helicopter is there does not help. I believe, I cannot say straight off, there are three or four helicopters in the whole of India. Probably one or two are in Ladakh, they cannot easily be got at; it takes some time to get them even if you want to. But whatever is demanded we try to send. It is for them to formulate their demands, whether it is foodstuffs or engineers or apparatus or anything else.

12.19 hrs.

MOTION RE: DRAFT OUTLINE OF THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN-Contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now proceed with further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru on the 22nd August, 1960, namely:--

"That the Third Five Year Plan —A draft Outline laid on the Table of the House on the 1st August, 1960, be taken into consideration."

and the amendments moved thereto.

Shri Ramsingh Bhai Varma may continue his speech.

श्री ामसिंह आई स्माँ (निमाड़) : श्रीमन्, कल में इस विषय में निवेदन कर रहा था कि रोजगार किस तरह से बढ़ाया जाये ग्रौर भावों को किस तरह से बढ़ने से रोका जाये । मैं यह भी बता रहा था कि पब्लिक सैक्टर के लिये प्राईवेट सैक्टर किस तरह से नुक्सानदेह होता है ग्रौर किस तरह राज्य सरकारें केन्द्रीय सरकार की राय लिये बिना प्राइवेट सैक्टर को सहयोग देती हैं, जिस से पब्लिक सैक्टर वो नुक्सान होता है । दूसरी योजना में मैं ने कहा था कि एक कारखाना सनावत में खोलना तय हुआ था । उस के लिये जमीन एक्वायर की गई, मशीनरी मंगाई गई, ग्रफ्सर एप्वाइंट किये गये । लेकिन ग्राज स्टेट गवनंमेंट यह कोशिश कर रही है कि प्राइवेट सैक्टर को वह कार-खाना सौंप दिया जाय ग्रौर प्राइवेट सैक्टर के मातहत वह कारखाना चलाया जाये । मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि प्राइवेट ग्रौर पब्लिक सैक्टर की जो राइवेलरी है, उस को रोकने की कोशिश की जाए ।

श्रीमान, तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना की रूपरेखा में प्रा क्टिविटी के ऊपर काफी ज़ोर दिया गया है। यह कहा गया है कि जो हमारी प्राडक्टिविटी है वह जरूर बढनी चाहिये । साथ ही साथ हमारा जो उत्पादन है वह भी बढना चाहिये । यह भी कहा गया है कि डिसिप्लिन होना ।हिये । कहने को ये सब बातें सही हैं, ठीक है लेकिन हो क्या रहा है, इस की तरफ ग्राप का घ्यान जाना चाहिये । ग्राज हो यह रहा है कि प्राडक्टिविटी काउंसिल्स कायम तं कर दी जाती हैं लेकिन जो रा-मैटीरियल्स के भाव हैं, वे बढ रहे हैं, स्टोर के जो भाव हैं, वे बढ रहे हैं, मिसमैनेजमेंट हो रहा है । जब ये सब बातें हो रही हैं तो इस सब का नतीजा यह होता है कि जो कास्ट भाफ लेबर है. वह मजदूरों को कम कर के घटाई जाती हैं। कहने का मतलब यह है कि प्राडक्टिविटी को बढ़ाने के लिये मूवमेंट तो चलाई जानी चाहिये, वह तो बढ़नी चाहिये लेकिन हो यह रहा है कि जो कास्ट भ्राफ लेबर है वह कम की जा रही है। मैं समझता हं कि ग्रच्छा हो कि यह प्राडक्टिविटी की जो मुबमेंट चल रही है, इसे ही वन्द कर दिया जाय । प्रोडक्टिविटी को बढ़ाने के लिये यह जरूरी है कि जो चीजें हैं. अगर कोई कारखाना है या कोई व्यक्ति है, उस के लिये जो जरूरी चीजें हैं, वे ग्रमुक प्राइसिस के भादर मिलें। इस के लिये प्राइस को कंट्रोल करना निहायत जरूरी है। ग्रगर हम प्राईसिस को इसी तरह से बढ़ने देते हैं, तो हमारी जो योजना ह वह सफल नहीं हो सकती है, हमारे जो लक्ष्य हैं, उन को हम प्राप्त नहीं कर सकते हैं.

[श्री रामसिंह भाई वर्मा]

जो हमारा ग्रादर्श है, उस तक हम पहुंच नहीं असकते हैं ।

जो पब्लिक सैक्टर में या प्राइवेट सैक्टर में छोटे छोटे उद्योग हैं उन को भी हमें बढ़ावा देना होगा । यह कहा भी जाता है कि छोटे छोटे उद्योगों को हम प्रो.साहन देंगे । लकिन होता क्या है इस का एक उदाहरण मैं ग्राप के सामने रखना चाहता हं। मैं दिल्ली के खादी ग्रौर ग्रामोद्योग का जिक करना चाहता हूं । इस को इसलिये चलाया गया था कि जो बेरोजगार लोग हैं, चन को काम मिले, कुछ उन की ग्रामदनी हो जाय । यहीं पर इस ग्रामोद्योग भंार में एक सिलाई विभाग था श्रौर उस के ग्रादर दो सौ या तीन सो दरजी काम करते थे, मज़दूर काम करते थे । पिछले साल उस विभाग को बंद कर दिया गया स्रौर सारा सिलाइ का काम जो था उस को कांटेक्टस के द्वारा कराया गया । इस का मतलब यह हग्रा कि जो ग्राप का मंशा है, उस के विप-रीत आप काम कर रहे हैं। आप चाहते हैं कि समाजवादी ढंग की समाज की स्थापना यहां हो, लकिन इस तरह के जो काम हैं, वे इस सिद्धान्त के विपरीत जाते हैं । आप की बढाने की जो जो नीति, एम्पलायमेंट चोषणा ह, उस के विपरीत यह काम हो रहे हैं लेकिन इन की तरफ कोई घ्यान नहीं देता हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि ग्राप का घ्यान इस तरह की चीजों की तरफ विशेष तौर से जाये।

श्वव में लेबर पालिसी के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूं । हमारे विरोधी सदस्य श्री स॰ मो॰ वनर्जी ने इस के बारे में अपने विचार प्रकट किये हैं । मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी लेबर पालिसी बहुत सुन्दर है और पिछल दिनों हमें जो अनुभव प्राप्त हुआ है, उस को देखते हुए यह कहा जा सकता है कि झाज मजदूर लोग हड़ताल करना भूल गये हैं, झाज मजदूर नहीं चाहते हैं कि

वे हड़ताल करें, आज मजदूर प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाना चाहते हैं श्रौर बढा रहे हैं, डिसिप्लिन में रह रहे हैं झौर सारा काम स दर ढंग से चल रहा है। इस सब के लिये हमें उन की प्रशंसा करनी चाहिये । जो सिद्धांत हम ने लेबर पालिसी के बारे में ग्रपनी योजना में रखे हैं, उन पर ग्रमल भी होता ह या नहीं इस को ग्रब हमें देखना है। जहां तक ग्रमल का सवाल है, अमल दूसरी ही तरह से हो रहा है । प्राइवेट सैक्टर में तो हम लोग उन से ठीक तरह से काम करवा लेते हैं लकिन जहां तक पब्लिक सैक्टर का सम्बन्ध है, वहां पर ग्राप की लेबर पालिसी पर कोई श्रमल नहीं हो रहा ह । मंत्रियों की इच्छा चाहे कुछ भी हो, भारत सरकार की इच्छा चाहे कुछ हो, राज्य सरकारों की इच्छा चाहे कुछ हो, लेकिन पब्लिक सैक्टर में जिनको मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर वगैरह बना दिया गया है या डायरेक्टर वगैरह बना दिया गया है, जिन को संचालन का काम सौंपा गया है. उन की जो पालिसी है, वह उन में चलती हैं ग्रौर वे कहते हैं कि जो भी वे कहते हैं वही लेबर पालिसी है । उन का दुष्टिकोण श्राज भी वैसा ही रिएकशनरी है जैसा कि १९४७ के पहले हम्रा करता था। उस में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं ग्राया है । उन्हें श्रमिकों ग्रौर श्रमिक जीवन से जराभी वास्ता नहीं, उस का कोई भी खयाल नहीं है । यही कारण है कि पब्लिक सैक्टर में ये सब खराबियां श्रीर ये गडबड़ियां पैदा होती हैं । कल श्री स० म० वनर्जी साहव ने बाहर के लोगों के वारे में कुछ कहा कि उन को यूनियन्स में काम करने से रोका नहीं जाना चाहिये। मान्यता देने के सम्बन्ध में भी उन्होंने कुछ बातें कहीं। मैं समझता हं कि आप की जो लेबर पालिसी है वह क्लीयर है । ग्राप को हड़तालों के ऊपर बन्दिश लगाने की कोई जरूरत नहीं हैं, बाहरी व्यक्तियों को ट्रेड यूनियन्स में काम करने से रोकने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। आप की लेबर पालिसी

कोलैक्टिव बारगेनिंग की. कंसिलियेशन की. मार्बिटरेशन की हैं। ग्राप ने जो भी इस पालिसी में तय किया है, उस के ऊपर अगर माप फर्म रहते हैं. फर्मली उस पर चलते हैं. तो मैं समझता हं कि हड़ताल होने वाली नहीं है, बाहरी व्यक्ति कुछ भी करने वाले नहीं हैं। लेकिन यह बात जरूर हं कि ग्राप ग्रपनी पालिसी पर फर्म रहें। ग्राप को चाहिये कि म्राप यह साफ कर दें कि ग्रगर कोई टेड यनियन उस पालिसी के विपरीत काम करते हैं, तो उस को जो मान्यता दी गई है, उस को रद्द कर दिया जायगा । इस प्रकार की घोषणा करना बहत ग्रावश्यक है । मैं तो यहां तक कहने के लिये तैयार हूं कि ग्राप को उस का रजिस्ट्रेशन भी ट्रेड यनियन एक्ट के मनुसार कैंसल करना होगा । ग्रगर बाहर के कोई व्यक्ति या ग्रन्दर के भी कोई व्वक्ति इंडस्टी के, नेशन के, लेबर के हितों के विपरीत काम करते हैं, उस को नुकसान पहुंचाते हैं, इंडियन लेबर कांफेंस के निर्णय के विपरीत चलते हैं, तो उन को ग्राप को टेड यनियन में काम करने के लिये नालायक ठहराना होगा श्रौर उसी तरह से ठहराना होगा जिस तरह से कि आप ने कहा है कि चुनाव में अमक अमक गडबडी करने वाले को विधान सभा के लिये या पार्लियामेंट के लिये खडा होने की इजाजत नहीं होगी । जो लोग टुंड युनियन्स में काम करते हैं, उन के बारे में मेरा यह सुझाव है कि ग्रगर वे इंडस्ट्री श्रौर लेवर श्रौर कंटी के इंटिरेस्ट के विपरीत काम करते हैं, लबर पालिसी के विपरीत काम करते हैं, तो वे पांच या दस साल तक ट्रेड य्नियन में काम नहीं कर सकते हैं । साथ ही साथ सैंटल गवनैंमेंट को ग्रीर स्टेट गवर्नमेंटस को लेवर पालिसी पर फर्मली अमल करना चाहिये । ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये कि अगर कोइ आदमी किसी गलत बात को ले कर श्रनसन कर बैठता है तो हमारे मिनिस्टर साहब मौसमी के रस का गिलास ले कर पहुंच जायें भौर उस से प्रार्थना करने जायें कि ग्रपना ग्रनशन

समाप्त करो । यह लेबर पालिसी नहीं है। यह तो हड़ताल को बढ़ावा देने वाली चीज है।

ग्रन्त में मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हं कि म्राप श्रमिकों को विश्वास दिलायें कि उ पादन बढ़ने से जो कारखाना है वह बन्द होने वाला नहीं है ग्रौर वे बेकार होने वाले नहीं हैं। ग्राज उन को इस बात का विश्वास दिलाने की जरूरत है कि वे किसी भी कारण से बेकार नहीं होंगे।

मैं ग्रपनी पहली बात को दौहरा कर समाप्त करता हूं। भावों पर नियंत्रण रखना निहायत जरूरी है और ग्रगर आप भावों पर नि त्रण नहीं रखते हैं, तो जो ग्राप का प्लान ह. इस में गडवडियां होती रहेंगी. उतार चढाव इस में म्राते रहेंगे. न म्राप की प्राडक्टि-विटी, न ही प्रोडक्शन बढने वाला है ग्रौर न ही शान्ति रहने वाली ह । आज मजदूर यह चाहता ह कि उस को ठीक भावों पर चीजें उपलब्ध होती रहें ताकि वह ग्रापना तथा ग्रपने बाल बच्चों का पालन पोषण कर सके ।

The Minister of Finance (Shri Morarji Desai): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Prime Minister initiated the debate on the draft Outline of the Third Five Year Plan and my friend and colleague, the Deputy Chairman of the Pianning Commission and the Planning Minister will be replying to the debate at the end. I thought it would be proper if I intervened at this stage and referred to a few points in the criticism that had been made about the Third Plan in the course of the debate as I am a member of the Planning Commission and as one who is in charge of the finance portfolio, I am also responsible for almost all the criticism that might have been made against the Plan.

I do not understand how it is yet said that the Planning Commission is a super-cabinet or that it represents the Soviet pattern. I believe that nobody in the House says that he does not believe in planning. Even the leaders of the Swatantra Party who are opposed to this Third Plan and have declared that they will oppose it and will make it a plank in their election campaign in 1962 say that they believe in planning. They are offended when we say that they do not believe in planning. I accept them at their word, but it would have been easier for me to accept them at their word if they had said what planing they believe in or how they would like to replace this planning. Then I would have understood their opposition to the Planning Commission or the work that the Planning Commission has put before this House. As it is, the criticism made by them, by the two stalwarts of the Swatantra Party, has not much of a meaning, a constructive meaning, because they say they are opposed to this Third Five Year Plan but they do not say what it should be. Sir, they can certainly say that it is not their function to say that; they will say that when they havs the responsibility to carry out the Plan. Well, it may be a perfectly legitimate argument but it does not help us.

But one thing is certain, that nobody is opposed to planning. Well, Sir, that is one point gained. But to say that this Planning Commission is a super-cabinet is something which is against all the facts as they are. Sir, there is the Planning Commission which is headed by the Prime Minister as ex-officio Chairman. Then there are three Ministers who are members of this Planning Commission. I being one of them. Then there are other members who are not Ministers.

Acharya Kripalani (Sitamarhi): Those who are in it may not feel it to be a super-cabinet, but they do feel when 'hey go out.

Shri Morarji Desai: My hon. friend feels it because one of the ex-Ministers said it. He never said it when he was a Minister. But I do not also know what the ex-Minister said, therefore I should not be unfair to him because I have not known exactly what he has said in this particular matter.

Acharya Kripalani: All this comesout when they fall out.

Shri Morarji Desai: Whoever falls out is free to say what he likes and, then, the people are also free to give whatever importance is to be given to people who fall out.

Shri Mahanty (Dhenkanal): It is not merely an ex-Minister who said like that, but Shri S. K. Patil, our Food Minister also had compared the Planning Commission with a motherin-law on the floor of this House.

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): "Motherin-law" is a sweeter name.

Shri Morarji Desai: Mothers-in-law now-a-days are worse than the daughters-in-law in the former days. I do not think the mother-in-law has any voice in this modern world. She is at the mercy of the daughter-in-law and the son. Therefore, if Shri Patil has said that the Planning Commission is like a mother-in-law, I think he is perfectly right. Then there is no question of its being a super cabinet it cannot be a criticism of the Planning Commission.

Acharya Kripalani: He was talking of a mother-in-law of a man and not that of a women. (Interruption).

Shri Morarji Desai: I am also talking of the mother-in-law of a man. One can always use words in the proper way and one can always twist them.

Mr. Speaker: That largely depends upon experience.

Shri Morarji Desai: Yes, I agree there entirely with you, but experience has not always made people wiser. Sometimes experience has made people bitter; they should not be, but it does make people bitter.

Sir, in the matter of this Planning Commission, the policy which should govern the Third Five Year Plan is not made by the Planning Commission, it is made by the Cabinet. As a matter of fact, it is a policy which is accepted by this hon. House. It is not of the Cabinet even, it is of the House. The House has accepted that policy. It is within that policy that the Planning Commission thinks and works.

Then again, Sir, on the matter of resources it is not the Planning Commission which decides the resources. There is a group which works on it. The group consists of experts from the Finance Ministry and others and also from the Planning Commission. Even then, unless the Finance Minister and the Cabinet accept the target of the resources the Planning Commission cannot say that these resources will be there. Therefore, how the Planning Commission is a super-cabinet, I cannot understand.

Then again, the Plan is drafted by the Planning Commission and has to be accepted by the Cabinet. The Cabinet is free to change it where it likes. It gives a direction to the Planning Commission and the Planning Commission makes the changes accordingly. Therefore. to sav Planning Commission that the is a super-cabinet is to exhibit complete ignorance about its working or a prejudice which is expressed in these in terms rather than expressing correct terms that they do not want the Planning Commission. But, Sir, in the modern world, to say that one is opposed to planning would not pass anywhere and, therefore, they take shelter under this kind of criticism which, to my mind, is not very honest. That is all that I can say about this sort of criticism.

Then, there has been criticism about the resources mentioned in the report, that the resources are over-

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pitched or that they are over-estimated. There is a criticism about the foreign exchange component of the report. There has been a criticism about the execution of the Second Five Year Plan and the targets attained, and there has been a criticism about what the Third Five Year Plan is likely to achieve. All this, Sir, is very legitimate criticism. I am reminded of the book of Catherine Mayo who has written about Mother India. I cannot say that whatever she had written was all wrong. There was a lot of factual element in what she had written.

An Hon. Member: Distorted.

Shri Morarji Desai: It was distorted in the sense that it was out of all proportion to the other facts obtaining in the country. But that served a useful purpose. I would not say that they did not serve any useful purpose. There was a reply to it by some of our people making attacks against America in a similar way. Well, that was not right, because making counter allegations has no meaning. I take the criticism made in this honourable House, in this debate as a useful criticism, even if it accentuates only the faults in the Plan or the defects in the Planning or the disappointment as regards the execution of the Second Five Year Plan. I only wish that those who point out the defects also took stock of what has been achieved. If that is done it will be found that what has been achieved is not insignificant.

Sir, I do not want to minimise the defects because that does not help us in any way. As a matter of fact, the Government itself has given facts. It has not tried either to varnish them or to clothe them under different explanations. It has given the facts as they are, and it has done so because it does not want to be complacent in any way nor does is want to suggest that it has done something wonderful. But, Sir, it is certainly the claim of this Government that it has tried to do all that it can—somebody

[Shri Morarji Desai]

else could have perhaps done better. But it is certainly the claim of this Government that we have tried to do as much as we could with the capacity that we have. I have no quarrel with those people who might say that our capacity is less. I cannot have any quarrel with that view, the judgment of theirs. Of course, it is all a matter of judgment, and I cannot say that my capacity is greater than what they say they have. Whatever it may be, to say that this Government is complacent, to say that it is unmindful of all these things, would not be in keeping with the facts as they are put by the Government before this hon. House.

Take the matter of production. The yields in agriculture may be taken first. In foodgrains, there has been a rise of over three per cent., a little more than three per cent. For some crops it is even higher. For cotton, the rise is nearly nine per cent.

Mr. Speaker: Over what period?

Shri Morarji Desai: From year to year. I am saying per year rise. For jute it is 7.5 per cent. For sugarcane and oilseeds, it is about 4.5 per cent. For rubber, about 5.5 per cent. For coffee, about 14 per cent.

Shri Nagi Reddy (Anantapur): Is it for 1958 or 1959?

Shri Morarii Desai: Up to 1958-59. I am not taking the figures for 1959-60 because I have not got them exactly. It is true that in cotton the target was placed at 65 lakh bales. I believe that that was a target which was pitched too high. I do not say that because we have failed to reach the target, the target was high. But the target as it was placed could not have been reached. We were producing only 21:9 lakh bales in 1947 when this country was divided, that is, in the divided country. We produced 47:1 lakh bales in 1958-59. It cannot be said that the progress is insignificant- from 21 lakhs to 47 lakhs. But last year, 1959-60, happened to be a very abnormal year for cotton. We lost 10 lakhs to 11 lakh bales of cotton or more than that only because there was unusual rain in the last week or more than that only because there when the cotton crop used to get ready in Madhya Pradesh or in the Nagpur part of the then Bombay State and also in parts of Gujarat which produce large amounts of cotton in those months, with the result that, as I said, ten lakh bales of cotton were less. This is a matter of fact. It is not the fault of the Government. Government could not have avoided it. We are trying still to take steps to see that we use such seeds as might resist this sort of abnormal rainfall, but it is not easy to find out such breeds as would be successful very quickly; and then one has also to see that in these experiments the peasants do not suffer because we cannot make an experiment at the cost of the peasants. Therefore, one has to be fully sure about the result of the new strains before they can be asked to use them. If the weather behaves well this year there will be a better crop of cotton. I have nodoubt about it but one cannot guarantee that at all.

If we look at jute, from 16.6 lakh bales of jute, we reached 51.6 lakh bales of jute. Is this a small achievement? Yet, this is not being looked at. Take sugarcane. If you measure it in million tons of gur, then I carr say that it rose from 5:8 million tons of gur in 1947-48 to 7.2 million tons of gur in 1958-59. All this is used up. As a matter of fact, production goes: on rising, and more is required. Why is more required in spite of this larger production? Because more of it is being used. More of it is not being used by those people who have been using it even before, but others are using it. I wish more of other people use it and use it still more. But we cannot immediately get all these results as we want it. It is true that we want a socialist form of society in this country.

Then it is said that there are many disparities. Disparities are there. Nobody denies it. But is it the expectation of anybody that these disabilities will be removed immediately, or within five or ten years? If anybody imagines that, then I would say that his conception is quite different from mine or from that of the Government. I do not think that that can be done. What can be achieved can be achieved but what cannot be achieved will be impossible to be achieved and should not be thought of being achieved. But we are trying to go towards that goal. When we say that we want to be a welfare State, it is argued that we are not a welfare State. When do we say that we are a welfare State? We want to be a welfare State. But progressing towards it, we cannot be judged as if we are a welfare State. If we are going to be judged like that, then we will certainly be found wanting. We may be found wanting even in spite of best efforts. But that is all; all human endeavour will be found wanting.

The standard should be whether we are found wanting normally, or whether we are abormally found wanting; that would be the main criterion. That should be the main criterion. Otherwise, the work of nobody could be judged in its proper perspective. When we make the Third Five Year Plan, what should be our attitude towards it? If we are going to judge it as an ideal matter, then nobody will be able to frame the third Five Year Plan. If we are going to judge the second Five Year Plan about its achievements, if it is thought that it should be achieved completely according to the targets which were set, I do not think it could be a possible expectation. After all, we started the first Five Year Plan two years after the period had begun. The first Five Year Plan was the first attempt at planning and a novel planning in a democratic country. No democratic country has tried to do planning in the manner in which we are doing.

Shri M. R. Masani (Ranchi-East): Quite.

Shri Morarji Desai: Exactly; if that is your point, I hope my hon. friend' will be wiser. As a matter of fact, he was a great socialist and he twitted me before that I was not a socialist. He belonged to the Independent' Labour Party in England also. Today, now....

Shri M. R. Masani: I have learnt: better now. You too will learn im course of time.

Shri Morarji Desai: Well, he may have gone softer but not better. That. is all I would say.

Mr. Speaker: Both seem to have learnt.

Shri Morarji Desai: Both have learnt, but one has gone forward and the other has gone backward.

Shri M. R. Masani: It depends on which way you face.

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Shri Morarji Desai: Quite true. I face only in one direction but my hon. friend faces in several directions. That is the difference, again. He can turn about. I cannot turn back. I am always going forward. That is. what I do. He was very fond of planning in those days. But suddenly, he begins to think....(Inter-uptions).

Shri M. R. Masani: Not suddenly, 20^s years have passed. (Interruptions).

Shri Morarji Desai: Ideas havechanged.

Shri M. R. Masani: We learn in 20' years.

Shri Morarji Desai: I know, but 20[•] years should have given better wisdom.

Shri Tyagi: He was as troublesome then as he is today!

Shri Morarji Desai: It is in the nature of some people. I cannot do anything about it. In the matter of production also, if we look at official statistics and judge from that, the picture may not be as good; that does not disclose the proper state of things, because the official statistics of production in industries-the industrial production index-includes and puts too much weight on traditional industries such as cotton and jute textiles because they are the oldest industries here and the production there has "been less than average; that is, the advance in that has been less than average, and that brings down the total production. But, if you look at the production in other industries which have come up like chemicals or vehicles or engineering, you will find most tremendous progress made.

12.50 hrs.

I would now like to give some figures. The progress will be obvious, if we are going to talk of figures and believe in them.

Take electricity. The installed capacity has registered a percentage increase over 1950-51, in 1960-61, of about 152 per cent., but the electricity actually generated has registered a percentage increase of 215 per cent. It will show that we are using even capacity better now than what we were doing before.

If you look at railway freight carried, you will find that 78 per cent. more freight is carried today than was carried in 1950-51.

If you look at finished steel, we are producing 160 per cent. more steel today than in 1950-51; in the case of paper it is 181 per cent. more, in the case of iron ore, 300 per cent. more, in the case of coal 66 per cent. more, in the case of diesel engines 500 per cent. more, in the case of electric motors 700 per cent, more, in the case of electric transformers 654 per cent. more, in the case of sulphuric acid 304 per cent. more, in the case of soda ash 433 per cent. more, in the case of bicycles 940 per cent. more, and in the case of cement 226 per scent. more.

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If these percentages are seen, they will show what has been achieved. I would certainly admit that in coal, we have achieved less than we had to achieve.

Mr. Speaker: Were all the cotton and cotton fabrics in the public sector or the private sector?

Shri Morarii Desai: Cotton and cotton fabrics are all in the private sector: they are not in the public sector. But I do not want to make any distinction between the two, because both are complementary and both are required. I am not one of those who go by any prejudice about the one or the other. But even there, my hon. friend says that he believes in heavy industries. He says that. I am glad that he admits that much, but he says that Government should do only those industries which the private sector is not able to do. What is the meaning of it?

Shri M. R. Masani: Perfectly obvious.

Shri Morarji Desai: I do not know why it should be perfectly obvious. It is perfectly ovbious only to those who are concerned only with private profits, but it is not obvious to those who think more of public revenues, because, after all, public revenues must not be utilised in a manner which would be to the detriment of They must be utilisthe tax-payer. ed also for the benefit of the taxpayer. After all, tax is gathered not to take out money from the taxpayer but to use it for the benefit of the tax-payer so that he is able to earn more and pay a percentage more to Government. That is how taxes are utilised, and that is why taxes are levied. If Government were to do only those things which the private sector did not find profitable to do or did not have the means to do, then Government will have to take out much more from them, that is, from the private sector itself, in fact, far more than they are paying today, 4865

and then, my hon. friend will again grouse. It cannot be said that all the losses should be suffered by Government and all the bread-andbutter-line should go to the private sector. That would be a very wrong thing.

But, by and large, all the processing industries are in the private sector. They are not in the public sector at all. But, take for example, machinetools. If this Government had not forward come to establish the machine-tool factory at Bangalore which they did, things would not have advanced in this country at all as they have advanced. I know what had happened when the machinetool factory was put up. Some people came to me and told me that they were going to be injured by this public sector factory, and, therefore, we should not do anything like that, or at any rate, we should not prepare the machine-tools which they were preparing. I told them that they were not correct in this estimate, because we require more and more machine-tools in this country as we progress further, and, therefore, this factory also will not be enough. And what happened? Within two years after the starting of this factory, those very factories had to ask the Government factory to supply them those machine-tools, and to fulfil their orders, because they could not cope with the orders, because the demand was rising. We shall require more machine-tools factories in this country, and it is not possible for the private sector to cope with it. Should we, therefore, retard the progress of this country by leaving it only to this sort of a venture where people may take to it or not take to it? Government must do it.

Further, look again at the machinetool factory which Government have put up at Bangalore. Its progress is something phenomenal. In the early years, it was thought that it would make a profit only in 1960-61, or it will reach the target then. But it reached thrice that target two years

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ago. That is what it has done. And it began to make a profit three years ago. That is what that factory has achieved.

The same thing is true of the Penicillin factory near Poona. There, for some time, it got into a mishap, and, then there was heavy criticism, but it immediately hae recovered and today it is making verv good progress, much better progress, in fact, than any private sector factory. But it is possible that there are some public sector factories in which the progress may not be as fast, but this is a matter of time. In every work which is acknowledged to be difficult by my hon. friend himself, and which is, therefore, to be left to Government, for that again to be judged on the same basis as a light industry would not be a fair comparison at all.

Take steel, in which we have fallen back perhaps by a year, in our production. We ourselves said that. We are not trying to hide the fact. This is quite a new line. If with an investment of Rs. 500 to Rs. 600 crores in the three Plants, several things do not come up in time, where we have also to do with all sorts of foreign technicians, and also machinery, and where we have also got to deal with our own people who have got to be technically trained, and if some time lag takes place there, it should not be so severely judged as is being judged here. I would only say that there should be a more sympathetic appreciation of the fact.

In the matter of coal, we have not achieved what we were out to achieve. But even there, it will require a lot of preliminary work. It was not foreseen because there was not perhaps that much of experience. We are all gaining more and more experience. And should we not get more and more experience? It should not be very costly, I agree, because that would again harm the country. But has it

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been costly? I do not think that it has been a costly experiment. It is going to produce more and more, and we do not, therefore, say that we should not make more effort and we should not achieve more. There are some shortfalls. I would not say that there are no shortfalls, but I am quite sure that this has all been taken into consideration and provided for in the Third Five Year Plan, and I have no doubt that there will be a better account given in the Third Plan achievement than was done in the Second Plan. That is how we go on progressing. But if we are not going to consider this matter in this light, it will be impossible to judge anything properly. After all, what do we want in this country? We want more and more prosperity to be achieved. Therefore, we want more and more progress in agriculture; we want more and more progress in industries, both big and small, both heavy and light, and cottage industries. This is what we want. Are we going in that direction or are we not? My hon. friend found fault with the fourth steel plant which is proposed for the Third Five Year Plan. do T not why he does See 80 He says that it will be redundant. I do not think so. On the contrary, we will still be short of steel after the fourth plant-at the end of itbecause so much more steel will be required in all the industries that will be put up.

13 hrs.

Shri M. R. Masani: Wait and see.

Shri Morarji Desai: We have waited and seen and we have suffered because we did not put up a steel factory during the First Five Year Plan period. That is why we are suffering today.

Shri M. R. Masani: That does not prove that a fourth is necessary now.

Shri Morarji Desai: We shall require more and more for twenty years and even then we will not be surplus in steel, however much we may produce. Therefore, it is no use saying that steel will be in surplus at the end of the Third Five Year Plan.

Then again he said that it is capital intensive. It is so. But it is necessary. So is electric power capitalintensive. Both are capital-intensive, but they help other industries which are not capital-intensive. If we do not produce the machinery, how are we going to build up our industries?

What do we propose to do? Take our textile industry and our jute industry. What is the position today? In spite of their being 100 years old, it is only now that they are producing the machinery that they require. after some planning. For 100 years, were depending on foreign they imports for every spare part. If this had continued, how can we be independent in regard to this? The result has been that the textile and jute industries are in a bad state today. They have got to be rejuvenated. Who is responsible for that? The Government have got to advance the money to all these people to rejuvenate them and to change the machinery. If we had our own machine-making industry at that time, we would have been much better off and we would have been producing cheaper textile and cheaper jute goods. That is what would have been the position.

Now, what do we want to do with our other industries? If we do not have the base—steel and electric energy—required for these purposes, how can our industries go forward? I do not know. The private sector, for which my hon. friend shows great concern, would be nowhere if these industries are not there. Therefore, these industries have to be established.

My hon. friend, Acharya Kripalani, said that we should consolidate our gains before we go forward. I agree that in theory it is all right. But is there any contradiction between consolidation alone and consolidation and development going on side by 1869

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side? Take the question of education. If it is said that we should wait for expansion of our educational facilities until we have made our educational system perfect, where will this country be? Should we stop and not have more and more schools until we have bettered our educational machinery? We cannot do that. We cannot afford to do that. We have got to spread education as fast as we can, and at the same time, go on improving the educational machinery as best as we can. We are not in a position where we can sit down and consider matters very quietly and be satisfied with the progress that is made.

My hon. friends themselves have complained that the benefits have not reached all the people. How can we sit down before the benefits have reached all the people? We have got to make these benefits reach all the people. It is not enough that you and I are educated; it is not enough that a million people are educated. It is necessary that all have to be educated. Until the last man is educated, we have got to go on.

It is, therefore, that we have got to go on expanding all the while and we cannot consolidate only.

Acharya Kripalani: I am afraid your example is not on all fours. If you were a private investor, you would see that your plant works to full capacity before you put up another plant. (Interruption). Because it is public money, it does not matter whether the plant works to full capacity or not. You go on. You have the privilege of talking and we cannot reply.

Shri Morarji Desai: I thought my hon, friend was going to give an explanation. But he stood up and made another speech.

Acharya Kripalani: I did not.

Shri Morarji Desai: I do not think it was fair to me. Yet, I have great respect for him because he was my

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leader. (Interruptions). It is not right when he says that a private investor would do this and that the government sector tries to utilise money because it has no care for the money. This is not very fair.

Acharya Kripalani: Ask the people.

Shri Morarji Desai: I do not sav that you have to expand it before you have utilised the full capacity. But we cannot wait for ten years to do the expansion. If we expand а steel factory today, it is not that the expansion is going to come into effect now. The expansion will come into effect after the factory will have worked fully for two or three years. After that it will come, because if we begin to work from now, the result will be seen after five or six Therefore, the vears. implementation is done at the end of it.

It is not only in the public sector that there has been delay. Take the private sector.

Acharya Kripalani: Therefore, it is best to complete nothing. Go on.

Shri Morarji Desai: That, again, does not follow. Satire is no logic (*Interruptions*). My hon. friend is a master of satire. I cannot compete with him in that. I know that he has excelled in it from very early times. I greatly admired it but I did not approve of it at any time.

Shri C. D. Pande (Naini Tal): It need not be copied.

Shri Morarji Desal: That does not help us in any way. Ridicule is a good thing for the person who makes it, but not for the cause for which it is made. Ridicule does not bring in good results anywhere. I am only pleading with him: let him utilise his great capacity not for ridiculing but for supporting in a very wise way, of which he is capable if he does not allow his capacity for ridicule to overcome his capacity for wisdom. Then it will be very good; I have no doubt about it. 4871 Motion re:

Acharya Kripalani: You can lecture.

Shri Morarji Desai: Coming to the question of resources. I would say that the resources in taxation, as they are put in the Third Five Year Plan, of Rs. 1650 crores between the States and the Centre cannot be called by any means to be very easy. It will certainly put a burden on the country, but the burden is not such as cannot be borne, and the burden has got to be borne if we have to go ahead. All people who have to develop themselves cannot rest and enjoy all that they earn. They have got to save from it and go ahead. That is what we have go to do. If it had been possible to take the money only from the rich, that would have been what Government would have done. But that would not have been enough at any time. If all the rich people are deprived of all that they have, we will not be able to do anything even for one year. Those are all the riches we possess in this country.

It is, therefore, that everybody has to bear the burden. If $everyb\alpha^{3}$ does not bear the burden, then we cannot go ahead. It is not even good for the self-respect of everybody if he does not bear the burden, because he will not be able to enjoy it at the cost of somebody else; without working for it even a little, he is not in a position to enjoy the fruits of it. That is how we can develop.

Therefore, I say that we are determined to have the resources that we have estimated. It will be for this hon. House to decide it. But I cannot today say how they will be obtained. It is not possible for me to disclose all the budgets of the five years from now on. As a matter of fact, if I tried to do that even unconsciously, I would have to vacate my seat and get out of the House. Therefore. I cannot give any indication of how these resources will be raised. But they have to be raised.

Of course, the question about direct taxes and indirect taxes is very Draft Outline of 4872 Third Five Year Plan

relevant. I do not say that it is not relevant. But who has ever said that all this will raised through indirect taxation? One has only said that more will have to be from indirect taxation than from direct taxation, because that is the position in the country. You cannot take all this money or more of it from direct taxation, because there is not that scope for it. If there was, I would certainly have done that. I am prepared to learn from any hon. Member if he can teach me about it and do it. But, in an under-developed country, as I have said often, if is necessary to have indirect sources of taxation. And, after all, indirect taxes are not paid only by the poor; they are paid more by the rich also. They are paid as things are used by people; and, therefore, it is more of those people who can afford who pay some. Indirect taxes like excise on steel are paid more by Government, by public sector factories than bv others. Ultimately, they are paid by consumers. All taxes are paid by cannot say that consumers. One they are not paid by consumers. All taxes, therefore, become direct taxes in that sense. But this source of indirect taxation cannot be minimised as long as we have not reached a large level of high incomes for many people. That is what we have got to do and that will take a generation or two before we reach it. I have no doubt about it. If anybody can bring it about earlier, I shall be worshipping that man. That is all that I can say, (Interruptions).

Mv hon. friend argued in this connection about the prices. Prices are very relevant and the v must be kept steady. I have no doubt about it. We must try to do that. But, when it is argued that something abnormal has happened in this country, I cannot agree with that.

My hon. friend, Shri Masani, tried to confuse the issue a bit by taking us to 1939.

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Shri M. R. Masani: Naturally.

Shri Morarji Desai: Naturally for him.....

Shri M. R. Masani: For all of us.

Shri Morarji Desai:because he does not want to make a proper comparison. That is all that he wants to do. Take 1939. Were we responsible from 1939 to 1946? How can that comparison be true today?

Shri M. R. Masani: Will my hon. friend yield for a moment? If a doctor goes to administer a drug to a patient will he ignore the drug administered previously because he was not responsible for that? The condition of the patient is important; not the responsibility of the doctor.

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): **The** doctor must be a certified doctor.

Shri Ranga (Tenali): He is a certified doctor.

Shri Morarji Desai: The now doctor who goes has to take notice of the previous drug given. The previous drug might be disastrous also; it has to be taken note of by the doctor. (*Interruptions*). But I am sure my hon. friend has never done doctoring. I have done some doctoring myself; I believe in Nature cure.

Acharya Kripalani: May I submit that the inflation created by the previous Government should have been diminished by this Government. But, instead of that, it is adding to that inflation. The evil left by them should have been cured.

Shri Morarji Desai: There are many evils left and all of them cannot be cured.

Acharya Kripalani: Therefore, add!

Shri Morarji Desai: Eut, let us see what happened between the period 1939 to 1946, all over the world.

Then, we can judge when it is a question of years. The wholesale prices in India rose-taking 1937 as base with 100-from 90 in 1938 to 381 in 1949. That was the rise. This is reflected in the inflation of war time. In the U.S.A., the index rose from 90 in 1938 to 180 in 1949; in the U.K. the index rose from 93 in 1938 to 212 in 1949. The rise in the U.K. was larger than in U.S.A. and the rise in India was larger than in U.S.A. or U.K. But, in France, the rise was far greater. The index went up from 142 in 1938 to 2,147 in 1949. In Japan, the index went up from 105 to 16,580. These are abnormal things. (Interruptions). But we were not so abnormal. On account of the war difficulties in this country and the war situation and the relations that existed between the Government and the people of this country, several things happened. And the war effort of the Government at that time, the British Government, also led to that. Therefore, it must also be seen that to compare today with 1938 figures will not be at all meaningful or will not be relevant. It is not right that we should do so. We should, therefore, compare ourselves only between 1948 and 1959.

Shri C. D. Pande: Maybe 1951 even—the Plan period.

Shri Morarji Desai: If we take the index of 1953 as 100 it will give the comparison. The index of wholesale prices for India rose from 92 to 109 between 1948 and 1959. The index for U.S.A. rose from 95 to 109; for France it rose from 65 to 127. This again is a new figure; it is not the old figure. The index for West Germany rose from 90 to 109. Thus, it will be seenif I give some other figures for other countries roundabout India-that the figures are far greater. But, if one considers these, it will be found that the rise in this country is not a great as is made out to be. It has be**en** there. We cannot afford to be complacent-I agree entirely. But there is no reason for saying that [Shri Morarji Desai]

there has been a disaster. The disaster is made greater and emphasised by those who are shouting about it, instead of trying to state how it can be brought down. (*Interruptions*). They are trying all the while to accentuate it by exaggerating it. That again is a difficulty. (*Interruption*).

Acharya Kripalani: Your attention has been drawn to it!

Shri Morarji Desai: I am very thankful to my hon. friend for drawing my atention to it. I am gra.eful, not only thankful. Should not my hon. friend also have some responsibility in the matter? He is also running the Government of this country as a very responsible Member of this House who claims full attention from us. Therefore, he is also responsible. His responsibility is not merely that of criticising me or riduculing me. That is not his responsibility.

Acharya Kripalani: I am sorry; I did not mean any ridicule. But I am giving my argument.

Shri Morarji Desai: You are not ridiculing me at all.

Acharya Kripalani: The situation is ridiculous.

Shri Morarji Desai: When I say, 'me', I do not mean 'me'. I mean Government.

Acharya Kripalani: Even now when the situation becomes ridiculous.....

Shri Morarji Desai: He said, the situation as created by us. Ultimately, it will be seen who is made ridiculous. We have got the sense of understanding the ridicules, at any rate, even if we have not the sense to make a ridicule.

Look at the other progress that we have made. Take the Railways. We made no locomotives in 1945-46 or 1946-47. We made 260 locomotives in 1958-59. Coaches then made were 238; now we are making 1,643. We made 2,520 wagons in 1946-47; we are now making 12,094 wagons; and we have a capacity now of 20,000 which we will soon be making. Therefore, it will be seen that the progress we are making in these sectors is not insignificant. That i_S what I want my hon. friend to bear in mind.

Then, I want to refer only to the matter of foreign exchange and finish my arguments. It is imagined that we are dependent only on foreign loans for our development which is not true. My hon. friend, Shri Masani, argued that our saving, according to him, comes to only Rs. 5,900 crores. That is according to him, which I do not agree. And, from that he says that we will require Rs. 5,500 crores more.

Shri M. R. Masani: Nearly Rs. 6,000 crores.

Shri Morarji Desai: Nearly Rs. 6,000 crores more to fulfil.....

Shri M. R. Masani: Not more but altogether.

Shri Morarji Desai: That is all right. There is already Rs. 5,900 crores and with this Rs. 6,000 it becomes Rs. 11,900 crores. That is not our Plan. Out of this Rs. 500 crores for payment is included in the Plan; it is not outside the Plan. Therefore, there is something wrong in the figures. Let the hon. Member go on criticising as much as he likes; but let him not manipulate the figures. (Interruptions).

Shri M. R. Masani: It is a matter of opinion.

Shri Morarji Desai: It is absolutely a matter of fact.

Shri M. R. Masani: I have not quoted any figures from the air. I have quoted the figures of Professor Shenoy in his article in the "Times of India" on the 2nd and 3rd of August. I believe his figures to be more dependable than yours. 4877 Motion re:

Shri Morarji Desai: Because he is his economic adviser. I know Professor Shenoy very well. I know that he is very clever. But I do not agree with him. That is all I can say.

Shri M. R. Masani: So, it is a matter of opinion.

Shri Morarji Desai: But there are 50 other economists who do not agree with him; it is not only I. But because he agrees with my hon. friend's views, so he has been taken up. Since Professor Shenoy has taken up the role of criticising the Government, he agrees with him. That is the only reason why he agrees with him.

Shri M. R. Masani: The hon. Minister has made a charge of manipulation against me. I quoted from an article published by a reputed economist. You can accept or reject his views but you cannot say that I have manipulated the figures.

Shri Morarji Desai: I am only saying he has given the figure of Rs. 6,000 crores, a simple arithmetic— Rs. 56,000 crores plus Rs. 5,900 crores make 11,900 crores.

Shri M. R. Masani: I said "nearly".

Shri Morarji Desai: What is "nearly"? Rs. 6,000 crores is not "nearly". It is not a small thing, running into so many crores. If I say that he was manipulating figures.....

Shri M. R. Masani: I had given the exact figure in my speech yesterday. The Minister may look it up. When he was referring to that today I said nearly Rs. 6,000 crores.

Shri Morarji Desai: Even then I would not have taken his figures.

Shri M. R. Masani: Look at the speech which I have made.

Shri Morarji Desai: Supposing that figure is correct. Does he mean to

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say that if we are able to collect only Rs. 5,900 crores, all by our efforts, from our internal resources, we will anyhow finish the Plan by taking Rs. 6,000 crores more from outside even if it is available?

Shri M. R. Masani: You might do that.

Shri Morarji Desai: That could not be done.

Shri M. R. Masani: Exactly.

Shri Morarji Desai: We shall take only what we want. It will mean that the Plan will be curtailed.

Shri M. R. Masani: Exactly.

Shri Morarji Desai: But I do not agree with him. I think the resources we have put down in the Plan will be fulfilled and we will be able to raise them. Therefore, there is no question of taking foreign loans, as he says. There cannot be foreign loans like that; we do not want it. We have to take the foreign loans because we require foreign exchange. If we did not require foreign exchange, we would not be justified in taking foreign loans. But, because of that, we have got to take it.

If we are taking PL 480 wheat, it is not for the pleasure of taking that loan. We have got to take it because we are short of wheat, because we required food; because we are able to get this wheat, we are able to go forward with greater ease, and we are thankful to the United States Government for this help. That help is useful to us in several ways and, therefore, we have taken it. But we would not be taking PL 480 wheat if we are producing sufficient foodgrains in this country.

Therefore, it is not for the pleasure of having foreign loans that we take them. We are really wanting to build up our internal resources. The loans that we say we will get, that is what we expect. But that does

[Shri Morarji Desai]

not mean that we will get it. If we do not get it, we will have to reassess our Plan. That we will do. We will know within a year whether we are able to get it or not. Then we can come to this hon. House and say that this Plan has got to be re-assessed. That is how we look at it. But we are hopeful that we will get these external resources and we are very hopeful we will be able to raise the internal resources which we have mentioned in this Plan.

It was asked: we have increased our national income by 42 per cent, where has the money gone? Some people think that the direct taxes have not increased. That would not be right. It will be seen that the income assessed in 1946-47 was Rs. 483 crores and the income assessed in 1958-59 was Rs. 1,174 crores. It will, thus, be seen that the incomes assessed have increased greatly. Only from 1955-56, the income from direct and corporation taxes have increased by 42 per cent. It is not, therefore, a proper thing to say that income from this source has not increased at all or that it is not spread about. But it is a difficult exercise to make to find out where exactly all the income has gone. A little exercise was made by the Reserve Bank for the figures from 1953-54 to 1957-58 and I would like to give some of that data to show how the income is varying. But in all these matters, I must say that all the data that is being cited can only be illustrative. Therefore, I would not draw very large conclusions from these data. This was done by the Reserve Bank of India about two years ago. They divided those who pay income-tax into groups-bottom 70 per cent falling roughly in the income range of Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 per annum, the middle 20 per cent in income range of Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 25,000 per annum and the top 10 per cent in the income range of over Rs. 25,000. The study shows that after tax the proportion of the total income commanded by the lowest group rose

from 44.6 per cent to 45.7 per cent; for the middle group the proportion rose from 25.6 per cent to 26.7 per cent; for the top group the proportion fell from 29.51 per cent to 27.6 per cent. It will, thus, show that the trends are there. We must accentuate those trends, and that is what we are trying to do. But there cannot be quick results obtained in these matters. We have got to be a little bit patient but also persistent. And may I assure the hon. Members of this House that we are persistent and we are even somewhat impatient to do more? That is all I can sav in this matter on this occosion.

13·36 hrs.

RE: ELECTION TO COMMITTEE

CENTRAL ADVISORY BOARD OF EDUCATION

Mr. Speaker: I want to make an announcement regarding the election of three members to the Central Advisory Board of Education which is being held in Committee Room No. 62. I find that so far only 171 Members have voted. Evidently, most of the hon. Members wanted to have the benefit of hearing the hon. Finance Minister's speech. I, therefore, propose to extend the time for voting till 4 p.m. today. Those hon. Members who have not cast their vote can du so now.

13·37 hrs.

MOTION RE: DRAFT OUTLINE OF THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN—contd.

Dr. Krishnaswami (Chingleput): Mr. Speaker, after having listened to the Finance Minister, I should like, with your permission, to divert **my** attention to the remarks made by the Prime Minister in initiating this debate. The Prime Minister remarked:

"We are living in a tremendously changing world. That partly governs or should govern the pace of change. We dare not slow down or slacken." 4881 Motion re: BHADRA 3, 1862 (SAKA) Draft Outline of 4882 Third Five Year Fian

These sentiments are unexceptionable and may I congratulate the Prime Minister not only on what he has said but on the discreet manner in which he has said them? Sir, it will be clear, and I hope the Finance Minister will agree with me that the pace of change is governed mainly by the State of our economy. Unless we make the economy more viable. 1**t** would be next to impossible to leap forward, and leap forward we must. for that is our manifest destiny.

I should dispose of an argument which has found some favour in this House at the outset. Hon. Members have pointed out that the target figure of Rs. 10,600 crores or 10,800 crores is rather low. We can certainly have Rs. 20,000 crores or 25,000 crores but in the process we have a doubling of the prices. Whom will it benefit? What we have to understand, Mr. Speaker, is whether as a result of the expenditure that we are incurring we have been benefited in real terms.

Now I do not wish to pick bones wi.h my hon. friend, the Finance Minister. But I want to make it clear that we are in an awkward position. And here I rely not on statistics supplied by non-official sources but on statistics supplied by the Economic Survey. It is clear that since 1956 the year the Second Plan started, the wholesale prices mounted up by 23 per cent a reflection of the lack of balance in our implementation and formulation of our plans.

In 1958 according to the survey prices of foodgrains rose. In 1959 the prices rose mainly due to the rise in the prices of food articles and raw materials and not to any rise in foodgrains at all. Therefore from this it is clear that inflationary pressures were making themselves felt on а very much wider front and it would be folly to ignore such pressures especially when we are thinking of planning for a durable future. I do not deny for a moment that any process of development would lead to a realgnment of prices. Some rise in prices in certain sectors is inevitable, but when the price rise is appreciable and takes place on an extremely wide front, surely we should take note of the situation and adjust our policy should be.

In addition, I should like to point out to my hon. Iriend, the Finance Minister, that while it is true that for certain purposes comparisons with other countries might be useful, it is also true to suggest that these do not by themselves tell the whole story. During the past two years in industrial countries while the prices have been steady our prices have been mounting steadily and continuously. This has very great repercussion on exports and certainly, since we desire to expand our exports, we should take note of the danger signals.

I do not wish to trouble this House with more figures, but I should like to point out that while it is true that at this stage we should certainly put down and curb dencit financing, it is not merely to curb deficit financing. The problem is much wider than that of minimising budgetary deficit. A reduction in deficit financing will not do the trick of restoring health to our economy.

In 1957-58 we had deficit spending of the order of Rs. 496 crores. in 1958-59 it was Rs. 139 crores and in 1959-60 Rs. 113 crores according to the economic surveys that have been presented to us. Probably this year the deficit spending will be much less. But do let us realise that the inflationary pressures have gathered momentum and certainly in those years of large deficit spending we were in a more advantageous position because we had foreign exchange resources and these resources could be used to cushion the effects of deficit spending by allowing the import of consumption and wage goods. What is our foreign exchange position today? Our foreign exchange resources are very slender. We have Rs. 270 crores only, out of which about Rs. 30 crores or Rs. 40 crores had to be kept as workable reserves and we have only Rs. 230 crores to operate upon-only

[Shri Krishnaswami]

Rs. 30 crores more than what we have fixed as a statutory minimum. I am willing to admit that the Government may succeed in doing away with deficit spending, but even if there is no deficit spending in a period of development every act of investment must lead to an increase of money incomes. When once we realise that every act of investment leads to an increase in money incomes we are at once faced with the question of what the priority should be. The great defect about the draft Plan is that it has not had its attention concentrated on priorities properly. We ought to realise that in a period where there are such severe inflationary perssures it is more than essential that we should concentrate our attention nn producing wage goods and consumption goods as quickly as possible; otherwise, the pressures will be accentuated. the cost of living will mount up and instead of our being able to achieve anything in real terms we would have only the satisfaction of having spent money. That by itself is not something in which we can take much satisfaction.

Many figures have been quoted to show that there have been increases in agricultural output and in agricultural production. While these figures are impressive they are not by themselves very conclusive. It is absolutely essential in this period, especially if we wish to create domestic surpluses for the purpose of increasing our exports, that agricultural production and animal husbandry should have the highest priority. The Finance Minister referred to the fact that our traditional exports had not increased appreciably. I should like to point out that it is absolutely essential that we should devote our attention to traditional exports also because they have a steady market and it is quite possible to increase our traditional exports. Only about two years ago we realised our folly in not having relaxed restrictions on export of oilseeds with the result that we got a handsome balance of Rs. 40 crores by the sale of oilseeds. What had previouly dropped to Rs. 10 crores suddenly shot up to Rs. 40 crores. This in itself is a sufficient gain to consider.

When we suggest that there ought to be greater priority devoted to agriculture, hon. Members opposite point out that large funds have been allotted to agricultural production that all these funds are not spent and that is the reason why there has not been an increase in output as much as we should wish. I want to join issue with my hon. friends on this matter. Certainly a large amount has been spent on agriculture, but in spite of our having spent so much on agriculture how comes it that the average vield per acre has not increased appreciably since 1951, the year the First Five Year Plan? One has only to examine the figures to realise that this has not occurred. Let us also realise that when we talk of technological advances it is rather strange that agriculture which contributes about 54 per cent. of our national income has not been able to increase very much in productivity. We are still producing one-fifth or one-sixth of what advanced countries produce. What is the reason for a sizable proportion of these resources or funds not being utilised? I want the Government to introspect for a while and to find out what the reason is. Let me remind them that mere allocation of money is not enough to grow corn or rice or wheat. The problem is one of organisation: and a great defect about this plan and of all those who are planners here is that organisation of agriculture has not been considered seriously. I have to point out that in the case of organisation of agriculture one has to devote much more attention than even in the case of building of factories. It is relatively easier to build a steel mill and to run it than to organise agriculture on a sufficiently large scale. In this connection, I should like to suggest to the hon. Members on the other side that the main defect about the whole of agriculture has been the fact that we have neglected to organise the districts. The districts are the epitome of India not Delhi, Calcutta, Madras or Bombay. The district admin.stration is relative'y weak. No member of the Indian Administrative Service wishes to continue in the districts for a sufficient period. acquire knowledge of the needs and aspirations of the people there, try to find out how to mobil se enthusiasm for increasing output and also find out how all these things should be done. It is a difficult problem. I would suggest to my hon. friend that the great inflow of the Indian Administrative Service into Secretariat posts is a great bane of our modern administration. Indeed, I would suggest to them, to the Government in particular, that the time has come to overhaul our administration and if members of the Indian Administrative Service require incentive payments to be in the districts then just as the British tried to give special overseas allowances to Indian civil servants so too we should give our collectors incentive payment to remain in the districts.

13.40 hrs.

[SHRI JAGANATHA RAO in the Chair]

The man of knowledge is certainly a power for good and the permanent service in the districts will contribute its quota towards mobilising enthusiasm in the various areas. My hon. friend spoke of public co-operation being enlisted. I agree that public co-operation should be enlisted. But if we wish to enlist public cooperation, where else can we enlist public co-operation except in the rural areas and how can we enlist public co-operation in rural areas, unless we give the people a feeling that what they are producing will bring something more for them unless we give them a feeling that they are participating in the plan genuinely, unless we give them a feeling that it is not merely broadcasts over the All India Radio that will do the trick, but their own efforts and their own enthusiasm. And this can be done, Mr. Chairman, only if we are prepared to change our angle of vision in the matter of organisation of agriculture and increased

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agricultural production. Sir, if we consider it from a very detached point of view it ought to be clear to any hon. Member that the Food and Agriculture Ministry is one of the poorest

inistries in every State in India. In fact, it is a Ministry which does not attract the best talent in our administration. If only we had a better sense of proportion, if only we had a better idea of priorities,. I am certain that we would have been able to mobilise people to organise the districts better, to organise the rural population for producing more yield per acre and it is a very significant commentary on our planning that in spite of ten years of planning we have not been able to increase the average yield per acre all these days.

Well, Sir, I have spoken something abuot agricultural production. But I would like now, with your permission, to planning branch a bit to certain aspects of the domestic surpluses that we have to create in order to get foreign exchange surpluses. I am certain, Mr. Chairman, if we organise our agriculture properly and if we are able to get enough domestic surpluses. we would have sufficient foreign exchange to spend on import-saving Now, on this question of industries. setting up of import-saving goods industries, I have to join issue with the Planning Commission. I want to point out to the Planning Commission. that it is most important for them to bear in mind that there is what is known as a time horizon. Let us realise that a time horizon is more important. It is not what we will produce in 1970 that is important. It is what we will produce in 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964 and 1965, and it is essential that their attention should be concentrated precisely on those industries which are able to yield products in the near future. In a period of great inflationary pressures it is necessary that those who plan should have their eyes riveted on these immediate needs. Otherwise, there is a likelihood of our coming up against great difficulties and of even the Plan not being fulfilled because of inadequacy of resources.

[Shri Krishnaswami]

Now, Sir, what are the capital goods that we should certainly spend nn immediately for the purpose of nourisning wage goods industries. MV non. Iriena the Finance Minister reterred to the fact that textile mills and jute mills aid not have any facilities for renovating their plants. Now it is a very soury commentary that yet we have not as concentrated enough attention on producing first rate equipment, first-rate automatic equipment for textile mills and for jute mills in our own country. We have concentrated attention on heavy goods industries which whatever their other virtues can be made to yield dividends in 1970, 1971 1972 or thereabouts. And even when we produce those machines, there is a possibility, nay, there is a probability, that these machines may be obsolete, for the rate of technological advance is so great and obsolesence is a marked feature of most machine-building industries. I only wish that the Planning Commission had thought of devoting more attention towards the setting up of textile fabricating plants, sugar fabricating factories and cement fabricating plants. We would be doing a very great service not only in saving foreign exchange, but also helping in creating a balanced demand for wage goods like food, cloth and sugar with requisite supplies. This in itself, Mr. Chairman, would give a new dynamism to our economy. Ideas of rationalisation would undergo a change if it is found that there are industries within our own country which produce most modern equipment for textile factories, for sugar factories and for other plants. Instead of that we seem to have riveted our attention on distant projects and talk of technological advance compelling us to produce machines in sometime in the seventies.

I want to ask only certain questions. One cannot understand why in the midst of so much need for foreign exchange we have been spending scare resources in foreign exchange on organisation on that most risky of all endeavours, oil exploration. Why should we not have tapped the various countries and companies if we are so minded to undertake oil exploration, instead of running the risk ourselves? After all, if we have borrowed from abroad, from either Russia or Rumania, credit we would certainly have to pay and that would be a strain on our foreign economy.

I do not minimise for a moment, Mr. Chairman, the importance of foreign aid. But let this House remember and let the Government realise that while foreign aid is important it is necessary for us to create export surplus even for financing our maintenance imports. My hon. friend the Finance Minister in his speech referred to the fact that foreign aid on a large scale was necessary and desirable. I agree with him; but along with it there are certain obligations that we have to fulfil. On page 53 of the draft of the third Five Year Plan, it is pointed out that we would have to have maintenance imports to the tune of about Rs. 3,570 crores for the very purpose of running the various factories in our country. How are we going to meet the demands? How it is possible to satisfy the demands of these various factories. According to the figures supplied it is clear that we would have a deficit of nearly Rs. 500 crores and it works out on an average of Rs. 100 crores. I, therefore, suggest, Sir, that it is absolutely essential that we should rethink on these matters and that we should devote more attention to the problem of agriculture which should have a higher priority and that these various other methods of promoting exports should be explored much more.

Now, Sir, planning certainly in its wake brings burdens which we will have to bear. I would like to point out to hon. Members in this House that it is not right to affirm as they have done that the rise in prices is due only to taxes. One of my hon, friends yesterday pointed out that the rise in prices was due to the fact that excise duties and indirect taxes were of the order of Rs. 300 crores. If a rise in prices had occurred when there was no inflation, I am certain there would have been a great slump in all the commodity markets. But what is it that is facing our economy today? We are only having shortages everywhere and that is because of the great inflationary trends which has overwhelmed us.

I would like to give this House a simple example. A rise in price of sugar by two annas per seer would certainly bring in its wake, Mr. Chairman, a transference of income to manufacturers or traders to the tune of Rs. 23.8 crores. Since our annual consumption of sugar is about 21 odd million tons it would be a transference of Rs. 23.8 crores to the manufacturers or traders. Those of us who are allergic to commodity taxation would do well to remember that if this amount is transferred to the exchequer it would have minimised budgetary deficits and possibly slowed down the pace of inflation. I want those who think that indirect taxation is always bad to bear in mind that in an inflationary period it may be necessary for us to avail ourselves of some of these indirect taxes to curb inflation and to see to it that there is not a growth of inequality. Inflation, in my judgment, has created more inequalities of income than any other cause. And I think that notwithstanding the numerous measures taken, the numerous direct taxes imposed, there has been greater inequality in our society precisely because we have shut our eyes to inflation. While I agree with the Prime Minister that at times in a developing economy there will be a realignment of prices. some rise in prices in certain commodities, the general inflationary pressure that we are witnessing today is not to be welcomed, and the planners would have done well to have riveted their eyes on our immediate needs and created a new sense of dynamism amongst all.

Mr. Chairman: Shri M. L. Dwivedi.

Shri Pahadia (Sawai Madhopur— Reserved—Sch. Castes): May I suggest that some back-benchers also should be given a chance?

श्री म॰ ला॰ ढि़वेवी (हमीरपुर) : सभापति जी, सदन में किसी भी सदस्य को इस में तो शंशय नहीं है कि योजना की आवश्यकता है और ऐसा कोई सदस्य नहीं है जों कि उसके लाभ को न समझता हो । मैं समझता हूं कि योजना से इस देश को बड़ा भारी लाभ हुआ है । मैं वित्त मंत्री, श्री मुरार जी देसाई, का ग्राभारी हूं कि उ होंने आंकड़ों से यह प्रमाणित कर दिया है कि योजना से क्या क्या लाभ हुआ है ।

लेकिन कुछ बातें ऐसी हैं जिन पर हम को श्रौर योजना श्रायोग को इस समय विचार करना है । योजना श्रायोग के लोग दफ्तर में बैठे केवल कागजी श्रांकड़ों पर विश्वास करते हैं श्रौर उन को देश श्रौर दुनिया की कोई खबर नई होती । उन को सारे देश की ग्रामीण जनता के बारे में कोई पता नहीं है । इस देश में सात लाख गांव हैं श्रौर उन गांवों की जनता जो कुछ कहती है उस को सुनने का हमें मौका नहीं मिलता है ।

ग्राप यहां पर हमारे सामने योजना का प्रारूप रखते हैं ग्रौर हम उस पर बोलते हैं ग्रौर बोल कर चले जाते हैं। लेकिन क्या कभी ग्राप हमारे बोलने का कोई हिसाब देखते हैं ग्रौर उस को योजना में शामिल करने की बात सोचते हैं। यदि ग्राप यह नहीं सोचते हैं तो देश के साथ बड़ा विश्वासघात कर रहे है, ग्रौर इस प्रकार यह योजना हमारे लिये घातक बन जायंगी।

इस देश के साथ लाख गांवों की जनता के रक्त की ग्रन्तिम बून्द तक निकाल कर माप शहरों में खर्च करना चाहते है। क्या यही ग्राप की योजना है? ग्रगर ग्राप ऐसा विश्वास रखते है तो यह काम ग्रधिक दिन

[श्री म० ला० द्विवेटी]

चलने वाला नहीं है। मैं गांवों में जा कर लोगों से कहता हं कि योजना ने हिन्द्स्तान का नक्शा पलट दिया है। लेकिन कहां का नक्शा पलटा है ? दिल्ली का, या उन का नक्शा पलटा है जो योजना कमीशन के मेम्बर हैं, या उन का नक्शा पलटा है जो दफ्तर में बैठ कर योजना बनाते है, या ठेकेदारों का नक्शा पलटा है, या जो योजना में काम में लगाये जाते हैं उन का नक्शा पलटा है ? लेकिन हमारे देहात के भाइयों का नक्शा ग्रभी तक नहीं पलटा है । जब मैं गांवों में जाता हूं तो लोगों से कहता हूं कि योजना ने हिन्दुस्तान को स्वर्ग बना दिया है । लेकिन इस पर गांव वाले कहते हैं कि "भाई वह स्वर्ग हम को ग्रांखों से तो दिखायी नहीं देता, हम को भी तो वह स्वर्ग दिखाओं।"

आज हमारे विकास खंडों में जहां विकास खंड कायम किये गये है घूल उड़ रही है। ग्राधिकारी शहरों के रहने वाले हैं। जो जीपें उन को मिली हैं उन में फिरते हैं और वहीं गांवों में बैठ कर गांव वालों को दिखाते है कि देखो हम तुम्हारे रुपये का क्या उपयोग कर रहे हैं। तुम्हारे खून से हम किस तरह से पनप रहे हैं। यदि यही हमारी योजना है तो विश्वास रखिये कि यह योजना हम को आगे नहीं ले जायेगी।

में योजना का सब से बड़ा समर्थक हूं । लेकिन में समझता हूं कि योजना संतुलित होनी चाहिये, वह देश वासियों की योजना होनी चाहिये, खाली शहरों की योजना नहीं होनी चाहिये । आप देखें कि दिल्ली में तो डामर की सड़कें है, बड़ी बड़ी इमारतें बन रही हैं, विज्ञान भवन है जहां विज्ञान का कोई काम नहीं होता, इर्षि भवन है जहां हल नहीं चलाया जाता, उधोग भवन है जहां कोई चीज नहीं बनाई जाती । आलीशान मकान बन रहे हैं । जमुना पर पुल बन रहा है, दूसरा सब्जी मंडी के पास बन रहा है, जोकत तीसरा निजामद्वीन में बन रहा है, लेकिन बंदेल खंड का इलाका है जो नदियों के कैंदखाने में बन्द है । इसी तरह से बघेलखंड का इलाका है । ग्राप की उघर नजर नहीं जाती । जब उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार से कहते हैं कि हमारा पिछडा हन्ना इलाका है। हमें सहायता की जाय, तो वह कहते हैं कि केन्द्रीय सरकार हमारा खयाल नहीं करती । इसलिये हम पिछड़े हुए बने हैं । मेरे पास एक किताब है जिस का नाम है----ट्रेंड्स इन इकानामी इन उत्तर प्रदेश--- । उस में लिखा है कि उत्तर प्रदेश में सन १६५०-५१ में पर कैपिटा ग्रामदनी १०४ थी, जोकि सन १९४८-४९ में घट कर ८८ २ हो गयी है, म्रर्थात १२ प्रतिशत उत्तर प्रदेश की प्रति-व्यक्ति आय में कमी हई । दूसरा आंकडा मेरे पास है जिस में भारत सरकार ग्रौर उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार की ग्रामदनी का ब्यौरा है। इस में दिया गया है कि यह पहले उत्तर प्रदेश की स्राय देश की स्राय का १८ प्रतिशत थी ग्रीर ग्रब १४ प्रतिशत रह गयी है। इस के कारण उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार हम से कहती है कि इन योजनाओं के कारण उत्तर, प्रदेश तो पिछड रहा है। ग्रागे नहीं जा रहा है। बाहर के लोग तो कहते हैं कि उत्तर प्रदेश सब कूछ है। वह कहते है कि उत्तर प्रदेश दैट इज इंडिया दैट इज भारत । ग्रौर तारीफ यह है कि उत्तर प्रदेश ग्रागे नहीं जा रहा हैं।

हमारे प्रधान मंत्री उत्तर प्रदेश के हैं। वह भीं उत्तर प्रदेश की बात नहीं कहते। श्रीर उन के इलाको में जाइये तो ग्राप देखेंगे कि उन का इलाका इतना पिछड़ा हुआ है जितना भारत वर्ष में किसी श्रीर मेस्बर्फ का इलाका पिछड़ा हुआ नहीं होगा। श्रीर प्रधान मंत्री जी श्रपने इलाके, के लिये कुछ नहीं कर सकते। जब प्रधान मंत्री जी के इलाके की यह हालत है, तो मेरे जैसे श्रदने मेस्बर के इलाके की तो बात ही क्या BHADRA 3, 1882 (SAKA)

कही जा सकती है। जब योजना ग्रायोग में प्रधान मंत्री की पूछ नहीं है तो मेरे 🖓 जैसे मामुली मम्बर की बात को कौन सूनने वाला है ।

हम अपने को देश के प्रतिनिधि समझते हैं और हम को यहां बात करने का हक है। लेकिन योजना में एक पैसे पर भी हमारा हक नहीं है। योजना के लिये एक पैसा भी खर्च कराने का हमारा हक नहीं है । जिस तरह से योजना ग्रायोग निश्चित कर देता है उसी तरह से वह खर्च होता है । अगर रुपये का दूरुपयोग होता हो और हम चिल्लाते भी रहें, तो भी किन्द्रीय सरकार हमारी बात सूनने वाली है ग्रीर न योजनः ग्रायोग ।

मैं ने हमेशा योजना की तारीफ की है। लेकिन क्या यहां पर ग्रा कर भी मैं जनता की भावनाओं से सरकार को ग्रवगत न कराऊं । मैं ने स्वयं नियोजन मंत्री से बातें कहीं लेकिन उन्हों ने खयाल नहीं किया । ग्राप ने कहा है कि योजना में चार पांच बातों पर घ्यान दिया जायगा जैसे राष्ट्रीय म्राय में वृद्धि, व्यय, जन शक्ति का उपयोग, कृषि उत्पादन, उद्योग, बेरोजगारी वगैरह । ग्रीर ग्रन्त में कहा है कि लोगों में जो विषमता है उस के दूर करने के बारे में भी घ्यान दिया जायेगा । उस पर भी एक ग्रध्याय ग्रन्त में दिया गया है।

ग्राप ने कृषि उत्पादन को सब से ग्रधिक प्राथमिकता दी है। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हं कि ग्राप की इस प्राथमिकता का क्या परिणाम होता है । म्राप के सिंचाई विभाग में ग्रौर कृषि विभाग में सहयोग नहीं है । किसान खेत में खाद डालता है तो सिंचाई वाले उस को पानी नहीं देते । नतीजा यह होता है कि खाद बरबाद जाता है श्रौर उस की फसल भी सड जाती है । यह ठीक है कि ग्राप खेती को प्राथमिकता देते हैं श्रौर उस के लिये रुपया भी देते हैं,

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लेकिन उस का परिणाम क्या होता है ? ग्राप के विभागों में सहयोग न होने से उन का नाभ किसान को नहीं मिल पाता । न आप को राज्य सरकारों से सहयोग मिलता है । मैं ने उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार से कहा कि सिंचाई विभाग किसानों को समय पर पानी नहीं देता । सिंचाई के ग्रभाव में योजना बेकार हो जाती है। किसान को खाद दिया जाता है, लेकिन उस के साथ उस को सिंचाई की सुविधा उपलब्ध नहीं कराई जाती । हो यह रहा है कि जहां पानी है वहां खाद नहीं है ग्रौर जहां खाद दी जाती है वहां पर सिचाई की सविधा नहीं मिल रही । किसानों को जबरदस्ती खाद दी जाती हैं पर पानी नहीं दिया जाता । इस तरह से योजना चल नहीं सकती ।

मैं कहता हं कि वह चाह उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार हों या मद्रास की सरकार हो या किसी ग्रौर राज्य की सरकार हो, ग्राप उन से कहिये कि जब तक रुपये का ठीक उपयोग नहीं होगा तब तक उन को ग्रागे रुपया नहीं दिया जायगा योजना स्रायोग को ऐसी समितियां बनानी चाहिये जोकि जा कर देखें कि वहां क्या काम होता है । इस के ग्रतिरिक्त ग्राप के यहां देश के विभिन्न भागों के ५०० प्रतिनिधि हैं ग्राप उन से पूछें कि उन के यहां क्या काम हो रहा है। अगर हम गलत बात कहें या स्वार्थ की बात कहें तो ग्राप न मानें, लेकिन अगर हम सच्ची और इमानदारी की बात कहें तो उस को तो ग्राप को मानना चाहिये । इस तरह से ग्राप को सही पता मालुम हो सकता है, लेकिन इस की फिक न तो सरकार को है ग्रौर न योजना म्रायोग को है।

14 hrs.

दूसरी जनशक्ति के उपयोग की बात है। ग्राप श्रम की शक्ति का प्रयोग करना चाहते हैं। ग्राप के देश में अधिकतर आबादी गांवों में है ग्रौर उन को ग्रागे बढ़ाने से देश ग्रागे [श्री म॰ ला॰ द्विवेदी]

बढ़ सकता है । लेकिन म्राप ज्यादातर रुपया शहरों में खर्च कर देते हैं। यह ठीक है कि म्राप शहरों की तरक्की करें लेकिन यह क्या बात है कि जितने भी उद्योग खुलें वह बम्बई में या दूसरे बडे शहरों में । ग्राज दिल्ली में बहत से उद्योग खोले जा रहे हैं। देहाती क्षेत्र में उद्योग नहीं खोले जाते । ग्राप विकेन्द्रीय करण की बात करते हैं लेकिन दिमाग है दूसरी तरफ । हम को झुठलाने के लिये कूछ रुपया इस हिसाब में लिख देते हैं लेकिन उस का उपयोग नहीं होता । पिछली मर्तवा मैं ने नन्दा जी से कहा था कि म्राप ने पिछडे क्षेत्रों के लिये एक सर्वेक्षण दल मकर्रर करने की बात कही थी। लेकिन दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना गुजर रही है, ग्राज तक दल नियक्त नहीं हम्रा, और म्राज इस तीसरी योजना में भी इस दल के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा गया है। ग्राप जब तक ऐसा नहीं करेंगे तब तक ग्राप को पता नहीं चलेगा कि किस क्षेत्र की क्या हालत है ग्रौर किस क्षेत्र की क्या ग्रावश्यकता है । जो लोग योजना ग्रायोग में बैठे हुए हैं उन के ऊपर उत्तर प्रदेश ग्रौर मद्रास सरकार की छाप है ग्रौर जो वहां के सचिव लोग हैं या जो मुख्य सचिव हैं वह कलक्टर से बात पूछते हैं । कलेक्टर वहां के रहने वाले नहीं होते, इसलिये वे पूरी जानकारी नहीं रखते हैं । वे पटवारियों से पूछते हैं । लेकिन प्रतिनिधियों की बात कोई नहीं पूछता, जोकि वहां से ग्राते हैं। तो प्रश्न यह है कि यह प्लान कहां से बन कर ग्राती है। मैं न ग्रपने नियोजन ग्रधिकारी से कहा कि साहब, इस में यह बात भी जोड लीजिये । उन्हों ने कहा कि यह प्रोफ़ार्मा म्राया है, इस में कोई बात घटाई या बढाई नहीं जा सकता है । मेरी समझ में नहीं माता है कि किस तरह से योजना बनती है।

गांव का म्रादमी म्राज तरसता है। उस श्रमदान से चार फ़रलांग सड़क बना दी है, लेकिन वह पक्की नहीं हो सकती, क्योंकि रुपया नहीं है । रुपया कहां पर है ? रुपया यहां पर बड़े बड़े रमणीक मकान श्रौर बड़े बड़े पुल बनाने में लगता है । यहां से दिल्ली तक, दिल्ली से बम्बई तक हर शहर के इस श्रोर उस तरफ ऊंचे ऊंचे श्रोवर ब्रिज बनाये गये हैं, जिन पर लाखों रुपये खर्च होते हैं । ग्रगर सरकार की नीति इस तरह की रही, तो योजना कभी भी कामयाब नहीं हो सकती है, दिखावा भले ही हो । हम चाहते हैं कि योजना सफल हो, लेकिन वह जनता की योजना हो, सच्ची योजना हो ।

हम देखते हैं कि सरकार करों का भार बडाती जा रही है। इस मर्तवा १६४० करोड रुपये के कर लगाये जा रहे हैं ग्रौर घाटे के बजट के म्रंतर्गत ४४० करोड रुपये का प्रबन्ध किया जा रहा है। ग्रल्प बचत योजना में भी सरकार ने ग्रच्छी रकम रखी हैं। मैं चाहता हूं कि हमारी जनता इस काबिल हो कि वह इस से ज्यादा टैक्स दे सके. लेकिन क्या सरकार ने कभी सोचा है कि ग्रामदनी का स्तर उंचा उठा कूछ लोगों का, लेकिन कुछ ऐसे पाकेट्स हैं, ऐसी छोटी छोटी जगहें उन के कुटुम्ब मौजुद हैं, जिन का ग्रामदनी का स्तर ऊंचा नहीं उठा है, लेकिन फिर भी सरकार उन सब को बराबरी से कर वसूल करना चाहती है । सरकार सोचती है कि उन की ग्रामदनी बढ़ी ही होगी ग्रौर वह सब को टैक्स करना चाहती है । मेरा कहना इस सम्बन्ध में यह है कि पहले देश के हर एक इलाके का स्तर बराबर कर लिया जाये ग्रौर फिर कर लगाया जाये ग्रौर लोग खशी से कर देंगे । लेकिन मनमाने ढंग से कर लगाये जायें ग्रौर उन का सदूपयोग न हो, दूरुपयोग हो, यह कोई उचित बात नहीं है ।

न्ननिवार्य शिक्षा के बारे में कहा गया है कि छ: साल से ग्यारह साल तक के बच्चों को शिक्षा दी जायेगी । यह बड़ी खुशी की 4897

बात है। लेकिन यह क्या बात है कि विश्व-विद्यालय जितने बनें. वे सब शहरों में ही बनते जायें ग्रौर देहातों के लोग ग्रपने बच्चों को पढ़ने के लिये शहरों में न भेज पायें ? शहरों में अनुशासन हीनता है, लडके लडते हैं, झगड़ते हैं, उद्दंड हैं । दिल्ली में चाहे हजार स्कल खोल दिये जायें. श्रनशासन-हीनता फैलेगी, तो दिल्ली भर में फैलेगी । ग्रगर सरकार देहातों में कालेज ग्रौर विश्व-विद्यालय बनाये, तो ग्रनशासन नहीं बिगडेगा । हमारे भारतवर्ष का ढांचा देहातों का ढांचा है । हम पश्चिम से. ग्रमरीका ग्रौर इंगलैंड से, जो शहरों का ढाँचा यहां लादना चाहते हैं, वह हमारे भारतवर्ष में कामयाब नहीं होगा । हमें कामयाबी तब मिलेगी, जब हम देहातों में जा कर चीजों को विकेन्द्रित करेंगे, शिक्षा संस्थाग्रों को देहातों में ले जायेंगे, जहां कि शान्त वातावरण होगा । छोटी शिक्षा, प्राइमरी शिक्षा दिल्ली में रखी जाये. बम्बई ग्रीर कलकत्ता में रखी जाये, लेकिन विश्वविद्यालय दूर दूर बनाई जायें----राज्यों में बनाई जायें, लेकिन वे दूर दूर बनाई जायें । इस से जितनी म्रन-शासनहीनता है, वह दूर हो जायगी ।

श्री पांडे ने भारत सेवक समाज के बारे में कहा । भारत सेवक समाज में काम करने का मुझे जो ग्रवसर मिला है, उस के ग्राघार पर मैं समझता हूं कि भारत सेवक समाज जैसी ग़ैर-सरकारी संस्था की हम को ग्राव-ध्यकता है ।

क्षी राजेन्द्र सिंह (छपरा) ः वह सरकारी संस्था है या ग़ैर-सरकारी ?

भी म॰ ला॰ द्विवेवी : गैर-सरकारी श्री राजेन्द्र सिंह : बिल्कुल सरकारी है ।

झी म० ला० द्विवेदी : माननीय सदस्य को पता नहीं है । वह उस के उद्देश्यों को पढ़ें वह एक ग़ैर-सरकारी संस्था है । उस 896 (Ai) LSD.—6. (SAKA) Draft Outline of 4898 Third Five Year Plan में काम करने वाले किसी से तनख्वाह नहीं देते हैं, नि:शुल्क काम करते हैं। मैं यह डंके को चोट से कहता हूं कि कोसी प्राजेक्ट पर भारत सेवक समाज ने बहुत ग्रच्छा काम किया है। ग्रौर लोगों ने काम किया, तो सौ फ़ीसदी ग्रौर चालीस फ़ीसदी से ऊपर खर्च हुग्रा, लेकिन कोसी में भारत सेवक समाज की सहायता की वजह से तीस प्रतिशत से भी कम में काम हो गया।

भी राषा रमण (चांदनी चौक) : माननीय सदस्य जरा शाहदरा में जा कर देखें कि वहां क्या काम <u>ह</u>ुग्रा है ।

श्री म० ला० ढेवेदी : यह ग्रैर-सरकारी संस्था देश में एक सही वातावरण उत्पन्न कर रही है, वह एक ऐसे वातावरण का सृजन कर रही है, जिस में योजना में काम करने वालों का पब्लिक में जन सम्पर्क बढ़ता है, जिस से योजना की सफलता में सहायता मिली है । इस समय राजर्नतिक संस्थायें इस दिशा में ग्रागे नहीं ग्रा रही हैं। मैं विरोधी सदस्यों से कहता हूं कि नुक्ताचीनी तो वह बहुत करते हैं, लेकिन योजना की काम-याबी के लिये वे कौन सा रचनात्मक काम करते हैं । जो रचनात्मक काम नहीं करना चाहता है, उस को कोई हक नहीं है कि वह नक्ताचीनी करे ।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं भ्रपना स्थान ग्रहण करता हं ।

Shri Thanu Pillai (Tirunelveli): Mr. Chairman, the Outline of the Third Five Year Plan is only a provisional draft and therefore it gives some consolation and confidence that what is written there is not final and those of us that are disillusioned to some extent by the contents of the draft would be able to take courage and confidence that it would be rectified in the final stage. With that hope, I would like to approach this draft outline.

[Shri Thanu Pillai]

It is said that one of the main objectives is the removal of inequalities. This removal of inequalities creates impression in the minds some people that it is going of the to he absolute equality which is not a possibility. It would have been well if the planners had shown by example what will be the maximum and minimum in wage and salary, income, property and other things. Only the other day, we voted down a Resolution or Bill for a ceiling on incomes. How are we going to equalise when there is no ceiling and there is no pattern of the minimum and the maximum? I think there should not be false hopes raised. The Planning Commission and the Government would do well to give some idea as to what is going to be the maximum wealth at least Otherwise, saying that we have got the objective of reducing the gap in the incomes and wealth does not convey any meaning without some definition or example of what will be the ceiling on these.

As regards price policy, also, it is said that they will bring in fiscal measures to control the prices. I cannot understand why we should fight shy of bringing in full-fledged control and physical control when planning requires that such a control is necessary. By fiscal policy and indirect taxation alone, will we be able to improve the purchasing power of the masses, see that the benefits are distributed throughout the country, to reach all the people? People who shout and throw stones get more money, and the people who are self-employed and under-employed, who are in underdeveloped regions, go with nothing. But taxation and costs increase everywhere. If there is scarcity in one part of the country and the trader knows about it, immediately in every corner of the country prices go up. Therefore, I submit Government should take some measure of courage to use the machinery of State trading for distribution of essentials.

There has been some criticism about State trading not functioning properly. Some hon, Member mentioned that wheat was being purchased at Rs. 14 but sold at Rs. 17 by Government. That is because the Government is procuring so very little and there is a lot of overhead charges included The machinery of the STC is tied down to Delhi and two or three other big cities, it does not reach the District level. The few agents employed by them are not going to behave better than the other merchants. and they are an additional burden on the consumer. We cannot help the consumer interests by taking to State trading in a half-hearted manner. Either we take to State trading fully or devise some other machinery. It is no use having a number of intermediaries, which will only increase the burden on the consuming public.

The objective of removal of inequalities brings me to regional disparities of development. Nature has not equitably distributed resources throughout the country. The eastern region, the Ruhr of India, has got so much of iron and coal that Government have rightly decided to put all the three steel plants in that region, in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. But there is a cry that only people of that region should be employed. I understand that the Government has agreed to reserve all employment below Rs. 300 or so to people of the particular State. Is it fair that Government should spend Rs. 500 to Rs. 600 crores of public money in this region and then say that employment is reserved to the people of the particular State alone? You cannot claim that, because resources are available there, you should have the industries there and then say other people should not come.

Not only this. There is linguistic tention everywhere. Who is responsible for it? We ourselves. We voted for the reorganisation of the States on a linguistic basis, giving full recognition to linguistic fanaticism. We have not reorganised the States for integration but for disintegration. Not content with that, we always yield to pressure from these linguistic fanatics, 4901

wherever they be, whoever the personalities. Therefore, I submit the Planning Commission and the Government would do well to give thought to this problem. Whatever our development, unless this feeling of disintegration and fanaticism is removed, there is no salvation for the country.

Some of us mentioned that there should be bigger States, multi-lingual States. Having agreed to linguistic States, we cannot go back, but for reasons of economic development at least, I would suggest the setting up with of intermediary zonal States. subjects like irrigation and power, industries and economic development being given to them, because this vast country cannot be adequately managed by the Ministers and the Government of India here. People in the faroff areas feel that they are neglected. At least there is a feeling that because the States are small and far away from Delhi, they are not able to attract the attention of the Central Gov-The feeling ought to be ernment. removed if we mean business in integrating India into a strong and united nation.

Our State has not got the potentialities of big rivers or big mines, but our demands are very simple. We wanted Tuticorin Port to be developed for communications. The area is developing. The handling capacity of that port is only 8 lakh tons. Already. trade there is round about one million tons. In the next Plan period it is bound to be around 14 million tons. If there is no development, not only can you not handle the traffic; the people of the area will have to forego the benefit of producing goods worth 11 million tons. All these goods obviously cannot be transported through the railways Therefore, the people of that region are rightly agitated and have made representations.

The hon. Finance Minister took objection to the remark that the Planning Commission was a super-Cabinet. Some Ministers of the Government are members of the Planning Commission also, but with what effect? When we represented to the Prime Minister in

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April, 1958 that we wanted Tuticorin Port to be developed, he said: "There is no argument about it. You must get it. There is no question of financial difficulty. At what stage is it?" It was encouraging, and the Tuticorin Port Development Council of the local people was constituted and The went with great enthusism. Government of India sent experts and they found that Rs. 10 crores would be required for the development of a major deep-sea harbour there. The hon. Minister of Transport and Communications also gave an assurance on the floor of the House that the project would be taken up in the Third Plan. But now we find that the Planning Commission's Report does not say anything about it. In answer to a question, the Minister of Shipping made certain evasive replies, and has created a lot of doubt and confusion and people are sending letters and telegrams. Maybe it is an income to the Postal Department, but that will not satisfy the people. Therefore, I submit strain a bit their resources for development of the ports of Tuticorin and Mangalore in the Sounth Zone as these are absolutely essential.

Mangalore is going to handle two million tons of iron ore, a foreign exchange earner. These two ports together would not cost more than Rs. 20 crores. If we had a big river, you would have invested Rs. 100 crores to build a Bhakra-Nangal dam there. If we had some iron and coal, you would have given as a steel plant worth Rs. 200 crores. But we ask for only Rs. 20 crores. Why should you grudge it?

The Third Plan has reduced the allocation for transport and communications from 28 to 20 per cent. This Ministry should be allocated a little more funds.

Dr. Krishnaswami mentioned about oil being given to the private sector, or some other country being asked to explore for oil. We have given the exploration right to other countries, and we find they do not want to explore. They always show failure. I submit the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel should be given an allocation of Rs. 50 crores for exploring oil, [Shri Thanu Pillai]

which would save foreign exchange to the tune of Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 crores during the Third Plan period on import of crude oil. They only want Rs. 50 crores. Why the Planning Commission cannot sanction that I cannot understand. It cannot be entrusted to the private sector or a foreign concern which will not be interested in the development of our country.

Shri Masani said yesterday:

"....this kind of contempt for all industries except steel and heavy industry comes from the Soviet Union and Soviet planning where heavy indusbeen try has glorified, and why? Not to serve the wants of the people which are still not being served, but for the purpose of warmongering, for building up armaments and for intimidating the rest of the world. But that is not the pattern of planning this country of Gandhi is going to accept."

The hon, friend has come to the conclusion that the Government of India has become a military-minded people for invasion or expansion or has an imperialistic attitude, when he condemns other countries and says that we have taken the cue from them. Now, it is these very people who are shouting hoarse that we are not able to defend our country. Are we going to defend the country with butter and bread and the cosmetics and things like that which he said they would be producing in the private sector, worth Rs. 200 crores? A person who has been associated with the pioneering house of steel industry, the Tatas, for 15-20 years thinks that steel is not necessary, for India. It is amazing, The leader of the Swatantra Party made another comparison of our Prime Minister being in the age group of 70 and fit for being the 20th or 21st member of the Socialist Group in the British Parliament. But the Swatantra Party consists of ex-servicemen, ex-Governor-General, ex-Minister, exambassador. ex-Governor, ex-ICS officers . . .

Shri Tyagi: Ex-Congressmen...... (Interruptions.)

Shri Thanu Pillai: Not ex-Congressmen but they are frustrated Congressmen. The whole approach to all problems in India is viewed from the angle of their own frustration of having lost their chairs or not having gained any chair at any time . . . (Interruptions). (An Hon Member: All Xs and Ys). The Government should not be frightened by the shouting and noise made by them either here or elsewhere and go ahead with the Plan with courage and confidence that the people of the country are behind them.

Shri K. N. Pandey (Hata): Mr Chairman, I was really amazed to hear the speech of the President of the Swatantra Party who very clearly said that he was not in favour of this Plan. Even in our private life, when we want to construct a house, do we require a plan or not? The house requires some doors and windows and they have to be planned and fitted. But a man with so much experience clearly says that our country does not require a plan. With limited resources and a large area to cover, there should be a Plan for the progress of the country in a systematic manner. The Draft Outline says:

"A socialist pattern of society has to be based on increased production realised through the use of modern science and technology and on equitable distribution of income and wealth."

In his speech the hon. Prime Minister says: that we have to avoid and prevent the accumulation of wealth in a few hands and we should ensure a wide distribution and equitable share in the national income as much as possible. I fully agree with what Panditji has said but when I go into the figures, I find out to some extent contrary results. Our national wealth has increased by 42 per cent. Naturally it is expected that each State must have made progress to that extent. But it is not so. I heard a speech yesterday from an hon. Member here and I find that 4905 Motion re:

the per capita income in some States had gone down compared to the year when the Plan started. Take for instance, Uttar Pradesh, In 1950, the per capita income was Rs. 258 crores while for the whole of India it was Rs. 246.3. In 1958-59, the per capita income for the whole India has gone up to 293.8 whereas in U.P. it is Rs. 259.02. I fail to understand where this increase of 42 per cent, has gone. It means that in some States it has gone proportionately more and in some States, less. While making the enquiry, it should also be ascertained which State has been in an advantageous position and which, in a disadvantageous position. That will make the picture very clear. While having a Plan we should see that all parts of the country are progressing evenly.

Coming to the other things, I want to speak about the achievement of the Government or about what the Government is going to do so far as labour is concerned. The unemployment problem is acute before the country.

Shri Amjad Ali (Dhubri): Mr. Chairman, shall I be allowed to put in a word? Such an important debate on the Third Plan is on and the House has been treated with contempt as there is not a single responsible Minister present in the House.

Mr. Chairman: There are two Deputy Ministers.

Shri Amjad Ali: A couple of young Deputy Ministers are there . . . (*Interruptions*).

Shri L. N. Mishra: I am here.... (Interruptions).

Shri K. N. Pandey: I want to talk about the growth rate of this country per thousand per annum. In 1951-52 it was 15.8 whereas in 1961-66 it will be 21.4. The population is increasing and simultaneously the problem of employment is also growing. About 69-70 per cent. of our population depends upon agriculture and naturally a huge percentage of unemployed persons are in the agricultural sector. The

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same has also been stated in this Plan. They are stated to make arrangements to provide employment to 3.5 million people or something like that. I do not know whether sufficient progress is being made to absorb all these persons who are under-employed or unemployed I do not find any satisfactory may have by which the problem of employment could be solved. The country will have to face great difficulty in case serious attention is not paid to this aspect of solving the unemployment problem.

Now, the whole Plan has to be successful if the workers co-operate. The workers want social security and also a fair wage. I think although the national income has gone up the value of their present wage has gone down. If this condition remains. I do not know how the Government or the public will get the support of the workers. Naturally, there has to be stabilisation of prices in respect of commodities which the workers require. So far it has not been done successfully. But it has got to be done successfully in the coming Third Five Year Plan period. Your Ordinances and your Acts cannot help in the matter. Something must be done to strictly maintain stable prices of commodities.

It was suggested in the Second Five Year Plan that the workers will get a chance to participate in the management. So far I have seen that the workers have worked like any other iron machines in the factory to increase production. It had been assured to the working class people that they will get a chance to participate in the management. In the report it has been said that this scheme has been tried in 24 factories, but the result has not been given in this report. I do not know what has been the result. So far my information goes, I understand that this scheme of workers participation in the management has failed. I do not know how the Government will evolve a new scheme or evolve a new way by which this scheme is made successful

[Shri K. N. Pandey]

So far as social security is concerned, Sir, the workers require great help during their old age. In this report they have only dealt with the question of enhancing the rate of provident fund and also extending the area of the Employees' State Insurance scheme. They have not given any reference here to the question of giving any gratuity to the workers. Sir, the provident fund scheme came into operation in 1952. Before that most of the people had become of the age of 60 or 65. Naturally, they will get the benefit of this provident scheme only after 1952. What will happen for the past years? Those people require gratuity, and the whole country requires a uniform schemes of gratuity to be introduced. But no reference to that has been made here. I hope our Planning Minister who happens to be the Labour Minister also will give proper consideration to this matter.

Sir, as the national income increased the prices of commodities also went high. The section of organised labour working in textiles and other places put in a demand to the Government and the Government agreed to form wage boards. As a result of that they have got something. But there is a vast number of workers employed in other industries who are not well organised. I do not know what will happen to them, how their wages will increase. If the prices have gone up they have not gone up only for the textile and sugar workers but they have gone up for all the workers in this country. I do not think there is any proposal to evolve any proper machinery in the near future so that the wages of the workers who are not organised like the textile and sugar workers may also be increased. This is an important point and I think Government's attention is required in this aspect also.

Sir, I am unable to understand what Shri Masani said in his speech. So far as I have been able to study the method and also the ideology of his Party, they are talking of the 18th century. Where the whole world is advancing they are going back. They want to solve the problems in this country by going back to the 18th century I fail to understand their technique and method.

As the country is preparing big Plans and investing large sums in them, naturally the principle of supply and demand will apply to the market also. When there is a large sum in the the value of money, naturally, will go down and there will be inflation, therefore, to that extent and the prices will also proportionately go high. That is why I want that some proper machinery, some automatic machinery should be evolved so that if there is a rise in the prices of the commodities something should be given to the workers to compensate their wages. That is my suggestion in this regard.

Sir, I really wanted that the Labour Minister would have been here. because I do not agree with the policy of the Labour Ministry to have mushroom growth of trade unions in the factories. If you want to maintain industrial peace in a factory it re-quires only one union. There may be different ideologies. If our ideology is proper and good all the workers will come to us. But the problem cannot be solved by creating many unions in the same factory because the moment so many unions come into existence they go on putting fantastic demands in order to win the favour of workers. Therefore, instead of industrial peace being maintained it brings in industrial unrest. I hope the Labour Minister will give his attention to this aspect of the question also so that only one union may be had in one industry.

Sir, I will touch upon only one more point and that is about productivity. As the country is also advancing there will be a stage where the industry cannot pay so much as we expect. Naturally productivity will play an important role. But at this moment productivity is being interpreted in a different way. The employers think that productivity means only large production by the workers without giving any burden to the employers. But productivity involves five points : management, money, machine, material and man. Man comes afterwards but all the other four which come before will have to be efficient. Unless all these four factors are efficient, productivity cannot succeed. Therefore, Government should lay stress on these four points so that our productivity movement may succeed.

Malkote (Raichur): Dr. Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I, at the very outset, congratulate the planners for the Plan inat they have placed before us? context, may I draw the In this attention of the House that sometime in 1953-54 the then Finance Minister at the Centre, Dr. Deshmukh, had occasion to say that even in the First Plan itself the amount of money that we were spending and the achievements we were making amounted to what the British did during all their regime. And this we did in the course of a year. This was when the total amount of our Plan came up to about Rs. 3.000 crores. The Second Plan was to the tune of nearly Rs. 7,200 crores and the Third Plan now envisaged is to be to the tune of Rs. 10,200 crores. What was then done in a year would be now done in the course of three months. In three months we would be achieving what the British did during the course of nearly 150 years. This, Sir, has evoked a great amount of admiration not merely in the country but outside as well. I had occasion to travel abroad recently and they asked me: "How is it that you have been able to do all this, a poor country like yours?" The reply to them is this. That is what the Prime Minister and others have always been saying, that we were not going out asking or begging foreigners to give us aid. The country is tightening its belt to progress and, therefore, whatever we produce we begin to save and plough back. In this, the poor

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man to a large extent is contributing his share. If, in addition to what we have been doing in our country, we go outside and ask the people, "we are not coming to you for begging; can you please help us to improve our standards as quickly as possible, and the help that we need from you is in the shape of loan and nothing more; we are prepared to pay back every pie," what happens? It is this important approach that has brought admiration from all sources and that is why the foreign component of our aid is increasing year by year.

Rs. 10,200 crores is a colossal sum, but compared to the needs of the people it is still insignificant. ₩e want another 30 or 40 or 50 years to be able to do something for everyone in this country. Therefore, while nearly 13 to 14 years have already elapsed since we attained independence, and while we are embarking on the third Plan, we have to consider the present state of affairs and to what extent we have had response from every sector of the population. As a person working in the labour field and as one connected with cottage industry and as one who is in touch with the rural population, T have got to bring to the notice of this House that by and large these Plans have not been able to evoke that much enthusiasm which was expected. While the Plans should have evoked the enthusiasm of every individual, it has not been the case. If only we had succeeded in that, the Plan would have succeeded to a large extent than what it has been able to do till now.

Why is this so? My point is that today, if anything, the main factor in production is agriculture. It is not so much a question of industry. Industrialisation and improvement in techniques are both necessary but unless that vital sector of the country, the agricultural sector, operates and operates properly, we will not be able to catch up with the progress that we desire. In the agricultural sector, in the First Five Year Plan, the total amount spent, whether in the shape of improvement or community

[Dr. Malkote]

development or irrigation or some of the social services, was less than Rs. 1,000 crores. In the second Plan, it came to about Rs. 1,400 crores and in the third Plan, it is estimated at about Rs. 2,000 crores. But the total production from the agricultural sector itself is about 54 per cent. Producers who produce 54 per cent of the producers get only Rs. 2,000 crores today in the third Five Year Plan, as against Rs. 8,000 odd crores in the other sectors. Even in respect of this Rs. 2.000 crores which we are going to spend, how is it going to be spent? The majority of the amount will go in for big irrigation schemes under which there will be greater production of jute and cotton which again means industrialisation to help the industries, like textile, sugar and some rice. Today, the common man anywhere in the country, except in certain parts of certain States, is not eating rice; is not worried about sugar, and he is not worried so much about jute production. What is important is this. During this period of 14 years, due to inflation, the cost of commodities has gone up, and so he has the right to ask, "after 14 years of Independence, have I been able to get a job at all?" That is the first question. He can say, "Unless I get a job, how am I going to eat?"

So, there is the question of unemployment. It is said that in the second Five Year Plan, 50 lakh people remain unprovided for. To this is added another 15 lakh people to whom we expect to provide employment but we have not been able to provide. That comes to 65 lakhs. To this figure of 65 lakhs, another figure of 125 lakhs which would be there at the beginning of the next Plan should be added. That makes up 190 lakhs of unemployed. Apart from this, the third Five Year Plan itself tells us that more than about 4.5 crores of people have avocations which give them work for less than four hours a day. Therefore, there would be nearly about 6.5 crores of 65 million people who have either no employment or employment which gives them very little food. When inflation is going up, to what extent he has been able to meet the cost of living is an important question. So, on this score, these Plans have not given the rural sector any very great enthusiasm. The worker has got a right to ask in the rural sector, "All these Plans are meant for me, and but then I have not been provided with a job and in the meanwhile the inflationary tendencies are going up."

Along with this, what do I see on the other side? There are people who make money. Disparities are increasing. That is also an important question. So, the Plan has not been able to evoke the enthusiasm of the if rural population. They say that there is an irrigation scheme then again it is only the wet irrigation by and large that has come into vogue during the past ten years. It is only the well-to-do class of the agriculturists that can gain anything and can cultivate the wet land. It is not the man who has dry land, the man who owns the dry land and wants to cultivate it, who can be benefited. He has not been given any kind of facility, and 80 per cent of the 80 per cent of this rural population comes under this group. Therefore, the man who owns dry land has not been benefited in any manner. No employment has been given to him. Even today, in the third Plan, he does not get either employment or even good drinking water to prevent him from contracting diseases, or to get medical aid, whereas he has been given the right to work with an empty stomach. asked to educate himself on an empty stomach. This is the aspect of the situation which does not enthuse the common man in the rural sector. It is this aspect which I would like to place before this House and I request the Government to see that this Plan has got to be revised in such a manner that the rural sector gets much more than what he has been able to get at this jucture. This is an important question that I pose before this House.

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Thus, I have concentrated only on two important aspects of the problems, that is, employment, and the welfare of the rural sector. These two things go side by side.

Then, I would like to congratulate the Prime Minister for announcing in this House that government would analyse and find take measures to out where the additional amount to the national income has gone and where it is being diverted. I am very glad that he has made this announcement. because for the past three or four years, we have been putting this question in this House. It has dawned on the Government today to find out where all this money has been diverted.

Then, the few employments that is found in the rural sector is in the shape of cottage industries and all that. In the first two Five Year Plans they mentioned something about khadi, but in the third Plan, it has been relegated. They have not mentioned anything about it or they have not given the break-up for it. It is going to the background. Is it because that the cotton mills would be benefited to the exclusion of khadi? The amount of money that has been earmarked for khadi, etc., is very meagre. Last year, and indeed for every year, the amount of subsidy that was given to these cotton mills has been, and is also expected to be in the future, to the tune of Rs. 50 crores. But we have been asking that the poor villager should be given one or two annas more as a subsidy-a small bit of money to help him. But attention has not been paid to that aspect of the matter and to that sector. That is the question that I would like to ask in respect of the rural sector. If you have got to do anything now, it is the first and foremost duty to find employment by giving them some kind of work, and that type of work can be done through cottage industries and khadi, and therefore, some amount should be allotted towards that end.

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Further, it is not that cottage indusries cannot deliver the goods. What have we done in the shape of teachnical improvement to the cottage industries sector? Have we allotted money for any research in that subject? Have we given them tools to produce much more than what they have been able to produce so far? These are the aspects of the question which we have got to look into. If all this is done, I am sure that the villager will be able to get more employment at less cost and deliver the goods to the nation, and thus they will be able to feel enthused over the Plan

Therefore, the one important question is empyloyment, and the second question is coming to the aid of the villagers themselves by giving them not only employment but pure water, and some kind of good manure to that agricultural sector of the population, who have got only dry land. Unless these things are done the rural population is not going to get any benefit during the third Plan; if they do not get any benefit, that will not be good.

So far as food is concerned, I have already referred to the question of rice. A person who has been cultivating about 25 acres of dry land, if wet irrigation is brought about, can at best cultivate, with a pair of bullocks, about 21 to 3 acres of land; that land would need six times more water than an ordinary dry cultivated land. It is said that jowar can be produced six times more, why, nearly 24 times more, provided the land is fed with adequate manure, and quantities of water is given at proper times. Rice, on the other hand, needs more manpower, more bull power, and moreover, the rice that is produced is not the best nutrient for man, and the hay is also an inferior type of fodder for the cattle Instead of that, if the same facilities could be given for dry crops, the yield can be more. If the water is let for these dry lands by restricting the supply to those cultivators who are cultivating the wet

[Dr. Malkote]

lands-of course, people who were cultivating rice before should be allowed to do so, but wherever new irrigation schemes are taken up, this could be done-and the cultivators are asked to cultivate ony the dry crops, then, within the course of the next two or three years, the shortage of foodstuffs that is occurring in the country could be made good. 400 lbs of jowar that is being grown today can go up to 12,000 lbs, or at least to a minimum of 3,000 lbs. whereas in the case of rice, it is only expected to double itself. The amount of man-power is the same, the bull power is the same, and large quantities of manure is not required, though if it is there, it is well and good, but if only water is given, you can raise a bumper crop and produce what is necessary. This aspect of the question is not being tackled properly.

Lastly, I would say a word about the machiney for the implementation of the Plan. It has been said that the machinery that is working, namely the Government servants, are not of the proper type. Many people have complained about that here. It is a fact that the implementation machinery is not doing very good work. But whose fault is that? When I am saying this, I am looking at it from the common man's point of view. Here are the Government servants who could deliver the goods after Independence, when there was trouble in the north, between the Muslims and the Hindus, and when there were several other adverse factors taking place. They delivered the goods; and they were loyal to the country. And whether one liked it or not, during the recent strike also, they were able to deliver the goods to Government. The fault lies with the lack of firmness of policy, with the Government themselves. If only they have the firmness of policy, these present Government servants, all types of them, can deliver the goods. It is the lack of a firm policy with Government that is at the root of the whole affair. If that is there, I personally feel that

the plans can be properly implemented. I congratulate the Government servants for their capacity to adapt themselves, but they can adapt themselves to the situation only if the Ministry itself is firm and takes a firm attitude and follows a firm policy.

Shri Damani (Jalore): For the last two days, the discussion on the Draft Outline of the Third Five Year Plan has been going on in this House. Ť have heard the speeches of many hon. many hon. Members. I find that Members have criticised the policy ad the system of planning. According to me, planning is most essential, and I would say that the targets fixed for the Third Five Year Plan are also realistic.

The outlay on the Third Five Year Plan is about Rs. 10,200 crores, which is nearly equivalent to the targets fixed for the First and Second Plans together. It is obvious that as we advance industrially, the country will require more money to develop many other things, and therefore, the figures will become higher and higher. The estimate has been made that there will be an increase of 51 per cent in the public sector investment and about 29 per cent in the private sector investment during the Third Plan period. I think both would be able to do their best, and let us hope that both of them would fare well.

If Government want to modify this system of placing a plan for five years before the House, I think it will be more beneficial if there are annual plans. Businessmen also prepare plans for five years or three years and so on, but they split their plans annually, and they fix the targets which are going to be achieved annually, and at the end of each year, they consider what achievements they have made in that year and what further additions are required, and in the light of that, they prepare the plan for the next year. If planning is done in this way, then, every year, the progress can be checked up, and the plan can be revised and framed in

the light of the actual achievements. In the same way, if we split up our plans into annual plans, then the picture will remain the same there will be no change in it, but the planning will be done in instalments or in sections. After completing one year, we can place the achievements during the year before the House here or the rspective State Assemblies, and then say that these are the achievements that we have made during the last year and these are the targets for the next year, and these are the modifications that are required and so on: then, the public will know the actual position better. I think this kind of thing will be better in this fast running world where many things are likely to change. Therefore, I think that if this system is adopted of splitting up or dividing these plans into five parts, and each part is placed before the House separately just as the Budget is placed before the House by Government every year, and the achievements during the previous year are placed before the House and discussed, and then the next year's targets are fixed, that will be very helpful; and that will clear many uncertainties, and will be welcomed also very much by the public, and greater responsibility also will be shared by them.

During the Second Plan, the country has achieved so many of the targets, just as the hon. Finance Minister has pointed out today; he has given all the details of the achievements made during the Second Plan period. I do not therefore, like to repeat them, but I would say that during the last four years of the Second Five Year Plan, the atmosphere of expansion of industries and expansion of other activities has spread considerably. In every part of the country, more industries are coming up now; people are anxious to put up more and more industries; the poeple are putting their savings in industries and so on. And many of the items which we were importing from abroad, and for which we had to depend on other nations are now being produced

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in our own country, and in this way, a amount of foreign huge exchange which we used to spend before is being saved. In the years to come, there will be a greater saving of foreign exchange. So, the best achievement of the Second Five Year Plan is that it has created a good atmosphere and also a very suitable climate for industrialisation of the country, and it has also resulted in increased production of various items.

Regarding the resources, it has been estimated that we should tap Rs.550 crores by deficit financing, Rs.550 crores by way of small savings, and Rs. 1600 crores by way of taxes, and Rs. 850 crores by way of loan from the public, or public borrowings. These are the estimates that we find in Draft Outline. Here, I want the suggest that if the target in to respect of borrowings in increasto some extent. that would ed be more helpful; for, in an expanding economy, if the target for public borrowing is increased, it is more easy of achievement, Further, in the sphere of small savings, up till now, we have not been so very successful. Therefore, this suggestion could be considered. Regarding the target in respect of taxes namely Rs. 1650 crores, many hon. Members have already expressed their views about this.

15 hrs.

I want to say that if the limit of taxation is reduced and public borrowing increased, that will be a healthy thing, because there will be a contingent resource available with Government in case of an emergency when it can be utilised. This is very essential.

Then I wish to refer to two things to which the Government should give more attention. The first relates to the exploration of oil. At present, we are importing all crude oil. We have to spend a very huge amount of foreign exchange for payment thereof. Now that oil exploration in the country has made certain that there are great possibilities of getting oil in commercial quantities here itself, if

[Shri Damani]

Government allot more money, more foreign exchange, for exploration, it will result in a substantial saving. As more and more oil is obtained, to that extent there will be a saving of foreign exchange. Therefore, this matter should be given a higher priority. If this is done, it will also assist in giving some relief to those who are unemployed.

The second matter relates to shipping. We are now paying a huge amount of foreign exchange by way of freight. At present, we are importing hure quantities of foodgrains; we are also exporting huge quantities of goods. But so far as shipping is concerned, for all this we have to depend largely on foreign companies to whom we have to pay foreign exchange. Therefore, if we invest more money and purchase more ships, the saving will be immediate. It will bring in quick returns and to that extent, save foreign exchange.

As regards the textile industry, I want to say a word. The prices of cloth are under discussion now. The textile industry has achieved the target laid down in the Second Five Year Plan. But still the demand for cloth is increasing.

Shri Braj Raj Singh (Firozabad): Prices too.

Shri Damani: Prices are rising due to increase in demand. There are so many things connected with it. That is not the subject of discussion now.

I suggest that the organised sector, the mills, should be allowed to increase capacity as early as possible so that they can produce more and can meet the increasing demand. The plant and machinery for the textile industry are mostly being produced in the country now. So we will not require any foreign exchange for the importation of plant and machinery. Therefore, it would be easy to increase the existing capacity. Hence a decision should be taken immediately to allow the industry to increase its capacity at least by 25 per cent to meet the increased demand which we expect in the next five years.

Then there is another thing. At present, 10,000 of our students are receiving education in foreign countries, for which we have to spend a huge amount of foreign exchange. If that amount is spent in the country for putting up technical institutions here, we can save that money and also educate our children. Therefore, more funds should be allocated for starting technical institutions in the country so that foreign exchange will be saved and side by side, our children will also get education in the country.

Shri Rajeshwar Patel (Hajipur): I thank you for giving me this opportunity to participate in this discussion on the *Draft Outline* of the Third Five Year Plan. Already more than 40 Members have examined the *Outline* of the Third Plan from all possible angles and have also in the process examined our achievements during the First and Second Five Year Plans.

As we all know, quite a few have rightly appreciated the achievements made during the First and Second Plans; there have been others who have conceded it rather grudgingly, and, unfortunately, there are some who still do not see any signs of achievement. I hope in the course of years to come when things start almost staring them in the face, they will be able to appreciate that we, in the very adverse circumstances we found ourselves, have really made a good job of the resources employed in the Five Year Plans so far.

It is true that in a backward and under-developed country like ours, whatever we do is an achievement. Yet it cannot be said that we have achieved all that we could. Perhaps those who still do not feel impressed by the achievements are those who want still more rapid progress. I hope after the completion of the Third Plan, the tempo of development will be sufficiently rapid to create a good impression on those hon. Members also.

Having said this, I would like to speak a little about the Planning Commission, how it was envisaged to function when it was constituted. As we all know, the projects included in the First Plan were the projects which were, most of them, already in existence. The Commission sort of gave them the shape of plans. Those were the projects for which they were not accountable. But when we constituted the Commission. the objective was that because of the very limited resources of the country and the urgent necessity of exploiting those resources to the best advantage country, a permanent of the Commission should be formed which go into the details and set up some kind of machinery to have a clear idea of the actual resources available. Unfortunately, during the four days of the discussion that I have been very carefully listening to, resources have come to mean money and at the most at places they include also technical know-how and personnel. To my mind, resources also mean the men live in this country. If who our planners instead of having only concentrated their attention on the monetary resources and the know-how resources, either local or imported, had also taken pains to realise the spirit that was there behind the expression 'resources' as given in the terms of reference of the Commission, probably they would have thought of the real India, also 70 per cent of it, I dare say, the village India which remains unemployed or underemployed

Now, unfortunately, the governments, particularly in States, have a kind of machinery which is not coping with the problems and tasks they have rightly taken upon themselves. The way out would have been to part with

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some of the responsibilities which have fallen on their shoulders. Some governments, in certain parts of the country, saw the necessity of doing it and others are still resisting.

The Planning Commission has been making the suggestion for a long time. They first started with the Community Project idea. When they found that the Community Project is not vielding the results they had expected, then, they thought in terms of the panchayates. And, now, they have come out almost with a clearcut idea that the develomental activities of the villages cannot, in the nature of things, be looked after by either the State Governments, or, still less, by the Central Government, But this realisation, unfortunately, is not dawning on all the States with such clarity as it ought to be. It is my hope that the Planning Commission will try to impress upon the Governments, as it has been referrtd to casually in the Draft Outline. In the Draft, somewhere they have mentioned that it is their hope that the zila parishads, the panchayat parishds and the block parishds will come into being throughout the country before the Third Plan starts. I really want to impress upon this House the urgency of taking this step.

For the last three or four days, hon. Members here have tried to make out that even if the Plan was good, even if the projects were such as might have brought prosperity and happiness to the people, the way they were implemented, the indifference with which they were implemented could not secure to the country what they could have-those projects and those plans. And, I think, there is some amount of truth in this criticism. Instead of examining, we, sometimes, are in the habit of brushing aside such criticism. I think that a discussion on the outlines of any plan is the appropriate occasion when we could examine it inside out, sort of tear it to pieces and then come to certain conclusions.

[Shri Rajeshwar Patel]

As some hon. Member has already said, nobody in this House is opposed to the idea of planning. That is obvious. In an under-developed country we cannot achieve big results with limited resources unless we plan. Planning means only putting our immediate resouces to the best use. Even Acharva Kripalani when he said that we should pause and consolidate, all he wanted by implication to mean was that we have set certain things in motion and probably, we are not being able to consolidate and take the fullest advantage of those things. It is time we sort of pause and find out whether we have proceeded in those matters rightly or not. If we are fully satisfied we can go ahead. He is not opposed to it. His emphasis is on cottage industry and on small-scale industry because he is convinced that in a vast country like ours, where there are thousands and millions of people unemployed and under-employed, big schemes or big industries could not be the solution of unemployment or under-employment of this country which every one of us is very keen on industrialising in a big way.

Not even Shri Masani said that he was opposed to planning. Therefore, in such cases, I do not think it is at all necessary for anyone to take a partisan stand and say: 'I must defend what is obviously a mistake or what is wrong'.

For instance, a good lot has been discussed, not only on this occasion but on a previous occasion also, in this House regarding our steel plants. We, in fact, have been rightly criticising the Government for not having included, as it was very plainly told by the Prime Minister, at least one Steel project in the First Five Year Plan itself. We wanted to make good what we could not do in the First Five Year Plan by including three plants.

Unfortunately, I feel, as the report of the Estimates Committee also shows that the gentlemen who happened to be in charge of having our three plants in the public sector, to say the least, were not qualified to hold those positions. If we have not achieved results we are all to blame for putting such persons in charge who could not do things. I do not want to name any person. Even though the Estimates Committee pointed out those things to them at the proper hour, they would not listen; they would always have a reply. Those replies might win a debate; but, when the actual results have to be shown in proof, those arguments are not going to disprove or dispel the doubts that were raised then. We now find that because the plants did not come in proper time, because the coke-oven plants did come in proper time-for all such reasons-our targets could not be achieved.

If there is criticism like this, I think, the Planning Commission or Government have no reason to be very sensitive about it. I think they should welcome such criticism and see to it that they provide for things the coming Plan in in such a manner that such criticisms are not levelled against them. After all, this is a Plan for the development of the country. The present Government or the Planning Commission, I believe, are doing things in the best interests of the country. They are men; they are fallible and they can make mistakes. But they need not be sensitive to the criticism which are right. They will only benefit from the criticisms that have been levelled at their plans here in this House,

The Deputy Minister of Labour, Employment and Planning (Shri L. N. Mishra): Yes.

Shri C. D. Pande: He assures you.

Shri Rajeshwar Patel: I am thankful to him; he is one of the limbs of Government.

Shri C. D. Pande: Limb only? (Interruptions).

Shri Rajeshwar Patel: I want to tell him that the Planning Commission would be better advised in my opinion, to address itself to the main task that was assigned to it to find out formally the resources that are available and to put them to the resources Bv thev best use. should take into consideration the existing, at least, 10 to 15 crores of the people of India. Now how could they be enthused? How could the people living in the villages be enthused to participate? I know it is a gigatic task and I think it is an impossible task for any Government to do. But if we were to decentralise our power, which we in any case are not utilising, which we are incapable of utilising, then it can be done. Because, even when the British Government was there there used to be district boards and local bodies and education, sanitation and so many other items which are being looked after directly by the State Governments and Central Government used to be subjects exclusively in the domain of the activities of the district boards and local boards. I am not askinf for anything new.

I have had occasion to speak on this subject and to study this subject in other places also and I am convinced that if there is any necessity of introducing any kind of amendment that should be done and the Consitution should be amended. There should be a three-tier Government, Central, State and Local government, the last on the block-wise basis. Unless we are prepared to give them the powers, the responsibility, we are not going to enlist their support. They alone know their problems. With the best of motives with the best of goodwill we cannot from here know the real needs and difficulties of the people living in the villages. The best among us can project our mind but we cannot, for the life of us, understand what their real difficulties are. The moment responsibility is put in their hands I am sure you and I will be simply surprised at the rapidity with which the dormant and dead villages come to life. I have absoultely no doubt about it. That is one task which I think the

Planning Commission should attend to.

The second such element in our country is the cattle which does not speak. In the First Plan the attention of the planners was drawn to the problem of cattle. To many of us it is still a surprise, rather a news, that in our country we have 25 per cent of the world's cattle, though the basis is milk yield on per capita perhaps the lowest in the world. The First Five Year Plan and, before that, one of the apostle's of non-violence, Mahatma Gandhi, suggested that the economy of this country cannot be saved unless the unwanted cattle are segregated by creating а sort of great prison in the jungle where all the unwanted cattle can be put. Taking a cue out of what he said, the First Plan did contain the proposal of creating Gosadans where the unwanted cattle can eat well and die death. That task is their natural laudable, particularly in view of our own traditions and background, where people have come to have some kind of belief in sanctity of cows, bulls and all that. We can solve this problem by opening Gosadans without in any way affecting the sentiments of the Hindu community.

Whenever I had an opportunity to discuss this with anybody, either here or in the villages, they say that they cannot do anything in the matter. It is a well-known fact that nobody keeps a useless cattle at his door. He wants to sell it to the butcher. Now the law comes in his way. Formerly, it was the religious sentiment which used to come in the way; not even the religious sentiment as what the neighbour will say. And the neighbour will make life impossible if he does that openly. Therefore, he never has the courage of conviction to openly sell it to the butcher. He used te sell it through a community called Chamars, who secretly used to purchase it from the people.

Once I was travelling in Himachal Pradesh and in a village I said that their corn crops seemed to be very

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good. They said: "what is the good of growing a good corn crop? The monkeys will come and devastate it." I asked: "why do you utter the name of Hanumanji in this disparaging fashion"? He immediately replied: "If it is a race between the life of my child and the life of the child of Hanumanji I do not want to be beaten there." All of us, including Kaka Kalelkar, were there and we asked: "what do you want?" They all came in a group and said: "recommend the grant of gun licences to us so that we could kill those monkeys." Dr. Parmer happened to be then Chief Minister there. We wrote to him that these people are willing to get the monkeys killed; if he can send some gun men they would be very much obliged to him. I am glad to inform you that the Chief Minister did it and the people of that area are happy.

It is a question of taking a bold step. Unfortunately, our record in this matter has been just the opposite. There was no necessity of a law in the country prohibiting the killing of useless cattle. Because some people have a very ill-conceived notion of their duties towards cows, because of the fear and criticism of such people, at the behest of such people we have been stampeded into making a piece of legislation which, I am sure, is going to ruin our country in spite of all the efforts that we are making through the Five Year Plan to save the country.

Mr. Chairman The hon. Member should conclude now.

Shri Rajeshwar Patel: I will finish in two minutes.

Now these 170 million cattle give us Rs. 1,000 crores worth of milk and ghee even now. We hardly realise out of the whole economy of Rs. 10,000 crores in a year Rs. 1,000 crores are being contributed by these animals. If you take into account also the value of the power they supply for ploughing then it comes to about Rs. 1,500 crores. This huge source of energy, this huge source of wealth, the advantage of which mostly could have gone to the villagers, is not being properly looked after. Yesterday, Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava was telling us that in his own life time the yield of milk per cow in the Punjab has come down from 20 to 30 lbs., to 7 lbs, per day. Also, in those days the bulls could pull 30 to 40 maunds. Now they are pulling only 15 to 17 maunds. Obviously, he was trying to analyse the problem. But he did not go the whole hog. Where does the reason lie?

So much of fodder is being destroyed by unwanted cattle. We talk of pests. We talk of rats and mice. But we do not talk of the destruction that is being done by unwanted cattle. What have you done in the matter? Of course, I am not suggesting that vegetarians like me should be asked to eat cows. I do not say that. I am only suggesting to the Government to have more Gosadans. For Heaven's sake, do realise the seriousness of the problem.

Acharya Kripalani: If they are destroyed it is very much better.

Shri Rajeshwar Patel: I personally would agree with you. I make myself bold here to say that we should make a good job of it rather than beat about the bush when the bush is not prepared to take the unwanted cattle either.

Then, it is not because I happen to come form Bihar where the Bokaro plant is to be located there but because of the desirability of having a fourth steel plant in the public sector during the Third Plan, I want to say a few words on that subject.

I advisedly used the words 'public sector' because there is wrangling and efforts are being made all over somehow to get it in the private sector. That is why I used the words 'public sector'. The fourth steel plant is a necessity.

This morning Acharya Kripalani told our hon. Finance Minister, "Unless you have the full capacity

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realised of the plants that we have set up why should you go in for the fourth?" That is exactly what we thought during the First Five Year Plan period. Our people who are giving us an idea and an estimate of our requirements said that 5 million tons of steel will be enough. We had in fact gone in for only a 5 million ton plant at Rourkela. But soon, after one year, we realised that it should be 1 million tons.

Yesterday Shri Masani wanted to lay all the emphasis on agricultural development. I hope I am not second to him in my desire of development in the villages particularly of agriculture. But I would like to know this. There is 30 crore acres of land under the plough in this country. Even if the 300 million acres required one ton of iron for ploughs and for all kinds of small implements. our requirement will be 1 million ton agriculture. What is only for the quantity that we are giving to them? We are all the time shouting that we should have more production. You do not give the you tools to our farmers and want them to produce more! You do not give them the fertiliser and you want them to produce more! I have yet to meet a farmer anywhere in the world who can compare with the farmers of this country. I say this on my personal experience, having seen the farmers of the most advanced countries, like America and others.

So I would once again request the Planning Commission through you that it had better concentrate upon collecting dependable statistics and not merely depend upon the statistics supplied by the National Sample Survey which unfortunately-I do not know what to say. They say our production last year was 96 million tons and we consumed it. The target of the Second Five Year Plan was only 80 million tons. If we have to depend for our planning on statistics of this nature, God alone help us and the Plans. Then the doubts that are raised in 896 (Ai) L.S.D.-7.

this House and outside will be very, very justified.

Shri Birendra Bahadur Singhji (Raipur) Mr. Chairman, Si, I am very grateful to you for giving me the opportunity to speak. During the three days of the debate sufficient water has already flown under it. Many speeches have been made and I do not think one is left with much to say now. However, there are one or two things which I want to stress upon.

The basic defects of the Plans when it comes to execution is administration. Whatever we have been hearing up till now and wherever the Plan has failed it comes to this. The intentions of the Planning Commission are very good and very laudable. In fact, very good for the country and they have produced very good results. But whatever the intentions are, when the question of implementation comes, I am afraid it is not so there. I come from the State of Madhya Pradesh. If you go through the Planning Commission's report on the draft Plan you will find that it has been said that special interest is always shown to the backward States.

Further, as you know Sir, in the year 1957 when the States reorganisation took place it was greatly stressed that this new State which was formed up would receive all the help, all the aid and all that is necessary and required from the Centre. But I am sorry to tell you that though the State is the largest in India now, after the formation of Maharashtra and Gujarat, there is no largeness so far as planning and other things are concerned. For example, I can say this with all confidence that during the two Five Year Plans Madhya Pradesh never received any major or medium irrigation scheme. When the Second Five Year Plan came, new portions were added to Madhya Pradesh then. If they did receive anything, it was only the Chambal project. That project came from Madhya Bharat. This is only one thing.

I will take another instance of the community projects. In my own

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own district something over Rs. 12 lakhs or Rs. 14 lakhs have simply been wasted. What is the result? The whole of the community development areas have lovely buildings for all the Block officers. What do they do with the money? If the people ask for a road, the road is not produced but something else is produced. they ask for irrigation pro-Tf. jects, the officers produce something else. These things are happen-ing there. In the end if a tank is produced, it results only in good spots of picnics for the officers to go and waste petrol, with number of cars. This is one typical instance.

When the question of administration of these areas comes, no one bothers to see anything about it. No one bothers where the money is going, what is happening actually and whether it is rightly utilised or not. I do say that the community projects in other States or roundabout Delhi must be good because we see a lot of foreign visitors going and visiting those areas. But apart from this, if you really want to go and see what is happening in these backward rural areas where these community development works have been carried out, I can tell you with all the confidence you will find that the result has been very, very poor. Consequently, now the result is that no one is taking any interest in these community projects. The officer must go on tour. So he just goes round, sees a few odd things and because he has got to give a report to the Government produces something of the sort and sends it to the Government.

Another thing is the wastage. We do not say that there is anything that is not being done or that the intention of the Planning Commission is not there. We are today asking for foreign currency. We are today asking for help and others. We want to see that all this money is well spent so that tomorrow the villages take pride in it and they would be happy.

I come to another point where Madhya Pradesh is again concerned. It looks very odd that I should be speaking for this State every now and then. But the result is there. It happens to be that it has not got anybody else. I must say that whatever results have been produced, it was only because of one dynamic person, late Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla, It is due to him that today we find the steel factory which is operating in Bhilai. At one time we were not getting it also. It was going somewhere else. It was due to him that we got it.

When the question of food comes, Madhya Pradesh must be tapped first. Everyone must go with a begging bowl to Madhya Pradesh. Madhya Pradesh will have to supply it to everybody. Irrespective of the rate that Bombay gives or the neighbouring States give, Madhya Pradesh must sell it at whatever rate other States want. When the question of anything else comes, Madhya Pradesh is the last State to get it. For instance, take the fertilisers or food subsidies.

An Hon. Member: You have got the the Electrical Factory.

Shri Birendra Bahadur Singhij: The Heavy Electrical Plant was being located in a backward tract but for political reasons it was moved out to Bhopal. Once things are agreed, once you decide upon the priority and once you decide upon things to be done, they have to be done in proper places. Actually this Heavy Electrical Plant about which you are saying. it was being built in the backward tract of Chhattisgarh because it was meant for that place. Subsequently for reasons not known, within the twinkling of an eye, the whole thing was moved to Bhopal. Anyway, we do not dispute it.

Now I come to the fertiliser plant. Time after time the experts had

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given the report that it should be in Madhya Pradesh. Now that fertiliser plant has disappeared. It has gone to some other State. When we deccide upon priorities and when we decide upon such things, we must stick to them. Why am I saying all this about this State today? This largeness of the State is not a creation of the residents of Madhaya Pradesh.

The Deputy Minister of Finance (Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha): May I remind the hon. Member that the fertiliser plant is still under consideration? He should not say that it has just gone out.

Shri Birendra Bahadur Singhji: Now I come to another aspect, the question of railways. What new railway line have we received? What new stations have been built? Even the capital of the State has not got a regular airiel stoppage-only twice a week. We have not got a decent station there. If these things are not rectified, if these things are not corrected, a time will come when there will be a demand in this very House, -I may not be here then-that this large State of Madhaya Pradesh should for economic reasons, be broken up into two. Everywhere you find smaller States coming up. Madhya Pradesh is a State where the Sun never sets. So, even if you do not want to do so, you will find that a time will come when a decision will have to be taken to break this State also because it is too large.

An Hon. Mesmber: What is the name of the other State?

Shri Birendra Bahadur Singhji: Whatever sounds to you good. We do not believe in this naming business.

So far as Madhya Pradesh is concerned, this is an important aspect which should be borne in mind.

Now, Sir, I come to another point and that is the cost of living index, which has shot up by about 30 points.

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and it is high time that this question receives consideration. Every attention should be paid by the planners that the cost of living is reduced and the standard of living which I would say is going down should be made to go higher up. Similarly, regarding the shortage of foreign exchange, I do hope that it will receive the immediate attention of the Finance Ministry and the planners. because this is an immediate problem which has come up. Otherwise there will be further employment and more inflation; import of our essential raw materials also would suffer.

I would not like to take much time of the House. There have been several brilliant speeches and I am only repeating some old thing. In view of our border troubles, the planners should give the highest priority to our defence problems. One of the hon. Members who spoke day before yesterday referred to this. I would like to repeat the same thing that the time warrants whatever you want to do so far as planning is concerned, the broader aspect of the defence of the border should not be lost sight of.

The other difficulty that comes in the way of the implementation of the Plan is strikes and lock-outs. I hear Government is trying to do something to prevent this in the case of the essential services. But it is high time that we saw to it if our production is to increase, that these strikes and lock-outs do no affect our basic essential industries. At the same time I would like to say this that wherever conditions of service are not good they should be improved and a reasonable remuneration ensured. I was the other day in Calcutta when I saw a lock-out in the Great Eastern Hotel; it had been going on for some time. There the management was at fault; it had nothing to do with the strike. Similarly from the side of Government or business concerns proper amenities must be provided, so

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that strikes of this nature are prevented and our plan does not suffer in any way. Lastly, I would once again appeal to the planners to see that in the larger interests of the country and the plan, Madhya Pradesh is not neglected.

श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री (गडगांव) : सभापति महोदय, ततीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के प्रारूप में शिक्षा के लिये २ ग्रारब ७३ करोड रुपये की राशि नियत की गई है। इस राशि में विश्वविद्यालयों ग्रौर माध्य-मिक विद्यालयों के ग्रतिरिक्त जो प्राथमिक शिक्षा के लिये रुपया नियत किया गया है वह १ ग्ररब ८० करोड़ है । इस १ ग्ररब ५० करोड़ रुपये में से हमारी सरकार की यह योजना है कि देश में अनिवार्य और निःशुल्क प्राथमिक शिक्षा को चालु किया जाये। मैं इस सम्बन्ध में दो ग्रावश्यक सुझाव देना चाहता हं । पहली बात तो यह है यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है कि जब कई बार इस सदन में इस प्रकार की चर्चा भी हो चकी है कि हमारे देश में कुछ इस प्रकार के लोग हैं जिन के पास पैसा इतनी भ्रषिक मात्रा में है कि वे ग्रपने बच्चों पर पब्लिक स्कुलों में या दूसरे स्थानों पर भेज कर सौ-सौ ग्रौर डेढ-डेढ सौ रुपया मासिक भी सर्चं कर सकते हैं, तो उन को इस में क्यों शामिल किया गया है। ऐसी स्थिति में प्राय-मिक अनिवार्य और निःशुल्क शिक्षा के लिये उन सब को एक ही श्रेणी में रखना कूछ समझदारी और बुद्धिमत्तापूर्ण बात प्रतीत नहीं होती है। मेरा सुझाव यह है कि म्रनिवार्य प्राथमिक शिक्षा देश में मारम्भ तो अवश्य की जाये लेकिन अनिवार्य के साथ साथ निःशल्क शिक्षा का जहां तक प्रदन है. यह सुविधा भी उन को प्राप्त होती चाहिये। जो आर्थिक द्षिट से दूर्बल है चाहे वे बर्ग विशे के हों, प्रयवा उन के पास पैसे का श्रभाव हो, उन सब के लिये निःशुल्क शिक्षा का प्रबन्ध होना चाहिये। एक यह जी बात है कि देश के वे व्यक्ति जिन के पास पैसे की मात्रा मावक है, उन को कोई विशेष लाम भी इस से होने वाला नहीं है। इस से सरकार के ऊगर प्रनावश्यक रूप से जो बोझ पड़ने वाला है उस से बचा जा सकेगा भौर यहां से जो पैसा बचेगा उस को दूसरों पर खर्च किया जा सकता है।

ततीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के प्रारूप में यह भो कहा गया है कि जो प्रायमिक विद्या-लयों के श्रध्यापक हैं, उन के वेतन मान बढाये जायेंगे । इस के सम्बन्ध में यह बताया गया है कि मब तक जिन म्रब्यापकों को ४० रुपया प्रतिमास मिलता है. उन का वेतन ४० रुपये प्रतिमास कर दिया आयेगा । इस बात को सून कर कितना उपहास प्रतीत होता है। क्या माज के युग में कोई इस प्रकार का व्यक्ति है जो ४० रुपये प्रतिमास में अपना तथा अपने परिवार का निर्वाह कर सकता है ? हमारे देश के लिये यह स्थिति बडी दयनीय है। हमें इस पर थोडा विचार करना है कि इस निमित्त जो हमने प्राय-मिक अन्वियार्थ शिक्षा के लिये पैसा नियत किया है. क्या वह नाकी है । जब म्र।प एक म्रोर यह कहते हैं कि ८० इपये प्रतिमास से कम किसी का वेतन नहीं होगा तो हमारे देश के प्राथमिक विद्यालयों में पढाने वाचे ग्रध्यापकों के सम्बन्ध में भी इस प्रकार का विचार कूछ ग्रवश्य होना चाहिये ।

दूसरी बात शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में ही में यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इस में पांच करोड़ रुपये इस बात के लिये नियत किये गये हैं कि जिस संहिन्दी को प्रोत्साहन दिया जाय । मौर साथ ही साथ सस्कृत को प्रोत्साहन दिया जाय । हम ने प्रपने संविधान में इस बात को स्वीकार किया है कि ग्राने वाले १५ वर्षों में, यानी सन् १९६५ तक की मर्वाध में हिन्दी को इतना लोकप्रिय बना दिया जायगा कि कोई प्रान्त भी इस प्रकार का नहीं होगा कि जहां हिन्दी लोकप्रिय रूप में न दिखाई दे। परन्तु ग्रब तक जो प्रयास हुए हैं वे बहुत ही दुर्बल हैं।

इस के साथ ही साथ में यह भी देखता 👮 कि इन पाँच करोड़ रुपये में से संस्कृत प्रसार के लिये केवल डेढ़ करोड़ रूपया ही नियत किया गया है । सभापति जी, मझे इन शब्दों को कहते हुए कुछ कथ्ट होता है कि संस्कृत को संरक्षण पिछली कुछ शताब्दियों में हमारे देश के लोगों ने किन कठिन परिस्थितियों में दिया है । पिछले इतिहास को पढने से भाप को प्रतीत द्वोगा कि ७०० साल की मगलिया सलतनत के समय में हमारे देश के बाह्यणों ने ग्रीर विद्वानों ने ग्रपने पैरों की त्वचायें फाड-फाड कर, उन में पूस्तकें रख-रख कर संस्कृत का संरक्षण किया है । अंग्रेजों के पौने दो सौ बर्षों के काल में भी इतिहास इस बात का साक्षी है कि लोगों ने चाहे अपना पेट काटा हो, लेकिन इस को संरक्षण दिया है । राजे महाराजे, ताल्लुकेदार जो उस समय थे, वे चाहे कितने भी ग्रौर बातों में दूर्बल रहे हों, लेकिन उन के झन्दर एक गुण था कि वे भारत की प्राचीन भाषा ग्रौर परम्परा के संरक्षण के लिये यथाशवित सहयोग देते थे। मब देश में वे परम्परायें नही रही हैं। दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि स्वतंत्र होने के पश्चात ग्राज बही भाषा और उस भाषा के विद्यालय भीरे-भीरे समाप्त होते जा रहे हैं। भारत-वर्ष में संस्कृत की पाठशालाओं की जो स्थिति है तया संस्कृत की जो स्थिति है, वह शोच-नीय है। मैं योजना मंत्री जी से प्रार्थना करता हं कि वह इस राशि को मौर बढ़ायें मौर संस्कृत जो भारत की विभिन्न क्षेत्रीय भाष मों भौर राष्ट्र भाषाओं के बीच में एक श्रुंखला का कार्य करती हैं, उस के लिये अधिक से म्रचिक जितना भी धन नियत किया जा सकता हो, नियत करें।

म्रब मैं अपने देश के राष्ट्र घर्म के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना चाहता हूं। मैं घर्म शब्द को कहते हुए कुछ योड़ा सा सकुचाता हूं। सकुचाता इसलिए हूं कि संविधान में जो धर्म निरपेक्ष शब्द रखा गया है उसकी ऐसे गलत ढंग से व्याख्या की जाती है कि धर्म शब्द जिस किसी ध्यक्ति के मुंह से निकलता है तो बह लोग जो माज मपने मापको प्रगतिशील समझते हैं, उनके साथें पर बल पड़ने लग जाते हैं। लेकिन यहाँ इस घर्म शब्द को स्मरण कराने का साहस मझे इसलिए हुआ है कि आपके मस्तक पर "ंधर्म चक्र प्रवर्तनाय", सभापति महोदय, लिखा हुआ है और इसीलिए घर्म शब्द की मैं साहस के साथ चर्चा कर रहा हं । राष्ट्र धर्म शब्द का प्रयोग करने का मेरा भ्रभिप्राय यह है कि सन् १९४७ से पहले जब हम स्वतंत्र नहीं हुए थे तो हमारी सोचने की ग्रौर विचारने की प्रवृत्ति भारतीय स्तर पर थी । लेकिन दुर्भाग्य से माज हमारे देश में इस प्रकार के मस्तिष्कों का श्वभाव होता जा रहा है जो मलिल भारतीय स्तर पर देश की समस्याम्रों के सम्बन्ध में सोचने ग्रीर समझने का प्रयत्न करते हों । भकसर प्रान्तीय स्तर पर, जातीय स्तर पर, वर्विशेष के स्तर पर सोचने की प्रवृत्ति बढ़ती जा रही है, उसका दुष्परिणाम यह है कि ग्रभी कल परसों ग्रापने देखा---मैं साघारण स्तर के व्यक्ति के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहंतो वह सम्भव है उतना उचित प्रतीत न हो----कि हमारे देश का वह व्यक्ति जो सरकारी मशीनरी के मन्दर एक पूर्जे के रूप में फिट है, वे भी इस प्रकार की दुर्बलता में कघा लगाते हुए देखा गया है। देश को बड़े दुर्भाग्य के साथ ग्रौर गर्दन को नीचे करके यह समाचार पड़ पढ़ने को मिला कि १५ ग्रगस्त जो कि एक राष्ट्रीय पर्व है, उसका बंगाल प्रान्त के अन्दर बहिष्कार किया गया । मैं समस्या की पृष्ठ भूमि में नहीं जाना चाहता कि असम में क्या हन्ना या बंगाल में किस प्रकार उसका बहिष्क।र किया गया । लेकिन राष्ट्र का यह पर्व सारे देश का पुण्य पर्व था ग्रौर उस पर्व का बहिष्कार होना ग्रौर इस प्रकार के साधिकार व्यक्ति के द्वारा होना राष्ट्र के लिए बड़ी चिन्तनीय स्थिति पैदा कर देता है। यह तो बंगाल की

[श्री प्रकाश बीर शास्त्री]

स्थिति है । मगर जिस प्रान्त का मैं प्रतिनिधि-त्व करता हं वहाँ भी लगभग इसी प्रकार की स्थिति घीरे-घीरे बढती जा रही है। सभापति महोदय, मझे इस बात को कहने की आप ग्रनमति दोजिये कि नई दिल्ली के ग्रन्दर चन्द महीने पहले एक छोटी सी घटना घटी थी जोकि पूसा इंस्टीट्युट के ग्रन्दर हुई थी श्री जोसेक ने क्रात्म-हत्या कर ली थी। इस सदन में ग्रौर इस सदन से बाहर समाचारपत्रों में भी बहत कुछ उसको प्रकाशन मिला ग्रौर उस समस्या के ऊपर बडी गम्भीरता के साथ विचार किया गया । लेकिन कल परसों एक घटना पंजाब में हई है। भाखड़ा नंगल के एक कुशल इंजीनियर जिस का नाम मिस्टर क्लेयर था. उसको दो मंत्रियों के श्रापस के विवाद या ग्रांपस की लडाई के कारण किस प्रकार से अपनी झात्म-हत्या करनी पड़ी, इसकी ग्रोर किसी का ध्यान नहीं गया । भ्रन्तर केवल इतना था कि मिस्टर जोसंफ मरने के पहले ग्रुपनी जेब में ग्रुपनी श्रात्म-हत्या के कारण लिख गये थे ग्रीर मिस्टर क्लेयर ने इस विषय में मौन साधा ग्रौर मरने से पहले उसके सम्बन्ध में कूछ लिख नहीं गये । जिस प्रान्त की चर्चा माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी ने भी इस चर्चा को ग्रारम्भ करते हए की, उसकी ग्रोर ग्रापका घ्यान जाना चाहिये । एक ग्रोर ग्राप देश का निर्माण करने जा रहे हैं ग्रौर दूसरी ग्रोर इस प्रकार की विष्वंसक प्रवृत्ति हमारी बगल में. पंजाब प्रदेश में बढ रही है जिसकी ग्रोर ग्रापका विशेष रूप से घ्यान में खींच रहा हं । वहाँ पर पंजाबी सूबा की माँग ग्रौर दूसरी इस प्रकार की चीजें चल रही हैं। में भ्रापकी जानकारी के लिए कहना चाहता हूं कि आदि वक्त आ गया है जबकि जो व्यक्ति ग्राज पंजाब प्रदेश में शासन की कूर्सियों पर **बैठे** हए हैं उनके बारे में भी ग्रापको कुछ सोचना होगा । ग्रापको यह सुनकर दुःख होगा कि श्रकाली ग्रान्दोलन को प्रोत्साहन देने में उनका भी हाथ है ग्रौर इस प्रकार की प्रवृत्ति धीरे-घीरे बढती जा रही है। ग्रगर ग्राप राष्ट्र की तुतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना को जिसका माज यह परिणाम होने वाला है कि विदेशी मुद्रा से हम इतने दब जायेंगे कि झरबों पये व्यक्ती की शक्ल में ही देश को देने पडेंगे. सफल बनाना चाहते हैं तो इस ग्रोर ग्रापको घ्यान देना ही होगा। एक ग्रौर हम यह भयकर स्थिति में पग बढाने की तैयारी कर रहे हैं और दूसरी स्रोर जो राष्ट्र की मशीनरी में फिट पूर्जे हैं जो हमारे ही शासनाधिकारी हैं वे इस प्रकार की विध्वंस की कार्रवाई करें, इसको किसी भी हालतमें सहन नहीं किया जा सकता है । ग्रापने ग्रेवाल के केस को सूना, उसने यह याचना की थी कि मैं चाहता हूँ कि पंजाब से बाहर मेरे केस का निर्णय दिया जाये । इसी प्रकार मिस्टर कपुर का केस चल रहा है। कल परसों गरदासपूर जिले के एक भृतपूर्व एम० एल० ए० का केस हम्रा है। पंजाब की न्याय व्यवस्था बिल्कुल ही छिन्नभिन्न हो चुकी है। कल हमारे काँग्रेस के बेंच पर बैठे हुएँ मित्र ने कहा था ग्रौर दबी हई मावाज में कहा था कि जैसे म्रसम की स्थिति का निरीक्षण करने के लिए संसद सदस्यों का एक शिष्ट मंडल वहाँ भेजा गया है, वैसा ही एक शिष्टमंडल पंजाब की स्थिति का भ्रध्ययन करने के लिए भेजा जाना चाहिये। सभापति महोदय मैं इसको ग्रीर बिल्कूल ही स्पष्ट भाषा में कहना चाहता हं कि पंजाब जैसे सीमा प्रदेश की ग्रगर ग्रापने रक्षा करनी भारत के ग्रन्न की दुष्टि से भी समुद्धशाली की स्थिति को ग्रगर ग्रापने प्रान्त ठीक बनाये रखना ह तो प्रघान मंत्री जी के वक्तव्यों से या कूछ लेखों से वह काम नहीं हो सकता है स्थिति को इससे सम्भाला नहीं जा सकता है। अगर पंजाब की स्थिति को सम्भालना है तो पंजाब के शासनतंत्र को भंग कर एकदम से यह ग्रत्यन्त ग्रावश्यक है कि वहां पर राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू कर दिया जाये । मगर माप तुतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना को पंजाब कैसे समृद्धिशाली प्रान्त के अन्दर लागू करना चाहते हैं तो उसके लिए यह अत्यन्त

कि हमारे बगल में दिल्ली से आगरा को जो सड़क जाती है, उस पर चार या पांच पूल बन रहे हैं। मेरा अनुमान है कि इन पूलों के निर्माण पर करोडों रु० व्यय हो जायेंगे । इसी प्रकार का एक पूल गढमक्तेश्वर में गंगा नदी के ऊपर बन रहा है। यह मैं नहीं कहता कि पुलों की म्रावश्यकता नहीं है या यह पूल नहीं बनने चाहियें. मगर दिल्ली से मागरा तक जो चार या पांच पुल बनाये जा रहे हैं, वे केवल इसलिये कि जो व्यक्ति ताजमहल देखने के लिये ग्रागरा जाता है उनको रेल के फाटक पर खडे हो कर चार या पांच मिनट तक प्रतीक्षा करनी पडती है। जब तक गाडी न पास हो जाये तब तक उन की कार वहां से ग्रागे नहीं बढ़ सकती । श्रगर गही पांच पूल देश के उन पिछड़े भागों में बनाये जाते जहां से कि २०० मील का चक्कर लगा कर किसी दूसरे नगर में पहुंचना पड़ता है तो देश का अधिक लाभ होता । मैं यह बात इस दृष्टि से कह रहा हं कि म्राज गांव के लोग इस बात को अनभव करने लगे हैं. भौर बडी तीवता से ग्रनभव करने लगे हैं, कि हमारा पैसा, हमारी पसीने की गाढी कमाई हमारे नगरों की उन्नति पर ही व्यय की जा रही है। "म्रादानं हि विसर्गाय सतां वारिमचामिव' संस्कृत कवि का कहना है कि आप उन से लें, लेकिन फिर बादलों की तरह से उन्हीं को दें। म्राप म्रपने को थोडा टटोलिये । नगरों से कितना पैसा प्राप्त होता है पर सडकें बनती है, शहरों के लिये । एक नगर से दूसरे नगर को मिलाया जाता है। भाग्यशाली हैं वे गांव जो उन पर पड़ जाते हैं, वे उन से लाभ उठाते हैं। लेकिन स्राप ने जब नागपूर सड़क योजना बनाई थी जिस में २० वर्षों के लिये इस प्रकार की योजना थी कि सन १६८१ तक कोई गांव इस प्रकार का नहीं रहेगा देश में जो सड़क से चार मील से ज्यादा दूरी पर हो । इस प्रकार की स्थिति होगी । लेकिन ग्रसलियत क्या है ? वह यह है कि ग्राप की दूसरी पंच वर्षीय योजना समाप्त हो कर हम तीसरी योजना के प्रारूप पर विचार कर रहे हैं

आवश्यक है कि वहां राष्ट्रपति का शासन हो ।

यहां पर इस बात की चर्चा भी चल रही है कि हमारे देश में सहकारी प्रणाली को लाग किया जाये. चाहे वह व्यापार के क्षेत्र में हो, चाहे खेती के क्षेत्र में । मैं योजना मंत्री महोदय से नम्प्रतापुर्वक निवेदन करना चाहता हं कि हम जब भी कोई योजना बनायें तो उस योजना को व्यवहारिक रूप देने में सारे देश को एक साथ परीक्षण की भट्टी में न झोंक दें। ग्रच्छा हो कि उस योजना के लिए या तो कोई एक कमिशनरी को. या छोटे से जिले को या किसी एक प्रान्तविशेष को छांट लिया जाये श्रौर वह योजना श्रगर वहां सफल दिखाई दे तब देश के दूसरे भागों में लाग करें । कठिनाई कहां ग्राती है, न्यनता कहां उत्पन्न होती है ? कठिनाई तब पैदा होती है जब हम सारे देश को एक साथ परीक्षण की भट्टी में झोंक देते हैं। उस दशा में दुर्बलतायें सामने आते लगती हैं ग्रीर देश में वह चीज ग्रालोचना ग्रीर चर्चा का विषय बन जाती हैं। मैं चाहता हं कि इस प्रकार की सहकारी प्रणाली के बारे में जो भी यग म्राप देश में उठाना चाहते हैं उसके लिए यहले आप घीरे-धीरे परीक्षण करें ग्रौर फिर देश को उसकी व्यावहारिक उपयोगिता समझायें तब उसके पद्यात देश के दूसरे भागों में उसको लागु करें।

ग्राज ग्रापके पास जो पैसा ग्रा रहा है देश से टैक्सों के रूप में या दूसरे रूप में, उसको आप टटोलें श्रीर देखें कि कहां से कितना पैसा राज्यकोष में म्राता है, नगरों से कितना आता है, कसबों से कितना आता है गांवों से कितना ग्राता है। नगरों ग्रीर गांवों के लिए जब म्राप योजनायें बनाते हैं तो ऐसा करते समय ग्राप यह भी सोचें कि नगरों पर कितना खर्च करते हैं. गांवों पर कितना खर्च करते हैं। मैं इस चीज को ग्रौर विस्तार के साथ यहां नहीं कहंगा । स्रभी हमारे मित्र जो कांग्रेस बेंच पर बैठते हैं उन्होंने बड़े विस्तार से इस की चर्चा की । लेकिन फिर भी मैं इतना कहना चाहता हं, उदाहरण के रूप में,

[श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री]

लेकिन दूसरी को ही उस ग्रंश में व्यावहारिक रूप नहीं मिल पाया है। भाग्यशाली है वे पहाडी क्षेत्र जिन्हें चीन के म्राक्रमण ने इस प्रकार का ग्रवसर दिया कि वे विकास की स्थिति में घडाघड ग्रा गये। इस दष्टि से तो पहाडी क्षेत्रों को चीन वालों को घन्यवाद जरूर देना चाहिये. चाहे वह हिमाचल प्रदेश के हों या कोई श्रीर हों, पहाडी क्षेत्रों को बड़ा सुग्रवसर मिला विकास की दष्टि से । लेकिन में चाहता हं कि म्राप यह भी देखिये कि म्राप की नाक के नीचे इस प्रकाश के प्रदेश भी हैं जहां न रेल जाती है. न मोटर जाती है. न चिकित्सा की सविधा है ग्रौर न स्कल हैं। ग्रब योजना मंत्रालय योजनाम्रों को बनाते समय इन क्षेत्रों को ग्रपनी ग्रांख से ग्रोझल न करे. इन गांवों को भी ग्रपने घ्यान में रखे।

तीसरी चीज मैं यह कहना चाहता ह कि ग्राप जो यहां से किसानों को, गांवों में रहने वालों की उन्नति के लिये ऋण देते हैं. उनकी व्यवस्था इतनी दोषपूर्ण है कि वह ऋण का रुपया उन के हाथों में पहंचते २ बीच में ही रह, जाता है क्योंकि वह कई हाथों से निलकता है । पहले सपरवाइजर फिर म्रागें-नाइजर, फिर इन्स्पेक्टर फिर बी० डी० ग्रो० ग्रीर फिर एस॰ डी० ग्रो०. इस फौज के बीच में से हो कर जब पैसा निकलता है तो वह किसानों तक पहंचते-पहंचते बहत थोडा रह जाता है । मेरा अनुमान इस प्रकार का है कि यदि आप किसी प्रकार किसानों से सीघा सम्पर्क स्थापित करें तो उस से ग्राप के उत्पादन पर भी प्रभाव पडेगा और आप का पैसा किसानों को ठीक से पहुंचेगा ।

16 hrs.

मैं अपनी चर्चा को समाप्ति की स्रोर ले जाते हुए ग्रन्त में केवल एक बात कहना चाहता हूं । ग्राप ने इस योजना के प्रारूप के पहले पृष्ठ पर लिखा है कि हमारा ग्रादर्श सभाजवादी समाज की रचना करना है । समाजवादी समाज से हमारा ग्रमिप्राथ यह है कि जिन की स्थिति बहत निम्न है उन की स्थिति को थोडा ऊपर उठायें ग्रीर जो बहत ज्यादा ग्रागे बढ गये हैं उन के ऊपर थोडी रोक लगायें ताकि मध्यम श्रेणी के समाज का विकास हो सके। लेकिन ग्राप क्षमा करेंगे मझे इन शब्दों को कहने के लिये कि हमारे देश में दो पंचवर्शीय योजनाओं के समाप्त होने के पश्चात भी सब से म्राधिक कठिन स्थिति में ग्रगर कोई है तो मध्यमवर्ग है, चाहे वह मध्यम वर्ग का म्राध्यापक हो, चाहे मध्यम वर्ग का मजदूर हो, चाहे मध्यम वर्ग का किस।न हो । ग्रीर याद रखिये, समाजों में जब जब कांतियां हुई हैं तो वे मध्यम वर्ग द्वारा ही हई हैं क्योंकि मध्यम वर्ग ही देश का बद्धिजीवी वर्ग होता है। जो हमारे देश का मध्यम वर्ग है वह श्राज कठिन स्थिति से निकल रहा है। स्राज जब हम सनाजवादी सनाज का नारा लगा रहे हैं, उस की घोअणा कर रहे हैं तब इस वर्ग की उपेक्षा हमें नहीं करनी होगी । प्रधान मंत्री जीने भ्रापने उस दिन के भाषण में. जो कि वे नागा प्रदेश के बारे में दे रहे थे, श्रपना हृदय खोल कर रख दिया। उन्होंने कहा कि हम चाहते नहीं थे लेकिन हम क्या करें, बहत सी टीमटाम में हम फंस गये। मझ को प्रसन्नता है कि हमारे देश के प्रधान मंत्री न केवल अपनी दूर्बलताम्रों को भ्रनुभव करते हैं बल्कि उन को खले रूप में प्रकट भी करते हैं कि वे उन को नहीं चाहते थे। ग्राखिर हम क्या चाहते थे। कहां है वह गांधी जी का स्रादर्श कि भ्वतंत्र भारत में मिनिस्टर किस प्रकार के स्थानों में रहेंगे. फितना वेतन लेंगे ? वे शब्द ग्राप भी जानते हैं.हम भी जानते हैं, उन को दोहराने की भ्रावश्यकता नहीं । परन्तू हम चाहते हैं कि म्राज देश पर जो करोड़ों रुपयों का व्यर्थं बोझ पड़ा हुग्रा है, उस की ग्रोर घ्यान दिया जाये । ऐसे जो प्रदेश भारत में हैं जहां पर ग्रसेम्बलियों के स(य कौंसिलें भी हैं । वहां ग्राज क्या होतः है ? ग्राप यह भी जानते 4945

Motion re:

हैं कि हमारे देश में इस प्रकार के प्रदेश भी हैं जहां कौंसिनें नहीं हैं। क्या उन प्रदेशों में स्थितियां ठीक से नहीं चल रही हैं? तो फिर कौंसिनों का बोझ इस निषंन मारत के कंघों पर जबर्दस्ती क्यों लादा जा रहा है? अगर प्रवान मंत्री जी महसूस करते हैं तो इस को मैं चाहता हूं कि जब हम तुतीय पंच वर्षीय योजना के प्रारूप पर विचार करने जा रहे हैं, उस सनय इस भारी बोझ को राष्ट्र के कंघों से उतारा जाय ताकि देश कुछ राहत महसूस कर सके और सुख की सांस ले सके। परमात्मा इना करें, प्राप ने जो इस योजना का प्रारूप बनाया है उस में ग्राप को सक्ततता प्रान्त हो और ग्राप देश को ग्रागे उन्नति की ओर ले जा सकें।

वी पदम वंद (चम्बा.) : सनापति जी, तुतीय पंच वर्षीय योजना की प्रारम्भिक रूपरेखा के ऊपर भिन्न भिन्न विचारघाराओं ने ग्रीर भिन्न भिन्न व्यक्तियों ने ग्रेपने विचारों के ग्रनुकुल यहां पर विवेचना की है । जिस जिस रूप में जिस ने देखा. किसी ने इस को रूस की योजना बतलाई, किसी ने अमरीका के नीचे दबी हई योजना बतलाई, किसी ने कहा कि दस वर्षों में जो काम हम्रा है उस से हम नीचे गये हैं, ऊपर नहीं बढ़े हैं, किसी ने कहा कि यह जो बेसिक इंडस्ट्रीज है वह मुल्क को ग्रागे ले जा कर खराब करेंगी, इस तरीके से यहां पर ग्रनेक प्रकार के विचारों का प्रदर्शन किया है। लेकिन मैं यह कहगा कि छिदान्वेषण के विचार से म्रगर कोई चीज देखी जाय तो ग्रीर बात---जितनी झाड़ देते जाग्रो, कुछ न कुछ कुड़ा निलकता ही है। जितना वस्त्र को घोया जाय, कुछ न कुछ मैल निकलता ही है। ग्रगर किसी चीज को इस रूप में देखा जाय तो हमेशा नुक्स ही नुक्स नजर ग्रायेंगे । योजना तो ग्रागे जावेगी लेकिन इतना खतरा जरूर है कि नुक्स देखने वाले कहीं नुइस देखते देखते ग्रंपने ऊपर ही अम न करने लगें। उन को यह म्रवश्यमेव म्रनुभव करना चाहिये । 2 (SAKA) Draft Outline ^ 4946 Third Five Year Plan मैं समझता हं कि इस समय जो योजना

म समझता हूं। के इस समय जा याजना हमारे सामने रखी गई है, वह पूर्ण दूरदर्शिता के साथ और सारे साघनों को देखने के परचात् रखी गई है । पहले क्या हुमा, इस ववत हमारे पास क्या है, कैसी चीज उपलब्ध हो सकती है, उस के मुताबिक ही यह योजना हमारे सम्मख रखी गई है । माखिर, जो हमारा लक्ष्य हैं वह है समाजवादी समाज और राष्ट्र का निर्माण,-वह है :

> "भद्रमिच्छन्त ऋषयः स्<mark>दर्विदा</mark> तपोदीक्षाम्बुपनिषेदुरग्रे ।

ततो राष्ट्रं बलमोजश्चजातं तदस्मयिदेवा उपसन्नमन्त् ॥"

वह है कि इस देश के ग्रन्दर ग्रन्छे भादमी, त्यागी, तपस्वी, निष्पक्षी हों जिन के ग्रन्दर किसी किस्म का लोभ न हो, जो किसी का पक्ष न करें, जिन की प्रांखों में केवल देश हो, देश के ग्रलावा कोई चीज न हो । ऐसे लोग ही राष्ट्र का निर्माण करते हैं ग्रौर उस राष्ट्र के इर्द गिर्द सारे देश के लोग इकट्ठे हो कर यह कहते हैं :

''माता भूमि पुत्रोऽहं पृथव्यः'' है मातृभूमि, हम तेरे पुत्र हैं, तू हमारी माता है म ''वयम् तुभ्यं बलिहृतास्याम्''

हम तुम्हारे लिये केवल ग्रपना बलिदान ले कर माये हैं। इस प्रकार का राष्ट्र हो जिस में न मायिक विषमता हो न सामाणिक विषमता हो, जिस के प्रन्दर न ही विद्या सम्बन्धी विषमता रहे, जिस के ग्रन्दर राज-नीतिक, सामाजिक, किसी किस्म की विषमता न रहे । जहां:

> "समानोमंत्रः समिति समाजि समानोप्रपः सह.वोम्रन्नभागः"

ध्रर्थात् एक तरह का मंत्र, एक तरह की सभा, एक तरह का खाना, एक तरह का पीना हो। इस तरह का समाज हो। यह है हमारे देश का ध्रादर्श। ऐसे समाज को बनाने के लिये [श्री पद्य देव]

यह देश जा रहा है और इस के लिये हमारे ग्रायोजना ग्रायोग ने जो साधन रखे हैं. उस के ग्रल्दर जितना विचार का दर्शन है. उस में वह ग्रत्यन्त सुक्ष्मता की तरफ गये हैं ग्रौर देश में हर एक चीज कहां से मिल सकती है. इन सब बातों को विचार के बाद ही यह योजना हमारे सामने रखी है। इस में सब से बड़ा जो घन है, जो सब से बडी दौलत ग्रौर सम्पत्ति है वह यहां की जनता को बतलाया गया है जिस से कि हम अपनी योजना को कामयाब कर सकते हैं । यह एक स्वप्न ही नहीं बल्कि पिछली दो पंचवर्षीय योजनायें इस बात की साक्षी हैं कि हम ने जो भी योजना बनाई है उस में हमें कितनी कामयाबी मिली है।

इस में कोई शक नहीं है कि बहुत सारी ्त्रुटियां रहती हैं, कमियां रहती हैं, लेकिन ग्रगर हम केवल कमियों को ही देखते जायें तो हमें ·कमियां ही कमियां नजर भ्रायेंगी । लेकिन कमी और क्या हम्रा, इन दोनों को देखते हए कौन सी चीज की कमी रही है, इसको सब -लोगों को मिल कर समझना होगा । तो मेरा स्वयाल है कि जो तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना है वह हमारे सामने स्वप्न नहीं है बल्कि एक वास्तविकता है । इसके पांच बड़े लक्ष्य बताये हैं ।

पहली बात तो यह बतायी है कि राष्ट्रीय आय को ५ प्रतिशत वार्षिक बढ़ाया जायेगा । यह बड़े शर्म की बात है कि हमारे देश में प्र फीसदी लोग खेती करने वाले हैं ग्रौर फिर भी हम हमेशा भूखे रहते हैं । दूसरे देशों के ग्रागे उघार ग्रन्न लेने के लिये जाते हैं। तो सब से पहली चीज इसमें यह रखी है कि हम खगद्य वस्तुओं में आत्म निर्भरता प्राप्त करेंगे । इसके लिए जमीन, खाद, ऐनीमल हसबेंडी श्रौर सब बातों पर विचार करके रुपया रखा गया है । इसमें जो सहकारी खेती का विचार प्रकट किया गया है वह उपयक्त है । मैं तो समझता हूं कि जब तक हम विनोबाजी के ग्राम दान की तरफ हम नहीं श्रायेंचे जिसनें भूमि पर किसी का ग्रधिकार न हो, जो भूमि पर काम करे उसी की भूमि मानी आये और उसी की भूमि मिले, जब तक हम इस सिद्धा त पर नहीं ग्राते तब तक हमारी समस्या हल नहीं हो सकती । आपने सीलिंग की हैं, लेकिन वह इसका इलाज नहीं है । आप आज सीलिंग करते हैं भौर पांच भाई हैं तो म्रागे उनके हिस्से में तीन तीन एकड भमि आयेगी । तो यह इलाज नहीं हम्रा । लेकिन जो इस वक्त सम्भव था कर दिया गया ।

इसके ग्रन्दर मझे एक चीज दीखती है । हिमाचल में सीलिंग उतनी जमीन की की गई है जिसका वार्षिक मालिया १२५ रुपया हो । लेकिन उसमें शर्त यह है कि जो जमीन पर कार्द्रिज हैं उसको निकाला नहीं जायेगा । लेकिन दूसरी जगहों में जो यह तीस एकड़ का सीलिंग का कानून है उसमें यह है कि ग्रगर इस तीस एकड़ में कोई मजारा होगा तो उसको निकाल दिया जायेगा । इसका परिणाम यह होगा कि बहत से लोग जमीन से निकाल दिये जायेंगे भौर उनको कष्ट होगा । लेकिन जो इस सम्बन्ध में विचार किया गया है, मैं समझता हं वह बहुत ग्रच्छा विचार किया गया है ।

तीसरी चीज इस योजना में है मौलिक उद्योग । इस विषय पर सदन में भी बहुत घ्यान दिया गया है श्रीर बहत बातें कही गयी हैं। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा था कि जो बेसिक इंडस्ट्रीज हैं वह तो पहली योजना में ही होनी चाहिए थीं । हम पांच साल पीछे पड गये । दूसरी योजना में बेसिक उद्योगों के लिए पैसा रखा गया है भीर वह तैयार हो गये हैं भौर तैयार हो रहे हैं श्रौर दस वर्ष के भीतर उनसे पूरा लाभ उठाया जाने लगेगा। ग्रौर उसका परिणाम यह होगा कि हमारे देश का बना सामान भी दूसरे देशों के बाजारों में बिकने लगेगा श्रौर इस प्रकार देश की दौलत बढेगी । हम पहले देखते थे कि जो भी सामान यहां मिलता था उस पर लिखा रहता था----मेड इंन बरमनी, मेड इन ग्रमरीका, मेड इन इंग्लैंड----

4949 Motion re:

BHADRA S, 1882 (SAKA)

प्रादि । हमारे देश में उद्योगों का विकास होगा, तो एक दिन ऐसा ग्रा सकता हैं कि मेड इन इंडिया माल दूसरे देशों के बाजारों में बिके श्रौर हमारे देश की दौलत बढ़े । तो इस तरह की जो चीजें इस योजना में रखी गयी हैं वे प्रशंसनीय हैं ।

चौथी चीज इसमें रखी गई है जन शक्ति के उपयोग के बारे में । कुछ लोगों को प्रशासन के प्रन्दर, कुछ को उद्योग घन्घों के ग्रन्दर, कुछ को रुषि में, कुछ को निर्माण कार्यों में लगाया जायेगा । इस प्रकार सरकार ने निर्णय किया है कि तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में डेढ़ करोड़ ग्रादमियों को रोजगार दिया जायेगा । एक लाख ग्रादमी हम कारीगर तैयार करेंगे । तो ये बहुत ग्राशाजनक बार्जे इसके ग्रन्दर हैं ।

पांचवीं बात जो है वह मार्थिक विषमता को मिटाने की है। उसमें सब से पहली चीज तो प्राइवेट से पबलिक सेक्टर में ग्राने की बात है जिससे कि एक व्यक्ति के हाथ में दौलत एकत्र न हो जाये । जागीरदारी से सहकारिता की झोर झाने का भी विचार है। जो भमि जागीरदारों के पास थी वह सहकारी खेती के लिये दी जाये, चाहे जागीरदारी को खत्म करे उन जमीनों को उपलब्ध किया जाये। से समझता हूं कि यह बहुत उपयोगी बात है। इसी तरह से व्यापार के बारे में भी यह विचार है कि कोम्रापरेटिब सोसाइटीज द्वारा व्यापारों को चलाया जाये । यह भी विचार है कि प्रशासन में किन्हीं लोगों की मानोपली न होने पाये । जो पिछडे हए लोग हैं उनके लिए नौकरियों में रिजरवेशन किया गया है । इसी तरह से उन लोगों के लिए संसद भौर दूसरी निर्वाचित संस्थाग्रों में प्रतिनिधि रखा गया है। जो इतने शक्तिशाली नहीं हैं कि चनाव वगैरह लड सकें ।

तो मैं समभता हूं कि इसके ग्रन्दर जो ये पांच बातें रखी गई हैं ये बहुत महत्वपूर्ण हैं।

(SAKA) Draft Outline of 4950 Third Five Year Plan

लेकिन एक सवाल है, सभापति जी । पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना बनी, दूसरी बनी भौर श्रब तीसरी बन रही है। इन योजनामों में कामयाबी भी हई। मैं यह नहीं कह संकता जैसा कि कुछ भ्रौर सदस्यों ने कहा है कि इघर कूछ, नहीं हुग्रा, बिल्कूल निराशा ही दिखायी देती है । मैं यह नहीं मानता लेकिन मैं यह कहता हूं कि जितना रुपया खर्च किया गया उसके अपनपात में जितनी कामयाबी होनी चाहिए थी वह नहीं हई । इसका एक बडा कारण है । सब से पहले योजना बनना चाहिए थी शिक्षा में क्रान्तिकारी परिवर्तन करने की । शिक्षा के श्रन्दर कान्ति होनी चाहिए थी जिससे कि जो लोग शिक्षित हो कर निकलते वह यह कहते :

वयम् तुभ्यं वलिहृतास्याम्

मातुभूमि मैं तुझ को भ्रपना बलिदान देने के लिए तैयार हं । लेकिन भ्राज तो यहां पोजीशन म्रौर पजेशन, मर्थात पैसे मौर पद के लिए संघर्ष चल रहा है। इसी के लिए माज सारी कोशिशें हो रही हैं। भौर माज हालात यह है कि म्राज मेरे लिये देश के मकाबले में मेरा प्रान्त बड़ा है, प्रान्त के मुकाबले में मेरा जिला बडा, ग्रौर जिले के मकाबले में मेरी तहसील बड़ी है, तहसील के मुकाबले में मेरा गांव बड़ा है और गांव के मुकाबले में मेरा घर बड़ा है। स्राज जगह जगह मलग प्रान्त बनाने की बात कही जाती हैं, भाषा के लिहाज से प्रान्त, जाति पांत के लिहाज से प्रान्त बनाने की कोशिश की जाती है। सन् १९४७ के पहले जो भावना हमारे मन में थी, उस समय जो सरकारी नौकर थे वे भी यह भावना रखते थे कि हमारा देश स्वतंत्र हो और एक हो, माज वह भावना खत्म हो गयी है क्योंकि शिक्षा के म्रन्दर क्रान्ति नहीं लायी गयी । हमारे यहां हिमाचल में जहां ग्राजादी से पहले तीन सौ छोटे मोटे स्कूल थे वहां ग्राज १२०० से ज्यादा प्राइमरी स्कूल हैं, ५० से ज्यादा हाई स्कुल हैं; दो सौ से ज्यादा मिडिल स्कुल हैं, खः कालिज हैं भौर दो संस्कृत कालिज हैं।

[श्री पर्य देव]

लेकिन क्या पढ़ने बाद उनके दिमान में यह खयाल पैदा होता है कि हम को देश के लिए जीना है, देश के लिए रहना है ? इसके विपरीत माज हर एक पोजीशन और पजेशन की लड़ाई में फंसा हुम्रा है, रात दिन यही जिन्ता है, यही फिक है। यह कोई एक जगह की बात नहीं है, सारे देश के म्रन्दर यही हो रहा है।

इसमें कोई सेन्देह नहीं कि हमारे देश के नेताम्रों का बडा उच्च चरित्र है भौर उन पर लोगों को बडा विश्वास है । जब वह बाहर जाते हैं तो उनको बहत सा रुपया मिल जाता है। में समझता हं कि भगवान ने हमको पंडित नेहरू के रूप में एक बडा लीडर दिया है। शरू से ही नेता पैदा हए ग्रौर नेता होकर रह रहे हैं, हिन्दूस्तान के ही नहीं दूसरे देशों के भी । लेकिन मुझे दूःस के साथ कहना पड़ता है भौर मैं चाहता हं कि मेरी यह बात पंडित जी तक पहुंचे, कि पंडित जी ने ग्रपनी दयालता से भीर भ्रपनी कृपालता से लोगों के हाथ छोटे कर दिये हैं और जीभें बड़ी कर दी हैं। बोलने में वे सब से भागे भौर सब से ज्यादा, लेकिन जब वक्त कर्म का भ्रायेगा तो कूछ नहीं। बह बात नहीं है

कृतम् मे दक्षिणे हस्ते जयो में सेव्यग्राहिता

यह भावना होनी चाहिये थी कि मुझे तो कर्म करना है, चाहे वह गीता हो, या उपनिषद् हो, चाहे देश की परम्परा हो । लेकिन ग्राज यह चीज नहीं है । ग्राज तो सिर्फ यह चिन्ता है कि पैसा कैसे बने । सरकारी कर्मचारी बुरा न मानें । उनके ऊपर माता पिता ग्रौर राष्ट्र पैसा खर्च करता है फिर भी उनके दिल में ग्रपने कर्तव्य की मावना पैदा नहीं होती । सब को पैसा बनाने की फिक्र है ।

त्राज हालत यह है कि कोई काम शुरू नहीं होने पाता, कोई इरादा नहीं बनने पाता कि चारों तरफ से यूनियनें बननी शुरू हो जाती **हैं**, चाहे वे कम्युनिस्टों की हों, चाहे कांग्रेस की हों, चाहे जन संघ की हों । यह भी एक रोजगार का जरिया बन गया है । इसके ऊपर कोई प्रतिबन्घ नहीं लगाया गया है ।

तो मेरा पंडित जी से निवेदन है कि ये जो लोगों की जीमें बड़ी हो गयी हैं भौर हाथ छोट हो गये हैं, इस स्थिति को बदलना चाहिए भौर हाथों को बड़ा करना चाहिए भौर जीमों को छोटा करना चाहिए। जब तक ऐसा नहीं होगा तब तक देश माहिस्ता माहिस्ता लंगड़ा होता चला जायेगा।

में ने देखा है कि ऋण दिये जाते हैं बगीचों के लिए. सहकारी खेती के लिए. पर भगवान जाने वे कहां चले जाते हैं। लोग किसी काम के लिए लोन लेते हैं और किसी और काम पर खर्च करते हैं । मैं विश्वास करता हूं कि जब तक शिक्षा के द्वारा कान्ति नहीं ग्राती तब तक देश में राष्ट्रीय भावना पैदा नहीं हो सकती । भाज हालत यह है कि एक तरफ तो चीन घघक रहा है और दूसरी तरफ मैं ने परसों सुना----जालिम सरकार को मिटा के छोडेंगे । क्या म्राज भी जालिम सरकार है ? मंग्रेजों के राज में तो हम इस नारे को समझ सकते थे कि----नहीं छडनी नहीं छडनी सरकार जालिम नहीं खडनी । लेकिन जब भ्राज भ्रपना राज्य हो गया है तब भी यह---सरकार जालिम नहीं छडनी---किस लिए कहा जा रहा है। पता नहीं कि सरकार क्या जल्म कर रही है। शायद उसका यही जुलम है कि वह उनकी मनमानी बात को नहीं मानती ग्रौर जो वह बाल लीला कर रहे हैं उसको नहीं मानती। इसलिए सभापति जी, मेरा निवेदन है कि शिक्षा में कान्ति लाना है ग्रीर उस में देश-भक्ति की भावना भरनी है।

एक बात श्रौर । यह शासन हम को चुपचाप मिला, खोपड़ा तोड़ कर नहीं मिला । श्रगर खोपड़ी तोड़ कर मिलता, तो शायद दुमारी विचार-घारा कुछ श्रौर होती । पुराना **49**53 BHADRA 3, 1882 (SAKA)

नौकरशाही ढांचा, पूरानी बातें, सब की सब चाल हैं। उस का परिणाम यह है कि जब हम दक़तरों में जवानों को कहते हैं कि तुम इतने जवान हो. काम क्यों नहीं करते ? तो जवाब मिलता है कि ''इतना ही पैसा मिलता है, उस के मताबिक काम करते हैं। साढे दस बजे ग्राग हैं।'' बदकिस्मती से मैं भी मिनिस्टर रहा । मैं ठीक दस बजे दफ़तर जा कर कभी कभी दफ़तर में एक चक्कर लगा लेता था। कोई दस बजे ग्राता था, कोई ग्यारह बजे ग्राता था श्रीर कोई किसी वक्त ग्राता था। ग्रगर पूछा जाता कि "कहां रहे", तो जवाब मिलता कि ''वहां यह हो गया, वह हो गया'', वगैरह वगैरह । मैं यह कहना चाहता हं कि सरकारी मलाजिम, सरकारी कर्मचारी, सरकार तो यही है । मिनिस्टर तो स्राते और जाते रहते हैं, बदलते रहते हैं । अभी पिछले दिनों मुल्क में हड़ताल की बड़ी भारी तैयारी की गई । लोग कहते हैं कि वह चेतावनी के लिये थी। मैं कहता हं कि चेतावनी के लिए नहीं था. बल्कि अगर किसी गवर्नमेंट को खत्म करना हो, तो एक ही रास्ता है, कि वहां की कम्यनिकेशन्ज को बन्द कर दिया जाये । कम्यनिकेशन्ज बन्द हो जायें, रेल, कार सब बन्द हो जायें, कहीं लड़ाई झगड़ा हो, तो कूछ न हो सके । मैं ने कहा कि वह तो यह था कि पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू यहां नहीं, किसी भौर जगह बैठे होते. या बिठाय होते । इसलिए सरकारी मशीनरी को नया रूप देना पडगा, उस के नय रूल बनाने पड़ेंगे, क्योंकि यह नया राज है, सनाजवादी राज है । पहले कानून का राज था, ला एंड म्राईर का राज था। उस वक्त ठीक मशीनरी थी। लेकिन भ्राज तो ला एंड ग्रार्डर का सवाल नहीं है। ग्राज तो खेत में जाना है, स्वयंसेवक बन कर जाना है।

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member should now conclude.

श्री पद्म देव : मैं दो मिनट में सत्म कर देता हूं, क्योंकि मैं ने अभी हिमाचल प्रदेश के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा।

Draft Outline of 1954 Third Five Year Plan

पिछडे इलाकों के सम्बन्ध में रुपया तो बहुत खर्च किया जाता है, लेकिन इन दस वर्षों में हिमाचल प्रदेश के पहाडी इलाके में एक फुट भी रेल नहीं ले जाई गई है। जिस वक्त हम कहते हैं कि वहां खानें हैं, लोहा है, नमक है, दूसरी चीजें हैं, तो कहा जाता है कि वह सस्ता नहीं पडता है । मैं यह कहना चाहता हं कि ग्रगर सरकार मल्क का विकास करना चाहती है और लोगों को रोटी देना चाहती है, तो उस को सारी चीजों को बनिये के तराज से नहीं तोलना चाहिए, बल्कि यह सोचना चाहिए कि ग्रगर लोहा मिलता है, तो उस के साथ साथ लोगों को रोजगार भी मिलता है।

Mr. Chairman: May I request the hon. Member to kindly close his remarks, because he is taking up new points. Then there will be no end to his speech. He has taken more than his time.

श्री पद्म देव : बहत झच्छा, मैं समाप्त करता हं। मैं क्षमा चाहता हं।

Shri Naushir Bharucha (East Khandesh): Many of us feel that this Third Plan, which by some is regarded as a great human venture, may very probably end in a tragedy of good intentions self-defeated. This is due largely to the fact that there have been bad estimates of resources, and there has been unfounded overenthusiasm on the part of the planners and the Government.

I shall come directly to the question of resources. It would appear that the Planning Commission has considered the needs of the country without considering its resources first, then found out what would be the industries etc., which would satisfy those needs, put them out down in the Plan, and then gone about hunting for the resources. Even 2 cursory glance at the resources will convey to us that all these resources have been considerably over-estimated. Among the re-

[Shri Naushir Bharucha]

sources the first item is balance from revenues on the basis of existing taxation. I fail to understand how they hope to get Rs. 350 crores from this source when States after States are presenting deficit budgets and have not been able to raise their income. I so far as this am convinced that Planning source is concerned the Commission and the Government will be bitterly disappointed.

The contribution from the Railways has been hinted at Rs. 150 crores and probably they will get this amount especially when as the Prime Minister has hinted, they are going to increase the railway fares.

There is another surprising itemsurplus from other public enterprises __iron and steel, fertilisers, oil extraction, and refining, post and telegraphs and so on. They have put down a total income of Rs. 300 crores. So far as iron and steel is concerned, we have not yet got into strides of production and so much so, we do not even know the cost per ton for the production of steel in the public sector. How then do we estimate the profit? I do not know. In addition, they are expecting from the State Electricity Boards and State Transport Undertakings about Rs. 140 crores. I wonder if the Planning Commission even knows that the State Electricity Board cannot charge more than what is provided for in the schedules to the Electricity Supply Act of 1948. There are formulas provided for calculating the price of electricity and these Boards have to conform to it. Where is the scope for increasing the charges beyond a point? (An Hon. Member: Change the Act).

So far as the State transport undertakings are concerned, I was for five years in the Bombay Legislative Assembly and we came to know that after spending Rs. 4 crores of investment in the Undertaking in one year the profit shown was only Rs. 23,000. There was, besides, the camouflaging of the real position by under-estimating the depreciation and setting aside a very inadequate amount of depreciation and still the Planning Commission hopes that they are going to produce, between these two resources Rs. 140 crores.

The question of income from the public sector undertakings raises important issues. Are we going to regard these undertakings as milch cow which could be milked to an indefinite extent? What is the guiding principle for fixing the price of the commodity or service which the State undertakings produce? Can they be permitted to exploit their monopolistic position with the aim of producing something by way of surplus to the extent of Rs. 440 crores for the purpose of this Plan? In America, there is considerable amount of litigation on this point because there the public utility services are not allowed to dictate the prices to the consumer beyond what is legitimate. I think a time has come when a ceiling has to be placed, just as the one placed on the electricity supply undertakings. beyond which the public sector undertakings should not be allowed to charge for the commodities they produce or services they render.

So far as borrowing from the public are concerned, they have been over-estimated, though I wish the planners all success. They seem to imagine that the Government credit stands so high that they will be in a position to get this amount of Rs. 850 crores from the market. May I point out that the credit of the private enterprise stands far higher than that of the Government? With all the institutional supports that the Government can command, they could not get beyond the target provided in the Second Plan, whereas in the private sector whenever it floats anv company, the issues are heavily oversubscribed. In one case there was a over subscription to the extent of 60 times the amount the company required!

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Again so far as the reserves from the steel equilisation fund is concerned, I am of the view that . this is nothing but an indirect taxation without consulting this hon. House and that also raises the same issue as I said before that the public sector undertakings must not be allowed because of their monopolistic position to dictate the price to the consumer.

I next come to the question of additional taxation which is to the extent two-thirds of Rs. 1.650 crores. of which will have to be found by the Centre-Rs 1,100 crores roughly. That means Rs. 220 crores of additional taxation per year, over and above the taxation under which the groaning. The country is already Planning Commission has itself said that so far as direct taxation is concerned-income-tax and the corporation tax-there is no scope to raise more and the hon. Finance Minister admitted this in so many words in the course of his speech this morning. The Planning Commission has also said that whatever you can get more is by way of tightening up the administrative machinery. To say that the Central revenues will get Rs. 1100 crores more by way of additional taxation and the States. Rs. 550 crores is to my mind an extremely tall order. Even if you succeed in collecting this tax, it is bound to have a depressing effect on capital formation. To expect the States to produce, on an average, Rs. 100 crores more per annum while so many of them are showing deficit budgets is, I think, to expect the impossible.

Coming to the foreign exchange position, the Planning Commission is budgeting-I do not know with what optimism-for a sum of Rs. 2200 crores which they hope to get by way of budgetary receipts, corresponding to external assistance. Let us bear this in mind that the Commission itself has warned us that it cannot say that it will be in a position to get this amount. But we are hoping for it! I do not know whether the hon. Finance Minister going about with a beggar's bowl will return with some luck. I wish him luck.

Shri Morarji Desai: May I say that I have never gone with a beggar's bowl anywhere at any time and I do not intend to go with a beggar's bowl at any time... (Interruptions.)

Shri Naushir Bharucha: Let us hope that external aid will fall like manna from heaven.

Shri Morarji Desai: That does not mean that also.

Shri Naushir Bharucha: Mav I point out that the planners have absolutely underestimated the foreign exchange requirements and that apart we are starting with the Third Plan with no foreign exchange reserves at our disposal whatsoever. The reserves of the foreign exchange have been drained to the last rupee. T think it was my hon. friend Acharya Kripalani who said that the foreign exchange was as low as Rs. 144 crores. I think it is round about Rs. 128 crores but that is a minimum below which you cannot go. That is the irreducible minimum which is to be maintained as fiduciary backing for our paper currency. We are starting the Third Plan without having a single pound sterling in our coffers and yet we have budgeted for Rs. 32000 crores of foreign exchange.

the Sir. foreign exchange component directly involved in the Plan itself is Rs. 2100 crores. As the Planning Commission has pointed out. even if we do not consider the foreign exchange component directly involved in the Plan-Rs. 2100 crores-you will fall short at the end of the Second Plan in your foreign exchange resources to the extent of Rs. 500 crores because of the balance of payments position. Not only that. Because of the PL. 480 commodity assistance we shall require another Rs. 600 crores. That means all told it will be Rs. 3.200 crores. There is no warrant for expectation that we will be able to get this amount of foreign exchange from anywhere. The worst part of it, and

[Shri Naushir Bharucha]

what the Planning Commission and the hon. Fiance Minister have forgotten is that the bulk of these foreign exchange requirements will be required within the first two years of the "Third Plan.

Sir, we have had deferred credit facilities in the Second Plan. Repayments have got to be made now. Greater expenditure has to be incurred in the inception stages of the various projects and other works Therefore, the bulk of the foreign exchange will be required in the course of the first two years of the Plan. That may be roughly calculated, taking Rs. 3200 crores as the total requirements according to their estimate, at Rs. 2300 to Rs. 2400 crores in the first two years. I do not know where we are going to get external assistance of that magnitude, and we have been frankly warned that our foreign exchange difficulties are not temporary but of a continuous nature.

Coming to deficit financing, may I point out to the House that the Commission has proposed deficit financing to the extent of Rs.550 -crores. In the Second Plan we had deficit financing, obviously, to the sextent of Rs.1200 crores but the actual deficit financing was of a much higher order and there was considerable deficit financing. This concealed -concealed deficit financing took the shape, amongst other things, of treasury bills, Rs. 1400 crores worth of treasury bills were issued during the -course of the Second Plan and Rs. 350 of Treasury Bills crores Were converted into loans of long term maturity. May I point out, Sir, that it has ultimately, the same effect as deficit financing? Secondly, so far as the price line is concerned we have been naively told that since the last Plan the prices have gone up by more than 20 per cent. Even if the 'Government holds the price line reasonably with in control, I have no doubt that in the course of the Third Plan prices will go up by another 20 per cent. Let us be clear about this. That would mean that there would be a difference of Rs. 2000 crores between the resources that you have calculated and the estimates of your investments. In its turn it means that the stability of the rupee would be in danger, and I am sure that is not a contingency which we can view with any equanimity.

May I point out, Sir, that there are many things which this Plan ignores. which are of a vital nature? The first thing is, as I have pointed out no provision has been made for rise in prices, inflationary prices which is bound to occur to the extent of 20 per cent. If you have a budget of Rs. 10,000 crores you must provide for Rs. 12,000 crores by way of resources so that there may be а cushioning effect for the inflation that is inherent in the Plan. Secondly, the Plan does not contain any built-in anti-inflationary safeguard. Thirdly, it has disregarded the question of rise in population. I was surprised that even the estimate of the population is not correctly made. The Central Statistical Organisation makes it at 480 million and others make it at round about 434 million. This will have a direct bearing on the question of employment.

New jobs to the extent of 13.5 million are going to be created as a result of this Plan. Actually, pressure of new labour force coming up within these five years would be of the order of 16 million.

There is not a word about extravagance in the execution of the Second Plan of which the steel plants are a classical example. Also, there is no suggestion of any drastic cut ìn the administration expenditure. In the Second Plan, additional taxation was provided of the order of Rs. 450 crores. Actually we gave Rs. 1000 crores. Most of it went into administrative expenditure. There is a glib talk of the fourth steel plant. We do not know even about the three steel plants. We do not know the economics of production and yet they are talking about the fourth steel plant. There is no mention made in the Plan of mobilising the country's gold resources even to the extent of 10 per cent. There is also no effective method suggested for mopping up private capital for public enterprises by way of participation.

In conclusion, Sir, I shall make some practical suggestions. First, the overall outlay in public sector should confined to Rs. 4200 crores. he Secondly, the fourth steel plant should be dropped. Power generation should be reduced to 10 million kwts. Irrigation should be reduced to an additional 10 million acres only and the other physical targets must be correspondingly reduced. Above all, so far as Defence expenditure is concerned it is wasteful, of which this House gets no information whatsoever. We purchased recently an aircraft carrier costing about Rs. 25 crores or Rs. 26 crores. Still nobody has told us why we purchased it.

Shri Morarji Desai: It was purchased four or five years ago.

Shri Naushir Bharucha: I do not understand, with this type of wasteful expenditure, this type of wasteful expenditure, this type of wasteful expenditure of foreign exchange, how it is possible for us to have a plan of the magnitude of Rs. 10,200 crores? My suggestion is this. If you do not want this great human venture to end, as I said, in a tragedy of good intentions, then see that you cut your Plan according to your resources. It is no use being ambitious because the hard economic realities can make a shambles of your Plan.

थी हेम ाज (कांगड़ा) : समापति महोदय, पेक्तर इसके कि मैं घपने विचार थ फाइव योघर प्लान की ड्राफ्ट घाउट-ल न पर रख़, मुझ से कुछ पहले मेरे एक मान-नी मित्र ने पंजाब के सम्बन्ध में जो विचार व्यक्त किये हैं, मैं उनके बारे में कुछ झब्द कह देना चाहता हूं। मैं समझता हूं कि इस 896 (Ai) L.S.D.—8.

योजना के रास्ते में ग्रगर कोई सबसे बढी रुकावट है, तो वह साम्प्रदायिकता की भावना है। इस साम्प्रदायिकता की भावना के कारण बजाये इसके कि मुल्क की जो ताकत है, वह मुल्क के डेवेलपमेंट में लगे, उसको भ्रागे ले जाने में लगे, वह ग्रापस के झगडों में चली जाती है। मझ से पहले एक वक्ता ने कहा कि पंजाब को दशा बुरी है। मैं ग्रभी ग्रखबार में पढ रहा था कि तारासिंह जी के मताल्लिक एक हैबियसं-कार्पस की पेटीशन हाईकोर्ट में दी गई, जिसमें एक वजह यह दी गई कि चुंकि हिन्दु साम्प्रदायिक तत्र मझ को भौर पंजाबी सूबे की मेरी मांग को साम्प्र-दायिक कहते हैं, इसलिये पंजाब गवर्नमेंट ने मुझ गिरफ्तार कर लिया है । इसके मुकाबले में कुछ ग्ररसा पहले, मुझ से पहले जो वक्ता बोले, उनकी कुछ संस्थायें थीं, जिन के श्रादमी गिफ्तार होकर जेलों में थे. तो वे कहती थीं कि अकाली साम्प्रदायिक लोग हैं, ये अन्दर रहने चाहिये । इस साम्प्रदायिक भावना ने भाज तक पंजाब को भागे नहीं बढने दिया । मैं समझना हं कि पंजाब सरकार ने इस बारे में बावक्त कदम उठाया है ग्रौर उसने पंजाब में मौजद दोनों साम्प्रदायिक भावनाओं को दबाया हम्रा है ग्रौर ग्रगर वह इन को दबा कर रखेगी, तो उसी सूरत में वह पंजाब को आगे ले जा सकेगी ----- श्रौर कोई सुरत नहीं है कि पंजाब को म्रागे ले जाया जा सके । यह जो विचार व्यक्त किये गये हैं कि पंजाब सरकार ने कोई ऐसे कदम उठाये हैं, जिन से कि पंजाब को नकसान पहुंचा है, वे गुलत हैं । बल्कि पंजाब सरकार ने तो बावक्त मौका सम्भाज लिया है, जिसके जरिये उसने साम्प्रदायिकता की भावना को, चाहे वह हिन्दू साम्प्रदायिकता हो. चाहे अकाली साम्प्रदायिक भावना हो. कूचल कर रख दिया है, ताकि पंजाब के भविष्य का निर्माण किया जा सके।

मब मैं योजना घायोग को बधाई देना बाहता हूं कि उसकी देख-रेख में भारतवर्ष ने इन दो पांच-साला प्लाज्ब में काफी बे [श्री हेमराज]

ज्यादा तरक्ती की है ग्रीर काफी से ज्यावा ग्रागे बढ़ा है ग्रीर ग्राज वह इस पोजीशन में है कि हैवी इंडस्ट्रीज के मामले में हस एक ऐसे मुकाम पर पहुंच गए हैं, कि जैसा कि हमारे माननीय नेता, श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने कहा है, हमारी बेसिक इंडस्ट्री की बुनियादें इतनी बजबूत हो गई हैं कि उससे ग्रागे बढ़ कर हम बाहर के मुल्कों से ग्रपने देश को मुक्त कर सकते हैं ग्रीर जितनी भी हैवी इंडस्द्रीज हैं, हम उन को खुद बना सकते हैं । मैं समझता हूं कि यह सारा काम नहीं हो सकता था, ग्रगर प्लानिंग कमीशन सारे डिपार्टमेंट्स की देख-रेख करके एक खास प्लानिंग करके देश को ग्रागे न ले जाता । इस के लिये वे लोग बधाई के पात्र हैं ।

लेकिन इस बारे में मैं देखता हूं कि प्लानिंग कमीशन ने शुरू से ही यह घ्येय रखा कि यहां की जो = २ फीसदी के करीब देहाती श्राबादी है, जिस वक्त तक उसका स्तर ऊंचा नहीं उठाया जायगा, तब तक इस देश की ग्रसली रूप में तरक्की नहीं हो सकती है। ईस बात को मानना पडेगा कि जिस समय तक उस देहाती ग्राबादी में कोई भावना,चेतना,जोश पैदा नहीं होता, तब तक हमारी प्लानिंग लंगड़ी सी रहेगी । इस लिये मैं समझता हं कि मैं प्लानि । कमीशन का घ्यान इस तरफ़ दिलाऊं कि हालांकि शुरू में उन्होंने कहा कि विलेज प्लानिंग किया जाये, लेकिन म्राज तक वह विलेज प्लानिंग कार्यान्वित नहीं हम्रा है। विलेज प्लानिंग हमारी प्लान में मौजुद है। बह हमारी द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में मौजूद है। लेकिन जहां तक विलेज प्लान का ताल्लुक है गांव में, वहां तक वह प्लानिंग नहीं हो पाया है। फ़िगर्ज के मताबिक हम देखते हैं कि हम भात्म-निर्भर हो जायें, लेकिन जहां तक खेती का, फूड ग्रेन्ज का सवाल है, जितना हम मागे बढ़ते हैं, हम रोजाना देखते हैं कि हम प्रात्म-निर्मर नहीं हो पाए हैं, बल्कि घाटा ही घाटा है भौर हम को बाहर से भनाज मंगाना पड़ रहा है। मैं समझता हूं कि भगर

हमारा विलेज प्लानिंग शुरू से ही दुरुस्त हो बाता, तो म्राज ये रांग फिगर्ज हमारे पास नहीं होतीं ग्रीर हम को यह पता होता कि हर एक गांव में हमारी पैदावार कितनी कितनी बढ़ी है । लेकिन हमारे प्लानिंग में जितने भी फ़िगर्ज हैं, चाहे वे सैम्पल सरवे के हों, या कोई दूसरे हों, वे सब काग़जाती चलते हैं ग्रौर उनसे पता चलता है कि हमारे यहां लाखों टन ग्रनाज हो गया, लेकिन वे फिगर्ज किस हद तक दूरुस्त हैं, यह मैं नहीं कह सकता, क्योंकि असली रूप हमारे सामने नहीं आता है। ग्रगर ग्रसली रूप में विलेज प्लानिंग किया जाता, तो उसका नतीजा यह होता कि १९४२ में, या १९४३ में विलेज-वार, फसल वार, कितनी पैदावार हुई, यह हम को मालूम हो जाता ग्रौर हमारे ये ग्रांकड़े ठीक होते । लेकिन म्राज तक विलेज प्लानिंग नहीं हुग्रा । इसलिय मैं प्लानिंग कमीशन से यह प्रार्थंना करूंगा कि उन्होंने प्लानिंग का जो मकसद रखा था, उसको जल्दी से जल्दी पूरा करना चाहिय, ताकि हमारे विलज में तरक्की हो सके, उसमें कूछ इन्सेन्टिव पैदा हो सके ग्रौर जहाँ सरकार चीज देती है, उन को पता लग सके कि यह चीज हमारे पास ग्राई है ग्रौर इससे हम को इतना फ़ायदा हुन्ना है। झाज हालत क्या है ? ग्रभी हमारे एक भाई ने कहा ह कि जो चीज ऊपर से चलती है वह विलेज तक पहुंचते पहुंचते कितनी कम रह जाती है, इसका ग्रापको ग्रन्दाजा ही नहीं। यहाँ से तो काफी धन दिया जाता है लेकिन वहाँ पहुंचते पहुंचते कुछ भी नहीं रह जात है । यहां स पानी चलता है लेकिन वहां पहचते पहुंचते वह एक तुबका सा ही रह जाता है। बीच में ही बहुत से लोग उस पानी को पी जाते हैं। इस तरह से जो रकम अप गाँव वालों को देते हैं वह उन तक पहुंच नहीं पाती है। इस वास्ते में चाहता हूं कि झापका घ्यान इस ग्रोर जाए।

अहां तक विलेज प्लानिंग का ताल्लुक हैं, वे बाहता हूं कि इसके बारे में झाप जल्दी से

4955 Motion re: BHADRA 3, 1882 (SAKA) Draft Outline of 4966 Third Five Year Plan

अल्दी कदम उठाय साकि गाँव की जो हालत 🖁 वह बहतर हो सके ।

मब मैं बढ़ती हुई महंगाई की तरफ पापका घ्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं। जब तक महंगाई दूर नहीं होती, तब तक माम म्रादमियों में किसी तरह का जोश पैदा नहीं हो सकता ह, लोगों का दुःख हमेदा ही बना रहने वाला है। इसका नतीजा यह होगा कि लोगों में प्लान के प्रति कोई उत्साह पैदा नहीं होगा जो कि प्लान की कामयाबी के लिये बहत जरूरी है स्रौर गाँव गाँव में जाकर हम प्लानिग के हक में जो भावना पैदा करना चाहते हैं, बह भावना पैदा नहीं हो सकती है । जो हमारा पहला प्लान था उसमें हमने इस बात पर जोर दिया था कि हमारी एग्रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्शन बढ़े और १९४२ में यह ख्याल हो गया था कि हमारा प्लान ठीक तरह से चल गया है और हम आत्म निभैर हो गए हैं। लेकिन १९५७ के बाद जो प्राइसिस थीं वे बढ़ती ही चली गईं। हम देखते हैं कि म्राज मुल्क में एक तरह से हाहाकार सा मचा हुआ है इन प्राइसिस के बारे में में ग्रौर लोग कह रहे हैं कि इनको कम किया जाए । लोग चाहते हैं कि प्राइसिस इस लेवल पर ग्रा जावें कि उनका गुजर बसर हो जाय, उनका जी फ्रैमिली बजट है, उसके मन्दर उनका काम चल जाय । ग्रगर श्राप कीमतों को चैक नहीं करते हैं तो इसका नतीजा यह होगा कि जगह-ब-जगह बचैनी फैल जायेगी ।

यह ठीक है कि जो पर-कैपिटा इनकम है बह बढ़ी हैं। हमें बताया गया है कि पर-कैपिटा इनकम इन दो प्लानों में २६० या २९४ के करीब ही गई हैं नैशनल इनकम के लिहाज से यह पर-कैपिटा इनकम ठीक हैं। लेकिन जो देहाती लोग हैं, जिनके अन्दर झाप जोश पैदा करना चाहते हैं, उनकी इनकम कहाँ तक बढ़ी हैं, इसका झन्दाजा हमने नहीं खगाया है और में चाहता हूं कि बोजना मंत्री महोवय बतावे कि जो देहातों में लोग रहते हैं, उनकी पर-कैपिटा इनकम क्या हो गई है भौर षह कहां तक बढ़ी हूँ। मैं यह इसलिये कह रहा हूं कि ६२ प्रतिशत लोग देहातों में रहते हैं भौर उनका सहयोग जब तक ग्रापको नहीं मिलेगा भौर पूरे तरीके से नहीं मिलेगा उस समय तक ग्रापकी योजना पूरी तरह सं कासयाब नहीं गिनी जाएगी।

यह ठीक है कि ग्रापने कम्युनिटी डिवलेप-मेंट का काम शुरू किया है और बहुत बड़ा प्रोग्राम बनाया है । उसमें प्रापने सोशल एजुकेशन को भी शामिल किया हुआ है। लेकिन ग्रब तक सोशल एजुकेशन में ग्रापने क्या क्या किया है, इसका कुछ भी पता नहीं है । सिवाय इसके कि बहुत से सोशल एजुकेशन आगेंनाइजर आपने रख दिये हैं और कुछ भी नहीं हुग्रा है। जब हम उनसे कुछ पूछते हैं कि क्या क्या उन्होंने काम किया है, तो वे कुछ भी बता नहीं पाते हैं। ग्रब ग्रापने सी० डी॰ में ज्यादा जोर एग्रीकल्चर की स्रोर दिया है ग्रौर ग्रगर यह प्रोग्राम कम्यनिटी डिवेलप-मेंट के तहत शुरू से ही रख दिया जाता और शुरु से इस पर ज्यादा जोर दिया गया होता तो जो हमारे फुडग्रेन्स हैं, जो एग्रीकल्चर हैं वह बहुत ही ग्राेबढ़ गई होती । उसके साथ ही साथ हमारी जो हैवी इंडस्ट्रीज है, वे भी बहुत झागे बढ़ गई होतीं, उनके झन्तर्गत भी काफी उन्नति कर ली गई होती । हैवी इंडस्ट्रीज ग्रौर एग्रीकल्चर ये जो हमारी योजना के दो पहिए हैं, जिनके हसहारे हमें धागे बढ़ना है, ये ठीक तरह स चल सकते थे भीर माज देश ग्रीर भी मागे बढ़ सकता था । इंसका एक नंतीजायह भी होता कि हमारे जो सटलिंग बैलेंसिस हैं जिन को कि हमने बाहर से खाने की चीजों को मंगाने में खर्च कर दिया है, वे भी बच गए होते और उनका इस्तैमाल हम इंडस्ट्रीज को बढ़ावा देने पर कर सकते थे।

ग्राज जितनी हमारी मूमि फारेस्ट्स केनीचे हैं, उसका में जिक्र करना घाहता हूं। केवल कोई १०वां हिस्सा हमारी जमीन का देसा हूँ जो फारेस्ट केनीचे हैं। ग्राज देखा गया

[श्री हेमराष]

हैं कि फारेस्ट्स की तरफ बहत कम ध्यान दिया गया है। फारेस्ट किन चोजों के लिये निहायत जरूरी हैं ? वे इसलिये जरूरी हैं कि वर्षों हो । इसलिये भी जरूरी हैं ताकि श्राप डैम्स वगैरह बना सकें ग्रौर[ी]म्स में पानी भासके । इसलिये फारेस्ट्स का होना बहुत जरूरी है। लेकिन आपने किया क्या है? ग्रापने म बनाने तो शरू कर दिये हैं लेकिन उनकी रक्षा के लिये जो दूसरी जरूरी चीजें हैं, उनकी तरफ अपको कोई घ्यान नहीं दिया है। माखडा मै ग्रापने बना दिया है। पहले ग्राप कहते थे कि उसकी उम्रा ५०० साल होगी, लेकिन ग्रब कहा जाता है कि १०० साल ही होगी । इसके साथ ही साथ कैचमेंट एरियाज के बारे में जो कुछ, आप को करना था, वह भी धःपने नहीं किया है । वे सब चीजें क साथ होनी चाहियें थीं। मैं चाहता हं कि इन सब चीजों का भागे के लिये ध्यान रखा जाए।

वीसरी योजना में हमने रिजनल प्लानिग जो है और जो स्पेशल एरियाज हैं, उनकी तरफ घ्यान दिया हुँ। पहली झौर दूसरी योजना में इन की तरफ कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया था। इसके लिये मैं प्लानिंग कमीशन को धन्यवाद देता हं कि देर में ही सही, उसने हिल्ली रिजंस की बात को तो सुना है। इसके बारे में एक और माननीय सदस्य, जो कि पहाडी इलाके से आते हैं, ने कुछ कहा है। वह हिमाचल प्रदेश से ग्राते हैं जो कि एक पहाड़ी इलाका है भौर मैं पंजाब के पहाड़ी इलाके का रहने वाला हू । उनका जो हिल एरिया है वह मेरे हिल एरिया से निस्फ है भौर साथ ही साथ उनके हिल्ली एरिया की जो आबादी है, वह मेरी हिस्ली एरिया की आबादी की निस्फ हैं। जिस कॉस्टिट्यएंसी को मैं रिप्रिजेंट करता हुं उसका मुरब्बा मील एरिया १३,००० हैं ग्रौर उनका ११,००० । मेरे यहाँ की माबादी १६ लाख है मौर उनके . यहाँ की ११ लाख । जहाँ तक इन दोनों इनाकों पर खर्च करने की बात है, झब में

उसको भापके सामने रखना चाहता हूं। मेरे इलाके के लिये तीसरे प्लान में चार या पाँच करोड़ रुपया ही खर्च होगा लेकिन हिमाचल प्रदेश के लिये जो तीसरा प्लान 🖁 उसमें ४० करोड़ रुपया रखा गया है। खंब माप देखिये कि कितना फर्क है। माप सोव-लिस्टिक पैटन आफ सोसाइटी की बात करते हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हं कि क्या यह सोख-लिस्टिक पैटन है, क्या यह इकिवटेबल डिस्ट्री-ब्युशन है ? जहां पर मैं रहता ह, उसके दोनों तरफ जो भजायें हैं, वे हिमाचल प्रदेश की हैं, राइट हैंड में भी ग्रौर लैफ्ट हैंड में भी धौ बोच में मेरा इलाका पड़ता है। Right hand daes not know what the left hand is doing. इन दोंगों भजाम्रों को पाप बलगाली कर रहे हैं, लेकिन हमारी तरफ कोई ध्यान नहीं दे रहे हैं। धगर धाप चाहते हैं कि इस प्रदेश में किसी तरह के कोई एण्टी-सोशल एलीमेंट्स पैदा न हों, तो आप को ऐस तरीके से चलना होगा जिससे कि यह सारा जो एरिया है, इसका एक सही तरीके 🕏 डिवेलेपमेंट हो सके।

भन्त में में भ्रापको जो भापने इनएकस-सीबल एरियाज कमेटी बनाई थी, उसने जो कुछ कहा है, उसमें स वोड़ा सा पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूं। उस कमेटी ने हिल्ली एरियाज के बारे में कहा हूँ:----

"The solution of the problems of these areas consequently is definitely beyond the scope and the resources of the existing State plans. The probem posed by them, therefore, is a national one and should be dealth with as such. Therefore, a special development plan must be put into motion over and above the provision of the current plans of both the Centre and the States".

इसलिये में घर्ब करना चाहता हूं कि चंकि पंजाब स्टेट हमको इतना पैसा नहीं दे सकती है जिससे कि इन एरियाज का ढिवेलप-मेंट हो सके, प्राप उनकी तरफ खास तौर से ज्यान दे ग्रौर उनकी मदद करें। हम ग्रापके शामारी हैं कि झापने कम से कम हिमाचल प्रदेश को उठाया तो सही । लेकिन मगर भाष हिमाचल को उठा रहे हैं तो बाकी जो इस किस्म के इलाके हैं, उनको भी उठाने में आपको किसी किस्म का गरेज नहीं करना चाहिये । जहां पर स्टेट गव मेंट सके लिये कुछ कर रही हैं. वहां पर में उम्मीद करता हं कि योजना ग्रायोग ग्रीर सेंटल गवर्नमेंट भी ग्रपने खजाने में से कुछ न कुछ रकम इस इलाके के लिये देगी ।

(Hapur): I Pandit K. C. Sharma am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to express my views on the Plan. I would like to refer to two main things at the outset. The first is in regard to the doubt about the advisability of embarking on heavy industries. In my view of things, if India has not only to grow, but if it has to remain independent, heavy industry is an inevitable consequence, of its will to remain independent. Why was Japan so easily and easily The main cause was the defeated? lack of heavy industry. Japanese soldiery was much better equipped and had better strategy than the American soldiery had; even their Generals were superior to the American or the Allied Forces Generals. Heavy industry, from the dawn of history, from the day when sovereign nations came into conflict. became an important weapor. Napoleon won the European battles because his guns could go 400 yards as against the 300 yards of other countries. The moment the others had guns with longer range, Napoleon was defeated. So is history. Without heavy industry, prosperity in the modern sense is impossible. So, not only from the economic viewpoint but from the viewpoint of the very will to live, heavy industry is necessary.

Now, I turn to another question. Shri M. R. Masani was asking why we should have a fourth steel plant. May I respectfully ask whether a country with 400 million population ...

Shri Braj Raj Singh: 430 million now

Pandit K. C. Sharma: and with a long history and with large areas, and with 6,000 million tons of iron ore, and 3,000 million tons of coal and 1120 million tons of managanese ore should ever remain a backward country? What are the factors that make a nation great in the comity of nations? They are a large population, mineral resources, military equipment etc. All these things exist in India, and if still it is said that we should remain as we are I would say that it would be an act of treason to the 400 million people of India. Anybody who takes the reins of the Government in his hands has a duty to raise the structure of this great country. This great country cannot remain as it is. It has to be built into a great nation, and whoever fails, fails in fulfilling the task that destiny has placed in his hands. It is no gainsaying when I say that never has a leader got so much of confidence from the millions of his people as the present leader has got; and if such a man fails, then his will be the most miserable failure or defeat in the annals of the great people on whom he wielded power at a critical juncture.

There is then the question of inflation. I beg to submit that inflation is question. Many not a new other countries such as France, Germany etc. have faced this. Out of the conflict and as a consequence of the long experience of the modern nations who in their own way are tackling the problem of industrialisation. а technique has arisen, and that technique is the technique of functional economics. Functional economics consists of two things; for tomorrow, your budget must be much more than you save today and you expend today; you must see what your expenditure is today, and what your savings are today, and tomorrow's expenditure must grow much more. So, deficit financing in a developing economy is an inevitable result. You cannot escape it. What is the remedy? The remedy is that guite a large

[Pandit K. C. Sharma]

part of that expenditure must be called spent in developing what is technological expertisation, that is tomorrow's man should not be an old book-crammer, but a young man who knows how to handle problems; ne must be a young man who knows where he stands and how he has to tackle a new problem and how tο face and solve the new difficulties that arise. He must have courage to face the problems that arise. Our misfortune is that we have not got the character that is necessary to tackle the hard jobs that lie ahead.

The other day, in regard to the strike the hon. Finance Minister waz telling not in the House, but somewhere else.....

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Privately?

Pandit K. C. Sharma: At the Congress Party meeting.

I am sorry I have to refer to the Finance Minister in his absence. He was saying that in our Constitution there was no provision to prohibit a strike by a Government employee. I may remind him that a Government employee is recruited on the hasis of merit and fitness, and fitness includes character, integrity and loyalty to his duties. What is loyalty to duty? It is to serve his Ministers. The Ministers stand for upholding the Constitution. The Constitution means three things: the legislature, judiciary and the executive. The executive who breaks the Constitution is guilty of disloyalty to the country and to the Constitution to which he has taken a pledge of loyalty. It is an impossible position. It pained me very much that a great Finance Minister of this great country is so ignorant of the fundamentals of administration and the rule of law.

17 hrs.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: It is a crisis.

Pandit K. C. Sharma: It is a crisis. The Finance Minister said somewhere that Nehru can run away with anything. No man under the rule of law can run away with anything. If anybody can run away with anything, people like myself will have no seat in this House. This is an impossible proposition. It is a fundamental crisis of the mind that will not allow us to go ahead.

Everybody has a duty to perform and that duty has to be performed boldly and consciously under the Constitution and under the rule of law. Nobody is above the rule of law. Nobody is above the Constitution. (Interruption).

I explained that nothing is wrong with deficit financing so far as inflation is concerned. Inflation is a necessary consequence of a developing economy, and it can be controlled if deficit financing, as I explained, is utilised for better production. Inflation means that you throw more money into the market as against lesser quantity of goods. But if goods are produced in larger quantities, then the excess of money would be absorbed thereby. If it is not absorbed by the excess money in the market, the second remedy is higher taxation. If higher taxation does not absorb it, to borrow money. Taxation in the modern world in a developing economy is not a menace.

Secondly, there is a difference between useful inflation, dangerous inflation and galloping inflation. Useful inflation is inflation which works for greater production of the commodity. During the process that more money is thrown in the market, prices rise and because prices rise, more production comes into the market. People are induced to produce more because they can benefit more. When more production comes, inflation goes down. It is useful inflation. Dangerous inflation occurs when money is thrown in large quantities in the market but the know-how, that is, the administration. is failing to do the job. In such a case, further production is decreasing rather than increasing. Galloping inflation occurs when a man begins not to

hoard the coin but to hoard gold, silver and other things. He loses his faith in coins. So far as India is concerned, there need be no fear of dangerous inflation nor of galloping inflation.

Now, I come to the planning process. The question is whether private enterprise should be allowed, as it has been allowed for centuries, or whether planning is inevitable. My respectful submission is that the 20th century is the century of the common man. Who is the common man? He is none other than the lowest of yesterday. He makes his claim to the right of first citizenry. With the claim for the first among the citizenry, he also claims a share in the wealth and opportunities that the country provides.

Therefore, planning has become an inevitable proposition. Planning is not a random process. It has three factors, It has an objective. The objective before the country, as I submitted, is not only industrial progress. It is there; the rising standard of living is there. But the problem is the will to live. The very existence of India is threatened. China produces more than double the goods we produce with the hard labour, with the same capital. Why? Because of their organisation. It is stronger. They are much more disciplined and much more strict Their will to live and their will to achieve is greater. We have to keep pace in this race of the will to live against our opponent. It is a question of our very existence, a decent existence against the adversary. The situation demanded that we should have plans for double the amount that we have estimated. We can do that. With gold worth 6,000 million dollars, Germany is the second best, controlling the market after the U.S.A. With hoarded gold worth Rs. 15,000 crores in the rural areas, can we not plan in a bigger way? With 400 million people and Rs. 15,000 crores worth of gold. the country is facing a crisis, a most tremendous crisis in its history. We could not rise to the occasion.

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I do not like this steady and show progress. The slow and steady man may win the race somewhere in the market place. But where great questions are before the people, where great issues are before the people. where great conflicts are there, where great forces are coming face to face each other, the slow and steady man has no place. So I would appeal to the Planning Minister and the Finance Minister to consider this aspect of the question, that India's problem is not a problem only of progress, but it is a problem of the will to live. We live if we progress, we live if work harder to achieve our goal. If we fail, we are nowhere.

की राचा रत्रण : सभापति महोदयं, मैं उस ब्राफ्ट प्लान का जो इस समय सदन मैं विचाराचीन है समर्थन करता हं ।

बहुत से माननीय बन्बुओं ने इस पर विचार करते हुए ग्रपने ग्रपने खयाल रखे हैं श्रौर उनमें बहुत सो ऐसी बातें कही गयी हैं जो सही हैं श्रौर कुछ ऐसी बातें हैं जो कि ग्रापत्तिजनक हैं। मैं उन तमाम विषयों पर विचार नहीं करूंगा जिन पर कि हमारे मान-नीय बन्बुओं ने ग्रपने विचार रखे हैं।

यह बात प्लान में शुरू में ही कह दी गई है कि इस योजना में ज्यादा जोर कृषि और विशेष बड़े उद्योगों पर दिया गया है । हमारे कुछ बन्धुओं ने यह कहा है कि इस प्लान में कृषि को या गौवों को या छोटे उद्योगों को उतनी प्रधानता नहीं दी गयी कि जितनी दी जानो चाहिये थी । स सम्बन्ध में में इतना ही कहूंगा कि म्रगर म्राप मांकड़ों को देखें तो उनस जाहिर होगा कि एग्रीकल्चर, इर्री-गेशन, कम्युनिटी डेवेलपमेंट, माइनर और मीडियम इरीगेश्न, विलेज और स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज के लिये जलगभग २४४० करोड़ रुपया खर्च करने की व्यवस्था इस प्लान में की गयी है । और इंडस्ट्रीज और मिनरल्स के लिये २४०० करोड़ रखा गया है ।

यह बात तो जितने भी माननीय सदस्य बोल चुके हैं सब ने स्पष्ट क्य से कही है कि

[श्री राषा रमण]

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माज देश की म्रवस्था का यह तकाजा है कि हमारे यहां बड़े उद्योग कायम किये जायें मौर ऐसे कारखाने खोले जाें जो कि बड़े बड़े कल पुरजे बना सकें ताकि देश का इंडस्ट्रिय-लाइजेशन हो सके, क्योंकि जब तक ऐसा नहीं होता तब तक हम उन्नति नहीं कर सकते मौर सगद नहीं हो सकते ।

में समझता हूं कि तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में जो १०,२०० करोड़ का सारा अन्दाजा लगाया गया है और उसे झलग झलग मदों के अन्दर तकसीम किया गया है वह काफी विचार के बाद किया गया है । इसमें यह सन्देह हो सकता है कि कहीं ज्यादा दिया जाना चाहिये था वहाँ उतना नहीं दिया गया ग्रौर जहां कम दिया जाना चाहिये था वहां ज्यादा दे दिया गया है। लेकिन, जैसा कि मैंने कहा, मैं इन बातों की चर्चा नहीं करना चाहता जो कि आप मित्रों ने कही हैं। मैं तो केवल दो तीन बातों की तरफ ग्रापका घ्यान दिलाना च।हता हं । बहत से वक्तामों ने मलग ग्रलग बातों पर ग्रयने ख्याल जाहिर किये हैं। मगर इस बात पर कम जोर दिया गया है कि देश की उन्नति के लिये हम अप्यने नौ जवानों ग्रौर नौनिहालों को इस तरह तालीम दें ग्रौर इसतरह उनका लालन पालन क**ें कि** वे बडे होने पर ग्रंथने दायित्व को ग्रच्छी तरह समझ सकें।

17.11 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

जब इस प्लान में देखता हूं कि सोशल सरविसेख की मद में शिक्षा के लिये जितना रुपया रखने का विचार है, वह रुपया बहुत कम है, और उसको देख कर मुझे दु:ख हुआ कि शिक्षा पर जितना जोर देना चाहिये उतना नहीं दिया गया । यह बात कही तो बराबर जाती है, लेकिन शायद काफी जोर से नहीं कही जाती कि अगर आप अपने मुल्क की तरक्की करना चाहते हैं, प्रगर आप चाहते हैं कि कृषि में भौर उद्योगों के क्षेत्र में म्रच्छे. परिणाम निकलें, तो यह तभी सम्भव हो सकता है जब कि म्राप प्रपने बच्चों, नौजवानों भौर नौनिहालों को, जिन पर कि कृषि भौर उद्योगों को चलाने का दायित्व होगा, ऐसी शिक्षा दें भौर इस तरह से उनका चरित्र निर्माण करें कि वह म्रच्छे इन्सान बन सकें।

बार बार यह कहा जाता है कि हमारे देश में एक कमी चल रही है। कमी हम सर-कारी मुलाजिमों पर प्राक्षेप करते हैं, कभी प्रतने नेताओं पर प्राक्षेप करते हैं और कभी कभी प्रपने ऊपर भी ग्राक्षेप करते हैं । मगर कोई यह नहीं सोचता कि ऐसा क्यों किया जा जा रहा है। ये प्राक्षेप क्यों किये जाते हैं । हमारे देश में सदियों से एक ऐसी शिक्षा प्रणाली चल रही है जिसमें कि इन नौनिहालों श्रीर नौजवानों के चरित्र गठन की श्रोर प्रधिक घ्यान न दिया जाता ।

हमारी शिक्षा का ন্মাজাবী से पहले मुख्य उद्देश्य यही था कि एक लडका या लडकी बी० ए० या एम० ए० पास करने के बाद एक टेबल पर बैठ कर कूछ थोड़ा सा बाबुगिरी का काम करे । मैं यह नहीं कहता कि जब से आजादी आई है, तब से पिछले बारह बरसों में शिक्षा की तरफ हमारा घ्यान नहीं गया है और मैं यह भी नहीं कहता कि शिक्षा पर हमने रुपया खर्च नहीं किया है, लेकिन मुझे यह बात बहुत ही गैर-मनासिब मालम हई जब मैंने देखा कि शिक्षा के कार्य में जहां दूसरी प्लान में सरकार ने २७३ करोड रुपये खर्च किये थे, भव जब कि वह दूगना यानी १०,२०० करोड रुपया इस प्लान में खर्च करने जा रही है, तब उसी श्रनुपात से शिक्षा के लिये रुपया नहीं बढ़ा है । मेरा ख्याल था कि यह समझ कर कि हिन्दुस्तान को बहत ही होनहार ग्रौर उत्तरदायित्व को निबाहने वाले नौजवानों की जरूरत इस तरफ़ हम भाधिक ध्यान देते । जहां तक उस शिक्षा का ताल्लुक है, जिसे हम टैक्ना- लौजी या टेक्निकल शिक्षा कहते हैं, उसका भभाव हम देश में देखते हैं। रुपया हमने उस मद में जरूर खर्च किया है ग्रौर बढ़ाया है, चेकिन में समझता हं कि अगर सरकार चाहती है कि इस देश के नौजवान काम करें ग्रौर बडे बडे त्याग करकी इस देश की हर एक प्लान को सफल बनावें, तो प्लानिंग मिनिस्टर साबहब ग्रौर वित्त मन्त्री साहब से यह प्रार्थना है कि उनको इस तरफ़ तवज्जह देनी चाहिये भौर जिस भ्रनपात से उन्होंने सारे प्लान का रूपया बढ़ाया है, उसी अनुपात से ही नहीं, बल्कि उससे भी ज्यादा अनुपात से शिक्षा के लिये रुपया बढायें, जिन बडे मुल्कों में बड़े बडे काम हुए हैं, जितना घ्यान वहां बच्चों ग्रीर नौजवानों की शिक्षा श्रौर दूसरी गतिविधियों पर दिया गया है, उतना ही उस मुल्क की तरक्की हई है भौर मालामाली बढ़ी है। भगर यहां शिक्षा की तरफ सरकार का उतना रुझान नहीं होता झौर शिक्षा पर उसका एम्फेसिस नहीं होता, तो बहुत रुपया खर्च करने पर भी हम तमाम वे बातें देखेंगे, जो कि माज देखते हैं।

Motion re:

ड्राफ़ट प्लान के एक चैप्टर में बालन्टेरी एफ़र्ट ग्रीर पब्लिक को-ग्रापरेशन का भी जिक किया गया है। मेरे एक माननीय मित्र ने उसके बारे में कहा कि भारत सेवक समाज, भारत साध समाज सैण्टर सोशल बैलफ़ेयर बोर्ड इत्यादि इत्यादि कुछ संस्थायें ऐसी हैं, जिन पर हमारे इस प्लान का बहत काफ़ी रुपया खर्च होता है । उन्होंने इस बात की शिकायत की स्रौर स्रपना यह स्याल जाहिर किया कि वह इस रुपये का वैस्ट समझते हैं। मैं ग्रर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि चालीस या पचास करोड़ का यह मुल्क है। इस मल्क के पच्चीस, तीस लाख लोग ऐसे हैं, जिन को ग्राप सरकारी कर्मचारी कहते हैं । इसके मलावा बाकी जो हैं, वह जनता है भौर भगर वह जनता इस प्लान को पूरा करने में कोई हिस्सा न बंटाए, या कोई मदद करे, तो मेरी समझ में नहीं भाता कि किस

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तरह इतनी बड़ी प्लान को सफल बनाया जा सकता है। मेरी जाती राय है कि हमारे मुल्क में जितनी भी वालन्टेरी एफ़र्ट है, बजाये कि उसको कुछ प्रोत्साहन मिले, उसको हतोत्साहित किया जाता है । मैं यह नहीं कहता कि जितनी भी वालन्टेरी भारगनाइजेशन्त्र है. उन सब का निजाम ग्रच्छा है, उनका काम ग्रच्छा है या उनमें रुपया वैस्ट नहीं होता है । मैं य सब बातें मानता हं, लेकिन मैं यह भी जानता हं कि हमारे पास एक नहीं, पचासों उदाहरण मौजूद हैं, जहां सरकारी मशीनरी या सरकारी मुलाजिमों के जरिय अगर कोई काम कराया गया, तो वह ग्रच्छा नहीं हुग्रा, खर्च भी ज्यादा हुमा उस पर जितना भी खर्च किया गया, उससे साघारण म्रादमियों को उत्तजना या उत्साइ नहीं मिला, लेकिन जब वालन्टरी भारग-नाइजशन्ज के जरिय कोई काम कराया गया. तो रूपया भी कम खर्च हन्ना, काम भी म्रच्छा हन्ना ग्रौर लोगों में उत्साह भी बडा । ऐसी स्थिति में हमारे माननीय मित्र बगैर सोचे समझै झौर मामले की ग्रसलियत को बग्रैर जाने हए क्यों ऐसी बातें कह देते हैं, यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं म्राती ।

मेरा दावा है कि सरकारी मुलाजिमों या सरकारी मशीनरी के जरिये बहुत सा रुपया खर्च करने के बजाये म्रगर वालन्टरी भ्रारगनाइजेशन्त्र से, उन को कंट्रोल मौर सूपरवाइज करके श्रौर उनको थोड़ा सा डायरेक्शन देकर. काम कराया जाय. तो नाखों करोडों रुपए बच सकते हैं श्रौर साथ ही जनता में एक ऐसी भावना भरी जा सकती है, उनको ऐसी प्रेरणा दी जा सकती है कि वह मेहसूस करे कि यह प्लान हमारा है भौर हमको ही इसे सफल बनाना है । ग्राज चाहे हम कितना भी कहें, लेकिन स्थिति यह है कि मगर म्राम जनता को कहा जाय कि यह हमारा प्लान है, तो लोग कहते हैं कि नहीं है । बल्कि व समझते हैं कि सरकार के पास यह रुपया माता है, चाहे वह टक्सिज से माता है, या बाहर से झाता है, या कोई झौर तरीका

[श्री राषा रमण]

अस्तियार करके आता है, धौर सरकार ही जस पैसे से प्रपने प्सान को परा करे। लोग समझते हैं कि यह सरकारी प्लान है। जो इन्टलिजन्ट भादमी है, वे भले ही इस बाब को मान लें कि हमें इस में बोडा बहत हाब बंटाना चाहिए, लेकिन ग्राम जनता में यह बात नहीं है। क्या यह इस बात का उदाहरण नहीं है कि ग्रगर सरकार चाहती है कि यह प्लान मल्क के घर घर में जाय, हर मर्द, भौरत भौर बच्चा समझे कि यह हमारा प्लान है, तो उनको यह महसूस होना चाहिये कि यह क्लान उनके लिये भी कूछ काम कर रहा है भौर इस प्लान की रौशनी उन के घरों में भी जा रही है, इस प्लान के जुरिये उन को कुछ उत्तेजना भौर प्रेरणा मिल रही है।

श्रभी चन्द बरस हुए, यहां पर शाहदरा बांघ बना। ख्याल यह था कि उसके ऊपर भच्चीस लाख रुपया लगेगा । भारत सेवक समाज ने कहा कि हम इस को १४ लाख रुपए में बना कर देंगे । भारत सेवक समाज को यह काम दिया गया । उसमें पचास किस्म के झगडे आए । हर शस्स ने यह कहा कि यह नहीं बन सकेगा और यह इतने रुपए में नहीं बन सकेगा, वगैरह वगैरह । लेकिन काम मच्छा हमा, जल्दी हुमा मौर मब तक वह इतना पायदार है के स्प में सेवक समाज के काम के एक निशान के रुप में खडा हमा है भौर में चाहता हूं कि इस हाउस का हर एक मेम्बर जाकर देखे कि भारत सेवक समाज ने जो काम किया है. उसमें रुपये की बचत हई है या नहीं, गांव वालों को फ़ायदा हम्रा है या नहीं भौर साथ ही साथ भारत सेवक समाज जैसी वालन्टेरी एजेन्सी में ताकत है या नहीं।

नक्ता-चीनी करना धासान है, मगर मैं यह कहने के लिये तैयार हं कि भगर हिन्दुस्तान के चालीस करोड इन्सान इस बात को समझ सें कि यह हमारा प्लान है ग्रोर हर शस्स भ्रपने चौबीस घंटों में से एक घण्टा निकाल कर इस काम के लिये देने लग काये. हो सरकारी

Third Five Year Plan मुसाजियों के बरिये कराए गए काम के

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मकाबले में पह काम ग्रच्छे होंगे और झाथे स्पए में होंगे। यह मैं नहीं कहता कि वाल-न्टेरी एजेन्सीज के सब काम घच्छे ही होंगे. लेकिन मेरा ख्याल है कि अगर १०० कान सरकारी मलाजिमों के जरिये होते है और उनमें से पचास कामों में शिकायत की गंजा-यश रहती है, तो मगर वालन्टेरी एजेन्सीज सरकार के कण्ट्रोल घोर सपरविजन में काम करें, तो ग्रस्सी फ़ीसदी काम ग्रच्छा होगा, सस्ता होगा भौर इससे भाम लोगों में उत्तेजना. उमंग. स्वाहिश घोर प्रेरणा पैदा होगी ।

हमारे प्लानर्ज ने इस प्लान में इस बात को कबल किया है कि पिछले दो प्लान्ज में हमारे मुल्क में बड़ी बड़ी इमारतों पर बहुत ज्यादा तवज्जह दी गई ग्रौर उन पर लाखों करोडों रुपए खर्च किये गये । मैं यह नहीं कहता कि बडी बडी इमारतों की जरूरत नहीं है। माखिरकार हर मल्क में इस किस्म की इमारतों की जरूरत होती है, लेकिन यह बात भी सही है कि जब तक हिन्दूस्तान का भुखा मरता हन्ना इन्सान भपने बदन पर कपडे न रख सके. उस को खाना न मिले और एक छोटी सी झोंपडी भी उसको रहने को न मिले, तब तक मैं नहीं स्मझता कि इस बात की गुंजायश है कि हमारा बहुत काफ़ी रुपया इन बडी बडी इमारतों पर खर्च हो । प्लानजे ने इस बात को कबल किया है कि आगे हम इस पर कम खर्च करेंगे. या इस को और ज्यादा घ्यान से खर्च करेंगे या इसमें इका-नौमी करेंगे । इसके लिये मैं उनकी दाद देता हं ग्रौर साथ साथ यह कहता हं कि जहां वह इस बात की तरफ तवज्जह देते हैं कि बड़ी बड़ी इमारतों पर कम रुपया खर्च हो, वहां उन्हें छन लोगों की तरफ़ भी तवज्जह देनी चाहिये, जो शहरों भ्रौर गांवों में छोटी छोटी झोंपड़ियां बना कर रहते हैं. जिनको स्लम्ब कहते हैं। बारिश के बक्त जब हम ग्रपने मकानों में माराम वे सोते हैं, तो ना मालम वे कैसे राव

और दिन काटते हैं। स्लम्ज के बारे में बहुत कुछ चर्चा किया गया है ग्रौर एक कमेटी मी बिठाई गई, जिसकी रिपोर्ट भी आई, लेकिन उस के बारे में सरकार जो कदम उठा रही है, वे इसने हिचकिचाते हुए कदम है, इसने कमजोर कदम हैं. जिन से किसी को तसल्ली नहीं हो सकती है।

में दिल्ली में रहता हं और मुझे मालुम इ कि बीस बाइस लाख लोगों में से तीन चार नास लोग ऐसे हैं, जिन को रात को छत नहीं है ग्रौर दो तीन लाख ग्रादमियों को छत तो है. लेकिन वह टटी फटी है। बहत से लोग ऐसे भी होंगे. जिनका आघा मकान रहने लायक है और आधा नहीं है। इन सब बातों की तरफ तवज्जह देनी चाहिये और ऐसे कदम उठाने चाहियें, जो ग्राम लोगों के दिलो-दिमाग़ में घस कर उनको सरकार की तारीफ़ करने पर मजबर करें। वे लोग यह समझें कि यह जनता की प्लान है और जनता इससे फ़ायदा उठा रही है।

सैकण्ड फ़ाइव ईयर प्लान में यह खयाल किया जाता था कि हिन्दुस्तान में अनएम्प्लायड बेरोजगार श्रौर बेकारों की संख्या पचास लाख के करीब गांवों में होगी श्रौर चालीस लाख के करीब होगी तमाम हिन्दुस्तान में । लेकिन ग्रब यह जो तीसरा प्लान ग्रा रहा है, इसके म्रान्दर यह संख्या बढ़ कर झौर भी ग्रधिक होने वाली है और कहा जाता है कि करीब करीब यह डेढ सौ लाख से भी ऊपर पहुंच जाएगी । आज अगर आप चाहते हैं कि हिन्दस्तान के भ्रन्दर नौजवानों में इंडि-सिप्लिन न हो, हिन्दुस्तान के नौजवान जो कि एक तरह से शक्ति और बल के प्रतीक हैं, वे ग्रापके काम को ग्रागे बढाने के लिये बढें. नो जरूरत इस बात की है कि भ्रनएम्प्लायमेंट ग्रौर ग्रण्डर-एम्पलायमेंट की तरफ ग्राप तवज्जह देकर उनको किसी न किसी काम पर, किसी न किसी रोजगार पर लगायें। यह कहना काफी नहीं है कि हमने उनके लिये इंडस्टीज चलाई है ग्रीर उनके ग्रन्दर इतने

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> लोग सप गए हैं, हमने गांवों के प्रन्दर स्मास स्केल इण्डस्ट्रीज चचाई हैं, इनमें इतते नौजवानों को खपा लिया गया है। हमको देखना है कि जो भी नौजवान २० साल से ३१ साल की उमा के बीज के हों, ३१ से ऊपर ग्रौर २० से नीचे को में खाड़ देवा हं क्योंकि २० साल से पहले वे अपने आपको शिक्षित करके तैयार करते हैं और ३४ के बाद वालों के लिये यह कहा जा सकता है कि उन्होंने अपने वक्त पर काम शरू नहीं किया है ग्रौर ये दोनों ही कैंटेगरीज के लोग जरा ठहर सकते हैं, उनमें से एक को भी बेरोजगार भौर बेकार नहीं रहना चाहिये । अगर वह रहता है तो प्रापके जितने भी प्लांस हैं वे चाहे जितने ग्रच्छे हों. उनके दिल में ग्रीर दिमाग में नहीं उत्तर सकते हैं । श्रगर आप चाहते हैं कि उनके दिलों ग्रीर दिमागों में ये प्लान उतरें तो लाजिमी तौर पर इस ग्रोर ग्रापको तवज्जह देनी होगी भौर भाषको ऐसा सर्वे भौर ऐसा एसेसमेंट करना पडेगा कि कोई भी नौजवान जो इस उम्र के बीच का हो. वह तो कम से कम बेरोजगार ग्रीर बेकार न रहे।

बेरोजगारों मौर बेकारों की संख्या जैसे मैं ने बताया तीसरे प्लान के ग्रन्त तक १४० लाख के करीब रहने वाली हैं ग्रौर जो ग्रधं-बेकार हैं, ग्रर्ध-बेरोजगार हैं उनकी संख्या को इसमें ग्रगर जोड दिया जाए तो यह संस्था जाएगी कि कोई इतनी हो हिसाब ही नहीं। मगर मैं समझता हं कि इन ग्नचं-बेकारों ग्रौर ग्रचं-बेरोजगारों की तरफ भी ग्रापको तवज्जह देनी है। जब तक ये लोग यह महसूस करना शुरू न कर दें कि हिन्दुस्तान के झाजाद होने के बाद से उनकी बेरोजगारी मौर बेकारी का जो सिलसिला था वह खत्म हो गया है, तब तक उनके मन्दर वह रोशनी मौर उनके दिलों मौर दिमागों के मन्दर वह जिन्दगी और ताजगी नहीं घा सकती है कि जिससे धापका जो ग्लान है, वह सफल हो सकता है। इस वास्ते में जाहता हं कि

[श्री रावा रमण]

भापका घ्यान खास तौर से इस समस्या की झोर जाए।

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla (Baloda Bazar): Mr. Speaker, basically speaking, the draft of the Third Plan, as has been put before us, is a sound one. When I say "sound" I mean it is a realistic Plan. As a matter of fact, it is the minimum plan in relation to our needs. If we could only muster more resources and larger resources, we would have had, or we could make a more ambitious plan. Nothing less than what has been envisaged in this Plan will sustain our growth. So, as a nation we must resolve and try to see that the Plan is a hundred per cent. success at the end of five years.

In my estimation the most important thing-rather, two things,-which will either make or mar the Plan are: complete self-sufficiency in the food front and the administrative reforms that have been envisaged in Chapter V of the draft outline. I am sorry to say that we are yet to come to grips with the food situation, or the baffling food problem. Although the major programmes around which the intensive work is to be organised during the Third Plan period are capable of increasing the food production to the desired extent, still I wonder if the State administrations in our country feel the emergency with which this matter has to be tackled. In most of the States still the most insignificant and most incompetent Minister is given the food portfolio and the Food and Agriculture departments seem to be the most neglected departments. Some time back the Prime Minister said in this House and also in a press conference that the Chief Ministers of the States should take up the food portfolio in right earnest so that the food problem could be given the importance it deserves. I am yet to see a Chief Minister who has taken up the food portfolio as suggested by

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the Prime Minister. I do not see any evidence in the administration, at the State level, of seriously thinking of dealing with the food problem on an emergency level. Sometimes they talk of dealing with the food problem on a war footing. But there is no sign of any emergency either in their tackling the problem of food production or food distribution.

Another very great element which will make or mar the success of our plan of food production in the country is the incentive part of the food production drive.

If our farmers really feel that by co-operating with the Government they are bound to gain then they will put the whole of their soul and heart in trying to see that food production increases. When we go to our constituencies and talk to the farmers and say that it is their national duty to try to increase food production they are not at all impressed with it. When commodity prices all over the country are rising and food prices are not rising in relation to that, they feel very disheartened about the whole matter. They think that nobody is taking care of their problems. This has been very keenly felt for the last three years.

In the State from where I come the State Goverment was completely convinced that the prices of foodgrains that were being paid to the farmers by the State Governments as well as by the Central Government were absolutely insufficient. They wanted to raise them. But in spite of this, the price could not be raised. The price was not wanted to be raised more than in the rest of the country. In other parts of the country the price of foodgrains was much higher than was obtainable in Madhya Pradesh. The farmers of Madhya Pradesh were really working hard. With the aid of nature and by hard work they produced very good crops. So whenever we went to our constituencies and talked to them we were always posed 4985

with this problem, "This time the price is lower than what we have got in the last ten years. If by more production of food prices go down, there is no sense in our trying to produce more food and do more fabour about it."

Coming to the second crucial point of the Third Plan, namely, administrative reforms, I frankly feel very diffident about the willingness of the Government to go to the extent suggested by the Commission in this Draft Outline of the Plan. I would be extremely happy if the Government seriously take up and implement whatever has been suggested by the Planning Commission regarding administrative reforms. I was extremely happy to hear the hon. Prime Minister very emphatically declare that the success or failure of the Plan will depend mostly on the implementation side of it. It is absolutely so. It is, I think, the crux of the matter. If the Plan is not implemented properly, our resources or our good planning will not be of any avail.

I very much wish that this cause of reforming the administration is taken to the heart by our administrators. I sometimes feel that the administrative machinery that we have at present has got some sort of a vested interest in keeping or retaining the present administrative procedures. Nobody is very keen. They are not very willing to take up exclusive and clear responsibility for doing a job or for failing to do it. They all want the present type of procedure to continue which allows them to cloak or completely cover up their mistakes because under the present procedure nobody can be pinpointed for doing or not doing a job. There are so many people involved and there is so much of red tape involved that there is nothing clear and if some investigation or departmental enquiry takes place against an erring officer, most of the time it ends in confusion. It becomes difficult, except in glaring cases, to pinpoint a defaulting officer. So, in my opinion the proposal of the Planning Commission, as contained in Chapter V of the Draft Plan, is most commendable. I

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suppose the highest priority should be given by the Government to implement every word of what they have suggested.

I also feel that unless those administrative reforms are implemented, we shall again see the sorry spectacle of tens of crores of rupees being wasted because the administrative machinery through which we seek to implement our Plan is not properly geared to that job. The administrative machinery is so sluggish. It had been designed to rule over a slave nation. If we want to administer a welfare State through the same machinery, I do not think we are being very realistic. We must first of all reorientate and change the administrative procedure before we can assign new and completely novel jobs to that administrative machine.

Being wedded to the socialistic pattern of society, we are going to put heavier and heavier burden and responsibility on the shoulders of public administration. If the public administration continues to be what it is today, I am extremely doubtful if it is going to give good name either to the Government or to the public sector. All the criticism of the public sector and its failings can be attributed not to the bad intentions or bad planning but to faulty administrative machine through which it is sought to be implemented.

One important additional suggestion I would like to make regarding administrative reforms is that the public at large should be taken into confidence. The Railways have started a novel procedure under which they have prescribed a few proformae which are filled in and published every month or every quarter of the year which indicate the pending problems, the pending bills, the pending demands on the wagons, freight capacity and all that. All that is published for the public to see and criticise. People can see how many people have been demanding a particular thing and how many demands have been met with and how many demands are pending.

[Shri Vidya Charan Shukla]

This critical public view often helps the administration to see that the erring officials or the erring department come up. The local press also criticises the lag in the administration of the Railways. This kind of thing has helped the Railway administration a lot. So something like this can be devised for various developmental departments of the State as well as of the Central Government. If they put such a thing into practice and declare publicly as to what has been done and what has not been done, that might help a lot in running the administration in a proper manner.

Another thing which has been described as the key programme for the Third Five Year Plan is family planning. Yet, out of Rs. 12,000 crores that are sought to be invested in this Plan, only Rs. 25 crores have been provided for family planning. This looks to be a clear instance of bad p'anning. The Government and the Planning Commission hope to achieve results on certain calculations of growth of population. If family planning on which they are depending so much does not succeed in its aim, the most important two aspects of our Plan are bound to go astray. Those two aspects which will be absolutely upset, if the assumptions regarding family planning and growth of population do not come true, are the 5 per cent, annual growth in the national income and employment. If the growth of population is more than what has been calculated or is anticipated in the Plan then of course the 5 per cent. growth in income will not be there and the employment which has been envisaged will not be there because there would be more and more people to share the national income as well as the employment opportunities. This will happen just because the selfadmitted key problem was not matched with a suitable fiscal grant. So I request the Government to reconsider this problem of family planning and allot more money to it. They should give it a greater importance so that

it is absolutely ensured that the family planning programme becomes a success. Whatever family planning programme has been indicated in the Draft Plan in my opinion is the minimum. As a matter of fact more than that should be attempted. But if more cannot be attempted because of certain reasons, we must make it absolutely sure that whatever has been included in the Plan goes through.

One more point about family planning. I have seen several aspects of family planning having been described in the Plan, but one most important aspect of family planning in my opinion has not been touched at all. That is regarding an effective contraceptive suitable for our living conditions. Whatever contraceptives we have are mostly suitable for western kind of living. Living in slums and the kind of houses that we have, it is absolutely impossible to use any of the family planning methods that are prevalent in the world. We must, therefore, provide at least Rs. 10 to 15 crores for research for development of an oral contraceptive which can be used effectively, because sterilisation and other methods can be used only in a highly developed society. For an under-developed and poor nation like us where there is no privacy of living for the lower section of the population, nothing but oral contraceptive will help. I hope some research will be initiated in this matter and suitable action taken by the Government.

वी वांगड़े (बिलासपुर): प्राघ्यस महीदय, प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना के प्रथम परण से सन् १९६० तक भारत ने बहुमुखी उन्नति की है। हमारी शिक्षा, चिकित्सा, सिवाई ग्रीर भारी उद्योगों में देश ने बहुत ही ज्यादा प्रगति की है। ग्रांकड़ों से पता चलता है कि हम ने इस बीच में १२०० मील सम्बी नई रेलवे लाइन बनाई ग्रीर १३०० पील सम्बी रेलों को डबल किया, ६६० मील

का विद्यतीकरण किया झीर ब,२०० लोको-मोटिव्ज को बढ़ा कर हम ने १०,६०० किया, कोचेज को १९,२०० से बढा कर २५,९०० किया ग्रीर इसी प्रकार से वैगन्स को लगभग २ लाख से बढा कर साढे ३ लाख कर दिया है। इसी प्रकार से सर्केंस रोड्स लगभग ६७ हजार मील थीं, म्राज उस की लम्बाई १ लाख, ४४ हजार, मील होने वाली है। इसी प्रकार षे शिपिंग ३ लाख ६० हजार ग्रास टन से बढ़ कर ६ लाख ग्रास टन होने वाली है। गोस्ट माफिसेज की संख्या ३६ हजार से बढ कर ७४ हजार होने जा रही है, तारघरों की संख्या ३ हजार ६०० से बढ कर ६ हजार ३०० होने **वा**ली है, टेलिफोन १ लाख, ६० हजार से बढा कर ४ लाख ७४ हजार हम करने वाले हैं। इसी प्रकार इरिगेंशन का मामला है। सन १६४० में जहां ४ मिलियन एकड में सिचाई होती थी वहां सन १९६१ में ७० मिलियन एकड में सिचाई होने वाली है। आज इस के साथ ही साथ एजकेशन भौर टेकनिकल एज्केशन में हमारी बहुत ज्यादा प्रगति हुई है। सब से ज्यादा प्रगति इस देश में भारी उचोगों दारा ग्रौद्योगीकरण में होगी । जहां तक में समझता हं इस हिसाब से देश ने जो प्रगति की है वह ३०० परसेन्ट तक है। खादी में भी हमारी काफी उन्नति हई है।

लेकिन इस के बाद भी समझ में नहीं बाता है कि क्यों म्राज देश में देहातों से ज्यादा शहरों में लोग बढ़ते जा रहे हैं। सन् १६४० से ले कर सन् १९६० तक प्रगर घाप देखेंगे सो शहरों की संख्या बहुत ज्यादा बढ़ती बा रही है। ग्राज शहरों में हम किस तरह से प्रनएम्प्लायमेंट देखते हैं। एक तरफ हम शहरों में बड़े बड़े मकान देखते हैं, बड़े घड़े महस देखते हैं, दूसरी ग्रोर हम झोंपड़ियां भौर हजारों की तादाद में स्लम्स देखते हैं। वारों उरफ झोपड़ियों में हमारे मजदूर रहते हैं। बाहर से माते हैं ग्रौर शहरों का निर्माण करते हैं, मजदूरी करते हैं परन्तु उन के लिये पानी की कोई सुविधा नहीं, रोलनी की कोई सुविधा (SAKA) Draft Outline of 4990 Third Five Year Plan नहीं, खाने की सुविधा नहीं, रहने की सुविधा नहीं।

श्रीमान् जी, जब तक हमारी योजना में बुनियादी परिवर्तन नहीं किया जाएगा तब तक चाहे ग्राप स्लप्स के लिए करोड़ों रुपया खर्च करें स्लप्स दूर नहीं हो सकते । स्लम्स की समस्या बनी रहेगी । जो पैसां ग्राप श्रूप्स पर खर्च करते हैं उससे स्लम्स में रहने वालों का तो हित होता है लेकिन हमारी योजनाओं का यह बुनियादी दीवे है कि इनके कारण स्लम अस्तित्व में प्राते हैं । बहर बेतहाशा बढ़ते जाते हैं श्रीर इसी कारण अनैतिक्ता और काइम शहरों में बढ़ते जाते हैं । देश का अधिकांश पैसा शहरों पर लग जता है ।

योजना के कारण हमने राष्ट्रीय म.य २० परसेंट मौर पर कैपीटा म्राय ४२ ५२ सेंट मढ़ायी है। सेकिन हम देखते हैं कि गरीब गरीब होता जता है मौर धनवान धनवान होता जाता है। भौर हम देखते है कि सारी उन्नति के बावजूद यह दशा है कि गरीबों के लड़कों को टैकनिकल शिक्षा या बिशेष दिसा नहीं मिल पाती। ज्यादातर वह शिक्षा मत्हों की मलती है। हरिजनों भौर भादि-वासियों के सड़कों को वह विशेष शिक्षा नहीं मिल पाती। चपरासी का लड़का उस शिक्षा को प्राप्त नहीं कर सकता। इसलिए जो गरीब हैं वह गरीब रह जाते हैं भौर धनवान मौर म्राषिक धनवान होते जाते है।

हमने देहाती इनकम को कम करने का विचार किया है। इनईक्वालिटी को दूर करने के लिए सीलिंग रखी है मौर लंड रिफाम रखा है। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि राहरों की मामदनी दिनों दिन बढ़ती जाती है। उसके बारे में हमारा कोई विचार नहीं है। इमारी योजना में कुछ बुनियादी दोध है जिसके कारण हम देखते हैं कि पैसा मिध्लिमन के पास जासा है मौर गरीबों के यास नहीं यहुंच पाता। इस चीज को साप रोकते नहीं। माप चाहे ६ कार करोड़ की नहीं बर्ल्क

[श्री जांगड़े]

२० हजार करोड की योजना क्यों न बनाएं जब तक इसका लाभ देहाती क्षेत्र को नहीं मिलता तब तक इस योजना को ग्राप सफल नहीं बना सकते । इस योजना का जब तक पिछडे हए क्षेत्रों को लाभ नहीं होगा तब तक यह योजना सकल नहीं हो सकती । आज हम देखते हैं कि हर क्षेत्र अपने को पिछडा क्षेत्र घोषित कर रहा है। उत्तर प्रदेश अपने को पिखडा क्षेत्र घोषित करता है, हिमाचल प्रदेश अपने को पिछड़ा क्षेत्र घोषित करता है, मैसर अपने को पिछडा क्षेत्र घोषित करता है। मैं नहीं समझ पाता कि वास्तव में पिछडा क्षेत्र कीत है। पिखडे क्षेत्र की कुछ परिभाषा होनी चाहिए । आंकडों से पता चलता है कि जिस क्षेत्र को सहायता मिलनी चाहिए उसको नहीं मिलती। मैं मध्य प्रदेश দ্যা उदारहण भापके सामने रखना चाहता हं। मध्य प्रदेश हिन्दुस्तान में सबसे बड़ा प्रदेश है । वहां एक क्षेत्र में ५०० से ७०० तक प्रति वर्ग मील माबादी है। लेकिन उस क्षेत्र की भोर च्यान नहीं दिया जाता । हम देखते हैं कि कहीं तो ग्राप सौ सौ मील की दूरी पर रेडियो स्टेशन खोल रहे हैं भौर कहीं चार सौ मील में भी नहीं खोलते । मध्य प्रदेश में सन १६४० से लेकर म्राज तक कोई इर्रीगेशन प्रोजेक्ट नहीं खोली गयी। जब वहां से म्रनाज लेना होता है तब तो कहा जाता है कि खुत्तीसगढ़ हिन्दुस्तान की ग्रेनरी है, हिन्दुस्तान का राइस बोल है, लेकिन हमको सिचाई के साघन नहीं दिए जाते । न हमारे यहां के लिए स्माल और मोडियम इरींगेशन प्रोजेक्टस रखी गयी हैं। वहां पर फ्लड माते हैं, लेकिन फिर भी वहां पर इरींगेशन का प्रबन्ध नहीं किया 'जात' ।

यहां पर जब किसी क्षेत्र का प्रकन उठाया जात। है कि यह क्षेत्र पिछड़ा हुमा है, तो उसके लिये रुपया एलाट किया जात। है, पर मध्य प्रदेश के इस क्षेत्र के लिए रुपया क्यों नहीं एलाट होता। दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में इसके लिए काफी घन नहीं दिया गया । मैं चाहता हूं कि तीसरी योजना में इसका प्रावघान होना चाहिए कि हर क्षेत्र को देखा आए कि कौन क्षेत्र पिछड़ा है प्रौर वहां की क्या ग्रावश्यकता है ।

माज माप जो योजनाएं बनाते हैं उनमें इमारतों के एस्टीमेट पर बहुत ज्यादा रुपया रखा जाता है। मैं समझता हं कि ग्रगर इसमें बचत करने की कोशिश की जाए तो १० हजार करोड में से एक हजार करोड की बचत हो सकती है । हम ग्रगर प्राइमरी स्कूलों के लिए, मिडिल स्कलों के लिए भौर हाई स्कूलों के लिए बडी बडी इमारतें न बनाएं, ऐसी इमारतें बनाएं जो कि दस पांच साल काम दे सकें भौर जिनको कम खर्च में हम बना सकें, तो काफी रुपया बच सकता है ग्रीर उसको दूसरे कामों पर लगाया जा सकता है। इन इमारतों को बनाने में बहत सा रुपया ठेकेदारों को मिलता है क्योंकि यह काम उन्हीं के मारफत कराया जाता है । इस प्रकार बहुत सा रुपया मिडिल-मैन को चला जाता है। लेबर कोम्रापरेटिव्स की ग्रोर जितना घ्यान देना चाहिए उतना घ्यान नहीं दिया गया। मैं जानना चाहता हं कि सरकार ने दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में लेबर कोग्रापरेटिव्स को ठेके क्वों नहीं दिए । मैं चाहता हूं कि सेवर कोमापरे-टिव्स का विकास किया जाए घोर उनको प्रोत्साहन दिया जाए ।

हम कोम्रापरेटिव फार्मिंग की बात करते हैं। लेकिन जब तक हम गांवों की जबीन की चकबन्दी नहीं करेंगे तब तक कोम्रापरेटिव फार्मिंग सफल नहीं हो सकती।

हमारे देश में एग्रीकल्चुरल इनडेटेडनेश बहुत ज्यादा बड़ी हुई है। उस समस्या का समाधान करने में हम प्रसफल रहे हैं।

भापने देश में जहां जहां बड़े बड़े उचाेग खोले हैं उन जगहों के लोग तबाह हो रहे हैं। भिलाई में रहने वालों की हालत म्राप देखें। वहां न तो कोई उद्योग बढता है, ग्रौर न वहां कोई छोटा उद्योग वहां के लोगों के लिए खोला जाता है। जो मल निवासी हैं वे भखों मरते हैं। उनको वहां से हटाया गया है और बरबाद कर दिया गया है ग्रीर न उनको कम्पेन्सेशन देने का प्रबन्ध किया गया है। तो इन चीजों का इस योजना में घ्यान रखा जाना चाहिए । जब हम योजना बनाएं तो यह भी देखें कि उससे जो गरीब तबका है उसको ज्यादा फायदा हो ।

हम चाहते हैं कि जब हम नेशनल रिकंस्ट्रज्ञन करें तो ग्रनरेम्युनरेटिव योजनाग्रों को कुछ सालों के लिए छोड दें ग्रौर जो रेम्यन-रेटिव योजनाएं हैं उन पर पैसा लगाएं।

ग्राम पंचायतों के निर्माण की हम चर्चा करते हैं । हमारा अनुमान है कि तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में देश में एक लाख ८० हजार पंचायतें हो जायेंगी । परन्तु जब तक उनका ठीक प्रकार से संगठन नहीं किया जाएगा उनसे लाभ नहीं हो सकता ।

मध्य प्रदेश के सम्बन्ध में मझे यह कहना है कि यह प्रदेश इतना बड़ा होने पर भी इसमें दूसरे प्रान्तों की अपेक्षा सडकों की लम्बाई बहत कम है । वहां पर सडकों की इतनी कमी है कि डिवीजनल हैडक्वार्टर्स से प्रान्त की राजधानी नहीं मिली हई है। भोपाल हमारे यहां की राजधानी है। ग्राप देखें कि जगदलपूर से भोपाल पहुंचने के लिए दो दिन चलना पडता है । इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि हमारे प्रदेश में सड़कों की लम्बाई बढाने पर विशेष ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए ।

इसके ग्रतिरिक्त हमारे प्रदेश की राजधानी भोपाल का निर्माण हो रहा है ग्रौर उसके निर्माण पर जो रुपया खर्चा होगा उसको भी तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के हमारे प्रदेश के रूपए में शामिल कर दिया गया ह। एसा होने से हमारे प्रदेश के निर्माण के लिए बहत 896 (Ai) LSD.-9.

Draft Outline of 499⁴ Third Five Year Plan कम रुपया बच रहेगा। यह तो इस प्रदेश के प्रति न्याय नहीं है। हमारे प्रान्त के साथ इस बारे में न्याय होना चाहिए ।

हमारे देश में कुछ प्राब्लम स्टेट्स हैं। उनके लिए हमें नेशनल द्ष्टिकोण से सोचना चाहिए । इन स्टेटों में हमको ज्यादा रुपया लगाना चाहिए ताकि यहां पर देश घातक तत्व पैदा न होने पाएं।

देश की सुरक्षा के सम्बन्ध में शासन ने घ्यान दिया है। लेकिन ग्रगर पहले से इस श्रोर घ्यान दिया होता तो यह काम कम खर्चमें हो सकताथा।

इसके ग्रतिरिक्त डाइरेक्ट ग्रौर इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेशन क। प्रश्न है । म्राज हम देखते हैं कि देश में चीजों की कीमतें बहत बढ रही हैं ग्रीर बड़ा इनफ्लेशन हो रहा है। इसका कारण इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेशन मालम देता है । मैं समझता हं कि म्रब इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेशन सैच्रेशन प्वाइंट तक पहुंच गया है । इसलिए ग्रब इसको ग्रौर नहीं बढाना चाहिए । ग्रगर ग्राप को ग्रौर टैक्स लगाना है तो वह डाइरेक्ट टैक्स होना चाहिए । हम समझते हैं कि इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्स का भार तो हजारों लाखों गरीब लोगों पर पडता है ग्रौर उसकी वजह से गरीब और गरीब होते जाते हैं। उसका ग्रसर धनी लोगों पर नहीं पडता । इसलिए मेरी शासन से प्रार्थना है कि ग्रब सरकार को डाइरेक्ट टैक्स पर ही ज्यादा ध्यान देना चाहिए।

ग्रन्त में मैं टैक्स इवेजन के बारे में भी कुछ कहना चाहता हं । टैक्स इवेजन को रोकने के लिए एडमिनिस्टेशन को टाइटिन करना जरूरी है यह इसमें कहा गया है। फिर भी मैं कहुंगा कि टैक्स इवेजन इतना ज्यादा हो गया है इसको रोकना सम्भव नहीं हो रहा है । मैं समझता हूं कि टैक्स इवेजन को रोकना सरकार का प्रथम कर्तव्य होना चाहिए ।

4995 Motion re:

Mr. Speaker: Pandit D. N. Tiwari.

Shri Rajendra Singh (Chapra): Sir, with due respect to the Chair may I make a submission? Seven persons have at a stretch been called from that side. You were not there. I do not mean any reflection, I am only appealing to you.

Mr. Speaker: Very good. There are 375 Members on the Congress side and 125 Members on the opposition side. Opposition Groups have to be given a chance. Even if one Group has only two Members I have to give a chance. and they have to speak at least for fifteen minutes. So far as the hon Member's party is concerned, I have given more than an hour to Shri Asoka Mehta and Acharya Kripalani. No doubt every hon. Member will like to make some representation, and this is an important subje t. But unfortunately within three Jays I am not able to accommodate all. There is no single Group in the opposition-either big or small, with two Members, three Members, four Members or nine Members-which had not had its opportunity; each one of them got a minimum of fifteen minutes. I have allowed the major Groups two Members each. This is the way in which I have been distributing the time. I have to call persons who represent industry, who represent trade unions, labour, women-this is the way in which I am distributing. It so happens that after exhausting all the Members on the opposition side I am giving an opportunity to the Members on this side. They are also Members and they have to give an account to their constituencies.

I am sorry. I will give another opportunity to the hon. Member. I am always willing to accommodate Shri Rajendra Singh.

Shri Rajendra Singh: May I request you kindly to give me five or six minutes tomorrow? After all I represent labour.

Mr. Speaker: Tomorrow the Minister has to reply.

Shri Feroze Gandhi (Rae Bareli): May I point out that nobody from Kerala on this side has been given an opportunity? They would like to put forward their point of view from this side.

Mr. Speaker: Shri A. K. Gopalan has spoken, from this side.

Shri Feroze Gandhi: He does not belong to the Congress Party; he belongs to the other party.

Shri Rajendra Singh: Then would you consider the proposal of increasing the time at least by one hour?

Mr. Speaker: Then we will sit till 6-30 p.m. today. I will call Shri Rajendra Singh and also one Member from Kerala. Pandit D. N. Tiwari.

पंडित द्वा० ना० तिथारी (केसरिया.): अध्यक्ष महोदय, सब से पहले मैं योजना ग्रायो ग के परिवार को बधाई देना चाहता हं कि उन्होंने तीसरी पंच-वर्षीय योजना की ^एक रूप-रेखा हमारे सामने प्रस्तृत की है। वह रूप-रेखा कैसी है, उस से क्या होगा, यह चर्चा का विश्रय है। लेकिन चर्चा करते वक्त जब कोई चीज सामने आती है. तो. उस में क्या खामियां हैं. क्या उस का रूप होना चाहिए. यह कहना ज़रूरी हो जाता है ग्रीर इस किटिसिज्म के लिए यदि कोई हमारे माननीय सदस्य, या गवर्नमेंट के सदस्य यह समझें कि यह मिस म्यो का काम है, इस बारे में चर्चा करना, या नक्ता-चीनी करना, या सधार बताना मिस म्यो का काम है. मैं समझता हं कि ऐसी बात कहना उचित नहीं है। खासकर गवर्नमेंट के एक जवाबदेह मंत्री की तरफ़ से यह कहना कि जितने चर्चा करने वाले हैं. या छिद्रान्वेषण करने वाले हैं. या क्रिटि-साइज करने वाले हैं, वे मिस म्यो का काम करते हैं, मेरे ख्याल में उचित नहीं है ग्रौर हाउस के प्रति यह ठीक नहीं है ।

एक माननीय **सद**स्यः किस ने कहा था? पंडित द्वा॰ँना॰ ति गरी : ⁷में नाम नहीं लेना चाहता, क्योंकि तह व्यक्ति यहाँ नहीं हैं।

तीन रोज से यहां पर वाद-विवाद हो रहा है, लेकिन जिन विषयों पर कम से कम जिक हुग्रा है, उन को मैं ग्राप के सामने रखना चाहता हूं ।

हमारे यहां मवेशियों की समस्या बहुत गम्भीर हैं। संसार के पच्चीस सैंकड़ा मवेशी हिन्दुस्तान में हैं श्रीर उन को कम करने की बात की जा रही है। हमारे एक माननीय सदस्य की, जो कि अनफ़ार्चुनेटली हमारे प्रान्त को बिलांग करते हैं, यह राय है कि जितने ऐसे पशु हों, जो काम लायक न रह गए हों, उन को खत्म कर देना चाहिए।

श्री राजेन्द्र सिंहः क्या वह माननीय सदस्य की पार्टी में हैं?

वित्त उपमंत्री (श्री ब० रा० भगत) : पार्टी से क्या मतलब है?

पंडित ढा॰ ना॰ तिवारी : यह एक बहुत भयानक सिढान्त है । मवेशियों के गौसदन या गौ-रक्षक संस्थायें खोली जायें, या उन के लिए जंगलों में कुछ इन्तजाम किया जाये, यह तो उचित है, लेकिन जिन जानवरों ने हमारी सेवा की, जिन की वजह से हमारी खेती होती है, हमारे बच्चे पलते हैं, जब वे प्रनर्सावसेबल हो जायें, तो उन को खत्म कर दिया जाये, उन की हिफ़ाजत न की जाये, यह एक बहुत ही भयानक बात कही गई है गौर में समझता हूं कि वह भारतीयोचित नहीं है।

18 hrs.

इस सम्बन्ध में मैं यह कहना चाहता ह कि सब लोगों का इन्तजाम पंच-वर्षीय योजना में है, लेकिन जो लोग बूढ़े हो जाते हैं, उन का कोई इन्तजाम नहीं है । श्वी खुगवक्त राथ (खेरी) ः ग्रभी बूढ़े होने में बहुत दिन हैं ।

पंडित द्वा० ना० तिवारी: दो वर्ष में माननीय सदस्य बूढ़े हो जायेंगे, इस लिए उन का प्रबन्ध करना है।

मैं ने देखा है कि ग्रौर देशों में ग्रोल्ड-एज पेन्शन का इन्तजाम है, मझे डर है कि कहीं ऐसी हालत न ग्रा जाये कि चंकि मन्न की समस्या गम्भीर है मौर श्रन्न बचाना जरूरी है, इस लिए मवेशियों की तरह बढों को खत्म करने की भी चर्चा चलने लगे। उन को भी खत्म करने की बात ग्रा जाये, तो बहत महिकल हो जायगा । इस लिए योजना श्रायोग को पंचवर्षीय योजना में इस विषय में एक चैप्टर देना चाहिए था कि जो लोग काम करने लायक नहीं रहे, जिन की उम्र साठ साल से ऊपर हो-ऐसे भी लोग हैं, जो ग्रस्सी वर्ष तक काम करते हैं, लेकिन जो लोग काम नहीं कर सकते–उन की तरफ़ तवज्जह देनी चाहिए श्रौर उन के लिए कोई इन्तजाम करना चाहिए । इस में यह एक खामी है।

18.01 hrs.

[SHRI JAGANATHA RAO in the Chair]

मैं ग्राप के सामने यह नहीं कहना चाहता हूं कि हमें क्या करना है, क्या नहीं करना है। मैं उन बातों की तरफ़ ग्राप का घ्यान ग्राकर्षित करना चाहता हूं, जिन की वजह से हमारी योजना श्रौर हमारी डेमोकेसी को खतरा है। ग्राप ने सुना कि यहां पर चर्चा हुई कि ग्रन-एम्प्लायमेंट की प्राबलम बहुत एक्यूट होती जा रही है। मैं कहता हूं कि वह एक्यूट ही नहीं है, उस की वजह से हमारी डेमोकेसी को खतरा है। हमारे देश में लाखों लोग मैट्रिकुलेट, ग्राई० ए० ग्रौर बी० ए० होते जा रहे हैं। उन को कोई रोजगार नहीं मिल रहा है, उन के दिमारा में कुछ न कुछ फ़ितूर रहता है, उन के दिमारा में कुछ न कुछ फ़ितूर रहता

[पंडित द्वा० ना० तित्रारी]

है ग्रौर वे तरह तरह की बातें सोचते हैं, जो देश को गलत रास्ते पर लेजा सकती हैं। वे लोग देहातों में रहते हैं ग्रीर उन की बातों को लोग सूनते हैं। लोग देखते हैं कि हमारे लड़के पढ़े-लिखे हैं, काम करने लायक हैं, लेकिन उन को कोई काम नहीं मिल रहा है. तो वे क्या करें। प्रथम पंच-वर्षीय योजना में एम्पलायमेंट के बारे में हम ने जो टारगेट रखा था, उस को हम ग्रभी भी पुरा नहीं कर सके हैं। द्वितीय पंच-वर्षीय योजना में भी हमारी कमी रह जायगी, लाखों ग्रादमी बेकार होंगे। तीसरी पंच-वर्षीय योजना में १५ मिलियन लोगों को काम देने की बात है। लेकिन कितने लोग बेकार रह जायेंगे, इस का ग्रनमान ग्राप लगा सकते हैं। मैं क्वोट कर रहा हं "इंडिया १९६१" से---

"A precise estimate of the number of unemployed in the country as a whole is still to be made. Employment exchange statistics cover mainly urban areas, and as yet only a portion of the unemployed actually register themselves with the exchanges even where these exist."

हमारे प्रांकड़े प्रधूरे हैं। करीब ४२, ४४ लाख लोग तृतीय पंच-वर्षीय योजना के ग्रन्त में बेकार रह जायेंगे। ग्राप यह समझिए कि जिस देश में ४२, ४४ लाख लोगों का एक समूह रात-दिन इस सोच में लगा हुग्रा हो कि हम क्या खायेंगे, उस देश में क्या होगा। वहां डेमोकेसी को खतरा है। ग्राप ग्रपनी योजना को चला सकते हैं लेकिन वह योजना सफल नहीं कही जा सकती है। इसलिए मैं लेबर मिनिस्टर साहब से यह प्रायंना करूंगा कि वे इस बात पर ज्यादा घ्यान दें ग्रीर एम्प्लायमेंट ग्रपर तुर्नटीज बढ़ायें।

कैसे कैसे लोग बेकार हैं, यह भी मैं प्राप्तको बतलाना चाहता हूं ।

"इंडिया, १९६०" के पेज १८९ पर यह चीज दी हई है । इसमें लिखा हम्रा हैः–

(2) "About 93 per cent of the unemployed graduates seeking employment were men and about 7 per cent. women. 48:5 per cent. of the unemployed graduates were B.A.s, 22.7 per cent. B.Sc.s and 12.8 per cent. B.Com.s."

इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि ४ - . ५ परसेंट लोग जो अनएम्प्लायड हैं, वे ग्रेजुएट्स हैं, पढ़े लिखे हैं । अगर उनको काम नहीं मिलता है तो वे क्या करेंगे क्या ग्राप यह जानते हैं? जब लोगों को काम नहीं मिलता है, पेट में अन्न नहीं पहुंचता है तो नैचुरली वे चाहेंगे, दूसरों को खा जाना । उस सूरत में आपकी डेमोकेसी कहां रहेगी और रहेगी भी या नहीं, इसको ग्राप सोच लीजिये । इस तरह की बातों से डेमोकेसी को खतरा है, इंडिपेंडेंस को खतरा है ।

श्रब मैं ग्रापका घ्यान श्रौर एक बात की ग्रोर ले जाना चाहता हूं जिस से कि ग्रापके प्लान को ग्रौर डेमोकेसी को खतरा है ग्रौर वह डिसपैरिटी इन इनकम वाली बात है । हम एक तरफ बम्बई ग्रौर दूसरे बड़े बड़े शहरों में महलों को देखते हैं ग्रौर दूसरो तरफ गांवों में जाय तो हम वहां उन जगहों को देखते हैं जिन को हमारे यहां सुग्रर के खुभार कहते हैं । ऐसे मकानों में लोग रहते हैं जिन में कि मनुष्य नहीं रह सकता है....

श्री मोहन स्वरूप (पीलीभीत): दिल्ली में भी ऐसे मकान हैं ।

पडित द्वा॰ ना॰ तिवारी: मैं गांवों की बात कह रहा हूं। गांवों में जो लोग रहते हैं, जिन के पास जमीन नहीं है, ग्रामदनी का कोई जरिया नहीं है वे ऐसे मकानों में रहते हैं जिन में कि मनुष्य नहीं रह सकता है। तो ये दोनों चीजें साथ साथ नहीं चल सकती हैं। एक तरफ लाखों रुपया मद्दीना खर्च करने वाले लोग हैं ग्रौर दूसरी ग्रोर ऐसे लोग हैं जो पेट पर पट्टी बांध कर रात को सोते हैं। किसी स्टेशन पर आप जायें आप पायेंगे कि वहां पर दाने दाने के लिए तरसने वाले लोग हैं। हम स्टेशन पर जाते हैं. खाना खाने लगते हैं तो शर्म ग्राती है उस वक्त जब दो चार लडके. नौजवान लडके, हमारे नज़दीक पहुंच जाते हैं स्रौर खड़े हो जाते हैं स्रौर देखते रहते हैं कि कब हमारे मंह में से कोई झठी चीज़ गिरे श्रौर वे उठा कर उसे खा जायें। हम पूरी खाते हैं ग्रौर जो उसके साथ तरकारी होती है, वह भी ग्रगर कहीं गिर जाती है तो उसे भी वे उठा कर खाजाते हैं। तो ये दोनों जो चीजें हैं, ये एक साथ नहीं चल सकती हैं श्रौर ग्रगर दोनों चलती हैं तो डेमोकेसी नहीं चल सकती है । ये डिक्टेटरशिप में ही चल सकती हैं और इनको लोगों को दबा कर ही चलाया जा सकता है । तो मेरा कहना यह है कि डिसपरिटी इन इनकम इतनी न हो, कम हो ।

मैं ग्राज ग्रापके सामने ग्रपने प्रान्त की कोई बात नहीं कहने जा रहा हूं। मैं तो ग्राज उन बातों को ही कहने जा रहा हं जिससे डेमोकेसी को खतरा है। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि ग्राप फलां फलां चीजें मेरे प्रान्त को दें। उसके लिए भ्रापने प्राययोरिटीज बना रखी हैं ग्रौर उनके मताबिक ग्राप चलते हैं ग्रौर जो नेशन के वरस्ट इंटिरेस्ट में होता है, वही ग्राप करते हैं। जहां जिस चीज की सब से ज्यादा जरूर है, उसको ग्राप पहले करेंगे ग्रौर यह सही भी है । मगर मैं ग्रापको केवल इतना ही बताना चाहता हं कि किन बातों से राष्ट्र को खतरा है । दो बातें मैंने बताई है जिन से खतरा है, एक तो ग्रन-एम्प्लायमेंट से ग्रौर दूसरे डिसपैरिटी श्राफ इनकम्स से । एक तरफ महल हैं श्रौर दूसरी तरफ झोंपड़े भी नहीं हैं। एक तरफ लोगों के पास इतना खाने को है ग्रौर वे इतना खाते हैं कि उनको प्रपच की शिकायत होने लग जाती है ग्रौर दूसरे वे लोग हैं जो दाने दाने के लिए तरसुते हैं। हमारे यहां ऐसे भी लोग हैं कि मवेसी जो म्रनाज खाते हैं म्रौर जो वे

बाद में गोबर करते हैं, उस गोबर में से दाना दाना बीन कर वे खा जाते हैं। ऐसी हालत में ग्रापका जो प्लान है वह सकसैसफुल नहीं हो सकता है। इस वास्ते ग्रापको घ्यान देना होगा कि किस तरह से प्लान सफल बन सकती है ग्रौर उसको सफल बनाने की ग्रापको कोशिश करनी होगी।

म्राखिरी बात जिससे डेमोकेसी को खतरा है ग्रापके सामने रख कर मैं समाप्त कर दुंगा। इस हाउस में और बाहर हम इंडस्ट्रिंयल लेबर के बारे में ग्रौर सरकारी मलाजिमों के बारे में ग्रावाज लोगों को उठाते हए सनते हैं। ग्रापको बहत से ऐसे लोग मिल जायेंगे जो यह कहेंगे कि उनको वेतन बहत कम मिलता है। लेकिन क्या उन लोगों ने यह कभी सोचा है कि देहात में खेती करने वाल जो लोग हैं, उनकी ग्रामदनी क्या है ग्रौर कैसे वे ग्रपना जीवन यापन कर रहे हैं। गवर्नमेंट सर्विस में कम से कम लोगों की म्राज म्राय ६० रुपये मासिक है । उनके वास्ते लडाई करने के लिए लोग तैयार हैं, स्टाइक करवाने के लिए लोग तैयार हैं। लेकिन एक पैजेंट जिसको साल भर खाने को नहीं मिलता है, एक एग्रिकल्चरल लेबरर जिसके तन पर वस्त्र नहीं है, उसके पास इतना पैसा नहीं है कि कोई काम कर सके, उसके लिए लड़ने वाला कोई नहीं है। वह कहीं श्रा जा नहीं सकता है और अगर कहीं आता जाता है तो उसको भ्रपनी लेबर को प्लेज करना पडता है. श्रपनी थाली ग्रौर गिलास को प्लेज करना पडता है । उसके वास्ते कोई लड़ने वाला. . .

श्वी राजेन्द्र सिंह : मैं उनका साथ दूंगा।

पंडित द्वा॰ ना॰ तिवारी : जो लोग इन मुलाजिमों के लिये लड़ते हैं वे इसलिए नहीं लड़ते हैं कि इनको कोई तकलीफ है बल्कि इसलिए लड़ते हैं कि वे सबल हैं। लेकिन जो सबल नहीं, जो गरीब हैं उनके लिए लड़ने बाला कोई नहों है । मैं म्रापकी बहादुरी [पंडित द्वा० ना० तिवारी]

तब जानूं म्रगर ग्राप उनके वास्ते लड़ें। ग्राप उनके वास्ते नहीं लड़ेंगे, ग्राप लड़ेंगे उनके वास्ते जो ६० रुपये और १०० रुपये मासिक पाने वाले हैं। जो मजदूर २० रुपये पाता है, उससे ग्रापको खतरा है

श्वी राजेन्द्र सिंहः ग्राग ग्रपने नौकरों को कितनी तनरूवाह देते हैं?

पडित द्वा० ना० तिवारी : मैं ग्राप से ग्रधिक देता हूं ।

मैं इस ग्रपने प्वाइंट को इलेबोरेट करके छोड दंगा। मैं ठीक कहता हं कि म्राज जो खेती करने वाला है. जिसके पास दस एकड या पंद्रह एकड जमीन है, वह भी ग्रपने बच्चों को नहीं पढा सकता है. स्कल में नहीं भेज सकता है। खेती की फसल ठीक से होती रहे तब तो वह यह सब कूछ कर सकता है अन्यथा नहीं। लेकिन ग्राज हो क्या रहा है। ग्राज नार्थ बिहार में सूखा पड़ा हुआ है, धान रोपा नहीं गया है। खेत को जोता. खाद दी, बारिश नहीं हई, धान रोप नहीं सके । यही हाल मकई की है । मजदूर लगाये, पैसा लगाया. निरौनी कराई लेकिन म्राज सखा पड रहा है । जो उसके घर में पैसा था उसको भी उसने खेती में लगा दिया ग्रौर ग्रब कुछ बचा भी नहीं है। इतने पर भी एक मुट्ठी ग्रन्न नहीं पैदा हो रहा है। अब उनका क्या होगा ? उनकी तरफ से लडने वाला कौन हे ?

जो खेतेहर मजदूर हैं, उनकी स्थिति कितनी खराब है, इस थ्रोर भी किसी का घ्यान नहीं गया है। उनके पास खाने के लिए कुछ नहीं है। जब किसानों के पास कुछ नहीं है, तो वे इन खेतिहर मजदूरों को कहां से दें। किसानों ने ग्रपने बच्चों को ग्रगर पढ़ा भी दिया है तो उनको नौकरी नहीं मिलती है श्रीर ग्राप देहातों में किसानों से जा कर पूछें तो वे ग्रापको बतायेंगे कि चूंकि कोई सोसं नहीं है, इस वास्ते नौकरी मिले तो कहां से मिले । ग्रब वे सोर्स कहां से लावें । वे खुद भूखे मर रहे हैं, मजदूरों को दें तो कहां से । इस वास्ते मैं ग्रन्त में यही कहना चाहता हूं कि इस ग्रोर भी ग्रापका घ्यान जाना चाहिये क्योंकि इससे भी डेमोक्रेसी को खतरा है ।

Mr. Chairman: Shri Rajendra Singh. The hon. Member will take only ten minutes.

Shri Rajendra Singh: The problem is of such dimension that some concession has to be shown to me.

Mr. Chairman: Only ten minutes.

Shri Rajendra Singh: Fifteen minutes.

Mr. Chairman: No, no. Ten minutes. If the hon. Member is not willing to conclude in ten minutes, he may not speak.

Shri Feroze Gandhi: Otherwise, we have other methods also to stop him!

Shri Rajendra Singh: I am not one of those Jeremiahs who would cavil at the shortcomings or the shortfalls that blot the picture of our achievement under the two Plans after a decade of effort.

श्री फीरोज गांधी : हिन्दी में बोलिये।

श्री खुझाःक्त ∖ायः इसलिए नहीं कि इ⊪प समझते नहीं हैं।

Shri Rajendra Singh: But it does not mean, that I am not aware or am not acutely conscious of the inexcusable lapses and shortcomings, administrative deficiency and deficiency in policies which have been apparent during the execution of the Plan. Nonetheless, the fact remains that in the Third Plan we are going to invest Rs. 1,000 crores more in the public sector and 900 crores less in private sector than we have invested in the First and Second Plans combined. This trend of investment is 'something which as a Socialist I cannot but commend as strongly as I can. This House knows that I am as much critical of the Prime Minister, some of his activities and policies, as anybody could be, but it is also a fact that the trend in which the country is going is entirely because of the influence and the personality of the Prime Minister. Therefore, so far as the question of giving a trend, a social purpose, a direction to our Plan is concerned. the Prime Minister deserves much more tribute than he has received from any side so far.

Let us look at the balance sheet of our achievements. There has been an increase in agricultural production by 40 per cent., in industrial production by 120 per cent, in electricity by 200 per cent. in the capacity of the railways to carry freight by 200 per cent. This is on the assets side. On the liability side, there has been, during the same decade, a rise in the population by over 15 per cent., erosion inthe value of the rupee by 20 per cent. rise in food prices during the last three years by nearly 50 per cent, rise in cloth price by 45 per cent, rise in industrial prices by 20 per cent. Therefore, it is true that what we have achieved is not to the extent we would have liked. This is not because the conception, the approach or the priorities of the Plan are absolutely defective, but the principal reason, as the Prime Minister has hundred times admitted here and elsewhere, is that our administration is not attuned to the requirements of the Plan. Our lack of experience in putting through a Plan of this huge size and character also one of the strong is reasons. Though there have been lapses, deficiencies and difficulties, the second Plan remained basically sound so is the Third one. What we need is to reorientate it with strong bias towards higher employment.

Draft Outline of 5006 Third Five Year Plan

A criticism was made from both sides of the House that we are depending too much on foreign aid. We may not get foreign aid to that extent. but I also hold the view that to the extent we can reduce our dependence on foreign aid, it would be to the credit of our country and our manhood. We should develop in our country the capacity, the intelligence, the ability, the genius to manufacture our own machines and evolve désigns which will be step in step with technological developmen!.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member has two minutes more.

Shri Rajendra Singh: Five minutes. Otherwise, how can I deal with the subject? I have not gained momentum.

Mr. Chairman: In two minutes he may state the points. He should be brief.

Shri Rajendra Singh: Then I sit down; because it is difficult for me to carry on.

Shri Kuttikrishnan Nair (Kozhi-Reading through the Draft kode): Outline of the Third Plan, I have no hesitation in saying that it will be received well by the people of India. The ambitious outlay, the balanced distribution of that outlay suitable to our conditions and the adherence to political the social, economic and justice will appeal to the people and I am sure there would be popular support and co-operation. The opposition against the Second Plan was also made against the Third Plan but in addition to the familiar opposition, there was opposition to the fundamentals of planning itself. Whatever it is, we have proved by achievement that the planning was all right and it was suitable to our conditions and we have been able to succeed.

The first thing that anyone would see is how it reacts on the food front and in the employment front. It is gratifying to see that priority is give to agriculture—top priority. Not only that. The stipulated aim is selfsufficiency in food. Regarding the allocation of funds for agriculture and minor irrigation, there is an enhancement from 6.9 per cent. to 8.6 per cent and that is welcome. But I see a cut in the provision for major and medium irrigation from 9.8 per cent. to 9 per cent. Of course the amount is raised from Rs. 450 crores to Rs. 650 crores. Regarding food, I have to say that we have certain chronic spots and one such spot is Kerala. Kerala produces 7 lakh tons of rice and it requires an additional 7 lakh tons. For this adequate steps are not taken. You will find in the First Plan, there was an outlay of Rs. 13.6 crores for irrigation purposes but in the Second Plan it was reduced to Rs. 8:4 crores. There was some defect in drafting the should State Plan. The State Plan be on a par with the All India Plan and we must give top priority to items which are given top priority in the All India Plan.

It is also welcome to know that the policy of giving balanced regional growth is considered and the programme for special investment in under-developed areas is undertaken and in 1953-54, Rs. 40 crores were allotted for that purpose. It is stated that the same policy will be continued in the Third Plan also. But in the practical application. I find that there is some mistake as there is no machinery with the Planning Commission to ascertain the real facts in the State. As per that programme, nine States were allotted funds: Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Madras, Mysore, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal. Kerala was a serious slip. Kerala is viewed as the problem State but nothing is done to tackle the problem. It is not a political problem alone. It is also an economic problem. I want to give certain facts and figures. The density is 907 compared to 312 which is the All India figure. Unemployment is rampant and besides that, there is the

educated unemployment. There are 1349 registered factories and they are employing 1,21,000 and odd workers. The average works out to 93 workers You per factory. will find that cashew plantations supplies 34 ner cent. and coir 11.8 per cent, employment. It is an agricultural economy. There is no industrial advancement. The agricultural labour in Kerala is 21 per cent. while it is 13 per cent. in the rest of India. The All India figure of unemployment of agricultural labour is 82 days in a year while in Kerala it is 125 days. These things should be borne in mind and we should see that the under-developed regions get special attention.

In respect of Kerala, there is another aspect also which we have to bear in mind that the part which is known as Malabar is less developed. In the Government publication entitled. Three months Popular Rule in Kerala the Government has given the special condition of these various parts of the State and it has commented that communications are lacking in Malabar. There was a proposal to have an aerodrome at Calicut under the Second Plan. Unfortunately, it was dropped and I hope the Transport Ministry will take it up at least in the Third Plan. In respect of irrigation facilities also, it is reported in that book that several parts of Malabar suffer for want of water and in a subsequent publication by the Government. Kerala on the march, this is commented upon.

Coming to industrialisation, I may be permitted to state that in the public sector, there is only the Hindustan Insecticides with a capital of about Rs. 50 lakhs. I have given facts and figures that it is an industrially backward State. In Annexure I of this Draft Outline, there are many projects included and in (B) there are projects for which external credits are assured-the 2nd and 3rd heavy electrical projects, the heavy machine tool projects, the precision instrument project and also the project for the manufacture of watches. 5009

In part (C) there are some projects for which external credits are not assured—the Heavy Structural Project and the Heavy plate and vessel works. My prayer is that one of these major industries rightly belongs to Kerala and the Government should consider that question.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Membe: should conclude now.

Shri Kuttikrishnan Nair: Coming to foreign trade now, it is proposed to increase foreign trade from Rs. 602 crores to Rs. 690 crores. The commodity boards are indeed as responsible in increasing the attention to exports. Spices is a major commodity and it brings foreign exchange. There should be a board for spices...

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. The hon Member must conclude now. I am calling Shri Balmiki. He will take only five minutes.

Shri Basappa (Tiptur): After that I want to put only one question. I will not take even half a minute.

Mr. Chairman: I have called Shri Balmiki. Only five minutes he should take.

श्री बारुमीकी (बुलन्दशहर--रक्षित अनुसूचित जातियां) : सभापति जी, वयं राष्ट्रे जागयाम पुरोहिता :

हम राष्ट्र के प्रहरी बन कर जागरणशील रहें।

व्यचिष्ठे बहुपाय ये यतेमहि स्वराज्ये सुविस्तीर्ण ग्रौर बहुमत से रक्षित स्वराज्य की भलाई के लिए हम यत्न करते रहेंगे ।

ग्राप के तीसरी योजना सम्बन्धी ड्रैफट प्लान के क्योरे को देखने से मालूम होता है कि जो योजना योजना कमीशन के ढारा देश में चलायी जा रही है उससे हमारा भविष्य बनेगा । देश ऊपर उठेगा ग्रीर देश ग्रागे बढ़ेगा, इसमें कोई शक नहीं है । लेकिन ग्रापने देश की जन शक्ति के सहयोग का लाभ नहीं उठाया है । पिछली दो 896 (Ai) L.S.D.--10. योजनाभ्रों में जनशक्ति के सहयोग का लाभ कम उठाया गया है । त्रागे ग्रषिक उठाया जाए, इस स्रोर म्रापका घ्यान स्राकर्षित करना चाहता हं ।

जब तक ग्राप सबसे पिछडे हए ग्रौर दबे हए लोगों की तरफ और पिछड़े इलाकों की तरफ ध्यान नहीं देंगे तब तक प्लान से कोई लाभ नहीं हो सकता । इस देश के अन्दर देहातों की हालत बिगड़ी हई है उस म्रोर विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिए । वहां पर छोटे छोटे उद्योग धंधे लगाए जाने चाहिएं। चाहे ग्राप बडे उद्योगों की परवाह न करें। लेकिन ग्रापको छोटे उद्योगों को देहात में लगाने पर विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिए । ग्रब भी देश में बेकारी की विभीषिका विद्यमान है। उसको दूर करने के लिए ग्रापको प्रयत्न करना चाहिए । ग्रापको ऐसे लोगों की तरफ खास तौर से घ्यान देना चाहिए जो गिरे हए हैं. पिछडे हुए हैं. जिनकी बहत कम ग्रामदनी है. जिनके पास कोई साधन नहीं हैं. जिनके रोजगार छिने हए हैं। ग्राप प्रयत्न कर जरूर रहे हैं लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि गरीब और ⊹रीब होता जा रहा है ग्रौर धनी ग्रधिक धनी होता जा रहा है। ग्रापको गरीबों की ग्रधिक परवाह करनी चाहिए स्रौर बेकारी को दुर करना चाहिए। ग्रापने कहा है कि तीसरी योजन। में ग्राप डेढ करोड ग्रादमियों को काम देने की कोशिश करेंगे ।

इस थोड़े से समय में जो मुझे मिला है मैं केवल यह कहना चाहता हूं कि क्रभी भी देश के ग्रन्दर एक पिछड़ा हुग्रा वर्ग भंगियों के नाम से है, श्रौर उसी की बात को प्रापके सामने रखने के लिए मैं खड़ा हुग्रा हूं। उनकी दयनीय स्थिति के बारे में मैं ग्रापका घ्यान ग्रार्कीषत करना चाहता हं।

पहली योजना के ग्रन्दर, दूसरी योजना के ग्रन्दर मंगियों के ग्रावास के सम्बन्ध में, उनके हार्डीसंग की तरफ घ्यान दिया गया था, लेकिन ग्रद वह नाम हटा दिया गया है। यह केवल इसलिए

[श्री बाल्मीकी]

किया गया है कि आप देश स जातीयता के नाम को हटा देना च।हते है, लेदिन मैं निवदन करूंगा कि जातीयता ग्रभी हमारी मज्जा में हमारी अस्थियों के अन्दर घसी हई है, इस पर भी आप विचार करके देखें । अभी हमारी स्थिति सूधर नहीं गयी है। इसलिए मेर। निवेदन है कि मंगेगों के आवास पर ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए । प्रगर ऐसा नहीं विय गया तो यह काम बहत पीछे रह जायेगा और आप देश की पूर्णतया उन्नति नहीं कर सकेगे । देश की उन्नति तब तक हो नहीं सकती जब तक कि एक वर्ग मानवीय अधिकारों से वंचित है ग्रीर ऐस गन्दे पेशे में लगा हुग्र। है कि अब भी सिर पर पैबाना ढोना पडता है और कमर ज़काकर झाड देी होती है । केन्द्रीय हरिजन कल्याण बोर्ड के अन्दर उनकी स्थिति पर विचार हुआ था और वहाँ यह चर्नाचली थी कि भंगियों के काम अन्त्रे की हालत इतनी खराब अभी भी बनी हई है कि उनको पैखान। सिर पर ढोना पड़ता हैं ग्रीर कमर झुकाकर झाड़ देनी पड़ती हैं। इस लानत को समाप्त किया जाये। वह विचार में अ।पर्क सामने रखना चाहता हूं।

भंगियों की स्थिति परम शोचनीय है। १३ वर्षको स्वतंत्रता के पक्ष्चात भी उनकी स्थिति में तथा उनके काम करने की। स्थिति में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं हुन्ना हैं। उन्हें जिन भयंकरतात्रों में अमानुषिक इंग से काम करना पडता है, वह उस मानव जाति के लिए, जो भभ्यता, संस्कृति तथा दर्शन में अपनी सानी नहीं रखती, अग्रेगिनीय है। फिर भें। प्रवान मंत्री तथा गुह मंत्री जी का ध्यान इस ओर गया है। यह प्रसन्नता का विषय है । छोटी मुठ वाली झाड़ जिससे असम्मातपूर्वक झुकना पड़ता है, बदल कर लम्बी मुठ वाली झाड़ में बदलने का सरकार का विचार है, जिसमें एक कान तथा मानवीय मम्मान होगा । सिर पर स पाखाने का बोत का टोकरा आदि भी खत्म होने जा रहे हैं, किन्तू इस दिशा मे राज्य सरकारें तथा

म्युनिसिपैलिटियाँ व कारपोरेशन उदासीन हैं, ग्रीर हमारे प्लानिग कमीकन का भी इधर कम ध्यान गया है ।

में प्रोफेसर ध्रुव के शब्दों में कहना चाहता ह कि अगर देश के अन्दर उन्नति करनी है, तो एक ऐस गन्दे पे*शे* में लगे हुए वर्ग के बारे में भी ध्यान देना चाहिए । मैं चाहता ह कि प्लानिग कमीइतन के मस्तिष्क में भंगियों का सवाल ग्राये । मैं चाहता हुं कि सदन थोड़ा सज्ज करे । जो मेरे प(स दो तीन मिनट का समय है उसमें मैं इस योजना क बारे में कुछ योडा सा प्रकाश भंगियों की शोचनीय स्थिति पर डालना चाहता हुं। जिस तरह से हरिजन कल्याण बोर्ड के सामने यह प्रश्न ग्राय। है, उस को मैं बड़ा कर नहीं कहना चाहत। हुं। केन्द्रीय हरीजन कल्याण बोर्ड की उपसमिति भंगो जाँच कमेटी ने देश का दौरा कर के उन की स्थितियों को जाँच। है। कमेटी के चेयरमेन <u>प्रोक्तेमर</u> मल्कानी क मतानसार जो विचार-श्रार, बनाई गई हैं ग्रौर हरिजन कल्वाण बोर्ड में जो विचार अया है, वह मैं अप के सामने रखना चाहता हं। भंगियों के कामों की स्थितियों को देखते हए, उन की हालत को देखते हुए कोई वजह नहीं है कि इस के लिए तुतीय पंच वर्षीय योजना मे कोई ग्रनुदान न रखा जाये, कोई एलोकेकन न रखी जाये। मगर जो झॉकडे हैं और उनका जो रूपान्तर है, वह मैं ग्राप के सामने रख देना चाहता हं। हमारे जो योजना के मंत्री हैं, वह स्वयं इस बात को महनूस करते हैं कि देश में जब तक भंगियों की इस तरह की हालत है ग्रौर उस को नहीं बदल। जाता, तब तक हम यह नहीं समझ सकते कि हम ने पिछड़े हुए, दबे हुए, दलित लोगों के उत्थान के लिए **ग्रपना कर्तव्य पूरा किया है । इसलि** र मैं यह च।हता हं कि उन की हालत को बदलन। परमावश्यक है ।

्स थोड़ से समय में मैं ने आप का ध्यान उन के अ।यास के अश्न की ग्रोर आकर्षित

किया है. उन के काम करने की स्थिति की भयंकरता की ग्रांर श्राक घत किया है। मं चाहत हं कि जिस तरह से ग्रोर विषा पर चैप्टर दिये गये हैं, कोइ वजह नहीं है कि इस बारे में भी एक चैंप्टर का समावेश न किया जाये । यह ो तुतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना की एक रूप-रेला है। मैं समझता हूं कि जब आग समय मिलेगा. इस में विस्तत योजना का रूप ग्रायेगा। इस वक्त तो मैंने मंत्री महोदय के मस्तिष्क को, उन की विचार-धारा को छने की कोक्षिश की है। मैं चाहत। हं कि भगियों के बारे में ततीय पंच-वर्षीय योजना में एक मनावेश हागा आरेर उस समावश के अनुसार उन को मौका मिलेग। यह कहने का कि हमारी सरकार ग्रीर हमारा योजना आयोग हमारा ध्यान रखते हैं ।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं ग्राप को अन्यवाद देता हूं, सभापति जी, किं ग्राप ने मुझे मौका दिया कि मै माननीय मंत्री जी का ध्यान इस ग्रोर ग्राकपित करूं, ताकि उन के मस्तिष्क मं, उन की विचार-धारा में भंगियों की जो स्थिति है, उस की तस्वीर उतर आये ग्रीर उन के [दिमाग़ में भंगी स्वयं इस तरह स चलें कि रात को उनको नींद न ग्राये ग्रीर वह उन की स्थिति को देख कर नुतीय पंच वर्षीय योजना में उन के बारे में समावेश कर सकें।

Shri Basappa: Sir, I want to put only one question. I will not take more than half a minute. The publication of the Draft Outline of the Third Five Year Plan has produced a grave situation so far as the Backward Classes are concerned.

Mr. Chairman: The hon, Member can put that question tomorrow.

Shri Basappa: In the First Five Year Plan and the Second Five Year Plan the Backward Classes were described as Scheduled Castes. Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes. In the Draft Outline of the Third Five Year Plan it has been described as Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and De-notified Tribes and "Other Backward Classes" has been dropped. That omission has produced a grave situation in the country. About 15 to 20 crores of Backward Classes people are affected. We are not against the merits and other things. By all means set apart an amount for them, but the constitutional guarantee given to the Backward Classes must be provided for them, otherwise the country will not be satisfied.

The Minister of Labour and Employment and Planning (Shri Nanda): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the House has discussed for over 20 hours the motion moved by the hon. Prime Minister that the Third Five Year Plan—A draft outline—be taken into consideration.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Minister may continue tomorrow.

18.38 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, the 26th August, 1960/Bhadra 4, 1882 (Saka).