

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

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

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

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

12.38 hrs.

# MOTION RE. APPROACH TO THE FIFTH PLAN—Contd.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**MR. SPEAKER:** It will be seen.

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

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

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

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

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

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

13.38 hrs.

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

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

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

# MOTION RE. APPROACH TO THE FIFTH PLAN—Contd.

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

Mr. Amrit Nahata.

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

**SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra):** Question.

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

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

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

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

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

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Question.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Shri Amrit Nahata]

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

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

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

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

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

SHRI PILOO MODY. I agree.

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

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

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

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



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

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** And not what the people want.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**SHRI NAWAL KISHORE SHARMA:** More time should be allotted.

**श्री दरबारा सिंह (होशियारपुर)**

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

## [श्री दरबरा सिंह]

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

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

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

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

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

आपनी ज़रूरत की चीज हम अपने यहां पैदा कर सते ।

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

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

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

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

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

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

### [श्री बरबारा सिंह]

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

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

15 00 hrs.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Shri Ranabhadur Singh]

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

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

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

AN HON. MEMBER: Much worse.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



### [श्री सुबोधचन्द्रावती]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN (Wandiwash): Devalued.

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

[Shri Shyamandan Mishra]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SHRI PILOO MODY: And those other activities also.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



[Shri Shyamnandan Mishra]

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

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

SHRI PILOO MODY: And Nkrumah in Ghana.

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

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

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

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

SHRI PILOO MODY: They would have been much better.

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



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

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

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

16.06 hrs.

[DR. SARADISH ROY in the Chair]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

probably the choice is not very much in this matter.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Shri Shyamanandan Mishra]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: Where is it?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Shri Kartik Orson]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Why is it so? It further says:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



(Shri Kartik Oraon.)

during the last twenty-five years. After Independence, we have actually lost more land rather than gained. That is the only benefit that we have gained after these 23 years of Independence. The problem of alienation of tribal lands has assumed very serious proportions. The lands of the tribals are being transferred to non-tribals, in flagrant violation of the rules that no such transfer of tribal lands to non-tribal lands can take place without the previous permission of the deputy commissioner. But now the tribal lands are lying mostly with the non-tribals. So, they cannot have the crops and therefore they have no means of living. They are not educated and therefore they cannot get jobs. Their lands are taken away and they are suffering. Government have utterly failed and they have done nothing in this regard. Another point that I would like to point out is that when the crops in their lands are damaged either by floods or by drought etc. Government pay compensation for the damages suffered. But what about the tribals who have lost their lands? Their means of producing the crop have gone away from them because their lands have been alienated. Therefore, they cannot get any compensation. Therefore, I would request the hon. Minister to see that there is some provision made for the restoration of their lands to the tribals once again. We have made request after request in this regard, but nothing is being done. The officers are doing nothing in this regard, and even the Chief Ministers are sleeping and doing nothing. We say that it is the responsibility of the Centre to solve this problem. When we raise it here, we are told that it is the responsibility of the State Government, but when we raise it with the State Government they say that it is the Centre's responsibility. Thus, the tribals are tossed like a shuttlecock between the Centre and the State Government. Government should make some arrangement for the restoration of the lands back to the tribals so that they could get some compensation for the crops damaged. I would suggest that the hon. Minister must make provision for a land mortgage bank in the States so that there could be restoration of lands to the tribals

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

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

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

Then it says:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Shri C. M. Stephen].

ask, do the goods only constitute luxury items?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

17.00 hrs.

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

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

[Shri C. M. Stephen]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I have done and I resume my seat.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA (Serampore): Not like you.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

17.35 hrs.

[SHRI K. N. TIWARY in the Chair]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## [श्रीमती सावित्री श्याम]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

सभापति महोदय . हाउस 6 बजे उठ जायेगा, बिनाको बोलना होगा वह मैन्सट सेसन में बोलेंगे। मिनिस्टर ने कह दिया है कि मैन्सट सेसन में वे बोलेंगे लेकिन इतनी रिजर्वेट में कहकर कहें कि जो मिन्सट बनी हुई है उसको मेनटेन करें।

श्री रिक्कारिया।

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



### [बीमती सावित्री रयाम]

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

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

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

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

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

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

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Aga.

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

MR. CHAIRMAN: Naturally.

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

MR. CHAIRMAN. He can start now

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

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

17.56 hrs.

#### STATEMENT RE. DOCTORS' STRIKE IN DELHI AND BOMBAY

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

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

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

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

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

In the Safdarjung Hospital there is always a great rush. The number of out-patients attended to each day in that hospital is 2,500. The bed strength is 1,220 and another 25 were admitted, making a total of 1,245. The discharge till the morning is 340. There are 30 wards.

18.00 hrs.

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

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

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