why ? Because of the pressure of big American electronic companies on our government.

Those companies want to ensure that our scientists and our technologists do not develop the industry here because that will affect their market. Yet, our government is not helping our scientists and technologists. That is why I say that our basic policy is wrong and that is why all our Three Plans have collapsed. Yet, we do not think of going into the reasons for the failure of our Plans so that we can rectify them at least in the Fourth Plan.

For want of time, I do not want to go into other questions. As far as this Plan is concerned, as Shri Maran has pointed out, it is oriented more towards private industry. He has given facts and figures to substantiate his contention. Shri Vasudevan Nair has also given facts and figures. I will not repeat them. All that I want to point out is this; that unless these policies are basically changed, unless our dependence on foreign countries, particularly capitalist countries, is ended, we will not be able to make a success of the Plan, especially when we are in the grip of a big crisis.

Shri Masani was talking about the French indicative plan. I do not know what Shri Masani is going to say about the fact that the French franc itself is today in terrific doldrums and the French economy is in a terrible crisis. Are we to copy France for that kind of indicative planning? Or, are we to copy Britain, especially when we know the state of British economy? Therefore, these things do not give us any guide.

Again, with regard to future, with regard to concentration of wealth, what is the answer given here? The Plan says that there is a dilemma, big people will be able to develop industries immediately, but if you do that, there will be concentration of industry: or long-term goal is to smash up such concentration; therefore, in order to have immediate industrial development, we will help them. That is what you say. But once you begin to help them, they will get richer and richer and there will be more and more of concentration of wealth and economic power. It is well-known that economic power leads to political power. Therefore, even though you say that you will go on enriching them and, later on, you will smash them what will really happen is that they

will smash you. That is what is going to happen.

Therefore, unless at least some basic policies are changed with regard to land problem, with regard to concentration of wealth, social control of banks and so on, we cannot succeed.

We know how LIC investment portfolio is functioning. Therefore, I dare say, these banks themselves ultimately in the hands of the officials who are today to exercise that social control will themselves be controlled by these big monopolies. We know that. That is why we are talking of public sector and the deficiencies in the public sector.

I want to point out that so long as these big monopolies continue to exist, nothing is going to happen. They have created in this country nothing but profit motive. That is the dominant thing. "Make money" is the dominant thing. The entire society is caught up in that. Even our Deputy Prime Minister who invested Rs. 26,000 from small savings in some company, when he was asked why did he do it, said, "Because I will get more money". Even a person like our Deputy Prime Minister is being corroded by the desire, by the greed, of getting more money. When this is the sort of society that is being created, what is use of blaming these high officials in the public sector, when side by side, they see the terrific greed for profit and an opportunity for profit. They also want to do that. That is why, when an opportunity comes, they are not interested in running the industries but, on the other hand, they are interested in making as much money as possible during their tenure of office.

That is why, I say, both these things cannot go together, big monopolies and public sector. That is why, I say, unless we are prepared to break these big monopolies, and not go on encouraging them, all talk of social justice being fulfilled and our being freed from the ills from which this country is suffering cannot happen.

What I would urge upon the hon. Prime Minister is this. It is possible for us to stop this drain on our foreign exchange; it is quite possible to do that. Let us today declare here and now that we do not want any more foreign aid. After

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all, it is 8 per cent even according to our Prime Minister. Let us make a declaration that we are not going to take a pie of foreign aid and, simultaneously, it is possible for us also to declare that for at least another 10 to 15 years, we are not going to pay back our foreign commitments. Let us declare a moratorium. They will not give us money. We do not want that money. And that would mean at least a saving of Rs. 500 to Rs. 600 crores of foreign exchange and our country will be able to quite manage some of those industries which are dependent on import foreign exchange material. Let them also, if they want to continue, do research with our scientists and let them find a substitute. So long as you do not do that, all talk of substitution is going to be bunkum because vested interests have been created in that.

I know, for example, during the last four or five years, when we have in our country enough capacity to produce all the thermal plants necessary for thermal stations, in spite of that, Rs. 30 crores of foreign exchange has been wasted on importing material because there are vested interests, people get commissions, the Government of India officials get commissions, and other people get commissions. Therefore, the vested interests have been created in your foreign exchange affairs. That is why, I say, all talk of stopping foreign exchange drain and all talk of dependence on ourselves, will be just a mirage so long as we have created terrific vested interests in all these things. Therefore, unless we are able to do something in all these things and think seriously of this, we will not be able to go forward. Otherwise, what will happen is, as I pointed out the other day, just a Jack-pot race. Nothing is clear. As far as the Planning Commission is concerned, on no question do they assert that such and such a thing will happen.

Somebody said that this is a Plan of stagnation. I say, it is not a Plan of stagnation, which means you stay where you are, but it is a Plan of intensification of the crisis from which our country is suffering because its dependence is going to further and further intensify. As a matter of fact, all the foreign exchange difficulties are going to intensify, and concentration of wealth

is going to intensify. Therefore, this is a Plan which is going to intensify the crisis.

This Plan does not even talk as to how much employment opportunities are going to be created. With regard to unemployment, for example, they say, there are no reliable figures. All the figures that have been given so far by the Government of India in the Second Plan and in the Third Plan, according to them, are unreliable. Very conveniently, they say so. Because, inconvenient facts have got to be hidden. That is why, I say, here is a Plan which cannot enthuse a single individual. This is a Plan which intensifies the crisis which will bring more poverty to people. As a matter of fact, with regard to the resources, this is exactly the direction in which the resources portion is going. After so many of these things, what do they say? How are they going to have additional resources?

After providing for increased small savings, after providing for all the other things, they say that additional resources have got to be found by Rs. 1,600 crores of taxation by the Central Government and Rs. 1,100 crores by the State Governments. This is in addition to Rs. 200 crores that the Central Government will give the State Governments by way of additional taxation. That means, Rs. 1800 crores of additional taxation during the next five years, as far as the Centre itself is concerned and over and above that, another Rs. 800 crores of deficit financing. I dare say, judging by the experience of the past three Plans, this is the only target which is going to be not only fulfilled but over-fulfilled. That means, all the assumptions underlying the Plan are going to be a bunkum; no price stability is going to be there; and the common people are going to be asked more and more. Therefore, why should we be a party to this kind of planning? We should not be a party to this kind of Planning. The Prime Minister the other day asked, 'If you are not going to be a party to this kind of planning, what will you do?' That is a different matter. The State Governments, as they exist, have to function within the present framework. Why should they take the moral responsibility of supporting the Plan whose funds-

mentals, they know, are something which is going to attack our people and which is going to increase our dependence on foreign countries? Why should we accept that? We do not want to take the moral responsibility for that, but, on the other hand, we will fight on every occasion, we will mobilise all the resources at our command—the resources of the common people—and will fight tooth and nail against every one of these anti-people policies.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI (Bilbaur) : It is indeed gratifying and heartening to hear our learned Member, Shri P. Ramamurti waxing eloquent on a subject in which, I thought, he had hardly any interest or belief. I thought, the words 'planning' and 'security' were alien to him. But today I find that, in spite of his resistance to these, he is proving to be eloquent on these matters...

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : Why are you so ill-informed? No communist is opposed to planning as such.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : Kindly give me an opportunity and I shall demolish your whole theory. The type of planning that you believe in will be clearly brought out by an example which I am going to illustrate.

MR. SPEAKER : I do not believe in planning. Please go ahead.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : What I wanted to say was this. Only last year the Chief Minister of Kerala had convened a conference or a seminar on planning. It was undoubtedly a chaotic planning. What were the results that emanated from that Seminar? There were three main demands which came out of that Seminar. The first was that there should be a transfer of power from the Centre to the States, there should be absolute transfer of fiscal powers of the Centre to the States. I would like to know how that will react in the present context of things that we are facing now. The second demand was that the expenditure on defence should be cut down. I do not know what is this concept of planning. This does not tally with the concept that we have, and in the present emergency, we cannot

afford to cut down any expenditure on defence since it would be suicidal. Thirdly—this was the main part—was their demand of right to strike. I would like to recall the incidents that are taking place in West Bengal now. Even in West Bengal, which has a sophisticated industrial base, the entrepreneurs are finding it extremely difficult to exist at the present time and hence they are not endeavouring to put up any new enterprise or industry. That may be Mr. Ramamurti's conception of planning. There again, I would say, there was a demand for the right to strike by the labourers. If the same amount of indiscipline was allowed to prevail, if the same sense of insecurity was allowed to prevail there, there would be no planning for which we and some parties on the Opposition side stand for. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI (Guna) : You have not replied to him.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : That shows his interest in planning. His interest is in his party and in no other. The Congress Party plans not only for his party but for all the other parties also which may clash with its ideologically, and for the nation as a whole. In this planning we have an integrated approach. We plan for the nation as a whole.

It was rather surprising to hear Mr. Ramamurti talking on security. Does he not remember the blot and the stigma which he and his party put on the entire womanhood of India by the incidents which had taken place at the Rabindra Sarobar Stadium? He and his party are associated with that and I still say :

वृद्धा नारी पतिव्रता

I would like to ask him how far he believes in this dictum. What right do he and his party have, by any chance what so ever, to hurl abuse or this sort of thing at others?

Then I also fail to understand whether he is abusing the Congress Party or the plan which has been given to us by the Congress Party or whether he is abusing the Swatantra Party and naming Mr. Masani all the time. It is rather surprising how with their basic ideological differences the various sections and various parties in the

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Opposition can still work together so unite-
dly at certain times. (*Interruptions*).

AN HON. MEMBER : You do not know.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : I think their planning is not working. It is only on occasions of no confidence against the Government and for ulterior reasons that they unite together.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Not even on that point.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : It is only this year. I would recall what happened 2 years ago when they all united. They refuse to unite with each other and work as a united opposition which any responsible opposition Party wishes to do anywhere.

It is true our planning is neither the directive planning of Russia nor the indicative planning of France, but it is according to the genius most suited to our own people. We have accepted democratic socialism and we have successfully achieved the three Plans.

One point which I fail to understand was raised by Mr. Masani the other day. He blamed the Fourth Plan as being a process of continuity. I would like to ask him what is planning if it is not a continuous process at all. Planning is formulated with a vision right in the beginning. It is a continuous process where various links are united together.

A point was raised by an SSP member who accused the holders of the privy purses as 'Gaddar'. He had accused the Prime Minister also. (*Interruptions*)

माननीय सदस्य, श्री भा, का ही जिक्र है।
उन्होंने ही यह बात कही थी।

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : I want to say that at a certain period in our political history certain people co-operated and surrendered their suzerainty, for the national honour and for the unity of the country. Should they be called 'gaddar' ? I do not understand that at all.

श्री शिवचन्द्र भा (मधुबनी) : राजादी की लड़ाई में राजा-महाराजा गद्दार ही तो थे।

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : He has accused the Prime Minister of squandering the national wealth in going about various Latin American countries. I would say that in the present context, no country can afford to live in isolation. It is in the international context and for building bridges of friendship that we have to carry and emanate the spirit of goodwill everywhere and this cannot be counted in terms of money but in terms of moral and political strength. I would only say that there is a very happy coincidence in the launching of the Fourth Plan which synchronises with the Gandhi centenary year. Both the Father of the Nation and the founder of the Plans worked for a common objective that was to improve the status of the 'Daridra Narayan'. I am extremely glad that we find a remarkable success during the last three plans and the three annual plans. We find that there has been a diminishing dependence on foreign aid. Against 25% of foreign aid we received in the Third plan, we shall eventually be shifting to 8%. Apart from that there is an amount of self-confidence which has been generated in the public because no plan can succeed without men, money and material or momentum and that can only come by co operation, co-ordination and the goodwill of all the people concerned. With these words I have great pleasure in supporting the Fourth Plan.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : Mr. Speaker, Sir. It is rather hard on me to be called upon to speak when two very eloquent speakers have already spoken. And also, Sir, if you call me in the end, I forget my speech. I shall try to do my best.

Sir, this Plan is in the same category as our three earlier Plans. The pattern has not changed. This follows the same pattern of the three earlier Plans.

I would not go into the social objectives of this Plan. Everybody can see how far we have reached the social objectives, that we have got more educated idiots than before and we have also more refined criminals on account of this education than we

had before, and also we know where our morals stand today—whether in the political field, in the administrative field or in the field of Commerce and Industry. These are our social gains. The whole atmosphere is full of cunning and violence.

I will confine myself merely to the economic objectives of the Plan. In that Sir, as I told you, I won't dabble in figures because figures can be given and manipulated on both sides and moreover, whatever figures I had collected. I had forgotten in the meantime I will state only plain truths.

My hon. friend from the Communist party, Shri Ramamurthy gave the House the objectives of the Plan in a very elaborate quotation from this Plan, which has repeated what was written in the Second Plan. I would only say that the objective of our Planning was to remove the poverty of the masses. How was that poverty to be removed? By giving them gainful employment, by at least diminishing the amount of unemployed man and partially employed. That would be the simplest way of stating the proposition.

Now, can anybody who has a conscience—of course, not the private conscience, but who has a public conscience—say, that we have been able to give more employment to people? Can anybody say that the weaker sections of our society have got more than what they used to get, not in money, but in real terms? In the Third-five Year Plan itself it has been written that the real wages of the weaker sections of the society have diminished. Their opportunities for work have diminished. I wish my lady friend had not talked of Gandhiji's Centenary. He was a man who worked only for the poor. The rich could take care of themselves.

Sir, the backlog of unemployment has been increasing after every Plan. Can any congressman deny that? I will only say those things which the congressmen themselves have stated in the course of their speeches it is also written in the Plan that they have not been able to absorb the new labour that comes into the market.

Then there is another thing. Have we been able through our Three Plans and through our non-Plan three years to diminish poverty? Have we been able to improve the standard of living of the poor?

In this I am not talking of myself, nor of the Communists nor of the Swatantra Party. I would tell them what Jawaharlal Nehru said. He once said in this House that it is a fact that though the poor have not grown poorer, the rich have grown richer. A former President of the Congress, Shri Dhebar, said that the poor have grown poorer. He did not talk of the rich. It is not a question of this Party or that Party. It is a question of hard facts.

Then there is another thing. Have the prices been increasing or diminishing? They have been increasing. Will the standard of the poor people that way rise? It is not possible. Sir, they claim that they have greater production and they also say that the prices are rising, and black-marketing is also rising. Indirect taxes are also rising? Can anybody deny that? Can any Congressman deny that indirect taxes fall more sharply and more dangerously upon the poor than upon the rich? Also inflation has been increasing. I said once and I repeat it that this inflation is pick-pocketing. You may give it whatever respectable name you like; in fact you are taking away people's money. This is the most dangerous way of taxing people. The sooner we stop it, the better. The Finance Minister said that he would stop it which he never did and then he said he never talked of it.

Foreign loans have been so dangerously increasing that we have to ask for a moratorium. If planning goes on like this, I do not know where we will be? I think we are the greatest beggars in the world. There is a reason for this, because our great Rishis also lived on begging. Begging is not only in our blood, but it is considered a respectable profession.

Then, Sir, it is said that we have prospered. One Congressman said; Look, how many cars are there? The Congressman talking of cars! It took my breath away. These cars are signs of our poverty. This is pressure on the poor people. These cars are purchased at the cost of the poor people, whether we have them or others have them.

They say that another objective of the Plan was to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor. The gap between the rich and the poor has enormously increased. At whose expense? At the tax-

[Shri J. B. Kripalani]

Payers' expense. My friends, the Communists, gave the figures and said that they have given loans to the capitalists. All right. If you give loans to the capitalists, why don't you turn them into share capital so that at least you get a little profit from these loans?

You will not even have those big loans turned into capital, that is, the loans which you have invested in their industry, but you want them to carry on and to grow rich at the expense of the poor, at the expense of the taxpayer and at the expense of the country.

I am not the one who is going to blame any capitalist. A capitalist is not a philanthropist; he has not opened business for philanthropic purposes. It is the blindness of those who allow him to become rich. I say that if I were a capitalist I would do the very same things that these people are doing. They have proclaimed from the house-tops that they are not philanthropists. Those who are in charge of the country have to see that they do not give them the opportunities by which the gap between the rich and the poor could increase.

So, when we talk of socialism, I say that we talk with the tongue in our cheeks. It is better that we never talk of socialism and never talk of diminishing the gap between the rich and the poor; it is better that we may as well plainly say that ours is competitive society in which anybody who can make wealth would be allowed.

What are the reasons that are given to us by Government? The first is natural calamities like drought and floods. Our planners are so poor in the study of history that they do not know as yet that India is subject to drought and floods periodically. If the planners do not make allowance for these periodic droughts and floods, then they are no planners at all.

Another reason given is war. Is any nation not prepared for war? Have not nations undertaken war? They have got to. That also must be something which the planners must take into consideration when they are planning.

The third reason that they have given is increased Population. There are many wise men among us who have not increased

population. But does this country consist of those few wise men or many foolish people who go on increasing the population? Did the planners think that after Independence, there will be no increase in population? Then they should have taken immediate measures to see that it was not possible for population to increase.

What is wrong with these plans? These plans are fundamentally misconceived. They are absolutely no plans at all. When people asked Gandhiji, 'Have you any objection to big industries and to mechanised industries?' He said 'This is a misconception about me as there are many misconceptions about me; I am not against electricity; I am not against ship-building; I am not against iron works, but in my scheme of things, the pattern must be changed; the emphasis must be changed.'

We have a very big population we have not as big a population per square mile as Japan has. How does Japan manage its industry? We have got all the raw materials that are necessary for industry; we have iron, we have coal, and we have oil, but the Japanese have none of these things. They get iron ore from us: they get coal from somewhere somewhere else and they get petrol from yet another place. Yet, they are able to feed 900 souls per sq. mile while we are not able to feed 400 souls per sq. mile. Their population per sq. mile is more than double our population per sq. mile and yet they are able to maintain that population. Why?

Because of decentralised industry, because their emphasis is not on centralised industry. What have we done? We have followed the pattern of Europe after the Industrial Revolution. We think there can be no other industrialisation but the one as it took place in the west. We have also followed the Russian method. Our plans are made capital-intensive and not labour-intensive. We have in our labour the capital we need, if only we will utilise it. We do not utilise our labour.

Then we go for foreign loans. Even European economists after whom we fashion our plans have said that India and Asia cannot follow the same pattern of industrialisation that took place at the end of

the 18th century, what is called the Industrial Revolution, or even the Russian method; we will have to choose methods of our own.

The great Swedish economist, Prof. Myrdal, has written three volumes of what is called *The Asiatic Drama*. He has talked of India and other countries of Asia. He has clearly said that our economy must be job-oriented, not capital oriented. When you have a big industry, it requires about Rs. 75,000 or Rs. 1,00,000 to engage one labourer.

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR : One million rupees.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : I happen to be connected with the khadi industry. We have a production worth Rs. 2 crores. We give employment to 4,500 organisers; we give employment to 25,000 craftsmen; we give employment to 2 lakh spinners. This is the potential of a decentralised industry. And what is our capital? Very small.

I asked a mill agent: 'Supposing you could have Rs. 1 crore worth of cloth production, how much labour would you require?' You will be surprised to know that he said, '1,500 people'. I asked: 'Supposing you take the distribution also in your hands, as we have it in our hands, how many more will you take?' He said: '500 more'. A labour of 2,000 to be employed on a production of Rs. 1 crores. We are producing Rs. 2 crores worth of khadi and we give employment to labour as I referred to. We do not underestimate the potential of decentralised industry.

Let me cite the evidence which will be more conclusive to my communist friends than anything else. What did a leading Polish economist say? He said: 'Planned socialist economy is more chaotic and anarchic than private capitalist economy'. He said that the Polish people are thinking what would happen to their investment, whether they should not change their pattern of investment. It is in a communist country that they say that planned socialist economy is more chaotic and more anarchic than capitalist economy in private hands. This is the evidence from people who have experienced it.

All right. Even these plans—have we

made them carefully? See the plan targets, the physical targets. They are never reached. But the financial targets is over-spent. Double the money has been spent to that budgeted for and half the work has not been done. Sometimes we have introduced machines which are working half the time; we do not need that much which is produced, and we have been suffering losses. Then who manages our industry? Not any industrialist. Before independent, we used to say that when we would be independent, we would have an economic cadre. We have no economic cadre at all.

We rely upon the bureaucrats to manage the industry. Can industry and commerce be managed by bureaucrats? You patronise the post office. It is a commercial organization. Yet the clerk there will speak as if he is a bada sahib; he will say stamps are not available, please come tomorrow. They will never say: please. Go to an employee in the Railway. Or take the telephone; they get money from us. It is a commercial institution. It is so organised in other places that they talk to you politely and they will give a call three thousand miles away in two minutes, while you have not even kept down the receiver. But this is how we are carrying on our industry. If we carry on like that I do not know what will happen to our country. And even our Prime Minister said the other day that we had done better in the non-planned three years than we did in three plans so far as agriculture was concerned. I hope I am reporting her correctly. Therefore, I cannot see what necessity is there for this planning when for three years we had no planning and nobody ever complained; we were going on better. Give us a little more non planned economy so that the country can breathe more freely than it had done upto this time.

श्री अहमद अगवा (बाराभूला) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक पसमान्दा रियासत की नुमाइंदगी करता हूँ, इसलिये उम्मीद करता हूँ कि आनरेबिल मेम्बरजें मेरी छोटी सी बाराबको जरा गौर से सुनना गवारा करेंगे। यह तो बिल्कुल ना-दुस्तत बात है कि हम इन्डिकेटिव प्लान की तरफ जायें; रहा सोशलिज्म की राह हमारे

[श्री अहमद भागा]

हमारे कम्प्यूनिस्ट मेम्बर साहब ने, जिनका मैं बहुत एहताराम करता हूँ, उन्होंने नम्बूबरीपाद साहब के ब्रालटरनेटिव प्लान का बड़े जोरों से जिक्र किया। लेकिन केरल के चीफ मिनिस्टर साहब एन०डी०सी० के मेम्बर हैं, वे अपनी बात को वहाँ रख सकते हैं, लेकिन सिर्फ इस बिना पर कि हम इस प्लान को यहाँ लाये हैं और इसमें इम्प्रूवमेन्ट की कुछ गुंजायस है, इसलिये हम इसकी मुखालफत करें। यह भी ना दुरुस्त है। यह प्लान जो कि हम सामने लाये हैं— इसकी इफ्रतिताही तकरीर में हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा था कि हम गैरबराबरी को खत्म करना चाहते हैं, हम मोनोपली हाउसेज को बढ़ने नहीं देंगे। उनकी इफ्रतिताही तकरीर में यह भी दर्ज था कि हम एक सोशलिस्टिक जिन्दगी की तरफ कदम बढ़ा रहे हैं। अगर ये सब चीजें इसके अन्दर हैं तो जाहिर है कि हम एक दुरुस्त राह पर हैं।

मैं इस बात को मानता हूँ कि वाकई कुछ ऐसी बातें हो गई हैं कि जिनसे कुछ समस्यायें पैदा हो गई हैं। यानी हम आज सैलजं मार्केट में हैं, बायसं मार्केट हम पैदा नहीं कर सके हैं। यह ठीक है कि 75 विजनेस हाउसेज ने मोनो-पली कंट्रोल किया है, मगर कांग्रेस सरकार ने खुद इस बात का पता लगाया और हमने मोनो-पली इन्व्कारी कमीशन बनाया और हम एक बिल भी यहाँ पर ला रहे हैं। यानी हमने अपनी आँखों को बन्द नहीं किया हुआ है, हम देख रहे हैं और जो कुछ भी गलतियाँ हुई हैं उनको हम जरूर ठीक करेंगे और आगे बढ़ेंगे।

यह ठीक है हमारे छोटे किसानों ने फायदा नहीं उठाया, ऊँचे दर्जे के लोगों ने ही फायदा उठाया। हमने लैंड रिफार्म किया, लेकिन उसके बाबजूद भी ऐसे लोगों की बहुत बड़ी तादाद है जिनके पास जमीनें नहीं हैं। हमने इस प्लान के एप्रोय में, अपने मकसद में यह बयान किया है कि हम इस चीज की तरफ तवज्जह दे रहे हैं और देंगे कि यह बड़ी अच्छी नीयत से आया

है और ऐसा किया जायगा कि वह नाबराबरी को कम करेंगे, लैंड लैस टिलर्स का स्थाल रखेंगे और छोटे किसान को कर्जा मिलेगा और इसके लिये अगर जरूरी हो तो सरकार को ऐसा कदम उठाना पड़े कि जिससे रुपया फराहम हो सके तो मुझे उम्मीद है कि सरकार उस पर गौर करेगी। हो सकता है कि हमको इम्पोर्ट और ऐक्सपोर्ट तक को नेशनेलाइज करना पड़े। प्लान एक रैगुलर प्रोसेस है। हम आगे धीरे-धीरे जा रहे हैं। हो सकता है कि हम बैंक्स को भी नेशनेलाइज करें। सोशल कंट्रोल तो कर ही रहे हैं, हो सकता है कि उसमें कामयाब हो जायें। मतलब यह है कि हमारा कदम आगे की तरफ बढ़ रहा है और हम आगे की तरफ जा रहे हैं। मायूस पिक्चर नहीं है। यह कहना कि कुछ नहीं हुआ है गलत बात है। हमारी सनती तरक्की तिगुनी हो गई है, स्टील मिल्स भी हम कायम कर रहे हैं। तो यह कहना कि कुछ नहीं हुआ यह गलत बात है।

16.00 hrs.

मैं कश्मीर के मुताल्लिक एक, दो बातें कह कर खत्म करता हूँ। सबाल यह है कि कश्मीर पसमांदा जगह है। हमसे कहा जाता था कि हम सोशलिज्म की तरफ कदम बढ़ायें, हमने पंडित जी से इंसपिरेशन लिया और आगे जाने की कोशिश की। हमने लैंड रिफार्म किया, लैंड टु दी टिलर दिया और कर्ज स्केल डाउन किये और वह सारी जायदाद जो शायद कर्ज में जा रही थी उसको बचा लिया। मगर हमारा मसला क्या है? हमारा मसला यह है कि हम ऐसे लोगों की तरह हैं जिनके पास कुछ भी तो नहीं। जैसे एक किस्सा है कि किसी को एक घोड़े की नाल मिल गई तो उसने कहा कि अब मुझे सिर्फ तीन नाल और एक घोड़ा चाहिये। तो हमारे कश्मीर का यही हाल है। हमारे पास रिसेसॉज कहाँ कि आगे बढ़ सकते हैं।

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA
(Gauhati) : You know Kashmir is sinking
now !

SHRI AHMAD AGA : I know it. We will all sink or swim together : remember that, and remember that for ever.

अध्यक्ष महोदय, हजारों बरस से हम इस मुल्क का हिस्सा रहे हैं, अशोक के जमाने में वहां बुद्धिस्ट कान्फ़ेस हुआ करती थीं। 1947 में गांधी जी ने कहा कि कश्मीर हिन्दुस्तान का हिस्सा है और उसको हर सूरत में बचाया जाय। हम नहीं सिक कर रहे हैं और न करेंगे, हम इसी मुल्क में हैं और हजारों बरस तक रहेंगे।

तो मैं कश्मीर की बात कह रहा था कि हमको प्रागे जाना है और यकीनन जाना है। मुझे प्रधान मंत्री से बहुत उम्मीदें हैं। हम जो तरक्की नहीं कर पाये हैं उसके चन्द वजूहात हैं, इसमें हमारा कसूर नहीं, मैं सेक्टर को ब्लेम नहीं करता। सवाल यह है कि हमारे पास पावर नहीं। हमारे लोवर भेलम, अपर सिध और सलाल के पावर प्रोजेक्ट्स खत्म होने में नहीं आते। हमें पावर चाहिये उसके वगैर वहां इंडस्ट्री नहीं हो सकती। हमारे पास बौक्साइट है, ग्रैफाइट है लेकिन हम उसकी निकासी नहीं कर पाते हैं क्योंकि पावर नहीं है प्लानिंग कमीशन ने कश्मीर को मदद दी, प्लान फंड्स देता रहा, मगर 1964 से पहले जो वहां की स्टेट थी वह तो दूकानें किरायाकशी के लिये बनाती थी, लेकिन आजकल तो ऐसा नहीं हो सकता, आज तो प्लान से सेल्फ जेनैरैटिंग इकोनामी बनाना है। अगर किसी साहब के दिमाग में टी०बी० चक्कर मार रहा है तो गलत है। हमको पावर की जरूरत है। बौक्साइट आप बाहर से इम्पोर्ट करते हैं। कश्मीर से क्यों नहीं लेते, 100 हजार मिलियन टन वहां मौजूद है। वहां जंगल हैं उनका सर्वे कीजिये wood based industries कायम जिसकी वहां बहुत बड़ी इंडस्ट्री हो सकती है।

आप कहते हैं कि फलां शरूख ने जलसा किया तो इतने हजार आदमी इकट्ठा हुए। कोई भी आ जाय, मैं ही चला जाऊं तो 20,000 आदमी इकट्ठा हो जायेंगे कोई चला जाय तो आदमी इकट्ठा हो जायेंगे लोगों के जमा होने

की यह बजह है कि उनके पास साल में कुल दो, तीस महीने ही काम रहता है, बाकी वक्त उनके पास काम नहीं। इसलिये खाली आदमी क्या करे। मैं चाहूंगा कि आप वहां लोगों को काम दीजिये। कश्मीर की कोई समस्या नहीं है, कोई पोलिटिकल समस्या नहीं है यह मैं बिल्कुल अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ। वहां की समस्या सिर्फ इन्कतसादी समस्या है, वह सियासी नहीं है। मैंने डेढ़ बरस से देखा, रोज कश्मीर की बात होती है मगर सिर्फ सियासी बात होती है, इन्कतसादी कोई नहीं करता। इसलिये मुझे उम्मीद है कि अब वहां ये सब काम किये जायेंगे और उसके लिये प्लानिंग कमीशन जरूर इंतजाम करेगा। मुझे प्लानिंग कमीशन से एक गिला है फ्रेम वर्क बन जाता है और वह स्टेट्स के पास चला जाता है वह खाना पूरी करती है, यहां आता है और ड्राफ्ट मंजूर हो जाता है और रिपोर्ट सामने आ जाती है। प्लानिंग कमीशन को हर चीज के लिये जिम्मेदार होना चाहिए। प्लानिंग कमीशन को कश्मीर के लिए और दूसरे पसमांदा इलाकों के लिये एक वर्किंग ग्रुप बनाना चाहिये जो वहां जाकर हालात को स्टडी करें, या अपनी एक सब कमेटी भेजे और यह देखे कि वहां बेवलप-मेन्ट क्यों नहीं हो रहा है। सड़कों का जाल तो बिछा दिया है मगर इसके साथ और कुछ नहीं हुआ। मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी से दरखास्त करता हूँ कि वह एक छोटी सी ऐसी कमेटी बनायें खुद या प्लानिंग कमीशन को कहें जो जाकर देखे कि हमारी तरक्की क्यों कर हो सकती है। अभी तक क्यों तरक्की नहीं हुई। प्रागे कैसे हो सकती है, उसके लिये क्या करना है। इसके लिये यह जरूरी है कि एक अलग से कमेटी इस काम के लिये खासतौर पर मुकर्रर की जाय।

प्लानिंग कमीशन की यह रिपोर्ट है इसमें से 2, 4 बातें पढ़ना चाहता था लेकिन वक्त नहीं है। कहते हैं कि एक साहब कश्मीर से यहां प्राये, पहली बार प्राये। उन दिनों में डकौटा हवाई जहाज चलता था इसलिये सफदरजंग एयर पोर्ट पर प्रागये किसी कान्फेस

ہم سب کو نہیں کر رہے ہیں اور نہ کریں گے۔ ہم اس ملک سے ہیں اور ہر آدمی ہمیں
 تک رہیں گے۔ تو میں کشمیر کی بات کر رہا تھا کہ ہم آگے جانا ہے اور لیتھیا
 جاتا ہے۔ مجھے پڑھنا منتری سے بہت امیدیں ہیں۔ چارے ترقی نہ کرنے
 کے چند وجوہات ہیں۔ اس میں ہمارا تصور نہیں۔ میں منسٹر کو بلیم نہیں کرتا۔
 سوال ہے کہ چارے پاس پاور نہیں ہے۔ چارے کو درجہ ہم۔ اپر منسٹر
 اور سلاٹ کے پاور پراجیکشن ختم ہونے میں نہیں آتے۔ یاد رکھو بغیر چارے
 یہاں انڈسٹری نہیں ہو سکتی۔ چارے پاس پاس پاس اسٹاپ ہے۔ گریفٹ
 وہ ہیں ہم اس کی نکالنا پاور نہ ہونے کی وجہ سے نہیں کر پاتے ہیں۔
 پلاننگ کمیشن کے مشیر کو مدد دی۔ پلان منسٹر دیا۔ تاہم 19۹۴ء سے
 پہلے جو ڈول کی سرکار تھی وہ تو درکار میں کرانے کش سے نئے بنائی تھی۔
 تیس آج کل ایسا نہیں ہو سکتا۔ آج تو پلان سے سیلٹ جنریشن آکر منی
 بنانا ہے۔ اگر کسی صاحب کے دماغ میں بی۔ وی۔ چکر بار رہا ہے تو خط ہے
 ہم کر پار کی ضرورت ہے۔ پلاننگ اسٹاپ آپ باہر سے اسٹور کرتے ہیں۔

کلمیے آپ کوئی نہیں دیتے۔ جبکہ وہ ہزاروں میں وہاں موجود ہے۔ ڈاؤن گھن
 میں اس کا سرور کے لیے WOOD BASED INDUSTRY قائم کیجئے۔ میں کی دہاں بہت
 بڑی انڈسٹری ہو سکتی ہے۔

آپ کہتے ہیں کہ نڈان شخص نے جلسہ کیا تو اتنے ہزار آدمی اکٹھا ہوئے
 کوئی بھی آجاتا ہے۔ میں چلا جاؤں تو میں ہزار آدمی اکٹھا ہو جائیں گے۔ کوئی
 چلا جائے آدمی اکٹھا ہو جائیں گے اور اس کی وجہ یہ ہے کہ ان کے پاس کوئی کام
 نہیں ہے۔ سال میں کل دو تین جیسے ہی کام رہتا ہے۔ اس کے خالی آدمی کیا کہے
 میں چاہوں گا کہ آپ ڈولنگوں کو کام دیکھیں۔ کشمیر کی کوئی سیاسی سیا
 نہیں ہے۔ یہ میں اچھی طرح سے جانتا ہوں وہاں کی سیاست اقتصادی ہے
 سیاسی نہیں میں نے نظریہ برس سے دیکھا اور کشمیر کی بات ہوتی ہے۔ مگر صرف
 سیاسی بات ہوتی ہے۔ اقتصادی بات کوئی نہیں کرتا۔ اس نے مجھے امید ہے
 کہ اب وہاں سے سب کام کے چاہیں گے اور پلاننگ کمیشن اس کا ضرور انتظام
 کرے گا۔

پلاننگ کمیشن سے مجھے ایک گلا ہے۔ فریج میں جاتا ہے اور وہ شیش
 کے پاس چلا جاتا ہے وہ خانہ خنری کو کرتی ہیں۔ بیانیہ آتا ہے اور ذاتی منتقل
 ہو جاتا ہے اور رپورٹ سامنے جاتی ہے۔ پلاننگ کمیشن کو ہر چیز کے لئے ڈولنگ
 ہونا چاہیے۔ اس کو کشمیر کے لئے اور دوسرے پیمانہ ملاحظوں کے لئے ایک
 ورگنگ مگر وہ بنانا چاہئے جو ڈولنگ جا کر حالات کو منسٹر کرے یا اپنی ایک
 سب کو بھیجے۔ جو یہ دیکھے کہ وہاں ڈولنگ نہیں ہو رہی ہے۔ سڑکیں
 کاجال نہ لگا دیا ہے۔ پھر اس کے ساتھ اور کچھ نہیں ہوا۔ میں پڑھنا منتری
 جی سے درخواست کرتا ہوں کہ وہ خود ایک چھوٹی سی ایجنسی بنائیں پلاننگ
 کمیشن کو کہیں جو جا کر دیکھے کہ چارے ترقی کیونکر ہو سکتی ہے۔ انہوں ملک کو ترقی
 نہیں ہوتی آگے کیجے ہو سکتی ہے اور اس کے لئے کیا کرنا ہے۔ اس کے لئے ضروری
 ہے کہ خاص طور سے اس کام کے لئے اگے سے ایک کمیٹی مقرر کی جائے۔

پلاننگ کمیشن کی اس رپورٹ میں سے دو چار باتیں پڑھنا چاہتا تھا۔
 کچھ وقت نہیں ہے۔ کہتے ہیں کہ ایک صاحب کشمیر سے یہاں آئے پہلی بار
 ان دنوں میں ڈولنگ ہوائی جاز چلنا تھا۔ اس لئے منسٹر جنگ ایرپورٹ پر
 آگے کسی کانفرنس کو ایڈیشن کرنے کے لئے آگے جب یہاں سے واپس گئے تو
 گولڈ نے پوچھا کہ کیا دیکھا۔ اس نے کہا کہ جب میں نے لینڈنگ کو تو منسٹر جنگ
 ایرپورٹ میں لاؤنگ دیکھا۔ گولڈ گولڈ۔ پھر جو راہ دیکھا وہ کچھ گولڈ گولڈ
 پارٹینٹ ڈولنگ دیکھا گولڈ گولڈ کانفرنس میں گولڈ گولڈ۔ باتیں کرتے ہیں گولڈ گولڈ
 یہ جو پلان ہے اس پلاننگ کمیشن کی رپورٹ ہے اس میں اس طریقے سے کلمہ
 دیتے ہیں مگر جو اسپیشل کی ریج پر۔ چیز کے کوئی منی ہوتے ہیں۔ اس لئے میں
 عرفی کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ کمیشن کو ہر بات منسٹر کی دکھانی چاہئے کہ کس طرح سے
 کم عاریہ اور اسان اور آٹھ اور ایک ذریعہ استعمال کرنا ہے کہ ڈولنگ
 ہوتی ہو سکتی ہے اور وہ آئے]

श्रवान मन्त्री, श्रद्धा शक्ति मन्त्री तथा श्रीमता
 मन्त्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी : मैं कोशिश करूंगी
 कि योल गोल बात न करूँ ।

Sir, the debate itself must have convinced the hon. members how very difficult it is to have a plan that will satisfy all sections of the House. Many of the members have themselves replied to most of the points raised by other members. As usual, the criticism has been mutually contradictory in many important respects. Perhaps the one point on which many members opposite agree is that they emphasise the negative aspect of the plan, that is, what has not happened. Very few of them take any look at all at what has been achieved.

We have, as is not unusual in this House, one extreme—hon. members sitting opposite there and Shri Masani, who makes a strong plea for the private sector. At first, we were called only fellow-travellers, but now we have been pushed even further and we have been coupled with Marxists, including my good friend, Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao and others.

SHRI NATH PAI (Rajapur) : He does not seem to be unhappy at that. He seems to be enjoying.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : At the other end there are some of our hon. friends sitting on that side who have linked us with the capitalists and who are for much greater control. On one side they want abolition of controls and on the

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other side they want greater control and they see a curtailment of the public sector in the present Plan. At the same time, from our side many constructive suggestions have been made and some from the other side also.

It is an indication of the rising frustration of the Swantantra Party that one of their older members, the first speaker, should have descended to abusive and strong language. I shall not tire the patience of hon. Members by referring to some obviously misleading and fatuous remarks. Hon. Members from the other side have never hesitated to criticise the Government in the strongest possible terms. We are well able to look after ourselves and do not object to such criticism; however, it is not in the tradition of the House to criticise those who are unable to defend themselves here and, if I may say so, I thought it was in bad taste to mention the Deputy Chairman and members of the Planning Commission by name and to make regrettable personal attacks in such unrestrained language.

It is typical of the hon. Member, Sir, that of all animals he should have chosen to allude to the mule. His reference was in terms of popular uninformed prejudice rather than the real qualities of the animal. I must admit that I used to speak of the mule in rather the same language myself until I had occasion to go to Bhutan with my father and to ride the mule for five to six days crossing four very high ranges of the Himalayas. The manner in which the hon. Member spoke about it is the proof that he has approached the Fourth Plan and indeed the very question of planning with a closed and prejudiced mind. Does Shri Masani not know that the mule has been of invaluable help to our army over the years. This animal.....

SHRI PILOO MODI : Sir, is the speech a defence of the animal or a defence of the Plan ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : This animal has proved to be a strong dependable creature, steady, sure-footed and advancing towards the set goal, along difficult and steep tracks which are too difficult for any other animal or mode of

transport. All over the world the mule symbolises hard work, strength, dependability and dogged determination.

The hon. Member once again introduced into this report, his own argument about what kind of planning we should have in this country. He wanted us to adopt indicative planning as it exists in France. A reply to that has been made but, nevertheless, I would like to say that it may be an example of planning suited to an economy which is industrially highly developed and the central structures of which remain capitalistic. The hon. Member is a widely read person and he should have read—perhaps he has deliberately chosen to ignore such reference in this House—that there are also French planners who have indicated that their model is not necessarily suitable for developing countries which are faced with multiple problems such as we have in India.

There is today a large measure of common ground in the techniques of drawing up plans and in the methods of executing them. While, on the one hand, there is recognition that market mechanisms, decentralised decision-making and indirect controls have their value, on the other hand, there is increasing willingness to acknowledge the utility of control and public action which were formerly considered to be an anathema. Now, planning does not permit of any wholesale and unthinking importation of foreign models, whether of one kind or another. Planning has to take into account our own condition, our own circumstances and, as one of our members said just now, the genius of our own people. Our planning has to be, and it shall be, Indian planning. We do not follow either the Soviet method or the French or any other method.

SHRI PILOO MODY : We believe in family planning.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : The nature of Indian Planning is unique and pioneering in its wake, because we were the very first to attempt planning within the framework of parliamentary democracy. No other country, large or small, which is following our political system, had undertaken any such effort, when we embarked

on planned economic development in 1950-51.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : Then, why are the rich growing richer ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : We have made progress in the past 18 years despite our very special circumstances—Firstly, there is the democratic set up which rules out authoritarian methods, the federal set up and sub-continental dimensions of the country calling for reconciliation of Centre-States point of view, the problems of far-flung areas, problems of disparities in levels of development between regions etc. and, of course, the growing population which does erode the fruits of progress. Then, there were exceptional difficulties, for example, the Chinese aggression of 1962, two successive aggrasions and two years of unprecedented drought. While I have the greatest respect for Acharya Kripalani, I do not think that anybody could have anticipated these developments. It is true that we have been having drought in India in one part or another for many years. But the sort of drought which we experienced in the last two years we have not had in India for over a hundred years. It was something which was entirely unprecedented in nature and unknown here before. So, one should not take these things lightly. These are realities which cannot be ignored, however much it may suit some of us to do so.

Defence expenditure alone had to be stepped up from a little over Rs. 300 crores a year to over Rs. 1,000 crores a year. In five year period this meant an unavoidable and inescapable diversion of very scarce resources to the extent of Rs. 3,500 crores. Similarly, in two years of drought we lost something like 30 million tonnes of food and the impact of this major set back should be well-known to hon. Members of the Swantantra Party, because when that impact was felt only last year, the representatives of industry were amongst the loudest to demand sizeable increases in the public sector outlay so as to broaden the demand for their products and to sustain them through the recession. These are hard facts and realities which we simply cannot ignore.

The hon. Member used certain figures,

rather selectively, in an attempt to show that people have become poorer. Now, had he taken the base year 1950-51, a year before the commencement of planning, and worked out changes in 1967-68 over the base year, he would have presented a different picture. To present the case in perspective, may I cite a few figures ?

As compared with 1950-51, in 1967-68 the *per capita* availability of foodgrains increased by 16 per cent, of edible oils by 18 per cent, of cloth by 37 per cent, of sugar by 43 per cent and of coffee by 40 per cent. This has taken place despite a large addition to our population. The annual rate of increase in population has gone up from 1.25 per cent in the First Plan to 2.5 per cent in recent years. Much as one appreciates the thoughtfulness of those who have not added to the population, I might say, some of the increase is not due to the efforts of individuals but is due to certain health measures, that is, substantial fall in the mortality rate by 45 per cent and increase in the longevity of life. This is no mean an achievement and cannot but be attributed to our planned efforts.

The question which has distributed many Members here, and as mentioned by Acharyaji also, is the question of our debts and in particular why we should ask for re-scheduling of debts. But this need arises from the same consideration as the need for fresh foreign loans or direct foreign investment, that is, the imbalance between exports and imports. This is one way and a very effective way of reducing our obligations in regard to our debt payments. The justification for debt relief derives from the fact that large proportion of our export earnings is now being required to meet the debt burden, leaving insufficient foreign exchange for our necessary imports. It is recognised today by all developing countries that they need substantial foreign aid in the transitional stage of development to be gradually reduced and, finally, eliminated once the imbalance in foreign trade has been corrected. It is also widely recognised that foreign loans should carry very low rates of interest and that the period of repayment should be long. However, a fair proportion of our earlier loans carried a relatively high rate of interest with a relatively shorter period of payment. This has put considerable

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strain on our balance of payments at a time when our export capacity is not high enough to bear the burden. The negotiation for re-scheduling is primarily to gain some relief in this matter and it has the effect of easing the burden of old loans as well as new ones so that the needs of developing countries are better met.

Acharyaji said something about our old tradition of begging. But today this is not old tradition but a contemporary situation which does not apply merely to us or to other developing countries like us. It is something which is also faced by the developed and advanced countries. In fact, there is not a single country in the world which does not face it. Developed countries seek debt relief though camouflaged in different forms.

There has been great hardship, of course, by the rise in prices and I would be the first to admit it. It is not something which we can ignore or which we can gloss over. But it has to be seen in perspective. Between 1950-51 and 1964-65, the price levels had risen at an annual compound rate of 2.5 per cent in India and this compares favourably with many other countries. It is only since then that there has been a sharp rise in prices due to the unprecedented drought and the consequent decline in agricultural production. With the improvement in agricultural production, a measure of stability in prices is being restored. This stability will be maintained in the Fourth Plan in view of the emphasis on agricultural production and building up of buffer-stock of foodgrains.

Many Members have spoken about the outlay on agricultural production not being sufficient. The other day, when I was talking about our increased emphasis on agriculture, some Members raised unnecessary doubts as to how the figures I gave compared with the corresponding figures in the Third Plan.

I have indicated that, if one were to put together all the direct as well as indirect outlays on agricultural production, one would arrive at the figure of Rs. 4,606 crores, constituting 32 per cent of the total outlay in the public sector. In a sense, even this figure does not fully reflect the investments contemplated in the Plan for the augmentation of agricultural production.

To give just one instance, we should further include a portion of the investment on the generation and transmission of power which relates to agricultural production programmes.

Coming to the earlier Plans I should like to say that, according to a detailed analysis of the Planning Commission, the corresponding or comparable outlay on schemes benefiting agricultural production in the Second Plan was of the order of Rs. 1,278 crores or 26.6 per cent of the public sector outlay. The comparable figures for the Third Plan are Rs. 2,112 crores or 28.1 per cent of the total outlay.

It is thus clear that greater emphasis has been laid on agricultural production as compared with the earlier Plans, and investments have been substantially increased both in absolute terms and as percentage of the total outlay contemplated in the Fourth Plan.

We should also remember that a significant portion of the increase in incomes accruing in the agricultural sector will remain in private hands and will be utilised for investment in agricultural improvement. The Fourth Plan estimates such direct investments in agriculture and allied programmes in the private sector at Rs. 1,800 crores as against only Rs. 800 crores in the Third Plan.

If we take a composite view of the outlays in both private and public sector it will be clear that the Fourth Plan accords a higher priority to allocation of resources for agricultural development as compared with the Third Plan.

Many members also expressed concern about the comparative neglect of the needs of the rural areas in our Plan and have called for a shift in bias from the urban to the rural areas in our strategy of economic development. Development outlays in many sectors such as power, transport and communications benefit the national economy as a whole. It will be difficult to apportion the benefit as between rural and urban areas. However, we have already indicated that the new Plan attaches greater importance than the earlier Plans to agricultural production which constitutes the sheet anchor of rural economy. From a quick analysis of the programmes and the social services such as education, medical

relief, public health and welfare, and welfare of backward classes, benefiting the rural areas, taking to the outlay on agricultural production and other related programmes and the rural component of social services, it is seen that the public sector outlay in the Fourth Plan benefiting the rural areas will be of the order of Rs. 5,666 crores. This will constitute 39.3 per cent or very nearly 40 per cent of the total public sector outlay in the Fourth Plan. A very substantial portion of the outlay on the building of economic overheads such as power, transport and communications is not included in this figure because of the difficulties of apportionment. The comparable figures for the Third Plan are Rs. 2,560 crores or 34.1 per cent, and for the Second Plan, Rs. 1,532 crores or 31.9 per cent.

Prof. Kabir and some other hon. members mentioned rural electrification. The provision for rural electrification has been increased from Rs. 75 crores in the Second Plan to Rs. 105 crores in the Third Plan, and for the Fourth Plan a provision of Rs. 363 crores is proposed apart from the funds to be made available by the Rural Electrification Corporation and other institutions.

AN HON. MEMBER : A drop in the ocean.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : With regard to the position of fertilisers, pesticides and tractors, the provision has gone up from Rs. 72 crores in the Second Plan to Rs. 125 crores in the Third Plan, and now to Rs. 854.5 crores in the Fourth Plan. The example of pump sets is significant because they are directly relevant to agricultural production, just as fertilisers are. The number of pump sets which was 5.13 lakhs at the end of the Third Plan is expected to increase by nearly 5 times that figure to 23.1 lakhs at the end of the Fourth Plan. Therefore, it is not really correct to say that the rural areas have been neglected. However, it is indeed true that India lives in its $5\frac{1}{2}$ lakh villages and the true test of development in this country lies in the betterment of the rural masses, specially those in the backward pockets and those which have been under-privileged in the past. It is not easy to wipe out the disparities or suddenly raise the level of those

who have been most backward and who have been discriminated against in many ways.

Special mention has been rightly made of our brethren from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Every effort is now being made to help them and to see that although the disparity cannot immediately be bridged, at least it should be lessened and they should be given better opportunities to move ahead.

An hon. Member spoke of the public sector enterprises as laggards and drones. I do not think that this description is at all justified. The present investment in Central Government industrial and commercial enterprises over 80 in number is of the order of Rs. 3500 crores. Out of this the investment in 55 running concerns including Hindustan Steel accounts nearly to Rs. 3200 crores. During 1967-68 these enterprises showed a profit of over Rs. 48 crores. Substantial profits were earned by Indian Oil Corporation, Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd., Fertiliser Corporation of India Oil and Natural Gas Commission, Bharat Electronics Ltd. as well as 25 other corporations. Many enterprises have declared dividends ranging from 5% to 15%. However, it is true that 24 public enterprises showed a net loss of Rs. 35 crores. Government are not at all complacent about the situation and are fully aware of the great need to improve the working and profitability of these undertakings. Some points were made about the appointments of experts rather than bureaucrats. The old policy is being changed and we are going in this direction. We are trying to use expertise and knowledge wherever it may exist.

I am rather sorry to see that some attempt was made to try to bring in a north-south element in this debate. I would like to assure my hon. friend opposite that the distribution of Central assistance is made on the basis of objective criteria arrived at by consensus among the Chief Ministers themselves. Tamil Nadu was represented at this meeting by a Minister, Shri Madhavan. The consensus formula was proposed by the Chief Minister of Kerala and second by the Chief Minister of Maharashtra and agreed to by all as the best possible in the circumstances. Within the framework of this formula, there was

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

hardly any scope for the exercise of discrimination against the States. Only 10% of the Central assistance was left to be distributed among the States with reference to special problems, and subjective judgment was involved in the distribution only of this amount. Now perhaps the hon. Member will be interested to know that Tamil Nadu is one of the few States which will have a significantly larger Fourth Plan than its Third Plan.

Tamil Nadu will, in terms of aggregate outlay be the third biggest. The only two States which will have bigger plans are Maharashtra which has a strong resource-base and U. P. with nearly 2½ times the population of Tamil Nadu. Tamil Nadu should therefore not have any special grievance—apart from the general grievance of all States and all Central Ministries that the Plan should be larger.

Some questions were also asked about Central assistance. As I have said on a previous occasion, the Central assistance will be released in terms of block loans and grants under broad heads of development and will not now be tied to specific schemes.

There was one very important point made regarding employment and practically all Members rightly showed their concern. This morning as you are aware, Sir, a deputation of the Samajvadi Yuvak Samaj met me. This deputation was accompanied by some hon. Members. They presented a Memorandum and they wanted Government to do more to solve the unemployment problem. In fact they asked for a Commission to be set up to study the problem, and also suggested some other steps.

As I explained to them and as I have said already in this House, we are very deeply concerned about the unemployment problem and it is an anxiety which we share with every parent, with every teacher, in fact, with every young person. Some of the more acute forms of educated unemployment are directly related to recession. But, on the whole, the problem is the result of growth of general education at a faster rate than of the economy as a whole. The House knows that the Committee of Experts of which Professor Dantewala as Chairman and Professor Raj and

Shri Lahiri as Members has been set up to examine certain aspects of this important problem: but we need not wait for the report of this Committee, because our entire approach to development has had a deliberate employment bias.

We have not been advocates of big machinery for agriculture but have emphasised the use of small implements by the small farmers and agriculturists and workers to help new trades and the small entrepreneurs as for the land army, and this is one of the proposals of the Memorandum. I myself have always been attracted by the idea but I feel that it will need to be very carefully considered in its practical and other aspects.

I have told the Members who came to see me that we will certainly give consideration to the suggestions which they have made. Some of them are already being looked into in depth.

My hon. friend from the Jan Sangh wanted a Swadeshi Plan. The hon. Member knows that this is an aspect which I have been stressing all along, even before the Draft Outline came out. I feel that the Plan is already swadeshi in that it puts the whole emphasis on self-reliance. The net foreign aid in the Fourth Plan will only be 8% of the total investment. The Plan also seeks to put a stop to the import of foodgrains on concessional terms within two years.

The Plan lays emphasis on the role of developing machinery and equipment as also domestic know-how and expertise.

I think it is rather unfair on the part of the hon. Member opposite to say that Delhi has been specially discriminated against. As he rightly pointed out, all of us are very much concerned with the development of Delhi, but in this particular situation, everybody is discriminated against in a manner of speaking, because of our lack of resources.

Now, several Members have drawn attention to the needs of various areas and different classes of people. It is natural that each Member should draw attention to the special needs of his own State.

We are very conscious of the lacunae in the Plan and the needs to help each State.

Each State feels that if it could have more irrigation, it could feed the whole country, if it had certain industrial schemes, it could provide employment to vast numbers and they are right in thinking so. With all our sympathy with these demands and aspirations, it is not possible to provide for all the desirable things which need to be done. The Plan is a design of development which has to define objectives very selectively, and formulate measures which must be adopted to realise these objectives. While the goals are important, the means to realise them are not less important. We have heard a lot about how many more necessary things should be done, but not so much thought has been given nor are steps proposed for the achieving of these objectives. In the months and years ahead, Parliament will have the opportunity of discussing these measures. One of the Hon. Members said that the time here was much too short. We want the entire country to discuss these questions...

AN HON. MEMBER : You have imposed Sec. 144 in Delhi. How can people here discuss ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : As we have said, the Plan will be reviewed from year to year and certainly if anything can be added to it or new programmes be taken up, there will be no hesitation in doing so.

The Plan must lead the country forward with greater vigour and determination to its goal of a more prosperous and economic order. Sir, the venerable Acharya ended his speech by saying or by asking : where is the country going ? I do not know about the hon. Members. But I personally have no doubt at all...

SOME HON. MEMBERS : Where is it going ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : It is going towards progress and prosperity and towards lessening of disparity. But the journey is hard and long and it is going to take courage and determination and co-operation of all of us together... (*Interruptions*). It is upto Shri Piloo Mody to find out what kind of Government can have the people's support. But I doubt very much if it is his Party.

MR. SPEAKER : There are a number of substitute motions before us.

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR : The motion of the Government is only for taking this into consideration. We have already taken it into consideration. Now no further action is necessary.

MR. SPEAKER : Some have moved substitute motions. For instance, Shri Vishwa Nath Pandey has moved a substitute motion.

First I will put Shri Masani's substitute motion seeking disapproval of the Plan to the vote of the House.

The question is :

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely :

"This House, having considered the "Fourth Five Year Plan 1969—74—Draft", laid on the Table of the House on the 21st April, 1969, disapproves of the Draft Plan for the following reasons :

- (a) the Draft Fourth Plan clearly indicates that the Government has evidently learnt nothing from the failure of the Second and Third Five Year Plans ; and the targets of the Plan are as speculative as those of the Second and Third Plans and are as little likely to be achieved ;
- (b) undue emphasis on Heavy Industries at the cost of Agriculture continues to be a feature of the Fourth Plan ;
- (c) it ignores the fact that the high cost economy caused by inflation and the distortion caused by the "rupee countries" racket dooms the hope of exporting non-traditional commodities to disappointment ;
- (d) it concedes that, as wasteful expenditure cannot be curtailed further excessive taxation and a continuing resort to deficit finance will become necessary ; further taxation and the diversion of the people's savings are intended to finance increased expenditure on inefficient and unprofitable governmental undertakings ;

[Mr. Speaker]

- (c) agricultural activities are threatened with institutionalisation : and
 (f) even while conceding that controls and the licencing system are not functioning satisfactorily, there is no readiness to turn to the obvious

alternative of decontrol and increased competition ; and the Plan neglects the interests of the consumer'. (14)

The Lok Sabha divided :

[Division No. 19

AYES

16.42 hrs.]

Amat, Shri D.
 Amin, Shri R. K.
 Atam Das, Shri
 Bharat Singh, Shri
 Birua, Shri Kolai
 Brij Raj Singh-Kotah, Shri
 Deo, Shri K. P. Singh
 Deo, Shri P. K.
 Desai, Shri C. C.
 Devgun, Shri Hardayal
 Digvijai Nath, Shri
 Dipa, Shri A.
 Gowd, Shri Gadilingana
 Gupta, Shri Kanwar Lal
 Joshi, Shri Jagannath Rao
 Khan, Shri H. Ajmal
 Kothari, Shri S. S.

Kunte, Shri Dattatraya
 Kushwah, Shri Y. S.
 Madhok, Shri Bal Raj
 Masani, Shri M. R.
 Megbrajji, Shri
 Mody, Shri Piloo
 Mohamad Imam, Shri
 Naik, Shri G. C.
 Parmar, Shri D. R.
 Patodia, Shri D. N.
 Ramamoorthy, Shri P.
 Ranga, Shri
 Saboo, Shri Shri Gopal
 Sharma, Shri B. S.
 Sondhi, Shri M. L.
 Xavier, Shri S.

NOES

Agadi, Shri S. A.
 Aga, Shri Ahmad
 Ahmed, Shri F. A.
 Arumugam, Shri R. S.
 Awadesh Chandra Singh, Shri
 Babunath Singh, Shri
 Bajpai, Shri Shashibhusan
 Barua, Shri Bedabrata
 Barupal, Shri P. L.
 Basumatari, Shri D.
 Baswant, Shri
 Bhagat, Shri B. R.
 Bhagavati, Shri
 Bhakt Darshan, Shri
 Bhandare, Shri R. D.
 Bhanu Prakash Singh, Shri
 Bhargava, Shri B. N.
 Bholu Nath, Shri
 Bobra, Shri Onkarlal
 Chanda, Shri Anil K.
 Chandrika Prasad, Shri
 Chatterji, Shri Krishna Kumar
 Chaudhary, Shri Nitiraj Singh
 Chavan, Shri D. R.
 Chavan, Shri Y. B.
 Choudhury, Shri J. K.
 Damani, Shri S. R.

Dasappa, Shri Tulsidas
 Daschowdhury, Shri B. K.
 Dass, Shri C.
 Deoghare, Shri N. R.
 Deshmukh, Shri B. D.
 Deshmukh, Shri Shivajirao S.
 Dhuleshwar Meena, Shri
 Dinesh Singh, Shri
 Dwivedy, Shri Surendranath
 Ering, Shri D.
 Gandhi, Shrimati Indira
 Ganesh, Shri K. R.
 Gautam, Shri C. D.
 Gavit, Shri Tukaram
 Ghosh, Shri Parimal
 Gudadinni, Shri B. K.
 Gupta, Shri Lakhani Lal
 Hajarnawis, Shri
 Hari Krishana, Shri
 Hem Raj, Shri
 Himastsingka, Shri
 Iqbal Singh, Shri
 Jadhav, Shri Tulshidas
 Jaggaiah, Shri K.
 Jagjiwan Ram, Shri
 Jamir, Shri S. C.
 Jamna Lal, Shri

Kahandole, Shri Z. M.
Karan Singh, Dr.
Keari, Shri Sitaram
Khan, Shri M. A.
Krishna, Shri M. R.
Kureel, Shri B. N.
Kushok Bakula, Shri
Lakshmikanthamma, Shrimati
Lalit Sen, Shri
Laskar, Shri N. R.
Laxmi Bai, Shrimati
Mahajan, Shri Vikram Chand
Mahida, Shri Narendra Singh
Mahishi, Dr. Sarojini
Malhotra, Shri Inderjit
Mandal, Dr. P.
Mehta, Shri P. M.
Melkote, Dr.
Menon, Shri Govinda
Minimata, Shrimati Agam Dass Guru
Mirza, Shri Bakar Ali
Mishra, Shri Bibhuti
Mohsin, Shri
Mrityunjay Prasad, Shri
Mukerjee, Shrimati Sharda
Murti, Shri M. S.
Nahata, Shri Amrit
Nanda, Shri
Nayar, Dr. Sushila
Nayon, Shri Kartik
Pahadia, Shri
Palchaudhuri, Shrimati Ila
Pandey, Shri K. N.
Pandey, Shri Vishwa Nath
Pant, Shri K. C.
Paokai Haokip, Shri
Parmar, Shri Bhaljibhai
Partap Singh, Shri
Parteasarathy, Shri
Patel, Shri Manibhai J.
Patil, Shri A. V.
Patil, Shri C. A.
Patil, Shri Deorao
Patil, Shri S. B.
Patil, Shri S. D.
Patil, Shri T. A.
Poonacha, Shri C. M.
Pramanik, Shri J. N.
Qureshi, Shri Shaffi
Radhabai, Shrimati B.
Raghu Ramaiah, Shri
Raj Deo Singh, Shri
Rajani Gandha, Komari
Raju, Shri D. B.
Ram Dhan, Shri

Ram Dhani Das, Shri
Ram Sewak, Shri
Ram Subhag Singh, Dr.
Ram Swarup, Shri
Rana, Shri M. B.
Randhir Singh, Shri
Rao, Shri Jaganath
Rao, Dr. K. L.
Rao, Shri K. Narayana
Rao, Shri Muthyal
Rao, Shri J. Ramapathi
Rao, Shri Thirumala
Rao, Dr. V. K. R. V.
Reddy, Shri P. Antony
Reddy, Shri R. D.
Rohatgi, Shrimati Sushila
Roy, Shri Bishwanath
Saha, Dr. S. K.
Saigal, Shri A. S.
Saleem, Shri M. Y.
Sankata Prasad, Dr.
Savitri Shyam, Shrimati
Sayeed, Shri P. M.
Sen, Shri Dwaipayana
Sen, Shri P. G.
Sethuramae, Shri N.
Shambhu Nath, Shri
Shankaranand, Shri
Shastri, Shri B. N.
Shastri, Shri Ramanand
Shastri, Shri Sheopujan
Sheo Narain, Shri
Sher Singh, Shri
Shinde, Shri Annasahib
Shukla, Shri S. N.
Siddeshwar Prasad, Shri
Singh, Shri D. N.
Sinha, Shri R. K.
Snatak, Shri Nar Deo
Solanki, Shri S. M.
Sonar, Dr. A. G.
Sonavane, Shri
Sudarsanam, Shri M.
Supakar, Shri Sradhakar
Swaran Singh, Shri
Tiwary, Shri D. N.
Tiwary, Shri K. N.
Uikey, Shri M. G.
Ulaka, Shri Ramachandra
Veerappa, Shri Ramachandra
Venkatasubbaiah, Shri P.
Verma, Shri Balgovind
Virbhada Singh, Shri
Vyas, Shri Ramesh Chandra

MR. SPEAKER : The result* of the division is :

Ayes : 33 ; Noes 163 ; Abstentions 39.

The Noes have it ; the Noes have it.

The motion was negatived.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY : There are more abstentions than 'Noes',

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR (Peermade): Shri Ramavatar Shastri's substitute motions No. 5 and 6 may be put to vote separately.

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA . My substitute motion No. 3 may also be put to vote separately.

MR. SPEAKER : The Lobbies have cleared already. I need not have them cleared again.

The question is :

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely :—

"This House having considered the "Fourth Five Year Plan 1969—74 — Draft" laid on the Table of the House on the 21st April, 1969, is of the opinion that—

(a) the basic principles underlined in the alternative drafted by the State Planning Board constituted by UF Government of Kerala be made the basis of the Fourth Plan in order to give it the shape of public welfare Plan ; the points raised by the Kerala Chief Minister and West Bengal Deputy Chief Minister in the last meeting of National Development Council be included in the Fourth Plan ;

(b) the policy of non-capitalistic development be adopted after rejecting the policy of capitalistic development ;

(c) banks basic industries, tea-plantations, foreign trade, foreign oil companies, wholesale trade of foodgrains be nationalised to break the increasing monopoly of 75 capitalist families on the country's economic life and immediate steps be taken to look into the charges and corruption alleged against Birla brothers ;

(d) immediate drastic steps be taken to end the loot let loose by profiteers, grain speculators and hoarders in order to check the rise in prices of essential commodities ;

(e) guarantee of need-based wages, merger of DA with pay, neutralisation of full dearness allowance, safeguarding the Trade Union rights and scrapping off anti-strike and other repressive legal provisions in order to enable working classes of the country to take active part in the economic development works of the country be included in the Plan ; and

(f) more financial provision be made for uniform progress of Bihar, Eastern UP, Orissa, Rajasthan, Gujarat and other backward States ; concrete and effective steps be taken to remove regional imbalance and basic industries be extended in the public sector in the country ;". (5)

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely :—

"This House having considered the "Fourth Five Year Plan 1969—74— Draft" laid on the Table of the House on the 21st April, 1969, is of the opinion that—

(a) effective steps be taken to implement legislation regarding land reforms with a view to increase agricultural output so as to make country self-dependent in the matter of foodgrains ; to distribute free waste land and Government fallow land among agricultural labourers and poor farmers and to make available fertilizers and seeds at cheap prices and electricity be provided in villages at cheap rates ;

(b) agricultural labourers be provided with land for cultivation and the minimum wages be assured to them ;

(c) effective steps be taken to remove unemployment ;

(d) land revenue on the uneconomic holdings be abolished and slabwise agricultural income-tax be introduced ;

(e) funds allocated for the public sector in the Plan be increased and

*The following Members also recorded their votes for 'NOES' :
Sarvashri Buta Singh and V. B. Tarodekar.

those allocated for the private sector be reduced ; and

(f) funds allocated in the Plan for irrigation, social welfare, education, electricity, agriculture, foodgrains, development of industries, development

of roads and highways, house-building, water-supply schemes, development of backward classes and labour welfare be increased." (6)

The Lok Sabha divided.

Division No. 20]

AYES

[16.51 hrs.

Adichan, Shri P. C.
Badrudduja, Shri
Banerjee, Shri S. M.
Basu, Shri Jyotirmoy
Bhagaban Das, Shri
Biswas, Shri J. M.
Daschowdhury, Shri B. K.
Gupta, Shri Indrajit
Jha, Shri Bhogendra
Kalita, Shri Dhireswar
Kushwah, Shri Y. S.
Lakkappa, Shri K.
Madhukar, Shri K. M.
Mangalathumadam, Shri
Meghachandra, Shri M.

Molahu Prasad, Shri
Nair, Shri Vasudevan
Nambiar, Shri
Nihal Singh, Shri
Pandey, Shri Sarjoo
Paswan, Shri Kedar
Patil, Shri N. R.
Ramamurti, Shri P.
Saboo, Shri Shri Gopal
Satya Narain Singh, Shri
Shastri, Shri Ramavatar
Shastri, Shri Sheopujan
Umanath, Shri
Yadav, Shri Jageshwar

NOES

Agadi, Shri S. A.
Aga, Shri Ahmad
Ahmed, Shri F. A.
Arumugam, Shri R. S.
Awadesh Chandra Singh, Shri
Babunath Singh, Shri
Barua, Shri Bedabrata
Barupal, Shri P. L.
Basumatari, Shri
Baswant, Shri
Bhagat, Shri B. R.
Bhagavati, Shri
Bhakt Darshan, Shri
Bhandare, Shri R. D.
Bhanu Prakash Singh, Shri
Bhargava, Shri B. N.
Birua, Shri Kolai
Bohra, Shri Onkarlal
Buta Singh, Shri
Chanda, Shri Anil K.
Chandrika Prasad, Shri
Chatterji, Shri Krishna Kumar
Chaudhary, Shri Nitraj Singh
Chavan, Shri D. R.
Chavan, Shri Y. B.
Choudhury, Shri J. K.
Damani, Shri S. R.
Dasappa, Shri Tulsidas
Dass, Shri C.
Deoghare, Shri N. R.

Deshmukh, Shri B. D.
Deshmukh, Shri Shivajirao S.
Dhuleshwar Meena, Shri
Digvijai Nath, Shri
Dinesh Singh, Shri
Dwivedi, Shri Nageshwar
Ering, Shri D-
Gandhi, Shrimati Indira
Ganesb, Shri K. R.
Gautam, Shri C. D.
Gavit, Shri Tukaram
Ghosh, Shri Parimal
Gudadinni, Shri B. K.
Gupta, Shri Lakhan Lal
Hajarnawis, Shri
Hari Krishna, Shri
Hem Raj, Shri
Himatsingka, Shri
Iqbal Singh, Shri
Jadhav, Shri Tulshidas
Jadhav, Shri V. N.
Jaggalab, Shri K.
Jaggiwan Ram, Shri
Jamil, Shri S. C.
Jamna Lal, Shri
Kahandole, Shri Z. M.
Karan Singh, Dr.
Kesri, Shri Sitaram
Khan, Shri M. A.
Krishna, Shri M. R.

- Kureel, Shri B. N.
 Kushok Bakula, Shri
 Lakshmikanthamma, Shrimati
 Lalit Sen, Shri
 Laskar, Shri N. R.
 Laxmi Bai, Shrimati
 Mahajan, Shri Vikramchand
 Mahida, Shri Narendra Singh
 Mahishi, Dr. Sarojini
 Malhotra, Shri Inder J.
 Mandal, Shri Yamuna Prasad
 Master, Shri Bhola Nath
 Mehta, Shri P. M.
 Melkote, Dr.
 Menon, Shri Govinda
 Minimata Agam Dass Guru, Shrimati
 Mirza, Shri Bakar Ali
 Mishra, Shri Bibhuti
 Mohsin, Shri
 Mrityunjay Prasad, Shri
 Mukerjee, Shrimati Sharda
 Mulla, Shri A. N.
 Murti, Shri M. S.
 Nahata, Shri Amrit
 Nanda, Shri
 Nayar, Dr. Sushila
 Oraon, Shri Kartik
 Pahadia, Shri Jagannath
 Palchoudhuri, Shrimati Ila
 Pandey, Shri K. N.
 Pandey, Shri Vishwa Nath
 Pant, Shri K. C.
 Paokai Haokip, Shri
 Parmar, Shri Bhaljibhai
 Partap Singh, Shri
 Parthasarathy, Shri
 Patel, Shri Manubhai
 Patil, Shri Anantrao
 Patil, Shri C. A.
 Patil, Shri Deorao
 Patil, Shri S. B.
 Patil, Shri S. D.
 Patil, Shri T. A.
 Poonacha, Shri C. M.
 Pramanik, Shri J. N.
 Qureshi, Shri Mohd. Shafi
 Radhabai, Shrimati B.
 Raghu Ramaiah, Shri
 Raj Deo Singh, Shri
 Rajni Devi, Shrimati
 Raju, Shri D. B.
 Ram Dhan, Shri
 Ram Dhani Das, Shri
 Ram Sewak, Shri Choudhury
 Ram Subbag Singh, Dr.
 Ram Swarup, Shri
 Rana, Shri M. B.
 Randhir Singh, Shri
 Rao, Shri Jagannath
 Rao, Dr. K. L.
 Rao, Shri K. Narayana
 Rao, Shri Muthyal
 Rao, Shri J. Ramapathi
 Rao, Shri Thirumala
 Rao, Dr. V. K. R. V.
 Reddy, Shri P. Antony
 Reddy, Shri R. D.
 Rohatgi, Shrimati Sushila
 Roy, Shri Bishwanath
 Saha, Dr. S. K.
 Saigal, Shri A. S.
 Saleem, Shri M. Yunus
 Sanghi, Shri N. K.
 Sankata Prasad, Dr.
 Savitri Shyam, Shrimati
 Sayeed, Shri P. M.
 Sen, Shri Dwaipayana
 Sen, Shri P. G.
 Sethuraman, Shri N.
 Shambhu Nath, Shri
 Shankaranand, Shri B.
 Shashi Bhushan, Shri
 Shastri, Shri Biswanarayan
 Shastri, Shri Ramanand
 Sheo Narain, Shri
 Sher Singh, Shri
 Shinde, Shri Anpasahib
 Shukla, Shri S. N.
 Siddheshwar Prasad, Shri
 Singh, Shri D. N.
 Snatak, Shri Nar Deo
 Sinha, Shri R. K.
 Solanki, Shri S. M.
 Sonar, Dr. A. G.
 Sanavaone, Shri
 Sudarsanam, Shri M.
 Supakar, Shri Sradhakar
 Swaran Singh, Shri
 Tarodekar, Shri V. B.
 Tiwary, Shri D. N.
 Tiwary, Shri K. N.
 Uikay, Shri M. G.
 Ulake, Shri Ramachandra
 Veerappa, Shri Ramachandra
 Venkatasubbaiah, Shri P.
 Verma, Shri Balgovind
 Virbhadra Singh, Shri
 Vyas, Shri Ramesh Chandra

MR. SPEAKER : The result* of the division is : Ayes 29 ; Noes 168 ; Abstentions 33. The Noes have it ; the Noes have it.

The motion was negatived.

MR. SPEAKER : What about Shri S. C. Jha's substitute motion ?

SHRI SHIV CHANDRA JHA : I press it to division.

MR. SPEAKER : What about Shri Humayun Kabir's substitute motion ?

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR : I press it to division.

MR. SPEAKER : There must be some limit. I thought the House had agreed that on one or two substitute motions there would be division. Insistence on division on every substitute motion by the mover of such a motion is something I am not able to understand. It takes some time for the voting machine to work again. I cannot put the next motion to vote by division immediately.

I shall now put No. 3, substitute motion by Shri S. C. Jha to vote. Let the Opposition have the satisfaction.

The question is :

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely :—

'This House, having considered the

Division No. 21]

AYES

[16.54 hrs.

Atam Das, Shri
Banerjee, Shri S. M.
Biswas, Shri J. M.
Daschowdhury, Shri B. K.
Gupta, Shri Indrajit
Jha, Shri Bhogendra
Jha, Shri Shiva Chandra
Kalita, Shri Dhireswar

Krishna, Shri S. M.
Kushwah, Shri Y. S.
Molahu Prasad, Shri
Nair, Shri Vasudenan
Nihal Singh, Shri
Pandey, Shri Sarjoo
Shastri, Shri Sheopujan

NOES

Adichan, Shri P. C.
Agadi, Shri S. A.
Aga, Shri Ahmad
Ahmad, Shri F. A.
Arumugam, Shri R. S.

Awadesh Chandra Singh, Shri
Babunath Singh, Shri
Barua, Shri Bedabrata
Barupal, Shri P. L.
Basumatari, Shri

"Fourth Five Year Plan 1969—74—Draft", laid on the Table of the House on the 21st April, 1969, is of opinion that—

- (a) the plan is glaringly devoid of any scientific philosophy of Planning ;
- (b) it has not pointed out the pressing need of the nationalization of the commanding heights of the economy, such as, banks, wholesale foreign and internal trade, steel and coal and has failed to show how the qualitative change in land-ownership be brought about ;
- (c) it has made no provision for the workers' participation in the management of the public undertakings and that the income ceilings to the ratio of one to ten be immediately put into effect ;
- (d) the P.L. 480 funds retained and used by American Embassy in India be immediately frozen ;
- (e) it has not pointed out how the full employment in the country would be brought into being ; and
- (f) it has failed to point out how the peoples participation in the Plan implementation be possible without planning the press, in the shape of Planned Press and Party Press.' (3)

The Lok Sabha divided.

*The following Members also recorded their votes for AYES ; Sarvasbri Shiva Chandra Jha and Viswanatha Menon.

Baswant, Shri
 Bhagat, Shri B. R.
 Bhagavati, Shri
 Bhakt Darshan, Shri
 Bhandare, Shri R. D.
 Bhanu Prabh Singh, Shri
 Bhargava, Shri B. N.
 Birua, Shri Kolai
 Bohra, Shri Onkarlal
 Buta Singh, Shri
 Chanda, Shri Anil K.
 Chandrika Prasad, Shri
 Chatterji, Shri Krishna Kumar
 Chaudhary, Shri Nitiraj Singh
 Chavan, Shri D. R.
 Chavan, Shri Y. B.
 Chowdhury, Shri J. K.
 Damani, Shri S. R.
 Dasappa, Shri Tulsidas
 Dass, Shri C.
 Deoghare, Shri N. R.
 Deshmukh, Shri B. D.
 Deshmukh, Shri Shivajirao S.
 Dhuleshwar Meena, Shri
 Dinesh Singh, Shri
 Dwivedi, Shri Nageshwar
 Ering, Shri D.
 Gandhi, Shrimati Indira
 Ganesh, Shri K. R.
 Gavit, Shri Tukaram
 Ghosh, Shri Parimal
 Gudadiinni, Shri B. K.
 Gupta, Shri Lakhan Lal
 Hajarnawis, Shri
 Hari Krishna, Shri
 Hem Raj, Shri
 Himatsingka, Shri
 Iqbal Singh, Shri
 Jadhav, Shri Tulshidas
 Jadhav, Shri V. N.
 Jaggaiah, Shri K.
 Jagjiwan Ram, Shri
 Jamir, Shri S. C.
 Jamna Lal, Shri
 Kabandole, Shri Z. M.
 Karan Singh, Dr.
 Kesri, Shri Sitaram
 Khan, Shri M. A.
 Krishna, Shri M. R.
 Kureel, Shri B. N.
 Kushok Bakula, Shri
 Lakshmikanthamma, Shrimati
 Lalit Sen, Shri
 Laskar, Shri N. R.
 Laxmi Bai, Shrimati
 Mahajan, Shri Vikramchand
 Mahida, Shri Narendra Singh
 Mahishi, Dr. Sarojini

Malhotra, Shri Inder J.
 Mandal, Shri Yamuna Prasad
 Master, Shri Bhola Nath
 Mehta, Shri P. M.
 Melkote, Dr.
 Menon, Shri Govinda
 Minimata Agam Dass Guru, Shrimati
 Mirza, Shri Bakar Ali
 Mishra, Shri Bibhuti
 Mohsin, Shri
 Mrityunjay Prasad, Shri
 Mukerjee, Shrimati Sharda
 Murti, Shri M. S.
 Nahata, Shri Amrit
 Nanda, Shri
 Nayar, Dr. Sushila
 Oraon, Shri Kartik
 Pahadia, Shri Jagannath
 Palchoudhuri, Shrimati Ila
 Pandey, Shri K. N.
 Pandey, Shri Vishwa Nath
 Pant, Shri K. C.
 Paokai Haokip, Shri
 Parmar, Shri Bhaljibhai
 Partap Singh, Shri
 Parthasarathy, Shri
 Patel, Shri Manubhai
 Patil, Shri Anantrao
 Patil, Shri C. A.
 Patil, Shri Deorao
 Patil, Shri S. B.
 Patil, Shri S. D.
 Patil, Shri T. A.
 Poonacha, Shri C. M.
 Pramanik, Shri J. N.
 Qureshi, Shri Mohd. Shaffi
 Radhabai, Shrimati B.
 Raghu Ramalah, Shri
 Raj Deo Singh, Shri
 Rajni Devi, Shrimati
 Raju, Shri D. B.
 Ram Dhan, Shri
 Ram Dhani Das, Shri
 Ram Sewak, Shri Dhowdhary
 Ram Subhag Singh, Dr.
 Ram Swarup, Shri
 Rana, Shri M. B.
 Randhir Singh, Shri
 Rao, Shri Jaganath
 Rao, Dr. K. L.
 Rao, Shri K. Narayana
 Rao, Shri Muthyal
 Rao, Shri J. Ramapathi
 Rao, Shri Thirumala
 Rao, Dr. V. K. R. V.
 Reddy, Shri P. Antony
 Reddy, Shri R. D.

Robatgi, Shrimati Sushlla
 Roy, Shri Bishwanath
 Saboo, Shri Shri Gopal
 Saha, Dr. S. K.
 Saigal, Shri A. S.
 Saleem, Shri M. Yunus
 Sanghi, Shri N. K.
 Sankata Prasad, Dr.
 Savitri Shyam, Shrimati
 Sayeed, Shri P. M.
 Sen, Shri Dwaipayan
 Sen, Shri P. G.
 Shambhu Nath, Shri
 Shankaranand, Shri
 Shashi Bhushan, Shri
 Shastri, Shri Biswanarayan
 Shastri, Shri Ramanand
 Sheo Narain, Shri
 Sher Singh, Shri
 Shinde, Shri Annasahib
 Shukla, Shri S. N.
 Siddheshwar Prasad, Shri
 Singh, Shri D. N.
 Sinha, Shri R. K.
 Snatak, Shri Nar Deo
 Sonar, Dr. A. G.
 Sonavane, Shri
 Sudarsanam, Shri M.
 Supakar, Shri Sradhakar
 Swaran Singh, Shri
 Tarodekar, Shri V. B.
 Tiwary, Shri D. N.
 Tiwary, Shri K. N.
 Uikay, Shri M. G.
 Ulaka, Shri Ramachandra
 Venkatasubbalab, Shri P.
 Verma, Shri Balgovind
 Virbhadra Singh, Shri
 Vyas, Shri Ramesh Chandra

MR. SPEAKER : The result* of the division is : AYES : 15 ; Noes 164 ; Abstentions 29.

The motion was negatived.

MR. SPEAKER : I shall now put substitute motion No. 12 by Shri Kabir to the vote of the House.

Substitute motion No. 12 was put and negatived.

MR. SPEAKER : I shall now put substitute motion No. 17 by Shri Tenneti Viswanatham to the vote of the House.

Substitute motion No. 17 was put and negatived.

SHRI CHANDRIKA PRASAD : I am not pressing my substitute motions Nos. 15 and 16. I seek leave of the House to withdraw them

Substitute motions Nos. 15 and 16 were, by leave, withdrawn.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI (Bhopal) : The doors are continuously closed and members are held up outside.

MR. SPEAKER : I know that was agreed. 15 or 18 makes no difference.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : People should think that there is sec. 144 inside.

MR. SPEAKER : I shall now put substitute motion No. 7 by Shri Shri Chand Goyal to vote.

Substitute motion No. 7 was put and negatived.

MR. SPEAKER : All the substitute motions are now disposed of. We now proceed to the next item on the agenda.

SHRI RANGA : Therefore, the plan has been dismissed.

— — —

16.55 hrs.

COMPANIES (AMENDMENT) BILL—
contd.

MR. SPEAKER : The House will now take up further consideration of the Companies (Amendment) Bill. Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta was on his legs...*(Interruptions.)*

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY (Kendrapara) : So, the Plan has not been approved by the House.

MR. SPEAKER - It is only motion for consideration of the Plan.

AN HON. MEMBER : What is the time for general discussion ?

*The following Members also recorded NOES : Sarvasbri C. D. Gautam and

their votes : AYES : Shri Kedar Paswan, S. M. Solanki.