

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

medical and engineering professions would be required to render a certain period of service in the rural areas or any area that may be proposed under the scheme.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Well if you like to discuss the details of the scheme now...

MR. SPEAKER : Later on, you can discuss it when we come to the consideration stage.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Sir, just one clarification. Since he has clarified many points and I am happy about it I want to know one thing. Supposing we pass this Bill without any difficulty.

MR. SPEAKER : About these things we can speak when we have the general discussion, not at this stage when the Bill is being introduced... (Interruptions)...

SHRI K. C. PANT : He has understood it rightly. As I said, certain places are today vacant and they will be filled. That certainly will not take away from the pool of employment; that will add to the number of places.

I am not quite able to follow the question raised by Mr. Indrajit Gupta. It says have that the expenditure on account of the staff that may have to be incurred in this connection, together with incidental expenses will be about Rs. 5.57 lakhs a year. There will be a headquarters establishment and employment exchanges will be used for registration, etc. There was objection to the statement that there will be no non-recurring expenditure. It does not say : no recurring expenditure but no non-recurring expenditure. I think there is some semantical confusion there.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : He is avoiding my point by saying he could not understand it. What is your interpretation, Sir ? This amount is stated here for headquarters establishment ; there is not a single word about payments which will have to be made by way of salaries, allowances, pensions, etc. to doctors and engineers who will be called up under this national service.

SHRI K. C. PANT : It is all covered under clauses 11 to 15.

MR. SPEAKER : There is a specific amount of money mentioned in the financial memorandum. Mr. Indrajit Gupta asks about the expenditure on wages, salaries, etc. Of course they will get it from their departments, not from here. It is just an enabling provision. So, the question is :

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to provide for the registration of qualified persons and for the rendering of national service by such persons and for matters connected therewith."

The motion was adopted

SHRI K. C. PANT : Sir, I introduce the Bill.

13.15 hrs.

MOTION RE : FOURTH PLAN MID-TERM APPRAISAL

THE MINISTER OF PLANNING AND MINISTER OF DEPARTMENT OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM) : Sir, I beg to move :

"That the 'Fourth Plan Mid-term Appraisal', laid on the Table of the House on the 22nd December, 1971, be taken into consideration".

This year marks the 25th anniversary of our Independence. This also is the year when planning in India comes of age. During these 21 years, we have had three five-year plans, three annual plans and have just left behind us the mid-point in the Fourth Plan period, which was marked by my laying on the Table of the House the Mid-term appraisal document on 22nd December, 1971.

Many questions arise. Are we wiser for this experience of planning ? As a matter of fact, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu raised the question whether there has been anything wrong in the planning. I would like to know from him whether there has been anything wrong and, if so, what he thinks is the right thing to do in planning. What are the new directions towards which we must

now turn our efforts? Has our emphasis on the rate of growth made for an adequate approach to our problems? Now that we are about to embark on the formulation of the Fifth Plan, how do we tackle the age-old and the new, the residual and the emerging, problems of Indian poverty?

It is for this reason that I greatly welcome and look forward to the ensuing discussion in the Lok Sabha on the Mid-term appraisal. Although the Appraisal was made available to Parliament in December, this discussion could not be arranged until now. The delay has had its compensation because we have now been able to place before Parliament the Annual Plan document for 1972-73 as well. The Appraisal and the Annual Plan are two parts of the same exercise and can appropriately be considered together. The Appraisal identifies the progress and shortfalls in various sectors of the Plan and the Annual Plan contains provisions for tackling the emerging problems brought to light in it. I am sure that hon. Members will be pleased to note that the new Planning Commission, within a year of its constitution, has been able to bring out the Mid-term Appraisal on schedule and has also followed it up by publishing the Annual Plan right at the beginning of the financial year. In our democratic and federal set-up, the planning process has to be fully and frequently accountable to Parliament. I am, therefore, particularly happy that the House will have the opportunity to discuss these related documents together.

In addition to identifying the corrective action necessary in specific sectors, the Appraisal underlines the need for speedier progress in realising the cardinal objectives of resource mobilisation, increased self-reliance and larger outlays for promoting employment and social justice. We have made an attempt in the Annual Plan to push the pace of our effort to decisively higher levels in all these areas. The overall size of the Plan in 1972-73 has been fixed at Rs. 3,973 crores, which represents an increase of Rs. 815 crores over the outlay in the previous year. As the Finance Minister pointed out in his Budget speech, this is the sharpest step-up in Plan outlay in the past so many years. Hon. Members will recall that the size of the public sector Plan for the five year period was about

Rs. 15,900 crores. The outlay in the first four years will amount to about Rs. 12,000 crores. Assuming a further step-up in the last year of the Plan, we can be confident that the Fourth Plan outlay will be exceeded in financial terms, both at the Centre and in the States. This is a matter of particular satisfaction to me when I recall that in the dark days of November and December, 1971, I was rather widely criticised for expressing my confidence that development will not be allowed to suffer because of the refugee burden.

The large increase in development expenditure has been made possible by our unprecedented effort at additional resource mobilisation which has mounted to Rs. 650 crores in 1971-72 and 1972-73. The magnitude of this effort will be apparent when we compare it with the additional resource mobilisation effort of Rs 270 crores in the first two years of the Plan. While the resource effort at the Centre has already exceeded the Plan target, the States as whole have still some ground to cover. The Chief Ministers have, however, agreed to make the maximum effort this year and in the coming year. I am reasonably confident that all except four or five States will still be able to reach their targets. I should also do that quite a few of the States have not only fulfilled their Plan targets already, but intend to continue with their effort for larger public savings.

Our agenda for action in the field of resource mobilisation is not a purely quantitative one. We want to make the necessary qualitative and structural changes in the tax system so that it can be fully responsive to the requirements of growth, social justice and self-reliance. It is in this light that Parliament will have to consider later in the year the comprehensive changes to be proposed to the direct tax structure. The constitution of the expert committee on Agricultural Taxation under Dr. K. N. Raj is another important initiative. The proposals for the curtailment of overdrafts on the part of State Governments will result in better financial discipline and co-ordination between the Centre and the States. The more basic problem of imbalances between receipts and expenditure in the States which reflect themselves from time to time in overdrafts will have to be taken care of in the longer-term exercise

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that will be made by the Sixth Finance Commission. The terms of reference of the Finance Commission will be so designed as to secure a progressive improvement in the matter of Centre-State fiscal relations.

In his opening address to this session of Parliament, the President has stressed *Arthik Swaraj* of economic independence as the dominant theme of our policies today. As a matter of fact, the Prime Minister emphasised this aspect in her reply to the debate on the President's Address. Recent events have fully demonstrated that it would be very foolish for any country in the world, however big and powerful, to imagine that it can influence India's policies through the instrument of foreign aid. If dependence on aid is merely defined as allowing aid to influence our national interests, we can claim on the basis of proven fact that we are economically independent. *Arthik Swaraj* is however, a concept that goes much farther than mere non-dependence. It calls for a positive, whole-hearted and dynamic approach for developing our fullest potential in physical, financial and human resources and in scientific research and technological progress for making India reach its legitimate place in the modern world in the shortest possible time.

One of the principal objectives of the Annual Plan is to give shape and content to this thrust for increased self-reliance. It seeks to do this on many fronts. We have kept our pledge to Parliament of stopping concessional food imports by 1971. But as hon. members are aware, we still continue to have a large import bill principally in cotton, oil seeds, steel, fertilisers, non-ferrous metals, crude oil and petroleum products. The Plan provides for large outlays for research, extension and inputs for the intensive production programmes in cotton and in jute. There is a package programme for groundnut, and the area under non-traditional oil seeds such as soyabean and sunflower will be significantly enlarged. An additional production of a million bales each in cotton and jute and a million tonnes in oil seeds are the targets we have placed before the country for 1972-73. In industry, a large part of the outlay is intended for basic sectors which can promote self-reliance such as steel, fertilisers, petroleum, mineral development and non-ferrous metals, with steel accounting for about 30 per cent of the

outlay. Substantial additional provisions have been made for aluminium and copper projects. Increased provisions have been included for oil exploration and the refinery programme. Further more, specific measures will be taken in 1972-73 to increase production through a higher utilisation of existing capacity. Steel production in terms of ingots is expected to be a million tonnes more than in 1971-72, provided the hon. members cooperate a little bit in industrial relations. This will result in an import saving of the order of Rs. 80 crores. The production of nitrogenous fertilisers is expected to go up by 4.5 lakh tonnes as compared to the previous year resulting in a foreign exchange saving of the order of Rs. 60 crores. At the basic level of research and development, the National Committee on Science and Technology has got off to a good start. It has set up teams of experts to take a careful and coordinated look into sectors such as machinery and equipment, fuels, chemicals, minerals, non-ferrous metals and special alloys, in order to gear up our R & D effort for improving technology, increasing productivity and for the rapid substitution of imports.

In the Mid-term Appraisal, we found that due to one reason or another, adequate resources had not been allocated to social outlays in the first three years of the Plan. This imbalance has to be corrected for a sustained improvement in the quality of life of the common man is of the essence of development. We have, therefore, paid special attention to increased outlays for social services such as education, health, family planning, water supply, housing and urban development, social welfare, labour welfare and the welfare of backward classes in the Annual Plan. The overall provision in the Centre and the States for these sectors will be stepped up by as much as Rs. 228 crores, which represents an increase of about 46% over outlays provided in 1971-72. This is the highest proportionate increase for any single sector in the Plan. The Annual Plan document contains a detailed outline of the new or expanded programmes that have been included for elementary education, special employment schemes, slum improvement and rural water supply. I shall not, therefore, go into the details once again. A provision of Rs. 125 crores has been made for these schemes. In order to fully utilise this amount and to prepare

the ground for the continuation of this Special effort in 1973-74, we intend to approve schemes for an even larger figure. In addition Rs. 90 crores have been provided for rural employment and development and Rs. 21.5 crores for nutrition. All these provisions are for the benefit of the weaker and vulnerable sections of our people and amount to a significant reorientation of the Plan. What we are essentially seeking to do in these schemes is to stretch our administrative capabilities in this area to the fullest extent in the next two years as a necessary preparation for a much bigger effort in the Fifth Plan for meeting the basic minimum needs of the people. In undertaking this effort we have also to consciously correct the wide disparities that exist among the different States in the matter of providing these basic needs. With this object in view, these schemes have been taken up in the Central sector so that resources can be provided in such a way that the absorptive capacity of the relatively backward States is progressively brought up to match their needs. The Calcutta Metropolitan Development programme provides a striking example where the pace of expenditure on urban development has trebled in 1971-72 as compared to the previous year because a large increase was made two years ago in the outlays for this purpose.

The Annual Plan also contains several specific schemes which seek to correct other imbalances and shortfalls that have been brought to light in the Mid-term Appraisal. While it is a matter of satisfaction that overall food production has reached the record level of 108 million tonnes in 1970-71 and is forecast at 111 to 112 million tonnes for 1971-72, we will have to achieve a better balance between cereals and other crops such as pulses and the commercial crops, as well as between rice and wheat within cereals themselves. The Plan accordingly includes larger provisions for accelerated research on rice technology. For the first time, a centrally sponsored scheme for the increased production of pulses also finds a place in the Plan.

We can draw satisfaction from the pace of progress in minor irrigation where budgetary allocations have been considerably supplemented by institutional finance. Progress in rural electrification and in the

energisation of pump sets has been particularly satisfactory with likely expenditures during the Plan period being of the order of Rs. 750 crores as compared to the original provision of Rs. 300 crores. However, the picture in major and medium irrigation continues to be one of comparatively slow progress. There have been substantial increases in project costs resulting in more prolonged completion schedules. A number of major schemes have also been held up due to inter-State river disputes. Now that elected Governments are in the saddle in all the States, we propose to take up this issue with them on a priority basis so that legal claims and counter-claims are not allowed to stand in the way of the long-term development of our scarce irrigation potential. Sir, a big country like India has to think and act with boldness and imagination because our problems are such that they do not admit of piece-meal and fragmented solutions, and we hope that this year will see the beginning of what will be a massive and long term effort at integrating the various river systems of the country from the Ganges to the Cauvery.

Equally, in the matter of power development we will have to think in terms of a national grid which will link the surplus with the deficit States and provide the infrastructure for integrated and economic operations. It is only by having a national approach to power development that we can also locate large-size atomic, thermal and hydro projects on national and economic considerations instead of allowing them to be subject to the distortions inherent in each State planning on its own. An important dimension of self-reliance in this sector is the full utilisation of our domestic manufacturing capacity for heavy electrical equipment. This can be achieved and the timely implementation of projects in the Fifth Plan assured only if States are enabled to place orders for their future power programme in the next two years. We are studying this problem in detail and hope to evolve a Plan of action in the next few months.

Increased public ownership of the means of production and growing surpluses from public enterprises are crucial to the success of our socialistic objectives. It is, therefore, a matter of the highest priority that profitability in the public sector should be im-

[Shri C. Subramaniam]

proved. We have set up an Action Committee led by a member of the Planning Commission to formulate operational recommendations individually for each enterprise. The Committee has so far examined the working of a number of public enterprises including two steel plants and all the four Heavy Electrical plants. It will be reviewing in the coming months the performance of other plants manufacturing a variety of products in the chemical, in engineering, electronics, minerals, metals and petrochemical industries. The approach will be to find out in consultation with the enterprises themselves as to what it required in each case to achieve the full utilisation of capacity—whether it be through additional investment, management and personal improvement, better industrial relations, raw material inputs, upgrading of technology or improved maintenance.

This result-oriented approach towards the public sector is being supplemented by a number of industry-wise studies which have been taken up in the Planning Commission. About a dozen industries have already been covered and specific operational decisions taken on the basis of these industry-wise analyses. A further group of industries will be covered in the next few months. Sir, we have every reason to expect the large increase in public sector output contained in the Annual Plan along with the specific decisions arising from these extended enquiries will result in reversing the trend of deceleration in industrial growth which we have unfortunately witnessed in the last two years.

I am aware that the problem of unemployment is uppermost in the minds of Members of Parliament and the people in general today. Poverty itself is the result of unemployment, under-employment and incomes which are below the minimum acceptable consumption level. Our first objective should be to formulate and implement our Plans in such a manner that employment and incomes are specifically generated in these areas and among those classes of people who have a high degree of unemployment, under-employment and low incomes. The various special schemes that have been introduced during the course of the Fourth Plan for greater employment are a recognition that very much more emphasis needs to be given to employment than was found possible

when the original Fourth Plan was formulated. While pursuing and enlarging these schemes as has been done in the Annual Plan, we should not neglect the other schemes in the Plan which are employment-oriented or which are designed to increase incomes for the poor. From this point of view, it is a matter of concern that a whole group of sectors such as animal husbandry, dairying, sheep-rearing, poultry development, fisheries, oil conservation, development of newly irrigated areas, roads and rural roads particularly, and housing, which not only provides aggregate employment but increases income where they are most needed, continues to present a picture of shortfalls. We have particularly emphasized the need for better implementation in these sectors in our discussions with the Chief Ministers.

Our main aim in the coming months should be to secure very vigorous and wholehearted implementation of the Schemes which seek to directly tackle the problems of poverty and unemployment. They are important not only for the current year or even for the next year but also because it is on the basis of experience gained in these schemes that the Fifth Plan has to be formulated. It is in this spirit that the Annual Plan presents a detailed picture of our current thinking on integrated rural employment and development. The centre piece of the Fifth Plan will have to be provision of basic minimum needs to our people within a time-bound schedule and the provision of increasing employment and income opportunities over wide front and in a manner that reduces regional disparities. We have started work on examining the policy, resource, institutional and organisational implications for making this paramount imperative of eliminating poverty the dominant theme in the Fifth Plan. I hope to be able to make available the Draft Outline for public discussion and debate by about the middle of next year.

Sir, I have tried to outline the ways in which we have followed up the conclusions of the Mid-Term appraisal in the contents of the Annual Plan. I have also outlined the tasks that we see ahead of us. I am happy that this discussion on the Plan is taking place in Parliament alongside discussions of the individual demands for grants of the various Ministries. I shall not compete with my colleagues for either the budgetary

or the brick-bats that Parliament wishes to reward them with. Instead, I look forward in this debate to constructive guidance on what we should be doing for better planning, better implementation and for raising our sights higher and higher in our common quest for a strong, self-reliant, modern India in which hunger, disease and ignorance will be abolished within the life-time of this generation which has also been privileged to participate in the political independence of India.

With these words, I move.

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

“That the ‘Fourth Plan Mid-term Appraisal’, laid on the Table of the House on the 22nd December, 1971, be taken into consideration.”

The Business Advisory Committee has allotted 8 hours for this. I think, it should be over by tomorrow evening.

How much time will you take for reply to the debate ?

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM ; I will take about half an hour.

MR. SPEAKER : So, till 5-30 P.M. tomorrow, the Members will keep on speaking and at 5-30 P.M. the Minister will reply to the debate. We will finish the debate by the time the House adjourns tomorrow evening. I think, 8 hours is enough time.

We now adjourn for lunch to meet again at 2-30 P.M.

13.37 hours.

The Lok Sabha Adjourned For Lunch Till Thirty Minutes Past Fourteen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha Reassembled After Lunch at Thirty Minutes Past Fourteen of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER IN THE CHAIR.]

Motion re-Fourth Plan Mid-Term Appraisal-Contd. death

[Mr. Deputy Speaker in the Chair.]

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, to begin with, I would like to thank you and Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu and his Party for the courtesy done to me in permitting me to start this debate as I have to leave by 3 O' Clock.

As I was listening to Mr. Subramaniam delineating the high lights of efforts with the Planning Commission which, incidentally, has now become the new Planning Commission and also as I was hearing him outline the various aspects of the economy which he seems to have brushed up only this year, I had the satisfying feeling that everything was going very well in this country and that our efforts over the last so may year had finally borne some fruit. But this illusion or dream which I had while listening to him was immediately shattered as I left the Chamber and started thinking about all the problems that still exist in this country and for which there seems to be just no proper answer.

Sir, this Government and its policies of the last so many years have seemed to hinge or hitch the entire future to what they call centralised planning in this country. Planning by itself is not a bad idea ; it is a very good idea ; it is the method of planning...

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA (Barmer) : Since when you started believing in planning ?

SHRI PILOO MODY : Since many many years. I do not have the time to inform my friend, Mr. Nahata, as to when we started believing in planning, but it may have been some time before he was born. (Interruption.)

I was talking about planning. As a process of development, it is very good and I can cite the First Five-Year Plan as an excellent example of planning that should have gone on in this country and improved. But when I read the outline of the Second Five-Year Plan, I was convinced at that point, 1955-56, and I could see quit clearly 15 of 20 years thence as to what the condition of this country would be if the Second Five-Year Plan was implemented or sought to be implemented, I do not need to go into the history. Soon after the Second Five Year Plan was started, they ran into difficulties, all manner difficulties, and they started talking about the core of the Plan, Core of the Core of the Plan and the core of that core, with the result that what really remained was not planning at all but a few prize projects which Government was keen to show to the people it could put through. What was the basis on which the priorities were decided at that time ?

[SHRI PILOO MODY]

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru was the Prime Minister, he was all powerful and he got all his projects through, including National Theatre or something, T.G.T. Krishnachari was the strong Minister of the Government of India and he got all his steel plants through and the poor Minister, Mr. A. P. Jain, to whom nobody listened to, did not get a single fertiliser project. This was the basis on which the priorities for the various national plans have been given, not by what is needed by the importance of the man holding the portfolio. Naturally, when you plan on this short of very subjective and personal basis, you are bound to run into troubles.

The Second Five Year Plan is what really took this country in a very different and wrong direction bringing about the present crisis which may not be a crisis to Mr. Subramaniam and his colleagues but is certainly a crisis to me.

I was reading through very interestingly these documents that are produced year after year. I was reading through the Mid-term Appraisal. I read their speeches. It is a mazing that when they sat down to write, they write with a certain amount of candour because when you read, you will find revelations of truth a sort of being put in between the lines and through the words. When you hear them, it is all sweet reasonableness. But, when you go and see what has happened in the country, you find that this is all words, words and words.

First of all, realisation has to dawn that full-half of the money in this country, half the profits made through human endeavour are being plundered, they are being plundered not only out of industry but mainly into politics. Half the money of this country which should go into national resurrection and into national reconstruction, is being frittered away into politics and into what is commonly known as 'black money' which is spirited away abroad. Unless the Government has a comprehensive scheme to get and collect these resources and commit them into the national mainstream, there can never be any effective planning. You may set as many targets as you like but you will never get any results and there are ways and means of doing it. We recently had a committee appointed. They are very fond of committees. For everything there has to be a committee. If somebody does not lay an egg, there

has to be a committee. If some project fails, there has to be a committee. If something has to be discovered, there should be a committee. If something has to be designed, there has to be a committee. If something has to be inquired into, there has to be a committee. Well, I think, Government by committee may be good, but these committees linger on for ever and finally, when they come up with their findings, they are either obsolete or nobody has the energy to look into them.

All I was telling you was that when they talk about planning, they talk in terms of spending money. They lay targets of expenditure. Very rarely do they lay targets of achievement and even in this Appraisal, it is very peculiar and it is something which Mr Subramaniam may well explain to the House as to why when he talks about targets of production and targets about agricultural commodities and allied programmes, it gives what is known as target, anticipated achievement and target for 1972-73, but, when it starts talking about the production and targets of industrial commodities and manufactured goods, there are a few pages. There are no achievements mentioned and if I am wrong and if I have not looked into it correctly, you might correct me. Looking through this, what is the finding? In oil seeds we are short. In sugar cane we are short. Cotton-we are short. In all commodities which rich people eat such as rice, wheat and maize we are OK, but in things which the poor people consume like Jowar and Bajra, we are short. We are short in multiple croppings, we are short in minor irrigation. We are short in fertilisers-nitrogenous, phosphatic and potash, We are short in plant protection.

I would like to recommend in the short period that I have at my disposal, three very important priorities. The Minister has mentioned in his speech and I think something need to be spelt out in the plan itself as to what they are going to do as far as drinking water is concerned.

I mentioned this only a few days ago. They should spell out what they are going to do as far as Minor Irrigation is concerned. I find the target of Minor Irrigation is very short. I would like to know what they are going to do for rural electrification, All

these subject, were mentioned by them. They talk about Rural Electrification. They talk about so many villages electrified. Let Mr. Subramaniam go to the villages which he boasts of as having been electrified and find out the conditions there. Because, I have got before me the report of a study recently made which says that in village after village which the Government claims as having been electrified, there is no electricity; there are no pumps; there is not adequate power supply to the poor agriculturist. Do you know his condition? He can only irrigate his crop beginning at 12 o'clock at night, and he has to go through the night, because there is no ready supply of electricity. Only this morning the Minister of Irrigation and Power admitted that there is country wide shortage, and Mr. Subramaniam,—I am very glad,—has mentioned that there is going to be now a National Grid.

Sir, we were talking about this for 20 years. Now he says that there is going to be a National Grid. Let him spell out what they have done and what he proposes to do and how they are going to do it and what he proposes to bring about through the National Grid. He should positively delineate what programmes of social justice he has got in mind. We cry about social justice. We make propaganda about it. Therefore, I would like him to spell out what it is that he is exactly going to do.

We know in one case Rs. 25 crores were provided for, whereas, only Rs. 7 crores were spent. In another case, a sum of Rs. 15 crores were allotted; I do not know how much was spent. Gujarat got a share of Rs. 2½ crores of which not even Rs. 10 lakhs were spent. Later on the Finance Minister corrected the figure upwards as they are always fond of doing, but it is nowhere near the allotment.

I would like to know this from the hon. Minister. What are our physical targets as far as unemployment is concerned? What are our physical targets about the employment of the unemployed engineers? I certainly cannot conceive of a developing country having 65,000 unemployed engineers, 10 engineers seeking one job, and that job going only to a relative of somebody sitting in this House. Whereas in developed countries where there is abundance of over every 10 jobs chasing one man, how it is that in a developing country this cycle is just reversed? I just cannot

understand. I would like him to delineate on all these points, these are vital sectors which are beginning to pinch us in every walk of life. If the Minister cares to reply to these few points that I have been given an opportunity to put before him, I would be most grateful.

In conclusion, I have to apologise that I will not be here when the Minister replies. I promise to read his speech and I hope that the answers to the few points that I have raised will be found in the reply that he gives.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO (Chattrapur) :
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am glad that after all the House has got an opportunity to discuss the Fourth Plan. We are discussing the Mid-term appraisal and not the Plan itself. Anyhow, this House has got an opportunity and it is good.

Sir, Planning was resorted to 20 years ago with a view to achieve accelerated economic development and to attain equality and social justice.

It is true that 20 years of planning has definitely developed our economy and the general condition of the people in the countryside has improved very much, though individually it cannot be said that everyone has improved his economic condition.

This Planning,—apart from the general improvement in the standard of living of the people has also accentuated the disparities between the rich and the poor. The benefits of planning did not percolate to the lower strata of society. For historical reasons, the businessmen, the rich persons etc. who were in the top echelons of society had reaped the major benefits of planning with the result that the disparities widened during this period.

In 1960 when Panditji was Prime Minister, the question was raised about the assessment of the development that was achieved in the planning process. It was found and it was conceded by the Government,—if I remember aright,—that Planning has accentuated disparities in the country. As a result of that, the Mahalanobis committee was appointed to go into the question. The national income has increased but proportionately the per capita income has not

[SHRI JAGANNATH RAO]

increased; because of the inherent defects in our economy, this was the result.

I am glad that now there is a shift in emphasis. Now, the shift is that the rural sector or the rural side or the countryside will have better attention from the Planning Commission. Having lived for twenty years and having seen what development is, the people are now entertaining new hopes and new aspirations, and they want all the modern amenities to be given to them in their villages. They want roads, hospitals, schools, electricity, water supply, irrigation and so on. They have a right to do so and they are quite justified in entertaining these ambitions and aspirations. But in India we have got about 5,58,000 villages. Mahatma Gandhi used to say, India lives in villages, and if the villages are strong, India will be strong. The villages form the foundation on which the fabric of our democracy stand. Therefore, better late than never. Now, the emphasis is that the rural sector will be given greater attention.

But, what are the allocations made? They are very meagre? They are only marginal. The allocations made for the marginal farmer is really marginal, and nothing can come out of that. So also is the case in regard to the small farmer and so also is the case in regard to dry farming, and in regard to the chronically deficit areas. Therefore, I submit that the allocations should be commensurate with the needs of the countryside.

This problem has to be fought on a war footing. The economy has grown strong, self-reliant and self-generating and in fact as I might say, it has reached the take-off stage. We had to face the Bangla Desh problem last year and therefore, there was a little setback, but still the economy showed resilience, and I am sure that in the remaining two years of the Fourth Plan period, the economy will further develop and grow in strength.

We talk of the green revolution in the countryside. But what is the percentage of lands covered by the green revolution? What is the percentage of lands that have no irrigation at all? They are still in the red, and there is a red revolution there. When we plan the major irrigation projects,

the beneficiaries are the persons who live in the plains or the delta areas. In the hinterland, the persons who are affected, the Adibasis, the backward classes and the Harijans whose lands get submerged by the construction of the reservoir and whose villages get uprooted and are thrown out. What is being done for these people?

The other day, I had occasion to go by road to some villages in Andhra Pradesh. I found the main canal of the Nagarjuna-sagar project going along with lands on either side. They are at a higher level, and, therefore, they do not get water, because the water passes through the canal only. Therefore, when a major project is sanctioned by the Planning Commission I would request that they should not give clearance unless at least 25 percent of the ayacut which is covered by the major project is covered by minor irrigation in the hinterland. Unless that is done, the Adibasis would not get any benefit. Sir, I come, from a hilly area in the district of Koraput in Orissa. Nothing is being done for the people there. They are still very much dependent on rains only. Therefore, I submit that intergrated development has to be thought of. It is not enough if the State can only boast of increased food production, or that the output of food-grains has increased; it is true that point of view, but the question it has increased from the national is whether the benefit has been distributed equally to the people who belong to the same State.

Therefore, my first submission would be that the Planning Commission should take care to see that minor irrigation projects are sanctioned even before the major irrigation project is sanctioned or given clearance. That is one way of helping the small farmers, the marginal farmers and the dry farming areas.

Then, we speak of rural electrification. We know that out of 5,58,000 villages, only a few thousand villages have been electrified. Still 5 lakhs remain.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : Only two thousand have been electrified?

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO : How many?

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : Two lakhs.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO : Still 4 lakhs remain. In twenty years we have done

2 lakhs. We have to live another 20 years to have another couple of lakhs. Is this the rate of progress we want to place before ourselves? If in 20 years, we could get only 2 lakh villages electrified in let us say we will get 2 lakh village electrified in one year. That is progress. That is perspective Planning.

There is plea of constraint of resources due to which nothing can be done. I say this is a cry in the wilderness. We have to raise the necessary resources. We have to get resources diverted from other sources. The rural sector has to be strengthened. Unless it is strengthened, India will not grow strong.

There is the question of lift irrigation and tubewells. In Orissa, I was surprised to see that if a person wanted to drill a tube-well, he had to deposit Rs. 4,000. If he strikes water, Rs. 2,000 is returned to him and Rs. 2,000 is retained by Government. How can a poor man get Rs. 4,000 a tube-well? Let the Government undertake it. If water is struck, let him be asked to pay Rs. 2,000. There should be some rational thinking in this regard.

There should be one fundamental thing about planning. As present, planning is done from Yojana Bhavan in New Delhi or from the State capitals. Real planning should come from the block level. It is the block level authorities who know the needs of the people, what are the needs of a particular village, where drinking water is to be provided, where a well is to be sunk, where there is potential for minor irrigation and should be tapped, where tanks are to be built, where small streams are to be bounded and so on. The block officers and the panchayat samiti know these things much better. They should be asked to give their plans so that the State Government concerned could consider them and place them before the Planning Commission for sanction. But that is not being done. In this regard, the Community Development Department of the State Government is the kingpin for development. It should be entrusted with this task so that there is a clear picture of plans produced before the State Government and the Planning Commission.

As regards the crash programme, I am sorry to say it has crashed. Nothing has been done. Small amounts were allotted for expenditure last year and even that was not spent. I have to agree with Shri Pilloo Mody on this point.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour) : That was a pre-election stunt.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO : Road construction has to be done. Larger allocations have to be given.

For translating the slogan 'land for the landless' into practice, the State Government should come into the picture. It is their responsibility. They have to do all these things. What is the machinery with the Planning Commission or the Central government to ensure that State Governments carry out this programme? Can Government here withhold the allocation? Should you not say that unless these schemes which are sanctioned are carried out, allocation would be stopped? An officer of the Planning Commission should be posted in each district to see that these schemes are properly implemented. Something has to be done to ensure this.

Rural housing is another problem. This is a scheme under the Housing Ministry. It was formulated in 1956. Under this, cities could be purchased and the Central Government would pay the State Governments cent per cent. But no State Government has done anything in this regard. While I was in charge of the Ministry of Work and Housing, I used to visit State capitals and request the Chief Ministers to take advantage of this scheme. They could plan the village in such a way that they could tackle floods and so on. But nothing was done. Emphasis has to be laid on these things and it should be ensured that these are taken up sincerely by State Governments.

It is true there is constraint on resources. But how to mobilise savings? The rural sector has not been touched so far. I know a few States have agricultural income tax, e.g. Orissa, Bihar and Bengal. It has to be seen whether the rates are high or low or whether they should be increased or whether the Centre should take agricultural

[SHRI JAGANNATH RAO]

income as part of the income of an individual and tax it. That is a vital sector where savings could be mobilised. That has been left out.

During the Second Plan period, Parliament passed a Resolution about a socialist pattern of society, as best-suited for our country, suited to our genius and requirements. Are we going to still have that socialist pattern of society, or, should we call it a socialist society? Why not we call it the democratic socialist republic of India? Why that pattern?

SHRI PILOO MODY : It is the State capitalistic society.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO : It is the people. The State is only the representative of the people. Therefore, why this dichotomy of the public and the private sectors? How long are you going to have it? Why don't you think of a national sector? It was suggested that there will be a joint sector. The Prime Minister, while speaking the other day at the FICCI, said there should be a vigorous joint sector. It is a good idea, but why is it that it is applied to new industries only? What about the industries that exist today? Have the Government any control over them? How can you control the commanding heights of the economy unless you have control over everything that is produced in the country?

SHRI PILOO MODY : They join together to make money.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY : (Nizamabad) : Make money for the country.

SHRI PILOO MODY : The country being the Congress party.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO : While the Joint ventures are thought of for new industries, what about the existing industries for which also provide entrepreneurs borrow money from the financial institutions? What is the Government going to do? Should you not have control over them so that in course of time there would be one sector?

I would also go to the length of saying that even the public sector, they should

throw it open to the public in a small way, say, 10 per cent or 15 per cent. Let the people feel that they are participants in this great task of nation-building. What prevents the Government from doing it? The public sector is now only Government-managed. The tax-payers' money is in the hands of the Government. Why not the public contribute five, ten, 15 or 20 per cent to the equity? It is an idea that I am giving. Government can examine it and improve upon it further and see how best it can be done. I am saying this with a view to raising the resources for the Plan.

Mr. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The hon. Member's time is up.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO : In the public sector, of course some units have done well, and I hope the other units will also do well.

Then, what is the economic philosophy of the Government in regard to basic industries? Are they going to allow the key industries to be in the hands of the private sector, or is the Government going to have them with themselves? If nationalisation is not the only solution, are they going to take them over, or, are they going to be partners? In the Joint sector business, even in the existing industries, are they going to have a holding company for the aluminium industry? The aluminium industry is entirely in the hands of the private sector where nearly 400,000 tonnes of aluminium are produced in the country. Regarding Korba and Koyna projects of the Government, I do not think they will come up in 1973-74 as envisaged. It may be further delayed. What are you going to do?

Let us have an overall picture before us, taking into account the economy, the industrial side, the ferrous and the non-ferrous metals, the rural sector, agriculture, irrigation and so on, and have an integrated picture before us and plan them, so that we can show concrete results in the remaining two years of the Fourth Plan in order that we can project tangible result of the schemes which we have planned.

SHRI JYOTIRMAY BOSU (Diamond Harbour) : Sir, I rise to speak on the motion shown against Item 14 of the list of business

namely, on the Fourth Plan Mid-term Appraisal which was laid on the Table of the House on the 22nd December, 1971,

Lest we should lose sight of our basic policies, let me state once again, what is the purpose of the Plan. It is to better the common man's lot, and then have a balanced economic development, with equal emphasis on agriculture and industry, and the elimination of disparities in levels of developments and regional imbalances. But the Congress creed—what has it done, and what have you heard? It had been sharing the poverty; not the expropriation of wealthier classes. Our planning is in the hands of such people today. Those who know about the Soviet Plan of 1928 would tell you that it completely eliminated unemployment, and from a purely agricultural State it came to be a powerful industrial one. The 1929 world economic crisis did not touch Soviet Russia at all.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): Do you include employment in the forced labour camps?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I will come to that later on, professor. Socialist planning presupposes the physical needs of the various sections of the society and protects against imbalances. This is possible only when the State is the sole owner of the means of production. There was jubilation in stock exchanges after the last two budget particularly the last one. The Finance Minister has said that it was due to the fact that more money was being poured into the plans. In that case it proves that the plan money was meant to bring happiness to the wealthier classes, not the downtrodden.

15.00 hrs.

The Congress Party is utilising the plan for stabilising the moneyed classes and itself. It is building up a capitalist economy and allowing the penetration of Indian and foreign monopolies in vital sectors. I shall give an example. In 1970 you granted

47 licence to some of the 73 big business houses and in 1971 you give them 159. Birlas alone got 16 and Tatas 15. They have amended and violated time without number the Industrial Police Resolution drafted by them.

Sir, they talk about 3/4th of fertiliser production during the Fourth Plan to the public sector. What did they do in practice? What about the production of iron and steel A category item? They have given licence for ministeel plants to the private sector for a consideration.

During the first three years of the Fourth Plan, the growth rate has been next to nothing 1 to 1½ per cent which was totally eroded by rising prices. In the world chart we have the glory of being at the bottom of the world having a per capita income of 72 dollars per year. Do they know that even our neighbour Pakistan is getting 120 dollars per head per annum? It is not my chart; it is a chart compiled by people who live outside this country. Two-thirds of the working population are not adequately employed.

In the first three years of the Fourth Plan the Central sector could hardly put in 45 per cent of the envisaged outlay; the balance of 55 per cent is kept for the remaining two years. Almost 32 per cent of the entire plan outlay was left for the last year of the Plan. Look at the State plans. Even fifty per cent of the total outlay has not been spent in these three years. The balance has been kept for the last two years. These are their wonderful performances. They have an economy where ninety per cent is outside the purview of planning and only ten per cent, if I were to believe their publications, remains in the hands of the Government. They want us to live in a fool's Paradise and believe that their plan will succeed.

I shall quote from the Economic Survey of 1971-72 to show how there are big gaps in their targets for outlays and actuals. It is as follows:

	Years.	Proposed.	Actual.
Iron and Steel	1969-70	287.8	177.8
	1970-71	202.9	177.8
Heavy engineering	1969-70	16.7	10.0
	1970-71	14.4	9.0

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Mines and Metals	...	1969-70	67.2	39.1
		1970-71	74.8	55.5
Chemicals and fertilisers	...	1969-70	88.8	77.0
		1970-71	100.3	68.2

I can give many more, but you know it yourself. So, I do not wish to carry coal to New Castle. The physical targets, although they are very, very modest when compared with our requirements and

demands, your achievements are nowhere near your expectations.

I quote from your own Appraisal :

	Fourth Plan target.	1969-70 actual.	1970-71
Foodgrains	mill. tonnes 129.0 (Likely achievement in 1973-74—122)	99.50	107.82
Cotton	mill. bales 8.0 (Likely achievement in 1973-74—6.20)	5.26	4.56
Fertilisers : Nitrogenous	mill tonnes 3.2 (Likely achievement in 1973-74—1.6)		
Phosphatic	mill. tonnes 1.4 (Likely achievement in 1973-74—0.81)		
Diesel engines	thousands 200 (Likely achievement in 1973-74—80)		

Then, I go to the availability of cereals, a very basic item for the common man. You talk about the green revolution, you paint a very rosy picture to the common man. The availability of cereals in 1965 per head was 414.8 grammes. Now in 1971, after seven years, you have climbed upstairs to 407.6 grammes per head.

In cotton textiles, the minimum that a man requires; in 1965-66 per head it was 14.6 metres; in 1970-71 you have climbed upwards—really you have been kicked downwards—to 13.6 metres.

About rural works, I would like to read out this paragraph :

“A scheme was also initiated in 1970-71 in respect of chronically drought-affected areas. Rural works programmes have since been sanctioned for all the 54 districts selected under the scheme, and such projects as development of minor medium irrigation, soil conservation, afforestation and road building are being implemented. The total

financial allotment made in 1970-71 for this scheme amounted to Rs. 13.85 crores against which Rs. 6.49 crores were actually spent. During 1971-72 sanctions upto the end of December, 1971 have aggregated to Rs. 23.55 crores, against which the expenditure actually incurred is estimated at Rs. 9.28 crores.”

This is your performance.

We want to ask a very vital thing about unemployment : What steps have been taken about labour-intensive programmes? I am talking about multiple cropping, minor irrigation for multiple cropping and rural electrification which you have neglected so far. I am talking about the generation of basic wealth—I do not use the term GNP. I am talking about arresting of wealth which runs away from your hands once you neglect it. I am talking about seasonal crops. I am talking about tapping of the ocean resources which surround you. You have not touched all this. You talk about growth of industries in urban areas without

creating purchasing power amongst the rural population which surround the cities. Aren't you living in fool's paradise? How can you do that? With the generation of basic wealth, you could have met the minimum needs of the human beings living in the villages firstly and also in the slums in the cities. I am talking about rural housing, rural roads and rural water-supply. What about your sacred Constitution talking about guaranteed primary education? How many years you have passed in the *gaddi* here! You have not got the shame to talk high-sounding things here.

You talk about creating employment and removing unemployment. Mr. Subramaniam, don't take us for a ride. Where is your machinery? You expect these bureaucratic institutions to create employment. Who will believe that? You know it much better than I do that this machinery is incapable of taking up a task of that magnitude and type. They cannot do it.

This Government talks about *garibi hatao*. This is the biggest hoax sold in the markets in India since time immemorial. I want a categorical assurance on the floor of the House, not as a member of this House alone, but also as a member of the Expert Committee on Unemployment. You have to find Rs. 2000 crores; that is the minimum requirement to take a plunge into the work. If you try and shirk this, you would be condemned as being guilty by the billions of unemployed youths that are starving on the streets of the country.

They not only do not reach targets, they not only do not face the reality but they even cook figures. They want to mislead you. In the *Economic Survey, 1970-71*, you had said: "Selected Economic Indicators—1970-71 National income at constant prices 5.5 (Provisional). Agricultural Production 5". But in the *Economic Survey, 1971-72*, you have said, National Income at constant prices is 4 whereas it is 5.5 there. Agricultural production is 3.8 here but it is 5 there. For the same item and for the same year under reference, two different documents talk two different things. I know you will find some excuse

to explain it, but it may not be acceptable to us. There are many such instances. In the name of the plan through deficit financing and indirect taxes, you are fleecing the people. It comes to 75 per cent indirect taxation. In the third plan, your additional tax target was Rs. 1700 crores but you fleeced the people so much that your actual realisation—mostly indirect again, 75 per cent of it—exceeded Rs. 2800 crores. For the Fourth Plan you promised additional resources of Rs. 3,198 crores. You surpassed it by reaching Rs. 3,728 crores. In deficit financing you made a promise of Rs. 850 crores but actuals came to Rs. 1,203 crores. The proposal for 1972-73 was Rs. 200 crores but you have actually taxed Rs. 242 crores this year.

A rough calculation shows that this 25 years of Congress rule has imposed not less than Rs. 13,000 crores of additional taxation burden on the people. The main source of revenue for a country, if it claims to be socialist, has to come from the public sector enterprises. What has been the performance of the public sector, including your railways? It had been most deplorable.

AN HON. MEMBER; Thanks to you.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU; I will thank you, too.

How about capital formation? Your Fourth Plan target was very modest. The rate of growth of national income was to rise from 11.3 per cent in 1968-69 to 14.5 per cent in 1973-74. But, strangely enough, even in 1968-69 it was 9.5 per cent, and not 11.3 per cent as you have shown. After two years of your wonderful rule, in 1970-71 the increase was wonderful, 0.1 per cent. You have failed to mobilise domestic saving. It did not increase. Therefore, your dependence on foreign investment has in fact increased. What happens in socialist countries? The capital formation is always between 20 to 30 per cent without curtailment. Your self-reliance is nothing but a hoax like *Garibi Hatao*. Today you are paying as much as one-third of your total national export earning as interest and servicing charges to the foreign money-lenders. Let the House know, let the hon.

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

Members know what a mess surrounds us today. So, let us not hope against hopes.

I will now come to a few local issues. I will first take up discrimination and regional imbalances. If you take the *per capita* expenditure on State plans, West Bengal tops the list with Rs. 38. Bihar the State of our friend, Shri K. N. Tiwary, comes second with Rs. 39. For Gujarat the figure is Rs. 84 and we like it; for Maharashtra it is Rs. 83 and we still like it; for Haryana it is Rs. 90; and we are very happy; for Tamilnadu it is Rs. 70; God bless them. But we do not want to stay at Rs. 39. The whole of the eastern region had contributed wonderfully through its natural resources to the Central exchequer in terms of inland revenue as well as foreign exchange. Yet, they have been given nothing but hard kicks on their face and half their teeth have been taken away.

If we take rural electrification, West Bengal has the dubious distinction of being at the top of backward States with 7.89 per cent. For Assam including Meghalaya the figure is 2.71 per cent, for Orissa 2.75 per cent, Haryana 100 per cent, God bless them, Punjab 75.5 per cent (Shri Dhillon is not here) and Madras 83.86 per cent; May God bless you.

As regards minor irrigation, West Bengal is still at the bottom. About institutional financing for minor irrigation, out of a total amount so far spent, namely, Rs. 235.72 crores, Maharashtra has got Rs. 64.74 crores, Gujarat has got Rs. 40.12 crores, Assam Rs. 40 lakhs and West Bengal big lemon!

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN : (Wandjash). God bless you!

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : About rural works programme, Gujarat got Rs. 329.93 lakhs, Maharashtra Rs. 132.26 lakhs, West Bengal Rs. 34.22 lakhs, Assam including Meghalaya nil and Orissa Rs. 34 lakhs. Here I would quote from a little article. It reads :—

"Not surprising it is revealed in a recent review that in the "sixties" West Bengal showed the poorest performance in per capita income coming down in its all-India ranking from second to

seventh while Punjab and Haryana forged ahead in a big way over the same period.

Maharashtra which topped in per capita income in 1960-61 descended to the third position while Tamil Nadu climbed up from the seventh to the fifth position. Gujarat maintain its fourth position.

The regional disparities have tended to widen in the sixties. The difference between the lowest and highest per capita income in 1969-70 was more than 100 per cent. Punjab has a per capita income of Rs. 945 as against Bihar's Rs. 4000. West Bengal's per capita income is even less than the all-India average. In respect of its growth rate, West Bengal is also far behind. The growth rate in West Bengal over the period was only 45 per cent as against 155 and 119 per cent in Punjab and Haryana respectively."

Coming to Central taxes, the eastern States comprising of Assam, Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal, including Meghalaya, gave to Delhi in the year of Grace 1968-69 Rs. 637.30 crores in different shapes and form. And do you know how much these four States got out of Delhi? Not even 20 per cent. They got Rs. 123.35 crores.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN : Does it include Orissa also?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : Yes.

As regards the divisible pool, according to the Deshmukh Award (1947), when they said that 50 per cent should be distributed among the States out of income-tax. West Bengal's share was 13.5. When the First Finance Commission (1952) raised the divisible pool to 55 per cent, West Bengal's share was reduced from 13.5 to 11.25. The Fifth Finance Commission did the wonder when they raised the divisible pool to 75 per cent and West Bengal's share was further reduced to 9.11.

Kindly look into the *Economic Survey* for the current year (Page 32, paragraph 93) and see what your Ministry itself feels

about it. All that I want to say is that you cannot really deliver the goods in the present structure.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : As long as you are present in West Bengal.

श्री नाथूराम मिर्चा (नागौर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे इस बात की बहुत खुशी है कि चौथी योजना का मध्यावधि मूल्यांकन जो प्लानिंग कमिशन ने किया है, उसके ऊपर चर्चा करने का मौका हमें दिया गया है। चौथी योजना का उससे पहले की योजनाओं की तरह ही लक्ष्य यह था कि हमारे देश में सामाजिक और आर्थिक क्रान्ति आए। देश के धन और उत्पादन को हम बढ़ाएं और साथ ही साथ उस बढ़े हुए धन और उत्पादन का इस तरह से वितरण हम करें कि हमारे देश में हर परिवार को सुख मिले, आनन्द मिले और इन्सान की परसनेलिटी का विकास हो। हम सामाजिक न्याय चाहते हैं, उसका सही बंटवारा करना चाहते हैं। पहली योजना में हमने करीब पांच हजार करोड़ धनराशि खर्च की, दूसरी में करीब दस हजार करोड़ रुपये की धनराशि खर्च की, तीसरी में करीब सतरह हजार करोड़ की धनराशि खर्च की और चौथी में हम करीब 23-24 हजार करोड़ की धनराशि खर्च करना चाहते हैं इन विकास के कामों के लिए। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ इन योजनाओं में जो इन्सान की जरूरत की चीजें हैं और जो उसको प्राप्त होनी चाहिये सबसे पहले, उनकी तरफ जिस गहराई से ध्यान देना चाहिये, नहीं दिया गया। खास तौर से मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि इन्सान के लिए सबसे पहले हवा की जरूरत है। कुदरत ने हवा बहुत दी है। लेकिन वह भी कुछ गंदी करार होती जा रही है क्योंकि जनता और जनसंख्या बढ़ती चली जा रही है और उस पर नियंत्रण करने के बारे में हम सोच रहे हैं। उस पर नियंत्रण करना बहुत जरूरी है।

अब दूसरी जो इन्सान की बुनियादी जरूरत है वह पीने का पानी है। पीने के पानी की इस

सदन में तथा दूसरे सदन में भी कई बार चर्चा हुई है। इसकी हर रोज हम चर्चा करते हैं। हमारे स्वास्थ्य मंत्री जी पीने के पानी का इंतजाम करने के लिए जिम्मेवार हैं। राज्यसभा में उनसे यह पूछा गया था कि हिन्दुस्तान में ऐसे कितने इलाके हैं जहाँ पर आज भी पीने का पानी उपलब्ध नहीं है तो उन्होंने इसका जेल्सा-जेल्सा देते हुए बताया था कि करीब 90 हजार गांव ऐसे आज भी हिन्दुस्तान में 60 लाख गांवों में से हैं जहाँ पर कि पीने का पानी पचास फुट और उसके नीचे तक उपलब्ध नहीं है। साथ ही करीब सत्तर हजार गांव ऐसे हैं जहाँ पर पीने का पानी तो उपलब्ध है लेकिन वह हाइजीनिक और साफ सुथरा नहीं है। उनसे यह भी पूछा गया था कि उन गांवों में जहाँ पीने का पानी उपलब्ध नहीं है, आप कब तक पानी का इंतजाम कर देंगे। लेकिन उन्होंने इसके लिए कोई टाइम लिमिट नहीं बताई। योजना में चलती चली जाए और इन्सान को पीने का पानी न मिले, यह कितने आश्चर्य की बात है। जब उनको बहुत कहा गया कि कैसे इसका प्रबन्ध हो सकता है तब उन्होंने जवाब दिया कि हर साल अगर एक सौ करोड़ रुपये की योजना में व्यवस्था की जाए तब पांचवीं योजना के अन्त तक पीने के पानी का इंतजाम वह सब जगह कर सकते हैं। प्रबन्ध में योजना मंत्री जी से खास तौर पर निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि योजना के अन्दर वह सारी प्रायोरिटीज का खयाल तो रखें लेकिन कम से कम इस योजना के अन्त तक पीने के पानी का तो इंतजाम वह कर दें ताकि हर इंसान को उसके गांव के अन्दर अपने तथा अपने भवेषियों के लिए पीने का पानी मिल सके। यह मेरी उनसे पुरजोर अपील है। इससे अधिक मैं इस विषय पर कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता।

इंसान के सामने तीसरा सबसे जरूरी सवाल खाने का आता है। इन योजनाओं में अन्न के मामले में हमारा देश आगे बढ़ा है। हमने खाद्यान्नों का उत्पादन बढ़ाया है। अभी

[श्री नाथूराम मिर्चा]

श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु कह रहे थे कि बाजरे और ज्वार का उत्पादन घटा है। मेरे खयाल से उन्होंने आंकड़ों को धीरे योजना को ठीक तरह से नहीं देखा। मैं उनको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि गेहूँ और बाजरे के उत्पादन के हमने चौथी योजना के अन्त तक जो लक्ष्य निर्धारित किए थे उनको हमने इस योजना के दूसरे साल के बाद ही प्राप्त कर लिया है। गेहूँ का उत्पादन देश में करीब 24 मिलियन टन हो गया है। बाजरे का उत्पादन का भी जो लक्ष्य हमने चौथी योजना में रखा था, उसको हमने प्राप्त कर लिया है। हाइब्रिड बाजरे के बीज, गेहूँ के बीज और फर्टिलाइजर इत्यादि की सहायता से यह सम्भव हुआ है। सिंचाई योजनाओं का जो लक्ष्य चौथी योजना में रखा गया है वह भी लगता है पूरा हो जाएगा चौथी योजना के अन्त तक। मैं योजना मंत्री के सामने छोटी सिंचाई योजनाओं पर जोर देना चाहता हूँ और उनसे प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह उनके लिए ज्यादा धन का प्रावधान करें क्योंकि छोटी योजनाओं से तुरन्त लाभ मिलता है और सामाजिक—न्याय दिलाने का हमारा मंशा भी पूरा होता है। योजनाओं के कारण जो इन्डिसेस देश में पैदा हुआ है उसको भी हम कम करना चाहते हैं और उसके हिसाब से भी यह दृष्टिकोण बाजिब होगा। चौथी योजना में हम माजिनल, सब-माजिनल किसान को ज्यादा आमदनी दिलाना चाहते हैं। यह आमदनी उसको खेती और पशु पालन से हो सकती है। उनके हाथ में हम क्रास ब्रीड कऊ देना चाहते हैं। लेकिन इन सबसे ज्यादा जरूरी बात यह है कि खेती करने के लिए सिंचाई की व्यवस्था की जाय। इसलिए चौथी पंच-वर्षीय योजना में छोटी सिंचाई के साधनों को प्रायर्टी देकर उनके लिए एकीशनल फंड्स रखने की आवश्यकता है। ऐसा करने से हमारे उत्पादन में वृद्धि होगी और हमारे कसम सामाजिक न्याय की तरफ आगे बढ़ेंगे। जेवर और मीडियम ब्रेडनाथों

पर हमने बहुत पैसा लगाया है। उनका भी उपयोग है और उनमें पैसा लगाना चाहिए, हालांकि इस सम्बन्ध में हम चौथी पंच-वर्षीय योजना के टारगेट्स को पूरा करने में सक्षम नहीं होंगे। लेकिन अभी भी सबसे ज्यादा प्रायर्टी कुंओं से प्राउंड-वाटर को निकालने और छोटी सिंचाई योजनाओं के अन्तर्गत एनीकट्स और बांध बनाने को देनी चाहिए। चौथी पंच-वर्षीय योजना के बाकी सालों से उन पर ज्यादा से ज्यादा इन्वेस्टमेंट दिया जाना चाहिए।

हमने अपनी पहली तीन योजनाओं में पशुधन की योजनाओं की तरफ बिल्कुल ध्यान नहीं दिया है, या अगर दिया है, तो वह नहीं के बराबर है, बहुत कम है। पशुधन से हमारे देश का बहुत ज्यादा विकास हो सकता है। चौथी पंच-वर्षीय योजना में उस पर ज्यादा जोर देने की आवश्यकता है। हमको अपने देश के लिए ऊन, दूध और ड्राफ्ट पावर चाहिए। हमको अपने देश में शीप की क्रासब्रीड इवाल्फ करनी है, ऊन और दूध का उत्पादन बढ़ाना है। हमको अच्छी क्रासब्रीड गायों की व्यवस्था करके दूध के उत्पादन, प्रासेसिंग और ब्यापार को स्थापित करना है, ताकि छोटे किसानों और लैंडलैस लोगों के लिए तुरन्त आमदनी के अवसर सुलभ हो सकें।

हमारे देश में कृषि का उत्पादन बढ़ रहा है, हालांकि दालों और गन्ने आदि में कमी है। प्रायलसीइस में भी कुछ कमी है, हालांकि पिछले दो सालों में उन का परफार्मेंस अच्छा हुआ है और आशा है कि 12 मिलियन टन के लक्ष्य को दृष्टि में रखते हुए उनका उत्पादन 10.5, 11 मिलियन टन हो सकेगा। जहां तक काटन का सम्बन्ध है, एक साल काटन नहीं हुआ, तो देश में हस्ता भूच गया और भाव बढ़ गये। इस साल काटन का अच्छा उत्पादन हुआ है और उसके भाव, और इसके अलावा मिर्च और नरियल के भाव भी, गिर गये हैं और पहले से आगे हो गये हैं।

किसान को अपनी उपज की क्या कीमत

मिलेगी, अगर इसकी कोई गारंटी नहीं है, तो न तो देश का उत्पादन बढ़ सकता है, न प्राइस स्टेबिलाइजेशन हो सकता है और न कमजूमर्ज को बाजिब दाम पर चीजें मिल सकती हैं। यह तब तक नहीं हो सकता है, जब तक कि हम इस देश में जल्दी से जल्दी किसान की उपज के लिए मार्केटिंग की व्यवस्था नहीं करते। आज मार्केट में किसान की क्या स्थिति है? उसकी हर एक चीज की बोली लग जाती है, जबकि एक उद्योगपति यह तय कर देता है कि उसकी प्रमुख चीज की कीमत पच्चीस रुपये है, और वह चीज पच्चीस रुपये से ज्यादा पर ही बिकेगी, कम पर नहीं। किसान का अपने उत्पादन की कीमत तय करने में कोई हाथ नहीं है। इसलिए हम चाहते हैं कि खाद्यान्नों और दूसरी एग्री-कल्चरल कामोडिटीज का राष्ट्रीयकरण कर दिया जाये। आज देश के सामने उसका कोई नक्सा नहीं है।

आज वक्त आ गया है कि हमारे देश में कृषि के प्लानिंग के लिए एक क्राप बोर्ड बनाया जाये, जो यह तय करे कि किसानों से कितना गन्ना, कपास, मिर्च, काली मिर्च आदि पैदा करवानी है। हर साल पहले से ही उसका नक्शा बना दिया जाये, ताकि किसी चीज का उलट न हो। इससे पैदावार एक रेगुलेटिड से होगी। किसान की प्रोड्यूस की मार्केटिंग की ठीक व्यवस्था हो। ताकि किसान को अपनी चीज के उचित दाम मिलें और कमजूमर्ज को सही कीमत पर चीजें मिलें। बिचौलियों को बहुत शीघ्र खत्म करने की आवश्यकता है, जो अनाप-धानाप लाभ उठाते हैं। अगर ऐसा नहीं किया जायेगा, तो कोई योजना ठीक तरह से नहीं चलेगी, प्राइस स्टेबिलाइजेशन कभी नहीं होगा, कीमतों में हमेशा फ्लक्चुएशन होते रहेंगे, मिडलमैन मोटे होते रहेंगे और प्रोड्यूसर और उपभोक्ता मरते रहेंगे। इसलिए योजना में दुरन्त ऐसी व्यवस्था लागू करनी चाहिए, जिसके जरिये जमीन और पशुधन से पैदा होने वाली

चीजों के उचित दाम कायतकारों को मिलें और लक्ष्य निर्धारित किये जायें कि विभिन्न चीजें कितनी कितनी पैदा करनी हैं।

किसान की फसल आने पर हमेशा कई सवाल सड़े किये जाते हैं। कोई कहता है कि उसको कीमत ज्यादा दी जा रही है, हालांकि स्थिति यह है कि इनपुट्स महंगे होते जा रहे हैं। कोई कहता है कि ग्हीट ज्यादा पैदा हो गया है, हमारे पास काफी स्टॉक है, किसानों को कम दिया जाये, अगर कुछ एरिया डाइवर्ट हो जायेगा, तो कोई बात नहीं, आदि। किसानों को कम दाम देने के लिए यह कोई दलील नहीं है। क्या आज तक किसान का कास्ट ग्राफ प्राइवशन प्रांका गया है? उसकी विभिन्न कामोडिटीज की कास्ट ग्राफ प्राइवशन क्या होती है, इसके कोई प्रांके या तथ्य नहीं हैं।

आज इस बात की भी बहुत हवा चल रही है कि किसान बहुत मालदार हो गया है, उसकी जमीन पर सीमा लगाई जाये। कहा जाता है कि किसान के पास बहुत पैसा हो गया है, उस पर टैक्स लगाया जाये। अगर कोई तरीका हो, तो मालदार किसानों पर जरूर टैक्स लगाया जाये। लेकिन सीलिंग की इतना कम न कर दिया जाये कि पांच आदमियों के परिवार को जिन्दा रखने की भी हेसियत किसान की न रहे। सरकार ने सीलिंग के कानून के बारे में जो दिशाएँ दी हैं, उनका गहरा अध्ययन किया जाना चाहिए। यह देखना चाहिए कि कितनी जमीन इकानोमिक होल्डिंग है, ताकि किसान को उससे एक अच्छा जीवन बिताने का मौका मिल सके और उतनी जमीन उसके पास रहने दी जाये।

श्री सतपाल कपूर (पटियाला) : सीलिंग को कम करने की बात करें, ज्यादा नहीं।

श्री भाबुराम मिर्चा : मैं सीलिंग बढ़ाने की बात नहीं कहता हूँ। मैं कहता हूँ कि सीलिंग को न बढ़ायें, और न घटायें, बल्कि अक्षय से काम

[श्री नाथूराम निधी]

करें। इनको तो बेनिबा हो गया है। किसान के पास इतनी जमीन छूने दें, जिससे उसको और उसके परिवार को जिन्दा रहने का मौका मिल सके। स्लोगन्ज और नारों पर चलकर ये लोग किसी का भला तो नहीं करेंगे, उसकी हालत को बिबाड़ जरूर देंगे। मैं नञ्जता से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि कुछ प्रैक्टिकल व्यू लेकर चलिये। बाकिर हम समाज में हर परिवार की क्या तस्वीर बनाना चाहते हैं? किसान को भी उसी के मुताबिक रहने का मौका दिया जाये। उसके साथ ना-इन्साफी न की जाये, इन्साफ किया जाये। हमको आंकड़ों और तथ्यों के आधार पर काम करना चाहिए।

कोई 20 परसेंट किसान बड़ी कैटेगरी में आते हैं और 60 परसेंट छोटे हैं, जिनकी छोटी होल्डिंग्स हैं। सरकार के आंकड़ों के मुताबिक योजना-काल में पचास हजार ट्रेक्टर बनाने का लक्ष्य रखा गया था, जिनमें से पैंतीस हजार ट्रेक्टर बनाने का इन्तजाम कर लिया गया है और लक्ष्य से दस हजार ट्रेक्टर ज्यादा बनाये जायेंगे। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि छोटे किसान के छोटे फार्मों को ठीक ढंग से मैकेनाइज्ड वे में चलाने के लिए उनके लिए छोटे ट्रेक्टरों के मैन्युफैक्चर की व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिए। उनकी हार्सपावर बीस, पञ्चीस के लगभग हो और वे ठीक दामों पर मिल सकें, ताकि किसान अपनी उपज को बढ़ा सकें।

बहुत प्वाइंट्स कहने थे। लेकिन बहुत लोग बोलने वाले हैं। इसलिए मैं इस सदन का ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगा। मैंने कुछ प्रायोरिटीज की तरफ ध्यान खींचा है। मुझे आशा है कि हमारी सरकार और हमारे माननीय योजना मंत्री जी इन बातों की तरफ ध्यान देंगे।

DR. RANEN SEN (Barasat) : After two years plan holiday, now the Fourth Plan is before us. The first question that I want to raise is this : For whose benefit has the Plan been made ? Are the planners aware of the desire of the people for a radical

structural change in our society and in our economy ? Are they aware of the desire of our people that the country as a whole wants to come out of the rut in which it was in during the last 24 years ?

In the Plan the national objective has been declared to be socialism. I want to know from the hon. Minister of Planning Does this Plan take us towards this national objective or does this take us miles away from our national objective? If socialism is simply a slogan to be dished out during election then, I have nothing to say. But if it is taken up seriously, I want to know whether any attempt has been made in this Plan to suggest structural changes, to take bold radical measures, to cut at the roots of the vested interests, to curb and eventually eliminate big business—foreign and indigenous. This has been a cancer in our life and in our body politic. The existence of foreign collaboration and foreign participation and expertise has cut into the vitals of our economic life.

Sir, we are speaking of self-reliance. Even today, Mr. Subramaniam spoke of self-reliance. There are now more than 3,500 foreign collaboration agreements existing in our country. The foreign private investment in 1948 was Rs. 2558 million. In 1970 it was more than Rs. 16,000 Million. Is there any trace of self-reliance in it ?

The annual remittances in 1970 abroad was Rs. 200 crores. There is yearly drainage of our national wealth in terms of profits and royalty, etc.

Take the case of one company, the Indian Oxygen Limited, a British firm, having almost monopoly in gas production. It started a few years back with a few lakhs of rupees but now they have minted several crores of rupees. They are holding the whole country to ransom. They are producing very important gas. 80 percent of the total gas produced in India is produced by this company. The Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation is in the same position and also the Firestone Rubber Company Bombay and there are several others. The Government is following the same old policy of supporting big business. Not only that. It is surprising to know what the Prime Minister spoke before that meeting of the FICCI on the 25th of March. Instead of

trying to curb monopoly, this is what she says. I quote her. She said :

"Your address for one thing had many new ideas. It was a forward-looking address and I think that this year we start on a more cheerfull note of cooperation, and what I hope, is a sounder basis for a fruitful dialogue on the direction in which our economy should move. Your statement that the Members of your Federation are in accord with the 'socio-economic objectives to which Government policies are directed' is very welcome "

I Want to Know : Since when has the big business agreed with the social and economic objectives of the country ? (*Interruption*) There is a rub in it. She goes on praising them as if they have accepted our economic and social objective.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY : We should not hate them.

DR. RANEN SEN : It is known to everybody in this House that he is a representative of the FICCI.

Anyway, since the employers raised the question of Government restrictions etc., she said :

"This is why we emphasise the importance of evolving a joint sector where the managerial ability of the private sector could be harnessed with the support from financial institutions."

First, it was mixed economy, the coexistence of private capital and public sector. Now, a third idea has been introduced here by our Prime Minister, namely the joint sector. That means sheltering these big monopoly houses. This is the latest move. Then, why she would go against the Industrial Policy Resolution which has been accepted by the House. She said :

"A dynamic industrial society needs larger organisation which cannot all be built in the public sector alone."

The public sector alone cannot build larger organisations; this is the latest realisation in the mind of the Prime Minister,

Then, big business raised the question of too many inquiries made into the functioning of their companies. She assured those big houses that :

"There is no doubt that large industrial houses can play an important role if they are not afraid of subjecting their effort to public scrutiny."

They are afraid of public scrutiny. Therefore, she says:

"At the same time, the public scrutiny through financial institutions should not become a witch-hunt for minor blemishes."

What more do we want? This is the main reason why our economy is not able to take off as was proposed in the Third Five year Plan, when it was stated that we had reached the stage of take-off. That is why our economy cannot reach that stage. That is why there is a crisis in our economy. The crisis in our economy has been very candidly admitted in these three documents, and I shall deal with the different aspects one by one.

First, take the questions of agriculture. No doubt, there is some achievement. But it has been stated in the report at the same time that the cash crops are lagging behind and that even the green revolution is dependent on nature. This crisis is manifested if we look at the rate of growth of national income, which has been given in these documents. In 1969-70, the rate of national income was 5.3 per cent while in 1971-72 it is expected to be 4 per cent. The rate of growth in the organised sector was 6.18 per cent in 1969-70 and it is 4 per cent in 1971-72, and now it is less being 2 per cent nlyr. There is a crisis. Therefore, it is no wonder that there will be a crisis in our economy, because the whole planning apparatus and the planners understand only one thing, namely how to hitch our wagon to foreign capital and how to pamper big business and the monopoly houses.

Then, take the case of large-scale manufacturing industries, where a growth of 9.3 per cent was envisaged. In 1969-70, it was 5.9 per cent while in 1970-71 it is expected to be 3.6 per cent. This is an admission of the Government's failure, because

[Dr. Ranen Sen]

the rate of growth comes to nearly one third of the target only.

Again, take the case of selected physical targets and their likely achievements. The two things bear no relation to each other. I do not understand why then these targets are fixed if they are not that confident of achieving these targets. I have no times otherwise I would have given all the details, but I am sure that Shri C. Subramaniam and Shri Mohan Dharja know all these things. Prior to 1968-69, that is, the Third Plan and during the Plan holiday, the rate of saving and investment was falling. The Fourth Plan seeks to remedy this state of affairs but the improvement is very marginal. Now on the question of resource mobilisation, the Report admits :

"Public sector depends on private saving and foreign saving to the extent of some two-thirds of its total requirements".

This is the position of the public sector. One of the sources of this mobilisation of resources is indirect taxation. Direct taxation is more or less stagnant. It is not rising. Indirect taxation is galloping. This has been admitted by Shri Chavan and by the Plan document. Then again this Plan laments over a very significant point :

"Agricultural taxation suffers from inequity and inelasticity and tends to concentration of wealth and income".

If this is so, where is the bold lead to mop up this extra income that is generated in the agricultural sector. Is it due to the fact that the kulaks are not touched because they form the base for certain people ?

15, 50 hrs.

[SHRI K. N. TIWARY *in the chair.*]

On the question of black money, even Shri Chavan was lamenting that the empire of black money is probably stronger than his empire.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Why 'even' Shri Chavan ?

DR. RANEN SEN : Because he is the emperor of the Finance Ministry.

The Wanchoo Committee in its interim report estimated the figure at Rs. 5,000 crores. But there are other authorities who say that in 1971-72 it was nearly Rs. 8,000 crores. Black money is now going into real estate in agriculture in a big way and thus has got out of the taint of being 'black'. This is a vicious circle. Why speak of socialism when you cannot cut yourselves away from these moorings of vested interests and big business ?

Coming to the balance of payments, the position has of late slightly improved. What is the position of our external trade. It is still more than 40 per cent with the western markets. When there is a crisis in the whole capitalist economy, we have chosen to stick to the old partners. It is a fact that our trade with the socialist countries, namely, the Soviet Union is growing more and more. But even today, a section in the Government is trying to attach us to the western capitalist world. It has been proved that the capitalist world system is full of contradictions. It is a decaying order. Since a long time the capitalist order is rotting and the socialist order is rising. It is a good sign that at least a section in the Government are thinking in terms of having more relations with socialist countries. But it has to be developed in a very boldway; we should not depend only on the bureaucrats and so-called experts.

Then there is the question of debt services. In this House in the last four years we have demanded a moratorium on it. Today we are paying more than Rs. 500 crores annually on debt services. Why should we incur this expenditure now ?

In the industrial sector, I have already said that there was previously co-existence, mixed economy, private and public sectors functioning side by side. Now into it a new element has been introduced by our Prime Minister.

The crisis in our industry, in our economy, is manifested in the closure of industrial units. In my own State, in West Bengal, even today, there are nearly 400 industrial units closed, throwing out of employment, according to the West Bengal Government's report, nearly one lakh of

people. Unemployment is rising. What do the planners think of the crash programme? Rs. 20 crores. Money does not matter. It is the policy that matters. What is the policy in regard to solving the problem of unemployment? During the first Plan period, it was three million, or 30 lakhs. Today, the figure is more than two crores. The more the Plans, the more are the unemployed. Again, this is because of the fact that we are building capitalism and not socialism, and we are not going towards socialism even. Socialism means no unemployment, full employment; capitalism means unemployment. Unemployment is mounting. What is the essence of this report? The essence of the thing is, how does the fourth Plan propose to tackle unemployment.

My friend Shri Krishna Chandra Haider says that we are helping capitalism. But they are helping the worst form of capitalism in the country: Minoo Masanis and Pilloo Modys. So, do not talk about those things. Be more serious and less frivolous. How does this Plan propose to tackle this unemployment problem? It is by the same old futile method. The Plan cannot harness the manpower overnight, and I do not say that overnight this unemployment problem will be solved. But at least a beginning has to be made. If this huge and tremendous manpower available today cannot be harnessed for our national cause, it is really a sorry state of affairs.

Then, in regard to one or two things, I would like to say a few words. Take regional imbalances. In regard to our regional imbalances, agree with what Mr Jyotimov Bosu said: there is horrible regional imbalance even today. In eastern India, which supplies most of the country's coal and steel, through this equalisation of prices, the industries of eastern India suffer. They are supplying coal and steel to other parts of India; while that is correct and there is nothing wrong, why this equalisation of prices is not effected in regard to the prices of oilseeds and cotton? Why should the cotton textile industry in eastern India suffer? Therefore, this is a huge problem that has to be tackled. In this Plan report, it has not been tackled at all.

There is the question of education. I say there is the question of literacy. India

is a vast country, full of illiterate persons. Where is the Plan to make them literate? Cannot more people be employed in that sector? These are some of the questions that are crying for solution.

The nationalised banks, it is reported compared, to the previous years, have made certain improvements. But even today, all the financial institutions of the Government of India, the nationalised banks, the LIC, the Unit Trust—they all, by and large, cater to the needs of the big business. It is mentioned in the report of the Unit Trust of India and that of the LIC. The prices go on spiralling, because, who controls the prices? It is the big business, manning the factories, and the workers and the consumer suffer. Where is the policy? Has it been indicated in the report? There is no indication. Therefore, I say, together with high taxation, high prices, which are the results of another factor, namely, deficit financing, into which I am not going because of the lack of time, the country suffers. I will simply quote from the document and conclude:

"Money supply increased by 10.5 per cent in 1969-70 and by about 12 per cent in 1970-71. These increases are much larger than the growth of national income in real terms."

This is admitted in this report.

In conclusion, I say, let there be a real need-based Plan catering to the needs of the people, which will take our country towards the path of socialism. I know it is a difficult task. Therefore, the Planning Minister, the Planning Commission, have to make a break here. I want to know whether the Planning Commission is now going to tread the same old path or to take a new turn and bring a new situation inside the country.

With these words, I conclude.

श्री मुल्की राज सेनी (देहरादून) : सभापति महोदय, मैं आपका धानारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे बोलने का अवसर प्रदान किया। हमारे योजना मंत्री जी का यह प्रस्ताव स्वागतयोग्य है कि जब चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना के दो राज राजकी हैं

[श्री मुल्की राज सैन]

उन्होंने उसका मूल्यांकन करने का अवसर इस सदन को दिया। वे वहाँ पर दिए गए सुझावों से योजना को स्वस्थ और अच्छी बनाने का प्रयत्न करेंगे। यह ठीक है कि किसी भी जनतांत्रिक देश में योजना बनाकर ही देश का विकास हुआ करता है। इस योजना का क्या हमारा लक्ष्य है उसके बारे में 14-15 मार्च को देहरादून और हरिद्वार के भन्दर महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी का भाषण सुनने का अवसर मिला। उन्होंने अपने भाषण में कहा कि गर्भ से लेकर हमशान तक नागरिकों की सुरक्षा, नागरिकों का पालन-पोषण, नागरिकों का विकास करना सरकार की जिम्मेदारी है। उन्होंने कहा कि जब बच्चा गर्भ में हो तभी उसकी माता का पालन-पोषण और अच्छी खुराक मिलनी चाहिए। जब बच्चा पैदा हो जाये तो पांच साल तक उसको पोष्टिक खुराक मिलनी चाहिए। 5 साल से 18 साल तक उसको शिक्षा मिलनी चाहिए और 18 साल के बाद उसको रोजगार मिलना चाहिए।

सभापति महोदय : आप इस तरह के डिटेल्स में ज्यादा न जायें।

श्री मुल्की राज सैन : रोजगार के बाद बुढ़ापे में उसको पेंशन मिलनी चाहिए। बुढ़ापे की पेन्शन के बाद जब वह मर जाये तो उसको हमशान तक पहुँचाने की जिम्मेदारी भी सरकार की होती है। इन बातों को सुनकर मुझे लगा कि कोई भी बाद हो, चाहे साम्यवाद हो या समाजवाद हो, इससे अच्छी बात और कोई हो नहीं सकती है।

परन्तु जहाँ तक पहली, दूसरी और तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं का सम्बन्ध है, हमें यही कहना पड़ेगा कि जितना धन बढ़ता गया उतनी ही बेरोजगारी और गरीबी भी बढ़ती गई। इसके बारे में मैं यही कहूँगा :

कहें क्या वास्तव में उनसे धिक्का, गर्भ बढ़ता गया ज्यों ज्यों क्या की।

अभी तक तो हमारा हाल यही रहा है। लेकिन इस बार चौथी योजना पर जो भाषण सुनने का मौका मिला है और कुछ पढ़ने का मौका मिला, उससे समझ में आया है कि अब दिशा बदल गई। हम दिल्ली पहुँचे नहीं हैं बल्कि दिल्ली की तरफ चल पड़े हैं अभी तक हमारे यहाँ दशा यह थी कि अमीर-अमीर होते जा रहे थे और गरीब-गरीब होते जा रहे थे। इस हाउस में पहली बार पूछा गया था, जिस समय प० जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी थे, कि क्या कारण है कि इस देश में योजनाएँ भी चल रही हैं और गरीब गरीब हो रहा है, अमीर अमीर हो रहे हैं। उस बात को देखा गया और चायद उनके बाद समाजवाद का नुस्खा हमारे हाथ आया। और हमने समझा कि समाजवाद के चारिये से ही हमारे देश का विकास हो सकता है इसके अन्तर्गत भी हम काम कहां करेंगे, शहरों में नहीं, शहरों की कोठियों में नहीं, बल्कि जो स्लम्स हैं, गरीबों की बस्तियाँ हैं, यदि वहाँ पर काम होता है तभी माना जायगा कि यह योजनाबद्ध अच्छा काम है। गांव में दो चार परसेंट अमीर लोगों की बात को मैं मान लेता हूँ, लेकिन यदि कहा जाय कि किसान अमीर हो गये हैं, तो यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती है। गांव में 70 परसेंट किसान अन्न-एकानामिक होल्डिंग्स वाले हैं। और 25 परसेंट मार्जिनल होल्डिंग्स वाले हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में दो चार परसेंट की बजह से सारे गांव वालों पर कुठाराघात किया जाय, तो यह शोभा देने वाली चीज नहीं होगी। यह बात खास तौर पर कही जाती है, यहाँ पर भी कही गई है कि हिन्दुस्तान गांवों का देश है, गरीबों का देश है। अगर हिन्दुस्तान की तरफकी करनी है तो हमें गांवों की तरफ जाना होगा।

आज जलवार में देखकर मुझे बड़ी खुशी हुई कि आल इण्डिया यूथ कांग्रेस के प्रिजिडेंट श्री पी० आर० दास मुंबी ने 'बैंक टु दी विलेज' का नारा दिया। कोई भी देश तभी समृद्धतानी होता ...

सभापति महोदय : आप विषय पर आइये ।

श्री मुल्की राज सैनी : मुझे थोड़ा समय और दे दीजिये ।

मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि गांव की तरफकी के लिये जरूरी है कि वहाँ पर सिंचाई के साधन पहुंचाय जाये तथा बिजली का प्रबन्ध किया जाय । अभी जो बिजली पहुंची है वह ऊंचे रेट पर पहुंची है । वह बिजली बक्त पर भाग जाती है, रोज का यही हाल रहता है कि जब चलाने का समय होगा, तब बिजली भाग जायगी । यदि ऐसा कहीं शहर में हो जाय या इस हाउस में हो जाय तो क्या हाउस चल सकेगा ? नहीं चल सकेगा । परन्तु गांवों में ऐसा होता है, चूंकि गांव के किसानों की कोई आवाज नहीं है । इसी लिये उनकी बिजली भी भाग जाती है और उसका रेट भी ऊंचा होता है । फिर भी पता तक नहीं सड़कता है..... (व्यवधान) सीधी बात यह है कि देश में सिंचाई के साधन होने चाहिये ।

में एक निवेदन और करूंगा—एक चीज और करके हम बेरोजगारी के मसले को हल कर सकते हैं और विकास कार्य को आगे बढ़ा सकते हैं । सिंचाई और बिजली के बाद सड़को का मामला बहुत आवश्यक है । गांव में याजनाबद्ध रूप से सड़के बनाने से स्वयं विकास का रास्ता खुल जाता है । यदि आप बड़े बड़े शहरों, जैसे सहारनपुर, मेरठ, दिल्ली से 10-20 मील पर पाकेट्स बनाकर उनको सड़कों से मिला दें तो आज जो शहरों में हाउसिंग की सबसे बड़ी प्राबलम है, वह अपने आप सल्व हो जायगी । आज देश में तेज रफतार की सवारियां मौजूद हैं । बीस-पच्चीस मील पर आप पाकेट्स बना देंगे तो लोकल ब्रॉडज, स्कूटर्स, टैंक्सीज से लोग आ जा सकते हैं । इसके अलावा मास्टर प्लान में जो आप किसानों की जमीन छीन कर लोगों की रिहायत पर देते हैं, वह प्राबलम भी सल्व हो जायगी । गांव में जब आयनी रहेंगे तो वे

अपने मकान भी बनायेंगे । करल हाउसिंग पर जो इतना खर्चा लगाने की बात की जा रही है उसकी आवश्यकता भी नहीं रह जायगी ।

सभापति महोदय, हमारे यहाँ पी० डब्लू० डी० के चीफ इन्जीनियर वर्मा जी ने एक योजना बताई थी, उन्होंने बताया कि जब श्री गिरधारी लाल पी० डब्लू० डी० के मिनिस्टर थे तो उनको उन्होंने योजना दी थी । वह योजना यह है कि गांवों में सरकार प्लाट्स बना कर बेच रही है । उन पर सरकार मकान बनाये । उन मकानों को कुछ लोग तो मोल ले लेंगे और कुछ लोगों को किराये पर दे दिया जाय इस प्रकार से आपका कैपिटल टर्न-अप होता चला जायगा इसके अतिरिक्त यदि आप गांवों में घर बनायेंगे और वही पर लोग रहेंगे तो वहां पर स्कूल भी खोलेंगे, उद्योग धन्धे भी खुलेंगे, मार्केट भी बनेगी, छोटी मर्चियां भी बनेंगी, इस प्रकार से वहां का विकास अपने आप होता चला जायगा । आज सारी फैंसिलिटीज और अमेनिटीज शहरों में प्रोवाइड हैं, यदि उनको गांव में भी प्रोवाइड कर दें तो उससे विकास का क्रम बढ़ जायगा । आज तो स्थिति इतनी खराब है कि कोई भी गांव में रहना नहीं चाहता, कोई भी गांव में मजदूरी नहीं करना चाहता । किसान का लड़का भी वहां नहीं रहना चाहता । हर आदमी जो शहर की तरफ भागता है—यह गरीबी की निशानी है । इसके विपरीत बैंक ट्रुदि विलेजज-विकास की निशानी होगी । इस लिये इस योजना में जो गांवों के विकास की ब्याबस्था की गई है, उसका मैं स्वागत करता हूं, क्योंकि इस बार हम दिल्ली की ओर चल पड़े हैं ।

अन्त में एक बात कह कर मैं समाप्त करता हूं—बतन का हाल बबला, ऐ हमबतन हुस्यार हो जाओ, फतह सई है बाहर, घर में भी तैयार हो जाओ ।

SHRI M. MUTHUSWAMY (Tiruchengode) : Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to make my maiden

[Shri M. M. Muthuswamy]

speech on the Mid-term Plan Appraisal of the Fourth Plan. I deem it a privilege to participate in this debate on the Appraisal of the Planning Commission, the head of which happens to be the Central Minister from my State, Tamil Nadu. Many hon. members who preceded me spoke in general terms about the Fourth Plan. I would like to concentrate on the agricultural sector in particular and rural development in general.

I need not say that agricultural development and rural development are two sides of a coin. The mid-term appraisal says that in agriculture against the envisaged average annual rate of growth of 5 per cent, the actual average rate for the first two years of the Fourth Plan has been 5.2 per cent. The deceleration in the rate of growth of national income is a matter of serious concern according to Planning Commission. But only the agricultural production has been higher than that envisaged for the Plan.

Let us see what we have done for agriculturists in the first two years of the Fourth Plan.

- (i) Village housing is not receiving enough attention. On the average, village housing has accounted for no more than 6 per cent of the outlay for this sector.
- (ii) The Plan envisaged addition of 25,900 beds raising the total to 2,81,600 beds in hospitals. The addition so far has been estimated at 10,500 beds only. Most of the beds are located in urban areas. There is a serious imbalance in basic health and medical care facilities as between rural and urban areas.
- (iii) On present anticipation, a shortfall of 9 per cent is likely in overall plan outlay for education programmes.
- (iv) While Punjab has devoted almost two-thirds of the total outlay to rural roads, some States have been spending barely 10 per cent of the total outlay on rural roads. States were required to set apart 25 per cent of the total outlay on roads in the Fourth Plan.

(v) The programme of creating storage capacity is behind schedule. The development programmes for the benefit of small and marginal farmers and agricultural workers have hardly got off the ground.

(vi) There is no plan outlay in the Fourth Plan for rural housing.

I am not saying this out of my imagination. These have been enumerated by the Mid-term Plan Appraisal. Shri Subramaniam, the Planning Minister, while speaking recently in Ahmedabad, pointed out that the small farmers in millions even now do not get in time adequate credits adequate water supply, power and other inputs. After 25 years of independence, he has created the Small Farmers Development Agency, etc.

The Planning Minister may join issue with me on this and say that all these are in the State sector. I quote here with pride what our beloved Chief Minister, Dr. Kalaingar Karunanidhi has said in his budget on 1. 3. 1972.

“One of the principal tasks of a socialist Government is to remove the disparities between the urban and rural areas. In keeping with this concept, this Government have always shown a keen interest in rural development and the upliftment of the rural population. One of the goals we have kept constantly before us is to make available all modern facilities like electricity to all the villages in the State. Today there are no link roads or drinking water facilities in many villages. The responsibility for providing these facilities to the people in our villages falls on us the representatives of the common people. It has been estimated that more than Rs. 300 crores would be needed if roads and drinking water facilities are to be extended to all the small villages and hamlets. But if we are to be deterred by the magnitude of this estimate, we will not be able to make even a modest beginning. We have, therefore, decided on a time-bound and phased programme for meeting this target. As a first step, it is proposed to undertake a five-year programme to link all villages and hamlets with a population of 1,500 and more

with main roads and also connect the adjacent small villages. For this purpose, it has been decided to levy a surcharge of 10% (which has now been reduced to 5%) on Motor Vehicles Tax and with the proceeds set up a Rural Road Development Fund.

In addition, the ceiling for the local cess surcharge levied by the Panchayat Unions will be raised from its present level of Rs. 1.50 to Rs. 2.50, mainly to enable the Panchayat Unions to provide drinking water facilities and link roads for the small villages and hamlets in their areas. The Step has been taken, taking into account the financial difficulties of the State Government and, at the same time, the need to have an intensive programme of providing drinking water facilities and link roads to all the villages. Just as the Tamil Nadu Water Supply and Drainage Board is approaching the Life Insurance Corporation of India for urban water-supply schemes, we have requested the Corporation for assistance for rural water-supply programmes also."

In spite of the fact that the Fourth Plan outlay for Tamil Nadu has been slashed down from Rs. 575 crores to Rs. 519 crores that the Central assistance to the State has been reduced from Rs. 250 crores to Rs. 202 crores, that Tamil Nadu has been denied its legitimate share in special accommodation floated by the Centre, the Tamil Nadu Government is making the gigantic effort in rural development for the benefit of small farmers and agriculturists. The Central Government approved the State's Plan of only Rs. 72 crores in 1969-70, Rs. 79.30 crores in 1970-71 and Rs. 80.20 crores in 1971-72. But the Tamilnadu Government, in its determined effort to ameliorate the living conditions of the people in rural areas, implemented a Plan of Rs. 87.05 crores in 1969-70, Rs. 97.45 crores in 1970-71 and Rs. 114.98 crores in 1971-72. If today the Centre proudly proclaims that the agricultural sector alone has maintained steady progress, it is mainly due to the untiring efforts of the State Governments like Tamil Nadu Government. It is really the paradox of Indian economic scene that the Centre without the inherent capacity to fulfil the objectives of economic development will undertake everything under the sky, but the

potent States like Tamil Nadu will be denied the right of implementing Plan schemes. Planning Commission, sitting in isolated Ivory tower, formulates grandiose Five Year Plans quite unrelated to the capacity of the Central Government. The Mid-term Appraisal candidly says :

"The problem is to evolve a system of planning wherein development at the national, the regional, the State and the district levels is conceived and co-ordinated in a way that would stimulate growth all over the country. Much more however remains to be done before such multi-level planning becomes an effective instrument for accelerated development."

At last, it has been left to the Minister of Planning hailing from Tamil Nadu to realise the futility of formulating Five Year Plans from the massive airconditioned structures of Yojana Bhavan and that the planning effort should start from the base level of a district. I hope that the Fifth Plan will be formulated from district level.

While in this year's Budget a sum of Rs. 125 crores has been provided for rural electrification, rural water supply, rural communication, primary education, rural health etc our Central Minister of Health, Shri Uma Shankar Dixit talks of a Five Year Rural Water Supply Plan with an outlay of Rs. 110 crores which has been referred to the Planning Commission, I do not know when this Five Year Water Supply Plan for rural areas will be implemented. By the time it is implemented, it may be that the vast majority of rural people without protected drinking water might be extinct,

After two decades of planning effort, the Centre talks of a Cell for appropriate Technology for Village and Small Industries and the provision for training of rural artisans. Before this Cell starts the work, the number of rural unemployed and partially employed will swell to 6 crores from 3 crores.

The Committee on Unemployment has pointed out that there are 41,000 permanently disadvantaged villages in the country and with an outlay of Rs. 61.55 crores the rural water supply programme

[Shri M. Muthuswamy]

could be extended to 21,000 villages, which in turn will generate additional employment in rural areas. Is it beyond the ingenuity of the Central Government to provide this sum of Rs. 61.55 crores in the current Plan, in addition to Rs. 125 crores provided for rural water supply? Will it not partially reduce the figure of 3 crores of rural unemployed to some extent?

At the end of 1971 June, the total number of registrants in the Employment Exchanges of the country is 44.95 lakhs, out of which 64,000 are Engineers, 70,000 are scientists and 11.01 lakhs are matriculates. It is said in the mid-term appraisal that the expansion of employment in the organised sector has been uneven in different zones. In Southern Zone the increase was just 2% in 1969-70 and 1970-71 and in the Northern Zone, it is 4% in these two years. What is wrong in saying that the North is nourished to flourish and the South is allowed to wilt and wane? It is accepted that educated unemployment represents waste of resources. But the Planning Commission talks about acceleration of construction activities when there is no provision at all for rural housing in the Plan. When one comes across phrases like 'extensive survey of natural resources', one feels surprised and hurt at the apathy shown in tackling this serious problem of unemployment. In this to be done after we are all swept away by the lava of discontent and distress? When the States make fervent appeals and constructive suggestions, they should be given serious consideration by the Centre.

Our respected Chief Minister in this year's Budget Speech has made pointed reference to Ganga-Cauvery link, Second Mine-Cut at Neiveli and Sethusamudram Project. His emphasis on Ganga-Cauvery link shows his deep faith in the national integration and wholesome development throughout the country. It is imperative for the Centre to start preliminary work on these projects during the Fifth Plan period. It assumes grave significance when the State of Tamil Nadu is straining its every nerve in resource mobilisation and in implementing both rural and industrial development schemes of the Plan.

The Planning Minister represents Krishnagiri in the neighbourhood of Salem

Steel Plant, the dream-child of 4 crores of Tamil people. I need not stress the importance of transportation facilities if the Steel Plant is to be a success. For example, the Steel Plan will have to get things from the Heavy Boiler Plant at Tiruchirappalli. Unless Salem is linked with Tiruchirappalli by rail viaven Rasipuram and Namakkal, how can the Steel Plant get its requirements? I would suggest incorporation of this proposal in the Fifth Five Year Plan by which time the Steel Plant is expected to be commissioned. Similarly, the Fifth Plan should have a proposal to construct an aerodrome at Salem which will facilitate the foreign experts to reach the Place quickly.

I came across the following in the Economic Survey of 1971-72 :

"The evolution of appropriate Centre-State relations is crucial not only in regard to resource mobilisation but in respect of proper utilisation of available resources and for speedy removal of regional inequalities as well "

If the Planning Minister's emphasis on multi-level planning becoming an effective instrument of accelerated development is telescoped with the above, you will no doubt appreciate the belated realisation of both the Finance and Planning Ministers of the Government of India about the necessity of reorganising the existing Centre-State fiscal relations. I would suggest that before the Fifth Plan outlay is taken up for consideration, the Report of the Rajamannar Committee which has given valuable view-points about Centre-State fiscal relations should be discussed across the Table.

The Planning Minister may put forth the plea of Bangladesh crisis for shortfall and deficiencies in the achievements of the Fourth Plan. The earlier mid-term appraisals were also documents of self-pity. Instead of throwing a sop to the sobbing millions, this appraisal should be a solace to the starving citizens of the country. Will it be ever so in our country? Here, I am reminded of what our late lamented revered Anna used to repeat frequently :

"Planning should be an action-oriented potent instrument for ushering in an era of public welfare".

What do we find? The mid-term appraisal proves to the hilt the perpetuation of poverty, unemployment and misery of the masses of the country.

In summing up, I would request the hon. Minister of Planning to give serious thought to the suggestions I have given below and to formulate the future Plans accordingly :

(1) There should be a massive and composite rural reconstruction plan, which will at once generate employment opportunities for the rural unemployed numbering 3 crores,

(2) The planning effort in this connection should start from the district level.

(3) The States should be given a free hand to formulate schemes for rural areas both for agricultural and for rural industries. As has been stated recently by the Planning Minister, the States should be given the freedom of implementing schemes upto one crore without waiting for the sanction of the Centre. The Centre should confine its planning effort to basic heavy industries, and establishment of communications, like Railways, National Highways Postal etc.

(4) Before the Fifth Plan outlay is taken up for consideration, the Centre State fiscal relations should be reorganised on the basis of suggestions made by the Rajammannar Committee.

(5) The schemes which are of great importance for national integration like Ganga-Cauvery link should be initiated in the Fifth Plan.

(6) The schemes suggested by the States like Tamil Nadu which have achieved the targets fixed for them during the Fourth Plan should be incorporated in the Fifth Plan.

(7) The planning should become really a potent instrument for ushering in an era of public welfare.

With these words, I conclude.

SHRI CHANDULAL CHANDRAKAR
Mr. (Durg) : Chairman, Sir, this Mid-term

Appraisal the Fourth Plan gives fairly a correct picture of the situation.

The industrial development in the country is very meagre as the Report itself says. This book gives a lot of things which are taking shape in industrial as well as in agricultural sectors. When you talk of Plan, the most important thing that is forgotten even these days is that 80 percent of the population which lives in the villages are ignorant about the Plan. When the Plan is framed, they are never consulted. They do not know what the Plan is.

You will be surprised to know that in vast areas of our country in the countryside, when you go and ask them that is the plan they do not know it at all. The reason is that the Gram Panchayats or the villages have never been consulted. They do not know about it.

Secondly, why do they not know about it? It is because books are mostly published first in English and then after a year or so they are translated into Hindi or some other languages. I do not know when they reach the villages and whether they reach the villages at all. Unless our people in the villages know what is Plan, the development of the Plan will never be satisfactory. For this reason I would suggest that in every Gram Panchayat there should be a library which should be financed by the Centre. One may say that this is not a Central subject and that the States should do it. But it is very difficult for the States because a large number of books and Planning Commission's literature are published by the Centre. Therefore, such literature should be supplied by Centre to Gram Panchayats. Students or educated people in the villages do not get such literature; the result is that, whatever literature is easily available like novels or some literature which come from other countries like Russia and others they study them and they know only about cinemas and other things and not anything about our Plan or about our constructive activities.

This time in Delhi there is a World Book Fair. It is a very good Fair. Most of us must have visited that. It is a very useful, and the National Book Trust deserves praise for this. But in this Book Fair what is missing is the literature which is essential

[Shri Chandu Chandrakar]

for the development of villages. For the development of villages, you require two types of literatures. One is how agriculturists can produce not only cereals but also vegetables, fruits and other cash crops. In the Mid-Term Appraisal also the report says that, in the agricultural sector, we have progressed in producing cereals but not in cash crops or vegetables or fruits. Many educated young boys in the villages want to take to agriculture seriously, but they do not know how to take up growing of vegetables or fruits or cash crops. For this reason it is very essential that in places with a population of ten lakhs there should be one multi-purpose agricultural demonstration farm where such things like growing of vegetables and various fruits should also be demonstrated; not only seeds and plants should be given but it should also be demonstrated how care is to be taken for growing them. Now what has happened in Himachal Pradesh? Apples are produced there in a big way, but then there is a problem. In this country, whether it is wheat or cotton or apple, first we try to produce more, but when they are produced, things are sold at such a low rate that the agriculturists do not get proper price for them. We must study what is the reason for it. The reason is middle-men's profit. The middle-men's profit is exorbitant. Unless the Planning Commission takes care to see that the middle-men's profit is cut drastically, it will be rather difficult for the agriculturists who produce things for the country but do not get the proper price they deserve.

Whole concept of planning has to be changed. Village Panchayats should be taken as a unit in planning. Sitting in the Yojana Bhavan you prepare the Plan without taking note of the mind of agriculturists or other small traders or business men or small producers—these things have never been taken into consideration; also how the man power should be used is also not taken into consideration. In our country we have a good number of engineers, and it is rather surprising that we do not know how to make use of the land available or the water resources available in this country.

So, I would suggest that three surveys should be conducted. Firstly, how drinking water or irrigation water can be supplied each and every village wherever it is possible in this country. This survey should be

given the first priority. Secondly, how roads, approach roads can be laid and each village connected to the main road. Thirdly, how electricity can be brought to every village. These three things should be surveyed by the Planning Commission in detail and in depth. Some may say it will be very expensive. Some of the people sitting in the office always say that it is a huge thing and it is not possible to be done. Let us first survey. Sir, after 20 years of planning we have not been able to supply even drinking water to our villages. How will the people in the villages have faith in the Planning Commission? The Planning Commission gets worried whenever there is a fall in the production of the engineering goods, but they will never think of supplying drinking water to the villages. Every village should be supplied with drinking water. They say that the cost will be Rs. 100 crores every year for a period of 15 or 20 years. Whatever be the cost, it will not be so expensive as the figures are given. Whatever may be the cost that programme has to be taken. It should be the first priority.

Regarding utilisation of man-power, every village should be surveyed as to how irrigation can be taken to each village, how the approach roads can be laid and also how the electricity can be taken to each village. If these things are surveyed and afterwards a gigantic plan is made to implement these programmes, I am sure much man-power, the educated people who are there unemployed in millions, will get job.

When planning is done for producing certain things, they always calculate about the demand and supply. On the one side, there is scarcity of many things and consequently, prices go up. On the other hand, when we produce more, the prices go down. Now, we find every year that prices of some of the things go up as a result of the General Budget or even otherwise. Prices of sugar, steel and cement in the market have gone up so high. Sugar in the market whose controlled rate is Rs. 1.90 is selling for more than Rs. 3. So also cement. One bag at control price costs something like Rs. 12.60 but you cannot get it for not less than Rs. 15. For steel, you have to pay Rs. 600 more per tonne than the controlled price. In our country, there is plenty of iron ores, yet production of steel is much below the

demand. Not only in steel but in other non-ferrous metals also, in this country there are enough resources, yet, we have not been able to make use of them. One side we call for self-reliance, but, on the other side, we do not make use of the raw materials or the man-power available in this country.

So far as prices are concerned, they always continue to rise. The Planning Commission should see the ways and means of stopping the increase in prices. The foremost priority should be given for stabilisation of prices in the country.

Sir, it is a fact that unemployment is increasing in our country. They should see how unemployment can be checked. By opening up of big factories only, this cannot be checked.

It is my suggestion that small-scale industries should be encouraged to start their factories in the countryside. For this also, proper planning has to be made. My suggestion is that for population of 5 lakhs or 10 lakhs there should be a multi-purpose industrial estate where training should be given to the local people in producing goods from indigenous raw materials. There should be arrangement for marketing their products and there should be arrangements for giving them loan. We should have a scheme to give loan to those people who are trained in this way.

Although the banks have been nationalised, full utility of this service has not yet been made.

I would therefore suggest that the Planning Commission should see to it that loans are given to small agriculturists. I will tell you what happens when they ask for loans from the banks. Whenever the application is made, he has to wait for one or more years for getting a reply. This is the situation. These people do not get the reply whether they will get a loan or not. There should be a time-limit, say, 3 months or 4 months time-limit should be fixed and within that time-limit, the person concerned should be able to know whether he is going to get a loan or not. As you know, Sir, unless he is assured of the loan, he cannot go ahead with his plan. Thank you.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have been continuously hearing the speeches very carefully. I think hon. Members will be contributing more and even substantially by telling us to what the defects are which are in the Planning Commission and how improvements can be made in respect of them. If they point out all these things, that will certainly be of help to the hon. Minister. By such constructive suggestions, the Minister will be benefited, the whole House will be benefited and the entire country will be benefited. If every Member goes on repeating the same point, I do not think that will be of any help to the Planning Minister, in any way. Therefore, what I suggest is this. It is better if some constructive suggestions are given to him. I think he has come before the House to hear constructive suggestions and about how he can make improvements on whatever the Planning Commission has done.

Now, Shri Virendra Agarwal.

SHRI VIRENDRA AGARWAL (Moradabad) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, Planning is a 'must' for a developing country like ours. But it is really most unfortunate that the fruits of development have not yet percolated to the weaker sections of the community.

We are pursuing planning for the last twenty-one years, but the people do not have any sense of participation, what do say of involvement. Democratic planning essentially implies that the bureaucrats or technocrats who constitute the Planning Commission should present a set of plans or projects to the elected authority and the final choice of the plan which would suit the country should rest with the Parliament rather than by the Planning Commission. Democratic planning must be decentralised and flexible. It needs a liberal approach rather than that it should operate within a rigid framework.

We have heard a number of speeches, that to check regional imbalances is one of the most important objectives of our planning. But what do we see? Do we have a balanced development of all the regions in this country during the last twenty-four years? This obvious reply is 'No'. We find that a large number of areas in this country which are still backward. That is

[Shri Virendra Agarwal]

why it has been repeatedly suggested that planning should be done right from the bottom rather than from the Yojana Bhavan. If we really want planning to be effective and we want that it should deliver the goods, then we must see that planning involves the people as a whole.

We have been talking a great deal in terms of national minimum right from the date we attained political freedom. But what have we seen during this period of twenty-four years? The *per capita* consumption of food, cloth and other essential items of consumption has been going down rather than going up. Will this objective ever be achieved? That is the question that the common man asks of Government today? What is the time-limit by which they will see that the national minimum will be ensured and every citizen in this country will have the minimum quantity of food, clothing and shelter? This is what the Indian planners must ensure. They say that it will be achieved by 1975 or 1980, but today the mood that we have in the country is that the common man expects this Government to ensure the national minimum by 1975-76. This is absolutely minimum that people of this country expect from the present Government.

The documents presented by Government themselves clearly indicate that whatever plan targets they had mentioned in the various Plans, whether it be the first Plan or the second plan or the third plan or the three annual plans of the Fourth Plan have remained unrealised and unfulfilled. I want to ask the Planning Minister what has gone wrong in the first three years of the Fourth Plan period. One is really not sure whether the planners really appreciate the gravity of the situation. Now, we find projections for the remaining two years which are largely based on unrealistic assumptions. This gives the impression as if the planners have fallen into a false sense of security. What is wrong and what is the deficiency in planning today? It is quite obvious that the rate of saving or investment determines the future development of the country. But the projected rate of private savings in 1973-74 remains at almost the same levels as the recorded rate at the beginning of the Fourth Plan period. Similarly, public savings have not shown any encouraging sign either. Private and public savings together would really indicate the pattern of development in future.

It has been argued, mostly by the Congress members this afternoon, that this whole process of planning in this country has failed largely because of wrong priorities and poor implementation. We as a country are largely agricultural. We feel that planning has not laid that emphasis on agriculture which it should have done. In a way, Indian planning has repudiated Mahatma Gandhi in the sense it has gone against the philosophy which he preached. Today government leaders are fond of paying lip-sympathy to agricultural productivity, rural development and agro-industries, while the nationalised banks are providing bank credit to small farmers at such a high rate that when a farmer tries to secure one rupee on credit, he has to pay 20-25 to different government officers apart from filling up a large number of papers. In the case of co-operatives, it is high as 40P to a rupee. This is the situation in which our farming community has been placed, and that is why I would pledd with the Planning Minister that in the next two years of the Fourth Plan, the highest priority should be accorded to agriculture. It is the backbone of the Indian economy.

Secondly, planning as a whole has never taken population growth rate into account. If you see the growth rate, it has been 3—4 per cent during the last 21 years while the population growth rate has been round 2.5 or 2.8. That means whatever we have achieved on the growth front has been neutralised by the population growth rate.

We talk a great deal about social justice and self-reliance. Both are equally vital for any economic system. In this context the planners have been employing the phrase 'growth with stability' but during the first three years of the Plan, we have had a very poor growth with instability. The growth rate is so low that it has hardly made any dent on the living standards of our people. Planning, on the other hand, has placed such a heavy burden on the common man in the form of soaring prices and an expropriatory tax structure that one has to say that while he has not received any benefits whatsoever, he is having the pinch of the plan every day. It is rather unfair to say that the Plan achieved nothing, but whatever little it has achieved definitely shows that we are moving in a wrong direction.

We have seen that Ministers, whether they belong to Finance or Planning or others, make mostly contradictory statements at different times in respect of planning and they have really made a nonsense of the whole process of planning. Government functionaries at times give the impression that they function at cross purposes. There is hardly any co-ordinating agency at any level. We really expect the Planning Commission to function as a co-ordinating agency in respect of economic projects of various Ministries so that if there is a deficiency or shortfall in any plan target, it should be the function of the Planning Commission to point it out to the concerned Ministry and see that it is rectified.

I will now come to the poor implementation of plan projects. The whole administration machinery needs to be overhauled. We have reached a point when we must fix the responsibility in respect of each officer concerned if we really want him to produce results.

Today if we are not having the right type of results of planning, our Plan projects, it is for the reason that the Government officers do not take that much of interest in the Plan projects as they are supposed to do. Therefore, every officer must be assigned a definite responsibility and told that within a certain period, a certain amount of work must be done. It is done in the case of income-tax officers, that they must raise this much amount within a certain period. Similarly, all these officers concerned with the Plan implementation should have a fixed responsibility.

Price stability and creation of employment potential constitute the essence of social justice. The Government, considers that the price situation is under control. The prices during the last year have shot up by 4.9 per cent and those figures are not also trustworthy. But still the Government thinks that the prices are under control. If the prices are under control, I want to ask the Government why they need Rs. 620 crores to meet the deficiency in the Plan target. They need this Rs. 620 crores because the prices have shot up, and the economic policy pursued by them was largely inflationary in character. At the moment, we do not have any price policy whatsoever. On the one hand, we have got a slogan that we must hold the price line, and on the other

hand, wages, profits and taxes are rising at a fast speed that one does not know if this Government is ever capable of holding the price line. It would be really better for the Government to say that the price line can never be held.

Finally, we see that while they are not able to hold the price line in respect of the public or the private sector products, they want that the procurement price for the farmer, whose cost of production is increasing every day and who is paying 10 to 15 per cent more on fertilisers, tractors, on electricity and water, must be reduced from the present Rs. 72-76 per quintal to Rs. 66-72 per quintal. This is rather unfortunate. We as a nation are proud of our green revolution. We have turned the corner in the field of agriculture and the total profit for it goes to the farmer, and so, the farmer in no case should be put to any embarrassing situation otherwise he would not be able to show similar results in the years to come. Therefore, I would plead with the Government that the farmer in no case is given a lesser price than what he was granted last year. This is absolute minimum.

The cost of production is going up in the case of all items and therefore the prices also shoot up. So, the first and foremost thing the Government can do today is that at least in respect of the essential items of consumption, the prices should be stabilised. It is true that at the moment it is practically impossible for any Government in this country to hold the price line, but what the Government can do is to hold the price line at least in respect of essential items of consumption like food and cloth and other similar items. But we have seen in the budget recently the imposition of an enhanced excise duty on kerosene. How can the Planning Minister plead with the Finance Minister that kerosene would be available at the same price at which it was available last year? The price of kerosene will certainly go up, and that is how we see that the Government's fiscal and other policies defeat the total objective of the Plan.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The hon. Member's time is up.

SHRI VIRENDRA AGARWAL : I have 25 minutes, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No; you have 18 minutes, and you have finished 16 minutes.

SHRI VIRENDRA AGARWAL: Two minutes more. I will come to the employment potential. We have had several committees which went into this question, such as the Bhagwati Committee and the Dantewala Committee, and all these committees recommended that Rs. 2,000 crores should be made available for creating employment opportunities in the next two years of the Plan. I say that if this Government is committed to create full employment in the country by 1975-76, than the growth rate in this country must be at 15 per cent a year.

If the full employment situation is to be achieved by 1980, then the growth rate should be ten per cent. A lot of figures have been given and we also know that unemployment is increasing exactly at the same rate at which plan outlay is increasing. We have doubled the plan outlay during the last four years and the unemployment has also multiplied in the same proportion. A number of recommendations have been made and if these recommendations are accepted and a larger outlay is provided for meeting the unemployment situation, I see no reason why we cannot provide full employment by 1975-76.

17 hrs.

We are a big country and we need a big plan and we have to function in a big way, on a big scale. I see no reason why the GNP of this country cannot be raised 3-4 times by 1980. The growth rate should go up by 18-20 per cent a year. I know that the Prime Minister wants a big, bold and imaginative policy which takes the country forward and I am sure if the Planning commission and all the other Ministries co-operated in this venture they could produce such policies which would create full employment by 1975-76.

Finally neither gimmicks nor regimented thinking nor negative policy could produce the desired results. There is a sense of optimism prevailing in the country today and it is for the leadership to channelise it by hastening economic and social reforms so that the poorest in the country can really feel that the plans have improved his economic lot.

श्री कन्हय्यराव (वसिष्ठी दिल्ली): समा-पति महोदय, आज प्लानिंग विभाग हमारा बहुत सुरक्षित हाथों में है। श्री सुब्रह्मण्यम जी और श्री मोहन धारिया जी देश के माने हुए समाजवादी नेता हैं और हम यह चाहते थे कि जब इन सुरक्षित हाथों में यह योजना विभाग का कार्य आ जायेगा बहुत तेजी से हम घाने बढ़ेंगे।

एक तरफ तो दुनिया में लोग चाब पर लोज करने जा रहे हैं, चाब से भी दूर नक़्तों पर जा रहे हैं, और दूसरी तरफ हमारी योजना, दोनों में कितना दूर-दर्शी सम्बन्ध है, ज्यादा विस्तार में मैं नहीं जाना चाहता, लेकिन हमारे देश का नौजवान जिसको अहसास नहीं होता कि योजना बनाने वाले जो नेता हैं उनमें दुनियावी विचारों में काफी फर्क है। सोशलिस्ट पेटर्न आफ सोसायटी बनाना चाहते हैं, देश में। (अवधान)। सोशलिस्ट में से अब पेटर्न निकाल दिया बता रहे हैं, लेकिन वहा योजना विभाग में कुछ लोग तो ऐसे बैठे हैं तो मार्क्सवाद के प्रति उदासीनता प्रलजिक है, जिनका कोई समाजवादी समाज की भौतिक व्यवस्था से ताल्लुक नहीं है और कोई वैज्ञानिक या भौतिकवाद आदि भौतिक विकास पर विश्वास करने वाला है, कोई आध्यात्मवाद पर विश्वास करने वाला है। कोई साधी बाग पर विश्वास करने वाले हैं, कुछ ऐसे तनख्वाह पाने वाले हैं जो अपने रिटायर होने के दिन गिनते हैं, और नौकरी छोड़ने के बाद सरमायेदारों की सेवा करने की सोच रहे हैं। बहुत में प्लानिंग कमीशन के मॅम्बर रिटायर होकर सरमायेदारों के यहाँ नौकरी करने गये। उन लोगों से क्या व्यवस्था निकलेगी? वह बड़ा मुश्किल काम है और ये जो हमारे नेता हैं उनसे भी उनको काम निकालना है, बाकी अब तक तो लक्ष्य-विहीनों से कोई आशा पूरी नहीं हुई। मुझे विश्वास है कि प्लानिंग का सबसे बड़ा काम यह होना चाहिए कि आदमी के अन्दर जो इन्वेस्टमेंट है वह अधिक में अधिक हो जाकि उसका व्यक्तित्व उभरे। उसको कितना महत्व यह योजना विभाग देता है, मुझे

पता नहीं। लेकिन जहाँ तक शिक्षा का सवाल है, एजूकेसन पर होने वाली प्लानिंग की बिधा में अभी तक कोई भी कबम योजना विभाग द्वारा नहीं उठाया गया है। समाजवादी शिक्षा देश में अनिवार्य हुए बिना सामाजिक क्रान्ति आ नहीं सकती। जब तक शिक्षा पर सरकार का पूरा-पूरा राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर अधिकार न हो योजना अधूरी रहेगी। हम समाजवाद के नाम पर बोट लेकर आते हैं, सेक्युलरिज्म के नाम बोट लेकर आते हैं, लेकिन दुर्भाग्य से करोड़ों अरबों रुपया जिन एजूकेसनल इंस्टीट्यूशंस पर खर्च हो रहा है उनमें साम्प्रदायिकता फैलायी जाती है। उनको हम एड देते हैं। ऐसी शिक्षा संस्थाएँ हैं जिनको 95 परसेंट एड देते हैं, लेकिन वे सुबह शाम तक छुरे चलाना, नफरत फैलाना सिखाते हैं और इसलिए सबसे आवश्यक है कि आदमी का व्यक्तित्व उमरे और शोषण विहीन समाज हम बनायें। उस शोषण विहीन समाज को बनाने के लिए कौन से मूल््यों को, कौन से आदर्शों को, कौन से आचारों को लेकर योजना कमीशन चल रहा है? समाजवादी शिक्षा को क्या नई दिशा दी है, क्या इस देश में जो शोषण करने वाले हैं, उनकी प्रतिष्ठा नहीं है? उनकी मान्यता नहीं है? सबसे ज्यादा अस्वभावों में उनको महत्व मिलता है, सबसे ज्यादा समाज में, सोसायटी में हर जगह बही नजर आते हैं जो काले धन वाले हैं, पूंजीपति हैं। उनकी इतनी इज्जत है समाज में, जो मेहनत करने वाले हैं, उनकी इज्जत नहीं है। सिपाही की सैनिक की इज्जत नहीं है जो सीमा पर प्राण देते हैं लेकिन कैसे इज्जत हो सकती है? इज्जत तभी हो सकती है जब पूंजीपतियों की इज्जत कम हो और जो मेहनत करने वाला है और सीमा पर लड़ने वाला है उसकी इज्जत बढ़े, उन्हें मान्यता मिले।

हमारे पब्लिक सेक्टर क्यों कामयाब नहीं हो रहे हैं? उसकी सबसे बड़ी बच्कह यही है कि जो पब्लिक सेक्टर में काम करने वाले मजदूर

हैं, उनको यह भाव विश्वास नहीं हुआ है कि जहाँ पर वह काम कर रहा है उसका वह मासिक है। उसको भाव भी जो हमारे यहाँ की व्यवस्था है, ब्यूरोक्रेटिक सिस्टम है, एयर कंडीशंड कम में बैठने वाले और मेहनत करने वाले और पसीना बहाने वालों में बड़ा फर्क है, एक दूसरे की सामाजिक स्थितियों को नहीं समझ सकता। हर उनसे क्यों से बायदा करते आये हैं कि ह्य अमिकों को मनेजमेंट में सहायक बनायेंगे।.....

सभापति महोदय: यह तो लेबर और मनेजमेंट का मामला हुआ। इसमें प्लानिंग का क्या सम्बन्ध हुआ?

श्री शशिभूषण: सभापति महोदय, पब्लिक सेक्टर पर हमारा प्लानिंग कमीशन जो खर्च कर रहा है वह करोड़ों अरबों रुपया पहले लगाया जा चुका है और आगे भी लगाया जा रहा है, उसका हम स्वागत करते हैं। लेकिन पब्लिक सेक्टर में जो काम करने वाले मजदूर हैं, अगर उनको विश्वास नहीं होता, अगर उसको फायदा नहीं होता तो मैं नहीं समझता कि पब्लिक सेक्टर का विकास हो सकता है। समाजवादी व्यवस्था में पब्लिक सेक्टर में काम करने वाले मजदूरों में आत्म-विश्वास जमाना होगा, उनका विश्वास होगा कि वे स्वयं मालिक हैं और साथ साथ मनेजमेंट में उनको हिस्सा देना होगा। इस विश्वास से बराबर हमने बहुत से प्रस्ताव पास किये, प्रधान मंत्री ने बायदे किये, उद्योग मंत्री ने बायदे किये लेकिन वे बायदे आज तक पूरे नहीं हुए। ही सकता है कि वहाँ बहुत सी यूनियस हैं, बहुत सी राजनैतिक मान्यताएँ हैं, उनकी वजह से क्वाइट आई हो, लेकिन उनको प्रायोरिटी देनी चाहिए ताकि उनमें आत्म विश्वास जगे।

प्रत्येक व्यक्ति के लिए पीने के पानी पर मेरे भाई काफी बोले हैं। शीशों को पीने का पानी मिलना ही चाहिये। जल्दी तरह से खुले

[श्री शक्तिप्रकाश]

के मकानों की समस्या है। ग्राम क्षेत्र में गांवों में रहने वाले पांच करोड़ व्यक्ति ऐसे हैं जिन के पास हाउसिंग साइट्स नहीं हैं। वे जमींदारों की मर्जी पर बैठे हुए हैं। अगर उनको शहरो में मजबूरी करने के लिए भी ग्रामा पड़ता है तो वे अकेले नहीं आ सकते हैं, पूरे परिवार को साथ लेकर उनको ग्रामा पड़ता है। वहाँ उनके परिवार के लिए रहना मुश्किल हो जाता है। ग्राम गुलामों की तरह वे वहाँ रहते हैं। कम से कम गांवों में भूमिहीन किसानों को ग्राम पूरेतौर पर हाउसिंग साइट्स दें। आप देखें कि ग्राम तीस हजार मकान साल में बनाते हैं जबकि एक लाख मकान बनाने की जरूरत है। इस तरह से तो सौ साल में भी ग्राम मकान नहीं दे सकेंगे। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सारे देश में शहरो में जहाँ भी मकान बनाने की जमीन है उसे सरकार फौरन अपने हाथ में ले ले और जिनकी फाइनेंशल इस्टीमेट्स हैं, हमारे राष्ट्रीय बैंक हैं, इनश्योरेंस कम्पनियाँ हैं, वे मकानों को फाइनेंस कर सकती हैं। लेकिन शहरी जमीन सरकार के बास्ते अपने हाथों में लेना बहुत जरूरी है। शहरी जमीनों के महंगे होने की वजह से ग्राम दिक्कत हो जाती है। इस शहरी आबास के काम को भी जल्दी से जल्दी पूरा कर लिया जाना चाहिये।

अब एक सवाल चलता है, ज्वायंट सेक्टर का। यह भी एक पेटेंट चल पड़ा है। जिस तरह से सोशलिस्ट पेटेंट है उसी तरह से यह भी एक पेटेंट चल पड़ा है। इससे बड़ी बाधा पैदा होने वाली है। जिन प्राइवेट इस्टीमेट्स हैं, जिन प्राइवेट कम्पनीज को सरकार ने पैसा उधार दे रखा है, करोड़ों उधार दे रखा है उनसे आज हम उस पर सूद भी ले सकते हैं लेकिन कल को अगर उनको ज्वाइंट इस्ट पेटेंट में ले लिया गया तो वे और भी पैसा सरकार से सنبाने की कोशिश करेगी। आज तो आप इस तरह के प्राइवेट सेक्टर के कारखानों या कम्पनियों को लेकर अपनी पूंजी की क्षति से

सकते हैं लेकिन तब उसकी भी भाषा नहीं रह जायेगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह काम अनुसंधान के तौर पर तो किया जा सकता है लेकिन मेरा विश्वास है कि जिस ढंग से अब तक हमारे पूँजीपतियों ने देश के विकास के साथ साथ देश को छूटने की और ब्लैक मनी बढ़ाने की कोशिश की है, उसको देखते हुए यह भाषा नहीं की जा सकती है कि ज्वायंट सेक्टर कामयाब हो सकेगा।

जो बिजली देश में है उसको भी सरकार को राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर अपने हाथ में लेना चाहिये। यह जो विद्युत शक्ति है इस पर उसको नियंत्रण करना चाहिये। वर्ना किसी सूबे में बहुत ज्यादा विद्युत होगी और किसी में बहुत कम। नदियों के पानी को लेकर जो डिसप्यूट्स चल रहे हैं वे भी जल्दी तय होने चाहियें। नर्मदा का डिसप्यूट वरसो हो गए है चल रहा है। इस डिसप्यूट को एक रिटायर्ड जज के हवाले कर दिया गया है। वह इसका फैसला करेगा। टिम्बूनल अब बंठ गया है। अब यह उसकी मर्जी पर है तीन चार या पांच साल में जब भी वह चाहे अपना फैसला दे। जो हमारी सम्पत्ति बहती चली जा रही है उससे उनको कोई नुकसान नहीं होना। करोड़ों की सम्पत्ति का नुकसान हो रहा है। फैसला इन डिसप्यूट्स का जल्दी होना चाहिये। प्लानिंग कमीशन का यह काम होना चाहिये कि जहाँ-जहाँ शक्ति चरती है, उस शक्ति को सिंचित करने की वह कोशिश करे और ऐसा करने के लिए अगर उसको और अधिकार चाहियें तो वे भी वह के। ये जो डिसप्यूट्स हैं एक बार फुटिंग पर इनका फैसला होना चाहिये उसी तरह से इनका फैसला करना चाहिये जिस तरह से युद्ध में मामलों का फैसला किया जाता है। जिस तरह से अब तक हम टालते आ रहे हैं, उस तरह से आगे भी टालने की कोशिश नहीं होनी चाहिये।

शहरी सम्पत्ति पर नियंत्रण करने का भी सवाल है। प्लानिंग कमीशन को भी उसके बारे

में एक सीमा साधा दृष्टिकोण देना चाहिये। किसी साहब ने कहा है कि प्लानिंग ऊपर से नहीं थोपी जानी चाहिये, नीचे से तहसील लेबेल से प्लानिंग का काम होना चाहिये। मेरी प्लानिंग कमीशन के मੈम्बर से हतिफाक से बात हुई थी। मैंने उन से जानना चाहा कि देश में, गावों में कितने डीजन इजन है जो काम करते हैं, कितने ट्रेक्टर है जो काम कर रहे है और उनकी रिपेयर करने के लिए कितने इंजीनियरों की जरूरत है। यह जानकारी वह नहीं दे सके क्योंकि उनके पास इतना स्टाफ नहीं है और न ही सीधे वे रिप्टी कमिशनर्स क्लेक्टर्स से देश भर से उस ढंग के आकड़े ले सकते हैं। उनमें समय लगता है। मैं समझता हूं कि प्लानिंग कमीशन का स्टाफ भी बढ़ाया जाए और उनको अधिकार होना चाहिये कि वे डिप्टी क्लेक्टर्स इत्यादि से आकड़े डायरेक्टली ले सकें। उस में रेट्रिब्यूशन न आग ऐसी अवस्था होनी चाहिये। उनको थोड़ी मुविधा दी जाए, उनकी पावर्ज को बढ़ाया जाए।

जिन मिनिस्टर के हाथ में प्लानिंग कमीशन है, प्लानिंग का काम है, मैं समझता हूं कि उनके सामने यह एक बहुत बड़ा चैलेंज है और हमारे लिए भी यह एक बहुत बड़ा चैलेंज है। हमारा सहयोग तो उनके साथ ही है। लेकिन उनको भी देखना चाहिये कि किस तरह से तेजी से कदम आगे बढ़ सकते हैं। दूसरे उन्नत देशों के बराबर हम को खड़े होना है। साथ ही जो आर्थिक फर्क देश में है वह भी खत्म हमको करना है, उसको कम करना है। हमको देश में शोषण विहीन समाज बनाना है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि गरीबी हटाओ के साथ साथ, विषमता दूर करने के लिए प्रगामी हटाओ का दृष्टिकोण भी हमारे सामने होना ही चाहिये।

SHRI V.S. MAHAJAN (Buldana): Sir, the House did not have an opportunity to discuss the Fourth Five Year Plan. I am glad

that we have now an opportunity to discuss the Mid-term Appraisal of the Fourth Plan.

We have accepted economic Planning as a major instrument of rapid economic growth and as a part of our strategy for achieving socialism. It is accepted as the means of mobilising resources and arranging for their optimum utilisation. But the tragic fact is that in a huge country like ours, which is democratic in structure, this process is attended with a number of difficulties and pitfalls. But most of the difficulties are due to the fact that our resources are limited. That is the tragic aspect of the situation. Other difficulties arise because of lack of foresight, bad planning or wrong priorities.

I would like to focus the attention of the House only on three or four aspects of the plan. Though we entertained very great aspirations about the fulfilment of the Plan, the fact is that during the last three years our progress or achievement has been disappointing. Every year the rate of growth of the net domestic product has been going down. If you take the increase in income per head during the last three years, it is not more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent every year. This is a very disappointing performance. The reason for this is shortage of resources. The Mid-term Appraisal admits that lack of resources was due to the fact that the public sector enterprises have not been able to save or earn enough.

Only this morning the Planning Minister said that we have appointed a committee to look into the working of the public sector enterprises. Many of these enterprises are making losses, the big ones making bigger losses. I think one of the reasons for this is that the government have not given them any guidelines. In future our price policy should be such that they would make a profit of 10 to 11 per cent every year, the rate of profit which the private concerns are making. Further, it is not enough to make a profit, so far as a public sector concern is concerned. We should lay down proper criteria of efficiency for them. Many of our public sector enterprises are monopoly enterprises and it is not difficult for them to make a profit. If the cost of raw materials increases, they can raise the price of the finished products because they are monopolists. So, apart from profits, there should be other

[Y. S. Mahajan] proper criteria of efficiency. The public sector industries should be able to compare, so far as cost of production is concerned with similar industries in the private sector and industries even in foreign countries. Your cost and prices should be internationally comparable. After all we are not a closed economy. We export a vast amount of things and we import a still greater amount of things. I hope, the new committee appointed by the Planning Minister will go into the matter and lay down proper criteria of efficiency.

Before the Fourth Plan was initiated we had a committee of experts to report on the measurement of unemployment and under-employment. The committee made a big show of some technical difficulties regarding the measurement of these phenomena. We took shelter behind those difficulties and stopped giving figures of the unemployed and the underemployed, of people who are suffering from disguised unemployment, in our reports in the Plans. But the fact is that we have a large number of unemployed people, millions of them, and a still larger number of people who suffer from seasonal or disguised unemployment. In the countryside there are crores of people who have no jobs for six months in the year. After twenty years of planning, we should prepare a bold Plan and see that work is given to these people. We have surplus labour which is a source for creating wealth. We are keeping it unutilised. It is a matter of disgrace that people should come to you asking for a job and you have to say that there are no jobs. Why not utilise these people?

I will give the experience of my district. We have been suffering from near-famine conditions in Maharashtra for the last two years. Last year our Government was bold enough to say that we shall give work to everybody who came forward and asked for it. In my district we gave work to 1,60,000 people for four months in the year. It cost us about Rs. 2 crores. Why can we not do it all over India?

It is a shame that we talk of democracy and socialism and millions of people have no jobs. They cannot have any faith in our talk of democracy and still less in our talk of socialism. All our idealism, which we profess, sounds empty in the face of

millions of people who have no jobs. Therefore I suggest to our Planning Ministers, both of whom are idealists and have a practical sense, that they should have a bold plan for this purpose.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA (Domargarh) : Do you suggest that idealists have no practical sense?

SHRI Y. S. MAHAJAN : We have been saying all the time that road building is one of the labour-intensive works. Why not resort to road building? In my district we had 19,000 kilometres of roads. In one year we built 20,000 kilometres of roads. Those roads still require strengthening. You can increase their length. Why can we not do that all over India? After all, roads are twice as labour intensive as agriculture and six times as labour-intensive as small-scale industry and they have a large productive potential.

Some economist carried out investigations into the effects of the Ramnad-Mandapam Road in South India and found that as a result of that road productivity of agriculture as well as of industry in that area had increased by a considerable extent. If we bear this in mind and strive in the direction of liquidating unemployment, it is possible. Why not do it? How long are we going to go on in the same pedestrian way that we have been going all these years?

I realise, the tragic aspect of the fact is that we are short of resources. But if you use this surplus labour you increase our resources and if you increase your resources, you can go still further. As they say in economics, the multiplying process will come into operation. But what we suffer from is lack of foresight, boldness and courage.

Then, Sir, as an educationist, I would like to bring to the notice of the House another tragic fact. After 25 years of the freedom, we cannot give primary education to millions of children in this country. Millions of children get no education at all. The Members of this House—some of them—can send their children to England or America and there are millions of children not getting even primary education. A person who has no education is exposed to exploitation. He can easily be deceived by others. His life is miserable, wretched and dirty. How

can we condemn millions of people to such a life ?

Let us have a time-bound programme. Let us stand or fall by it. Can't we do it? It is not difficult. I have been to places in my district, to villages, in hilly areas where there are Schedule Caste and Schedule Tribe people and their children are unattended to, not being looked after. Not even primary education is given to them. Now after 25 years of planning, we must have a time-bound programme and stand by it. We cannot just say that we are doing this or that and that things will be achieved in the fullness of time—we will have economic *Nirvana*, we will have a Socialist Society, *Arthik Swaraj* and all that. Let us not be carried away by words. Let us see that others are also not carried away by our words. I suggest, let us have a time-bound programme for it.

There was a Committee appointed last year which said that primary education to children in the age group of 6 to 11 will be given by 1984. This date has now been advanced to 1980. Let us do it at least by 1980.

Our planning is a leisurely way of planning. We take shelter behind the plea that ours is a democracy and we have to carry everybody with us. We are leaders of the community and we should be able to carry the people with us. We should see that primary necessities of life are provided to the people by a certain date.

Finally, I would like to say a word about district planning. We have to see that people get enthused about the Plan and that they take interest in it. We say that before the Plan is finalised, we consult them. But we do not do it. That does not really happen. There should be planning at the district level. There should be planning at the Centre. The Centre can take crucial decisions about the instrumentalities of development. It can prepare a Plan-frame. The State can plan for its area. Then there should be planning at the district level because it is the people at the district level who know the resources of the area. The process should be carried down to the taluka level. We should have a 4-tier system of planning, real planning from below. If we do it, then the people will feel enthusiastic about the Plan; they will feel responsible

for the Plan and we will be able to achieve our objectives by the dates fixed for them.

PROF. MADHU DANAVATE (Rajapur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Economic Survey and the Mid-term Appraisal of the Fourth Plan presented to the House describe in critical way the performance of our Indian economy and also bring out sharply the failures of our planned economic development.

There are two angles from which the failures in our planned economic development can be viewed. There are some who have no faith in planned economic development. To them, the failures in planned economic development of our country give a vicarious satisfaction. But to those of us who belong to the democratic left and who have an irrevocable commitment to the concept of planned economic development, the failures in the field and area of planned economic development is not a matter of joy and pleasure, but it is a matter of great concern. If in this country, the planned economic development fails, a stable political super-structure will not operate at all. It is immaterial as to which party is in power. But if a democratic party committed to democratic planning, planned economic development and an egalitarian society, is to operate, the necessary pre-requisite is a successful planned economic development in the country.

Therefore, to men like me, any failure in the planned economic development of the country is a matter of great concern.

The canvas of the documents presented is extremely wide. But since I believe in time-bound programme and the time at my disposal is short, I am going to concentrate only on comments on restricted topics from the document; I will only concentrate on rate and pattern of growth, financial institutions, price policies, regional imbalances and welfare and development of backward classes.

As far as the problem of rate and pattern of growth is concerned, it is one of the most important and basic problems that is faced in our economic life today. Apart from the failure of the planned targets, the major failure which, to my mind, is most alarming is that sectoral contributions to the

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

growth of national income are not proceeding according to the pattern envisaged in the Plan.

While the output of foodgrains is no doubt going up, there are certain lapses. There is uneven development as far as the performance of commercial crops is concerned. But, by and large, we have got an overall rate of growth in this particular field, but at the same time there are organised fields in which the rate of growth is not commensurate. It has already been pointed out that, in the industrial sector in 1969-70 the rate of growth had been 6.8 per cent. And with the pace of our development, the rate of growth ought to have gone up. But, unfortunately in 1970-71, the rate was 3.7 per cent. And, in contrast, I must admit that, in the agricultural sector, production increased in 1970-71 almost by 6.7 per cent. The slow rate of growth of the secondary sector again has had its impact on the tertiary sector which too has been unable to expand at a rate beyond 4 to 5 per cent per annum in recent years.

What are the implications of these failures? We have been talking about 'Garibi Hatao'. If there is deceleration in the rate of growth in our economy, the immediate impact will be the effect on our programmes and projects to eradicate poverty in this country. It has been rightly pointed out by certain statisticians that as a result of the deceleration of the rate of growth in our country, 42 per cent of the population in our country remains below the poverty line, and if 42 per cent of the population remains submerged under the poverty line, in that case the problem of eradication of poverty becomes more complicated, and from that point of view, this problem of the deceleration of the rate of growth which is posed by the document is most serious.

You have rightly said that, in this debate, there may not be mere criticism but also concrete proposals and suggestions to the Minister so that, in the times to come, these problems can be tackled in an effective manner. I fully agree with this suggestion and in the same spirit of constructive suggestions, I would propose that, if acceleration of the rate of growth is to be achieved, three concrete steps have to be undertaken immediately. Number one is higher level

of investment, particularly in the public sector. Whenever we take about higher investment in the public sector, we are always told that the public sector is after run by those who have no faith in the philosophy of the public sector. I fully agree with my friend, Mr. Shashi Bushan, that, if the public sector is failing, it is not because of the routine failures of the public sector management, but it is because of the fact that, sometimes, those who have no faith in the public sector are put in charge of public sector undertakings. Some professors of Allahabad University have come out with a very interesting study of the working of public sector undertakings in the country. Those professors contacted a number of managers of the corporations in the public sector; I do not want to reveal the names; one of them told the professor 'Sir, in this country, do you think that these public sector undertakings are ever going to work? You will find that they fail within one year'. The professor asked, 'Has the Government appointed you to see that the public sector fails within one year or are you appointed here to see that the public sector succeeds?' This is just one illustration. But this is the psychology of some who are running the public sector. That particular study has drawn the inference that very often public sector is conducted and managed by those who believe in the philosophy of the private sector. This paradox has to be removed. The extension of the public sector is also necessary for more than one reason. We have been rightly stressing the concept of self-reliance. The big Powers are not going to come to our help. There may be more and more tendency on the part of the big powers to help each other rather than help small countries. And, therefore, it is very necessary that our public sector is expanded and we try to generate more surpluses in the public sector. Thereby it will be possible for us to build up a real and genuine spirit of self-reliance in our economic life.

My second suggestion is : to facilitate non-inflationary financing of the investment effort, maximum utilisation of the installed capacities in the priority sectors must be ensured. I don't want to spell out the details as I have already done that during my speech on the Budget. There I have made my suggestions.

AN HON. MEMBER : How to do it ?

PROF MADHU DANDAVATE : If you want me to concretise, I will make concrete suggestions.

One of the reasons why the installed capacities are not properly harnessed is the defective system regarding the distribution of the raw materials. I have made a concrete suggestion that the Corporation should be given wider powers to procure, stock and equitably distribute the scarce raw materials so that the artificial scarcity may not be created by entrepreneurs and thereby, the installed capacity may not remain idle.

The third concrete suggestion I would like to make is that we must try to encourage technology based on small unit machines requiring less capital and contributing to production as well as rural employment. That has to be encouraged. Late Dr Ram Manohar Lohia was one of the staunchest protagonist of the small unit technology in this country. It is a tragedy that in this land of Mahatma Gandhi, the concept of small and medium unit technology has not been spelt out. When I refer to small unit technology, I don't want you to go back to the spinning wheel. I don't want the small unit technology to be mixed up and identified with the technology of the spinning wheel. I want the old machinery modernised and small unit technology rationalised. Research much be conducted in this field.

Diesel engine and electricity much be harnessed for small and medium technology, and if such machines are installed in a number of villages, then less capital will be required, and at the same time, it will create more employment opportunities in the rural areas and thereby, the problem of eradication of poverty will be resolved to a certain extent.

Let me come to the problem of financial institutions. Since I do not have much time at my disposal, I will only summarise my views. Regarding financial institutions, much remains to be done in the field of expansion diversification, consolidation and reorientation of the structure of the financial institutions so that on the one hand they effectively contribute to saving and investment and on the other, also cater to the

credit-needs of the neglected and poor sections of the society. I and my Party have consistently defended the progressive measure of nationalisation of the fourteen banks. But that measure is not adequate. The norms of credit-worthiness are to be changed. The administrative machinery is to be made more efficient and workers participation management ensured. I may point out to you that many who have had experience of these banks functioning in the rural side, have come to the conclusion that when a small peasant goes even to a nationalised bank, he has to face the difficulty of corruption and bribery. I have concrete cases. On one occasion—I have quoted here also—how some peasants belonging to certain rural areas, even to get a loan of Rs. 4000 or Rs. 6000, have to offer a bribe of Rs. 600 to Rs. 700. That is what is happening. Therefore, investigation must be conducted as to how these corrupt practices are taking place and how the machinery of the nationalised banks could be made more effective.

Even the Mid-term Appraisal of the Plan admits that "progress in promoting savings among the rural rich and tapping it for financing useful activities has been unsatisfactory." And this in spite of the fact that you have been trying to pamper the rural rich. As far as the wholesale trade and its socialisation is concerned, Ashok Mehta Foodgrains Inquiry Committee report is there and when we talk of black money and tax evasion, we are told there is the Wanchoo Committee report. When we talk in terms of taxing the rural rich, we are told about the Raj Committee's report. After a few months or a few years, if we ask, what has happened about the reports, we are told that these reports are laying in the godown, if you like, you also go in the godown ! That is what has happened about the Asoka Mehta Committee Report. I am afraid, the game is likely to happen in the case of the recommendations of the Wanchoo Committee and the Raj Committee. If that does not happen, I would be most happy, I do not want any ground to criticise the Government for shelving the reports.

We often hear of slogans of moratorium on strikes and lockouts, but not moratorium on prices. The Government has really introduced a crematorium on price stability. They should think in terms of moratorium

[Prof. Machu Dandavate]

on prices and price stability should be ensued.

Unless there is a coordinated price policy with checks and counter-checks, I am afraid, even the deficit financing of the order of Rs. 242 crores that is shown in the budget account, will create new problems. Without such a coordinated price Policy, with checks and counter-checks, even this order of deficit financing which is bound to grow at a later stage will exert inflationary pressure on economy and the prices will rise further and there will be further dwindling of the living standards of the people.

Therefore, I would suggest, let there be socialisation of the wholesale trade of essential commodities and let the production of essential commodities be brought under the public sector, with a view to supplying cheap commodities to consumers. The integrated price policy should comprise a definite relationship between the cost of production and the price which should not exceed, under any circumstances, one-and-half times the cost of production, including the transport charges. There must be parity between the agricultural and industrial prices. A proper balance has to be set up and unless this coordinated price policy is introduced it is very difficult to ensure that the effects of deficit financing are checked.

I will conclude by making only a cursory reference within the few seconds at my disposal to regional imbalances. Merely tinkering with the problem will not help.

Under the new formula for the distribution of Central assistance accepted by the National Development Council, 10 per cent, of the total was set for States whose *per capita* income was lower than the national average. Even the mid-term appraisal admits that the results are not satisfactory at all. The Centre-State financial relations must be reviewed. In passing, I would like to say that Dr. Gadgil, in his preoccupation with the issue, tried to evolve some norms and methodology and discipline in regard to Grants from the Centre to the States. It is not to be left to their arbitrary and free will, but there should be a definite discipline that should be evolved. No doubt there are certain formulations, but they have to be implemented properly. The imbalances are not merely inter-State imbalances, but they are intra-State imbalances also.

I will conclude by making reference to a situation which affects the entire west coast. Unless infra-structure imbalances are removed, regional imbalances can never be removed. When plans like the Westcoast Railway were already undertaken, and surveys were completed, now the Railway Minister comes and says that even this has not been included in the Fourth Five-year Plan and therefore it will now remain only at the survey stage. If removal of infra-structure imbalances goes on this rate, it will be impossible to solve the problem.

Preferential opportunities will have to be given to backward classes and not merely equality of opportunities to them, so that lag of centuries can be removed.

Both the Economic Survey as well as the Mid-term Appraisal indicate that the state of our economy is in a very bad shape and unless radical and structural changes in the economy are introduced, breaking the stranglehold of monopoly and banishing poverty will be all empty slogans.

Moving sky-high while mouthing abstract slogans, but sulking and sinking, while coming to grips with the concrete realities is certainly an age-old habit of our tradition-bound society.

Even in this new age, we seem to be trodding along the same old beaten path. Unless we make a complete break with the past, it is difficult to save our economy collapse and I want it to be saved from that collapse.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY (Nizamabad) : I have gone through the Mid-term appraisal of the Fourth Five Year Plan. Really, it is not only a book but an open book, and anybody can read all the defects and successes of the Government. Only Shri C. Subramaniam and his colleague Shri Mohan Dharia could do this job. No other Minister of any other party could have done this.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN : No other Minister in the same party also could have done it.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY : Dr. Ranan Sen, while speaking, was expecting that the Congress Government would execute

the Policies of his party. He is totally mistaken. The Congress Party will execute its own policies and implement its own promises, but it cannot implement the policies of the Communist party. So, the hon. Member's proposal or hope is a mistaken one or a mischievous one, I do not know.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN : His party is adopting the policies of Dr. Rane Sen's Party and then it implements its policy.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY : When planning started, we had an irrigated area of only 5 crores acres, but now the irrigated area is over 11 crores acres. We should not forget this fact. Again, when planning started, the food production was only 5 crores tonnes, but now the food production has gone up to 10 to 11 crores tonnes. This is the progress that has been achieved in this field. Moreover, our other services have also gone up and increased by hundreds.

When planning started, sugar production was only 10 lakhs tonnes, but in 1969-70 it has gone up to 42 lakhs tonnes, which means that it has increased by 400 per cent. This cannot be under-estimated.

Now, I come to the *per capita* income of the different States in India. The all-India *per capita* income at 1950-61 prices is Rs. 347. The *per capita* income of Andhra Pradesh is Rs. 290. In Andhra Pradesh, there are three regions, namely the Rayalaseema region, the Telangana region and the coastal region. In the Rayalaseema region, the *per capita* income is Rs. 240. In the Telangana region where we had violent agitation recently, the *per capita* income is only Rs. 220, and in the coastal districts, the *per capita* income is Rs. 110. From this, you can see the disparity that exists. When compared with the all-India figure, the *per capita* income in the Telangana region is Rs. 127 less than the all-India figure. From this, one can see that the agitation in Telangana was not a political one but an economic one.

Andhra Pradesh as it is constituted now consists of three regions. The Telangana region was formerly part of the Hyderabad State which under-developed. Now, it has been merged with Andhra Pradesh which is comparatively more advanced. I would like to know from the hon. Ministers how he

is going to improve this area? There is lot of water potential in Telangana area. The Pochampad project which is being constructed was formerly designed for irrigation of 2 million acres but now unfortunately it has been reduced to 5 lakhs acres. We are utilising only 10 per cent of its waters and 90 per cent of its waters are going waste to the sea. I demand from the hon. Minister that to improve the economic-status of the Telangana area, the Godavari waters should be utilised to the maximum possible extent so that a minimum of 2 million areas could be brought under irrigation. Six districts can be irrigated in the Telangana area by Godavari. When once this is done, the next question comes of establishing agro-based industries there. If this is not done, we may face the same trouble there as we did two years back. The seeds of discontentment are still there. Many people think that the discontent is only due to the dissatisfaction on the part of the services. That is a very small problem. Whether a mulki is appointed here or there is not going to make much difference. But the real point is that when the Telangana area is compared to the rest of the Andhra area, the Telangana people feel that they have been neglected. The reason for this neglect is not the formation of Andhra Pradesh; it is a legacy of the Nizam's rule over the State for over 200 years. That must be rectified by this Government.

The Central Government has assured us several times, and the Prime Minister has made several statements, to the effect that the grievances of the—Telangana people would be redressed. Here I demand that immediately some steps must be taken to see that Telangana is brought up to the level of not only the rest of Andhra Pradesh but of the other States of India.

The most important problem facing us now is the excessive population growth. Our production of food grains has gone up by 100 per cent; our industrial production has risen by 250 per cent in twenty years. Even then there is poverty in the country. What is the reason for this? It is only the increase in the population. In 20 years, our population has gone up by 70 per cent. About 23-24 crore people have been added to the population of the country. How to stabilise the population? We should make an effort to see that the birthrate and death-rate are equalised at least for another 20

[Shri M. Ram Gopal Reddy]

years. Unless we do this, all our efforts at planning economic development are going to be futile. When I go to the villages, I tell the people that only when a person dies, a baby should be born. This should be the condition. Unless we bring this about, we cannot make progress. Even though we have increased our food production by 100 per cent and industrial production by 250 per cent, we have not made any headway in eradicating poverty from this land.

So I would plead with the Ministry to allot more funds for family planning. They should see that these programmes are implemented with vigour. Otherwise, there will be no progress in this country. I make this plea to our Planning Minister who has done very good work in the country. Shri Subramaniam was the first person to say 'banish poverty'. Many people say that it is a slogan. They are all mistaken. It is not a slogan for us; it is an ideal which we seek to achieve. For us it is an *adarsh*. Unnecessarily, the Communists have gone about characterising this ideal as a slogan on our part. We do not say anything without feeling for it in our heart of hearts.

I hear so much criticism of the Yojana Bhavan officers. I can say that are the best officers. Shri Subramaniam has a very good team of efficient officers. I know several of them. I come into contact with them. They are our best men and if they cannot do the planning for us, who else can? After all, we come from the villages. We have a little education but of course some political background. But we should not run down our officers in this manner in Parliament. When this criticism is reported in the newspapers, the whole world will read it and think that our officers are not good and efficient. This demoralises our officers. We should not in our utterances here give room for this sort of impression to the outside world. I congratulate the two Ministers and the officers on the good work they are doing and hope to do in future.

SHRI NIMBALKAR (Kolhapur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, first of all, I would like to congratulate the Planning Minister for bringing out his revised Plan for 1972-73 and laying it on the Table of the House earlier than usual. I hope that in fulfilling the Plan which he has brought, he will be as punctual

I would like to remind him here of the immortal words of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru which are sometimes found in some of our Government offices :

"I am not interested in excuses for delay. I am only interested in a thing done."

I think today the same words are echoed all over the country and I think the country expects of all of us that we would do something for them and not give excuses for delay.

The first five year Plan was a success and we started seeing the difficulties that were going to come from the second five year Plan. The third and the fourth followed. The fourth Plan is still in progress. We can say that the third Plan was a failure. About the fourth, we are trying to make it a success today. There might have been some excuses which the then Planning Minister might have given for the failure of the third Plan. For instance, it was said that the Centre was not at that time so strong as it is today. But today the strength of the Centre and the stability of the States together must enable our Planning Minister not only to plan but to implement that Plan and to see that the promises that we have made to the people are fulfilled.

Now, the slogan is *Garibi Hatao*. I can not imagine how we can fulfil this programme with but first of all saying, "unemployment: *hatao*". I request the Planning Minister that he should use all his ingenuity to get rid of unemployment immediately, because even in this House, the majority of the Members are new, the majority of them are also young, and we appeared before the electorate for the first time, and believing in our leaders we have made promises to our people that poverty will be got rid of. We have got enough energy in us and I am sure all the young people will agree with me on this point that we will not let our Planning Minister rest until he has got rid of unemployment. That is a point which has to be stressed at this juncture because nobody can surely imagine that we can get rid of poverty without getting rid of unemployment.

I want here to quote a verse which Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru liked very much.

It is from Robert Frost ;

"The woods are lovely, dark and deep;
But I have promises to keep.
And miles to go before I sleep;
And miles to go before I sleep."

I assure you, Sir, the Planning Minister, that as long as these promises to the people are not fulfilled, we are not going to sleep, and we are not going to let you sleep either.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : Thank you; that is what I want; vigilance on your part.

SHRI NIMBALKAR : I want also to remind him that it is no use saying that we

have not got enough money in order to get rid of unemployment. I remember, answering to a Call Attention motion here, the Finance Minister, Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan, said that the Centre does not lack money but it is not prepared to throw away money either, and that if you come up with schemes which can bring the country forward, he will always find money for them. It was during the time when the Orissa floods were discussed in this House. I think that is a challenge to you from the Finance Minister.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please continue tomorrow.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, April 6, 1972| 18.00 hrs. Chaitra 17, 1894 (Saka).