### 12.59 hrs.

MOTION RE: REPORT ON MIDTERM APPRAISAL OF THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN-Contd.
Mr. Speaker: Further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri B. R. Bhagat on the 5th December, 1963, namely:-
"That the 'Report on the Midterm Appraisal of the Third Five Year Plan', laid on the Table of the House on the 26th November, 1963, be taken into consideration."
Shrri D. C. Sharma.
Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): I was submitting that one of the most important things conntected with Planning and the implementation of the Plan is people's participation in it. When the First Plan was presented to the House, the then Minister of Planning said it was a people's Plan. By that he meant I think that the people would have an ever-increasing share and cver-increasing partnership so far as the formulation and the implementation of the Plan was concerned.

## 13 hrs .

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker in the Chair]
I do not talk about formulation stage. We are in the stage of implementation and $I$ find that we have arrived at such a stage which can be described as 'stagnant'. I could have said a stage of declining progre sion. I do not want to use it. There is no doubt that as time has passed people's participation in the Plan implementation has gone on diminishing year by year. Are we better than before in the small savings scheme? Was there not a time when in the construction of bunds and roads and other things people used to volunteer physical labour they used to give what is called shramadan. One of our ex-Deputy Ministers did a very fine job so far as the Kosi bund was concerned. What has happened to that? Again in these Plans there was one sector called the people's sector-that was the co-operative sector. Every day
we read in the papers that the co-operative sector is getting more and more officialised and that the people who form these co-operative societies suffer at the hands of these inspectors and other persons who are described as officials. We are told that there would be service co-operations, joint agricultural co-operatives, labour co-operatives, etc. I do not think that we have turned the corner in this respect, in spite of the fact that we were given a rosy picture of these co-operatives. Now again what happened to the idea that people should participate in the share capital of the public undertakings and that people should have a living and active interest in them? At what stage does that idea stand now?

Take the case of agriculture, again. It is of course our private sector but as I said last time it is essentially the people's sector. It is languishing in many States for want of many things. In the people's sector, there are our cottage industries, small industries and they are not showing that kind of vigorous and healthy attitude which they should show in the midst of the Plan. All this show a sense of decadence and stagnation. I want the Planning Commission to be more conscious of the shortfalls. Somewhere I read in the papers that our Planning Minister said that the shortfalls were marginal. What does it mean? We were promised an increase of thirty per cent in agriculture, of 70 per cent in industrial production, of 30 per cent in national income. There is no net increase in agriculture during the last three years, we have registered an increase of 15 per cent in industrial production compared to 70 per cent which is the target and our national income has risen by a bare five per cent. The shortfalls which we are facing in this Plan should not be under-rated or minimised or neglected. The Planning Commission should become more shortfall conscious than anything else. It is conscious of the physical targets which it does not fulfil, of financial
allocations which it doles out to others but it turns a blind eye on short falls. The financial outlays should have some real correlation with the results that we demand.

Mir. Deputy-Speairer: Hon. Member must conclude now. He has taken 25 minutes; there are fifty more speakers.

Shri D. C. Sharma: I am sorry that our performance in respect of minor irrigation, medium irrigation and multi purpose electric projects has not been given. One word about administration.

Some persons try to under-rate the role of administration in planning. R. H. Crossman said that Labour Government failed because administration was not fully interested in labour pulicies and therefore it went under. I think our administrators by and large are not interested in Congress policies and socialist pattern of society. I make this appeal to the Planning Minister. He is a man of the people and risen from the ranks. He was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. Ho must give a good account of the Planning Commission in planning performance and results. I am sure that our new Plaming Minister will be alive to everything and will not under-rate the criticism here and I hope the planning Commission will have a new life and an active life. It it dows not, something will have to be done to give it some kind of artificial respiration in order that it can deliver the goods.

Shri A. C. Guha: (Parasat): Mr. jeputy -Speaker, this plan hes severely been criticised from both sides.
Mr. Depuly-Speaker: There are as many as 35 speakers from the Congress benches alone. So, there is the limitation of time. I would request hon. Members not to take more than 15 minutes each.
Shr: A. C. Guha: On the one extreme Mr. Masani was there and on the other extreme, Mr. Indrajit Gupta. I think the Plar has nel of res sitiofaction to any section of the people.

Planned development is not an easy task, and in a democratic set up it is a very difficult task. Even in USSR whicn $r$ 'a, be called the pioneer country in pianned developinent, there have been many setbacks. We all knew thrat the agricultural plans of USSR and China have both failed and this year Russia had to purchase wheat from Canada and U.S.A. In USSR, the 6 th plan was scrapped after two years and the 7th plan was started and about 67 million dollars of internal loans had been practically reoudiated. It has not ween technically repudiatea bui frozen for 25 years without any interest to those persons who have invested their life savings in government slocks. If it is so difficult in a totalitarian country, it is far more difficuit in a democratic set up. Having chosen a democratic set up, we must know the difficulties we will have to face in planned development. It is no argument to abandon plan, because of the diffictlties. The necessity is to make renewed efforts and a better administration.

The Minister of Planning, in initiating the debate, mentioned three reascins for the failure in the arhievement of the Plan. The first reason is, adverse weather conditions and inadequate administrative co-ordination. The second is, inadequate advance planning and somewhat optimistic programmes of schedules and implementation of some industries; the third is, delay in ubtaining the fore:gn cxchange resources and arranging quick utilisation of foreign exchange. All these relate to the failure of administration, except perhaps the adverse weather conditions; all these are connected with the failure of the administration. If there has been inadequate administrative co-ordination, that is the responsibility of the Government and the Planning Commission. If there was inadequate advance planning and somewhal optimistic programmes, that was also within the responsibility of the Government and the Planning Commission. If there was delay in quick utilisation of foreign exchange, that was also within the es-
[Shri A. C. Guha]
ponsibility and the power of the Government, to arrange.

I shall take first the question of foreign exchange utilisation. I think during the second Plan period, it is found from the Government's own publication on foreign aid that Rs. 406 crores were authorised during the second Five Year Plan, and that out of it only Rs. 227 crores were utilised, which is a little over 50 per cent. What are the reasons that the Government could not utilise about 45 per cent of the loans authorised? Even out of the untied loans, out of Rs. 63 crores authorised, they utilised only Rs. 30 crores, and the remaining Rs. 25 croves were not utilised, and all these were carried over for the third Plan. It is not to the credit of the Government or of the administration that they could not make proper utilisation of the foreign loans sanctioned.

In this connection, if would like to ask for one information. I think that as soon as the loans are sanctioned, the Government of India have to pay some service or commitment charges on the loans sanctioned, even though the loans may not be utilised. So, what has been the payment that the Government had to make by way of commitment charges or scrvice charge ${ }_{3}$ on the loans which have not been utilised during the second Plan period? I think that would amount to a big sum of foreign exchange being depleted, all for nothing, and particularly due to the administrative failures.

It has been stated that the national income has made little progress. Practically all the blame for this has been laid on the failure in agriculture. Failure in agriculture should not be attributed only to weather conditions. There are many other things which the administration should have done, but they could not or did not do to help agriculture. One of the reasons for failures in agricultural production is in the field of fertiliser in which there is big shortfall in production. Fertiliser
is the most important item for agricultural production. Another item in which the Government has failed to help agriculture is the proper supply of good seeds. The seed multiplication farms have not come up to thir expectation, and I think they could not supply even 25 to 30 per cent of the quantity of sceds required in: the market. I think out of the irrigated crop, only 10 to 12 per cent could get fertilisers and for the non-irrigated crop, not even five per cent could get fert; lisers.

If this is the position in fertilisers, the position in regard to irrigation also is not very good. The progress made is not up to the expectation. I think not even 60 per cent of the target as regards the provision of irrigation has been reached. Moreover, the programme for irrigation also was not fixed according to the requirements. It was set only according to capacity that they could have, by way of providing electric power or other requisites for irrigation.
The main difficulty about agriculture is that there is a lack of proper policy in regard to it. What is the price policy? How do they want to foster agriculture? There should be a definite policy laid down as to the subsidy to be given for agriculture. In cvery country, agriculture has to be subsidised and here also it should be the definite policy that henceforth agriculture should be subsidised. Along with subsidy to be given to agriculturists, to ensure a fair price to the agriculturists, the Government should also take care to see that certain vulnerable sectors of the population get foodgrains at subsidised rates. Otherwise, it will bring great hardship to a large number of people.

Much has been said about the rise in the cost of living. Undoubtedly, the cost of living has risen beyond whatt it ought to have risen. We understand that in a developing economy, the cost of living is sure to rise, but
when it goes up beyond some estimated or calculated margin, then only there should be complaints and there should be some remedial measures taken up.

I think about six years ago, in 1957, when Shri T. T. Krishnamachari made his budget speech, he mentioned a policy decision on food subsidies. He announced in the budget speech that Rs. 25 crores would be set apart as food subsidy for some vulnerable sectors. I do not know what is the amount now given as subsidy. If then it was Rs. 25 crores, which of course was not adequate, now I think it should be a much greater amount. We would like th know what is the amount kept apart for food subsidy. If the peasant is given the prerequisites by way of irrigation, fertilisers, good seeds and finance, and particularly if he is assured of a fair price, then the poasant will surely produce the crop.
One main difficuliy is that the peasant does not get a fair price, and there has not been any serious attempt on the part of the Governmcint to ensure a fair price to the peasart. From the very beginning of this independent Parliament there was a cry about the price stabilisation for jute and other cash crops, but threre has not been much cry for the price stabilisation of foodgrains. If the cultivator cultivates any cash crop like jute, sugarcane or tobacco or even some vegetables, he will get much more from one acre of land than if he cultivates that acre of land with foodgrains. There should be some parity fixed between the price of cash crops and the price of foodgrains. The peasant also has his own economic sense. If he feels that by cultivating some cash crops he could get Rs. 200 or Rs. 300 per acre, he will not attempt to cultivate the land for foodgrains in which he can get harely Rs. 100 or Rs. 125 per acre. So, there should be some parity fixed between the price of foodgrains and the price of cash crops. Unless that is done and unless the growers of foodgrains are assured of a fair price they, will not cultivate the land with a view to produce foodgrains to feed the
nation and the nation will have to depend always on imported foodgrains.

It has been admitted in the mid-term appraisal that the cost of living has gone up very high, and that it has gone up particularly in the food sec-tor---foodgrains, sugar and gur. For foodgrains, and particularly for rice, I think the rise in the price of rice during the last three years is of the order of 22 per cent. From 108 points it has gone up to 132 points. In the case of sugar also the price has gone up very heavily. In the case of gur it has gone up as much as 236 per cent. In this connction, there is a deplorable thing which I would like to mention. The price of gur, particularly in Delhi, has risen so much not because of a proportionate increase in the cost of production of gur, not solcly because of any scarcity in the supply of gur but beccause some co-operatives which have been homding gur have been indulging in profiteering, selling gur ai a very high price. Sir. we have all bien very enthusiastic about co-operatives. But if co-operatives indulge in this type of activity, it is for the Goverament to see that it is put a stop to and the cooperatives are run in the proper manner so that the name of this good institution may not be misused and slurred because of the misdeeds of one or two co-operatives which indulge in profiteering tactics.
Then, it has been mentioned in the Plan Report that the collection of revenue has gone up. From the calculated estimate of revenue from the current taxes at 1960-61 rate it will go up by about Rs. 800 crores, and Rs. 1,100 crores has been the target to be collected by new taxes during the Third Plan. But the taxes already put will give them Rs. 600 crores more than Rs. 1,100 crores. Both these figures indicate serious miscalculation and bad planning leading to over taxations. I do not know how much tax will be imposed during the remaining two years of the Plan. In any case, there should be an improvement of about Rs. 1,400 crores to 1,500 crores under
[Shri A. C. Guha]
the present rate of taxes from the revenue estimated during the Plan period.

We have been told that non-Plan expenditure has also curned out to be substantialiy higher than what was visualized, mainly on account of the increase in defence expenditure and partly due to increase in other nonplan items. We can understaud defence expenditure bui what about the other ron-Plan items? The Appraisal Report should have mentioned the other non-Flan items on which the expenditure has gone up. I think it was during the budget discussion that some economic neasures were suggested for each Minist:y by way of reduction of staff and some other measures. I am tolu that most of these economy shemes have now failed and practically no economy would be effected in any of the Ministries and the non-Plan expenditure would be going up as before.

In this connection, I would like to refer to the question of emergency. In the nam? of emergency, a lot of things have been said and done. I know the netion was faceng on emergency, the emergency of a foreign invasion. In the name of emergency many of the socia! service schemes relating to education, health housing ete. have to be scrapped or scaled down. But if the sense of emergency and the consequent sense of economy is not visible in the administration, then there is hardly any moral justification for the government to impose any cut in the social service measures for education, health or other matters. There should be a real appraisal of the import of emergency as at present in economic terms and in social and political terms also. I can understand, thore is a nceessity of contiouing the emergency in the political field, or for military purposes, but I do not freel there is any necessity for quoting emergency for cutting down devclopment expenditure and, at the same time, indulging in wasteful expenditure in non-Plan items.

Thren I should come to one important matter which has not been touched by
the Mid-term Plan Apprasal, and that is the distribution of income. For the last three years we have been told that a committee has been set up under the chairmanship of Professor Mahalanobis to enquire into the question as to where tioe increased wealth has gone. The Prime Minister himself posed this question in this House when he said he was wondering where the increased wealth of the nation has gone. Since that cominittee has not submitted its report even after three years, the natural suspicion of this House and the country will be that it is the Government which has been fighting shy akout this report and it has been deliberately postponing the publication of this report. Copious extracts from the refort came out in the press about a year or more ago but even then the report has not been published. This Mid-term Appraisal also did not mention anything about the imporiant issue of distribution of income $o_{i}$ about that committee.

During the last session, we had a heated debate on this issue in this House on some questions posed by Dr. Ram Manohar Iohjo. Even though his figures were grossly exaggerated, still this report should have mentioned something about the distribution of income. The Reserve Bank of India Bulletin of September madic swie study and published a good summary about the disiribution of income. Last Friday, Shri Indrajit Gupta quoted something from this figure, and he was quite right in quoting the figures to show thrat there has been more concentration of wealth in the urban sector. But what he did not quote, because it will not serve his purbose, was that ihis Reserve Bank Bulletin had given iigures for twelve countries of the world and I should tell this House that our performance is better than any of the other eleven countries though it may not be any consolation to say that comparatively speaking our performance is better. In our country the top 20 per cent. get 42 per cent of the national income but in all the other countries they get
much more, some countries having the figures of $53,58,61$ and sc on. Then, coming to the bottom, 60 per cent in India enjoy 30 per cent of the national income. In the other countries, the bottom 60 per cent of the population get much less than that. India is next after United Kingdom, which has a percentage of $33 \cdot 3$. USA has got 62 per cent and the other countries less thar, 30 per cent. But we should remember that calculation in percentage is of little use as our national income is very much low, the bottom 60 per cent here do not get more than Rs. 15 per month.

Mr. Depuiy-Speaker: The hon. Member should conclude. I am sorry, he is not heeding my bells.

Shri A. C. Guba: The hon. Member who preceded me was given 25 minutes. Let me also be given some time.

Mr. Denuty-Speaker: I cannot give him 25 minutes. I am sorry.

Shri A. C. Guha: I have not taken 25 minutes. Further, I am not speaking often. If you want me to sit down, I will do so.
Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member has already taken 22 minutes.

## Shri A. C. Guha: I will finish in a minute.

This report should have made some candid confession that as regards distribution the Plan has failed. What is the purpose of this Plan? The Plan should not simply put out some targets in a wishful manner without the necessary recourse to achieve them. I do not know whet is the function of the Planning Commission. The Planning Commission may set out targets, but what is the machinery for achieving the target? For what, if the Planning Commission is not responsible, who is responsible? Government should taike full responsibility, or they should make a complete re-organisation of the composition and functions of the Planning Commission, if
they want the Plan to succeed and take the country to a socialist pattern of socicty.

Shri Sezhiyan (Perambalur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the Keport of the Mid-term Appraisal of the Third Plan is a sad commentary on the methodology of planning. Page after page of the report gives the shortfalls in targets, failu:es in achievements and the way in which the plans have been carried out for the past two and a half years. Looking at the way in which we are doing things, I think it is high time that we start planning of planning itself. How should we plan? I am asking this question because after a decade or so of planning, we are still wandering; we are groping in the dark; we are making guess figures and targets which are not fulfilled. When I go ihrough this Report I find it gives an unending story of failures, shortfalls and non-fulfilment of targets, but no satisfactory explanation has been offered for all these magnificent failures.

Nobody could say that there has been any death of resources for major items rf development. In fact, the mobilisetion of resources has been more than the targeted figure in some cases. It is stated in the Report that additional taxation efforts of the Cen$\operatorname{tr}_{\mathrm{e}}$ and the State Governments will yield Rs. 2400 crores during the Plan period instead of Rs. 1750 crores indicated in the Plan. The causes for the shortfalls and failures are to be sought elsewhere. This is what the Prime Minister has slated:
"No benefit would come out of the Plan unless machinery was taken out of the abysmal rut it had tallen into."

The Prime Minister has squarely put the responsibility for the shortcomings and tailures on the sluggishness of the administrative machinery. Whatever may be the reason, we, the people, ar: paying the price for the sluggishness of the administrative machinery or for the abysmal rut in

## [Shri Sezhiyan]

which it has fallen. Hundreds of crores of rupees have gone into this rut because of inefficiency, because of sluggishness, because of the abysmal rut of administrative machinery. It is, therefore, the poor people who by the crushing iu zation have contributed to the coffers of the Centre and the Siates. They are really the people who by their sweat and toil are paying for the inefficiency and the shortcomings of the Plan.

For the shortcomings and failures, the Prime Minister's accusing finger points out the abysmal rut in which the administrative machinery has fallen and they in the abysmal rut in turn are pointing to the high heavens, the vagaries of weather etc. I can say here that the agricultural production has been more stables than the industrial production. It may sound like a paradox. If you go through the statistical figures of the past twelve years, that is, $1950-51$ to 1961-62, agricultural production has been more stable than the industrial production. Statistically the Standard Deviation of the agricultural production for the past twelve years from 1950-51 to 1961-62 is $14 \cdot 5$, whereas the Standard Deviation of the industrial production for the same period is 24.7 . The Coefficient of Variation for the same period for the agricultural production is 12 per cent and Co-efficient Variation for the industrial production for the same period is $23 \cdot 7$ per cent. This will show that on a comparative basis, the agricultural production has been more stable than the industrial production. There, variations could be more closely assessed. It is within a closer ambit than the industrial production. The agricultural production is more stable and the variations are not wide as in the case of industrial production. Even in America, it has been found that "during the last quarter of a century, industrial production had the overall variation of 14 per cent while the agricultural production had only 4 per cent variation." Therefore, it is no use to put
the entire blame on the vagaries of weather and season, 1 variations. For agriculiure at least, they are blaming the vagaries of weather. But I do not know what reasons they are going to give for the shortfalls in the industrial production. Is it the vagaries of the Planning Commission or the administrative machinery? We do not know.

There is also one other interesting thing. The Report has not given the expenses undergone under cach item where they have given the achicvement. The Third Plan postulated for an increase in agricultural production of 30 per cent, in industry of 70 per cent and in national income of 30 per cent. For this, they put an oullay of Rs. 7500 crores. For $2 \frac{1}{2}$ years, about 45 per cent of the outlay has been allotted, that is, Rs. 3371 crores. For this 45 per cent, the agricultural production should have increased by $13 \cdot 5$ per cent, industry by 31.5 per cent and national income by 13:5 per cent. What we have got before us is only 5 per cent increase in the national income, 15 per cent increase in industry and a big zero in the agricultural production. Instad of getting an increase of 13.5 per cent in the national income, we have made only 5 per ceni increase out of the outliay of Rs. 3371 crores. That means a colossal waste. The expenditure has not justified the results that we have got and this is going to land us in a serious trouble. We spend so much and get so little. The supply of money and the Government's expenditure are going at a faster rate than the production, which is not a very good economic condition for this country. If you assess to the money supply that we have got, that will give a clue to the baffling rise in prices of various commoditios. In 1951-52, the money supply with the public was Rs. 1850 crores, and as in April, 1963, it is about Rs. 3406 crores. That means the money supply has gone by 83 per cent and the national output has gone from 1951-52 to 991-

62, as given in the Report, by 43 per cent and as on April, 1963 it would have come at the best to only 50 per cent. We have got a curious phenomenon where the money supply has gone up by 83 per cent and the national output has gone by only 50 per cent. It has come to 2 stage where the rate of flow of money is at a faster rate than the production of goods and services which is a clear case of inflation.

I would like to say here that the inflation, a persistent inflation, is the very antithesis of socialism because persistent inflation gives rise to windfall profits which help the big business and also give rise to the rise in prices which affects the poor. Also, during the period of persistent inflation and persistent rise in prices, the principal sufferers are civil servants, teachers, pensioners and others whose salaries are fixed and do not keep pace with the rise in the prices. This is what Mr . Colis Clark, an eminent economist has said:
"Anyone who knowingly promotes or condones a policy that leads to persistently rising prices is morally responsible for plundering the savings of the poor and of other groups who cannot help themselves in order to enrich mostly speculators and those who having borrowed on a large scale are able to repay in deprecated pounds."

Therefore, this persistent policy of inflation and the rise in prices has given rise to various undesirable effects $i_{n}$ a socialist economy. The disparity in income has grown more and also the crushing burden on the poor people by the rise in prices has also risen.

I have one more point to make here. As one coming from the South, I have to say the inflationary tendencies, the evils of inflation, are being felt more in the South than in the North. An eminent economist, Dr. P. J. Thomas, warned some years ago
about this inflationary policy of the Government and how it affects the South. He said:
"The planned economy involves spending large sums on dams, etc., which meant increase in the total income and purchasing power of the State or the region. But a large expansion of income in one region only could have injurious results for other regions. This is largely responsible for the recent inflationary upsurge in India. Under the Five Year Plan and under the Defence Budget too, large portions of Union revenues have been spent in some northern States and this has been the principal cause of inflation."
"If the public expenditure had been more widely distributed within the country, even a larger resort to deficit financing would not have brought about inflation. The excess demand for foodgrains and consumer goods in northern States due to 100 much money there pushed up the prices not only there but in the whole country."
"The evils of this are being reaped by the people of the southern States, mainly because there had not been any considerable increase in incomes here. These facts are not widely known as their statistics of income, production, etc. are for the whole country and no break-up of them has been thought necessary."

He, therefore, suggested that there should be break-up of the statistics into State-wise and plead for regional planning. This is not a stray case of complaint made by a non-Party man. Even Dr. Gopala Reddi. when he was the Finance Minister in Andhra said:
"It must be driven home to the Planning Commission that the regionalisation of the planning programme should be looked into. They in the South had not got as

## [Shri Se\%hiyan]

much as they ought to have securcd in the Five Year Plan for industrial development. The Planning Cormmission should took into this aspect whether it related to Andira, Madias, Kerala or Mysore."

Shri Sham Lal Saraf (Jammu and Kashmir): Did he say that as the Finance Minister or as an expert?

Shri Sezhiyan: He said that as the Finance Minister of Andhra Pradech. In fact, not only he as the Finance Minister of Andhra Pradesh has stated iike that, but, even Mr. C. Subramaniam, when he was the Finance Minister of Madras had said:

> "There can be no difference of opinior on the view that South India is far backward in industrial development. It is not a political slogan raised for propaganda purpose, it is a solid fact.".

I am pointing out these things to show that not only is there disparity in economic conditions between persons, but there is also economic disparity between the different regions in the country, and, therefore, the backward regions should be given more attention than they are being given now. I can cite statistical figures to prove what I am saying, that South is economically backward.

Take, for instance, the figures in respect of per capita income, calculated with base 1955-5¢, by the National Council o! Applied Economic Research. The ail-India average of per capita income in 1955-55 was Rs. 261, whereas the figure for Andhra Pradesh was Rs. 229, that for Madras Rs. 227, that for Therala Rs. 216 and that for Niysore Rs. 203. This means that these four Southarn States registered a per carita income much below the allIndia average.
luow, let us see also the progress that has boen made. From the ficures availibie with me, I shail point out
the progress achieved in 1958-59 as compared with that in 1955-56. In 1958-59 there has been an increase in all-India income by 10.3 per cent., over that in 1955-56. If we take the different States, we find that Punjab has registered a rise of $29 \cdot 1$ per cent, Jammu and Kashmir 26:2 per cent, Rajasthan $24 \cdot 0$ per cent, Bihar 22.9 per cent, U.P. 15:7 per cent, Madhya Pradesh 12.8 per cerit, Orissa 10.8 per cent, and so on. If we come to the South, we find that Andhra Pradesh had registered a rise of only $7 \cdot 3$ per cent, much below the all-India increase; Mysore had registered a rise of 4.2 per cent, where is Madras had registered a rise of 0.3 per cent; that means that the State income of Madras has gone down in 1958-59 as compared with what it was in 1955-56, whereas the all-India average rise was 10.3 per cent.

Again, let us take the increase ir. the per capita income in the different States in 1958-59 as compared with that in 1955-56. The general allIndia rise was $4: 1$ per cent. Punjab registered a rise of 20.7 per cent, Jammu and Kashmir 22:7 per cent, Rajasthan 15.9 per cent, Bihar 16.6 per cent, U.P. 10:6 per cent, Madhya Pradesh $5 \cdot 9$ per cent, Orissa 5. 1 per cent, whereas in the case of Andhra Pradesh, it was only $2: 3$ per cent, which was much below the average rise for the whole of India. In the case of Mrsore, it had gone down to 1.6 per cent, and in the case of Madras State it had gone down to 3.6 per cent.

When 1 say these things, I am not envious of the other States which are making much progress. I am only pleading for the backward regions for which we want more plans, and we want these areas to be looked after better so that the per capita income of the State concerned or the area coneerned cculd rise more, and the plans have to be chalked out keeping that in vi.w.

To say that there is want of natural resources and so no big plan could be arawn, is not a very happy and satisfactory reply. Even if there had been a dearth of natural resources, which I do not concede, still it is no argument for denial of plans.

In the techno-economic survey report of Madras State, preparca in 1960, there is one pertinent passage which reads as follows:
"Economic progress is a complex phenomenon in which natural rescurces are only one element, though an important one. Historically, countries endowed possib!e that many natural resources have been abie to build up economies much more advanced, thanks to an intensive use of non-physical resources and an increasing volume of trade. Japan is an inspiring example among the countries in Asia. It is also possible that many natural resources now corsidered to be only of margina! significance may with progress of technology assume a higher place in the scale of values and becorne economically exploitable."

Therefore, I would suggest that the backward regions should be given top priority so that they can catch up with the other advanced States. Also, the level of progress should also as far as possible be uniform throughout the country. Also, so far as the statistical figures are concerned, now the reports on the plan figures are being given on an all-India basis. I would suggest that it will be better if Statewise and zone-wise figures are given, and, therefore, a break-up of the statistical figures might be given accordingly.

I would also suggest the setting up of a planning board for each State. I understand that some States are not willing to form such planning boards. Probably the State Governments are afraid that the planning boards to be
set up in the States may become another super-Cabinet as the Planning Commission has become here. There Pore, I would suggest that the planning board for each State should be constituied in such a manner that it would be directly responsible to the State Government, and the Planning Commission should have nothing to do with the pianning board directly. The Planning Commission should approacla. the State planning board only through the State Planning Minister or the State Government, and the planning board at the State level should be completely under the control of and be responsible to the Slate Government only and not to the Central Gcvernment or the Planning Commiession. That will take away the fear of the State Governments that the State planning bcard might beconie another super-Cabinet there.

As far as the Madras State is cor.. cerned, we might have been certainly asking for big projects there, but unfortunately they are not forthcoming. At least, for the present, a certain emphasis may be given on the setting up of medium industries. We have been talking for a long time abont the Salem iron plant, but it is not coming up. Also, there is the Neyveli complex comprising chemicals and engineering, the Salem complex centering round iron, steel and aluminium, the Tuticorin complex based on marine chemicals, and then there is need for a nuclear power plant for the generation of atomic energy for the power hungry South. It has been stated that one such power plant would be set up at Kalpakkam, but I do not know how long it would take. Ihen, there is also the Scthusamudram project. Most of these projects are beins held up at present for reasons best known to the Planning Commission.

In the socialistic pattern of things, we should not only aim at grvivitu, bit we should aim at an equal growth of all the rections and all the people

## [Shri Sezhiyan]

throughout the country. My hon. friend who preceded me had asked what had happened to the report of the committee appointed by the Planning Commission to go into the distribution of income and concentration of wealth. That committee was constituted about two and a half years ago under the chairmanship of Prof. Mahalanobis, but the report has not yet come. They have said that the report would be forthcoming, bui I do not know when it is going to be placed before the House and the public.

It is said on the one side that the socialistic plan stands for growth and equality, but from the report that has been placed before us, we find that the plan has produced less growth and more inequality. Any planning must have this view so that there could be faster and more equal growth in various regions of the country.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad (Bhagalpur) : This document on the mid-term appraisal of the Third Five Year Plan is an unhappy document, a document of which nobody can be proud, and with which nobody can be satisfied.

I quite pity the Planning Commission, the Government and its administrative machinery which have failed so miserably to implement the hopes and aspirations that had been raised in the objectives of the Third Five Year Plan.

The objective of the Third Five Year Plan promised to this country and its people a 5 per cent per annum increase in national income, and it promised to design the investment pattern in such a way that that can be kept up in the subsequent Plan. It promised to the people also self-sufficiency in food, and also increase in agricultural production to meet the requirements of exports and industries. It promised to expand basic industries in this country like steel, chemical industries, mines fuel and power. And even more so, it promised a fuller utilisation of
the man-power in this country. After all these big pronouncements, it goes on saying that it will establish progressively greater equality of opportunity and bring about a reduction in dispari$\mathrm{tie}_{\mathrm{s}}$ in income. These were the objectives, and they were the promises that were held out to this nation at the beginning of the Third Plan by Government. I ask of this Government one question. Can they boldly say that they are anywhere near these objectives?

The mid-term appraisal of the Plan starts with this sentence that "the first half of the Third Five Year Plan period has been, for a variety of reasons a period of slow economic growth."

Why? What are the variety of reasons? We have heard from the Minister that the most important is the vagaries of nature.
The Minister of Planning (Shri B. R. Bhagat): About agriculture.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: What about others? I will supplement the information.

National income has increased only by $2 \frac{1}{2}$ per cent according to their own statement. Agricultural production has increased by only 1.5 per cent against the 5 per cent target. In industrial production, there have been serious shortfalls. The 'inexperienced' public sector has shortfalls, but the experienced private sector has got much larger and worse shortfalls. Government assigned to them the key industries like alloy steel and tools, stainless steel, steel castings and forgings, machine tools, fertilisers, cement, paper. Everywhere, the private sector has failed to achieve the target.
What will be the effect of these huge shortfalls both in the public and private sectors especially in the private sector, in the future economy of this country? Taking agricultural production, it has a sime :ably failed. We could
neither have self-sufficiency in food nor have increased production either for industry or for export. What are the reason: They are obvious. This Government has got no heart in implementing the Plan and giving an economy which may be remunerative for the farmers of this country. It has got a trader-oriented agricultural policy; it has no farmer-oriented agricultural policy. There is no coordination, absolutely nothing.

Therefore, whatever may be done by the Bcard under Shri Swaran Singh, it shall never achieve the target because the Government does not believe in it. The Prime Minister has got a Cabinet which has a socialist look. But now the people have started doubting whether they have a mind to implement the socialistic policy of this country. The Prime Minister himself is a strong believer, framer and executor of the socialist idea in this country. But he has with him an administration which has no heart in implementation, or even if it has, it connives; it has got a disability and inefficiency in implementing it. If not, why is it that the economy is stagnating so badly? Government believes in artificial respiration by PL 480. The increase of production is to be not in India, but in America! Through the artificial respiration of PL 480, they want to feed the penple of this country.

Why is our agriculture not going ahead" A.re we to understand that the Indian farmers are less enterprising and able than their Japanese counterparts? They give you a challenge: give them irrigation, don't talk of fertilisers or improved seed or improved aids. Give them only assured irrigation and they will promise you in retuin a 30 per cent increase. But is it being done? Even in places, where they complain that irrigation facilities that are available are not being used, have Government cared to inquire?

An irrigation project had been sonstructed in my constituency. Over.
night, the Bengal irrigation rule or something like that was forced on the farmers and they were made to pay Rs. 10 per acre without having assured to them the other facilities that are to be given by Government under that rule. I protested against it. I led a demonstration. I said, 'My people cannot pay it.' What is this? Where there are irrigation facilities, there is a punishing administration which does not understand these problems. We discussed it with the District Magistrate and then the Minister. All of them in their chambers admitted that they were wrong. I say an administration which cannot understand the aspirations of the people does not know how to solve these problems. Agricultural production in this country cannot increase this way. The most important thing is to give them irrigation, which is not being given. This is the challenge from the innocent, illiterate Indian farmers to this Government, the Planning Commission and the Administration: 'give me assured irrigation, without fertiliser, without any big fuss of Japanese cultivation; I will give you a 30 per cent increase'. But will the administration give it? As it is, they can never do it.

I know the position. In Bihar, the area which I represent-of course, this time the crop is good in other areasthat area is now a famine area. There is a streamlet out of which the farmers have been taking water for the last 50 years and the Calcutta High Court had given them the powe. to have nunds. But what happened? The engincer went there one fine morning and said, 'Look here, no water will be available in this scheme'. This is how they are trying to implement the plan. The engineering system and the administration look at the problem from above, it does not go to the root of it.
If you have to use electricity, it must come through copper wire not through wooden wire. Similarly, to harmonise the electricity of the people, you must have a copper-like administration not a wooden one which it at present is.
[Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad]
Comings to land reforms, this Goverrment promised to the people in the First Five Year Plan, Jand reforms and a ceiling on Jand. Rut what the socialist Government has done so far is so litile that Mr. Chester Bowles reminds the Prime Minister 'You are going very slow in your land reforms' What a wonderful state of affairs! We have the Planning Commission with a Niember for agriculture, we have all the State Governments and we have our Parliament. and it is now the painful duty of the American Ambassador to remind the Prime IMinister 'you are going very slow with your land reforms'. When a policy is not implemented, how can you expect the agriculturists to pui their heari in agriculture and increase production? The Prime Minister has appointed a Commitiee. I do not know whether it will take two years or more. Let us hope even at this late hour they will be able to do the needful.

Coming to industrial production, why is it that we are falling behind our targets? It is because the Government of India, along with its industrial policy resolution, is always trying to have a compromise policy with private enterprise here. It has got a halting policy. In the same Third Five Year Plan, along with this policy, they have a paragraph in which they say that in necessity, in emergency or in certain circumstances, there may be a compromise. And compromise is there in vital and key industries. Take fertilisers. It was given to the private sector. What happended. The other day the Minister said that five or seven licences were not utilised. I say they are deliberately trying to sabotage the Plan. Way should they go in for fertilisers when they find that they get more pronits and more gains elsewhere? That is exactly what they are doing. This is their outlook. So now they are surrendering the licences to Government. This is the industrial policy of nur Guvernment. It is the pressure of the internal capitalists and vested interests
in the country due to whith Gevern. ment is following a halting policy in industrialisation. And here we have Ghri M. R. Masani saying that there is State monopoly and Government is going to take away absolutely all that the private individuals have got in this country. He wants to scrap the Plan. He says State monopoly must go. He quotes Prof. Galbraith. I will also quote the same authority; what is more, I will quote that great economist of 'take off' farne, Prof. W. W. Rostov.

He says that the time has come now when even Americans want that there should be a controlled economy and more intervention by the State in the economy.

Mr. W. W. Rostov says:
"It has been a minor irony of the post-war experience of the United States that its agents, both in Europe and in uncer-aeveloped countries, have found themselves urging an increased role for government planning in the economies of the areas where the American interest was engaged. This was the consequence of no conspiracy among New Dealers or Socialists who found their way into American foreign operations. This was a realistic response to the nature of the societies where a sustained rate of economic development was sought in American interest."

## 14 hrs.

Mr. Gunnar Myrdal, Secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, has this to say:
"All special advisers to underdeveloped countries who have taken the time and trouble to acquaint themselves with the problems, no matter who they areteams of experts from the International Bank or other international agencies, including the

Colombo Pian; officials of the American Point Four Programme; .

- Shri Masani's gospel is from America, he should notice it-
"....private foundations and consultant firms; independent social scientists; journalists or visiting politicians-all recommend central planning as a first condition for progress."

And here is a Member who wants us to go back to the 19th century laissez faire economy'

The other day he was quoting Galbraith. This is what Galbraith said about Indian economy:
"It is one of the world's least controlled or planned economy."

This is what his economic guru said about Indian economy.

The American Economic Revien of June, 1957 said:
"The economy of India today is less responsive to the public guidancre and direction than even in U.S.A. In U.S.A. several levels of Government disposes of about $20 \%$ of the total production, while the corresponding figure is not over $10 \%$ in India.

And still there is a cry about State monopoly and a demand to serap the whole Plan!

What more can be said of this country, which is pledged to a socialist. pattern of society, that its economy is the least controlled. Therefore Shri R. K. Nehru said the other day-my hon. friend quoted him the other way that if what we have in India is the socialistic pattern, then possibly America is a better socialist country than India.

Industrial production lags behind because of Government following a policy of compromise, and a haltine policy, always making concessions to
the private individuals. The objective of the Plan was to increase the national income. This document does not say how the national income has increased, and how it has been cistributed.

There are four partners in the national income-rent, interest, wage and profit. I want to know from Government whether it is not a fact that in the last ten we twelve years the income of the salaried classes and wage-earners has not increased, nor in the case of rent or interest; if it has increased, it has increased only for the profiteers, for the fourth partner, the profit-earners. In comparison to prices, the other three partners-- I can give you the figures-are the worst affected, only the share of the profit-earners has increased. So, what type of socialism is this? By socialism, by the implementation of the Plan, we want that the millions of this country should have increasing share in the national wealth. But Government, by its policy, bas allowed only the profi-earners io increase their income. You find everywhere how bark directorships are concentrated in a few hands, bow the entire profil or national inrome is being cornered by one group of persons. If that is not so. why did not Govermment force the Mahalanobis Committee to submit its report? 'lhere is something wrong about it. Last time Shri Nanda promised that it would be placed on the Table in the next session. The other day the Prime Minister said it would be done in about two months. It all directs 10 one point, that we have a bat pattern of invesiment, a bad industrial folicy, a halting agricultural policy, that the income is increasing only for a particular class. Let any one say that the income of the salaried class, the wageearner, has increased; it has not. What are the reasons? The reasons are that this administration is not capable of implementing the Plan.

Shri P. R. Patel (Patan): What type of administration do you want?

## Five Yeur Plan

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: He does not understand what type of administration there is. The other day he was shouting at Shri Nanda about the IAS officers scandal. I am referring 10 those persons who are implementing the Plan. There is no responsibility fixed. If a big haul is made and a b:g fish is caught. that gets away; it is oniy the poor elerk who is caught. If not, how is it that the IAS and ICS officers who are responsible for the public sector, after retirement, go under the umbrella of private entrepreneurs and become their Panjhazuris Ashahazaris, Mansabdars and Subedars? If they had their hoart in the Plan, how could they reconcile themselves to it?

Therefore the main point is 10 fix the responsibility. It should be fixed on the Minister in charge of the department. The other day Shri Nanda said that be was going to set up a vigilance committee. Let there be another committee in each department consisting of the Minister, the Secretary of the Department, the Additional Secretary and the Deputy ininister, and if that department does not succeed, let all of them go out of public life and service. That way the responsibility should be fixed.

The oiher day the Prime Minister was told by Shri S. K. Palit our former Food Minister, as saying that Khrushchev had called his Food Minister and told him: this is the target, this is the allocation, these are the policies, can you deliver the goods in one year? He said: Yes. After six months he was called and the same question was put to him, and again he said: yes. After nine months, he was again called, and he again said: yes. At the end of twelve months, when he failed, he was mismissed, so, that way responsibility should be fixed.

Secondly, the pattern of administration should change. There should be prescribed punishment for failures. Look for bright men. Do not go in for these trembling and gasping seni-
ority which will not do you any good in this country.

If you are sincere, there are some things to be attended to. Land reforms, nationalisation of banks, fixing of responsibility, reform of development blocs. The Prime Minister said they were doing very good work, but for the last many years as the saying goes, they have become blocks in the wey of development. The BDO has time only for forging figures and filling up proformas which nobody looks into, neither the Planning Commission nor the Minister. Therefore, remove this army of officers in the biocs, remove the jeep, let there be a few persons on whom responsibility could be fixed. I am prepared as a Member of Parliament to take charge of any block along with the officers, and if we do not succeed, I will go out of public life and also those officers out of serivce.

The roughest thing that you collide against in New De!n: is silk, and the cheapest offer is a drink. In one word the culture of Delhi is silk and drink culture. India outside is different from what you see in the mirror of Delhi. Therefore, this mid-term appraisal is a dismal document of our devastating disability.

श्री बडे (ख्रारगोन) : माननीय उपाध्यक्ष मह्होदय, यह जों प्लानिग के मिडटर्म एप्रेजल की रिपोटं है इसको देखने से ोेसंi मालुम पड़ता है कि यह एक श्रसफलतात्रों कीं गाथा है, इसके सिबा यह श्रोर कुछ नहीं है । वह ञ्रसफल्नाएं द्सलिए हुई जै कि एग्रीकल्चुल्ल प्रोडकरान का टार्जेट नहीं पूरा हुझ्रा, इस झ्रप्रेजल में कहा गया है। श्रौौर एग्रीकल्चूल प्रोडवरान बराबर क्यों नहीं हुश्रा उसका कारण यह दिया गया है दि सीजन श्रोर् कलाइमेट वराबर नहीं यानी वाय्मंडल श्रॉर इमट्जेंसी ख्रा गयी । यें कारण उन्होंने बता दिए हैं।

स्वतंत्रता प्रifंत्ति के बाद जब में देग का झासन कांग्रेस के हाग्र में ग्राया है तब से प्रथम पंचवर्षीच योजना हां गयी, दितीय पंचवर्शीय ग्रोजना हो गयी ग्र्रोर तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना ग्राज कल चल रही है । इस तीसरी योजना के भी दो साल पूरे हो गये हैं लेकिन ग्राज मी यदि श्राम गांवों में जायें तो ग्राप पायंगे कि गांवों की ह्रालत बेहतन नहीं हुई है, गांवों की जनता किसान ग्रादि गुख्डी ग्रोर समृद्न नर्हीं हैं। गांवों की जनता ग्रपर्नी हलन रो बहुं ग्रसुतुप्ट है । में तो जनना मुखी व संतुष्ट है श्रश्भवा नहीं इसकी जांच करने के लिए तीन टैस्ट लगाता हूं। मेरा एक टैस्ट तो यह है दि क़ीमनें बढ़ी हैं या नहीं। ग्रन हमने ग्रपने देंज़ में देखा है कि जब से घह् पंच्रवर्षीय योजनाएं वली हैं तब से ग्र:ीी तक हुर सान्र कीमततें बढ़ती ही जार्तों हैं । उ्रमी थोड़े दिन पहले ग्राठ ग्राने सेर सककार थी वह बढ़ कर रुपये सेर हो गयी श्रोंर डेढ़ रुपये हो गयी । गुड़ की भी यही हालत हुई झ्रौर वह डेढ़ रुपये सेर दिल्ली में ग्रौर अ्रन्यत्न विका । इस तग्ह से ग्रन्य जीवनोपयोगी वस्तुग्रों के दाम बराबर बढ़ने ही जा रहे हैं । गांवों में बेकारी बढ़ती जा रही है । गांव ख़ाली होंते जा रहे हैं ग्रौौर लोग शहरों में चले श्रा रहे हैं। क़ीमतें वढ़ती जा रही हैं, ग्राखि़ उस का कारण क्या है ? प्लानंग की मिडटर्म एभ्रैज़ ल न्रिपर्ट में दिया हुग्रा है कि क़ीमतें बढ़ने का करण यह् है कि इमरजेंसी ग्रा गयी है ग्र्रौर एग्रीकल्चरल का प्रोडक्शन बढ़ा नहीं है । गैं तो समझता हूं कि जब तक यह् शासन प्राइंज़़ की इनक्राज़ को नंक नहीं करता हैं, क़ोमत्रों को ग्रौर ग्राघिक न बढ़ने देने का कोई उषिन हल नहीं निकालता है इसका माकूल इलाज नहीं करता है तब तक यह पंच वर्षीय योजना फेल होती जायेगी। ग्रब जसा कि मैं ने बतलाया क़ीमतों का बढ़ना श्रभी तक कंट्रोल नहीं हो पाया है श्रौर प्राइसेज हर साल पहले की श्रपेक्षा बढ़ती ही जा रही हैं।

इसी प्रकार से हम पाते हैं fक देशा में

अ्रनएग्प्लायमेंट बढ़ना जा रहा है । गांग़ों में तो ग्रनएक्बलायमेंट है ही लेकिन राह्रों में भी ग्रब बेकारी बढ़ती जा रही है । सहत्ती में एम्प्लायमेंट एवसचेंज के दप्तरों पर नौकरी पाने के इूच्धु उम्मीदवारों कीलम्बी लन्बी क़त्तारें लगी fिख्रायी पड़ती हैं ग्रं। हलोक़त यह् है कि वहां पर भी बेकारी बढ़ती जा रही है । जब तक यह पंचवर्षीय योजना गांवों को विलेज़ज़ को एकार्ड मानकर नहीं चलती है तन तक ग्र ग्रसफल होती जायगी। ग्राज गांवों में हम क्या देखते है ? शह्रों में तो हुर क्षेत्र भें गजनीति थी ही नीकिन ग्रब गांव का वानावगण मी उससे ग्रद्धूता नहीं रहा है। गांबों में जिला परिपदें जिला परिषदें न होकर् एक प्रकार के गजनीतिक ग्रखा़े़ हो गयी हैं जिला परिपद् निनको जैडल पी० कहतं हैं वे जैड० पी० न होकर्र वास्तु में शुन्य ग्रगती हां गर्यी हैं। यह् ग्राम पंचायतें राजनीतिक लोगों के ग्रब्बाड़े बन कर रह गयी हैं। बैंसे कांग्रेस ने कह्टने को तो कएँ दिया कि जंड० ीी० में राजनानि का ग्राने नहीं दिया जायगा ग्रोर कोल योग्य उम्मीदवार ही उनमें लिये जायेंगे, इसी तरह का ऐलान दूसरी राजनीतिक पार्टियों ने मसलन जनसंख: सोर्शलिस्ट पाटी ग्रुंर पी० एस० पी० ने कर दिया लेकिन बाद में उन के लिए उम्मीदवारों के चुनने का जन्र प्रशन आया तो सत्र की सब राजनीतिक पर्णिटयां मैदान में उतर श्रायीं । सारी गजनीनिक पार्टियां जन में ग्रा गयीं ग्रौर जिला परिषदें जिला परिषदें न होंकर राजनीति का ग्रखाड़ा बन गयीं। वे राजनीतिक पारिटयों के ग्रड्डे बन गये। राजनीति दांव पेच ग्रौर स्वार्थ ग्राने का ही कारण है कि यह जिला परिषदें श्रर्थात् जैड० पी० फेल होती जा इही हैं ग्रौर लोग उनको जो ज़ीरो ग्राग्रेस कहने लगे हैं वह ठीक ही कहने लगे हैं। जब तक जिला परिषदें गाजनीनि के दांव पेंच से दूर न होंगी श्रौर गांवों ग्रौर काइतकारों की क्या ज़हरततें ग्मीर कठिनाइयां है उन की तरफ़ एक दिल होकर घ्यान नहीं देंगी तब तव:

## Five Year Plan

## [ श्र्भ बड़े]

ग्रापकी यह पंचवर्षीव योजना श्रसफल होती जायर्गी।

हम देवने है कि उग्रीकल्नग्ल प्रोडक्गन में फौल ह्रेता है। ग्र्बि़र इराका क्या कारण है ? उन्होंने एग्रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्रान में ग्रसफल होने का कारण समौल स्केल हर्रीयेशन स्कीम्स के ग्रभाव ग्रौर उम दिग़ा में ठीक प्रकार से ग्रमज न करने को बताया है। ह्मने ग्रपने यहां वस्ट्ट निमर्ड़ में देखा है कि. हुगारे यहां छ्रोटी छ्रोटी सिचाई योजनाग्रों कों चालू हुए $x, y$ ऊ्रौर ६, छ साल लग जाडे हैं लेकिन उन पर ग्रमल ठीक से ता होने के कार्ण दह सिन्नाई की योजनाएं पूरी नहीं हो पाती है ।

गांव वाले कांग्रेस शासन द्वारा जो भूमि सुपार सम्बन्धी फेवट पास किये गये हैं ग्रौंर क्रदम उठाये जा रहे हैं उनसे गांव वाले बड़े ग्राशंकित ग्रैंर भयभीत हो उठे हैं ग्रैंर इनको भूमिसुधार न मान कर वे तो ऐेसा ममझते हैं कि उन पर एक वड़ा राभ्षस आने वाला है । किसान इन लंड चिजा को राक्षस स झते हैं। ग्राजा वस्स्ता वकता यह है कि आादों पें मेजतिए़ किसानों के पास सात एकड़ ज़भीन नहीं है लेकिन जरकार ने भूमि पर सीतिग लगा दी *ैग्रोई एक सीलंलग ए़ट लागु कर दिया है। उन मिलिण प़क्ट में कुछ मंसी व्यवस्था है तु घ्रगे कोई किकान बंगीचा , तो यह सी सीत्वग एक्ट उस प्र वागू लढ़ा होगा। नतेजा पह् हो रहा है कि जहां पहले वह्ट शुगरके़न लगाते बे वहां उन्होंने द्राक्ष की खेती कर्नी शुरू कर्ट दी है बयोंकि वह फुडग्रेंस में नहीं जाता है। परिश्णामस्वहूप शुगरकेन को खेंीी कम होने लगी है गौर चीनी ग्रौर ग़़ का उत्वादन कम ही गया है।

इसी तरह्र से शासन ने कौटन कंट्रोल एक्ट पास कर दिसा है श्रौर किसानों कों बाध्य किया जाता है कं वें ग्वली यही कौटन उगायें

ग्रौर वे इस के ग्रलाना दुसरे कोटन सीड्स न बोयें। ग्रब इस तरह के प्रतिबंध के कारण किसानों ने ध्रुज्ध होकर कौटन की जगह ग्राउंडनट की घंती करनी ग्रारम्भ कर दी है ग्रोर कोटन का उत्पादन बंद हों गया है। यही कारण है कि र्रपार्ट में इस बात को स्वीकार किया गया है कि विछले दो, तीन सालों में कौटन का उत्पन्प कम हुग्रा है। हर साल कपास माइन्र . ? प्रसंट रहा है। लेकिन इसी के साथ उन्हांन यह नहीं बताया है कि पहले वे कपास कितने घ्रेत्र में बंते थे श्रौर ग्रव कपास कितने क्षेत्न में बोयी जाती है ? कपास की पैदावार कम होंने के कारण कौटन कंट्रोल ऐक्ट श्रोर मीजिग एेक्ट हैं।

पहले सरकार सोर्शलिस्टिक पंट्रन का नारा लगती थी, ग्रव संफ़लिज्म का नारा लगा रहे हैं, फिर कहा कि सीलिग ऐक्ट करेंगे, किर यह कहा कि चकबंदी करेंगे। फिर ग्राप ने कहा कि चकबनंदी नहीं करेंगे और सीलिग जों होंगी वह्र काम्रापे टिव फार्मिग की करेंगे। जससे जसे ग्राप ग्रपना रुख बदलतें जा रहें हैं ग्रौर नये नये प्रतिबंध्र ग्रीर काजून बनाते जा रहे हैं वैसे वैसे हर एक गांव में असन्नंश पैदा होता का गहा है। किसाल समझते हैं कि शायद यह्र कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट पूरी की पूरी खेती ग्रपने लिए लंने दाली है गौर चौन व हूस्र में जों हुण्रा है वह्ट वहां मी होने याला है । इम वार्ने जनता का विग्वास कांग्रेस पर तें हट गया है। खेती का डत्पादन बढ़ाने का जों एक इंसैटिंन वा वह ख़त्म हो गया है ग्रौर यही कारण है कि हम पते है कि खेती का उल्पदन कम होता जा रहा है। मेरा ग्रनुरोध है कि काप्रेस शासन इस ग्रौप विशेप रूप से ध्यान दे क्वंकि बगेर खेर्ता का उत्पादन बढ़े, कोई भी योजना सफल नहीं हां सकेगी। समय रहते ग्राप केनें। ऐसा समझ कर चुग न बंडे जाये कि चुंकि चुनावों में कांग्रेस जीत जाती है इ्यनिए कांग्रेस पागुलर है। चुनाव में जीतनी दूगरी बात है। श्रोर

सरकार उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिए सुविधाएं देने के बजाय उन पर एक, एक करके प्रतिबंध लगा रही है। शासन उत्पादन के जितने स,धन हैं उन का ग्रपने नियन्न्नण में लिए हुए हैं। भ्रब कपास पर हर एक स्टेज पर सरकार की ग्रोर से एक अंधन लगा होना़ है। कपास के बोरे पर ग्रमुक कौटन सीड्स ग्रादि बोने का प्रतिबंध रहता है, कास का सूत बन कर जब फ़ैक्टरी में जाता है तो वहां ग्रपर ग्रौर लोप्रर सीलिंग लगती है, कैनटरी को जों सूत भेजा जाता है उस पर बधन रहता है, टैक्सटाइल मिल में बंधन रहता है ग्रौर स्स्पिडिल्स में बंधन रहता है। सरकार ने सूत का उत्पादन पूरा का पूरा श्रपने हाथ में ले लिया है.। जनता उससे डरती है । गांवों में पटेल ग्रलग शासन से नाराज़ हैं क्योंकंक उनकी पटेली चली गई है। मैं ने एक पटेल साह्व से पूछा तो उन्होंन कहा कि बस भगवान श्रौर कांग्रेस की हृमारे ऊपर यदि मेहरवानी हो तो सब श्रच्छा है । ग्राख़ि इस ग्रसन्तोष का क्या कारण है ? उनकी पटेली चली गयी है ग्रौ वह् पटेली पंचायत राज्य के हाथ में चली गई है श्रौर इस कारण वह् लोग ग्र्रापसे नाराज़ हैं। हर एक गांव के पटेल नाराज़ हैं . . .

श्रो पु० र० पटेल : ऐं री वात तों नहीं है कि पटेल कांग्रेस के शासन मे नाराज़ हैं।

श्री बड़े : ग्रजी ग्राप तों केवल नामधारी पटेल हैं। जसे नामधारी राजा ग्द गयें बैसे नामधारी पेंत हैं लेकिन जो बास्मन में गांब
 वह ग्रपनी पटेती जाने से नागज व ग्रमंनुप्ट हैं। ह्म देख रहे है कि सर्कार गांबों की एकाई को विगाड़ रही है, गांव का जंत पक जाएा राज्य था उसकां विगाड़ती चर्वी ग्रा गर्द्री है ग्रौर 邓स वार्मे ग्रापका प्रोड़जन कम होता जा रहा है । ग्राप किनने हीं कुछ fिर्मान्टमं
 सग्तार स्वर्ग fिन्ट का ग्रापने में वनाया, ग्रौर भौं किसी मिर्मिनर को इम जगह पर 1693 (Ai) LSD-6.

बैउलिये ग्रापका प्रोउवशन जब तव: बढ़ने वाला नहीं है जब तक कि श्राप गांवों में इस फैले हुए अ्रसन्तोष को दूर न करेंगे श्रौर उन पर जो लैंड सीलिग अ्रौर दूसरे जो नियन्त्वण एक के बाद एक लादते जा रहे हैं उनको ग्राप ख़त्म नहीं करेंग। झ्रगर अ्राप चाहते हैं कि ग्रापका राज्य स्थायी हो तो भाष गांव वालों का पूरा सह्ट्योग हासिल करें ग्रौर उनको संतुष्ट रकबें। ख्राज तक इस देश में जितने राज्य हो गये हैं, मुग़ल लोदी, मराठे, इन लोगों ने कभी गांवों का हाएथ नहीं लगाग। । इस वास्ते उनका राज्य यहां पर क़ायम रह सका। वह् उन्हीं कों डेवेलप करते रें। इससे उनमें एक विश्वास उत्पन्न होता है जा कि श्रभा यवश नहीं है ।

लंड रिफाम्सं में हमारे यहां जो कोग्रापरेटिव सोसाइटीज़ बनी हैं उनमें राजनीति घुस गई है ग्रौर इस कारण वहां पर राजनीतिक स्वार्य काम करता है ग्रौर नतीजा यह होता है कि फॉटलाइज़सं के बारे में जह्रत के बजाय राजनीति काम करती है ।

उसकी बं सिस पर फटटलाइजसं किस्सानों को मुहैय्या किये जाते हैं। ज़हग्तमंद लंगों को पालिटििस की वजह से फाटलाइजसं मिल नहीं पाते हैं। हालत यह हों रही है कि फॉटटलाइजसं ग्राये ₹०० टन नीकिन उस
 बारे में पूध्रा गया किक भेजा तो च०० ट्न गया था श्रीर दनलार्₹ निफं ₹० टन निया गया तो उन्होंने कहा कि र्टेगन पन माल ग्रा गया है, हमने उसे मंगाया है खर्रुण घह ग्रा जयोगा

 बढ़ेगा ।

हूसरे उन्टोंने बनरागया है कि मेगेगगारी

 यद् क्रा है:-
"Therefore it would appear no serjous dent has been made on the

## [8ी बड़े]

problem of unemployment in the country. The number of persons seeking employment through employment exchange has risen during the last two years from 15.6 to 24.8 lakhs. In respect of certain categories of technical personnel however supply has not been adequate."
क्या शासन ने बढ़ती हुई ग्रन-एम्प्लायमेंट की समस्या को हल करने के लिए कुछ किया है ? ग़ाप ने द्रेखा होगा कि हमारे देग़ में जब स्ट्डेंट्स बी० ए० पास करते हैं, तो उन को जल्दी कोध नीकरी नहीं मिलती है श्र्रीर वे एप्लीकेशन ने कर इधन्-उधर मारे मारे घूमते हैं। गांवों में इस लिए ग्रन-एक्पलायमेंट हो गड़ है, वयोंकि वहां पर सत्र घंचे एक गए हैं। क्या सरकार ने कर्भी लुहारों के लड़कों को कोई टैकिनकल ट्रोनिग देने की व्यवस्था की है, तार्ति वे ग्रपने प्रोफ़ेरान में रहते हुए जीविका वामा सकें ? मराठा स्टेट्स में गांवों में बहुत सुन्दर बन्दूक बनाने वाले थे, जिन को सिकलीगर कहा जाता था। क्या सरकार ने उन को टैक्निकल ट्रॉंनिग दे कर उन की सेवाग्रों से लाभ उठाने का प्रयत्न किया है ? ग्रावरयकता इस वात की है कि गांवों में जो जानियां श्रपने पुराने व्यवसायों में लगी हुई हैं, उन को डेवेलप किया जाये ग्रौर उन को सहायता देने का प्रयत्न किया जाय । उस पुराने जातिवाद को डेवलप करना चाहिए ग्रौर उस की प्राग्रेंस कर्नी चाहिए। सरकार पुरानी व्यवस्था को तोड़-मरोड़ कर विशर्जमित्र की तरह नया निर्माण करना चाहती है, लेकन चाहे उस के पूर्वज भी उतर कर ग्रायें एस्सा नहीं हो सकता है। पुरानी पज़न को ही डवैलप करना होगा । लुहारा, कुम्हार, सुनार ग्रौंर बुनकर ग्रादि को उन के व्यवसाय की ट्रेनिग देने से ही उन की प्रगति होगी ग्रौर उन के नीवनस्तर में सुधार होगा ।

हुम देखतें हैं कि प्रशासन को बड़ा कास्ट्रली बना दिया गया है । ऊपर के लोग

श्राते हैं ग्रौर ग्रपनी कल्पनाऐं खेती में डालते हैं । हमारे यहां एक इंजीनियर ग्राए, जिन के बारे में कहा गया $f$ क वह तालाब ग्रौर नहर बनाने तथा ईरिगरान के विशोषज्ञ हैं। उन्होंने योजना बनाई कि 50 लाख रुपया ग़र्च कर के एक तालाब खोदना है। बारह साल के बाद उन की कल्पना में यह् ग्राया $f$ कि उस तालाब के नीचे का पत्थर पंत्रह् बीस साल के बाद ख़त्म होनो वाला है, इस लिए उस तालाब का निर्माण बन्द कर दिया जाये । मैं ने श्री तथ्तमैल जैन को, जो कि वहां पर fम्मिन्टर ब, एक पन्र लिख़ $f$ कि ? लाख हूपय ख़र्च करनें के दाद उस तालाब का fिर्माण क्यों बन्द्ध किया जा गहा है ग्रांर् जब कि दस साल से यहृ काम चल रहा था, तो पहृले इस पस्रवचार क्यों नहीं किया गया। उन्होंने कह्रा कि इंजीनियर एसी कहते हें इंजीनियर हमारे पीछ पड़े हुए हैं। इस लिए जब तक हर एक fमिनस्टर गांव-गाँद में जा कर स्वयं स्थिति का ग्रध्ययन नहीं करेगा तब तक यह् पंचवर्पीय योजना ग्रसफल होगी ।

ग्राज लोगों में जो ग्रशारित ग्रौर ग्रसंतोष उत्पन्न हो रहा है, उस का मुग्य कारण यह् है, कि प्रशासन वहुत कास्टली हो गया है। एक ही स्थान पर वी० डो० ग्रो०, तह्सीलदार सायल कन्ज़रवेशन ग्राफ़िसर, एग्रीकल्वर श्राफ़िसर, सोकाल वैलफ़यर ग्राफिसर श्रादि कड् कई ग्राफ़िसर नियुक्त हैं । गांवों में ग्रनएम्प्लायमेंट का परिणाम यह है कि लोग, गांवों को, जिन को मैं सुदामापुरी कहता हूं ख़ाली कर के दारिकापुरी यानी दिल्ली इन्दौर जसे बड़े वङ़े राह्रों में ग्राते जा रह्ने हैं इस लिए सरकार को यह देखना चाहिए कि हमारे देशा में एग्रीकल्लच क्यों फ़ेल हो रहा हैं जहां तक एग्रीकल्वग्र का सम्बन्ध है, पांच साल का एक सकंल होता है। पहले दों साल अ्रच्छे रहतन हैं, एक साल साघारण रहता है: ग्रॉर फिर दों साल ख़राब रहते हैं ।

वहले हर एक विल्लेज में पांच साल के लिए बीज रखे जाते थे ग्रोर ख़राब सीज़न श्राने पर उन को डिस्ट्रिब्यूट किया जाता था। उस पुरानी पद्धति को ख़त्म कर के श्रब इम्परूण्ड सीड मल्टीप्लिकेशान फ़ार्म खोले गए हैं । इन फ़ार्म्ज़ ने क्या काम किया है ? इन्होंने गांवों में सौ सौ एकड़ ग्रच्ह्री ज़मीन ले कर ग्रपने पास रख ली श्रौर कह्या कि यह् ज़मीन हम को चाहिए ग्रौर तुम लोगों को सैक्रीफ़ाइस करना सीखना चाहिए, क्योंकि ये बीज बाद में ग्रावश्यकता पड़ने पर तुम्ट्रारे काम भ्रायेंगे । हर एक गांव के काशतकार ग्रौंर किसान कहते हैं कि हमारे वाप दादा के समय से ह्मारी स्त्रियों ने मज़दूरी का मुंह् नहीं देखा है, लेकिन जिस जमीन में हम ने तकावी ले कर कुंग्रा बनाया है, एं जिन लगाया है, उस ज़मीन को हम से लिया जा रहा हैयह कैसी उन्नत कृषि योजना है ? इस कारण सब गांवों में श्रसंतोष उत्पन्न हो गया है । वे लोग कर्ट्ते हैं कि हैम का रिफ़ार्म नहीं चर्एिए, ह्म अ्रपर्नी पुरार्नी पद्धति से ही काम लेंगे ।

जहां तक इम्परूव्ड इम्प्लीमेंट्स का प्रश्न है, शासन ने कौन से इम्परूण्ड इम्प्लीमेंटस दिये हैं? क्या उस ने काश्तकारों को कोई इम्परुठड ही दिया है ? वे लोग वही पुराने किस्म का हल चला रहे हैं। बड़े बड़े कारखानेदारों को तो बिजली दी जाती है, लेकिन किसानों को विजली नहीं दी जाती है, इस लिए उन को चरस से पानी किलनाना पड़ता है। जब तक सरकार काश्तकारों की एक्टुग्रल प्राबलन्ज़ को नहीं देखेगी ग्रौर उन को हल करने के लिए पग नहीं उठायेगी, तव तक चाहे कोई भी मिनिस्टर कुर्सी पर बैंट, काश्तकारों की स्थिति में सुधार नहीं हीोगा ।

ग्राज यह् नारा लगाया जाता है कि देश में सोग़िस्टिक पंटर्न कायम करने के लिए उद्योग दढ़ाने दाहिए ग्रोर ग्रन्छे कारखाने लगाये जाने चाहिए। परन्तु जों लोग उद्योग

खड़े करना चाहते हैं, उन को बहुत कठिनाइयों फा सामना करना पड़ता है। उन को नार्थ ब्लाक, साउथ ब्लाक, एक दफ्तर से दूसरे दफ़तर ग्रौर एक टेबल से दूसरे टेबल तक घूमना पड़ता हैं, फिर भी उन को पता नहीं चलता कि ग्रपना काम कराने के लिए किस को मिलना चाह्एि । कमी इस संकेटरी के पास जाना पड़ता है, कभी उस सेक्षटरी के पास जाना पड़ता है। कंभी कह्रा जाता है कि यह मिनिस्ट्री वाइफ़रकेट हुं गई है, ग्रगुक ग्राफ़िसर के पास जाश्रों। तीन तीन घंटे तक लाइन में जैठना זड़ता है। इश वातों सें रुपा लगाने दाले लोग द्स्त हों जाते हैं। पचास ह्ज़ार रुणा लगाने वाले एक व्यक्कित ते मुझे कए़ कि में घर में बैठ कर ख़गे का लेन-देन कर्हंगा, लोगों को पंसा दूंगा, बंती कह्हंगा, मकान बनाउंगा, जिस का रेंट मुझे मिलेगा, ग्रौर कोई भी काम करूंात, लेकिन पन्ट् इंन्ट्री मुझे नहीं चाह्टि। पर्णलियमंटं में फई बार यह् प्रग्न उठाया जाता है कि वड़े बड़े इंडस्ट्रिर्यलिरट्स श्राई० सी० एस० ग्रीर ग्राई० ए० एस० लोगों को ग्रपने महीं नौकर रखते हैं। इस का कारण यहृ है कि ग्राई़०० सी० एस० ग्रौर ग्राई० ए० एस० लोग जानते हैं कि किस काम के लिए किस के पारं जना है, सम्बन्व ग्रधिकारियों से उन की जान-पह:चान होती है ग्रौर वे झट ग्रपना काम निकाल लेते हैं। मैं ने इनदौर में मध्य पदेशे के मिनिस्टर को कला कि डायरेकटंरेट ग्रफ़क इंछरट्रीज़ा में एंसे ग्रादमियों को रखना चाहिए, जों कि; जा कर इंडस्ट्रि्र्यलिख्ट्स उद्योगों ग्रौर वाग़्रानों की डिफ़िकल्टीज़ को मातूम करें ग्रौंर उन डिफ़ीकल्टीज़ का मिनिस्टतें को दतायें, तांकि उस के वारे में शीघ्र कार्यवाही की जा संें। ऐसे करने पर ही इंडटट्रोंज़ बढ़ सकती हैं, वर्ना काई भी प्राइंचें संक्टर वाला सर्कार्र के पास घ्राने चला नहीं हैं। टाटा, वाटा, हिएल़ा
 ग्राई० मी० एस० ग्रोंऱ ख्राई० ए० एग० लंग ग्रपने यहां स्खे हुए हैं, निकिन कोंे कोंटे नोग तो न्नरत हो जाते हैं। वे बह्ते हैं विक चियकार
[श्री बड़े]
है कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट को, जिन लोगों ने हमारे साथ काम किया है, जो लोग हुमारे साथ झाड़ के नीचे संए हैं, मिनिस्टर बन जाने के बाद वे ऐसे मुंह् फेर लेते हैं कि जैसे उन को इन्द्र पद मिल गया हो ग्रौर वे ह्मारी डिक़ंकल्टीज़ को सुनने के लिए तैवार नहीं हैं। वे कह्ते हैं कि हैमें इंडस्ट्राज़ में पैसा नहीं लगाना है ग्रौर इस के परिणामस्वरूप इंडस्ट्रीज़ फ़ेल हो रही हैं । सरकार चाहे कोई भो इम्पसूत्वमेंट करे, कोई भी लाज़ लाए, लेकिन जब तक लागों का डिफ़कल्ल्टाज़ को जान कर उन कां दूर नहीं किया जायेगा, कोई भी प्रगति हांना ग्रसम्भव है । यू भ्रार बिल्डिग ए पिरामिंड भ्रपान ए ध्वांइट । साधारण लोगों की कठिनाइयों को दूर किये बिना कोई भी समस्या हल होने वाली नहीं है । ग्राज गांवों में कबा हो रहा है, टैक्सों की भरमार हैं। इस के बारे में योंजना में बतुत सुन्दर लिखा है :
"On the recommendations of leading economists the State Governments have increased the land revenue to which land cess, surcharge, panchayat development taxes also are now added. For instance in Madras State the new taxes are 170 per cent more than that of original land revenue. Mr. S. K. Patil, then Union Minister for Food and Agriculture, recently said, 'The real thing to do was to make the agriculturists feel that economically agriculture was paying and was a gainful occupation.' He threw a feeler that States might offer incentives for increasing production by progressive remission of land revenue. What you lose in land revenue will be more than made good by greater production."

Agriculturists are not in any way benefited owing to increased cultivation costs and taxes. In fact, they reduce the real income of the small farmers. They migra-
te to towns in search of employment after disposing of their lands. Therefore, reduction in agricultural taxes is also necessary for giving incentive to farmers.

Rising prices of food grains can be checked if steps mentioned above are taken."

ग्रत्त में मुझे इनना ही कह्ना है कि पर्लियामेंट में कोई भी इज्म हो, कम्यूनिज्म हो, सोर्शलिज्म हो, हिन्दूइज्न हो, लेकिन हमारे देश का जां एग्रीकल्टरिज्म है, उस को सब से ज्यादा महत्व देना चाहिए गौर कश्तकारों को ह्र प्रकार की सह्यता देने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिए । हुमारे देश में शुर्त से हिन्द्दइज्म या भारतींयवाद का जो ढांचा चल रहा है, उस ढांचे को ही डेनेलप करना चाहिए । ऊगर से कोई इज्म लागू करू के श्रौर नारे लगा कर हमारे देश का एर्रीकल्टरल प्राडकशन नहीं वढ़ेगा ।

डा० गोविन्द दास (जबलपुर) : उपाध्यक्ष जी, स्वाधीनता के बाद जव हुमने बालिग मताधिकार पर ग्रपने देश में प्रजातन्त्र की स्थापना की तव भिन्न-भिन्न राजरैतिक दलों के होते हुए भी मैंने यह् ग्राशा की थी कि कम से कम कुछ ऐसे विषय होंगे कि जिन विषयों पर चुनावों के बाद भिन्न-भिन्न राजनैतिक दलों के होते हुए भी ह्म मिल कर काम कर सकेंगे। देश के निर्मांग का काम एक ऐसा काम है कि जिस में मेरा यह्ट् मत है कि भिन्नभिन्न गाजर्नंतिक दलों को मिल कर काम करना चाहिये। इसलिये जब उस जिन मैने श्री मसानी का भाषग सुना ता उस भाषण को सुन कर मुझे श्राश्चर्य हुण्रा। सब से अ्रधिक ग्राश्चर्यजनक बात उस काषण में उन्होंने यह् क्ही कि इस तृत्तीय पंचनर्ष्रोय यंजना को समाप्त कर देना चाहिये । यंजना जिस प्रकार चल रही है, उस से किसी को पूर्ग मन्जंष नहीं हो सकता। स्वयं सरकार ने इस बात को स्वीकार किया है । दरन्नु प्रश्न यह है कि क्या बिना किसी

योजना के हमारा देश प्रगति कर सकता है ? यदि ह्रमारा देश बिना किसी योजना के प्रर्गात नहीं कर सकत्ता तो हमें इग योजनात्रों को रचनात्मक दृष्टि से देखना होगा श्रौर हमें दे देखना होगा कि छन यांजनात्रों के सफल न होंने का क्या कारण है। यह् निर्णय तब किया जा सकता है जब हम यांजनाग्रों को व्योरे में देखें ग्रौर इस बात का पता लगायें कि यfि योजनायें सफल नहीं हो रही हैं, योजनाग्रों के जो श्रादर्श थे, वे ग्रादर्श कार्यरूप में परिणत नहीं हो रहे हैं, तो इस में किस का दोष है ।

यहां मैंने श्रनेक भाषण सुने, ग्रनेक भाषणों को मैंने पत्नों में पढ़ा । मैं इस बात से बिल्कुल सह्मत हूं कि इन योजनाग्रों के सफल न हौने का प्रधान दोष हमारे राज्य कर्मचारियों पर है । कोई भी काम तब तक नहीं हो सकता है जब तक उस कार्य के लिये मन में विश्वास न हो श्रौर विश्वास के बाद जब तक उस काम को पूरा करने की लगन न हो। किसी भी कार्य में सफलता तब मिलती हैं जब उस में दो बातें रहती हैं। ए़ तो कार्य करने वालों का उस वस्तु में विश्वास ग्रोर दूसरे उस विश्वास के ग्राधार पर उस काम को पूरा करने की लगन । मुझे इस बात का बड़ा खेद है कि हमारे जो राज्य कर्मचारी हैं, वे इन दोनों बातों से रहित हैं। उनका न तो श्राजकल के कार्यों में विश्वास है ग्रौर न उसको पूरा करने की उन में लगन है। जब तक ये दो बातें नहीं होंगी तब तक यह् तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना क्या, कोई भी योजना इस देश में सफल नहीं हो सकती।

इस सम्बन्ध में मेरा यह् मत है कि ब्योरे वार जांच की ग्रावश्यकता है। मुझे इस बात पर हर्ष है कि कांग्रेस दल ने, जिस दल की सरकार है, यह निश्चय किया है कि इस सम्बन्ध में एक कमेटी बनाई जाए। । मैं समझता हूं कि उस जांच के लिये चार प्रधान मुद्दे होने चाहियें । पहली बात यह है कि

कहां क्या हो रहा है, दूसरी बात यह्र है कि जो हो रहा है वह ठीक है या नहीं, तीसरी बात यह् कि यदि ठीक नहीं है तो इसका कारण क्या है ग्रौर चीर्थी बात यह् कि वह किस प्रकार कि किया जा सकता है । मेरे मत में इन चारों बातों के अ्तन्तर्गत सव बातें ग्रा जाती हैं । जांच के बाद हमें देखना है कि हर काम निशिच्चर ग्रवर्वंव के श्यन्दर ग्रौर उस कार्य के लिये हम ने जितने प्रर्य का प्रबन्ध किया है, उस ग्रर्थ के भीतर पूरा हो जाये । गानी निश्चित समय कें ग्रन्दर घ्रौर जितनी लागत हम ने निश्चित की है, उस लागत के भीतर । हृम देखते क्या हैं ? कोई भी कार्य निश्चित समय के श्रन्दर पूरा नहीं होता। हम जो तखमीना बनाते हैं वह् तखमीना बढ़ता जाता है, शैतान की ग्रांत के सदृश बढ़ता जाता है । जब तक ये दोनों बतें नहीं होंगी तब तक उस विश्वास ग्रौर लगन के बावजूद भी वह् काम पूरा होने घाला नहीं है ।

सब से पहले हमें ध्यान सुरक्षा की श्रोर रखना होगा। यदि यह् देश फिर गुलाम हो जाता है तो ये सब योजनायें अ्राधथक उन्नति इत्यादि की, निरर्थक हैं, इनका कोई मतलब नहीं है । इस लिये यदि हमें भीख भी मांगनी पड़े, यदि हमें इन समस्त योजनाग्रों को समाप्त भी करना पड़े तो भी सब से पहले ह्मारा ध्यान सुरक्षा की ग्रोर होना चाहिये ।

दूसरी बात जिस पर ह्मारा ध्यान श्रावश्यक है वह् यहु है कि मंह़गाई जो बढ़ती जा रही है, इसकों रोका जाए । मंहगाई बढ़ने के काई कारण हैं । अ्रन इस गरीक देश के लोग इतने ख्रधिक व्यग्र हों गये हैं ग्रौर उनकी जों दूर की ग्राशा थी, उस अ्याशा की किरण भी इतनी क्षेण हो गई है कि यदि यह् मंह्गाई बढ़त्तो गई ता भ्रों चल कर इस देश में क्या होगा यहु कोई कह नहीं सकता ।
[डा० गोनिन्द्द दास]
हम इस देश का निर्माण दो दृष्टियों से कर रहे क्जें, एक ग्रार्थक दृषिट से श्रौर दूसरे बौद्विक दृष्टि से। मैं एक छोटा सा साहित्यकार हूं। इस लिये मुझे कुछ शान्दिक ग्रोर कुछ दूसरे प्रकार के चित्न बनाने का भ्रभ्यास है । जिस समय हुमें स्वराज्य नहीं मिला था उस समय हमें कंसे स्त्रराज्य मिले, इसके मानसिक चित्न मैं बनाया करता था। स्वराज्य के बाद हमारा देश किस प्रकार का बनेरा, इसके भी कुछ मैं भानसिक चित्र बनाया करता हूं। मेरा मत है कि जत्र तक कुण दूर से देग्र कर इन चित्रों को न बनाया जाए तब तक ह्मारा काम नहीं चलेगा। जहां तक ग्राथिक उत्थान का सबान है, इस में कोई मननेद नहीं हो सकता । जिस प्रकार से दो ग्रौर दो चार होते हैं ग्रीर पंच नहीं ही सकते हैं, उडी प्रकार ग्रार्ाथिक उन्नति ह्मारी दो वातों पर निर्मर है. कृपि ग्रौर उद्योग। यद् देश कृपि प्रधान देश है, इस लिये सत्र से पहले हमें कृषि की श्रोर ध्यान देना होगा। मैंने कितने ही भापण पढ़े स्रौर किनने ही भापण सुने। मुझे यह देग्र कर ग्रौर सुन कर ग्राश्चर्य हुग्रा कि कृपि का जो मूल बुनियाद है, उसके सम्बन्व में किसी ने यहां एक शब्द ग्रत्र तक नहीं कहा। इस देश में कृपि की उन्नति तब तक नहीं हो सकती जब तक कि गाधर्रन की उन्नति नहीं होगी। ह्मारा एक ग्रादर्श रहा है । ग्रभी भी है । ग्राचार्य विनोवा भावे से श्राप पूछ्विये, वह्त भी यह वात कहेंगे। गांधी जी हमेशा कहत्ते थे कि हर गांव को ग्रात्मनिर्भर होना है। वह् ग्रात्म-निर्भर गांव क्या ग्राप फॉटटलाइजर से वना सकते हैं, वहु ग्रात्मनिर्भर खेती ग्राप क्या ट्रैक्टर से बना सकते हैं ? में कह्ना चाहता हृं कि ग्रापको यदि इस देश की खेती की ठीक उन्नति करनी है, तो गोधन की ग्रोर ग्रापको ध्यान देना पड़ेगा। में हमेशा इस वात को कहता रहा हूं, जब से सार्वजनिक जीवन में ग्राया हूं कोई $૪ \nless$ वर्षं पहले, तन्न से कह रहा हूं ग्रौर बराबर

कहुता रहूंगा फिर चाहे इस में कितनी ही पुनरुक्ति क्यों न हो कि जब तक ड़स देश के गोधन की ग्रोर ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता तब तक देश को अ्यायिक उतति की बात ग्रसम्भव वात है, ग्रमुम्भव कल्पना है, ग्र।ज भी ग्राप देखें बम्बई ग्रौर कलकत्ता के कसाई घरों में श्रच्ठी से ग्रच्छी गायों का बव हो रहा है. उनके जो खाने का सामान है वह् थोड़े से ग्रार्मथक लाभ के लिये बाह्र मेजा जा रह्ए है । किसी को चिन्डा नहीं है नस्ल सुधार की। हमें ग्रच्छे सांड़ चर्विये। हम बड़ी योजनायें बनाने हैं, विल्लोजिज़ इड्यादि की । हम सांड़ों कां किजना सैयार कर रहे हैं, इसको देंत्रा जाये ।

जह्टां तक ग्राधिक प्रश्नों का सवाल है, मैंने निवेदन किया है कि ह्मारा देश कृषि प्रथान देग है ग्रौर कृपि यहां की मूल झ्रार्णय वस्तु है जिस की उन्नति होनी है। कुपि की उत्नति विना गोरन के नहीं हो सकतो। वीज तब पड़ता है जब कि पह्ले जमीन जोत ली जाती है, मिचाई तब होती है जब बीज पड़ जाता है। लेकिंन ग्रगर जोतने का साधन ही न हो, बैल ही उपलब्ध न हों तो केसे जमीन जोती जाएगी ग्रौर कैसे हमारा उत्मादन बढ़ेगा ?

जह्ं तक बीद्धिक निर्माण का सम्बन्ध है, में ग्राप से कहना चाहता हूं कि उस का ग्राधार भाषायें हैं। मुझे यह देख कर ग्राश्चर्य हुग्रा कि यहां पर इतने भाषणों के बाद भी हिन्दी के सम्बन्व में, भारतीय भाषाग्रों के सम्बन्ध में, किसी ने एक शब्द भी नहीं कहा । क्या सब लोग इस बात को भूल गये कि बौन्दिक निर्माण्र के लिये भाषा की सब से ग्रधिक ग्रावश्यकता है। ग्रौर ह्म क्या कर रहे हैं ।

श्री प्रकाइवीर शास्त्री (विजनौर) : प्रभी श्रवसर ही कहने का नहीं प्राप्त हुग्रा

डा० गोविन्द दास : ह्म ने गत भ्रप्रैल में एक विधेयक पास कर दिया कि सन् १ह६४ के बाद भी श्रनिश्चित काल तक अंग्रेजी चलेगी । लेकिन उस के बाद ह्म ने ग्राज तक यह् नहीं सोचा, गैर नहीं किया, कि हिन्दी अ्रौर भारतीय भाषाग्रों की उन्नति किस प्रकार होगी। मैं गुरू से कहता हूं कि जब खेर ग्रायोग नियुक्त हुग्रा उस वक्न भी हिन्दी ग्रोंर भारतीय भाषाग्रों की उन्नति के लिये कोई योजना उस खेर ग्रायोग के सामने सरक्कार ने नहीं रखी। उस वक्त खेर ग्रायोग के प्रतिवेदन पर बिचार करने के लिये जब संसदीय स्रमिति नियुक्त हुई तो मैं भी उस का एक सदस्य था। उस वक्त भी स्रकार ने कोर्श योजना नहीं रक्खी । सन् $98 ६ 4$ के बाद ग्रंग्रेजी चलाने का विधेयक पास कर्ने के बाद ग्राज तक सरकार ने कोई योजना नहीं रखी कि गतिरकार वह्ट्ट्दिी ग्रौर भारतीय भाषाग्रों की उन्नति किस प्रकार करेगी । ग्रभी उस दिन ह्जारे शिक्षा मंत्री ने कह् दिया था कि वे तो उन के जीवन भर ग्रंग्रेजी चलती श्रे यद् देखेंगे। मेरी समझ़ में नहीं ग्राता कि इस घकार का एक विदेशी भाषा से हम को मोह क्यों हो गया है। श्रभी एक भाषण में उन्होंने परसों ही तकनीकी शिक्षा के सग्बन्ध में कहा । तकनीकी शिक्षा के विषय में यह् जो ग्यायोग की रिपोट्ट निकली है उस में लिखा गया है कि :
"The main difficulty experienced in carrying out the programme of technical education is the shortage of teachers."
हिन्दुस्तान के बड़े से बड़े वैज्ञानिक डा० कोठारी ने यह् स्पष्ट कह्रा है, एक बार नहीं कई वार कह्य है, कि इस देश में तकनीकी लोग पर्याप्त मावा में ग्रगर तैयार नहीं हो रहे है हो इस का प्रधान कारण यह् है कि उन को जो शिक्षा दी जाती है वह् विदेशी भाषा के गाध्यम से दी जाती है। जब तक विदेशी भाषा के माध्यम से ह्म तकानीकी लोगों को तैयार करने के लिये शिक्षा देंगे

तब तक श्राप की तकनीकी शिक्षा का स्तर बढ़ सकता है, न ऊंचा हो सकता है। बाऱ वार यह् कहते के बाद भी, कि विश्वविद्यालय श्रपनी शिक्षा का माध्यम भार्तीय भाषा करें, ग्रभी ह्मारे शिक्षा मंत्नी ने कहां कि शिक्षा का माध्यम भारत्तीय भाषायें हों तो ठीक है लेकिन वे उस समय की कल्गना नहीं कर सकते जिम समय ह्रमारे विश्वत्विद्यालय शिक्षा का माध्यम भारतीय भाषांग्रों को करेंगे । कुछ दिन पह्ले कुछ विश्नविद्यालयों ने ग्रपनी शिक्षा का माध्यम भारतीय भापायें बनाया या, लेकिन क्या हुग्रा । उन को उसे बदलना पड़ा, इसलिये कि सर्कारी नाँकर्यिओं के लिये जो परीक्षायें हैं जन का माधयुम ग्रभी भी श्रंग्रेजी है । स्वर्गीय श्री गोविन्द बल्नभ पन्त ग्रौर लाल बह्टाटुग्री शास्त्री सरकार की इस नीति को धोषित कर चुके हैं कि वे साग्कारी नौकत्यिं के लिये भाषा का माध्यम हिन्दी को वैकल्पिक रूप से रखेंगे । इस वोषणा को वर्षो हो गये लेकिन ग्राज तक उस को कार्य रूप में परिणत नह्रीं किया गया। जब इस प्रकार की उपेक्षा हुम में भार्तीय भापाग्रों के प्रति है तव ग्राप कैसे ग्राशा कर सकते हैं कि हमारा बौद्विक स्तर ऊंचा हो सकेगा।

मैं ग्राप से कहना चाहता हृं कि भाषाग्रों के प्रश्न को मैं सब से बड़ा बुनियादी प्रश्न मानता हुं। बार वार यह् कहा जाता है कि ह्मारे यहां साहित्त्य नहीं है । में कई बार इस बात को वह्ह च्चुका हुं कि जो सरकार करोड़ों, ग्ररबों हुपये ग्रानिक योजनाग्रों पर खर्च कर रही है, वह् साहित्यि भी तैयार कर्वा सकती है। मैं ने इस के लिये पहले एक सुझाव दिया है ग्रौर ग्राज फिर देना चाहता हुं कि यदि ग्राप इसी प्रकार से स्राल्त्यि तैयाए करबाने का प्रयत्न करते रहेंगे जिएा प्रकार से ग्राप करते रहे हैं तो ग्राप का सालिए्य वर्पो में भी तैंयार होने वाला नहीं है । ह्र विजपय के साह्टित्य को तैंयार कर्ने के लिये विश्वविद्यालयों से विद्वानों कों उपार लिया जाये । उन को उधार ले कर उन से ग्राप साहित्य तैयार
[ज० गोविनद दास]
कर्तार्वे । गभी क्या होंता है कि ग्रांना काम कर्ते हुए जो फाजिल वक्त मिलता है उस में के सा़िन्य तैयार उन्ते हैं। एक चिषय भी पेरा नहीं है जिसी निपय पर एक विद्धान ग्रगन पूग़ शमय लगा कल् काम करे
 तैयार न हो ज।य। हिन्द्ध ग्र्योर दूसरें भापाग्रों में साह्त्ड्य एक वर्ष के भीतर ग्राप नैयार करवा सल्ले हैं । ग्राप एस् पर्रकान के विद्वानों को उधार ले कर् ग्रौर यह्टां विउला कन्न, या जहां चनहें विठला कर, साहित्त्य तैयार वर्त्वायें। भ्राप इस को बड़़ गोण चीज़ समझते हैं । भाषा के प्रश्न को ग्राप बड़ा गौण मानते हैं। में इस को बौन्दिक निर्माण के लिये सब से प्रधान वात मानता हूं। $9 \% 0$ या 200 वर्षो के ग्रंग्रेजी ग़ज्य के बाद भी यह़ं ग्र्र्गेजी नहीं चल सकी, जब इतनी कोशिशों के उपरुान्त भी यह्ता के हॅ प्रतिशत लोग अंग्रेजी नहीं जानते हैं, केवल २ प्रतिशन लोग विइय जानते हैं। ग्राप फिर भी ग्रंग्रेजी को विश्वविद्यालयों में शिक्षा का माध्यम गखते हैं, श्रंग्रेजी को नीकरियों के लिये परीक्षाग्रों का माध्यम रखते हैं ग्रौर हिन्दी और भारतीय भाषाग्रों के ऊपर कोई ध्यान नहीं देते हैं, उन के उत्थान के लिये कोई योजना नहीं बनते हैं ग्रोग इस तरह् से बौद्विक निर्माण कर्ना चाहृते हैं। यह् प्रयत्न चन्द्रमा को छूने के प्रयत्न के सदृश है । में कहना चाहता हूं कि इस से बौन्विक निर्माण होंने वाला नहीं है।

में ने ग्राप से कहा कि में इन दो बातों को, श्रर्थात् गो रक्षा ग्रौर भाषा के प्रश्न को, स्वगजज्य के बाद इस देश के लिये सब से बड़े बनियादी प्रश्न मानता हैं, ग्रौर् मुझे इस वात को देख कर बड़ा खेद होता है कि यहां ग्रब तक ड़तने दिनों के भापणों के बाद भी एक भी सदस्य ने इन दोनों बानों के लिये एक शजद भी नहीं कह्टा ।

भी बड़े : ग्राज कांग्रेस पार्टी के हा़्य में शासन है, ग्राप उसे बदलते क्यों नहीं। उन्होंने

ही महां ₹ंग्लिश शुरू की है।
डा० गोविन्द दास : घब मैं ग्रवने राज्य के सम्बन्ध में संक्षेप में दो तीन बातें निदेदन कर्रुगा । मेरा प्रदेश, मधग प्रदेश, देश का सब ते बड़ा ग़जर है। जिस समय मध्य प्रदेश का निर्मांण हुँ्ता था .

भी त्वागी (दंत्रद्न) : वसा सब रे बड़ा राज्य है ? हुमारे प्रदेश से भी बड़ा है ।

डा० गोविन्द दास : एग सें कोई रान्देह् नहीं है। जबन मपय प्रदेग का निर्माण प्रंग्रा था उस सगय बार वार यहु बात कही गर्ट थी कि उस पिछड़े हुए प्रदेश के ऊपर सब से उ्रीधिक ध्यान दिया जायेगा । मैं ग्राप से वहृना प्वाह्ता हैं कि उस के ऊगर गब से कम ध्यान दिया गया है । ह्वाने यहां सब सें ग्रध्रिक ग्रावश्यकता यातायात के साधनों की है । वहां परे यातायात के साधन बह्तु कम हैं । सड़कों को ल लीजिये, रेलों को ले लीजिये, किसी चीज़ को ले लीजिये, वहां ग्रावागमन बहुत कठिन है । रायपुर् से बस्तर तक जाने के लिये ह्में 200 मील जाना पड़ता है । ग्रनेक स्थान इसी प्रकार कें हैं। ड़सलिये उस प्रदेश के यातायात के साधनों के सम्बन में विशेष ध्यान देने की ग्रावश्यकता है। इस को देखना चाह्टिये कि वह्दां यातायात किस तग्द्र से ठीक हां सकता है ।

दूसरी बात जो में कह्ना चाहत्ता हूं वह् यहै है कि ह्मारे प्रदेश में ग्रादिवासियों अ्रौर हर्जिनों की काफी बड़ी संख्या है। श्रादिबासियों ग्रॉर हीरिजनों का उत्यान करने का गवर्नमेंटं ने बीड़ा डटाया है। हमारें प्रदेश में इसे कर्ने की सब से ग्रधिक ग्रावश्यकता है । मै नहीं कहता कि वहीं इस सम्बन्ध में कोई काम नहीं हों रहा है लेंकिन जितना होना चाहिय उतना पर्याप्त नहीं हों रहा है। इस तरफं भी ध्यान देने की ग्रावश्यकता है।

मैं ग्रपने प्रदेश के लिये तीन चीजें रब से ग्रधिक ग्रावश्यक मानता हूं : यातायात के

साध नif का वहुल्य, ग्रादितासियों गर्र हरिजनों के उत्वने का प्राहन ब्रोर कि खो चीज़ चांस वाधी योगणा । इत नदंध वाटी






 दिया जांया ।

यह्ध जो वुसि का निकलनी है मैं नो इनका स्वगगत ही करता हैं, इसलिय किं कम के क्म हैम को बांच में मानूम तो हुग्रा कि ह्मारी इस यंशजना की प्रगति किस प्रकार चल रही है । यह चाहे जितनी निग़श़ाजनक क्यों न हों, लेधिन बीज बीच में, समय समश पर, बिना पांच वर्ष तक ठठ्ट्रे हुए इस पर विचार होना चालिये ।

डा० मा० श्री० श्रणे (नागपुर) : इस के तो तीन वर्ष भी नहीं रहे, दो वर्ष रह़ गये हैं ।

हा० गोविन्द दास : जैसा ग्रभी पूज़्य श्रणे साहृब ने कहा, श्रब तो केवल दो वर्ष रह गये हैं। मैं चाहता हूं कि इस तरह् की रिपोटं प्रतिवर्ष निकला करे श्रौर हम उस पर विचार करें ।

श्रत्न में मैं श्राप से कह्ना चाहता हूं जैसा कि मैं ने शहू में कहा, कि देश की सुरक्षा, देश के निर्माण या जो इस तरह् के प्रश्न हैं, उन सत्र के लिये हुमें भिन्न-भिन्न दलों में रहते हुए भी एकता से प्रयत्न करने चाहिये ।
Shri N. Sreekantan Nair (Quilon): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the Mid-term Appraisal of the Third Plan nresents indeed a very gloomy picture of the future development of this country. The rise in the national income during the last two years is only five per cent whereas the rise in the price index comes to 7 per cent, so that
the marginal rise in the national income is more than set off by the rise in the prices of commodities. Even assuming for a fact that the common man gets his equitable share in the rise in national income, which certainly is not, a factwe all know that the rise in national inrome is pocketed by a very small section of the community-but even assuming that the man in the strect gets a fair share, what is it that he is getting? It is something minus for the prices have gone up higher than the rise in the national income. In the name of emergency, the raw materials required for the small-scale industries have been denied. They were not given permits to import them and hence the small-scale industries which were built up and sponsored by the State Governments and the Government at the Centre are mostly lying idle. People in those industries are naturally suffering untold miseries.

In the field of education, the University Grants Commission is spending a lot of money. But I do not know whether the funds are being spent properly or not. Those people who have got some pull with the Commission and the Universities which are in constant touch with the Commission knock off the cream and distant Universities get only a nominal share. There is nobody to look into the affairs and to judge whether the money is being spent properly or not.

In the field of industries, it is admitted at page 3 of the Report itself that the number of undertakings and the estimates of the cost and the estimates of time required have been too optimistic. The works are lagging behind in spite of the fact that much higher amounts have been spent. The defect is also admitted to be mainly due to the failure in the technical and economic studies at the planning stage as well as due to the lack of following it up through the stages of development.

As for the private sector, it has lagged behind in a number of key items

## [Shri N. Sreekantan Nair]

like alloy tools, stainless steel, steel castings, steel forgings, machine tools, fertilisers, cement, paper and newsprint and some chemical industries. This may be due partly to the lack of foreign exchange or the gap between the demand and the allocation of foreign exchange granted to them. But it is also true that many of these industrialists try to create artificial shortages so that they may make more profits.

The assumption that in the industrial sector over something like 5 million jobs have been recently created, or in the country as a whole some 5 million jobs have been created jointly in the industrial and in the agricultural sectors. is erroneous. The calculations of the statisticians-l do not know how they go wrong-invariably go wrong. For instance, in the case of the industries which have closed down, in the case of industries which have died out, in the case of the industrics which have closed down due to lack of forcign exchange or due to lack of material and machinery, all the employees are left out of the calculations of statisticians. The overall picture presented is really gloomy even $a_{s}$ it is presented in the Report. But ine real facts, I am afraid, are much more grim and awe-inspiring. The statistics of all the departments seem to be worked out by Mahafraudulanobises who create their own data to arrive at their own preconceived conclusions.

The production on the agricultural front is a very fine example. The report admits that there will be shortfall in the use of fertilisers, in the irrigation facilities and the area irrigated. There will be a shortfall of 3 to 5 milion tons in the production of foodgrains. There will be a shortfall in cotton and oilseeds also. But the report comes forward and says that jute, sugar, rubber. coffee, tobacco and tea would be fulfilling the targets. This is a very strange statement which 1 cannot reconcile myself to accept.

The target for tea production even when the Plan started giving shape to it was fixed at a very high rate. The industry objected to it and the Te Board said that it was unrealisable. But it was fixed on the initiative of the planners themselves and during the last $2 k$ years the increase in the production has been most marginal. There is no indication to show that the tea production would increase in the next $2 \frac{1}{2}$ years also. Yet, in the mid-term appraisal, the Planning Commission comes forward and says that the anticipation of tea production will be met, that the estimates will be met. This is also the case with the sugarcane production and in the case of every other agricultural production that has been anticipated. We know definitely that throughout the agricultural sector, there has been a definite fall and the fall is going to conimue. I am glad the Minister of Irrigation and Power is also here. This 72.6 per cent of the overall expenditure for the Plan period has been shown against the minor irrigation schemes which have brought us no benefit at all. As a matter of fact, Rs. 125.4 crores has been spent on minor irrigation is a shere waste. It is some sort of a gag money given to the important local party bosses and important men in the village rather than as an attempt to enhance agricultural production. Hence we have got to depend on the major and medium irrigation schemes.

### 14.57 hrs .

## [Shit Thirumala Rao in the Chair]

The State Governments in their ansiety to show much better results and quick results have tried to take up the multipurpose schemes and power generating schemes; so much so, the main irrigation schemes are left out. There is naturally a shortfall in the agricultural production. I do not agree, as many other speakers have also pointed out, with the spokesmen of the capitalist who said that the
public sector must scrap the heavy and basic industries and take up agricultural programmes only. But I do agree that the agricultural programmes should get their legitimate share in the considerations of the Government. I know a particular case where a very important irrigation scheme which would have benefited 5 taluks and more than 1,75,000 acres was ignored by the Kerala Government. I am referring to the Kathada irrigation scheme. The Quilon District Development Council of which I am a Member appointed a commiltee to go into this matter and represent to the Ministry in which all the MLAs and MPs of the district were included. We represented to the Ministers and the Ministers threw the entire blame on the Planning Commission and the Central Water and Power Commission. We know that, as a matter of fact, funds were diverted for generating power and other schemes and there were $n_{0}$ funds available. Bui this most important project which would have irrigated $1,75,000$ acres of land at a very comparatively small cost was neglected. I do not know what the Government and the Ministers are trying to achicve by this wanton disregard of glaring facts which are helpful to the country as a whole. They have their own reasons. But they do not look to the interests of the people and to the interests of the country at large.

About the estimate regarding the employment potentialities, it is grossly over-estimated. The Plan laid down the target of 14 million additional jobs both in the industrial sector and the agricultural sector. We know what the situation is. According to their calculations of the mahafraudulanobises already 3.2 million jobs have been created. Then, they say that the lacuna will be taken up by the agricultural production. As a matier of fact, we know that the agricutural production has fallen and the authorities say, that the lack in industrial production will be made up
in the agricultural sector. I do not know how it is going to be done. It is a jugglery just to deceive the House and deceive the country.

An Hon. Member: And mislead them.

## 15 hrs.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: Yes, I accept the correction. Thes: are just to mislead the people.

Out of the 3.2 million additional jobs that have been created, a vast percentage, that is, about 48 per cent is due to increase in the services including the Armed Forces. I think the emergency brought $u_{s}$ into a situation in which the Armed Forces and the services had to be expanded to the maximum. But I am afraid that we have now almost reached the saturation point. So, how can we expect that in the next two and a half years, these services would be further expanded to take more people and thus; fill the fap in the anticipated rise in the employment scale?

The number of persons registered with the empioyment exchanges in March, 1963 is 24.8 lakhs as against 15.6 lakhs in March, 1961. This 60 per cent increase in the number of job-seekers should not be attributed to new entrants in the field, as has been pointed out in the report itself. There cannot be so many new entrants. But the report has actually shut its eyes to the fact that many industries, due to lack of materials, imported or otherwise, due to lack of other facilities, due to lack of foreign markets, due to closure and so on are throwing out a number of persons who try to seck jobs and register themsolvee with the various employment exchanges.

Shri Warior (Trichur): There iw power control also.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: Yes. there is that factor also. But that

## [Shri N. Sreekantan Nair]

does not make them seeks for fresh employment altogether.

Shri Warior: Due to power shortage, there is closure of the factory some times, there is closure of the factory sontetimes.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: The live regisiers in June, 1963 show 7.8 lakhs of educated unemployed, that is, people who are matriculates and above. This $i_{s}$ a very sad state of affairs. It is with very great difficulty that a peasant finds some money to educate his children, and he perhaps powns his agricultural land to get his son educated, and yet we find that 7.8 lakhs of educated people are seeking employment by registering thomselves with the employment exchanges. When this is the case with educated people, one can easily realise that the actual number of unemployed would be much larger for the whole country. If we continue this state of affairs, then it will really bring in very serious hardship to the people. So, we have to look into the question of solving this unemployment problem with special emphasis on educated unemployed. We find also that no measures adopted by this Government can keep either the increase in population or the spiralling rise in the cost of living under control.

In the Plan outlay given at page 30, out of the total allocation of Rs. 7500 crores, items 5, 6, 7, 11 and 12 dealing with foreign assistance, loans and deficit financing account for 43 per cent of the entire Plan outlay. Hence the interest on those and other loans accumulated during the last twelve years and the unavoidable waste which is incident upon any Government undertaking and in governmental execution would make it impossible in future for the country to devclop at a faster rate, and these heavy loans and burdens will continue to crush us down, so that the
commun man in the street and the common people will find then life very hard, and they will be forced to pay more and more taxes, and the returns from the State will be very low.

In spite of this very serious situation, we find that there is a general neglect and a lack of seriousness in the governmental circles. There is lack of co-ordination throüghout. One department does nol co-operate with another department. There has been a very serious complaint that the Finance Ministry $\mathrm{i}_{\mathrm{s}}$ trying to control all the other Ministries. But, as a matter of fact, what happens? I know definitely and categorically that about Rs. 122 crores that had been allocated. in February, 1968 have not been utllised; that is to say, the foreign exchange allocation has not been utilised to bring in machinery and the other necessary goods till today. On these foreign loans. we have to pay interest and other charges. But we find that the amounts are not utilised and, therefore, there is no proper development in this country. The Finance Ministry naturally is not in a position to follow it up. The Planning Commission themselves are not in a position to take up this question, because immediately there will be a cry that they are functioning as a superCabinet. So, neither the Finance Ministry nor the Planning Commission can take it up. And the individual Ministries go on in their own way and they try to find their own excuses. There is nobody to co-ordinate and nobody to check up and nobody to follow up, and things go on as the beaurocrates decide.

At the same time, we find that governmental spokesmen call upor the people to tighten their belt and put up with more sufferings. This kind of one-way traffic cannot be permitted.

Shri Warior: It is a cruel joke.
Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: It is a very cruel joke, and it is also an one-
way traffic, and very much so. The people naturally cannot suffer it for long without protest. 1 warn the Government, and I insist that they should not call upon the people to suffer any more hardships until they put their own house in order. Let them first put their own house in order and then come to the pcople. The people are ready to face the emergency and do whatever they can and sacrifice any thing that they can, provided there is response on the other side and there is also responsibility on the other side. But what do we find? There is no responsibility on the other side, there is $n_{0}$ response, and there is not even a serious approach to the problems that confront the people, and they want the people to suffer more. I say that it is impossible for the people to suffer any more.
Shri K. D. Malaviya (Basti): It is with some hesitation that II have risen to speak on this important subject. But, as I honestly feel that Government need congratulation on this step of producing a document which is not very complimentary to them, so, I thought that I should stand up to congratulate them and to say that such steps are surely a march forward to the goal of building up a healthy form of democracy. On this score, I think that Government need sincere congratulations from the House.

Having said so, II must submit my own views in their generality that I am not particularly frightened by the physical failures to reach the targets that have been indicated in the Third Five Year Plan. In fact, these should have been expected. $\mathrm{A}_{;}$a matter of fact, I am one of those who had anticipated these shortfalls. I need not go into the reasons, because that would menn going into too many details. But the fact is that the birth pang of our economy is still to be considered as very acute. We have to submit to a situation in which the gestation period might be prolonged and everyone of ou should expect it,
although it is quite legitimate on our part to criticise both construclively and if some of us wani, destructively also pointing out the eriors in which Government inadvertently or by mistake indulge.

Besides this, I think that we ought to study the developmenial processes of other countries as they have happened in the last hundred years. They will show that the setting up of industrial centres in a country has been in the early stages rather slow, and subsequently it takes very rapid strides. The growth of the stee! industry in the world is a specific yidlustration. Once the first million ton steel plant has been installed, subsequent expansion takes very rapid strides. A $15-20$ per cent annual growth has been noticed. Therefore, it is with patience that a country like ours with a backward economy has to pursue this path of planning. Once we give up this idea of planning or start entertaining doubts about the philosophy of planning and the act of planning, we will be lost in failures, disintegration of our economy, and perhaps we will not know where we will go or take the country. Once we get into the takeoff stage, each successive appearance of further activities in industries, both agricultural and otherwise, almost becomes an assured fact. Therefore it is the first ten, fifteen or twenty years when a democratic nation has got 10 be perseverent and stick to its prine ples on which it has taken a decision once. A decision is not taken casily, and it takes sometime for us to enme 10 comclusions on philosophies looking: to the implementation process, reconnsing the limitations of the countre and of the mon who inhabit it. All those questions have been thormathly examined and then we have come to the conclusions that wo have got to take to this method of periodical planning for proseres. If in these circumstines and in this background. there is a shortrall here and there-hig and sorious shortfalls-we should not be
[Shri K. D. Malaviya]
shocked or provoked to scrap the entire idea on which we started a few years back
\# د.
During the First Plan, the national income increased by 18 per cent against our expectation of 12. The House is well aware of it. But the Second Plan got a jerk. As against the planned $25 \%$ increase, it was only 20 . Perhaps there were international complications and delay in the receipt of collaboration and also certain other factors, the mistakes committed by Government included. In this perspective, therefore, I come to the conclusion that we may have to wait for 10 or 15 years; we may have to go right till the end of the Fourth Plan to reach the actual takeoff stage. That is my assessment. I wish it were shorter, but looking to the situation in which we are involved and to the limitations from which we suffer, the democratic aspect of planning which we have accepted to achieve our goal, it should be proper and desirable for us to expect that the takeoff stage may not come after 5 years or 4 years as was expected earlier, but after 10 years or a little more. Whatever we may like to say, howsocver we may like to criticise the Government, whosocver wants to criticise-Shri Masani or some members of our own partylet us clearly understand that this period of gestation cannot be reduced because circumstances are like that. I will relate some of them, as I understand them.

Let us take the question of the philusophy that has guided us. I believe unless we stick more tenaciously to the philosophy of socialism, it is not easy for us even to achieve the targets we have now set before ourselves. There must be a motivation, a guiding philosophy for the plans we lay down on paper-that we are going to see to the maturation and success of the policy. I am afraid sometimes wc deviate and slow down in our concept of that goal either due to
difficulties which we face at the international level or due to internal probiems. The fact is that we slow down, get bogged down in details. The result is that we deviate from our objective. iemporarily though. I would like to warn the Congress Party, to which I have the honour to belong, that they must not confuse issues so far as the ultimate objec:ive is concerned. The objective of taking us to economic development through the socialist process must remain there, concretely specified, spe!t out properly. If it is spelt out properly, and held honestly and tenaciously, it: is bound to get delayed not only 10 or 15 years, but perbaps by 50,60 or even 100 years.

Why do I say so? $I_{f}$ we look at the international capitalist system which is responsible for, I am happy to say, collaboration also with each other--because we have now accepted. the principle of economic co-existence -having accepted it, we have also get to know where we have suffered, where the mistakes lay. Those basic factors have got to be pinpoinied. I am taking one of them. In the last ten years, what has happened with regard to the exchange of our products for finished goods from abroad? The prices practically of all raw matcrials we have been able to supply in order to get back finished goods have fallen consistently. Right from the Korean war, we will notice that all the goods we send to the outside have shown a reduction in price. Mica, manganese, iron ore, tea-everywhere we have lost in crores and crores. Perhaps we have lost more by exporting our raw materials at reduced prices than we have got in aid from outside. That is a matter into which I would like the Planning Commission to do some probing. I will not be surprised if nur losses as a result of fall in prices are much more than the aid we have got.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf: Is it due to fall in prices or what?

Shri K. D. Malaviya: Let us examine one commodity and the way in which the price has been built up. Let us take manganese. In manganese, we are the richest country, qualitatively and quantitatively. The price build-up is on account of wages, transport and the actual mineral ore. The wages have gone up; it could not be avoided. Transport costs have gone up, because every item that constitutes the final picture of transport has also swelled in cost. The only thing in which we have got to sustain a loss is in the actual wealth of the nution. Manganese prices have gone down from $\$ 250$ per ton sometimes near about 1954-55 to $\$ 120$ per ton-less than half. About iron ore, the price when we built up our Kiriburi and Bailadilla, at that time, was 82 shillings; now it is 74 shillings. So that, on every ton of raw material that we are exporting, we are losing a colossal amount of money, but the cost of the finished goods that we import are swelling because the wages are much more in quantum outside. The machinery that we are getting from the countries to which we are exporting, is very costly, so much so that each year our estimates go up. The cost of a dam which we were to construct in 1956, goes up by 40 or 50 per cent in 1961 because the machinery is costly, wages are higher, everything is high; and the only thing that does not go high is the actual price of raw material which we supply to outsiders.

What happens to the raw material that comes to our country, for instance, sulphur? The price of sulphur has gone up steadily every year. The raw material that we get from abroad is more costly to us than what it was a fow years back, but the raw material that we are selling to outsiders is getting less and less costly, brings in less revenue. It is due to the fact that we are functioning under a system where we are exchanging our commodity with some capital goods, where they insist on a parti-
cular margin of profit, because we are obliged to take this machinery.
Shri P. R. Patel: What is the world price of manganese and iron ore?

Shri K. D. Malaviya: My hon. friend should know how the world price is modified. It is modified because of a conventional pattern of trade which is governed by the factor of supply and demand. What has happened to mangancse? A particular country offers a loan of a few millions to a neighbouring country to open its own mines, so that the prices will have to fall in other places whether it is Africa or India. Whether this new manganese mine opens up or not, we have got to supp!y manganese, because we have no alternative, we have no foreign exchange, no credit except the raw material that we have got in the bowels of our earth. we have got to supply it under compulsion, under the convention of certain rules and regulations which bind us to the laws of supply and demand.
We have got to delink ourselves from the laws of supply and demand, and so frame our trade relations and exchange of goods that they are not necessarily linked in the present form, because it is giving us nothing but losses. Even though we sustain losses, we have to do it because there is no alternative. But remember that the same factor should have governed the price of sulphur, but because we cannot domiante the world market, becalle we are a poor people, the sulphur price will not fall.

Other commodities can be quoted. for instance coiton. We converi cotion into finishred goods, but cotton is becoming more and more costly for us, because we cannot control the trate of cotton, as we cannot control the trade of sulphur or the other raw materials that we import. But others control the prices of the raw materials that they pet from us. That is the situation which we must recofnise, which we have to fight. and that can be fought only by opening up the world
[Shri K. D. Malaviya]
trade in some such way that we get the advantage of it.

I will also refer, in this connection to the oil indusiry. What is happening to oil? This will give us a picture how the trends of industry and trade are not so much in our favour, how we cannot get all the facilities that we want in order to build up our economy faster.

The cost of oil drilling in America is at least five times more compared to Iraq, Iran or Saudi Arabia, as indicated by Brenner, the famous international economist. Therefore, there has been outflow of money from America to this region. No other industry has attracted so much outflow of money as oil. Billions and billions have flowed from America and Britain because the processing of oil is much less costly here.

Therefore, I make out a case that the Planning Commission should seriously consider how to adjust our trade relations with countries both of the East and the West, and how to form a new pattern of regions where trade and exchanges could be more favourable to us, so that we may sustain losses.

I would draw your attention to a thing which is causing us a lot of worry, and that is agricultural production. There is no doubt that as a Government we have failed to do as much as we should have done. The agricultural programme has gone forward on account of the fact that we have not been molivated by a certain purpose. Agrientaral production widl not wo up to 110 or 105 million tons by the end of the Third Year. Why? Because there is so incentive to the farmer to produce. I am not going into irrigation and other small troubles referred to by Shri Mahatab. After all, he was Chief Minister, he should have taken eare to correct these mistakes. I am referings to a basic issue. Unless there is incentive to the farmer, he is not going to produce more. A price
should be guaranteed when he sows his seed, and then he must get all the facilities from the State, without any fear of inflation. Government should take courage in its hands and offer all the credit that the small farmer needs in order to produce more grain. And, Government should, without any hesitation, undertake wholesale trading. Without these two things, you cannot produce more food. That is my case.

Let me take two instances- at the top and at the bottom level. At the top, there are about one lakh of cultivators who own 20 million acres of land today. That is the latest figure according to $\mathrm{m}_{\mathrm{y}}$ information. I want to know from the Planning Commission if they have made any assessment as to how much food is being produced by these one lakh cultivators. Why can they not be asked or persuaded to produce 2 million tons of foodgrains without aid from Government. There are farms of $700,1,000$ and even 2,500 acres. I have a friend who holds 2,700 acres. I asked him how much cereal he had produced, and he said he was producing at the rate of 5 maunds per acre. When I asked him why, he said he was not interested in producing more, it was enough for him. Therefore, my case is that you must compel all these big people to produce at the rate of 28 maunds per acre; otherwise, their lands would be taken earlier than contemplated.

So far as the lower level is concerned, there are about 44 million cultivators who are owning 54 million acres of land, that is about 1.2 acres or so per head. They have no money, they borrow money from the landlords at fantastic rates of interest. Therefore, they are not interested in borrowing money for cultivation. Let Cowornen guarantere to them all the moncy they require, and let $u_{s}$ print notes if necessary in order to carry on wholesale trade. Not more than Rs. 200 or Rs. 300 crores will be neecssary, I think, because all the trading
cannot be simultaneously undertaken. The result will be that the cultivainr will be assured of a fixed price. Ht will also not be cheated or exploited. If necessary, exchange of goods can be made at the warehouses, so that he can deposit the grain and take the money and avail of all the facilities, at a low rate of interest. If nccessary, let $u_{s}$ give free irrigation water, so that we may be assured that once he produces 15 or 20 maunds, he cannot but continue it. Then we can ask him to pay a tax on his agricultural produce or irrigation rates.

All these things can be done only when we have reoriented our Plans on a socialist basis. Our Plans must be socialist oriented. Lastly, our Plans must be do-or-die oriented. We have waited enough. A serious situation 15 facing us. We must devise methods by which we must make people right from the Ministers downwards to work, and work, ceaselessly. If you work ceaselessly you may die like the one who died but you will succeed. I have no doubt about it. You cannot fail if you go on putting such effort as you ought 10. Therefore, our planning and our thinking has to be socialist-oriented; they have to be do-or-die oriented.

You must again think seriously about our administrative services. My experience is that they are a good lot. But if we are not infused with spirit and enthusiasm, if we ourselves are lacking in that, they are taking us as examples they follow bad things. The entire structure of the service has to be re-formed from the point of view of creating consistency between the State and the Centre and in the spirit of evolving the targets and implementing the targets. If these basic thinge are considered and are cared for, then the rest is bound to follow, whether it is Parliament or the Services or the Government; it is bound to follow. If a particular Minister of a popular Gov. ernment does not do a thing which is expected of him, he has no business to remain in the Government.

1693 (Ai) LSD-7.

डा० राम मनोह्र लोहिया (फर्खुखाबाद): घघ्यक्ष महोदय,

थी रधुनाथ सिस्ह (वाराणसी) : ग्रागे त्रा जाइये ।

डा० राम ननोहर लोह्यिया : जब ग्रागे बढ़ाश्रोंग जस दिन ग्राऊंगा, यहां ग्रच्छा है ।

ग्रध्यक्ष महोदय, इरा योजशा को देशर्णींन, दिशाहीन, मूर्व विछानों ने बनाया है, त्रोर इस पर ग्रमल करते हैं अ्रफ्ट यंती ।

एक माननोख ख़द्य : मूर्खं विद़ान कैसे हो स़कता है ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोस्यिया : विद्धन मूखं हैं इस का सनूल यह् किताल है जो पौने दो सौ सफे की है ग्रौर ग्रासानी से चालिस, चचास सफ़ें में लिर्बी जा सकती थी, अ्रगर इस में फुजूल अर निर्थंक शब्र ना होते, जों गायद ड्त कारण से हैं $f 1$ ग्रंग्रेजों की नकल ग्रभी ग्राप लोग ग्रच्छी त़ह करना नहीं जानते । एक ग्रध्याय है

श्री फे० दे० मालवीय : सभापति महीदय, मृंज्ब दकाग्रों की परिभाषा भों हो जाये तो श्रच्ठा है जिस में फैसला हो जाये ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : उस के लिय पहलल सबैत मिल चुका है इस सदन में, ग्रौर उस के बाव मैं ज़गा दण सद्रन को कुछ पह्रवान दे रहा हूं कि मूबं बभा का उल्टा क्या हुग्रा करता है।

इस में एक क्रज्याय फ्रायक पृ््यर्मूम का तेगा है जों कि दम सके का है ग्रोग ग्रासानी में डेढ़े संकं में चिखा जा मकता था। निग्थंक कारण, निर्थंक नुग्मे, निर्यंक लमकाज़ी ग्रांर दिशाहीन इर्मलये है कि जैमे नट्ट्र चक्र खाना गहता है श्रोर कोर्ट्य गस्ता नही निकाल पाला या जैंम भूल भुलैया हांती है, यह्त कोई रास्ता नहीं निकाल का रहीं है । श्रोर बेगहीन

Shrimati Vimla Devi (Eluru). The Chairman understands Hindi?

Shri Daji (Indore): Why should he?

Mr. Chairman: If I tell yJu I understand, are you satisfled without examining me? I can follow him.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : देशहीन हुस लिये कि रूप श्रोर श्रमरोका की पद्धतियों के चक्कर में यह. लोग फंश जाते हैं ग्रौर श्रपने देश को कम सोचते हैं तथा उन की ज्यादा सोचते हैं। इस के श्रलावा जो हमारे हिन्दुस्तान की भैदावार की नींव है उस के ऊनर यह लोग ध्यमरीका स्रंर रूस की खपत की इमारत की रचना करना चाहते हैं। जहां तक भ्रष्ट घोगी का सताल है, श्रगर मंत्री जी महाराज सुनते जायें तो सरकारी पार्टी के सब से बड़े सदर साहब के घर में दो लाख रुपये की दरियां घ्रौर कालीन बिबाये गये हैं, ग्रौर वह भी हिन्दुस्तान का पैसा खर्च कर के । यह सब योजना में श्राता है क्योंकि वह् दो लाख रुपये किसी कारखंने में लगाये गये होते । किर खालो यही, दो लाख नहीं, इस की नकल करते हुए न जाने कितने खर्च किये जाते हैं । दो अ्ररब, दो खरब रुपयों का नुकसान इस तरह से होता है ।

Shri Hanumanthaiya (Bangalore City): On a point of order: We are speaking about mid-term appraisal of the Plan. These carpets must have been purchased before the Third Plam started.

उ० राम मनोह्हर लोहिया : भ्रगर मिड टर्म की बात हतुमन्त्तया साहब जानना चाहते हैं तो उन के नेता महाराज श्यभी कुछ ही दिन हुए रांनी गये थे ग्रौर वहां एक दिन में पांच लाख: रूपये खर्च कर के वह ग्राये हैं।

एक माननीय सवस्य : नहीं, नहीं, यह गलन है ।

उ०० राम मनोहर लोहिया : गलत कहते हैंतो दो लाख हनये कहं लीजिये, तीन लाख: रपपये कह लीजिये, लेकिन इस से कम पर श्राप नहीं भ्रा सकाँ।

Mr. Chairman: May I request the hon. Member to devote the short time on the salient features of the Plan because his comments on minor affairs will again provoke some other comments in the House and thus time will be lost. It is a friendly request that I am making.

उा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : मुझे रोक से कोई चिन्ता नहीं ह, यहे समय उन के लिये गिन लीजियेगा। मेरे जो तर्क हैं वे बनियादी हैं क्रोंकि उन के बिना मैं कोई चीज़ ग्रागे: नहीं ले सकता ।

में ख़त के बारे में कहं रहा था कि खपत की इनारत तो है रूस ग्रौर ग्रमरीका की अ्रौर पैदावार की नींव है हिन्दुस्तान की । इस से बड़ा श्रौर कोई तर्क हो नहीं सकता है: जन्टां तक इस योजना का सम्बन्त्र है ।

फिर इस गोजना की रपट के बारे में ईमानदारी का जिक किया मका है । में फहन। चाहता हूं कि ग्रगर श्राजः इस में संसदाई के म्रंक देखें तो पहले ग्रौर दूसरे वर्ष के तो जो श्रंक हैं वेंदे दिये गये हैं औ्यूर तीसरे वर्ष के केवल उद्दिष्ट दें दिये गये हैं। नतीजा यह़ होता है कि बड़ी ग्रौौर मध्यम सिचाई के बारे में पहले ग्रौर दूसरे वर्ष में मुश्किल से आारी है १२ लाख एकड़ जनीन जिस पर सिचाई होती मीर जो तीसरा वर्ज के लिये उद्देश्य बतलायन है वह २y लाख एकड़ है । नतीजा यह होता है कि सैकड़ा निकल भ्राता है $३ 2$ लेकित मेरे हिसाब से ग्रगर उन्हीं को लिया जाय: जो कि हो चुकी हैं इस योजना की प्रवधि में तो सैकड़ा मृश्किल से २७ आयेगा। इनी तरह से छोटी सिचाई के बारे में भी ग्रांकड़े कम हो जानेगे। तो मेरा यह कहना है कि यह रपट ईमानदारी से नहीं लिखी गई है ।

उस प्रभाण मैं ग्रीर दिये देता ह़ं । मश़ीनी श्रौजारों के मामलें में कहीं मा ददर्थों कें ग्रंक नती हैं, खली ए्यों के हैं। जँसे ची वी गेले हैं इने रुपों की, मर्शीनी अ्रंजाए हैं इतने रुपयों के लेंबिन उन की क्या क्षमता है, इस का कहीं भी जिक नहीं है। लेकिन इन सव चींजों को ग्रार म्रा चलने के प्ले में कुण र्वर्वःत्य र्चिंग वहना चाहता हूं, जिस पर सर्वारी लोगों को भी कोई एतनरज नहीं होना चाहिते। उन में से एक है सफई के
 के करने वाल लोग, लिखने वाले लोग, सार इन्लिजाम चलाने वाले श्रार ग़रे सर्वाए के दषतर के लोग शारी हो गये हैं कि बे श्रमते दोण की रफफ.ई दे दिया करें, दोव को दूर करने का तुरीका कोई नहीं निदालता ।
 फइलें ह्राण देग लें, चन के द्वाशिये चे लिखा रहृता है कि मेतांत नहीं था, किसी ग्रौर का दोग थ! । हेंश लिखा ₹हता है कि दोर उस दा था, तो०र लंी़ीं था । इस का नमूना की इस स सन में हम देख चुके हैं। जिस दिन गुड़ टला मामला छठः तो त्रह्य प्रकाग जी ने क्ट्ध दिया कि गेरादोण नहीं आा, शेलने मंत्रवलय का दोग था, उस्ड़ंने लोगों से घूस ले लिए । रेलं नं मलय बाने चहतेते तो कह राकते थे कि इस में हमाप दोष नी है
 अौर फैगन व. T ग़ चला रहे हैं कि हैंम वया करें। तो दोज टाल देने का तरीका चलता रहलत। है। में राज से पह्टी सिफ रिश कलंगा किं दोष को टालो मन, उस को ढ़ं हो, उस को दूर करो, ग्रीर उस को दूर करने में ग्रगर दोषी को सज़ा देनी पड़े नो दो, लेकिन वह दूसरे दर्जें की बात हैं।

इसी तर्ध से में लक्ष्य के बारे में कह्ला चाहता हूं । इक में सब से श्रण्वल चीज है खच, दूसरी चीज़ है चीज़ें श्रीर तीसरी चीज़ है मनुप्य। खर्च के बारे में मुन्ञे यह कह्ना है कि जब ग्राप रकम देते हैं कि इतना खर्च होगा,

फॉं मद में ह्ञाता तो साल के ग्राइर में,
 लःधा है तो हुर एक महुका सोचने लंति $T$ है कि: जत्वी से इस पेसे को खर्च छेत्रे, ग्रीर फ गूल खर्त्नी क्रपने काष हो जाती है। वो खन्नें का लंदय न रख्य के चीज़ों का लद्धय चयदा रखना चर्टिए, प्रौर सब से स्यादा लक्ष्य रखना चाहित मनुप्य का जिस को कि
 में म गुय की एर्यलिया जिलल चुकी हैं। यदो का मशय चंबत नहीं कले सकला, फावड़ा नहीं चला सकता, मिंड्री अट्टीं कट सकाका, बन्ट्रक की बात तो छंज़ दीजिये । मुजे पता चला है कि बीस ग्रावमिगों में से खली एक ग्रादजी बन्दूद को यों तान सकता है, बा़ी लोग एंखा नहीं कर्र सुकते । बर्र मुने वन्दूपा से को कि ई ज्यादा मतलवन नहीं है। दही बत फाबड़े पर जी लागू होती है। नों क्षिक्तुसान का मनुय्य कामजोर होता जा रहा है। तो
 को मेहनत के लायक बनाये ।

शब मैं दिगा की वात कहला चनलता हूं। दिशा कणार इम वोजना में लाग की गी
 खेती है । चहुत वाना चे किर्सा है खेनी का। यह्ट डिक है कि को, गेश करनी चःित्र खेती को सुध्रतने की। लेंबेन डस सुधार में भी एक प्र जना किती क्वा चीज़ को पकड़ लेना चाहिए कि उस को तो हैम हैर हालत में हुंजिल कर ही लेन। जसे खी़ी का मामले में लिखः है कि हैम निंही का संरक्षण कर्रें, नदी से जो गिट्री कटीी है उसा का, तोए जो जलमः्न जम न है उसको खेती योग्य बनायेंग । तो जहीं तः सर्वर्गीण स्थार करने की जान है, वह् जहान करो, लेंकन साथ में एक ख.स दिशा ले लो कि हिंद्युरतान में जितर्नी की जलमग्न जनीन है उसको हुग कीक करके वेनी यांग्य बनारों चाहे वहु तीन करोड़ एकड़ हों या चार करोड़ एकड़ हो। उसके लिए यद्ध निश्चय कर लो कि उस को हैम ठीक करके छोड़िंगे ।
[डा० राम भनोहर लोहिया]
इसी तरह् से शिक्षा के बारे में मैं दूसरी मिसाल देता हुं। fिक्षा को लेकर सर्वांगीण परिवर्तन इस में हैं। ठीक है उन को रखें । लेकिन एक योजना में एक चीज़ ले लो fक हम हिन्दुस्तान को इस योजना के ग्रन्दर्र पूरी तर्ह् साक्षर वनायेंगे छ्रौर ऐसा करके छोड़ेंगे fि इस योजना में हर ग्रादमी साक्षर हो जाये। तो इस तरह से साक्षरता की दिशा ले लो ।

इसी तरह्र से एक ग्रौर दिशा ले ख़ते हो स्वास्थ्य के बारे में । स्वास्थ्य के बारे में सर्वागीण सुधार करो । लेकिन एक चीज़ ने लो कि है हस योजना में हिन्दुस्तान के गांबों 户ं ग्र्रार गट्र्रों में भी पीने के साफ पानी की नल हाणा ध्यवस्था कर देंगे ।

तो मैं ने दहा कि सर्वर्वीण चीज़ों कं ग्रन्तर्गत किसी एक चीज़ को पकड़ कर् उसे हासिल करने की कोसिता करों।

ग्रव इन यंज़ना में खर्च ज्यादा है ग्रौर श्रामदनी है कम । करीव करीव हर मुहकमे में में यह वात पाता हुं। इरा समय में केवल उद्धोग ग्रौर खान को लेता हूं। इस में निर्माण के लिए सन् $\}$ ह६, ०-६ १ में थोड़ा सा ग्रन्दाजा दिया गया था कि इस में निर्माण पर ४ ग्रर्ब अ्रंर प, क करोड़ रुपया खर्च होगा । लकिन वह बढ़ कर ६ श्ररव ह० करोड़ हो गया । कोई पॉंने दो गुना बढ़ जाता है । इसी तरह से पूरी योजना में १丂 भ्ररब से २₹ भ्ररब हो जायेगा । तो खाली उद्योग ग्रोंर खान में $x$ ग्ररद का खर्चा निर्मांण में बढ़ गया। क्यों बढ़ गया ? मैं बतलाता हूं कि कैसे बढ़ गया। बरौनी में तेल शोधन कारखाना बनाया गया, उसके लिए जो जमीन ली गयी वह छृतनी नीची थी कि उस में बरसात का पानी भर जाता था ग्रौर इसके लिए कोशिशा की गयी कि करोड़ों रुपये खर्चं कर के उस को पाट दिया जाये ।

इसी तरह से श्राप ट्राम्बे को लें । वहां उर्वरक का कारख़ाना बनाया गया इसलिए कि वहां तेल झोधक कारखाने की गैस ग्रासानी से मिल जायेगी, लेकिन वहां जमीन का दाम ज्यादा देना पड़ा । गैस तो सस्ती जमीन में भी पाइप द्वारा fमल सकती थी, लेकिन इस पर विचार नहीं किया क्योंकि सरकार का पैसा है इसलिए उसको बेश्हमी से खर्च किया जाता है । उसको चाहे जितना खर्च करने चले जाग्रो ।

इसी तर्ट् से में ग्रामदनी़ के बारे में कहना चाहता हुं। इस योजना में सरकारी धन्धों से साढ़े चार ग्ररब का मुनाफा दिवाया गया है । में ने यह श्रन्दाजा लगाने की कोसिश की वंद सर्कारी उच्चंगों में कुल कितना पैसा लगा है । ज़ब से यह् सरकार ग्रायी है उससे पह्ले भी कुच्छ सग्कारी उद्यंग थे । तो मैं कुछ ग्रन्दाजा लगाना चाहता धा कि द्र पए कुल कितना रणया लग़ा है ताfिक यह मालूम किया जा सके कि कितने स्पये पर इतना मुनाफा ग्राता है। लेकिन में इसका पता नहींी लगा पाया । पता नहीं यहु चीज़ इस में है भी या नहीं ग्रीर होगी भी तो इस ढंग से जैसे जंग़ल में सुई, जिसको ढ़ंढा न जा सकें। लेकिन इस मुनाफे को साढ़ चार अ्ररब बताया गया है । मैं समझता हूं कि इस को ग्रासानी से दस अ्रंब तक पहंचाया जा सकता है। जो खर्चा बताया जाता है उस में चार पांच ग्रर्व की बचत हों सकती है ग्रीर जहां मुनाफा बताया गया है वहां चार पांच अ्ररब की बढ़ती हो सकती है । इस प्रकार केवल उद्योग धन्बों ग्रोर खान में इस योजना में दस श्ररब की मृनाफे से ग्रीर बचत से बढ़ती हो सकती है ।

ग्रौर जहां तक पूरी योजना का सवाल है जो कि एक खरब रुपये वाली है, में ठीक श्रन्दाजा तो नहीं लगा सकता, लेकिन मेरा अ्रनुमान है कि ३० या $४ ०$ श्ररब रुपया इस योजना में फिजूली श्रोर फिजूल खर्ची में

चला जाता है । ग्राप समझें कि एक तो फिजूनी है ग्रौर एक फिगूल खर्वा है। फिजूली ोो वह जसे मेंने बरौन $\frac{\text { के तेल झोंःक कारख़ाने }}{}$ के बारे में बतलाया ग्रौर फिजूल खर्ची यह् कि फय्याशी, ठठठ बाट, घान शैकत ग्रौर यूरोप की नकल ।

भ्रौर इसी तरह ग्राप पूरा खर्चा लें बो $\uparrow$ कुल खर्चा सरकार का है एक खरव इस योजना का होगा । ढाई खरज का खर्च है पांच साल में । मेरा खयाल है कि इस厄ाई खर्द में से एक खरव रुपया फिजूली ग्रौर फिजूल खर्वी में चला जाता है। इसलिए में चाहुता हुं कि ह्म बड़ी दृष्टि रखें। छोटे छोटे मामलों में न फंस जायें । ग्रगर हैम कोई छोटी मोटी चीज्र निकाल लंगे तो उससे कोई फायदा नहीं होगा । ह्म को बड़ी दृष्टि लेनी चाहिए ।

अंर्रं $\dagger$ से तो मैं क्या कहूं, में उन के सरदार से कहना चाहता हूं जो कि यहां बैठते नहीं हैं । मैं चाहता हूं कि उन तक मेरी यह वात पतुंचा दी जाये । वह ग्रौसत उम्र की डींग ग्रक ार मारते है कि निएन्तान की ग्रैसत श्रायु $\succ_{0}$ या ४र साल हो गयी है। में कह देना चाहृता हूं कि इस तरह के ग्रांकड़े विल्कुल गलत हुग्रा करते हैं क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान में बच्चों की मौत में कुछ फर्क ग्राया है इसलिए यौसत उम्र में बढ़ावे हो गया हैं, यह नहीं है कि मालवीय जी की तरह लोगों की उम्र ज्यादा होने लगी हो ।

इसी तरह से यहां जिक्र कर दिया जाता है बाइसिकलों का या रेडियो का 1 हम को भ्रपने सामने योजना के मामले में तीन कसौटियां रखनी चाहिए। एक कसौटी तो यह हो कि हमने कितनी तरक्की की है भूत के मुकाबले में, दूसरी कि हमने श्रपने पड़ोसियों ग्रौर दुनिया के दूसरे देशों के मुकाबले में कितनी तरककी या तनज्जुली की है ग्रौर तीसरी यह कि हमारी ग्राशायें क्या हैं ।

तो में कह देना चाहता हूं कि कोई भी पढ़ा लिखा श्रादमी- पढ़ा लिखा मैं विश्व-

विद्यालय के ह्सिाब से नलीं कह्ता उन लोगों की तुलना में कहता हूं जो कि बाहसिकिल या रेडियो का जिक्र कर दिया करते हैं-यह् मान लेगा कि भूत की तुलना में ह्म थाड़ा सा ग्रागे चाहे रेंगे होंगे, लेकिन पड़ोसियों ग्रोर दुनिया के दूररे मुल्कों की तुलना में हमारी तर्ककी बहुत कम हुई है । ग्रौर उस के साथ साथ जो हमारी ग्राझायें थीं उन को देगते हुए तो हम इन $२ \%$ बरसों में पीछे हो गये हैं श्रागे बढ़ने का तो कोई सवाल ही नहीं है। चीन जो था $q \psi$ बरस पहले उसकी तुलना में वह ग्राज बहुत ग्रागे बढ़ा है । ग्रौर चीन को तो छोड़ दों। एक मागूली सा देश घाना बहुत श्रागे बढ़ा है। ह्म जरा सा रेंग कर ग्रागे बढ़े जरूर हैं लेकिन अ्र्रोर देशों के मुकाबले में हम पीदे हट गये हैं। इसलिए मैं कहता हूं कि हमें बड़ी दृष्टि रखी होगी ।

अ्रौर इसी बड़ी दृष्टि को मैं सदन के सामने रखना चाहता था जब कि में ने कहा था कि २७ करोड़ ग्रादमी इस देश में ऐसे हैं जो रोजाना तीन ग्राना रोज़ पर ज़िन्दगी काटते हैं। यह ग्रंक ऐसा है कि जिस पर किसी को बहस करने की गुजाइइा नहीं रह् गयी है । उस समय नन्दा जी इस पर बहुत ताव से बोले थे, ग्राज भी हम लोग उन का ताव से बोलना सुन चुके हैं। लेकिन उन्होंने एक बड़ी गलती की थी कि वह गैर खेतिहर घन्घों की ग्रामदनी की गिनती दो बार कर गये । उन्होंने 2400 करोड़ का फक्क बताया था 1 तो इस तरह की गलती उन्होंने उस वक्त की थी, लेकिन इस समय मैं उस में नहीं जाना चाहता । मैं ने जो कहा कि इस देश में २७ करोड़ ग्रादमी रोजाना तीन ग्राने पर जिन्दगी बसर करते हैं, उस में मेरा उद्देरय सरकार का नगा चित्र ग्राप के ग्रौर हिन्दुस्तान के सामने रखने का था। लकिन मेरा खाली यही इरादा नहीं था । में चाहता था fक जहां में रोग को दिंखाऊं वहीं रोग का इलाज भी दिखा दूं । रोग के दरस में इलाज का परस शामिल था । रोग क्या है ? रोग
[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिगा]

यह है कि २७ करोड़ ग्रादमी तीन ग्राने रोज पर fिन्दगी काटते हैं, साढ़े १६ करोड़ ग्रादगी एक रुपया रोज पर जिन्दगी कोटते हैं । में यह ग्रौसत बता रहा हुं, ग्रौर 20 लाख भ्रादमी ३₹ रुपये रोज खर्च करते हैं। तो जब यह रोग है तो विल्कुल साफ है कि इस का द्रलाज क्या हो सकता है। जो लोग ₹३ रुपया रोजाना बर्व करते हैं उन को-में यह नहीं कहता कि: डन को तोन ग्राने रोज पर ले ग्राया जाये-१४ या १६ रुपये रोज पर ले ग्राया जाये, तो ग्रासानी से श्रामदनी में $२ \downarrow$ अ्ररब रुया ग्रौंर सरकार के करों के ग्रांकड़ों के हिसाब से $? \%$ अ्ररब रुपया बच जायेगा, जो एक पंचवर्षीय योज़ना में $७ Y$ ग्ररज से ले कर एक खरव तक पहुंच जायेगा ग्रैंर उस से योजना ठीक ठाक चल सकेगी ।

यह रोग ग्रौर इलाज मैंने पहले भी सदन के सामने रख़्रा धा ग्रंर्र ग्राज फिर रखा है । जव तक यह इलाज नहीं किया जायेगा समस्या हल नहीं हों सकतो । हुम ने जो हिन्द्र्स्तान में ग्रमरीका, रूस ग्रांर यूरोप के ढंग पर ढांचा विठा रखा है, डस को जब तक हम नहीं वदलेंगे, तब तक योजना किसी तरह पूरी हो ही नहीं सकती । खाली यह कह देना कि यह सरकारी योजना है ग्रौर सरकारी घन्बों ग्रीर करोड़ पनियों के घन्घों का जो झगड़ा उस को बता देना काफी नहीं है, क्योंकि ये दोनों घन्ये एक ही ढंग पर चलते हैं । उनका एक ही उद्देश्य है, एक ही उन का ढंग है, एक से ही मूनेजर ग्रांर तनल्बाहें हैं ग्रौर एक सा ही रहन सहन का ढंग है। इस्गलिए उन की तुलना कर्ने से कोई मतलव नहीं निकल पाइत। हमें इस में फर्क करना चाहिए भार यह तभी हीं सकेगा जब हम इस र्तुननयादी ब्वात को पकड़ंगे $f$ कि जो पचास लाख पादमी ₹३ रुपया रोज खर्च करते हैं उन को १थ या १६ रुपये पर लाया जाये । इस बारे में में भौर कुछ नहीं कह्ना चाह्ता क्योंकि छूस से वे तिर्लामला जायेंगे ।

मैं केवल इतना ही कह्ना चाहता हूं कि इन में भी बट्टुत ज्यादा सोढ़ियां हैं। इनीी सीटियां हैं, एक दो सीढ़ीं नहीं । दो तीन सीड़ी होगी तो श्रक्न एक मामला टीक हों गया होःा। ग़रोजी में भी लाखों सीf़ियां हैं खंऱ घ्रमीरी में भी लाबों सीfढ़यां हैं,
 ज़हर हैं । इ丁 सीटt़ 才ों के सजब से कोई भी समाज की पुनरज़ना मशिकन हो गई है। जो बुवयाचंत खरारी है हैनारीं श्राधिक व्यवस्का की है वह्ठ इस योजात में भी ग्रा जारी है । श्रौंर वह वह कि हीगरी उजज, पै ?वार तो है मध्य का जीन, हीपरे किमान वही हैल चनीे हैं जो नि $7 \% 00$ वर्व पहले

 पर हैपारे वह्ती छुणने साचन ग्रमी नक चले ग्रा गहे हैं। दही प़ प्राने करषे चल रहे हैं जाँ कि दो हीज़ार वं पहले या ह्त़ार वं पहले चलते बे । यद् सही है किः कुण मिलें भी श्राई गई है। लकिंन बनिया की तैर पर ह्मारी उ१ज छार पैस्रानार की नींच तो मयकालीन है ग्रैर उसके ऊार खपत की जो दारत हनने खड़ी की है बह् है ग्राबुनिका, की गुनिक भी नहीं ग्राध्वानिकतम 1 ग्रब निल्फुल ध्रमरीका ग्रौर रूस की नकल करने वाली कंब तन यहै भरी इनारत जो कि श्रमरीकान नस को खपत वाली है बहृ हुनरी इस नींब पर ए स सकेगी ? यद्ट पंचनर्जीय यंजना जो ग्रमी ग्रापंक साअंन्न ग्राई है यह् सावित कर्तरीं है कि यह् माभला ज्यादा नहीं चत संता है. . .

Mr. Chairman: Two or three minutes more.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : मैं उस में समाप्त कल्ने की काशिश करूंगा लेकिन सभ।पति मह्टोदय, ग्रभी तों श्राधी बात भी नल्हंं कह् पाया हूं । बहुत जल़्द जल्द श्रपनी बातों को कहे देता हूं । में ज्यादा धक्त न

लेकर ख़ारी एक, एक तर्क दे रद्ा हूं ग्रैर मैं शीर्र हीं समाप्त कर दूंगा ।

जनता सरकार के ग्रभिमें है उती तरीके से सरकारी ग्रफनर ग्र्रानच़ हैं । मेंरा यह्ं कह्न्ना है कि हिंद्वुस्तान के प०00 बड़े ग्रफागों के लिए ही एक लाख सरकारी नौकर रबें गये हैं । धरकारी नौकरों की कुल तादाद एक करोड़ है। अ्रगर दस तरीरें से देख! ज:य तों दड़े लोगों की सिक्फ़ सेवा सुभ्नाए, ठड वाट ग्रैंर जानशीकत के लिए सएखार का ए₹ बड़ा भारी ग्रमला चलता चहता है । श्राखि़्र का उसका बोज्ञा इस सग्वार की खनें की योजगा पर पड़ता है । किर इंस यंजगा के बनाने वालों के दिमाग़ में एक धाउणा मन्टे खही है कि ग्रगर
 बाकी मद नींतें ग्रपने ग्राप बदल जायेगो, यहु चीत्र बड़ी ग़नन है। इसका नतीजा यहृ. नुपा है कि काई भी समस्या पिठले १२ वर्षं में हलन नह़ीं ह़ा पाई।

एक ग्रंशर विचिन्न तरह की केची हर समत्या पर चल गरी। उस कों में कांप्रेस
 राजा, मह़नजा गों को जो वैसत दिया जाता है उसके जारें में एक तरफ नो कहा जतता है कि
 लेकिन दूसरी तरफ़ उन्हीं के द्वारा यह्ह वह दिया जाजग है कि है क्या करें ? होंतो तो जो वनन उनको दिया गया है उसरी निमाना पड़ सती है ग्रोर इनिलिए यह्टित्री पर्स उनको देनों पड़ रही है । कंची का एक फन है जो किं कहलात है कि यहे पंसा देना दतुता वुरा है ग्रोर टूमरे फ ग से क्ट दिया कि हैम वचनचद्ध है अ्रोर इस कारण देना ही पड़ता है। क्या मैं उनसे पूछ सक्रता हूं कि जिन्होंने यह्ध बचतं दे रक्ला है बह्टा गद्दो से हैंट क्यों नही़ीं जांते ? ग्रप्नी जगह् दूपरे लोगों को ग्राने दो जो कि यहृ वेसा दता बन्द कर दें। ग्रार्ख़र यद्धिंके तक है ब्वात करने का ? यहृ

कंची हर चीज़ पर चलनी है, भाषा पर चलती है सम्पत्ति पर चलती है ।

इरी तरीके से श्र्रिब भारनीय सेवाप्रों के दारे में सरकतरी नैकरियदों के बारे में ग्राफा जानना चाद्रि कि इस देग में रे रुपया महीने पर काम करने वाले गांगों के चिंमीदार हैं। ग्रव मैं सब से ऊंची तनख्वाहों का जिक नहीं कह्हंगा, फिंर कें लोग चिल्लए जडेंगे।

चसके बाद मैंगन डैम को देखिये जो कि एक सरवारीं धंश्रा है। उसमें सरकारी नंकरों की तादाद बढ़़ी चली चाई क्योंकि एक तरफ़ तो बंगारी, बिलरी में होड़ चलती गई ग्रौर दूसरी तरफ न्र.हलग ग्रौर कासस्ध में हैंड़ चर्ना कि कान श्रवने श्रादमियों को उयादा भरती करता है। वह़ चीज़ एसे है कि जन्त तक एक मंडी जिनको कि कामराज योजना की लात जब तक नहीं लरिं, 乡्री भुरारजी देसाई, ज्हृंने मुज्ञ कहृ| था कि तुम तो बहुज ज्यादा वानें करते हो, जो यंश्रय है वह तो ग्राधिर् जगह पयेगा ही। में ग्रापसे यह नग्र निंबेदन करना चहहता हूं कि अ्रगर वह् खुद प्रधान मंत्री हु? होते तो श्रव तक हिन्दुस्तान में सब से योग्य श्रनामिल ब्राह्मण ही समझे शये होते झ्रोर दूसरं नन समझे़ गये होते। यहे देश ही इनना सड़ चुरुत है कि यहां पर जो श्रादमी बैडनT है वहछ ग्रपनी विरादरी वालों को योग्य बना ही देता है 1

इसी तरह् योजना के वारे में एक बहुत गलत वात बतलासा हूं, दिधंदा। दिखावा कंसे किया जाता है इसके दाराे में में ग्यापको बतलाऊ कि इलाहाबाद रेलने एंसन जो कि ग्रन्नी $y, 0$ वर्ष ग्रच्छे तरीके से चल सकता था, एक करोड़ रुपये के ख़र्व से तोड़ कर नया बनाया गुगा, क्यंनक उसको ःच्णा दिखाना है । इसके बर्रूक्ज जो इलाका ग़रीब ग्रीर ग्रविकरित है, जहां गंगा ग्रौर रामगंशत का पुल बन सकत्ता है, जहां रो पलटनी सामान उत्तर पिर्यंशगत़ को जाता है चीन से सामना करने के लिए, वहां पर ग्रगर पुल
[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]
 तो ग्राज जो दल बंटे का सरे है चहें तीन घंड में तय हंध ज.ये़।

इपी तर्रीके से ग्यगर इस यंज़ा के बारे में कुछ जाननी हों तो दिल्नो योजना के बारे में संच लीजन्ने। दिलेली के ऊमर तो ज लाख रुंया खर्चं दरको $\{$ जना दनाई गई है अर्रार बाकी का हला हाल है । इसी तरीकें से इस गोजाना का एक ग्रैम नमन लेना हों सां खणी ग्रहहमदाखाद जांर देख लें कि बहों जो $94-20$ है।

Mr. Chairman: Your time is up. You must close now.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : भ्रगर मुझे पांच मिनट का समय श्रौर दें दे तो मैं ग्रपनी बात को ख़त्म कर पाऊंगा

Mr. Chairman: It is very difficult for me. He should try to conclude. There will be so many occasions for him to speak.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : मैं पांच मिनट में ग्रपनी बात ख़त्म किये देता हूं । श्रहमदाबाद के बंगलों को देखने से पता चलता है कि कोई $90-१ \%$ हुज़ार बंगले साहवंों वाले ग्रह्ममदाबाद में बने हैं। यह् कोई जनता की योजना नहीं है, वर्नल योजना तो यहृ है कि किस तीके से $y \circ$ लाख बड़े लोगों की तादाद धीरे धीरे बढ़ाई जाये 1 हर साल हिन्दुस्तान में दो, तीन लाख साहबों का निर्मण होता है। श्रब यह् तो समाजवाद के रास्ते में र्कावट है वयोंदि जब कभी हिन्दुस्तान समाजवादी क्रन्ति के लिये तैयार होगा तो इस योजना के द्व!रा जो भी बंगलिये वाले नये नये साह्व लोग तैयार हुए हैं वह् इसके खिलाप: जायंगे ।

मैंने सुना तिवारी महाराज ने एक बात कही । बढ़िया बात थी, विहार के खिलाफ़, प्क्षपात हुग्रा लेकिन वह उसको

ऐसी सीमित जगह पर् ले गये कि वह् सही चीज़ ग़लत हो गयी । ग्रसल में क्या हो रहा है ? पक्षपात हो रहा है, किस के खिलाफ़ं, जो आरीव हैं, उनके खिलफ़। मिसाल के लिए मैं अ्रापको बतलाऊ कि उड़ीसा, ग्रांध्र प्रदेश, उतर प्रदेश ग्रौर बिहार ग्रादि के इलाकेे, यह् हि्ट्ट्स्तान में फ़ी ग्रादमी ग्रौसत श्रामदनी २०० साले साल वाले हैं श्रौर् वाकी जो इलाका है, जिनमें ग्रंग्रुजों ने ग्रपने विदेशी व्यापार की जृउन छोड़ी थी, जिसे बम्ऩई ग्रौर कलकत्ता श्रादि, वहां पर् फ़ी श्रादमी ग्रौसत ग्रामदनी जाकर $\vee ० \circ$ रुपये पड़末ो है ।

फिर जहां का एक बङ़ा ग्रादमी होता है वह ग्रपने इनाके को खूबसूरत बना लेता है। भ्रगर कोई मंन्नी होता है तो वह अ्रमने इलाके को ठीक टाक कर लेता है बाकी इलाके का सत्यानाश कर देता है ।

इसी तरींके से सहकारी खेती के बारे में

Mr. Chairman: He is putting mein an awkward position.

डा० रान सनोहर लंदिया : बस मैं श्रौर ग्रधिव समय विशेष न लूंगा । जल्दी जल्दी कह् कर में ग़न्म कित्रे देता हैं। केखल दो, तीन चीज़ें ही वाकी रहती हैं। २ एव ४० हजार एकड़ ज़मीन पर सहारी़ी खेती हुई है । चुनाओों के दिनों में ड्तना ज्यादा ढोल गीटा गया राहकारी खेती का लेकिन भ्रसलियत यह रही है कि ३० करोड़ एकड़ की खेती में से मुशि ल से २ लाख $\gamma \circ$ हजार एकड़ पर खेती हुई है। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि चुनाव के समय में ढोंगी वायदे ग्रौर सरकार की ग्रसलियत दोनों बिलकुल ग्रलग ग्रलग हैं ।

भ्रष्टाचार का तो कंहना ही क्या ? खादी श्रौर ग्रामोद्योग में र२ करोड़ रुपये योजना में खर्च किये गये हैं। नतीजा यह्

होता हैं कि गज छ कर्रोड़ ४० लाख से बढ़ कर ७ करोड़ ज० लाख तक पहुंच जाता है जब कि पूरी पैदानार ग्ररबों गज़ पर जाती है। किस लिये है ? मैं यह् साई कह्ना चाहता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान के प्रधान मंत्नी ने इस योजना को बनाया है। उस के कई तात्पर्य र होंगे। एक यह भी है कि किस तरीके से सच का मंह सोने के बर्तन से ढक दिया जाय । हिन्दुस्तान में न जाने किजने समुदायों को, सेवकों को, साधुग्रों को, प्रचारकों को या विद्या दाले लोगों को केवल नौकरी के धंधे में, जब मंली वना नहीं सकते या मंत्री बनना नहीं चाहते तो उनको इस तरह से फंसा रवख्बा गया है । इस तरीके से सारी योजना श्रष्ट हो गयी है। भ्रब इसको बदलने का केवल एक ही उपाय रह जाता है कि कोई संगठन ऐसा बने । मैं सरकार से इसकी उम्मीद नहीं करता । दस सरकार के पास तों संगठन है नहीं, तैयार भी नहीं कर रक्ती, खेती ग्रौर कारखानों को सुधारने वाला, लेकिन हृसें ग्रफ़्सोस के साथ ऊहना पड़ता है कि हम भी वह संगठन तंयार नहीं कर पाते हैं जो इस प्रकार के कूड़े को उडा कर फेंक दे । श्राज देश इसी पेंच में पड़ गया है कि सरकार कोई संगटन नहीं बना पा रही है जो खेती ग्रौर कारखानों को सुधारे, जनता वह रांगठन बना नहीं पा रही है जो इस सरकार को उखाड़ कर फेंक दे । उसका एक मान्न कारण है यह कि ह्र एक की दृष्टि संखुणित हो गयी है, श्रपने समूह् की हो गयी है ग्रपने क्षेत्र की हों गयी है। ग्रापसे मैं सही कहता हुं कि मेरा मन तड़्पता है जब से यहां दिल्ली में ग्राया हुं, मैं सोचता हूं दिं fिस जह्नुम में मैं ग्राकर फंस गया ह़ं ? रोज़ मेरे पास लोग दुखड़ा लेकर ग्राते हैं, रेडियो वाले ख्राते हैं, तार वाले जाते हैं, ब्लेत मज़द्र ग्राते हैं, वह सब ग्रपनो ग्रलग ग्रलग टूटी हुई वृति लेकर ग्राते हैं लेकि ग एक जम कर सारे दे की राष्ट्रीय तबियत पैदा हो, ऐसा हो नहीं पा रहा है । उस का सब से बड़ा कारण यह है कि इस योजना से सरकार ने देश के विश्वास का ख़ात्मा कर दिया है।

लोग कहते हैं कि ग्राज जा कूंड़ा गही पर चैठा हुग्रा है, इस बात की दया गारं $\uparrow$ है कि कल तुम भी उसी जग़ जब बंटोगे तुम भो कड़ा न हो जाॅगे ? मैं यह समझा नढ़ीं पाया कि जिस तरीके से ग्राज इस वर्तमान सरकार के कूते को हुटा स्केले हैं उसी तरह से कल उनकी जगह बैंने वाते भी यf कूड़ा हो जामें तो जनता उसको भी हटा सकर्ती है, जि तरह से घर रोंज़ाना झड़ देकर कड़ा घर के बाह्र किसा जाता है। लेकिन वैसा संगठन बन नहीं पा रा है। इस योजना पर टीका करते हुएं ग्रपनी नाल!यकी कह देना चा ता हैं कि वह् संगठन हम बना नहीं पा रहे हैं । फैलात वाली वह् मनोवृत्ति, ग्रार्यक जीयन में वह् चौड़ाव वाली मनोवृत्ति कि तीसरे दर्ज़े में जो मुसाभि,र घुसते हैं ग्रौर जो डस। पहले से बैंटे हुण हैं, उनमें कुछ लोग ताकतवर हैं वह झ्रपना फैल कर बैठ जाते हैं जन्त $f .:$ बाकी लोग सितु:ड़ कर दैट जाते हैं ' मैं ग्रापसे यह् निवेदन कर्शागा: किस तरीके से मुल्क में, जीवन में यह फेलाव वली मनोध्दि फैले तभी कहीं जाकर जह योजना दरैरह हो पायेगी ।

Mr. Chairman: Shri Hanumantheiya.

## 16 hrs.

Shri Hanumanthaiya (Bangalore City): Mr. Chairman, during the last two days. . ...

डा० रत्म मनोहर लोहिया : सभापति महोदय, मैं ग्रापको धन्यनाद दे दूं। यह मैं भूल गया।

Mr. Chairman: I am glad that he did not take more time for it.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: During the last two days, I have had the privilege of listening to the spokesmen of the Swatantra Party, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and Praja Socialist Party.

Shrimati Vimala Devi: Nobody from the Congress Party?

Seri Hanumanthaiya: It is taken for granted.

The proposition placed before the House by my hon. friend, the Minister in charge of Planning is the Midterm Appraisal of the Third Plan. in his speech he has requested the House in all earnestness to make concrete and constructive suggestions. The pattern of speeches that have been made by the party spokesmen has all the time been the same. As soon as they get up, the train of ideas runs along the set railway lines; it goes either to Moscow or to Washington or it reaches nowhere. There is no mid-term station at all for them.

Mr. Chairman: That is the hot line.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: A brilliant speech was made by a member of the Communist Party. I must own it. I wish he had directed his energy towards making some suggestions. We in the Congress Party are also the champions of the underdog. We are prepared to receive concrete ideas and implement them. So far as the Swatantra Party is concerned, it took a line of its own and went to the extend of saying that the Plan itself has to be scrapped. That is too extreme a proposition to be ponsorad in this House these days. The PSP is almost like the Congress. We are two bodies with one soul. They may make suggest:ons in order to make us work hard. I appreciate their point of view. I have great respect for the leader of the Socialist Party for his sincerity and almost saintliness for he wants to see that not only the cause of the underdog is championed but also that we begin to acclimatice ourselves to the ways of his thinking and living.

### 16.03 hrs .

[Mr. Deputy-Spliaker in the Chair]
That is why he makes suggestions so of ten for reduction in the expenditure

## Report on Mid-term <br> Appraisal of Third Fir: Year Plan

in the Prime Minister's house so ofton. I understand the spirit that lies behind his argument. But that can happen only when, I humbly submit to him, he becomes the Prime Ministor. Then he can throw away the carpets from the Prime Minister's house. He can reduce the furniture. He could go out alone without any security force which is now a paraphernalia. In fact, having watched for some years the talents and the great mental astuteness of Dr. Lohia I very much wish his abilities had been harnessed for governmental work. After all, we are living in a democracy. We are not just in the stage as in the British days of flinging arguments at the Government all the time. The time has come and a constitutional set up has been established wherein, if we have the backing of the people we can implement our ideas. This is the stage of implementation, not the stage of attacking or abusing each other. From that point of view, I am very glad that the leader of the P.S.P. Party, Shri Asoka Mehta, has accepted office in the Planning Commiss:on. I welcome it. He has been a man of the people for a very long time. He has worked for the people and he understands the psychology of the people. I am very glad that he has accepled office in the Planning Commission.

In the short time at my disposal, I do not walat to enter into generalities. I will make only two concrete pro-posais-one a major one and anoher a minor one-and I hope I will have the time for it. 1 w:ll take the minor one first. The Mid-term Appraisal of the Third Plan is good in itself. The Government has come before the House truthfully place the picture of the progress in the implementation of the Third Plan. The sovereignty of Parliament is thercby acknowledged in a telling manner and they have given us an opportun'ty to make suggestions. These debates take place, off and on, may be once or twice a year. These debates about appraisal do not
give Parliament enough opportumity, enough knowledge to scrutinise the activities of the Planning Commission and the Cabinct in this behaif. I would, therefore, suggest the setting up of a control room, or a control board in the precincts of the Pariament.

Some years ago il had gone to London. At that time they had just. nationalised the railways. I saw there in every railway station automatic gramophones being put up which went oin continuously giving facts and figures $_{S}$ about the railway administra$\mathrm{ti}_{\mathrm{o}}$ and how the railways have to be used and how public undertakings luave to be treated and how they have to be made a success.

In the same way, I would suggest thai in the precincts of Parliament a room must be sct apart where there should be continuous display as to how fiar the different Ministries have progressed in their plan implementation; what is the target-the target must be written at the top-in how many days or how many month ${ }_{5}$ what progress has been achieved etc. Week by week and month by month the progress made should be correctly recorded. If that is done, Members of Parl:ament may be always seeing the periormance of each Ministry, each department, each undertaking of the public sector of our Planning, how they have implemented the Plan, how far they have succeeded in achieving the targets, both phisical as well as financial, and the difficulties faced by them and how much time they will take to achieve the targets. It should be done in a picturesque manner, may be with the assistance of electrical devices lik $_{e}$ the one we have for automatic voting. There should be graphs and other visual aids. We should have a room set apart within the Par'iament House, may be in the corridor where we have paintings of sur past glory, may be somewhere else, which will be a sort of control room to look at. and understand and appreciate the correct position regarding the imple-
mentat:on of the Plan. I belicve that much more than that of the Government it is the work of the Parliament Secretariat. It is the Parliament that exercises its own way sovereignty over the working of Government. This establishment comes under its jurisdict:on and power of Parliament. I would urge you, Mr. De-puty-Speaker and through you, the Speaker, to move Government for the estailishment of such a control room in the precincts of the Parliament House.

My second proposition is about the working of the Plainning Commission, visi-a-vis the Cab:nct and vis-a-vis the State Govermments. I have had some experience. Near Bangalore, about five miles from Bangalore, a national highway passes through a tank. It is bunded up in the middle of the tank, and in the middle of the bund, there is a small bridge. It may cost about Rs. 15,000 or Rs. 20,000 . When I was in office, somehow, the bridge was wathed away during the floods. Since the national highway comes under the jur:sdiction of the Ceniral Government, the Mysore Government could not at once reconstruct the bridge. We had to write to the Govermment of India. I do not know whether the Government of ndia consulted the Planning Commission. I am not going into that. But even afler II had resigned, for three ysars the bridge was not reconstructed. Correspondence went on between the State Government and the Central Government about the design and the cost of the bridge which at besi wculd not have exceeded about Rs. 20:000. One day, Shri S. K. Patil who was then in charge of the Transport Department came to Bangalore. I could not contain myself even though I was not in office. I took $h: m$ to the spot and showed the bridge to him and said 'This is the way the Government of India works and the planning machinery functions". He went back and probably moved in the matter. The bridge was constructed thereafter. For the last three years, all

## [Shri Hanumanthaiya]

the vehicies piying on this national hignway had to be diverted through Whitetield thus covering a distance of about iifteen miles. The amount of expenditure on petrol, which was incurred by Government and private vehicies for three years would have been probably ten to fifteen times the expenditure that was required for the bridge. I have given this illustration just to show how national waste takes place. It is this way that the machinery of the state Government, the machinery of the Central Govermment and the machinery of the Planning Commission work. If you bring three authorities simultaneously into existence, it cannot be otherwise. It is not the fault of any particular person. If you have too many officers or persons in an office, naturally, since an officer takes some salary, he wants to do some work. Therefore, he wants to look into whatever the other officer does, and by way of showing that he $i_{s}$ a very efficient man, he wants to put some note on what the other officer has wr:tten. The other officer above him also wants to do the same thing. In this kind of travelling of files from table to table, delay is inevitable.

The cost of the administration is threefold as it werc. I am not suggesting the abolition of all th's machinery. I shall make my suggestions in consonance with the constitutional provisions.

Next, what is the composition of the Planning Commission? Some of the people who have retired from regular government service are taken there, or some Members of Parliament are taken there. So far as the staff is concerned, to my knowledge, many of the people who retire from service in the State or in the Central Government are re-employed. In my days, I wanted to sack one of the superintending engineers for corruption, and I found after some months that he has been appointed as a high officer in the Planning Commission. As a wise
man, I was afraid that my plan might not be implemented to the extent I wanted it I atiacked the Planning Commission, and so, I had to keep quite. This file is still in the offices of the Mysore Secretariat. This kind of favouritism is there; I do not say that it is there in all cases; it may be there in some cases. But the staff oi the Planning Commission is twice-distilled material that is made available by the regular Departments either in the Centre or in the States. Why should this be so? On the other hand, why should it not be as I would suggest? Suppose it is a question of irrigation. Why should not the Chief Engineers of all the States put together const tute one board of irrigation? Of course, there is the argument that the State Chief Engineers go on inflating the demand of their respective States. That is true. When you do not give responsibility, irresponsibility has $\mathrm{it}_{\mathrm{s}}$ way. When you make them responsible for spending a particular amount, they will see to it that it is equitably distributed among the States and every consideration that ought to be taken note of is taken note of. It is the prevailing irresponsible position in which these officers and Ministers are placed in the Centre and in the States, that makes them feel that "The more we demond from the Centre, the more patrontic we shall look in our respective States'. This is a very unhealthy psychology.

Therefore, I suggest that the Planning Comm'ssion must consist of senior members of the Cabinet. Let the number be about nine. I do not mind. It may be a little less or more. Let the Prime Minister continue. Yesterday, a friend of mine who is in the Planning Commission made fun of me by saying 'Are you after me? Do you want me to go home?' I said 'Far from :t'. Many of them are very wise people and very experienced people. Let them be advisers to the Planning Commission but not be
members of the Planning Commission themselves.

The constitution of the Planning Commission as it is, as a super-Cabimet or as a parallel Cabinet is the bane of the stuation. So far as we Members of Parliament are concerned, we cannot fix responsibility. If we ask the Cabinct members, they will say that the Planning Commis:ion came in the way. If $w_{c}$ ask the Planning Commission members, they will say that these Minisiers are not so efficient and ask 'What are we to do?'

I shall give you an example which is within the knowledge of the Planaing Commission as well as the concerned Cabinet Minisier. Once, it so happened that Rs. 50 crores were allolted for the purpose of purchasing shipping to the extent of about 1 mil liot tons. After a few months, the prices went down. Therefore, the Min'stry proposed to the Planning Commission that since the prices had gone down they might be allowed to parchase 1.5 million tons of shipping. The great argument from the Planning Commission was 'No, no, we cannot allow it, because that would be exceeding the target'. The Ministry s:id 'No, the money is the same, namely Rs. 50 crores, but the prices have gone down, and, therefore, we could purchase 1.5 million tons of shipping; physical target goes up, but not in terms of money already provided'. Then, they sanctioned after some three months. This is the kind of absurd ty to which the implementation will be reduced by this kind of parallel agencies.

[^0]ployees, clerks and others is 246 . This was the position in 1960-61.

The Minister of Railways (Shri Dasappa): Class IV staff are not cterks.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: ì was referring to attenders, etc. This was the position in 1960-61. I could get only these figures from the papers supplied to me. Now, the number must have increased, and the annual expenditure of the commission has now reached the figure of about Rs. 3 crores.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: No, no. We have given this information and it includes both the committees on plan projeats and the programme evaluation organisation. This figure of Ts. 1 erore is the overall budget. The Planning Commission itself accounts for about Rs. 58 lakhs cinly; and the other two, namely the programme evaluation organisation and the committee on plan projects account for the rest.

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): One crore is big enough.

Shri Manumanthaiya: I wish very much that my young friend had the grasp of things.

I am speaking about the structure of the Planning Commission, not about the members of the Commission only. In the old days during the time of the Maharaja, I used to ask, why should a civil list of Rs. 45 lakhs be given to the Maharaja? The argument advanced against $m_{e}$ was that the Maharaja took only two meals costing Rs. 3 or Rs. 4 . $\mathrm{H}_{\mathrm{c}}$ would spend only about Rs. 10 a day. Thia is the kind of specious argument put forward. If there is supervisory staft, appraisal staff and so many other staff, are they not part of the Planning Commission? Wiry should they not all be part and parcel of a Ministry itself? The executive authority is
[Shri Hanumanthaiya]
vested in the Government. The Ministers of the Cabinet must not only be able to think but implement and supervise. That is the function given to them under the Constitution. Here is a set up where they plead inability in the matter of supervision, delay in the matter of execution and want of power if it is a question of asking them how far they have implemented the Plian. The whole structure of the Planning Commission and the Cabinet must be so integrated as to be one harmonious whole charged with the work of conceiving the plan, drawing up the plan, executing the plan and supervising it. The prosent multiplicity of organisations is the bane of the hour. It is the main defect of the Government. It is not a question of patronage to a few. The protection of the people as a whole from want is the policy of thic House and it must be implemented in all seriousness.

As though fate would have it, even the Planing representative in this House has been reduced in status. I very much wish Shri Nanda, who has been rosponsible for Planning for all these years was here to listen and see how well his chid is fairing. He has left it in the lap of my innocent friend, Shri Bali Ram Bhagat. The Prime Minister has been saying that economic progress must have the first priority. That shows that his mind is much more immersed in economic progress than even in the recovery of our territories from the Chinese. To some extent, I agree with him. If this occupics that high priority in our mental make-up, here mast be a representative of the Planning Commission in this House next only to the Prime Minister. Otherwise, the seriousness with which we have to discuss will not be there. The country will not take it so scriously. You see the effect of it. The discussion is desultory. It is not charged with that amount of seriousness which the Prime Minister wants to impart into it.

One more suggestion before I conclude. If there is any Ministry of the Government of India that ought to be immediately looked into, it is the Community Development Ministry.

Shri hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): It should be sacked.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: At its inception, I had several argunents with the Prime Minister. There is some correspondence between him and me.

Shri Hari Vishnu Famath: You were Chief Minister of Mysore then.

Shri Hhavmanilaiya: Yes I will give one cxample; only examples can bring the point home, not so much theorctical arguments. The other day during the budget discussion they gave us a report on their performance. They mentioned exactiy how much chemical fertiliser had been distributed in India. At the same tims, they gave the figure of the number of compost pits dug-they were in thousands. I asked the concerned Minister in my speech how much compost was produced in those pits, and distributed. He said, 'we do not maintain figures'. This is the kind of show going on mosily in these community projects.

I like the idea. But it must be pruned and properly adjusted to the needs of the country. Now community project means-what is the number of seminars held, what is the length of speeches poople there have made, what is the number of platitudes paid? This is the sum and substance of the community projects administration.

My hon. friend, Dr. Rao of the Irrigation Ministry......

[^1]Shri Manumanthaiya: On a point of correction. She said 'my hon. Member'. I do not belong to her.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Dr. Aney.

## Shri Imaumanthaiya: One last point.

In this House nearly half a century ago, the Finance Membr-as he was called then-uttered a famous phrase, The budget of Government of India is a gamble with the monsoon'. Though British imperialism has gone and we have given up the capitalist system and transferred oursclves to the socialist system, that argument is held so fast by the Government today that I pity them.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: What sbout Dr. Rao? You were mentioning his name.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: This 'monsoon' idea was very conveniently adopted by the British. But as you know, India is su:h a vast country that if there is searcity in one area, it is not as though it spreads throughout the country. Conditions are so different in different areas. In any given year, we can have what is called the average crop or rainfall in the total calculation. Sccondly, in the last twelve years, we have constricted so many dams, reservoirs, small and big, minor and major irrigation works and at the end of it

## Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Damn it all.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: . . . if you plead that you still have not been able to get over the disadvantages and vagaries of the monsoon, we are still in the stage of outmoded thinking as the Prime Minister often says.

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): I thank you for the time vou have given me. The appraisal half-way through the third Plan is a disappointment. 13 years of planning should have secur-
$e_{d}$ the economy against the kind of misfortune that seems to have overtaken it. Perhaps the poorest backward community in the world, the people of our country, are paying as taxes 10 per cent of their national income, whereas ten years ago, taxes amounted only to 6 per cent. Now, taxes totalling Rs. 1900 crores will be collected by the end of the Third Plan period, the amount being Rs. 800 crores more than the target fixed by the planners themselves. The p:ople's readiness to bear such heavy burden has impressed some foreign countries favourably.

Perturbing as the position is in regard to the economic development of the country, its immediate effect on the daily life of the people has been sharply felt in the persistent rise in prices which, the Planning Commission records, have gone up by more than 8 per cent since the begiming of the third year of the Third Plan in April last. Significant increase in aggregate investment on the one hand and failure of production to keep pare with investment on the other combined with profitecring and blackmarketing have brought about this situation. Measures so far taken to reeulate prices have been practically ineffective and in the Commission's view further action may become necessary to arrest this trend. What ever this action might be, the pooblem can hardly be tackled at the root if the rate of investments continues to progressively outpass that of production. The disclosure made by th: mid-term appraisal--and this was the carlier finding of several non-official and semi-official bodies too--underlines the urgency of streamlining the administrative machinery for exceuting the plan projects and of land reforms in the agricultural sector along with the effective measures for controlling prices and reducing disparities of wealth and income among different sections of the community.

The question is who is to be blamed for the flop represented by the fall in
[Shri M. S. Aney ]
the annual rate of increase in the national income. In the Third Plan the Appraisal Report admits "saving $a_{s}$ the first phase of a period of intensive development leading towards a sclf-reliant and self generating econmy." This intensive development, insiead of yielding a 5 per cent annual increase in national income has actually resulted in an increase of 2.5 per cent. The shortfall in naions production is mostly due to disheartening performance in agriculture. The Plan began auspiciously enough. agricultural production was higher than in the previous years, but if the production of $1962-63$ is taken into account, it is seen that foodgrains profuction declined by $2 \cdot 2$ million tons. Thus, we have to be prepared for a total shortfall of 3 to 5 million tons by the end of the Plan. Agriculture is the chief occupation of the majority of our people and failure there means a lack of national interest in the Plan. Against the background of this widespread indifference, advances that may have been made in other sectors of the economy will lose much of their significance.

Two main reasons are given for the shortfall in irrigation potential. The first, the assessment of targets for the Third Plan is found to be unduly high The second, the completion of ecrtain projects has been delayed because the costs have gone up. In few cases, shortfalls are traced to inadequate forcign exchange resource ${ }_{S}$ and shortage of cement, steel and other material. Even if creation and utilization of irrigation potential are fully achieved there would still remain a number of complementary tasks to be carried out before agricultural production begins to increase. These complementary measures are-the setting up of experimental and demonstration farms, soil surveys for determining cropping patterns, advance planning for supply of improved seeds and fertilizers and so on. This calls for close cooperation bet-
ween Irrigation and Agriculture Departmenta.

Another sector that has lagged behind is the private sector in industry. The Third Plan was based on a targetted 11 per cent annual increase in industrial production. In 1962-63 the increase was only 8 per cent in spite of very good performance by industries in the public sector.

The failure of the administrative machinery to cope with the new task is by no means a complete surprise. The Planning Commission had foressen the danger "as large burdens are thrown on the administrative structure", it had warned three years ago: "it grows in size, as its size increases it becomes slower in functioning. Delays occur and affect operations at every stage and the expected outputs are further deferred." This is precisely what has happened during the last $2 \frac{1}{2}$ years. Some action has been taken to improve the general procedures followed by the executive agencies but nowhere have the changes been adequate to the needs. There is urgent need to reform the administration of public enterprises some of which have not been able either to keep to the time schedules nor the cost estimates, nor achieve the expected returns. There has been no organised effort so far to work out new performance standards or introduce new incentives what is worse the responsibility within every executive agency is still far too diffused, with the result that it is often difficult to assig. the blame to anyone when something goes wrong. The extent to which lack of proper coordination leads to distortion of the Plan can be judged from the manner in which certain States have departed from the agreed allocations under the Pian and used funds earmarked for one purpose for an altogether different purpose. To refuse to conform to national and State priorities is to male nonsense of planning.

A writer in the latest number of the British Political Quarterly concedes that India has not done a bard job in setting up her Planning Commission. The men, he says, are able, the organisation is adequate, the proceaures are intelligently devised. Why then, have the plans since 1956 been so profusedly ruming to crisis? One reason, according to him, is that the Commission and the Government have consistently based their plans on excess expectations of the possibility of changing attitudes and influencing motives and have not thought deeply enough about ways and means of mobilizing existing attitudes and motives for the cause of economic growth. For instance, the main result of the abolition of the zamindaris and jagirdaris of the expansion of services to the agriculturists is the creation of a rural petit bourgeoisic. This is no part of the Plan but the Commission and the Government have nevertheless to treat it as one of the most. important developments for the substantial peasant is becoming the political power in the land. Second source in realism is what he calls over-planning, i.e., too ambitious targets to which Planning Commission thas itself referred in connection with the irrigation potential. These criticisms are faniliar enough but they nevertheless deserve careful study.

Before I conclude I desire to invite the attention of the hon. Members to one or two quotations from the summary of the Third Plan, page 26, para 10. This lays down that over the Third Plan period, national income should go up at least by about thirty per cent if not 34 per cent from about Rs. 14500 crores at $1960-61$ prices at the end of the Second Plan to about 19000 crores $_{s}$ at the end of the Third Plan. On the basis of the present estimates of the population per capita income should rise from Rs. 330 crores to Rs. 385 crores at the end of the Third Plan. Is this condition likely to be fulfilled in view of the present report?

Then the summary of the Third Plan chapter on review of imports and exports, para 7 , page 41 says that considering the requirements on account of repayment objections and maintenance and development imports, it is estimated that by the end of the Fourth Plan level of experts would have to rise to about Rs. 13001400 erores that is to at Jeast twice the present level. This in itself is one of the essential conditions for ensuring that India's economy becomes self-reliant and self-sustaining by the Fifth Plan. Sir, I do not want to encumber my speech with more quotations from the report. Thirid Plan of which more than half the period has already been over is like the keystone in the arch of the five five year plans. If this key-stone be not properly securely set, the entire arch will not be strong and there is great danger of the entire structure of the five five year plans suddenly collapsing. That is a great responsibility. The fate of the future economic position and industrial situation is in the hands of those who have started this planning with the best of intentions more than 13 years before. It is for them to cooly reflect over the implications of the Third Plan report and take courage in their hands to make even radical changes in the plans as well as the composition of the Planning Commission itself if necessary and save the country from the cconomic catastrophe. I hope, Sir, wise counsels will prevail and nation's progress towards prosperity, peace and happiness will be secured.

श्री काशीनाथ पांडले (हगना) उपाध्यस्र मह़ादय, मैंने कर्ट गभाग्रों में छा" नंनfिया माहत्र की र्पाणिज मुनी है। हम में कोई गक नह्री है कि वह्ट एक बिद्रान ग्रादर्म है। उनके नियंय मेन दिन में ग्राएर है। नंधिन उनका स्पीच मे मुजे कुण तेमा भ्रा’गाम हुग्रा कि, जैसे जिन्दर्गा में बहुन मे गेंमे छंगान हैंगे है कि. जिन के माने पुरुपार्य स्रीग जिन
[श्रंो काशीनाश पांडे]
के सारे प्रयत्न जब श्रसफल हो जाते हैं तो उनके सामने केबल निराशा श्योर ग्रंधकार को छोड़ कर कोई चीज़ नहीं गरती है, उसी तरह्ठ से जनके सामते भी इसके सिझाय ग्र्रैर कोई चीज़ नहीं है । में उनके जैसा विद्वान नहीं है। लेकिन सभी लोग इन देश के उन से यह ग刀गा रखते हैं कि वे कुछ दरें। यह ठीक है कि प्लान इंसान की बनाई हुई चीज है, फिर चाहे कितने ही इंसानों ने उसको मिल कर बनाया हो, जों इंसान की बनाई हुई चीज़ होंती है, उसके ग्रन्दर गलती का होन स्वाभाविक है । मैं ड्सको मानता हूं । लेकिन जरुग्त ग्राज केग को यहै है कि अ्रगर हमारी गलती है तों बताया जाए वि: किस तरोके से चलने से गलती होनी है ग्रौर कौन सा चलने का नरीका ठीक है, जिससे गलती न हो। डा० लोहिया साहृब का एक भामला मैंने देखा है ग्रोग संभी ने देखा होगा। उत्तर प्रदेश में हित्दी ग्रान्दोलन चलाते हुए उन्होंने हिन्दी को लाने का कौन सा तरीका अ्रख्ट्यार किया ग्रौए गंग्रेजी को ह्टाने का कौन सा प्रयाम किसा, यह ग्राप सब को विदित है । जितने भीं माडलस्टोन श्रे ग्रोर जिन पर ग्रंग्रेजी में नम्बग लिखा हुग्रा था, उनको उन्होंन तारकाल मे पुतवा दिया । यह् चीज़ इस बान का सवूत्त हैं कि किसी विन्वान ग्रादमी हे गामने जिस को ग्रंग्रेजी
 ग्रा गई ही़ कि वहु यह् भी न बता सकता हैं कि उसके ग्रागे का क्या पग है, क्या उसका ग्रागे का प्रोग्राम है, किस तरह से वहु चलना चाहता है, तो मामला जरा विगड़ जाता है। मैं ग्रधिक इस सम्बन्ध में ग्रौर कुछ कह्ना नहीं चाह़ता हूं । ग्रमूमन हृम ने उनकी दो तीन स्पीचिज़ में तीन ग्रांन ग्रौर २७ करोड़ ग्रादमियों की वात को सुना है । उनकी बात को हम मान लेते हैं। लेकिन वह् यह् भी तो बताते कि उन की ग्रामदनी दो रुपया हो जाय जो है भी चाहतं हैं श्रौर यह् कंसे हो सकता है । मैंने कोई 仓ेंसी चीज़ जोकि

मुआव के तौर पर ती गर्ध है। उनकी स्पीच में गहीं पाहै है
16.43 hrs.
[Mir. Deputy-Speaker in the Chair]
sी राम से वक पेदद (वारालंकी) : सुझांव दिये हैं ।

घो कारोनाथ पांडे : ग्राप नुन गह्यि।
शी राम सेवक यादव : श्राप चुण र्चिये ।
श्रध्यक्ष महोदय : वहै करसे न्वा रे ? उनको मैने बोलने के लिये कहा हैं खौर उनको उजाजत दीं है ।

शी राम सेवक यादव : ग्राम फ़ड़ा ध्यान दें । उन्हुोंन गुलाव दियेय हैं ग्रौर वह कहते हैं कि सुझाव ही नहीं दियें हैं। यदि काँर्ष ग्रांब्ड मूंद कर न्वले तो क्या कहा जाग ।

ग्रह्यक्ष महोदय : ग्राप उस तनफ न जगयें ।

श्री काशीनाथ पांडें : तैं ग्राप की तर्क आ गहा हैं।

ग्रध्यक्ष महोदय : जा़ां लोशिया साहुव बँंठ थे उन संट्ट की नरफ ग्राप देख रहे हैं।

भी काशंनाथ पांडें : मैं गह् कह रहा गा कि दुनिया में चाहे कोई भी काम ग्राप करें, कुछ न कुण फालोग्रर ग्राफको मिल जायेंगे, कोई भी ग्राप का विचार क्यों न हो, ग्रापको फालोग्रुर. जहर किल जायेंगे । मैं एक बात कहत्रा हूं कित जों भी इंसान इस दुनिया में पैदा हुग्रा है, इस पृथ्वी पर पैदा हुग्रा है, उसे एक दिन मग्ना है चाहे वह कोठियों में रहता हो या मामूली झोंपड़ी में गहता हो, चाहे उसके पास कोई बहुत बड़ा मह्ल हो, ग्रासाइश के सब सामान हों ग्रौर चाहे सड़क पर चलने वाला इंसान हो। ग्रगर हम:

यह्ती विचार श्र्रंर यही प्रचार करते "रहें कि हमें तो मर जाना है नो हुमारे सामने खाली निराशा के औौर कुछ नहीं ग्रा सकता है ग्राँर इसका मतलद इसंके सिवाय ःौर कुण नहीं हो सकत्ता है कि टुनिया भें कोई प्रगति ही न हों। इसलिये में कह्ना चाह़ता हूं कि जितने भी विद्वान देश़ कें है ग्रींर जों ग्रपने ग्रापको ल्डर कह्ते हैं ग्रौर जिन को देश के लोग ड़ज्त की दृष्टि से देखते भी हैं, उन सं ः्राज देग़ के नार्गरिक यह् भ्राशा लगाये बंठे हैं कि वे देश के सामने एक ग्राल्टरनेटिव, देश के सामने कोंड़ं एक ऐसा सुझाव रखें जिससे देश प्रंगति कर सकना हो। इतना ही मैं इस सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहत्ता हूं श्रधिक नहीं।

दूसरी बात मैं एग्पलायमेंट के सिलसिले में कह्टना चाहृला हूं। इस पर् मैं खास तौर से रोशनी डालना चाहला हूं । प्लानिंग कमिशान ने इस के बारें जो रिपार्ट दी है, उसके लिये मैं उसका बड़ा मशक्र हूं, बड़ा कृतज्ञ हुं। कम कें कम उन्होंने एक खिण रेखा तो हैमारे सामने रखी है, फिए वाहे जस में दोष ही क्यों न हों, चाहें ह्मारी श्रसुफलतायें ही क्यों न दिध्जा दी गई हों। कम से कम उनकी हिम्मत तो हुई है 㹁उस के सामने एक चीज़ रखने की। प्रजातन्त्व के अ्रन्दर उन से शप्रपेक्षा की जाती है कि ने तगास बानें चा़े वे घच्छा हों या ह्मारी संझ में कुण बुरे तरिके से हुई हों, ग्रप्रिश्न हों, लि्म्मत करवे हमारे सासने रबें । मैं घसझता हूं विं मंलिक नरीके से मलनी प्लर्लिग कनिभुन करता है । मैंने किताबों को पढ़ कर देग्रा है ग्रौर् उन में कहा गया हें कि हैम ने मह इंडस्ट्री लगा दी है, यह सुधार कर द्विगा हैं, एग्रिकलचरल फोल्ड में इतनी प्राजेक्टस शुरू कर दी है ग्रौर इन सब से इतने एम्प्लायमेंट के ग्रबपर पैदा हो सकते हैं श्रांर फिर उसके बाद जब रिपोर्ट पेश की जाती है तो कह दिया जाता है कि जितने टारगेट फिक्स किये गथे थे, वे पूरे नहीं हुए वे कम रह गए। में कहना च.हता हूं कि किसी भी देंश को श्राग बढ़ना हो या

उसको बरबाद होना हो तो उसको परखने का एक ही ग्रासार हुंग्रा करता है कि उस देश में बेकारी कितनी है । हमारे देश में बेकारी की समस्या बहुत गम्भीर है ग्रौर में समझता हूं कि जिस तरह से प्लानिंग हो रहा है ग्रौर जिस तरह से वेकारी की समस्या को ह्म बहुत सीछे तौर से ले रहे हैं, उससे हम कोई ज्यादा ग्राशावादी नहीं हो सकते हैं। दरग्रसल बेकारी के सम्बन्ध में प्लार्निग यह होना चाहिये कि अ्रापको रूपरेखा मालूम हो जाए कि हमारे यहां बेकार कितने हैं ग्रौर कितने भविष्य में वेकार ग्रादमी बढ़ सकते हैं ग्रौर फिर हम लोग तय कर लें कि प्रति वर्ष इतने ग्रादमियों को काम देना है । ग्रगर इस दृम्टिकोण से हम काम करेंगे तब तो हम बेकारी की समस्या को हल कर सकेंग श्रौर ग्रगर बोझ्स इकट्टे करेंगे ग्रौर हम दिखाने का प्रयत्न करते रहेंगे कि ह्मने इतने ग्रवसर पैदा कर दिये हैं लेकिन उतने ग्रादमियों को हम काम नहीं दें सके क्योंकि प्ला़िंग में या प्लान में यह खराती हां गई़, वह ग्ऱात्री हो गई है तो इससे नेकारी की समस्या ह्ल नहीं हो सकेगी। एक ग्रंग्रेजी कह्टावत है कि घोड़े के पैर के ग्रनुसार नाल ठीक हो सकता है । हुमको घोड़े के पैर के ग्रनुषार नाल ढृंढना चाहित्ये न कि नाल के श्यनुसार घोड़े को ढ़ंढना चाहिए। तो मैं कहना चाह़ा हुं कि वेकारी के सम्बन्ध में हमारी एक निश्चित नीति होनी च्वाहिए गैर एक खास प्रोग्राम होना चाहिए क्योंकि हमारे देश में बेकारी बढ़ रही है ।

जो श्रांकड़े केकारी के सम्बन्ध में दिये जाते हैं वे पूरे नहीं हैं। हम इन ग्रांकड़ों के लिए एम्पलायमेंट एक्सचेंजों पर निभ्भंर करते हैं लेकिन उनमें गहरूं के लोग ही ग्रपने को रुजस्टर करवाते हैं जो कि ग्रासानी से एसा कर सकते हैं । लेकिन गांवों के लोग
[श्री काशीनाथ पांडे]

इतनी दूर से सफर करके यहां तक नहीं ग्रा पाते ग्रौर ग्रपने को रजिस्टर नहीं करा पाते । ह्मलिए उनके श्रांकड़े मुहैया नहीं हो पाते ग्रौर द्स तरह पूरी समस्या हमारे सामने नहीं ग्रारी । भ्रौर जब तक ग्रापको पूरी समस्या नहीं मालूम होगी उस समय तक उसका सभाधान कैसे हो सकेगा। डसलिए मैं चाहता हूं कि इसके लिए कोई मैशिनरी कायम की जाये जो इस सारी समस्या को हमारे सामने उपस्थित कंरे ।

एक चीज में कम्युनिटी डेवे लपमेंट के बारे में कहना चाहता हैं। जों इस बारे में श्री हनुमंतैया जी ने कहा है उससे में सहमत हूं । जब यह विभाग कायम किया गया तो इससे वड़ी ग्राणायें की जाती थीं अ्रौर हम बड़े गर्व के साथ कहते हैं कि हम ने सारे देश में कम्युनिटी डेवेलपमेंट व्लाक फँला दिये हैं । लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि डससे क्या काम हुग्रा । इन से हमारी खेती का उत्पादन बढ़ाने में क्या प्रगति हुई ? खेती की पैदावार बढ़ाने का एक तरीका तो यह हो सकता है कि सरकारी सारी जमीन खुद ले ले ग्रौर ग्रगर ऐसा नहीं करती है तो किसानों को व्यक्तिगत रूप से सुविधायें दे जिससे उत्पादन बढ़ सके ।

में पू छता हूं कि जो ग्रापने कांग्रापरेटिच फार्म बनाए हैं उन से कितना प्रोडक्शन बढ़ा। यह कह देना कि हमने इतने कम्पोस्ट के गड्ढ्ढे खोंदे, ड़तना खाद दिया ग्रौर यह् किया वह किया, इससे काम नहीं चल सकता । हम देखते हैं कि सन् १ह६०-६१ में चीनी का उत्पादन ₹ $७$ ल लाख टन हुग्रा था ग्रौर इस कम्युनिटी डेवेलपमेंट के रहते ग्राज इस देश में २१ं६् लाख टन चीनी पैदा हो रही है । तां कम्युनिटी डेवेलपमेंट के रहते यह हमारी तरक्की हुई है ।

जहां तक कोग्रापरेटिव फार्मिग का वाल है, हमनं विरोधियों की तरफ से यह

प्रचार किया जाता है-इलेक्शन के समय मेंने यह प्रचार देखा था-कि सहकारी खेती का मतलब है सरकारी ख्रेती ग्रौर लोगों में यह भ्रम पँदा किया गया कि सह्वारी खेती का नतीजा यह निकलेगा कि सरकार सारी जमीन ले लेगी ।

श्री कछजाय (देबास) : सही बात है 1

श्री काइीनाथ पांडे : ग्राप जैंसे लोग ऐसा सोचते हैं ।

लकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि ग्राप देखें कि कंज्यूमर्स कोग्रापरेटिव सोसाइटीज हैं, ड्न्टोंने कौन सा धन तन लिया व्यापारियों का । मैं मानता हूं कि सोसाइटीज़ में दोप हो सकते हैं, लेकिन इनमें तमाम शेयर होल्डर हैं, उनकी ये सोसाड़टीज़ हैं, वही इनके मालिक हैं । ये सोसाइटियां सारे देश की नहीं हो गयीं । यही चीज कोग्रापरेटिव खेती के बारे में है । जो उन सोसाइटीज के सदस्य होंगे वही उन जमीन के मालिक होंगे ग्रौर वह् जमीन उनके ह्री कंट्रोल में रहेगी। लेकिन लोगों में यह भ्रम पैदा कर दिया गता है कि सरकार उस जमीन को ले लेगी ।

यह बात साफ है कि जब तक निसान गरीब हैं ग्रौर उनके पास छोटी छोटी जमीनें हैं तब तक सरकार भी उनको सहायता न दे सकेगी ग्रौर ग्रगर देगी तो उसका पूरा फल नहीं निकल सकेगा। इसलिए कोग्रापरेटिव खेती बहुत जहर्री है । में जानना चाहता हुं कि कम्युनिटी डेवेलपमेंट विभाग ने कोग्रापरेटिव खेती के मामले में क्या प्रगति की है । केवर यह् कह् देना कि इतनी सोस!इटियां बन गई हैं काफी नहीं है । हम चाहते हैं कि तुलनात्मक श्रांकड़े हमारे सामने ग्रायें कि इस जोन में इतनी कोग्रापरेटिव सोसाइटीज़ बनीं, श्रीर उनके पहले इतनी पैदावार होती थी ग्रोर ग्राज

कोश्रापरेटिव सोसाइटीज बन जाने के बाद इतनी पैदावार बढ़ गयी है । ग्रगर यह् चीज़ लोगों के सामने ग्राये तब तो लोगों का इन पर विश्वास हो सकता है ग्रौर किसान उनमें शार्मिल हो सकता है । लोगों को कोग्रापरेटिव्स की तरफ लाने के लिए जगहजगह डिमांस्ट्रेशन फार्म कायम करने चाहिए। किसानों की जमीन उनके ही पास रहने दी जाए ग्रौर उनको सुविघाएं दी जाएं ग्रौर उनका उत्पादन बढ़ाया जाय जिससे लोगों को मालूम हो कि कैसे उत्पादन बढ़ता है । जब ऐसा किया जाए़्गा तो डसका ग्रसर लोगों पर होगा ग्रैंर तब कोग्रापरेटिव खेती हो सकेगी। लेकिन ग्रगर ग्राप केवल यह् समझ कर बंट जाएं कि विरोधी प्रचार करते हैं इसलिए हम इस काम को ग्रागे नहीं बढ़ायेंगे, तो यह तो हास्यास्पद होगा ।

में दूसरी चीज इंडस्ट्रियल हाउसिंग के बारे में कहना चाहता हुं। ग्राप इंडस्ट्रीज़ तो लगाते चले जाते हैं लेकिन मजदूरों के लिए घर नहीं बनाते। जब से सरकार ने घर बनाने का काम ग्रपने हाथ में ले लिया है तब से मालिक लोग यह समझने लगे हैं f यह् तो सरकार का काम है । इसलिए सरकार को मजदूरों के लिए मकान बनाना भी साथ-साथ जस्री है । ग्रगर मजदूरों को ग्रपने ऊपर छोड़ दिया जाए $f$ क वे ग्रपने लिए मकान का प्रबन्व करें तो जिस मकान का सरकार १३ रुपया लेती है उसका प्राइवेट ग्रादमी उनसे ३० रुपया लेगा ग्रौर इस तरह मजदूर के ऊपर किराए का ड्तना बोझ पड़ेगा । जब तक सरकार यह प्रोग्राम नहीं बनाएगी कि उसे हर साल इतने क्वार्टर बनाने हैं तब तक यह समस्या हल नहीं हो सकती । जब तक सरकार यह नहीं करेगी तब तक मजदूरों पर ग्रार्थिक बोझ बढ़ता रहेगा ग्रौर उनकी पर कैपिटा ग्रामदनी नहीं बढ़ सकेगी ।

एक बात मैं ग्रनएग्पलायमेंट के बारे में ग्रौर कह देना चाहता हूं। सन $9 \varepsilon \% \circ$ में जब जरमनी ग्रादि देशों नी साध्यक ग्रवस्था

बहुत खराब थी उस समय भी वहां बेकार लोगों के लिए एक ग्रनएम्पलायमेंट फंड था जिसके जfरएए से बहुत से बेकारों को सहायता भिलती थी। लेकिन यह् बेकारों वो ग्रपने भरोसे छोड़ दिया गया है । बहुत से लोग इंडस्ट्रीज़ में से बेकार हो कर निकल रहे हैं । मेरा मुझाव है कि जिस तरह् एम्पलायमेंट स्टेट इंड्यंर्रेंस स्कीम है, उसी तरह से बेकारों के लिए एक फंड कायम किया जाना वाहिए, जिसमें जो मजद्नर एम्पलायड हैं वे भी कुछ पैसा दें, एम्पलायर भी कुच दें ग्रौर कुछ स्टेंट भी दे जिससे बेकारों को सहायता मिल सके । ग्रैर ग्रापको ग्रगर किसी योजना के लिये ग्रादमियों की जहूरत हो तो इन लोगों को ग्रासानी से समें लगाया जा सकता है । इससे बेकारों की समस्या कुछ ह्द तक हल हो सकती है ।

एक बात मैं यह भी कह्ना चाहता हूं कि जो राष्ट्रीय ग्राय बढ़ी है उसका प्रभाव सब प्रदेरों में बराबर नहीं पड़ा है । ह्म मुनते हैं कि ₹० फी सदी राष्ट्रीय ग्राय बढ़ी है लेकिन उत्तर प्रदेश ग्रौर विह्टार में पर कँपिटा ह्नकम नहीं बढ़ी । इसका कारण क्या है । उन जगहों की पर कौपिटा ग्राय नहीं वढ़ी है जो कि खेती की पैदावार पर ही निर्भर करते हैं । इन प्रदेशों में जब तक सिंच्चाई की व्यवस्था टीक नहीं होती शौर नहरों ग्रीर ट्यूब वैल्स द्वारा समुचित सिंचाई की व्यवस्था नहीं होती तब तक ड़न प्रदेशों के लोगों की पर कैषिटा ग्राय नहीं बढ़ सकती है जैसे कि उत्तर प्रदेश ग्रौर बिहार को ग्रवस्था है । ग्रापने इन प्रदेसों में हैवी इंडस्ट्री लगायी हैं लेकिन इसमें तुलनात्मक रुप से कम ग्रादमियों को काम मिला है । ग्राप देखें किं पह्ले जो उद्योग ऊगाये गये थे उनमें कितना रुपया लगा था ग्रौर उनमें कितने ग्रादमियों को काम fमला था। टैक्सटाइल इंडस्ट्री में ?० या १२ लाख ग्रादर्गं। काम करते हैं। लेकिन जो ग्रापने कई सौ करॉड़ स्पया लग कर हैवौ इ्डस्ट्रीज़ कायम की हैं उनमें कभ

DECEMBER 9, 1963 Calling Attention to<br>Matter of Urgent Public Importance

[श्नi काशः नाथ पांडें]
श्रादमियों को काम मिल पाया है । हमारा खयाल है कि ग्रगर स्माल इंडस्ट्रीज लगायी जाएं तो ज्यादा लोगों को काम मिल सकता है । पंजाब में छ्रोटे उद्योग लगाए गये ग्रौर वहां के लोगों की पर कैपिटा ड्नकम बढ़ी है । लेकिन ग्रापने उत्तर प्रदेश ग्रौर बिहार में बड़े उद्योग लगए जिऩमें कम लोगों का काम मिला श्रौर् प० कैषपटा इनकम नहीं चढ़़ ।

इसंक श्रलावा जहां जहां सरकार ने उद्योग लगाए वहां लोगों का बड़ा विरोघ हुका । सएकार को उन उद्योगों के लिए जमीत लने में बछ़ी कीठनाई हुई क्यांकि लोगों ने स्मझा $P$ क जर्मीन ह्मारे हाथ से गयी ग्रॉर ह्मको कोट़ लाभ इस उद्याश से नहीं होगा । उगर गा लोगों को विइदास दिला दें कि डनको जहां तक हो सकेगा उन उबोगों में खवाया जाएगा तो उनका विरोष कम होग सकता है। ज्सलिए मेरा मुजाव है कि टेनिनकल लंगों को तो ग्राप ऐंखे उद्योगों के जिए वाह्र से लांतं, लेखन ग्राँ जगहों पर जहां तक हों मके उस्सी एरिया के लोगों को रब्ध। इससे उस एरिद्या के लोगों के दिन्न में उस काम के घित जोश पैदा होगा ।

17 hrs.
एक दूसरी चीज़ में ग्राप से कह्ना चहता हूं । यह बलाक डेन्लपमेंट जो हैं चन को लेकर श्रभी नक काफी चर्चा होती है ग्रौर यह एक बड़ी भारी चर्चा का विपय है कि इन बलाक्स में क्या काम होता है। मुझे तों ऐसा लगता है कि इस के लिए भी एक छूनक्वायरी कमेटी बिठानी पड़ेगी । कि देश में इन डेवैलपमेंट ब्वाक्स ने क्या काम किया । मैं ग्राप को सही बात बतलाना चाहत्ता हूं कि जां ग्राप ग्रनइएप्लायेड ग्रर्थात् वेकार् ग्रादमियों के ग्रांक्ड इम्पलायमेंट एक्सचेंज से लेते हैं, उस के वदले ग्रगर इन बवाक्स के जिन्मे यह काम कए दिया जाय कि वे बेकारों की संख्या

बतायें तो यह ग्रच्छा काम होगा । इन के जिम्मे यह काम भी दिया जाय कि सरकार से मिल कर स्थानीय लोगों को कुछ्ध सहायता या कुछ रोज़ी दी जा सकती है तो उस बारे में वे सरकार को सुझायें। इस तरह से इन को कुछ ठोस काम दिया जाय । कम से कम एक ठोस काम तो यह बलाक्स करें। बस मुझे इतना ही कहना है ।
17.01 hrs.

## CALLING ATTENTION TO MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPOR-TANCE-contd. <br> Ifathi Charge on Tibeia College students

Mr. Speaker: The discussion on the Mid-term Appraisal of the Third Five Year Plan will continue tomorrow. Now, does the hon Home Minister want to make iny supplementary statement?

The Minister of home Affairs (Shri Nanda): Sir, you had directed that the terms of reference of the Commission of Inquiry may be placed before the House.

An hon. Member: He is not audible.
Shri Nanda: A question vas asked by hon. Members of the House as to what the terms of reference are. I have got before me the notification and 1 shall inform hon. Members what the terms of reference are. It reads:

The Central Government hereby appoints a Commission of Enquiry consisting of Shri P. P. R. Sawhny, District and Sessions Judge at Delhi to enquire into and report before the 1 st of February 1964..."

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): What is the dare?

Shri Nanda: 1st of February 1964.


[^0]:    As regards the staff in the Planning Commission, I am told that apart from the members of the commission, tho number of officers employed is 229. The number of ministerial staff is 576 . The number of class IV em-

[^1]:    Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma (Khammam): I want to correct the ignorance of my hon. Member.

