

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at Five Minutes past Fourteen of the Clock

[Shri Gadlingana Gowd in the Chair]

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

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Hem Barua to continue his speech.

श्री शशि झूषण (खारगोन) : सभापति महोदय, मैं रूल 377 के मातहत आप का और सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ कि कौरपोरेशन के चुनाव में जो वोटर्स की लिस्ट है उसको परिवर्तित किया गया है। नौमीनेशन पेपर्स दाखिल करने के बाद जो एक महीने का पीरियड होता है उसके अन्दर.....

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please resume your seat. I am not allowing you. (Interruptions)

श्री शशि झूषण : यह प्रजातन्त्र की नींव हिलाने वाली बात है।

MR. CHAIRMAN : The Speaker has not permitted you to raise the issue at this hour. I am not going to allow you. The Parliamentary Affairs Minister is here. They will take note of it. You can see the Speaker afterwards. Shri Hem Barua.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : May I kindly draw your attention to.....

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am not allowing anything.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : I am not raising this issue.....

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am not allowing anything which is not permitted by the Speaker. Shri Hem Barua.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : We are discussing the Plan. That is why we want to raise the issue.....

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am sorry. I am not allowing anything. Shri Hem Barua to continue his speech.

SHRI HEM BARUA : Sir, I was speaking about floods on account of which the Draft Fourth Plan had to be postponed from 1966 to 1969. True it is that floods cannot be eliminated completely. But then the intensity of floods can be reduced by careful planning. There is no top priority given in the Draft Fourth Plan towards reduction of intensity of floods.

Another reason adumbrated for the Plan's postponement is the slow flow of foreign aid. When planning was resorted to in this country, it was said that foreign aid was invited with a view to end foreign aid. Dependence on foreign aid to end dependence was the slogan raised and this slogan reminds me of an antiquated slogan, wars to end war. Wars do not end war. Like that, dependence on foreign aid does not end foreign dependence at all. This is what we have found in our planning in the country. The ratio of external aid to public debts of the Government of India in 1955-56 was less than 1 per cent. By March, 1966, it rose to 35 per cent and now, with devaluation of the Indian rupee and upward revision of the external debt, it has come to 45 per cent. It has happened like that. Generally, foreign debt makes our external relations, I mean, political relations, vulnerable to external pressures. This is what is happening in our country.

We are depending on foreign loans for public sector also. As a result of that, in collaboration with the Indian counter-parts and the foreign capitalists, there is a new class of capitalists growing in the country. We must not forget that. We want to make our economy self-reliant. It is a very good thing. But if we try to make our economy self-reliant merely by borrowing, it does not speak well of planning at all.

Now what is happening? Dependence on external resources has, as I have said, made our political relations vulnerable to international pressures. There are many instances of this. I can quote the instances, if you want.

The foreign investors in this country in collaboration with their Indian counter-parts, are building a sort of vested interest in this country. The foreign investors can repatriate, can send back, their profits to their countries; they can repatriate even a part of the capital, if not the whole capital, unrestricted. This is what is happening in

this country. The foreign monopolists, in co-operation with the Indian monopolists, I presume, have a sort of vested interest in this country. Once vested interests are created, it becomes difficult to eliminate them. There is no attempt towards socialism. Socialism is the only slogan, the only matter, that can eliminate vested interests in this country—or in any country—and make our economy self-reliant. As I go through the Plan, I find that it moves farther away from socialism by encouraging the foreign vested interests in this country and also by encouraging the vested interests which are indigenous. In the report of the Monopolies Commission it is said that there are 70 houses of monopolists in this country. What about these monopolists? These monopolists are gaining ground and they are fattening their purses with the connivance of the Government, with the co-operation of the Government through planning. This is what is happening in this country.

Now the question is wherefrom are the resources to come for the Plan. There are ways and means of getting resources by mobilising the internal resources of this country. Have we tried to mobilise the internal resources of this country? Have we ever tried to nationalise banking, mining, tea, jute or general insurance in this country? We have never tried to mobilise the internal resources of this country and yet, we depend on foreign aid. Dependence on foreign aid can be curbed only by an active measure towards mobilising the natural or the internal resources of the country. This should be done; otherwise, our economy which is already in the dark dungeon of dissipation, will be deep in this dark dungeon of dissipation; there is no doubt about it.

In the Resolution of March 1950, adopted by the Government of India, it is said that the disparity between the different income levels will be reduced. But where is the attempt at the removal of disparity between the different income levels in this country in the Plan? There is nothing like that here. The disparity simply grows. I read an article written by Dr. Karan Singh about religion in the nuclear age. There he has said that a minimum living standard should be assured to the people in the next decade. That means that a minimum living standard has

not been assured to the people till now. Whatever that might be, has there been any beginning made in this Plan? No beginning, whatsoever, has been made in this Plan. Whenever the problem of resources comes, we see our Deputy Prime Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, traversing the world with a begging bowl. May I tell you this? The easiest way to become a hero in contemporary China is to abuse Soviet Russia. Marshan Chen Yi has abused certain people very recently. He has described Americans as 'bastards' but 'honest bastards', the Russians as 'liars and traitors'. This is what they say. You can put these words within quotation marks, if you like. In order to become a hero in contemporary China, you have to abuse Soviet Russia, and in order to become a hero in contemporary India, you have to abuse only Mr. Morarji Desai. Abuse him and overnight you become a hero. In order to become a hero in West Bengal, whom to abuse, everybody knows. You become a hero overnight. I do not want to indulge in these cheap techniques or slogans, but at the same time I would say that to see Mr. Morarji Desai traversing the world with a begging bowl in his hand, and beggar's bowl in his hand, in order to implement his plans and schemes in this country, is a disgusting sight and I tell you that it is a disgrace to the country also. Before doing that, has he tried to mobilise the internal resources of this country by an active policy or programme of nationalisation? He has never tried to do that, but only goes on begging, begging and begging.

Whatever that might be, what is happening in this country is this. Corruption has struck deep roots in the Indian public life. There is no doubt about it. We all Indians have gone down in the esteem of the world today, because, we are a corrupt nation or a corrupt people. Where are attempts made in this Plan, to check this spiralling of prices or to check corruption in this country? Nothing has been done. Now, this Plan would give only an encouragement to corruption.

When Shri Minoo Masani was speaking, he said about wages. He said that wages should be related to productivity. The new theory is that wages should be need-based and not production-based. Now, the mind of the capitalists is to distrust the workers in this country. These Plannings

[Shri Hem Barua]

have naturally not only led to concentration of wealth in the hands of a few individuals but also it has encouraged regional imbalances in this country.

There are certain parts of the country which are neglected. Except Namrup Fertilizer plant and the Oil Refinery at Gauhati, in Assam, there is not a single industrial project worth the name. The *per capita* income of Assam was higher than the all-India figure before Planning was resorted to. But now the *per capita* income of Assam has gone down terribly with the Plans. Orissa, West Bengal, these are all the neglected States of India.

What about Orissa? Paradeep is possibly the only deep sea port in the country but no steps have been taken to improve this port, not even a cargo berth at Paradeep. There should be rail-line between Talcher and Bimlagarh and this could carry the production of Rourkela as also the production Madhya Pradesh and Bihar for export to Japan. Have they done it? This Plan has not done anything in that direction.

Whatever that might be, Sir, I wish to draw the attention of the Central Government to this aspect. I do not want the authority of the Central Government to be eroded, nor do I want the autonomy of the States to be by passed through negligence. But that is what is happening in this country today. If necessary, the Constitution should be amended in order to redefine the fiscal relations between the Central Government and the State Governments. It should be done.

Sir, in spite of Planning, unemployment is increasing in the country. I am not going to speak about under-employment which is itself a problem. Unemployment is increasing in this country to the figure of 58.2 per cent. Unemployment is most acute so far as Assam is concerned. In Assam it is most acute, about three times the figure.

Sir, Planning presupposes stability in the country. How can you have stability in the country when unemployment is allowed to grow on like this? When regional imbalances are allowed to grow in this country like this how can you have stability in the country? The Prime Minister spoke about the people's participation in the Plan.

Now, how can the people participate in the Plan which is not meant for their welfare, but which is dominated by the capitalists to exploit the people?

Therefore, I would wish this House to see that this Draft Plan is thrown out and it is not accepted by us. Because, this Plan is not going to fulfil the objectives that have been adumbrated in the Resolution of the Government itself which was adopted in March, 1950 which outlines the basic objectives of Planning in this country.

I would like the Plan to gear up our economy by increased production, by rational distribution of the wealth produced, by checking corruption and rise in prices, by checking concentration of wealth in a few hands, by checking wastage on the proliferating administrative machinery as also by adopting a real programme of Socialism and saying good-bye to the capitalistic ideology that inspires this plan.

SHRI GAJRAJ SINGH RAO (Mahendragarh): I would just see, the Plan is there. But what is the basic idea, what is the basic thing, about the Plan?

Whether it is a development plan or not—that should be the only criterion, in my humble opinion, by which the Plan is to be judged.

Some say that it is a very good Plan on paper. Some object on the ground that it does not have this flair or that flair and if it was there, that would serve the purpose. That is not the idea. The idea of the Plan is development of Bharat, that is, India. The basic idea is not mine. The biggest, highest and most respected personality like Mahatma Gandhi said that India is a country of villages and anything which develops villages and rural areas is the real development. Instead of that, what is happening in Delhi? I am very sorry to say that Delhi whose population was only two and half lakhs has now a population of 50 lakhs. Everybody rushes to Delhi. We are just doing the opposite of what Mahatma Gandhi said, namely, "Back to the villages". He said that everybody should go to the rural India and devote himself to his avocation. That is the only way how rural India could be developed.

This Plan may have been drafted in good spirit and in a *bona fide* manner. But my experience of the last three Plans is that the villages have been completely neglected. People out of dire necessity have been rushing to towns where, because of that, the jhuggi jhompdi problems have cropped up.

I was speaking on the descriptive side. Now I will come to the constructive side. Though we have no wealth, we have got at least one wealth, namely, man-power which is increasing. Unless, by utilising this man-power, we resort to self-help, no amount of money or no amount of taxation can solve the problem of planning. From my own experience, I can say that if we utilise our manpower resources and work on a self-help basis, then we can achieve anything and develop our rural India.

If I can dare to say, Gurgaon district is just in the neighbourhood here. Because of our participation in the first War of Independence in 1857, we were victimised and there are authentic facts to this effect. The Britishers themselves admitted this. The humble people of this district then resorted to self-help and then we constructed a very large number of bunds, roads and school buildings and we recovered land also from devastation. Everything was done with self-help. Therefore, if there is proper utilisation of the man-power resources that are at our disposal and the disposal of the Government, then we can solve most of our problems. But what is happening? The demand is that the Central Government should declare this area or that area as backward area and they should give this much of money to develop that area. Let it be scrutinised by any Committee and let them find out whether even 10 per cent of this money is being spent for the purpose for which it is given.

Some people say 'Create more block development officers and they would develop India'. I would say that if you scrutinise it you will find that they are actually 'Block-the-development' officers. That is the work which is being done by them. In my opinion, the whole paraphernalia of block development officers etc. is a waste.

Following the Gandhian conception, we

should go in for village and small-scale industries. I do not say that modern plants should not be set up. But we have to see what for they need to be set up, if they are not going to develop the Indian nation, or I would say, the rural India. If we want to develop India we should develop its villages first. Unless we develop our villages, we can not prosper. How long are we going to beg from America or Russia or any other country? It is a shame to a big nation like ours to go about begging.

So far as man-power is concerned, we have the best peasants in the world here; we have also the best soldiers from this area. The example is already there, and I can give the figures also...

MR. CHAIRMAN : The hon. Member should try to conclude in two minutes.

SHRI GAJRAJ SINGH RAO : I request I may be given a few more minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN : That is not possible. I have a very long list before me. He should conclude in two minutes.

SHRI GAJRAJ SINGH RAO : I would submit that instead of calculating in terms of money, we should calculate in terms of man-power resources. Those States which are prepared to supply the best in man-power should get the Central money. Then only we can have a real plan. And those States should be enabled to implement the plan properly with their best man-power.

Now, I would say a few words about Haryana. What better testimony can be there to the fact that it is a backward State than that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself on our submission appointed the Haryana Development Committee? It was not merely a backward area but it had been made backward is a result of victimisation by the Britishers for the War of Independence in 1857. The report of the Haryana Development Committee is there. But when it comes to a question of its implementation it is said that there is no money, with the result that all that labour has gone in vain. I would say that at least as a mark of respect and in memory of that great leader that report should be implemented in that area.

[Shri Gajraj Singh Rao]

I would mention, for instance, the Sabibi Nadi Resolution which sought to provide for drinking water to about 200 villages, and which was adopted by the whole House unanimously. It was to cost only Rs. 2½ crores and 200 villages would benefit from that scheme. At present, we have to go eight or nine miles to get drinking water. And yet that scheme has not yet been implemented. Whether that area is called backward or not is not my concern. My only submission is that that area which gives the best of man-power should get the maximum advantage of assistance from the Centre. If this is done, then every area would compete, and then there would be a real plan and implementation would be best.

Instead of concentrating on village development what are we doing now? We are only making the big cities much bigger. We should not copy England which is a country of towns and cities. We must not copy Russia also. But we must follow the Gandhian principle in regard to development. We have enough resources in our country; we have enough brave young men who can come out and develop India. The plan should have this as its hallmark, if we are to prosper.

श्री रघुबीर सिंह शास्त्री (बागपत) : सभापति महोदय, योजना के प्रस्तावकों ने कहा कि इस योजना के सम्बन्ध में लोग सन्देश और अविश्वास क्यों प्रकट करते हैं, परन्तु मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश की 82 प्रतिशत जनता गांवों में बसती है, उसको आपकी योजनाओं का पता नहीं है। हो सकता है कि रेडियो पर वह सुन लेते हों, इससे ज्यादा न आपकी योजनाओं के सम्बन्ध में उनको कोई रुचि है और न कोई आकर्षण है, न सम्पर्क है। साथ ही आप देखिये कि इस देश में साढ़े सात करोड़ विद्यार्थी आज कल शिक्षणालयों में जाते हैं, उनको इस योजना से कोई आशय नहीं है। इस देश में दो करोड़ आदमी इंडस्ट्रियल लेबर हैं। उन मजदूरों को आपकी योजनाओं की किताबों में झानने पर नहीं मिलता। इस देश में जो भूमिहीन मजदूर है, उनके लिए आप की योजना की पुस्तकों में कोई बात नहीं है। फिर

भी आप कहें कि लोगों को आप की योजनाओं पर क्यों सन्देश होता है तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बड़े आश्चर्य की बात है।

आप कहते हैं कि हमारी योजनाओं को उद्देश्य आर्थिक समृद्धि लाना है। आर्थिक समृद्धि लाने का जो उद्देश्य होता है वह यह कि देश में जो आर्थिक अन्तर है, जो आर्थिक विषमता है उसको कम किया जाय और देश में समाजवाद लाया जाय। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि समाजवाद की दिशा में आगे बढ़ने के लिए और देश में जो आर्थिक विषमता है, जो आर्थिक अन्तर है, उसको कम करने के लिए अपनी योजना में आपने क्या सुझाया है?

उदाहरण के लिये मैं गांवों की बात कह रहा था। इस देश की 82 प्रतिशत जनता गांवों में बसती है। गांव में आपने भूमि की सीलिंग करने के बाद यह प्रतिबन्ध लगा दिया कि इससे ज्यादा भूमि किसी के पास नहीं होगी। मैं इससे असहमत नहीं हूँ, मैं पसन्द करता हूँ कि किसी के पास इतनी भूमि न हो जाय कि वह दूसरों को शोषण कर सके। सन 1954 में आप ने समाजवाद का रेजोल्यूशन पास किया था। उसके बाद आपने गांवों में भूमि पर सीलिंग लगाई, लेकिन शहरों में जायदादें हैं जिन से एक-एक आदमी करोड़ों रुपये और कई कई लाख रुपये माहवार कमाता है उस पर आपने सीलिंग लगाने का साहस क्यों नहीं किया? क्यों इसके लिए पहल नहीं की गई? अभी दो दिन पहले वित्त मन्त्री ने जरा सा कहा कि हम शहरी जायदादों पर सीलिंग लगाने पर विचार करेंगे। आज से पन्द्रह साल पहले समाजवाद का रेजोल्यूशन पास हुआ था, लेकिन ऐसा मालूम होता है कि उसके पास होने पर आप कुछ नहीं कर सके। आज आपके अंदर विचार पैदा हुआ है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि कब आप इस विचार को पूर्ण रूप में परिणत करेंगे? या तो इसको परमात्मा जानता है या फिर करने वाले जानते हैं कि वह तब तक इसको कर सकेंगे या नहीं जब तक

बह करने की स्थिति में हैं। कोई नहीं कह सकता कि आगे क्या होने वाला है।

कहा गया है कि योजना में कृषि और उद्योगवहन दो चीजों पर बल दिया गया है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कृषि की महत्ता देश में उद्योगों से भी ज्यादा है। अगर देश में कृषि की समृद्धि होगी, देश में कृषि से अपेक्षित फल निकलेगा तो उद्योग धंधे भी चलेंगे, नहीं तो आप देख रहे हैं कि देश में दो साल सूखा पड़ा। दो साल सूखा पड़ने के साथ साथ औद्योगिक उत्पादन भी गिर गया। इसका सीधा अर्थ यह है, जैसा मैंने आप से कहा, पूँ कि देश का बहुमत गाँवों में रहता है, इसलिए जब तक गाँवों की समृद्धि नहीं होगी, लोगों में खरीदने की शक्ति नहीं होगी, तब तक आपके कारखानों की क्षमता भी बेकार पड़ी रहेगी, आप के कारखानों का उत्पादन भी बेकार पड़ा रहेगा। इसलिए आपके कारखाने चलें ताकि देश समृद्ध हो, इसके लिए आवश्यक है कि कृषि की उपज ज्यादा से ज्यादा बढ़े और गाँवों में समृद्धि बढ़े।

लेकिन आज गाँवों के साथ क्या व्यवहार है जो गाँवों के छोटे किसान हैं उन को कुछ पता नहीं कि आपकी योजनायें क्या हैं छोटे किसानों के साथ आज सरकार के विभाग या कर्मचारी क्या व्यवहार करते हैं? उन में बड़ा भारी भ्रष्टाचार है, वह उस छोटे किसान से सहयोग नहीं करते, उसे कुछ देने की कोशिश नहीं करते, जो कुछ उसकी जेब में है उसको भी लेने की कोशिश करते हैं। अगर आप समझते हैं कि छोटे किसान आपकी योजनाओं से कुछ लाभ उठा सकेंगे, आपकी योजनायें उसे कुछ आशा दिला सकेंगी, तो यह नहीं हो सकता। आज सरकार की हालत यह है कि वह कृषि की उपज बढ़ाने को तैयार है, लेकिन होता क्या है? जैसे कोई बीमार हो और बीमारियाँ भी बहुत हों, लेकिन एक बीमारी ऐसी हो जो बहुत ज्यादा कष्ट देती हो, तो डाक्टर सोचता है कि अगर वह बीमारी ठीक हो जाय तो मरीज अच्छा हो जायेगा। हमारे यहाँ अनाज

की कमी है। गवर्नमेंट ने अधिक उपज वाले संकर बीज मंगवाये गेहूँ के और देश भर में बंटवाये। उससे गेहूँ की उपज में थोड़ी वृद्धि हुई। मगर हमारे देश में और भी फसलें होती हैं, कपास की फसल है, गन्ने की फसल है। आज तक सरकार गन्ने के बारे में कोई बढ़िया संकर बीज पैदा नहीं कर पाई जो हमारे यहाँ की जलवायु और मिट्टी में फल फूल सके और उसके अनुकूल बन सके। मैं बताऊँ कि उत्तर प्रदेश के पश्चिमी जिलों के सम्बन्ध में मेरा अनुभव है। पाँच सात जिले उत्तर प्रदेश में हैं जो गन्ना पैदा करते हैं। वहाँ पर सरकार कोई भी ऐसा बीज नहीं दे पाई जो वहाँ की जलवायु के अनुकूल पड़ सके। पिछले साल इन जिलों में लाखों एकड़ गन्ना बरबाद हो गया, उस का कारण यह था कि जो गन्ने के बीज थे वह दस-दस बीस-बीस साल से चले आते हैं, उस की जगह सरकार कोई वैकल्पिक बीज नहीं दे सकी। किसान वही सड़ा गला बीज पैदा होता है, आप उसकी कोई मदद नहीं करते। इसलिए अगर आप को कृषि की उपज बढ़ानी है तो आपको केवल गेहूँ और खाद्यान्नों की तरफ ही नहीं बल्कि जितनी भी फसलें पैदा होती हैं, चाहे वह व्यापारिक फसलें हो अथवा कंश क्राप सब की तरफ ध्यान देना होगा।

इसी तरह से मैं कह रहा था कि इस योजना में गाँव की बड़ी भारी उपेक्षा की गई है। इस देश में कोई योजना देश की योजना नहीं कहला सकती जब तक वह गाँव की योजना नहीं होगी। गाँवों के सम्बन्ध में सरकार भारी भेद भाव करती है। आप बिजली की बात को ही ले लीजिये। इस योजना में 2085 करोड़ रुपया सरकारी क्षेत्र के लिए रक्खा गया है। इस 2085 करोड़ में से गाँवों के विद्युतीकरण के लिए केवल 313 करोड़ रुपया रक्खा गया है। यह 313 करोड़ भी केवल इसलिए रक्खा गया है कि जो पम्पिंग सेट हैं उन्हें बिजली दी जायेगी। हालत यह है कि 7 करोड़ 40 लाख पम्पिंग सेट आप इस योजना में लगाना चाहते हैं। लेकिन

[श्री रघुवीर सिंह शास्त्री]

आप ग्रन्दाजा लगाइये कि बिजली किस तरह बाँटी जा रही है। मैंने जो आँकड़े देखे हैं उनसे पता चलता है कि सारी बिजली का केवल 7 प्रतिशत सिंचाई के लिए दिया जा रहा है। 8-9 प्रतिशत के करीब घरेलू लाइटों और छोटी पावर के लिए दिया जा रहा है। गाँवों को केवल 7 प्रतिशत बिजली दी जा रही है और उद्योगों के लिये 70 प्रतिशत दी जा रही है। इतनी थोड़ी बिजली के रहते हुए अगर आप समझे कि गाँव में समृद्धि आयेगी तो यह बात नहीं हो सकती। अगर आप गाँवों में समृद्धि लाना चाहते हैं तो आप को यह करना होगा कि कम से कम 50 प्रतिशत बिजली खेती के लिये दें। तब आप आशा कर सकते हैं कि खेती में उन्नति होगी।

यही बात सड़कों की है। आप सड़कों के विकास की बड़ी आवश्यकता बतलाते हैं। लेकिन सड़कों की क्या हालत है? उसके लिए आपने 829 करोड़ रुपया रक्खा है। उसमें से 345 करोड़ रुपया आपने सड़कों के लिए रखा है। राज्यों से आपने कहा है कि वे गाँवों के लिए खर्च करें उसमें से 25 प्रतिशत यानी केवल 86 करोड़ रुपया सड़कों के लिए होगा। 838 करोड़ रुपया, यानी केवल दसवाँ हिस्सा गाँवों को मिलेगा। जब 82 प्रतिशत जनता गाँवों में रहती है तो सड़कों के लिए आप जितना फंड निकालते हैं उसमें से 82 प्रतिशत गाँवों के लिये क्यों खर्च नहीं करते। जब आप कृषि को उद्योग मानते हैं और आप चाहते हैं कि गाँवों में उद्योग बंधे और पनपें तब आप गाँव गाँव में सड़क क्यों नहीं बनाते? आपने 50 करोड़ रुपया केवल बम्बई, कलकत्ता, मद्रास और दिल्ली की परिवहन व्यवस्था में सुधार के लिए रक्खा है, यानी जहाँ की कुल जनसंख्या 1 करोड़ 10 लाख के लगभग है वहाँ के लिए आपने 50 करोड़ रुपया रक्खा है और 6 लाख गाँव के लिए 86 करोड़ रुपया रक्खा है।

इसी तरह से गाँवों के उद्योगों की हालत है।

आप इस योजना में कहीं भी नहीं बतला सकते कि गाँवों के ग्रन्दा उद्योगों के लिए क्या किया गया है। केवल एक जगह लिखा गया है कि हमारे पास इतने साधन हैं। मैं अपनी तरफ से नहीं कह रहा हूँ, कुल उनकी रिपोर्ट को पढ़ें तो मालूम होगा कि सरकार गाँवों के उद्योगों के लिये क्या कर सकती है।

1962-63 में ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में लघु उद्योगों के सघन विकास के लिए देश भर में 45 योजनाएँ चलाई थीं उन 45 योजनाओं में से केवल पन्द्रह योजनाएँ कामयाब रह सकीं, तीस योजनाएँ फेल हो गईं। यह गाँवों का औद्योगिक विकास है और यह आप गाँवों का उत्पादन बढ़ाने जा रहे हैं। जो भूमिहीन लोग हैं, जो कि बहुत बड़ी जनता है, आज उसकी आर्थिक समस्या का समाधान अगर कोई है तो यह है कि उनके लिए छोटे-छोटे उद्योग चालू किये जायें। जब तक आप उनको चालू नहीं कर पायेंगे तब तक गाँवों की समृद्धि नहीं हो सकती।

मुझे यह शिकायत है कि सरकार ने शिक्षा के लिए यह तो कहा कि शिक्षा का विस्तार हो रहा है, छात्रों की संख्या बढ़ रही है, लेकिन उसने यह नहीं कहा कि जो शिक्षा की समस्याएँ हैं, जिसके कारण शिक्षा की यह हालत हो रही है, उसके लिए आप क्या कर रहे हैं। आज शिक्षा अनुपयोगी है। इस तरह से आप ग्राम और गरीब जनता को उपयोगी शिक्षा नहीं दे सकते। शिक्षा में उत्कृष्टता होनी चाहिए, आज विद्यार्थी जीवन में कुछ आशायें लेकर चले, इस प्रकार की शिक्षा होनी चाहिये। शिक्षा में सुधार के लिए कुछ नहीं कहा गया है कि कोई योजना आपके पास है या नहीं। आज जो साढ़े सात करोड़ विद्यार्थी पढ़ रहे हैं अगर आप उनको ठीक दिशा नहीं दें सकेंगे तो आप सोच लीजिये कि उसका कितना बुरा परिणाम आने वाला है। मैं गाँवों के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ कि मुझे बतलाइये कि आपने लड़कियों की शिक्षा के

लिये क्या किया है। हमारे यहाँ पंद्रह-पंद्रह बीस-बीस और तीस-तीस मील तक लड़कियों के लिए स्कूल नहीं हैं। जब लड़कों और लड़कियों की संख्या, जो स्कूल जाने वाले हैं, बढ़ रही है तो उनके लिए आपको स्कूलों का प्रबन्ध भी करना होगा। गाँव में लड़कियों की संख्या कितनी है, और उनकी हालत क्या है, इसको आपको देखना होगा।

मैं अन्त में तीन सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि गाँवों में बिजली पहुँचाने के लिए अलग से आप एक कारपोरेशन बनायें। दूसरा सुझाव मेरा यह है कि गाँव में सड़क बनाने के लिए सरकार को एक कारपोरेशन अलग से बनाना चाहिए। गाँव में शिक्षा के लिए विशेषकर बालिकाओं की शिक्षा के लिए एक अलग संस्था बनायें जो गाँवों की विशेष परिस्थितियों को देखे और बालिकाओं की शिक्षा किस प्रकार से हो रही है और इसको किस प्रकार बढ़ावा दिया जा सकता है, इसका अध्ययन करे और इसकी देखभाल करे।

मैं आशा करता हूँ कि इन सुझावों पर ध्यान दिया जायेगा और इसको ध्यान में रखते हुए कि गाँवों की 82 प्रतिशत जनता को इस योजना में से कुछ नहीं मिल पा रहा है, कुछ दीख नहीं रहा है, इस योजना में ऐसा परिवर्तन किया जाएगा। जिससे गाँव का आदमी समझे कि यह योजना मेरे लिये है और जब गाँव का आदमी समझेगा कि यह योजना मेरे लिये है तभी इस योजना को आप देश की ओज़्जवा कह सकेंगे।

SHRI MOHSIN (Dharwar South) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, since yesterday I have been listening to the speeches of Members from very many parties. Shri Masani was describing this Plan as the Plan similar to that of Russia. He was making an allegation that the Communists are behind the formulation of this Plan. But, on the other hand, Shri Vasudevan Nair, the Communist Member, was saying that these plans are being formulated by the capitalists and the effect is that only the rich people are

becoming richer and the poor are becoming poorer and poorer. So, these are the two extreme views expressed by the two extremist parties in this House.

It was also stated that the Plan has ceased to enthuse the common man in the country and nobody is interested in the draft fourth five year Plan which was presented to the House. But as the Plan itself states, "the goal of this Plan is rapid increase in the standard of living of the people through measures which will also promote equality and social justice." The Plan thus places emphasis on the common man, the weaker section and the less privileged. This is what is stated in the draft Plan itself.

Whatever may be stated in the draft five year Plans, we have to admit that even after 18 years of Planning in India, and when we have come to the Fourth Five Year Plan, even then hundreds of villagers are not having the facility of drinking water,—

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : What are you doing for that ?

SHRI MOHSIN : That is what I am stating. These are the facts which cannot be denied by any Member. Hundreds of villages have no facilities for schooling. Lakhs and lakhs of people have no houses to live in. Even after 22 years of Independence and 18 years of planning, if this is the state of affairs, I do not know when we will achieve planned progress as the planners envisaged long ago. If this is going to happen even after this fourth five year Plans, the People will begin to have no interest in the plans and and the Government may come into disrepute. We are now considering the Fourth Five Year Plan. It is only a draft. Before finalising the Plan, I request the Government to give more attention to the people living in the villages where they have no light, where they have no water, no medical facilities and no facilities for education. In this Gandhi Centenary Year, I remember what Mahatma Gandhi said. He was encouraging the people to go out from towns and cities and stay in the villages, but the contrary thing is happening today. As some other Members have also expressed people from the villages are going to the cities and the cities are

[Shri Mohsin]

becoming bigger and bigger. The Government is paying more attention to the development plans of the cities and giving more facilities for the big towns and cities to the detriment of the villages. If this continues, I do not know what would happen to our country? 70 per cent of our population live in villages and it is our primary duty to give more attention to villages.

The fundamental objective of planning is to accelerate the development by making optimum utilisation of resources, so that the masses can have a reasonably high standard of living. We have not been able to utilise our resources fully. There are millions of acres of land which are cultivable but which are lying fallow, to the detriment of food production. There are vast water resources which are unutilised. It is said that even after these five year plans, only 33 per cent of the unable river waters are controlled and put to use and 67 per cent are left unharnessed. Therefore, optimum utilisation of resources has not taken place. How can we then expect to reach the targets?

One of the Directive Principles in the Constitution is that the State should aim at creating a society in which all have an equal opportunity and disparity in income and wealth has to be reduced to a minimum. Much remains to be done in this regard. Though we talk of socialist pattern of society and democratic socialism, wealth has been concentrated in a few hands and poverty is deep-rooted in the common man. The poor are becoming poorer. Concentration of wealth and monopolies have become the order of the day. To stop all this, we have to increase production, both agricultural and industrial. India is essentially an agriculturist country. 70 per cent of our people depend on agriculture. Agriculturists contribute more than 50 per cent to the total national income. They are the backbone of our country. That is why we should pay more attention to our agriculturists. Due to drought conditions successively for two years, industrial production has also suffered. When farmers had no purchasing power, consumer goods produced by industries could not find a market and there was recession. The agro-based industries also received a setback because agricultural production was not up to the mark and there was scarcity

of raw material. We can increase agricultural production by helping the agriculturists with improved seed improved implements, fertilisers, irrigation facilities, etc. Our production in 1949-50 was 54.9 million tons. In 1955-56 it only increased to 66.9 million tons. We could have produced more, but the average yield in India is very low. According to the 1965 figures the average yield of wheat in India was only 7.3 quintals per hectare, whereas it was 27.6 quintals in UAR. 17.7 quintals in USA and 13.6 quintals in Canada. Our paddy yield also is low. It is only 16.1 quintals per hectare whereas it is 51.1 in Japan and 50.4 in UAR.

We have to give more attention to the agriculturists by giving them all the facilities so that the production also may be improved.

Consumption of fertilisers also is very low in India. It is 4.97 kg. per hectare in India whereas it is 580.79 kg. in Netherlands 321.12 kg. in Japan and 114 kg. in UAR. This is the state of affairs of agriculturists in other countries.

14.51 hrs.

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker in the Chair]

The achievements in the former Plans, of course, are very disappointing. After the three Five Year Plans the growth of Indian economy was only at the rate of 3.3 per cent whereas the population rose by 34 per cent. The per capita income still further came down to 1.2 per cent. The growth of our industrial production was 3 per cent whereas in other countries even in under-developed countries, it is 5 per cent.

We have to think about the growth of national income also. The growth of national income in India is 3.3 per cent whereas in Japan it is 6 per cent, in Thailand it is 7 per cent, in Taiwan it is 8 per cent and in Korea it is 6 per cent.

The rise in prices has affected much the economy of India. The mounting of investment expenditure, the expenditure on defence and indirect taxation have also contributed much for the break-down in Indian economy.

As regards unemployment I may state there was already a backlog of unemployed

persons to the extent of 5.3 million after the First Plan. After the Second Five Year Plan 8 million persons were unemployed and now it is 10 million people after the Third Five Year Plan. Even these Plans have failed to absorb the normal increase of unemployed persons. The causes are that the Plans are unrealistic. The Plans are based mechanically on certain rate of growth of financial resources which are never real. We over-estimated our resources in the second plan. In the second plan our resources were estimated to be of the order of Rs. 350 crores and there was a deficit of Rs. 50 crores. In the Third Five Year Plan our estimate was Rs. 550 crores and it came to only Rs. 470 crores. The third factor for the failure of these Plans is the bureaucratic machinery for implementation. The bureaucratic machinery in charge of implementation of these Plans is inadequate, inefficient and unclean. This is the very reason why our Plans have failed. It is inadequate because the persons concerned are given administrative functions and they cannot possibly along with their administrative burden, carry on the implementation of the Plan projects. It is inefficient because of the ICS people who do not see eye to eye with the present generation who have got faith in this planning. The bureaucracy consist of stiff-collared people who have no faith in planning. They are unclean because the bureaucracy of today is more dishonest. Under these circumstances whatever Plans we may formulate, whatever be our intentions, they cannot be implemented. I would, therefore, suggest that you utilise non-governmental leadership also to a certain extent for plan implementation. Only then we can see that plans formulated here by this House go through well and they are appreciated by the people.

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR (Basirhat) :

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, in the very short time at my disposal, I do not propose to go into the details of the Plan because that would take too long a time. I propose to confine myself only to some of the basic assumptions and the way in which this Plan has again been a disappointment.

I am happy to find that this is called a draft. I hope that this is sincerely meant, because a draft suggests that there is room for modifications and amendments. If the

Government take this as a draft seriously, there is a possibility even now of making certain changes which will make this Plan a more effective instrument for the advancement of the interests of the country than the Third Plan was.

Yesterday, my hon. friend, Shri Masani, made a frontal attack on the Plan. With a good deal of his criticism I would agree, but not entirely. I would say that it is not a question of criticising individuals. There are able officers, there are able planners but I think where the defect lies is in the orientation. The First, the Second and the Third Plans were all based on certain basic assumptions, and these assumptions were that if we develop heavy industries in this country at an accelerated pace, mainly through investment of public funds, under the control of the government, these by themselves will build an infra-structure which will enable us later on to make the advantages of Planning available to the entire nation. To a certain extent, the First Plan was successful, and I would also not agree with Shri Masani about the Second Plan. I think the Second Plan was also reasonably successful, but the Third Plan certainly went wrong. And the Third Plan went wrong because of the two defects which were incipient also in the First and Second Plans, but the effects of these were not fully realised during the First and Second Plans. This was the concentration on heavy industries and the attempt to increase the material wealth of the country without looking at the employment potential.

This explains why in agriculture the policy was one of investing more and more funds in larger and larger units. We have heard a great deal about co-operative farming; we have heard a great deal about collective farming; we have heard a great deal about State farming. I was surprised to hear one friend on my right who yesterday started by saying that even if we distribute the land to all landless labourers, which is necessary if you want to increase production, there is not adequate land and we will not have economic holdings. If we want really effective farming, there must be incentives given to the producers. Immediately after, he went on to prescribe a remedy and the remedy which he suggested was co-operative farming, where the land

[Shri Humayun Kabir]

vidual nexus with the land would be lost. He did not see the inconsistency between the two parts of his statement.

One of the major defects of the agricultural policy in the First, Second and Third Plans, which persists in the Fourth Plan also, is the attempt to mechanise agriculture. Here I would like to point out that while mechanisation has certain advantages in agriculture, the conditions differ from country to country. In a country like the United States or USSR, where, compared to India, the land availability is 8 times or 20 times *per capita*, where the manpower is short, there is a strong case for mechanisation. But in a country like India, where everything is in short supply excepting man-power, I think the attempt to introduce mechanisation on a large scale will not merely not give us the desired results in agriculture but it will have harmful effects and far-reaching social implications, which are not always realised.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I would suggest that he may continue his speech next day.

We shall now take up Private Members' Resolutions.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Forty Ninth Report

SHRI BHALJIBHAI PARMAR (Dohad) : I beg to move :

"That this House do agree with the Forty-ninth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 8th May, 1969."

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is :

"That this House do agree with the Forty-ninth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 8th May, 1969."

The motion was adopted.

15 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE : APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSION TO GO INTO CHARGES AGAINST BIRLA GROUP OF CONCERNS—Contd.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Before I call Shri Tenny Viswanatham to continue his speech, I would like to say one thing. The balance of time available is only 17 minutes. Two other important Resolutions are there in the agenda. These Resolutions come before the House by ballot and every mover feels that he should get an opportunity. So, we have to ration time. Only 17 minutes are left and in my discretion I can extend it by half an hour. How much time will the Minister require ?

THE MINISTER OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, INTERNAL TRADE AND COMPANY AFFAIRS (SARI F. A. AHMED) : I may be given at least half an hour.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : 20 minutes.

SHRI F. A. AHMED : On the other hand, I have been informed by the hon. Members that many of them are anxious to speak on this Resolution. I would submit that they may be given an opportunity

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I would have very much liked to do. But in the Committee when the time was decided upon, nobody pressed for more time for this Resolution and the movers of other Resolutions, on the contrary, said that I should not use my discretion even for an extension by half an hour. That is the position. It is very difficult.

SHRI F. A. AHMED : I think, if the matter is left to the House, to decide. it will be better.

SHRI K. N. Tiwary (Bettiah) : No extension should be given. We have got a much more important Resolution, next in the list.

श्री कृष्ण शूबल (खारगोन) : मैं यह कहता हूँ कि इस पर एक्सटेंशन देना चाहिए।