

2. Details of the actual damage caused by the floods have not yet been received from Jorhat, Gauhati and Dhubri sub-divisions as the local officers have not been able to complete their surveys. The position in other sub-divisions is as stated below:—

(a) 19 human lives were lost; 14 in Dibrugarh Sub-Division; 2 in Hailakandi; 1 in Sibsagar; and 2 in Nowgong district.

(b) 774 heads of cattle were lost: 500 in North Lakhimpur; 90 in Hailakandi; 156 in Dibrugarh and 28 in Sibsagar sub-divisions. The total value of cattle lost is estimated at Rs. 73,730/-.

(c) The total crop area affected is 1,87,292 acres containing abu and bao paddy, sali seedlings, jute, sugarcane and other crops. The estimated value of the damage to crops is Rs. 1,60,61,844/-.

(d) The area affected by flood waters is 1,447 square miles, involving 2,660 villages with a population of 4,48,382.

(e) The number of houses damaged or destroyed is 6,702 and the value of other properties lost due to floods is Rs. 1,51,900/-.

3. Erosion has also affected certain parts of the State and it is reported that a total area of 8,569 acres in 119 villages had suffered. 1,292 families have been affected by the erosion and the value of properties lost is Rs. 4,32,265/-.

4. As regards relief measures undertaken by the State Government, a sum of Rs. 3,75,000/- has so far been sanctioned by them towards house building-cum-rehabilitation loans. Besides this, the State Government have sanctioned Rs. 3,00,000/- as agricultural loans; Rs. 2,98,000/- as gratuitous relief and Rs. 30,000/- for test relief works. For the purchase and maintenance of relief boats in different areas of the State, another

sum of Rs. 1,50,000/- has been sanctioned by the State Government as gratuitous relief.

5. 294 fair price shops have so far been opened in several affected areas and more will be opened soon. In these shops paddy is being sold as reduced rates of Rs. 7/- to 8/- per maund and rice at Rs. 15/- to Rs. 18/8/- per maund. 1,320 tons of gift rice and 425 tons of gift wheat have been allotted to the six-flood-affected districts mentioned above, and are being distributed free. One bale of donated cloth received from the YMCA, Bombay, has been allotted to Cachar, Lakhimpur, Nowgong, and Kamrup districts for free distribution. As regards medical stores, the State Government have so far ordered free distribution of medicines worth Rs. 41,182.

6. A sum of Rs. 37,000 from the Chief Minister's Fund has been allotted to Cachar, Lakhimpur, Goalpara, Sibsagar and Kamrup districts. This sum includes Rs. 25,000 received from the Prime Minister's Relief Fund and credited to the Chief Minister's Fund. A sum of Rs. 4,000 has been allotted from the Governor's Fund to Hailakandi sub-division.

7. As regards assistance from the Central Government, the State Government is eligible to a grant from the Centre of half the total expenditure on gratuitous relief up to Rs. 2 crores and 3/4th of the expenditure in excess thereof.

8. A sum of Rs. 35,000 has been given to the State from the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund.

#### RESOLUTION RE SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN

Mr. Speaker: Now, the House will take up the further discussion of the following Resolution moved by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru on the 23rd May, 1956:

"This House records its general approval of the principles, objectives and programmes of

[Mr. Speaker]

development contained in the Second Five Year Plan as prepared by the Planning Commission."

**Shri S. C. Samanta (Tamluk):** Mr. Speaker, I am thankful to you for giving me a chance to speak on the Second Five Year Plan. We have completed the First Five Year Plan and we are on the threshold of the Second Five Year Plan. Now is the time when, from the experience of our First Five Year Plan, we should remodel the next Plan or Plans, if I may say so.

About the First Plan, people from outside have eulogised but we are to see from within what we have done, what are our difficulties and what good we have been able to do. On the whole, we may take pride that in spite of our faults, in spite of our defects, in spite of corruption, we have done wonders. We have done wonders....

**Shri Chattopadhyaya (Vijayavada):** Wonders or blunders?

12 Noon.

**Shri S. C. Samanta:** We have done wonders even with corruption, when men are not Gods and they have defects. On the face of it, I may place before the House the fact that we were slaves for so many years and we were financially and morally kept down. After Independence if we can move on with the quick pace that we are taking, shall we not be proud of it? My friends opposite are laughing at me....

**Some Hon. Members:** No, no.

**Shri S. C. Samanta:** I am not speaking as a party member. As you know every Member of the House has taken it up as a national question; this is not a party question. You, Sir, have given privilege to all parties of the House to co-operate in the present and future planning of this country. My friends have joined and co-operated. Now we are wanting to see that these Plans, which have to be implemented with the co-operation

of all parties, will be accepted in future by all parties. It is not a Congress Party thing, it is not a Government party thing; it is a thing which is being evolved, which is being corrected, which is being taken up by all section of the House. There are defects we admit, and those defects ought to be corrected by ourselves. Nobody else will come and teach us. I hope that the co-operation that is needed both from the public and from other parties will not be wanting in future and that we will be able to get along more swiftly with the Second Five Year Plan.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi (Chittor):** On a point of order, Sir. If the hon. Member speaks without so much heat, we may be able to appreciate him better.

**Dr. Suresh Chandra (Aurangabad):** What is the point of order there?

**Shri Chattopadhyaya:** We admire him so much because we once again see the great lion of Surendra Nath Banerjee having come back in our midst.

**Shri Nand Lal Sharma (Sikar):** It is a point of pacification rather than a point of order.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member need not speak at the top of his voice.

**Shri Bansal (Jhajjar-Rewari):** He is feeling so exhilarated.

**Shri S. C. Samanta:** After we framed our Constitution, people within India and outside could not believe that India would be able to make progress with the power that has been given to the masses in general. The duty and responsibility for the advancement of India rest not on Parliament but on the masses at large. That responsibility has been transferred from the higher authority to the masses by the Constitution. If the masses are powerful, whatever party may be in power cannot run on and make progress as long as there are facilities for other parties to go against it. India is a land which

has proved that even though there are parties or people who are against the Government, they are all for the country, and they cannot forget their motherland. They express their views thinking that they would be for the good of their motherland. I think our Plans, present and future, will be successful and that India will go forward along with other developed countries in the world if all of us stand united and co-operate.

In the circumstances I think the co-operation that is coming forward is not un-encouraging; it is very much encouraging though it is true that by the First Five Year Plan we have not been able to raise the status of the masses in general to the extent we should. But we have to move on with the circumstances that confront us.

Speaking for myself, though I am a Member of Parliament, I feel I am not able to change myself in the circumstances as I should. Most of us were fighting for freedom and we were for destruction. Sometimes we have found that habit in us going against us in construction. For that thing to be forgotten it will take time. If every man analyses himself, he will see that in spite of his good wishes, he is not able to go on as he should. We cannot blame the public. We, who are framing the Five Year Plans, we who framed the Constitution, must first of all correct ourselves and then hope that more co-operation from the public will come. In the First Five Year Plan we had public co-operation, and I believe that there will be no want of public co-operation in the Second Five Year Plan.

We must see how we can raise the standard of the peasants who are living in villages. We want production. Without production no country can prosper, and our countrymen, especially agriculturists, have responded so much that in the First Five Year Plan we have been able to achieve our target, nay, we have gone ahead. By achieving this target,

we have won something, but we must see whether we have in any way raised the standard of those people who are helping us in production. The question is whether by the produce and production those people are able to earn that much which is sufficient for the everyday running of their lives. Government should calculate the value of expenditure for the production of different things by the agriculturists. Cereals and cotton for cloth are two things which are the bare necessities of life. If we calculate the expenditure that a person incurs for cultivating cereals, we find that the price of the produce is not equal to the expenditure incurred. How can he live? He was living by borrowing from zamindars and money-lenders. That source is not available now. The Agriculture Minister will say that his income has increased due to the high production. He has got some money. I admit. But he has to spend more on agriculture and that income will not enter the expenditure on his family. I would ask the Government to see whether any price can be fixed for the agricultural produce. Government should also fix another target for the Second Five Year Plan.

If we do not fix the minimum price of agricultural products in India, the incentive for production, which Government wants to increase, may not be there. So, I would again request the Government to look into the price of agricultural products.

Government is going to fix a ceiling on land. The decision should be hastened. Though it is a State subject, the Central Government should take the initiative. We are going to take up land reforms and ceiling on individual incomes. When we are going to put a ceiling on land we must also think of a ceiling on individual incomes. The agriculturists and farmers are doing their best. You gave them hope that, by the abolition of zamindari, they will get proprietary rights over the lands. There are a large number of landless agricultural labourers and even by the

[Shri S. C. Samanta]

abolition of zamindari, they could not be given land to the required extent in the least. Even if they get, they have to bear the burden of taxes and other things in the same way as others. How can the Government accommodate them? I feel that, if the Government is going to put a ceiling on land holdings, the time has come to put a ceiling on personal individual incomes also.

The other day, our venerable friend, Acharya Kripalani was asking: what is your Plan. Are you going to have cottage industries or heavy industries: he asked. He wants to know definitely whether we are not for cottage industries. That is not so. If we see the First Plan, we will find that we took to the cottage industries. This time, we have taken to the heavy industries.

In this connection, I wish to say with all emphasis, that India is following a socialist pattern, a communistic pattern of India—not socialism of the other countries, not communism of other countries. We have every right to follow a thing which is good. Other socialism may not be good; communism may not be good. Our Indian socialism and communism is the best and it is being followed by our leaders and also by this Parliament and so these discrepancies are being removed. We must create our own things.

Socialist pattern? What is this? People ask. Is this socialism? Let us sit together and see. Let us consult each other and find out a plan. But, it should be suited to the condition of the general mass of India. It is only that which will carry us ahead and which will improve our lot.

**Mr. Speaker:** There are a number of hon. Members to speak and I will allow fifteen minutes to each.

**Shri S. C. Samanta:** I will conclude. The question of unemployment should be given the highest priority. There is the educated un-

employed. I understand that the Education Ministry is going to start a pilot scheme. I do not know how many people can be accommodated there. This thing has to be looked into. I wish to put forward one suggestion. We are going to have these heavy industries, iron and steel, etc. I would request them to see whether the villages around the places where these heavy industries are to be established could be utilised for the preparation of small parts that are required for a big factory, steel factories, etc.

**श्री-श्रीबन्धु सिंघल (जिला अलीगढ़) :**  
अध्यक्ष महोदय, सब से पहले मैं अपना कर्तव्य समझता हूँ कि प्लानिंग कमिशन का धन्यवाद हूँ और बधाई हूँ कि उन की प्रथम पंच वर्षीय योजना सफल हुई। आशा की जाती है कि उन की द्वितीय पंच वर्षीय योजना भी उस से ज्यादा अच्छी तरह से सफल होगी। जब प्रधान मंत्री ने हमें यह बताया कि द्वितीय पंच वर्षीय योजना की संसार में बड़ी चर्चा है, लोगों ने उन से उस की प्रतियां मांगी हैं, और जितनी थीं, उतनी उन्होंने दे दीं, अभी भी बहुत ज्यादा उस की मांग है, ऐसी बातें सुन कर हमें बहुत खुशी होती है। इस से हमारे देश का सिर ऊंचा होता है। प्लानिंग कमिशन में जो मेम्बर हैं, वे बहुत होशियार और अनुभवी हैं। उन्होंने बहुत होशियारी के साथ और परिश्रम कर के योजना को बनाया है, इसलिये हमें उस की नुक्ता चीनी करने का ज्यादा अधिकार नहीं है। हम बिल्कुल नये आदमी हैं, हमें ज्यादा अनुभव नहीं है, फिर भी हर एक मनुष्य के विचार में कुछ न कुछ फर्क हुआ करता है। इसलिये हम में भी कुछ न कुछ मतभेद होना लाजमी सा है।

जब यह द्वितीय पंच वर्षीय योजना तैयार की गई थी तो उस में चार उद्देश्य रखे गये थे। यदि उन चार उद्देश्यों को मिलाया जाय तो सिर्फ एक उद्देश्य रह जाता

है, जिस की पूति करनी है। हमें अपने देश की माली हालत को बढ़ाना है और माली हालत को बढ़ाने के साथ साथ हमें नई आमदनी का इस तरह से बटवारा करना है कि जिन की आमदनी बहुत कम है, उन को ज्यादा मिले और जिन की आमदनी ज्यादा है, उन को कम मिले। लेकिन मुझे अफसोस इस बात का है कि इस पंच वर्षीय योजना में कोई ऐसी बात नहीं कही गई है कि बटवारा किस तरह से होगा। इस सिलसिले में पंच वर्षीय योजना बिल्कुल चुप है। आप देखते होंगे कि हर चीज के दाम बढ़ गये हैं, और करीब करीब मवाये हो गये हैं, खास कर गल्ले और कपड़े के। गल्ला और कपड़ा ऐसी चीजें हैं जिन से हर एक आदमी का वास्ता पड़ता है। पंच वर्षीय योजना में यह भी कहा गया है कि यहां पर ५० प्रतिशत आदमी ऐसे हैं जिन की आमदनी १३ रु० महीना है या इस से कम है। आप सोचिये कि १३ रुपये की आमदनी में कोई आदमी कैसे गुजारा कर सकता है। जब चीजों की कीमत बढ़ जाती है, मवाई हो जाती है तो उस के लिये और भी मुसीबत हो जाती है। जब आदमियों की आमदनी उतनी ही रहती है और खर्च बढ़ जाता है तो वह कैसे योजना से सहानुभूति रख सकते हैं? इस में कोई शक नहीं कि सरकार बहुत चौकमी है, जब से कीमतें बढ़ीं कपड़े और गल्ले की, सरकार ने उन को रोकने की कोशिश की। कीमतें नहीं रुकी हैं। जो लोग मालदार हैं और पैसे वाले हैं वे और भी पैसा कमाते जा रहे हैं। मैं आप को मिल मालिकों का ही उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। उनकी आमदनी बहुत ज्यादा बढ़ गई है। मैं समझता हूँ कि एकसाल में रुपया बनाने में तो देर लग सकती है लेकिन जो मिल मालिक हैं इन को रुपया बनाने में कोई देरी नहीं लग रही है। सरकार ने उन की आमदनी पर रोक लगाने की कोशिश की है लेकिन रोक लग नहीं पाई है। सरकार ने कहा है कि वह एक्सचेंज र्यूटी बढ़ायेगी और उस ने बढ़ा भी दी है।

मैं इस बात को मानता हूँ कि जो प्रतिरिक्त आमदनी होगी वह तो सरकार के पास आ जायेगी लेकिन जो गरीब आदमी है उस को अब भी महंगे भाव पर कपड़ा खरीदना पड़ेगा ही। इस से गरीब आदमी को कोई राहत नहीं मिलेगी। सरकार को चाहिये कि वह कीमतों को नीचे लाने का प्रयत्न करे ताकि गरीबों की परेशानी दूर हो और उन की योजना के प्रति पूरी सहानुभूति हो और उन में उत्साह पैदा हो।

इस के अलावा योजना आयोग ने कहा है कि द्वितीय पंच वर्षीय योजना के दौरान में देश की आमदनी २५ फीसदी बढ़ जायेगी। प्रथम पंच वर्षीय योजना में सरकार ने ११ फीसदी तक आमदनी बढ़ाने का लक्ष्य रखा था लेकिन एकचुअनी जो आमदनी बढ़ी है वह १८ फीसदी बढ़ी है। इसी आधार पर मैं यह कह सकता हूँ कि यह जो २५ फीसदी का लक्ष्य रखा गया है इस को भी पार कर लिया जायेगा और आमदनी ४० फीसदी तक बढ़ जायेगी। मौगिस डौब ने अपनी किताब *On Economic Theory and Socialism* के पेज १२४ पर लिखा है :

“Characteristic of (a) was Tsarist Russia between 1885 and 1913, with an annual (compound) growth-rate of 5.7 per cent. (or a doubling every 12½ years),”

इस तरह से दूसरे देशों के आंकड़े भी बिये हुए हैं। इस में स्वीडन के दिये हुए हैं तथा दूसरे देशों के दिये हुए हैं। साढ़े बारह साल में करीब करीब दुगुनी आमदनी वहां पर हो सकी है। इस वास्ते मेरा विचार है कि हमारी आमदनी भी २५ से बढ़ कर कम से कम ४० फीसदी तक पहुंच जायेगी। जब आमदनी बढ़ेगी तो इस का मतलब यह होगा कि हमारा कंजम्पशन भी बढ़ेगा और जब कंजम्पशन बढ़ेगा तो हमारे लिये यह अनिवार्य होगा कि हम चीजों के उत्पादन

[श्री श्रीचन्द्र सिंघल]

को बढ़ायें। इस तरह से अगर सरकार ने बढ़ते हुए कंजम्पशन का खयाल नहीं रखा तो बहुत सी दिक्कतें और परेशानियाँ पैदा हो जायेंगी। इस का नतीजा यह निकलेगा कि चीजों के भाव बढ़ जायेंगे। मैं देखता हूँ कि सिमिट के बारे में सरकार ने जो आंकड़े अपने सामने रखे हैं वह पूरे हुए लेकिन फिर भी आज सिमिट की बहुत ज्यादा कमी महसूस की जा रही है। आज देहातों में सिमिट के लिये हाहाकार मच रहा है। बरसात के दिनों में मैं अपने जिले के दौरे पर गया और मैं ने देखा कि लगे सिमिट न मिलने के कारण बहुत परेशान थे। उन के मकान चू रहे थे लेकिन उन को छोटी मोटी मरम्मत करने के लिये भी सिमिट नहीं मिल रहा था। सिमिट की कमी से लोगों की परेशानी इतनी बढ़ गई है कि वे सरकार के खिलाफ कड़े शब्दों तक का प्रयोग करते हैं। इस वास्ते मैं चाहूँगा कि सरकार ठीक ठीक आंकड़े अपने पास रखे। सरकार को देखना चाहिये कि एक चीज की कितनी मांग हो सकती है और उसी के मृताबिक उत्पादन को भी बढ़ाना चाहिये ताकि उम वस्तु की कमी न महसूस हो। आप ने देख ही लिया है कि द्वितीय पंच वर्षीय योजना के पहले ही साल में हम कपड़े की कमी को महसूस करने लग गये हैं। अगर यही हाल रहा तो अगले चार सालों में हमारी दशा कितनी बिगड़ सकती है, इस का अंदाजा आप लगा सकते हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार ने यह अंदाजा लगाया है कि अगले पांच सालों में देश की आमदनी २५ फीसदी बढ़ेगी परन्तु मेरा विचार है कि वह इस से भी अधिक बढ़ जायेगी और सरकार को चाहिये कि आमदनी के बढ़ने से जो मांग बढ़े, उसको भी पूरा करने के लिये उचित कार्रवाई करे। यदि ऐसा न किया गया तो चीजों का अभाव हो जायेगा और कीमतें बढ़ जायेंगी जिस से कि लोगों की परेशानी बढ़

जायेगी और द्वितीय पंच वर्षीय योजना की सफलता में दिक्कत पड़ जायेगी।

सरकार ने यह नहीं बताया कि यह जो २५ फीसदी आमदनी बढ़ेगी इस का बटवारा किस तरह से होगा। इस से क्या बड़े आदमियों की आमदनी बढ़ेगी या गरीब आदमियों की भी बढ़ेगी। जनता का इस योजना में उत्साह बढ़ाने के लिये तथा उस का सहयोग प्राप्त करने के लिये यह आवश्यक है कि हम छोटे इनकम ग्रुप की आमदनी को बढ़ाने का हर तरीके से प्रयत्न करें और सरकार बतावे कि उन की आमदनी हम इतनी से इतनी कर देंगे। जो कारखाने में मजदूर काम करते हैं या जो दूसरी जगहों पर नौकरियाँ करते हैं, उन के बारे में सरकार को बताना चाहिये कि द्वितीय पंच वर्षीय योजनाकाल में उन की तनख्वाह इतनी कर दी जायेगी। इसी तरह से जो सरकारी मुलाजिम हैं, जो चपड़ासी हैं या और छोटे आदमी हैं जिन को कि कम तनख्वाह मिलती है उनके बारे में भी यह स्पष्ट बता दिया जाना चाहिये कि उन की तनख्वाह कितनी ज्यादा हो जायेगी। जो आमदनी बढ़ेगी यदि उसका बटवारा ठीक ठीक हुआ तो इस से जो लोगों का उत्साह है वह और बढ़ेगा और उन का सहयोग प्राप्त करने में सरकार को आसानी होगी।

अब मैं आप को बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि प्रथम पंच वर्षीय योजना में कुछ चीजों के आंकड़े दिये हुए हैं जिन के बारे में यह कहा गया है कि जो टारगेट फिक्स किये गये थे उन में से कुछ पूरे नहीं हो सके चूँकि यह टारगेट पूरे नहीं हो सके इस से देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था पर अच्छा असर नहीं पड़ा। यह जो आंकड़े हैं उन को मैं आप के सामने उपस्थित करना चाहता हूँ। दूसरी पंच वर्षीय योजना में लिखा है :

"On the other hand, apart from the shortfalls in respect of iron and steel, aluminium, machine tools and fertilizers due to failure to instal the necessary capacity the expected levels of production have not been reached in the case of diesel engines and pumps, automobiles, radios, batteries, electric motors, electric lamps, electric fans, jute textiles, paints and varnishes, plywood or tea-chests, superphosphate, power alcohol and glass".

जिन जिन इंडस्ट्रीज का इस में जिक्र है उन के बारे में जो प्रोडक्शन टारगेट रखे गये थे वे प्राप्त नहीं किये जा सके और उन में कमी रह गई। अगर इन को अचीव कर लिया जाता तो इन के दायरे में जो चीजें तैयार होती हैं उन की कमी महसूस न होती। इस का एक फायदा यह भी होता कि हमारा फारेन एक्सचेंज बच जाता और साथ ही साथ रोजगार भी लोगों को हम कुछ हद तक और दे सकते थे। इस बारे में सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ।

अब मैं यू० पी० के बारे में थोड़ा सा अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ। मैं आप को बताऊँ कि हमारे प्रदेश की हालत बहुत गिरी हुई है। यदि मैं यह कहूँ कि उस की हालत सबसे खराब है तो यह भी गलत न होगा। सब से बड़ी बात यह है कि हमारे प्रान्त से किसी को कोई सहानुभूति नहीं है और सब उस की तरफ बुरी निगाह से देखते हैं। सब का यह खयाल है कि उत्तर प्रदेश एक बहुत बड़ा प्रान्त है और वह तमाम भारतवर्ष पर राज कर रहा है।

**डा० सुरेश चन्द्र :** सब की नजरें उधर हैं।

**श्री श्रीचन्द्र सिंघल :** इस में कोई शक नहीं है कि उस ने बहुत से पोलिटिशियंस

पैदा किये हैं और बहुत से बुद्धिमान लोग पैदा किये हैं। पर इस से किसी का पेट नहीं भरता है या उन की आमदनी नहीं बढ़ सकती है। वे बड़े बड़े लोग प्रदेश को जब छोड़ देते हैं तो देश के बन जाते हैं और उन का प्रदेश से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं रहता है और न वे ही रखना चाहते हैं। अगर आप यू० पी० के साक्षरता के आंकड़े देखें तो आप को मालूम होगा कि साक्षरता भारतवर्ष में सब से कम उत्तर प्रदेश में ही है। वहां पर केवल १० प्रतिशत लोग ही ऐसे हैं जो पढ़े लिखे हैं और बाकी सब अनपढ़ हैं। इस मामले में मैं समझता हूँ कि मनीपुर या भारत की जो दूसरी पार्ट सी स्टेट्स हैं वे भी उस से आगे हैं, उन के आंकड़े ज्यादा ऊंचे हैं। वहां पर ज्यादा शिक्षित लोग हैं। इसी तरह से अगर आप लैंड को देखें तो आप को पता चलेगा कि वहां चार रुपया एकड़ लैंड है जबकि दूसरे प्रान्तों में एक रुपया या डेढ़ रुपया फी एकड़ से ज्यादा नहीं है। वहां पर न तो कोई माइंस हैं और न ही मिनरल्स ही। वहां की हालत यह है कि सन् १९५१ में २,३५,००० लोग कारखानों में काम पर लगे हुए थे लेकिन उनकी अब तादाद घट कर १,६५,००० तक आ पहुँची है। वहां पर बेरोजगारी बढ़ती जा रही है। सरकार ने हमारे यहां कोई इंडस्ट्री नहीं खोली है और न ही वह आगे कोई बड़ी इंडस्ट्री खोलने की तरफ निगाह ही कर रही है। उत्तर प्रदेश में कोई डैम भी नहीं बनाया गया है। केवल एक डैम—रिहंद डैम— की नींव डाली गई है, लेकिन पहली पंच-वर्षीय योजना में कोई निर्माण-कार्य नहीं किया गया। चूंकि हमारा प्रदेश समुद्र से बहुत दूर है, इसलिये हम जो चीजें बाहर भेजते हैं, वे बहुत महंगी पड़ती हैं। इसी तरह जो चीजें बाहर से आती हैं, वे भी बहुत महंगी पड़ जाती हैं। हमारे यहां कोयला भी बिहार से आता है, जिस पर हम को उगृत ज्यादा फ्रंट देना पड़ता है।

**कुचि मंत्री (डा० पं० श० देशमुख) :**  
चीनी बहुत ज्यादा होती है ।

**श्री श्रीचन्व सिधल :** यह ठीक है । अगर हमारा प्रदेश जीवित है, तो वह केवल चीनी के व्यवसाय से ही जीवित है, नहीं तो वह खत्म हो जाता । लेकिन अब तो यह भी कहा जाने लगा है कि नाथ के मुकाबले में साउथ चीनी के उत्पादन आदि के लिये ज्यादा उपयुक्त है, क्योंकि जो जगह इक्वेटर के करीब होती है, वहां श्रगरकेन ज्यादा होता है, और उस में से ज्यादा चीनी निकाली जा सकती है । यह भी हिमाव लगाया गया है कि जो चीनी दक्षिण में पैदा की जायगी, वह उत्तर प्रदेश की चीनों के मुकाबले में सात रुपये प्रति मन सस्ती पड़ेगी । इस तरह तो चीनी का व्यवसाय भी दक्षिण में बढ़ूँच जायगा और हमारा प्रदेश भूखा मरेगा ।

इसलिये मेरी प्लैनिंग कमीशन से प्रार्थना है कि ५० पी० को, जोकि हमेशा इस देश को लीड करता रहा है, सब तरह से मारे देश की देख-भाल करता रहा है और देखा जाय, तो उस की रक्षा भी करता रहा है, इस तरह से न भुलाया जाय । उस का भी कुछ ख्याल रखा जाय । इस बात का प्रयत्न किया जाय कि वहां भी कोई न कोई व्यवसाय खोला जाय और वहां के वर्तमान व्यवसायों और उद्योगों को भी प्रोत्साहन दिया जाय ।

**डा० सुरेश चन्द्र :** मारी गवर्नमेंट आप की है ।

**श्री श्रीचन्व सिधल :** मैं तो पहले ही कह चुका हूँ कि यह गवर्नमेंट हमारी ही है, लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि हमारे जो नेता वहां से यहां आ जाते हैं, वे अपने प्रदेश को भूल जाते हैं । वे मारे देश को ही अपना प्रदेश मानने लग जाते हैं और ५० पी० के मुकाबले में दूसरे प्रदेशों की ज्यादा परवाह करते हैं । श्री नन्दा से मेरी प्रार्थना है कि वह ५० पी० की तरफ भी थोड़ी तवज्जह

दें और उस का भी कुछ ख्याल रखें । आखिर ५० पी० भी हिन्दुस्तान का ही हिस्सा है और उस को भी तरक्की करने का उतना ही अधिकार है, जितना कि और प्रदेशों को है ।

अब मैं कुछ शब्द काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ । यह ठीक है कि बेरोजगारी को दूर करने में काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज से कुछ सहायता मिल सकती है । मेरा कहना केवल यह है कि जो भी व्यवसाय शुरू किया जाय और उस पर सरकार और जनता का रुपया लगे, तो उस के विषय में तीन बातों को दृष्टि में अवश्य रखा जाय । पहली बात तो यह देखी जाय कि उस व्यवसाय या उद्योग से बेज-अनर को क्या मिलेगा—उस को लिविंग-वेज भी मिलेगी या नहीं । दूसरी बात यह देखी जाय कि क्या कन्ज्यूमर को माल सस्ते दामों पर मिलेगा या नहीं । और तीसरी बात यह सामने रखी जाय कि क्या उस व्यवसाय से सरकार को भी कुछ मिलेगा या नहीं, क्योंकि सरकार को कुछ मिलना बहुत लाजिमी है । हमारे यहां वॉलफेयर स्टेट है और इसलिये सरकार पर खर्च का बहुत भारी बोझ है । इस कारण उस की आमदनी बढ़ाना बहुत जरूरी है । मैं देखता हूँ कि बहुत सी काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज ऐसी हैं, कि जिन में न तो बेज-अनर को पूरा लाभ हो सकता है और न होने की सम्भावना ही है । कनज्यूमर को भी बीजें दुगने दाम पर मिलती हैं और सरकार को भी टैक्स के में घन नहीं मिलता है

अम्बर चरखे की बहुत चर्चा हो रही है । उस के विषय में एक कमेटी बँठी, जिस की रिपोर्ट, को मैंने देखा है । मैं देखता हूँ कि अगर कोई आदमी आठ घंटे काम करे, तो उस को बारह आने रोज की आमदनी हो सकती है—जिस की कि मुझे उम्मीद नहीं है । इस के बाद उस के द्वारा जो सूत तैयार होगा और कपड़ा बनेगा, उस की कीमत दुबनी बैठेगी । इसलिये इन्हें ज्यादा रुपया नहीं

खर्च करना चाहिये। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि इस को खत्म कर दिया जाय, लेकिन यह तथ्य है कि इस के द्वारा न वेज-ग्रन्थर तरक्की कर सकता है—क्योंकि अगर उस की आठ दस आना आमदनी हो भी जाय, तो भी उस को कोई विशेष लाभ नहीं होगा—और कनज्यूमर को भी कपड़ा देने भांव में मिलेगा और न सरकार को ही टैक्स के रूप में कुछ मिल सकेगा। इसलिये यह आवश्यक है कि इस प्रकार के काम सरकार सोच-विचार कर ही आरम्भ करे।

मेरा यह मत है कि देहात में जो किसान खेती के काम में लगे हुए हैं, उन का ध्यान किसी दूसरी ओर आकर्षित करना गलत बात है। इस बात का प्रयत्न करना चाहिये कि उस को खेती का ही काम इतना मिल जाय कि वह रात दिन उसी में लगा रहे। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री भी यह चाहते हैं कि हमारे देश की खेती की पैदावार को चालीस प्रतिशत बढ़ाया जाय। खेती की पैदावार तभी बढ़ सकती है जबकि किसान को केवल खेती के काम में ही लगे रहने दिया जाय, जब तक किसान को रात-दिन खेती के काम में व्यस्त रहने का अवसर नहीं मिलेगा, तब तक खेती की पैदावार में वृद्धि होना मुश्किल है।

इस सम्बन्ध में मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि किसानों की फसलों को नैचुरल एनिमीज आफ दि फ्रॉप्स से भी बचाने की व्यवस्था की जाय। कई स्थानों पर जानवर रात को फसल को चर जाते हैं और कई स्थानों पर अभी खेत पकने नहीं पाता है कि चिड़ियां इत्यादि उस को चुग जाती हैं। सरकार को इस समस्या की ओर भी ध्यान देना चाहिये।

हम सब यह चाहते हैं कि पंचवर्षीय योजना पूर्णतया सफल हो। इस के लिये हम को सब से पहले यह काम करना चाहिये कि इस देश में एक ऐसा वातावरण पैदा हो

कि सब लोग इस योजना के बारे में सोचें और देखें कि वह किस तरह उस को पूरा करने में सहायता कर सकते हैं। जो आदमी देश का ध्यान पंच वर्षीय योजना की ओर से हटावे, उस को एन्टी-सोशल एलिमेंट समझना चाहिये। स्टेट्स री-आर्गनाइजेशन के सम्बन्ध में कुछ लोगों ने बहुत उपद्रव मचाये और देश का ध्यान दूसरी तरफ खींचा। खैर, वह मामला खत्म हो गया। जब बम्बई को बार्डिलिगुअल स्टेट बनाने का निश्चय किया गया, तो विरोधी दल के कुछ एम० पी० उपद्रव मचाने के लिये अहमदाबाद पहुंच गये, जहां पर उन्होंने कानून को तोड़ा। कुछ इस प्रकार का नियम होना चाहिये कि कम से कम पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर तो कानून को न तोड़ें और उस को पूरी तरह मानें और जो नहीं मानते हैं, मैं उन को बिगेस्ट एन्टी सोशल एलिमेंट हम्बर बन समझता हूँ। उन को तो ज्यादा से ज्यादा सजा दी जानी चाहिये। उन को यहां बैठने का कोई अधिकार नहीं है, जोकि यहां के बनाये लाज को नहीं मानते हैं।

**Mr. Speaker:** I am afraid the hon. Member has taken enough time. He must resume his seat.

**Shri Tulsidas (Mehsana West):** It is hardly necessary to thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak on this important subject. As the House knows, the second Plan embodies the great urges and aspirations of the people of India for rapid economic advancement. This document on the second Plan is nothing else but a supreme endeavour on the part of the people to work out rapid solutions for the removal of their age-old poverty, unemployment, ignorance and disease. Like the White Paper on full employment prepared by Lord Beveridge in the United Kingdom some years back, the second Plan embodies the great spirit of adventure and determination of the Indian nation, to take up courage in its hands and march ahead towards increasing the living standards during

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the coming years and liberating the people from economic and social stagnation. The Plan thus happens to be exciting and it is bound to provide to all citizens of this country a spur for making the necessary efforts and sacrifices towards this fulfilment.

The second Plan has given the objectives and a number of points on which we wish to have our Plan implemented in the second five years. When we read this document and when we hear the speeches of different Ministers and the different spokesmen of the Government, I find that there is a certain amount of confusion in thinking and in the process by which this Plan is to be implemented. For example, we all know that the end of the Plan is to increase social welfare. Yet, it is surprising to find that the Government and even the Planning Commission are committing an error regarding the establishment of a socialist pattern of society as the social goal. I repeat that social welfare alone is the end of the policy and that a socialist or any other pattern of society can be only the means of achieving this end. This shows; to my mind, a clear confusion on the part of the Government of means with ends. There is no use having a socialist pattern as an end in itself, specially if it does not lead to the attainment of maximum possible social welfare. As a matter of fact, any measure which helps the establishment of a socialist pattern as understood by the Government, but does not conduce to public welfare is inconsistent with the ends of planning. Merely to follow the path that leads to socialism without increasing welfare would be parochial and dogmatic to my mind. The approach to planning should not be dogmatic, but should be functional; that is to say it should lead to the goal of maximising social welfare. We should be clear about this. Otherwise, we are likely to be misled by the propaganda of my friends on the

right and other elements who advocate measures such as indiscriminate nationalisation, irrespective of welfare considerations, merely on the ground of expediting the establishment of a socialist pattern of society. There is no quarrel with regard to the objectives and ends of this Plan. I am sure no one in this country has any reason to quarrel about that.

Let us now consider the approach to this Plan. We have ended our First Five Year Plan with a tremendous success and that has given us a background of looking forward to a much greater and a much bigger and bold plan. But, let us also consider the conditions under which the first Plan was envisaged from the very beginning. The circumstances in which the first Plan was envisaged were very much favourable. As you know very well, a number of schemes which had fructified in the first Plan were started before the Plan came into operation. We had two or three very good monsoons and thereby agricultural production increased to a considerable extent. To that extent Nature has been with us in the first Five Year Plan. We have to consider whether we have schemes in the second Plan similar to the schemes which were being envisaged before the first Plan came into operation and whether it is possible to implement such schemes. These are the main points on which the first Plan was brought out and was implemented in a very successful way. We have the admiration of almost all the countries in the world for the way in which we have been able to implement the first Plan.

Let me be clear; I am not pessimistic or cynical about the Second Five Year Plan. I desire that our efforts should be much more, perhaps double or three times what we are envisaging in the Second Plan. In order that we may achieve a certain end, we have got to consider the circumstances under which we have to

function in the next Plan period. It is this point that I would like the Planning Commission and the Minister-in-charge to look into. After all, the Planning Commission is a body which weighs the pros and cons of the policies of the Government and thereby gives directives about the way in which the Second Five Year Plan has to be implemented. As I said, we should have a functional approach. I am not here to find out which particular sectors in the First Plan have been responsible for achieving the different targets. But, I do feel that if you call it a pragmatic approach, as the Prime Minister has been saying on a number of occasions, that pragmatic approach must be a functional one; a functional approach means that those who function in the proper way have to be encouraged. When you have the functional approach, it also presupposes that the different sections and communities who work for the good of the country have to be encouraged in all possible ways.

When I read the Prime Minister's speech on the Second Five Year Plan in the Rajya Sabha, I was very much enthused, because he has given a very realistic picture of the country and has told us in so many ways that though we may make mistakes here or there, we have a desire to see that our country progresses in as short a time as possible. He has also said that he is not going to be very rigid in regard to some of the objectives; as long as different sectors in the country function in a proper way, he is all for encouraging those particular sectors.

Having said that, I want to make one or two very important points. I am very optimistic that the country will make progress and must make progress in the Second Five Year Plan. But, while implementing it, we have to consider whether our approach is in the right direction or not. From a close study of the policies and programmes of the Government formulated in the recent period, I am afraid, there is not only confusion in

Government, but there exists a clear-cut absence of a synthetic policy towards various problems of economic planning. The ex-Commerce and Industry Minister during his last Budget speech has drawn the attention of the House to the need for injecting large dose of realism in our economic thinking and the shaping of our economic policy and the need for a more since reeffort and synthesis. These are his own words. He also warns that the country has twice been almost at the edge of a precipice. According to him, unless we choose the right set of principles and proceed in the right path, we are likely to fail in becoming an economically prosperous nation in ten years. If we proceed in a haphazard manner, as we so often do—I agree with him there—only God will help us. He has now taken over the strategic Finance Portfolio, it is up to him to correct the shortcomings in the policies of the Government. It will not be too much to expect from him, with his deep insight of economic matters, that he will introduce consistency, coherence and harmony in Government's policies and actions, the real synthesis to which he has pointed out earlier. I feel that there are not only deficiencies in approach, but there does exist some inconsistent and rather dangerous trend which will ultimately result in self-defeating the objectives of establishing a social democracy in the country. To my mind these trends would continue further and would accelerate and build up a monolingual State. Socialism started by joint State monopoly without ensuring proper machinery for the public accountability.

We had discussion yesterday about public accounting. I am not going into it because we have already discussed it. When the State takes over and nationalises a particular industry or a particular section, they naturally take responsibility because they are taken on the basis of monopoly and the country naturally looks to the State to receive cheap services or goods which the State monopoly produces.

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It has been said several times that private enterprise makes mistakes. Some of the companies do make mistakes and do misbehave, if I may use the word. But let us take the example of the Life Insurance Corporation. There are about 160 companies and if one or two or three companies do misbehave, which is unfortunate and which is not proper for the implementation of the work of the company, it only localises the effect in the particular place while in a huge monopolistic corporation, as it is now, it will affect the whole country; it will affect everyone because everyone has to rely merely on one corporation which is a monopoly of the country.

Therefore, naturally the Members of this House are very anxious to see whether the different enterprises which are run by the Government are run efficiently and whether they will deliver the goods as the goods as the people would like them do. Therefore, to that extent the responsibility of the different enterprises is much bigger and to that extent the public enterprises have to be much more efficient.

I would now come to the question of public co-operation. We in this country now rely very much on the government machinery. If at any time any question crops up the people are saying: the Government must do this. Let us consider this question. The hon. Minister of Planning has stated: we want public co-operation and we want to enthuse the people. I fully agree with him that unless there is public co-operation and unless the public is enthused, it will not be easy for us to implement the plan. But what is our approach now? If at any time anything has to be done, we rely on the Government machinery. Naturally, therefore, the public co-operation and public enthusiasm is not there. There is too much reliance in Government in the country and in other parts of the world too in delivering the goods and in doing everything. If everybody

has to rely on the Government for everything, no Government is capable or has the capacity to deliver the goods except, of course, in totalitarian communist countries; there, they deliver certain goods and people have to be satisfied with them whether they like it or not; if they are not satisfied, well, they will have to accept it, whatever it is. But that is not the position in democratic countries like ours. If you want to be self-reliant and if you want to do more for the sake of developing the country, then you must create a certain amount of public enthusiasm in order to do a certain amount of good for the sake of the country. How do we get that? You know very well that before we attained independence we had one common objective and that was to remove the foreign government, the alien government, from the country. We attained our common objective. What has happened after independence? Since the other common objective has been attained, now our common objective must be to see that the people are enthused, they are brought up and their standard of living is raised. We have to see every possible way of increasing the tempo of the progress of the country. What I am saying is that we have to create enthusiasm among the people and we must make them do certain things for the good of the country and at the same time, see that their standard of living is raised in the shortest possible time. What do we find here? Let us consider this aspect. You know only too well that our standard of living is very low, sub-standard level. If people have a little more income, naturally people do expect to wear a little more cloth and eat a little more food. Unless you provide these things, unless you give them these insufficient quantities, at a cost which he can easily afford, he is not enthused at all and in spite of all the efforts that we have been making he does not feel at all that he is in any way better. The other day we were told that we have to reduce consumption.

We want to reduce the consumption of the consumer goods and the most essential goods. But in things like food and cloth what is the position? A person before five years back was using about 15 yards of cloth. Now he is using 16.8 yards according to the present figures and our production is on that basis. So there is an increase of 1.8 yards in *per capita* consumption. We want to see that that consumption is not there because we are putting a certain amount of restriction on the production of cloth and cloth is not available at the cost at which the individual would like to buy and wear more. That is one way of creating certain amount of enthusiasm in this man, the common man or whatever you call it, and we should give him these amenities at least for some time so that the enthusiasm of the public, co-operation of the public, which the hon. Minister is very anxious to have, will be available. That is one of the reasons why I feel that there is a certain amount of confusion in thinking on the part of the different Ministries of the Government. On the one hand, my hon. friend, the Finance Minister, who was the ex-Commerce Minister, wanted and made it definitely clear in his speech before he took over the other portfolio that under no circumstances will the production of consumer goods be reduced, the tariff walls on consumer goods must be removed and the targets that have been fixed must be achieved anyhow. I suggest that increased production must take place with regard to consumer goods in order to see that these are available to the public at large. But we find that, on the one hand, our exports of cloth go down, and on the other there is shortage of cloth. Now there is shortage of steel, shortage of cement and shortage of essential things to the common man like food. All these things are still in short supply and we are not able to give them as much as he would like or at least a little more than what he was getting before.

This takes us to the question of foreign exchange. You know very

well that only an hour back I had put a question to which I received an answer from the present Finance Minister that he does feel that the foreign exchange position is not as happy as we would like it to be. He has also stated that we are losing practically about Rs. 20 crores per month from our foreign exchange. I had asked him particularly what is the estimate about the future. He is not able to give us a correct estimate. There was an article in the *Times of India* a few days back with regard to foreign exchange needs. The Second Five Year Plan envisages a balance of payments deficit to the extent of Rs. 1100 crores and the Government expect about Rs. 800 crores as aid from foreign governments. Now, the rate at which we are moving is fast and our position in the balance of payment during the last four or five months gives an indication that Rs. 1100 crores is not a correct estimate, it is far wrong than what it would be otherwise and our requirements are much more. According to this article, they estimate about Rs. 1500 crores of deficit financing during the next five years in the balance of payments. Of course, we expect about Rs. 800 crores by way of foreign aid and loans.

Now, under the present Indo-U.S. Agreement, it is stated, we will be able to get Rs. 175 crores. I am afraid, that is not the correct picture because though the amount of money which the United States Government will give us will be Rs. 175 crores, in the matter of foreign exchange, according to my calculation, the amount will be about Rs. 110 crores or Rs. 115 crores and not Rs. 175 crores because we have to pay freight and we have to bring the goods here. Therefore, to that extent, Rs. 175 crores will not be available for foreign exchange.

1 P.M.

Now, looking from this point of view, I still do not see any indication anywhere as to how this balance of payment will be met. With the foreign exchange reverses which we will have in the next Five Year Plan, how are we going to meet this? This

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is going to be a very serious problem. Only two courses are open: either we should reduce our imports, or we should increase our exports. If we reduce our imports, our development suffers. If we export more there is inflation in the country, naturally because we are not producing as much as we want. This is going to be one of the biggest problems and our whole future lies in the successful and proper handling of this question. I do hope that Government will not lose sight of this particular aspect and will properly apply the levers it has at its disposal, so that we may be able to go ahead with our progress, without our foreign exchange position becoming worse.

As the House knows—I was not unfortunately here at that time—the Reserve Bank has recently been given certain powers. I am sure the House will realise that the rupee has today such a strong backing that it has created a position for itself in the whole world, that it is considered only next to dollar. I do not want my currency's position to be impaired in any way in the world market. It is a matter of which we must all be proud of. Today after our efforts of the First Five Year Plan the rupee has a position for itself in the whole world market. In the Middle East they prefer the rupee to the dollar.

**Shrimati Benn Chakravarty:** What about the sterling?

**Shri Tulsidas:** The sterling is nowhere; dollar is the most current one.

**Shrimati Benn Chakravarty:** Sterling is lower than the rupee?

**Shri Tulsidas:** Definitely.

I would like the House to bear in mind that this is a thing which we have achieved after great efforts and which we should preserve. This is a very important thing. With the powers which we have recently given to the Reserve Bank and with the amount of deficit financing that there is going to be, I only hope and pray

that we will not lose our position which we have been able to build up in the past five or six years. I am sure Government realises the full implications of this and I hope the policy of Government will be such that this achievement of ours will not be lost.

The House knows well the value of the Pakistan rupee. In spite of the official exchange rate being 100, the open market value of the Pakistan rupee is 160 rupees for 60 Indian rupees. I do want that my rupee which today is as strong as dollar should remain in the same position. This is one of the important matters to which Government should divert its serious attention.

Now I come to the question of production. I fully realise that the employment question should be borne in mind and we should see that employment is not reduced in any way; on the other hand, it should be increased and increased considerably. We must provide full employment for every able-bodied man or woman in this country and with that aim in view we should go forward. But what is the position? I would ask one question. Is it possible to increase full employment with the way we are proceeding with our industrialisation? I have the fullest sympathy and I do agree that our cottage and handicraft industries should be protected and must be given as much encouragement as possible. We should at the same time bear in mind that in those countries where industrialisation of the highest order has taken place there is no unemployment; in fact, over-employment has taken place. On the other hand in countries where they merely live on the basis of under-developed or non-technological industry, as the hon. the Finance Minister pointed out, there has been unemployment and continuous unemployment. We have got to take the examples of other countries. Our employment can only be increased, if we proceed with the building up of highly developed industries.

It is not merely a question of employment. The hon. Minister of Planning said that in heavy industries for every one lakh of capital expenditure you employ one man. That is not the real criterion. Employment is not merely a question of how much labour is employed. We have got also to consider the tertiary employment and other types of employment that takes place in industrialisation. That has not been taken into consideration. We must see that our employment is increased and we will be able to increase employment only if we increase industrialisation. Otherwise we will remain behind as other countries have done. That is an aspect which I hope the hon. Minister will take note of.

Let me now take the question of transport. It is a very important subject. On this Plan, this huge document one can talk for hours till end, but I am taking only those aspects which are really important to our economy and progress. I have been taking a lot of interest in the subject of transport, railways particularly. I have always been saying that no matter whatever might be the amount of money you give to the Railway Minister to spend for the expansion of railways, our transport problem will never be solved, because in no country in the world have the railways by themselves solved the problem of transport. It is the other modes of transport which would solve the problem, and yet we are not doing anything to the extent we should do with regard to the other modes of transport.

Let us take road transport and see what progress has been made. We have done nothing. We are relying entirely upon our railway transport, while in other countries hardly 15 to 20 per cent. of the entire goods are transported by railways; the rest of the goods is transported by other means. What happens when the transport is not easy? Even if you produce more, it is not going to create a healthy effect, particularly in those areas where there are deficiencies

with regard to food or cloth. After all we cannot make every district and every taluk self-sufficient in all commodities. We must have food produced in large quantities in areas like the Punjab or Madhya Pradesh and it has to be transported to deficit areas like Travancore-Cochin or Kerala, for which we must have transport. Only when goods are transported to deficit areas, the prices are brought down; otherwise higher prices will be prevailing in certain places and lower prices in certain other areas, with the result that both the consumers and the producers would suffer. So, transport is really another important problem which has to be tackled. My firm conviction is that you cannot rely on the railways alone; we have got to see that other modes of transport are encouraged and are brought about as early as possible. Otherwise I am afraid the same difficulties will arise again.

1-10 P.M.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

When I point out these difficulties, I am not pointing them out as a pessimist or anything of the sort. I do feel that this country has got the inherent strength to see that in spite of everything it makes progress. And the country has made progress. Let us take the example of what we had before independence came. We had enormous difficulties; we could not develop anything; the foreign government was always up against us. Still the country developed, and to a very great extent. In the whole of Asia, excepting Japan, the country most developed was India. That was so in spite of the foreign domination. And I still feel—I am sorry to use the word—in spite of the policies of the Government, the country will develop, because the country has inherent strength. But let us give them a little more, let us see that our country gathers strength and produces more and creates more wealth, so that everyone who is now at a sub-standard level and whose income is low should go up and rise, instead of our merely talking about distributing the poverty. The Prime

[Shri Tulsidas]

Minister has used those words, that there is no meaning in merely having the idea of distribution, because it will be distribution of poverty. Therefore, let us have both the processes. Let us have an egalitarian society. I am not opposed to it. We must have less disparities than we have today. It is disgraceful to see disparities prevailing to such an extent. But what are we doing? We are merely trying to distribute it; we are not trying to raise the standard. So let us have both the ways. And there are ways. Other countries have done it. Then why not we do it? We have the resources, we have an enormous manpower in this country which is a tremendous strength to this country; and that is one of the reasons why we are today considered one of the countries on the map of the world.

People talk of China. I cannot take the example of China or of Russia, because the set-up is entirely different. The organisational set-up in China or in any of the communist countries is entirely different; it is entirely totalitarian. There, whatever happens, the government is right, and nobody else is right. There is no question of criticism. If a man gets a piece of cloth at Rs. 10 or Rs. 20 a yard, he has to buy it; he cannot help it. Reference was made to our administrators. If in Russia or China an administrator does not carry out what the government tells him, there is a bigger punishment, and that is to be shot or to be sent to Siberia. The consideration here is that we have got a democracy. We have accepted democracy, and we must see in a democratic country that, as far as possible, we create public co-operation and public enthusiasm. And that can only be done by having decentralisation, by everybody trying to work hard and not merely trying to rely on the Government all the time and going to the Government whenever there is any difficulty. We must create a certain amount of self-reliance in the country, and that is the manner in which we can achieve our

objectives. And I hope Government will at least give us a clear thinking in this respect. The Prime Minister is very clear in his views.—I am clear about it—but I only hope that the other Ministries..

**Shri Kamath** (Hoshangabad):  
Planning Minister.

**Shri Tulsidas**:.....will also have a clear view while implementing certain things.

The other day I was putting certain questions, and my friend here asked what happened to the mechanised plant in the Bombay docks. It has not been worked, because by doing so we have got to displace 90 per cent. of the labour. Therefore, this mechanised plant cannot be used, and it has to be kept lying idle till the question of labour is solved. I cannot understand this. On the one hand we have got difficulties. The Commerce Minister, for instance, says: It will probably interest the House to know that at a meeting recently held in Bombay, it was estimated that within a couple of months the arrival of steel there would be about 2,000 tons a day, while the transport available there is about 800 tons. If that is the position, why should anything come in the way of the mechanisation? It is possible to give employment to the ninety per cent. labour that might be displaced. Why should it come in the way of our transport or of our progress?

Similarly, I asked a question of the Railway Minister about transport, about the C.T.C. scheme which has been brought about for increasing the capacity of railways. But he says he cannot do it. There is, again, the question of labour. If we are going to look at it from every point of view, how are we going to progress?

These are very important issues. If one has to consider priorities, if we want to have more goods moved, if we want greater production to be achieved, and in that process if certain things have to be sacrificed, I do

not see any reason why we should not sacrifice them. After all, these people can be employed anywhere else. There is no difficulty about that. There is shortage of labour in certain areas. They can be employed there. But I do not see any reason why a particular mechanised plant which costs Rs. 5 or Rs. 6 lakhs should be lying idle because of this question of labour. These are some of the points that I wanted to make, and I hope that Government will use their initiative and their imagination in tackling these problems.

Apart from these, another most important thing is that there are certain levers, and these levers will have to be applied. It may be that these may not suit sometimes. Suppose there are emergencies; as the Prime Minister rightly said, we may have to go slow. We cannot help it. Suppose difficulties arise, we have to face them and we have got to go slow. That is why this is a plan which is a flexible, a sort of elastic plan. And we have got to see that the different levers function in a way that our economy makes progress in as short a time as possible. Otherwise, if we have to be rigid and we have to see that we do certain things no matter what other suffer, then I am afraid it will not be possible to at least satisfy the needs of the people.

As I said from the very beginning, we have to have a functional approach, and I have always been saying that the functional approach is the only approach on which the Plan can succeed. It is no use thinking in terms of anything else. We all would like that this Plan not only succeeds but that the targets are achieved in a much larger measure than what is envisaged in the Plan.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarty:** I thank you very much for calling me to speak just after Shri Tulsidas; because that is exactly the quarter from which the Plan, as it was originally envisaged, has been successfully sabotaged. That is why I attach great importance to his

speech, much more importance than many of the other speeches.

**Shri Tulsidas:** Sabotage is a word in the dictionary of communists, of nobody else.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarty:** If communism and socialism mean an egalitarian society, then it is certainly something that has been fought for; and often we shall have to do it by fighting some of the policies that you are advocating. Sir, by 'you' I mean, through you, Shri Tulsidas..

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** It will go so on record.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarty:** .....so that I may not be misunderstood.

Specifically I want to point out that Shri Tulsidas has said that the aim of the Plan must be social welfare, not socialist pattern of society. So far as my party is concerned, as you know we have often criticised what actually the Congress connotation of 'socialist pattern of society' means. But it does not mean that the idea of socialism is something that the entire people have not supported except may be the group led by Shri Tulsidas. Now, social welfare is a concept which you see in the biggest capitalist countries too. You find some of the best social welfare institutions in Sweden for instance and in many other capitals of countries. But is that what we are aiming at, keeping capitalism with its growth towards monopoly; or are we going to try and work, step by step, slowly but surely, towards the development of a socialist pattern of society? This is exactly the subtle method which has been adopted right throughout to sabotage, step by step, the implementation of policies—that is keeping them and paying lip service to the aims of the Plan as adumbrated in it from the beginning of the Plan and saying, "We stand by the aim of reducing the disparities, we appreciate that the national income must be increased, we certainly support the question of relieving unemployment, no replacement etc.", but when it comes to a question of rationalisation, saying immediately,

[Shrimati Renu Chakravartty]

"Why should we not have rationalisation? We want technological progress." I shall try to show this how step by step the Plan frame was sabotaged. I do not know if I would have the time for that. The theory has been put forward: We support the aims. But, I do not know what Sri Kilachand means by "functional approach," except that once he said that the plan should allow all encouragement to all section of people—which means that the private sector, having successfully eaten up quite a big part of the sector which was originally kept for the public sector, is now feeling that further encouragement is needed for it. (*Interruption by Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha*) I think the hon. Lady Member will get her chance and she can put forward her views clearly and support Shri Tulsidas if she can.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** When hon. Lady Members differ, I should be very reluctant to interfere. There should be less interruption.

**Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha** (Patna East): I wanted to create greater interest in her speech.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** It will not be necessary for her to create interest in my speech. I can do it myself.

The point which I want to make is, that everybody throughout the country has supported the importance of industrial development underlined in the Second Plan. That is very useful, something that we do appreciate.

Secondly, it has to be noted that in the drawing up of the Second Plan, at the various stages of discussions that have taken place both at the stage when we ourselves were associated through the Consultative Committee of Parliament as well as through the National Development Council, one common feature was to be seen. Everybody supported the basic principles in the Plan frame, namely that

the basic frame of the Plan will lead to a lowering of the inequalities and provide employment opportunities for 10 to 12 million people and that the public sector must rapidly expand at a faster rate than the private sector and that heavy and basic industries should be developed. These were the things that we completely supported. But, when we come to the final form of the draft Plan as it has been put forward, what has happened?

The basic strategy in the Plan frame was that there should be heavy industries in the public sector. The second strategy was that the public sector should be expanded at a relatively faster rate than the private sector and the third strategy was that the private sector's biggest field would be the decentralised section, depending on household production and hand industries. In every one of these fundamental approaches, the Plan frame has been watered down till the very basis of the National Plan has been jeopardised. This is what I shall prove.

This Plan has given up the policy of underlining the need for the growth of heavy machine building industries in the public sector. On page 25, we find the importance of machine building industries stressed. This has been accepted. Yet, what is it that has been done? In the Plan frame, a very important item was the installation of an engineering workshop capable of fabricating machinery required for a million ton steel plant. A sum of Rs. 150 crores was given to this. This is a very very important thing. From the point of view of employment, unless we have the machines to produce machines, we shall never be able to industrialise our country. Every time, a poor undeveloped country will come up against the question of foreign exchange, the question of wealth, political consequences that come up from time to time in trying to get machinery from other countries. As regards this sum of Rs. 150 crores, it is not only a question of money not

being available. As a matter of fact, today, the Plan as it has emerged, is covering a larger amount, than was originally envisaged. In spite of that, we find that there has been a shifting of emphasis from what was decided earlier and during the Blue book discussions also, that is, the machine building industry has not been given its due place. It is stated that the N. I. D. C., an organisation whose character is yet shrouded in mystery is given a sum of Rs. 15 crores for setting up heavy foundries, forging shops and heavy structural shops. I must call it a farce in comparison with what actually was the idea and demand of the day for laying the basis of the Plan. It has been said that we are going to set up our country three foundries and forge shops. Totally inadequate allocations have been made for heavy machinery industries in the public sector. For instance, the provision is: for the manufacture of electrical equipment, Rs. 20 crores; expansion of Hindustan Machine Tools, Rs. 2 crores; for manufacture of Industrial machinery and machine tools, Rs. 10 crores. Mines electrical equipment manufacture, the total for machine tools and industrial machinery, is a mere sum of Rs. 12 crores. This is a change in emphasis that has taken place. Instead of taking the first and firm step towards laying the basis for building up a machine building industry, an absolute pre-requisite for industrialisation, we are now changing the emphasis and are giving only a paltry sum of Rs. 12 crores for machines and machine tools.

The N. I. D. C. was set up for providing help to the private sector. We found that Rs. 20 or 25 crores were originally to be given for rationalisation schemes in jute and textiles. This is a very debatable point on which we have taken a very firm line. We have said, at the moment, there should be no question of investing anything in consumer goods industries—try to utilise whatever is available, later we may be able to bring them up to the level of technological progress, when we are able to have a little more money, and we may be in a position

to take up the question of balancing rationalisation and retrenchment. That has not been accepted. Subtly, the argument of inadequacy of funds has been raised. On page 416, there is an interesting point. Commenting on the break up of anticipated investment on industrial machinery and capital goods, it is stated that on certain schemes involving the use of N. I. D. C. resources, decisions have yet to be taken whether they will be in the public or private sector. That is why I feel that it is not only a question of allowing the existing units of machine production in the private sector to continue. As a matter of fact, I think Shri T. T. Krishnamachari in one of his speeches said, we are allowing them to continue; we are not afraid of the private sector. He may still say, we are allowing them to continue. But it is not only that. It is a reversal of the Industrial Policy resolution where heavy castings and forgings of iron and steel and heavy plant and machinery required for iron and steel production and machine tool manufacture are within the exclusive purview of the State. It is a slow infiltration to allow these to be managed and developed in the private sector either on the plea of lack of resources or necessity of allowing the private sector opportunities in a mixed economy, or any other excuse.

Here, I would like to mention that the very aims and objectives to which some people pay lip service are being attacked by this under-playing of the necessity of the machine building industry as well as by allowing the private sector to manage all that in that sector. For instance, Prof. D. R. Gadgil has stated:

“A progressive widening of the public sector is an essential prerequisite of any progress towards a socialistic society, particularly in an undeveloped area undertaking rapid planned development. Without such an extension of the public sector, large planned development will actually breed greater inequalities and bring about

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greater concentration of economic power than before."

This was very honestly said in the Blue book which we discussed in the Consultative Committee. Because that was attacked, this time, I find that those sentences have been left out. Is the Plan draft unless social policy is adumbrated in the Plan, there will be wider disparities in income, unless we are very careful. That point has been taken out; but the reality remains the same. As Prof. Gadgil points out,

"State regulation of economic activities for planning also increases concentration."

I feel that by this actual implementation of the Plan, which has now been undertaken with under-playing the importance of the machine building industries and basic industries,—except steel, everything has been under-played in the final stage—the very object of reducing disparity is being jeopardised.

In this connection, it will not be out of place to quote what Shri T. T. Krishnamachari said in the National Development Council.

"Out of the million tons of fabricated products that we expect to produce, the expansion in the private sector may account for 450,000 to 500,000 and we (meaning the Government, I suppose) shall be doing somewhere between 500,000 and 550,000."

As I was reading through the Plan, two new terms defining the new mental attitude of the Government seemed to emerge. Formerly we were talking about strategic heights. The Prime Minister talked about strategic heights, and the controlling of strategic heights. That is why he said the public sector must take up more and more basic industries, the heavy machine building industries, steel and such like. Now we are finding two other words which are coming up again and again. Shri T. T. Krishna-

machari keeps on talking about "filling up the gaps." I can give you lots of quotations. He keeps on talking of the gaps which are already there and says if the private sector will not be or is not enthused because of various reasons like incentives and does not come into that, we shall fill up the gaps. The other thing is "dovetailing." These are the two terms used. Very good, we want them, but the essence of the matter is the controlling factor of the State. There is no doubt about it. The First Five Year Plan, about which Shri Tulsidas has waxed eloquent, has shown the weakness of allowing industry to remain in the hands of the private sector. We say certainly allow them full scope in certain industries which have been allocated in the Industrial Policy Resolution, but I say the Government has allowed, in the final form of the Plan, the private sector to impinge on those sectors which were really the exclusive purview of the State. Government has come to the conclusion, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari says, of setting up three big forges and foundries. Besides this investment of Rs. 10 crores against Rs. 150 crores that was originally there, if you see the figures that have been given for large-scale industry you will find that the public sector including the N. I. D. C., which is meant also to help the private sector, is Rs. 559 crores and the private sector will invest Rs. 535 crores. So we find that the old idea of controlling the strategic heights has been completely given up. Except for the programme for steel, the giving up of the machine-building industries is a retrograde step which jeopardises the industrialisation of the country.

I do not want to go into other points, but it has been pointed out in a very illuminating article by Dr. K. N. Raj which I was reading that while there are certain similarities between the Chinese and Indian Plans there is one big thing that is missing. In the Chinese Plan much greater emphasis has been laid on the machine-building industry. At the end of the

First Five Year Plan there they will be capable of producing one million tons of steel, I think, besides tractors and other things. Paucity of funds is no excuse. It shows a deliberate policy. That is why I feel Shri Tulasidas has been enthused by this Plan and the speech of the Prime Minister.

I remember very clearly that the Prime Minister said to us in the consultative committee: "We have to judge everything from the point of view of how we are reducing the disparities of income. Production is essential, but how you utilise that production is a big factor that we have to take into consideration." That is exactly what we find has not been done. The biggest and most important industries like aluminium and ferro-manganese remain with the private sector. Ferro-manganese is something that creates super profits and quick returns. That has been left entirely to the private sector. Yet we know when we want to have capital investment and proper channelisation, it is not only the lame ducks that the public sector has to take up. It has to take up the strategic industries in which there is quick return. Ferro manganese is one such industry. Yet we leave it entirely to the private sector. Take the question of aluminium, an important and strategic industry. If we really want to replace copper which is in such shortage, this is an important industry. Yet, out of the proposed total additional capacity of 30,000 tons—it is only proposed, I do not know how far we will implement it—10,000 tons will be in the public sector. In construction activity two factors are of importance, cement and steel. Steel is in the public sector mainly, but cement which is also important should be in the public sector. Only a paltry 300,000 tons out of 13 million tons of capacity will be in the public sector. Even in regard to heavy engineering industries, in private sector section at page 394 of the Plan it is stated:

"In other words, heavy engineering industries and workshops

in the country have to be generally strengthened for undertaking such tasks as the construction of steel plants, fertilizer factories etc. In this context the creation of certain basic facilities such as the establishment of heavy foundries, forges and structural shops is absolutely necessary."

But if you total the amount which will be spent by the private sector on these structurals, forgings etc., it is the same Rs. 10 crores, the paltry sum which you are now niggardly advocating for use by the public sector for the same purpose.

I have very little time. I just want to touch one or two points of labour policy. There are two things suggested by the Plan. One is the question of the much-talked-of participation of labour in management councils. The idea is to promote increased productivity and to give the employees a better understanding of their role in the working of industry and of the process of production. This is good, it sounds good, but none of these things will be achieved unless the main problem of labour are resolved. I do not say they will be resolved automatically, but I say broad principles have to be agreed upon. Unless some broad principles are agreed upon, I do not think the management councils will be able to achieve very much. For instance, there is the question of rationalisation and retrenchment. It is a tricky question but it is a question on which the broad principles have to be laid down. I am glad to say that the Plan for the first time has made a categorical statement which if carried out sincerely will mean that many of the things that are today happening in the jute and textile mills have to be ruthlessly put down by the Government in power. It says: "Rationalisation should, therefore, be adopted when it does not lead to unemployment." A very categorical statement. And it adds that it should be introduced in consultation with the workers and effected after improving the working

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conditions and guaranteeing a substantial share of the gains to the workers. Yet, when we ask about the amount of displacements in the jute and cotton mills, again and again we are told that they do not know or that the figures are not available. But the fact remains and life shows that thousands are being replaced. So I say these are things that are not only to be discussed and principles evolved, but they have to be implemented and practised.

Then there is the question of workload, wages, bonus etc. I just touch on the question of wages because in the Plan as it has emerged contradictory statements have been made. Almost every sector has registered an increase in production. Has it been reflected in the wages? What is it that the plan has said? It says: "A study should be undertaken to see whether there is any scope for wage increase at the present level of productivity." Is this all that the Plan has to offer to the workers who are supposed to be the most important component of our production? And then do we have to wonder why people are not enthused by the Plan? Certainly we do not believe that at one jump we can have real, proper living standards, but certainly the worker must be promised wages consistent at least with productivity. For instance, the Indian Iron and Steel Co., I have again and again brought it to the notice of the Ministers, has made enormous profit. There is a high rate of productivity. Has it been reflected in the wages? So, the whole question boils down to this that wage increase is being put off by Government. I think it is a way of trying to circumvent the issue to say we must undertake wage census only. The wage figures have been there in the labour Gazette since the last 20 years, and what difficulty is there in arriving at some sort of decision by the Government? The other machinery suggested for reducing industrial unrest is the joint consultative committee. This is no new

suggestion. The joint consultative committee on jute has been there since 1948. How many times has it met? The Plan states trade unions are necessary. They are necessary, but even today the basis on which unions will be recognised has not been adumbrated. Why is that so? Statutory steps should have been taken. Go to the States, the State Ministers will laugh at you and say it is a matter for the Centre, and the Central Government also does not recognise its Unions and according to the State it is neither necessary nor feasible. So, you have not only to formulate policies, but you have to see that they are implemented. Otherwise, nobody will take you seriously.

Since I have no time, I would not touch even the question of unemployment. But the question of retrenchment in the DVC has opened our eyes. Here are technical personnel but they cannot be utilised, because we cannot think of utilising them by having a pool for them. Therefore, these people are thrown out to the wolves.

Then, there is decentralisation of industries which is another big question. I feel that today, the decentralisation of industries is not getting the proper help that it should. After having heard the discussion on the Central Excises and Salt (Amendment) Bill, I feel that this is the thin end of the wedge and that an attack will be made on the decentralised sector and the handloom sector, while an attempt will be made to increase the mill industries and the consumer goods factory industries. Anyway, I have not the time to go into such things in detail.

But I should like to say a word or two on fiscal policy. We feel, and the country feels, very much dismayed at the recent trends in Government policy. Shri T. T. Krishnamachari had stated recently that there was nothing to worry about internal resources, but the problem was one of foreign exchange and a problem of maintaining prices.

I do not think I shall have time to deal with prices. But I would like to say a word on the question of foreign exchange, because that has been raised by Shri Tulsidas also. That is why I want to bring to the notice of this House the fact that this new tendency that is growing may, I am afraid, overwhelm Government, because it has come both from the Ministerial end as well as from the end of the private sector.

First, let me take internal resources. Unfortunately, we have not had much time to discuss the *Report of the Taxation Enquiry Commission*. We have not had time to discuss Kaldor's report. That is why Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, clearly and with impunity, has accepted the position, as if the House itself has accepted it, that direct taxes have no further scope of yielding revenue, and, therefore, Government will increasingly use the device of indirect taxation. We have seen already the first dose of this in the form of the excise duty on cloth. The prices of cloth have gone up in my State of West Bengal on the eve of the Pujas, and we know what is coming.

But the amazing thing is that the Plan has not clearly formulated what the direction of taxation policy is to be. What is to be the direction of taxation policy? We have to state it categorically in the Plan itself, and not leave it to our new Finance Minister or to other people to interpret it. Shri T. T. Krishnamachari had said clearly in the Rajya Sabha that what he has learnt from the report of Mr. Kaldor is that Kaldor wants reducing the income-tax, and that is rather difficult, and, therefore, he says, we have to think about it. Since this is the only thing that he has referred to, we feel that if anything comes out of Mr. Kaldor's report, it will be a reduction of the income-tax. Nothing was stated by him on expenditure tax, capital gains tax, gift tax, annual tax on wealth and so on. But these are the things that decide what the social policy of taxation is to be. That is what one has to be clear about, but that is what is missing. When this is

the position, I feel that what will happen more and more is that we shall be making the poor man bear the burden of the Plan, whilst the top will get off quite easily.

I would not like to go into the question of buffer stocks or State trading. But the question of State trading is very important, and it has been brought up by us again and again on the floor of this House. We are a backward country but we are rich in natural resources. We have got manganese ore, iron ore, mica and other natural resources, but these are being utilised by British firms. They mint money to the tune of millions of rupees, and yet we cannot undertake State trading; we cannot even pass a law which is not challenged in the Supreme Court; and we are only putting down some targets, instead of actually mopping up the profits, so that they can be properly channelised.

In conclusion, I would like to say just one word on foreign exchange. And that was the point made by my hon. friend. On this very point, an important paper like *The Hindustan Times* has come out with an editorial on the following lines. It talks a lot about various things, and then says that "a special strategy has to be worked out, so that much of the effort must necessarily be directed towards the private capital market in the U.S.A." Then, it says:

"Under favourable conditions, it may be possible, perhaps, for a long-term loan to be floated in the U.S.A., under an arrangement with the Government of that country, whereby the American investor may be encouraged by proper guarantees to subscribe to an Indian loan. The foreign exchange thus secured could be made available to schemes in the private as well as the public sectors in this country."

Finally, it appeals to the Finance Minister, as Shri Tulsidas has appealed to him.

"Indeed, the Finance Minister, it is to be hoped, will take note of

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the needs also of the private sector, when he comes forward with the promised statement on the programme of foreign exchange."

We are rather apprehensive of this. It was not very long ago that we had entered into an agreement with Caltex and we know the guarantees that had to be given. When we asked questions, we were told that we were at a disadvantage at that time, and therefore, we had to agree to many things that were not in conformity without national dignity. So, we know that this is a very dangerous thing.

We have to find out how we can get the foreign exchange, and we shall certainly get it, if we all put our hopes today on the question of State trading. There are many other things that I can mention, whereby we can secure the required exchange. But let us beware and realise that we shall jeopardise our National Plan if we allow these things to go on, and let us see that we do not allow people, who, although they pay lip service to the things which have been adumbrated in the Plan, have already successfully won the first round, in which they have been able to turn and weaken this Plan, and in which the attack has come from the right.

**Shri Lakshamayya (Anantapur):** I am thankful to you for the opportunity you have given me to express my views on the Second Five Year Plan. First of all, let me congratulate the members of the Planning Commission on their having framed the Second Five Year Plan. In fact it is a heavy, and huge task.

It is generally said that the First Five Year Plan has laid a strong and solid foundation; it is only a basement over which the future edifice or a mighty structure has to be built up, for the comfortable and happy living of our people. Although we had spent something like Rs. 2,000 odd crores, over the First Five Year Plan, which laid greater emphasis on river valley projects, multipurpose projects, development of agricultural produc-

tion, and so on, yet, we find that the results thereof are invisible.

The people in the villages have not yet realised the significance of the first Plan, although there are some minor and major projects under construction here and there, and the people living near construction of projects big and small, think that there is something going on in the country. But the vast masses of the people in this land of villages do not know what the Plan is, where the community projects and the national extension block works are going on. The people of those parts perhaps are conscious of the Plan to some extent. In this huge country,—people in all villages should know something about the Plan and its significance. According to the Plan, it would take nearly five more years for the benefits of the Plan to reach each and every village, either under Community Projects or under N. E. S. block schemes. Though the results that we have got from the First Five Year Plan are far-reaching and really substantial beyond any doubt, yet many people in the villages being illiterate are ignorant of them.

Coming to the Second Five Year Plan, as I have said already, it is a strong and mighty structure that we are going to put up. That is why we have to go forward with redoubled vigour and energy. The First Five Year Plan has created a sense of confidence and faith in the people. It has created some interest and enthusiasm also among the literate people, especially, I may repeat in the areas where the community projects and national extension service works are going on though there is much wastage and mishandling of the funds allotted for them. Now, we are having the Second Five Year Plan, where the amount allotted is nearly twice the previous figure, that is, about Rs. 4,800 crores.

Rightly, the emphasis is laid in this Plan on heavy industries like iron and steel, coal and so on. That are equally necessary for the progress of any country. But I wish that more em-

phasis had been laid on food and clothing, because these are absolutely necessary for the successful implementation of the Plan. As the planners themselves have pointed out, in a democratic set-up of government the successful implementation of the Plan requires public co-operation and trained personnel. How are we to get the public co-operation, unless the people know that some benefits would be derived from the Plan. Unless the people in the villages know that their life would be bettered, by these Plans they will not evidence interest in the Plan.

Therefore, the planners must allot more amount for propaganda and advertisement work. What was the amount spent on advertisement during the First Five Year Plan? I do not think adequate advertisement and enough propaganda were made on it. Even in such a big city like Delhi, in the bazars, public squares, parks, and buses. We see only cinema advertisements or commercial or business advertisements about fountain pens or inks or pomades or some toilet soaps. We do not see anywhere in the public places or chowks advertisement of important projects and schemes that are going on in respect of our Plan.

In the U.S.S.R.—where they are on their Sixth Five Year Plan, there is so much advertisement and so much propaganda over the achievements of their plans. Apart from big statues or portraits that are put up in public places in honour of their leaders, Lenin and Stalin, there are several pictures hung at every conspicuous place,—picture of a woman carrying large stock of paddy and the men—harvesting the crop like that. The title given to a hard worker as the hero of social labour has been published in bold letters in public places to create incentive to others. We have to know such things and see that wide publicity and advertisement is given to these things at least during the period of the Second Plan, so that the people could

know and become plan-minded, so that we may get full co-operation and enthusiasm from the people, so that it may be very easy to successfully implement the Plan.

This is one of the several Plans that we are going to have. Now we are going to construct the walls of this building, and the roofing, ceiling and so many other things will come in the successive plans.

The objectives of the Plan are four-fold: to reduce the disparity in income, to provide employment, to the unemployed, to raise the living standards of the people and to increase the national income. Of course, these are very good and really most desirable. It is necessary that we should achieve these objectives. But how far we can achieve these is the question. For example, take the question of reducing the disparity that is existing between the rich and the poor and between the haves and have-nots. How far that can be reduced? How far we can raise the living standard of the people of this vast country. I am for the farmers and farm-labourers. Everybody is co-operating with the Plan. Every honourable member in the House expresses his views and wishes. Those who are interested in social welfare, press that more allotment should be given for social welfare. Those who are interested in education, ask for more grants to education, and those who are interested in defence say that more amount should be allotted for defence. But I am one who is pleading for the farmer and farm-labourer. My plea is that the amount allotted in the Second Five Year Plan for agriculture is not adequate in view of the importance of food and agriculture for the country. We must create incentive in the farmers, and provide facilities to the farm-labourers and then demand increased production of foodgrains from them. A country like India which is predominantly agricultural is not able to produce enough food. It is a matter of damn shame that we have had

[Shri Lakshamayya]

to import foodgrains from abroad. It is a scandal that we are importing foodgrains from other countries, U.S.A., Burma, Australia and so on. We are getting rice, wheat and other things. Why? what is the reason for this import of foodgrains? Cannot our farmers produce more to make up their deficiency? Undoubtedly they can but there is no enthusiasm nor interest in them to produce more. The prices of foodgrains are low. They are uncertain and precarious.

First of all, the needs of the people should be met for the successful implementation of the Plan. Therefore, before going in for heavy industries—(let them come gradually)—we should pay more attention to food and agriculture in the country. Agriculture is the basis of industry. I ask why agriculture should not be considered as the major industry. It is agriculture that produces cotton, sugar cane, ground-nut, and other raw materials for textile and several major industries. It is agriculture that provides food for all the people. That is why agriculture is the life of all the people. It is said—

‘ जतुनां जीव नं कृषिः ’

Therefore, agriculture should hold high place and be given higher priority. The Government want that a ceiling should be fixed on land holdings. Let a ceiling be fixed. I have no objection to it. At the same time, I want that ceilings must be fixed for the personal income of the rich people living in the towns and cities and also the high salaried officials. Why should they be left out? Then alone we will have achieved the object of creating a socialist pattern of society.

Then we want to raise the living standards of the people. Who are the people? As I said, India is a land of villages. The majority of the people live in the villages and rural areas. They are either farm-labourers or agriculturists. Unless their standard of living is increased, we cannot say that our country has improved, that the country has become pros-

perous. Therefore, we should concentrate our attention on increasing their standard of living. Is it possible within this period? That is the question. What is the condition of the farmers in the villages?

You are aware that the condition of the agriculturists in the villages is most pitiable and miserable. They are unable to make both ends meet. From dawn to nightfall, the wife, the husband, the son, the daughter, in fact everybody in the family, works very hard in the field and raises the food crop. They get a poor yield. Soon after it is taken to the thrashing floor, the rich moneylender or *sowcar* or village Shylock would appear like 'Yama' and take away all the grains or food produced at a lower price. I am thankful to the Government for the fact that now marketing facilities and credit facilities are going to be provided to them. That is good. These may be provided within a year or two or three years. That is a different matter. Are they satisfied with these? For myself I am not satisfied with it. When the Government show so much sympathy and generosity for the textile millowners by allowing a minimum profit of 6 per cent. on the capital invested, and provide all facilities for the industrial labourer, why should not they extend the same facilities to the farm-labourers and poor farmers? That is what I am asking. The poor farmer is crying for justice to fix up reasonable prices for grains but his voice is not felt.

Mere provision of credit facilities will not do. As I have repeated a number of times, in my place of Rayalaseema, agriculture is a gamble in rain. Rains fail very often. Famines visit our area frequently. The House is also aware that agriculture, besides being a gamble in rains, is also a gamble with the prices. If the farmer is not sure of a minimum price which he can reasonably expect, how can we expect enthusiasm or interest in him. He gets very low price for his

produce apart from the poor yield. Therefore, it is rightly said that the agriculturist is born in debt, lives in debt and dies in debt. He is only appealing to God to do justice for him.

Therefore, in order to raise the living standard of the agriculturist and the poor farmer, the Government should come forward and take bold steps to stabilise prices. Some reasonable prices must be fixed for the foodgrains. Let the agriculturists be sure that these are the prices that they are going to get for their produce after harvest. Even let there be condition that he must cultivate so much land under foodgrains, but that incentive must be there. The Government must make itself responsible to purchase the produce. When you make the farmer pay higher price for cloth, why should the Government hesitate to ask the non agriculturist or industrialist to pay more price for wheat or rice. At the time of the harvest the Government should help them because they sell it at a lower price. The middlemen or some businessmen come forward and knock off the produce at a lower price and subsequently the prices would increase. The businessmen would be largely benefited. So, I would request the Government to come forward and fix a minimum price for their produce. We cannot any longer build up our country at the sacrifice on the bone and blood and sweat of our poor farmer.

2 P.M.

Then, I would ask for implementation of the Minimum Wages Act for the poor farmers. That is also necessary. Their life should be made better, their living conditions should be improved. If that is done we can have the satisfaction at least that the living standards of the villagers have been improved.

The position of the villagers is very pitiable because the labourers have no houses. They have some hovels, and dirty ill-ventilated thatched roofs. Therefore the Planners might have

considered this thing. They should have provided more money for the construction of houses in the rural areas.

I submit therefore that the poor farmers should be provided with all the facilities that they deserve and need. I have already said, minimum prices for their produce should be fixed and the Minimum Wages Act should be implemented, and also cheap electricity should be given to them for lift irrigation where there is no such facility. That is very important. At present the cost of production of foodgrains is very high. The poor farmer has to purchase bulls, manure and so many other things for his cultivation and you are aware, Sir, how the farmer is put to heavy expenditure for agriculture. To reduce that, cheap supply of electricity is absolutely necessary. It will help him a great deal. I request the Government to provide cheap supply of electricity for agricultural purposes, in Rayalseema area, particularly in my Kalyandrey Taluk for lift irrigation where there is no other sources of irrigation except wells.

श्री ब० इ० पांडे (जिला अलमोड़ा उत्तर पूर्व) : एक भाषा, एक राष्ट्र और एक भारत का समर्थक होने से अंग्रेजी में बोलने में मुझे संकोच मालूम होता है इसलिये मैं हिन्दी में बोलता हूँ ।

यह जो प्लैनिंग (योजना) का ग्रंथ है वह महाभारत से कम नहीं है, और महाभारत के बारे में व्यास जी ने कहा था :

“अहं वेत्ति शुको वेत्ति संजयो वेत्तिवानवा”

मैं जानता हूँ, मेरा लड़का शुकदेव जानता है और संजय जानता है, अथवा नहीं, मैं नहीं कह सकता हूँ । उसी तरह से इस ग्रंथ के बारे में मैं कह सकता हूँ :

“नेहरू वेत्ति नंदा वेत्ति, अन्योवेत्ति वानवा”

[श्री ब० द० पांडे]

इस के भाव को नेहरू जानते हैं या नंदा जानते हैं, और कोई जानता है या नहीं यह मैं नहीं कह सकता। मैं ने तो बहुत थोड़ा पढ़ा है, जितना दिया हुआ उतना पढ़ना तो सम्भव ही नहीं है, मैं ने भी जो कुछ थोड़ा सा उत्तर प्रदेश के सम्बन्ध में है उस को पढ़ने का प्रयत्न किया है। और लोग जो सार ग्रंथ के ऊपर बोल रहे हैं, मालूम होता है कि वह बाहर बाहर ही की बात करते हैं इस ग्रंथ को देख कर तबियत प्रसन्न हो जाती है, जितना ही देखता हूँ उतना ही चित्त प्रसन्न होता है। इसके लिये मैं नरश्रेष्ठ जवाहर, योग्य श्री नंदा और प्लैनिंग कमिशन के सब सदस्यों के साथ ही सरकार को भी बधाई देता कि उन्होंने नै ऐसा ग्रंथ तैयार किया। महाभारत तो एक धार्मिक और ऐतिहासिक ग्रंथ था, लेकिन यह हमारे आर्थिक संकटों को दूर करने वाला ग्रंथ है। इसलिए इसकी हमारा नमस्कार है, हम को इसको पढ़ना चाहिये और निष्कर्ष निकालना चाहिये यह बहुत सुन्दर चीज है। जब मैं ने उत्तर प्रदेश के सम्बन्ध में पढ़ा तो यह शेर गालिब का याद आ गया :

“सुनते थे कि यू० पी० के आज उड़ेंगे पुर्जे,  
देखने को हम भी गये पर तमाशा न हुआ।”

यू० पी० के निये अब तक यह हो रहा था कि इधर से वह नोचें, उधर से वह नोचें, कई फंदे हमारे ऊपर पड़े। लेकिन वह सारे फंदे चले गये, हम तो किसी की सम्पत्ति लेना नहीं चाहते थे हम तो सब को अपने बराबर लाना चाहते थे, जो भी छोटे प्रदेश हैं हम उनको अपने बराबर लाना चाहते थे, इसलिये हम तो जैसे के तैसे रहे बल्कि उन्नति करते चले गये। हमारा प्रदेश बराबर प्रगति कर रहा है। प्लैनिंग कमिशन (योजना आयोग) ने हम को सिर्फ हेवी इंडस्ट्रीज नहीं दी हैं। एक कानपुर को छोड़ र हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश में हेवी इंडस्ट्रीज

कहीं नहीं है, इस के सिवा सब कुछ ठीक हो रहा है।

**उपाध्यक्ष-महोदय :** अभी तो माननीय सदस्य इस ग्रंथ को नमस्कार कर रहे थे, अब उस पर नुक्ता चीनी करने लगे हैं।

**श्री ब० द० पांडे :** नमस्कार तो है ही, लेकिन उन से कुछ उलाहना और विनती भी है। जब भगवान तक से उलाहना होता है तो सरकार से क्यों नहीं हो सकता ? मैं उन से भी विनती कर सकता हूँ। आज हम देख रहे हैं कि दामोदर, भाखरा, तुंगभद्र, मयूराक्षी, सभी जगहों पर बड़ा अच्छा काम हो रहा है, सड़कें, अस्पताल, रेलें, स्कूल, डाकखाने, तारघर, बिजली के कारखाने, लोहे के कारखाने, सभी कुछ खोले जा रहे हैं, अछूतोंदार हो रहा है, कम्युनिटी प्राजेक्ट्स, नेशनल एक्स्टेंशन सर्विसेज चालू हो रही हैं, शंख बज रहे हैं, ढोल बज रहे हैं, सारे गांव वाले आ कर बहुत सुन्दर रूप से उन में काम करते हैं, श्रमदान हो रहा है, भूदान हो रहा है, सम्पत्तिदान हो रहा है। जब हम यह देखते हैं तो जो हमारे दो चार आदमी टूट-टूट बात कर रहे हैं, हमारी कम्युनिस्ट महारानी भी बोलें . . . .

**उपाध्यक्ष-महोदय :** माननीय सदस्य को ऐसे शब्द बोलने चाहियें जो कि लिखे जा सकें।

**श्री ब० द० पांडे :** मैं वही कहूंगा। एक कवि ने कहा :

“पत्रम् नैव यदा करीरवित्पे दोषो वसन्तस्य किम्,।

नीलूकोप्यवलोफते यदि दिवा सूर्यस्त किम  
दूषणम् ॥”

अगर कृषिकर के पेड़ में वसन्त ऋतु में पत्तें नहीं आते तो वसन्त का क्या दोष है ? वसन्त तो अपने ठीक समय पर आया

है। उन्हीं तरह से अगर किसी पक्षी को बिना में नहीं दिखाई देता है तो सूर्य का क्या कपूर है? वह तो सब के लिये है। दोष केवल पक्षी की आंख का है। आप यह कहते हैं कि भूख नहीं मिटी, रोजगार नहीं मिला। उन की शिकायतें हैं। इधर हम अभी उतना अन्नोत्पादन नहीं कर सके हैं, जितना होता है वह इतना नहीं है कि जो पदा करने वाले हैं उन का भी पेट भर सके और जो उन से खरीद कर खाने वाले हैं उन का भी पेट भर सके। इस के लिये हम प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं, हम जगह जगह से अन्न मंगा रहे हैं। हम लोग सिर्फ अन्न और कपड़े पर ही ज्यादा जोर दे रहे हैं क्योंकि इसी की वजह से मर रहे हैं, इसी पर फ्रेंच रिबोल्यूशन हुआ, रशियन रिबोल्यूशन हुआ, पोलैण्ड में जो रिबोल्यूशन हुए वह भी रोटी के सवाल को ले कर ही हुए। तो रोटी का प्रश्न पहले है जिस को हमें हल करना है। रोटी सब को अच्छी तरह मिले, सुन्दरता-पूर्वक मिले, इस के लिये हम को सोचना चाहिये। लेकिन यह भी सोचना चाहिये कि भारतीय संघ कितना बड़ा है, ३६ करोड़ आदमियों को सुखी बनाने, शिक्षित बनाने, सफाई से रखने, तन्दुस्त बनाने और लोगों के सिर ऊंचा कर के चलने देने का सवाल है। यह किसी भी सरकार के लिये एक दम से करना कठिन है, चाहे कांग्रेस की ही सरकार क्यों न हो, चाहे हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाइयों की हो, चाहे सोशलिस्टों की ही, किसी की हो, सब को सोचना चाहिये कि हम किस तरह से काम को चलायेंगे। अगर कोई यह समझे कि वह बहुत जल्दी कर सकता है, कोई करामात कर के दिखा सकता है, तो इस को मानने के लिये मैं तैयार नहीं हूँ। इसलिये मेरे मित्रों को आलोचना मेरी समझ में नहीं आई। काम बहुत बड़ा है। अगर हम दूसरों को देखें, पाकिस्तान सरकार को देखें, बर्मा की सरकार को देखें, मसाया की सरकार को देखें, निगर ईस्ट (निकट पूर्व) को देखें, इजिप्ट (मिश्र) को

देखें, ग्रीक (रोम) को देखें उन के यहां क्या हो रहा है, तो पता चलेगा कि हम ने कितनी उन्नति की है। हमें कहना होगा कि जवाहरलाल जैसा एक नेता हम में पैदा हुआ है, जिस ने यहां के नाम को सारे संसार में किया है, यही एक देश है जिस का नाम सारे संसार में है। अशोक के बाद, विक्रमादित्य के बाद, शालिवाहन, भोज के बाद, अगर किसी ने हमारे नाम को ऊंचा किया है, हम को प्रसिद्धि दी है, तो जवाहरलाल ने दी है। जय हो उस की, उस की हमेशा सारे संसार में जयजयकार हो।

कुछ लोग हम को कहते हैं कि तुम गांधीजी की बात नहीं मानते हो, यह नहीं करते हो और वह नहीं करते हो। कृपजानी जी ने भी यह बात कही और कह कर चले गए। मेरा कहना यह है कि हम गांधीजी की सब बातें मानते हैं। हम कुटीर उद्योग भी चाहते हैं, लेकिन उन के साथ ही साथ हेवी इंडस्ट्रीज भी चाहते हैं। जहां तक गांधी जी का सम्बन्ध है उन के आदर्श और विचार बहुत ऊंचे थे। वह तो पुलिस और फौज भी रखना नहीं चाहते थे। वह तो समझते थे कि लोग एक बहुत ऊंचे स्तर को प्राप्त कर लेंगे, वे आपस में कोई लड़ाई-झगड़ा और कलह इत्यादि नहीं करेंगे। न अपराध होंगे और न अपराधी होंगे और इसलिये न ही जेल-खाने, कैदखाने और पागलखाने होंगे। हम सब लोग सम्य, सुसंस्कृत और सुशिक्षित हो कर रहेंगे और कोई किसी से लड़ेगा नहीं। उन के विचार तो बड़े क्रांतिकारी थे। लेकिन मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वैसा होना इस संसार में बड़ा कठिन है।

जंगलों में देख नी धूनी रमी, बाल कितनों का जोग मैं ही पका, क्या हुआ दुनिया से किनारा कर गये, कौन मतलब से किनारा कर सका।

[श्री ब० द० पांडे]

दुनिया तो अतलब की है। यहां पर तो एक एक पैसों के लिये लड़ाई भगड़ा होता है। सरकार अपना कर्तव्य पूरा कर रही है। लोगों के सामने सत्य और प्रार्थना का भावना रखा जा रहा है। उन की आर्थिक उन्नति के लिये आमोदोग चलाये जा रहे हैं।

उपाध्यक्ष-सहोदय : अब माननीय सदस्य यू० पी० पर आ जायें सिर्फ पांच मिनट रह गये हैं।

श्री ब० द० पांडे : अभी आ रहा हूँ, श्रीमन्। श्रीरों को तो आप बहुत टाइम (समय) देते हैं। मुझ बूढ़े भादमी को भी तो दीजिये। मैं तो बहुत थोड़ा बोलता हूँ। मैं तो कभी बोलता ही नहीं, भगवन्, मैं तो हमेशा चुप रहता हूँ। इस समय मैं जो कुछ कह रहा हूँ, उस को मेरा आखिरी वसीयतनामा समझ लीजिये।

मैं देख रहा हूँ कि इन दस वर्षों में हमारे उजड़े हुए चमन में बहार लाने के सामान हो रहे हैं। भ्रगले पांच वर्षों में हमारे सामने सब से मुख्य सवाल सब को रोजगार देना और अन्न-वस्त्र है। उन में से सब से पहला काम सब को रोजगार देना है। आज स्थिति यह है कि सिर्फ गरीबों को—सिर्फ उन लोगों को—काम मिल रहा है, जोकि अपने हाथ से काम करते हैं, लेकिन जो बास घोबर (प्रभुत्व जमाना) चाहते हैं, जो हल छोड़ कर कलम हाथ में लेना चाहते हैं, उन को काम मिलना मुश्किल हो रहा है। आज सब कलम मांगते हैं। उतनी नौकरियां सरकार के पास नहीं हैं। किसी के पास भी उतनी नौकरियां नहीं हो सकती हैं। उन लोगों को उद्योग-धंधों में, कारोबार में लगना चाहिये। मिसेस एनी बेसेंट ने कहा था कि :

"Angry boys of the family go to the Army."

["परिवार के गुस्सेबाज लड़के सेना में भर्ती होते हैं।"]

जो समाज के एंग्री बायज (गुस्सेबाज लोग) हैं, उन को सेना में ले लेना चाहिये। उन को रोजगार मिल जायेगा। तब फिर यह गाली-गलोच, उपद्रव, अहमदाबाद कांड, बम्बई कांड, लखनपुर कांड, ये सब कांड बन्द हो जायेंगे या कम हो जायेंगे। अगर लोच रोजगार में रहेंगे, तो इस प्रकार उपद्रव करने के लिये तैयार नहीं होंगे।

इस के बाद मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि विरोधी दल के सदस्यों को मन्थरा और दुर्वासा की तरह व्यवहार नहीं करना चाहिये, बल्कि उन को अच्छी तरह सोच-विचार कर रचनात्मक आलोचना करनी चाहिये। अगर वे गालियां भी दें, तो उस तरीके से दें, जिस तरह कि लखनऊ में कहते हैं कि "मुझे आप की अम्मीजान की शान में गुस्ताखी करनी पड़ेगी"। हम में भी उसी तरह हायर स्टैंडर्ड (उच्चतर स्तर) आये।

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्ग (गुड़गांव) : क्या हायर स्टैंडर्ड (उच्चतर स्तर) है !

श्री ब० द० पांडे : हम बच्चों की तरह आपस में न लड़ें और पार्लियामेंट में थोड़े शब्द न कहें, बल्कि ऊंचे दर्जे के शब्द कहें।

उपाध्यक्ष-सहोदय : क्या ये सब बात उसी ग्रंथ में से पढ़ कर कह रहे हैं ?

श्री ब० द० पांडे : श्रीमन्, मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जब राम ने सेतु-बन्ध बनाया, तो नल और नील ने उन की सहायता की और पूरा कार्य किया। जब भगवान् कृष्ण ने गोवर्धन पर्वत उठाया, तो गोप और गोपियों ने वहां लाठियां लगा दीं। शक्ति तो वह थी ! वैसी शक्ति है जवाहरलाल की। हम सब को उन का साथ देना चाहिये—अपना को-आपरेशन (सहयोग) देना चाहिये। जब समुद्र मथा गया और उस में से रत्न निकाले गये, तो उस में सब ने साथ दिया।

धरम आज कोई धादमी कहता है कि मैं साथ नहीं देता हूँ, तो वह भारतवासी होने धीर कहलाने योग्य नहीं है। लेकिन धरम कोई साथ नहीं देता है, तो कम से कम वह उन्नति के मार्ग में रोड़े तो न घटकावे।

श्री उ० मू० त्रिवेदी : कोई साथ देने भी तो दे।

श्री ब० इ० पांडे : केवल धालोचना से काम नहीं चल सकता है। सब को साथ देना चाहिये।

एक बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती है और वह है समानता की। मैं बहुत बड़ा हो गया हूँ। इसलिये शायद मेरी समझ मोटी हो गई हो और यह बात न समझती हो। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि सज्जन और दुर्जन एक हो जायेंगे—बराबर कैसे हो जायेंगे। भगवान ने किसी को कुरूप बनाया, किसी को सुरूप, किसी को गोरा बनाया और किसी को काला, किसी को स्त्री बनाया और किसी को पुरुष, किसी को भ्रच्छा बनाया और किसी को बुरा, किसी को जवाहरलाल बनाया और किसी को मुझ जैसा बेवकूफ बनाया। ऐसा फ्रक किस ने किया? भगवान ने। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हम भाग्यविधाता नहीं हो सकते हैं। हम रोजगार दे सकते हैं, नौकरी दे सकते हैं, उद्योग-धंधे खोल सकते हैं, लेकिन हम भाग्य नहीं बना सकते हैं,—भाग्य भगवान बनाते हैं, कोई इस को माने या न माने। स्त्री पुरुष किसने बनाया? कुरूप और सुरूप किसने बनाया? धर्मीर गरीब किसने बनाया?

निराला है तू ऐ मौला,  
निराली शान है तेरी।  
किसी को संग-मरमर दे,  
किसी को खाक की डेरी ॥

यह मैं भी सोचता हूँ कि हम से ये मनिस्टर ही बड़े हो गये हैं, हालांकि हथ

ने ही उन को बनाया है। जब मैं उन की मोटरों को देखता हूँ तो मुझे भी लगता है कि ये लोग हम से ऊंचे हैं और इन के रथ भी युधिष्ठिर के रथ की तरह भूमि से चार ग्रंगुल ऊंचे ही रहते हैं। मैं पूछता हूँ कि समानता कहाँ है। एक और राष्ट्रपति महोदय और जवाहरलाल जी इतने भव्य मकानों में रहते हैं और दूसरी ओर मैं एक कोठरी में रहता हूँ और एक क्लक और एक चपरासी के पास वह भी नहीं है। ये सब एक हो जायेंगे—समान हो जायेंगे, यह बात मेरी बुद्धि में नहीं आती है। हाँ, यह बात जरूर है कि हम को लोगों को रोजगार देना चाहिये, उन को सताना नहीं चाहिये, उन को डराना नहीं चाहिये, हर तरह से उन की सेवा करनी चाहिये। इस बात को मैं मान सकता हूँ, लेकिन समानता देने वाला तो वही है—भगवान है।

एक बार शिवाजी को यह अभिमान हो गया कि मैं इतने करोड़ धादमियों का राजा हूँ और उन को धन-वस्त्र देता हूँ। समर्थ श्री रामदास, जोकि उन के गुरु थे, को यह मालूम हो गया। उन्होंने शिवाजी को कुछ कहा नहीं। वह उन को नदी के किनारे ले गये। वहाँ पर एक पत्थर पड़ा हुआ था। उन्होंने शिवाजी को उसे तोड़ने के लिये कहा। जब वह पत्थर तोड़ा गया, तो उस के भीतर पानी निकला और उस में एक मेंढक था। तब समर्थ श्री रामदास ने कहा कि इस को भी कोई पालने वाला है। शिवाजी समझ गये कि यह बात मेरे अभिमान को तोड़ने के लिये कही गई है।

कोई ईश्वर को माने या न माने, मैं तो मानता हूँ मैं विश्वास करता हूँ कि सुख-दुख, हानि-लाभ, जन्म-मरण, सब उस के हाथ में है। तन्दुरुस्ती, सफ़ाई, शिक्षा, रोटी, कपड़ा, रोजगार हमारे हाथ में है।

अन्त में, श्रीमन्, मैं धार को धन्यवाद देता हूँ। अन्त में ने कोई अनुचित बात

[श्री ब० द० पांडे]

कही हो, तो उस का विचार न किया जाये मैं अनुचित नहीं बोलता हूँ। मैं तो बोलता ही बहुत कम हूँ, लेकिन जब बोलता हूँ तो पते की बात कहता हूँ। मैं बूढ़ा हो गया हूँ। मैं सब को आशीर्वाद देता हूँ। मेरी कामना है कि हमारा देश बड़ा हो, महान हो। मुझे वैसे, पद और प्रतिष्ठा की लालसा नहीं है और न मैं सरकार का "जी हज़ूर" हूँ। मेरी इच्छा है कि जितने वर्ष मैं बचूँ, अपने देश को हरा-भरा, उन्नत और समृद्ध देश जाऊँ और हमारे बच्चों को भविष्य में नौकरी, शिक्षा और सफ़ाई आदि की तकलीफ़ न हो। उन को सब बना-बनाया खल मिले।

Shri Sarangadhar Das (Dhenkanal-West Cuttack): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, with regard to this Plan which is being spoken of as a tremendous stride towards the socialistic pattern of life, I wish I could look at it that way. But, I do not. I will come to that later on. But what I see in the Plan is the beginning of industrialisation. Industrialisation has been talked about in our country for nearly 25 to 30 years. About 15 years ago there was the Bombay Plan adumbrated by some capitalists. Since then we have been talking about industrialisation; and in the First Five Year Plan with a few large industries, not the key industries, like Sindri and Chittaranjan people did think it was industrialisation. But now with the introduction of the steel mills, I believe we are launching on an era of industrialisation. We are having three more steel mills and expansion of the existing steel mills, and plans are being laid for the manufacture of electrical heavy equipment, more fertiliser factories and several other key industries. I hope during the Second Five Year Plan there will be another Shipbuilding Yard, although there is no indication about it as yet.

I have heard criticism about the establishment of heavy industries.

During my lifetime I have had something to do with the industrial world as a technologist, and I believe that scheme is the beginning of industrialisation. I would point out, for instance, to the advocates of Ambar Charkha, who criticise the establishment of steel mills, that without steel even your Ambar Charkha cannot be constructed. Then again, there is cement, for instance. It is very surprising that during the last few years, there has been so much demand for cement that we have had to import cement from outside. So, it is necessary to have more cement factories and increase production. There is one peculiar situation in the matter of cement that I might mention here. Only about ten years ago, in small towns and in the countryside wherever pucca buildings were being built, it was bricks and lime mortar. Nowadays, in the last three or four years, I have known in the market in my part of the country there is no lime mortar to be seen—lime has gone out of the market and nobody manufactures lime because the masons, who do the work, find it more convenient to work with cement than with lime. Consequently lime has gone out of the market, and the demand is more and more for cement. Just now there is a scarcity for cement in some parts of the country. So, it is a very good thing that more cement factories are being planned.

But to say that these industries will bring in an era of prosperity for the people, will feed the people, will clothe the people, is only a sort of a propaganda on the part of the Government to lull the people to sleep. But the people are not sleeping nowadays.

Then there is so much talk about co-operation and without co-operation the Plan cannot be successful. I do not see where co-operation is necessary to start and run a steel mill or a

cement factory. I do not believe there is anyone who opposes the establishment of steel mills. I personally welcome it. But I must look at the implications of the establishment of these big industries, whether they give employment to the people, whether the proceeds from these investments are distributed equitably among all the people; by that I only mean that nationalisation will not do, there must be socialisation. Without socialisation there would be no distribution, and there is danger in nationalisation of these huge industries, and lately in the nationalisation of the insurance companies. There would be more and more totalitarian methods and concentration of all the industrial and economic power in the Government. So, I would not call it even 'nationalisation'; it is establishment of State industries or State business.

About co-operation, just at the present time, we see the prices of the everyday necessities going up. During the last Budget, there was a duty imposed on edible oils, and immediately the price of mustard oil, which is an everyday necessity in the eastern parts of India and the price of which used to be Rs. 1-4-0 per seer, went up to Rs. 2 per seer; now it is Rs. 2-8-0 per seer. Although many a time it has been pointed out on the floor of the House, the Ministry has not done anything to control the prices.

About the excise duty that has been increased on cloth just a few days ago, about 15 days ago, what has happened now to the people who should be gladly co-operative with any effort that the Government initiates? For the whole of Bengal, there is the puja period—puja for Durga, Lakshmi etc.—which is the biggest and most joyous period in the life of Bengalis, and that is shortly coming. Immediately the excise duty was increased, the prices of cloth which had been stocked for the last one or two months in preparation for the Puja festival, have gone up anywhere from Re. 1 to Rs. 2-8-0 per pair. The House will remember the condition of the people in Bengal, where there is a constant influx from East Pakistan.

Those people who come over here have relations and friends who are residents of West Bengal, and they are now dependant on many of them. Each family has about ten members and dependants, and on top of that, there are these refugees who have come from East Pakistan. The custom of Bengalis is that they must clothe everyone in the family—servants, even those servants who do temporary work and all dependents. Each family in Calcutta, for instance, may have to clothe a dozen people. Now how is it possible for a person to clothe all these people? I was in Calcutta a few days ago, and wherever I went, I found that the people are very much dissatisfied; they are very much against the Government and the ruling party because of this. Many of them say, "Could not the new Finance Minister wait 15 days or a month for the imposition of this duty? Why did he impose this duty just before shopping for the Pujas?" This is the season now for shopping, and everywhere the prices have gone up so high that they are not able to purchase their requirements for all the people who are dependent on them. Under these circumstances I do not see how the Minister talks about co-operation. Is it possible that these people will co-operate with the Government? I must not be misunderstood. There is a cement factory or a steel mill. Nobody will oppose it. We welcome it.

But, as far as co-operation is concerned for other developmental works, how can you expect co-operation, when you impose duties like this and make the rich, richer and the poor, poorer. When the Minister introduced the Bill, I think he said that there was a good deal of extra profit with the mill-owners and that he wanted to mop up a part of that profit. Many years ago, I remember, when excise duty was imposed on matches, the price of matches went up very disproportionately, although the duty might have been a pie or two per dozen boxes. Therefore, you cannot mop up the extra profits from the mill-owners or manufacturers. The stock that is

[Shri Sarangadhar Das]

with them may be stocks that came to them before two or three months; they brought them for the puja from the mills. All these were with the dealers. The mill-owners and manufacturers will come later on but at the present moment, these middlemen, whole-salers and retailers are reaping large profits and consequently, they become richer and the consumers become poor and go without clothes.

There is also a plea made always that we must tighten our belts. I am glad that one of my compatriots from Orissa challenged a Minister in the other House to put on loin clothes instead of having a paraphernalia of *churidar*, coat and so on. First of all, you do it, then you ask me to do it. You want people, who are going almost naked, to tighten their belts. I do not see any indication that the standard of living of the people will go up, if the Plan is carried out in this way.

Then, there is the matter of agriculture. An increase of about fifteen per cent. has been planned but the Prime Minister has asked as to why it should not go up by another fifteen per cent. The Ministers assembled from all the States have later on agreed to put it at about thirty or forty per cent. It is all right to sit down in the offices in Delhi and in the State capitals and calculate that you can get so much percentage increase by using fertilizers, so much by better seed, so much by good cultivation and so on. In the practical field, anyone who had anything to do with agriculture, will agree with me that no amount of better seeds or fertilizers will increase the yield unless these two are accompanied by water for irrigation. Without water, you cannot have increased yields; you will only lose money. We often hear that so many millions of acres have been brought under irrigation by projects such as Hirakud, DVC, Bhakra-Nangal, etc. There are millions of acres where water from these big projects cannot run. For instance, in my State, about half the area is some sort of a hilly country and al-

most all the land depends on rain water. Unless there is the seasonal rain, the crops fail. There are areas where crops are failing every year for the last few years. Minor irrigation schemes, medium schemes by damming small rivers and rivulets, are necessary to increase production by about forty per cent. I say that the average yield per acre of wheat or rice could be increased by a hundred per cent because in India the average yield of almost all crops is less than the world average. We have localities where production is very high. For instance, there are some districts in South India where the average yield of paddy is three or four times of what we get in Orissa. That is all right, but the average yield for the whole country is much below those of other countries. It is good that we are going to have more fertilizer factories and it is also good that the ordinary cultivator has realised the value of artificial and chemical fertilizers, which he did not, some fifteen years ago. The Plan is lop-sided in the matter of agriculture because the money allocated for minor irrigation schemes is much less than even the First Plan. It is a great mistake. I do not know how far is the increase in production during the last few years due to Government's plans and how far, due to rains and lifting of the controls when the hoarded stocks came in the market.

**Shri Debeswar Sarmah** (Golaghat-Jorhat): Due to Grow More Food campaign also.

**Shri Sarangadhar Das**: It is very nice of my friend of the Congress Party to have brought in this. But, if you read the criticisms of Shri V. T. Krishnamachari, Vice Chairman of the Planning Commission, who presided over a committee some four years ago and investigated into this campaign, you will get an idea of it. It was all wasted money; nothing has been gained by the country from the Grow More Food campaign. So, it is very necessary to have minor irrigation schemes and medium schemes for supply of water for irrigation.

There is another defect which the Government has not accepted till now—that is the price support policy. Some years ago, when Shri Munshi was the Minister of Agriculture, he started campaigns for growing more jute and cotton and the Central Government's agents went all over the country to non-jute growing areas and carried on propaganda and persuaded people. The people came forward. They grew jute. I had been to one or two localities in Orissa where jute was never grown and I found that jute was growing very well there. They had very good crops. But, when the jute was ready for the market, the price dropped. Then the cultivators wanted to see the man who had persuaded them to grow jute, but he had decamped to Delhi or some other place and was not to be found anywhere. Therefore, it is necessary that we should be self-sufficient in jute and cotton because of the constant troubles that we have with the neighbouring countries, but you cannot go on persuading the growers to grow and do not give them any support when they are in difficulties. I, therefore, urge upon the Government—the Deputy Minister for Planning and the Minister for Agriculture are here—to take up this matter of price support and find out how with the least investment price support can be introduced for these crops which you encourage the people to grow to meet the needs of the country.

As far as other crops are concerned, the Government may think of them later on. Now I am pleading only for those crops which you persuade the people to grow. When the people produce these things and when there is a glut in the market the prices drop and you do not care for them. That is not correct. You must give them support.

These are few of the points I have expressed to show that it is impossible for Government or for anyone to elicit willing co-operation unless you look after the day to day difficulties of the

people, whether they are growers or consumers. Unless that is done there would be no willing co-operation from the people. But, at the same time, I do not believe there is anyone who will oppose the establishment of a steel mill, cement mill or a heavy electrical equipment factory. Nobody will oppose that. Even if there is opposition, that opposition does not bother you. You go ahead putting up the mill or the factory, whether it is managed by Government or by a corporation. You have the power to do it and our opposition or the opposition of the common man in the street will not prevent you from putting up the same.

When I am saying this, I may just mention that my friend who preceded me had put in a lot of criticism against the Opposition Parties and groups. He quoted all sorts of things from *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* in which I am not well versed. But to say that there cannot be equality is not correct. It is true that God has made a black man black and a white man white, but that is no comparison here. The black man must have the same opportunity for development as the white man has. A bhangi's son must have the same opportunity as the brhamin's son. And that is given in the Constitution. When we say that, it is the most conservative people on the other side who always get shaken up and say that we talk too much about equality. "Equality" is there in the Directive Principles of our Constitution. Therefore, it is no use criticising us.

I hope the Government will make a note of the points that I have made and pay attention for increasing the per acre yield of various crops in India by giving necessary irrigation and other things, spreading improved methods of agriculture, use of improved tools and all that. I know little bits are being done here and there, but it should be on a large scale just as you are producing steel and cement on a very large scale.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भागंब : अभी हम ने पांडे साहब की तकरीर सुनी। उन की तकरीर का जो लब्बोलबाब था उस को मैं छोड़ता हूँ लेकिन मैं यह कहे बगैर नहीं रह सकता कि जिस तरीके से प्लानिंग कमिशन (योजना आयोग) की उन्होंने तारीफ की है, उस की बह पुरी तरह से मुस्तहिक है। जिस वक्त हम इस मोटी किताब की तरफ देखते हैं और इस में जिन मजमूनों का जिक्र है उन को पढ़ते हैं और जिस खबसूरती से उन्होंने ने इस काम को किया है और जितनी मेहनत से किया है, तो उन की तारीफ किये बगैर हम नहीं रह सकते। वैसे तो जो कुछ इस में लिखा हुआ है और जितनी बजाहत से लिखा हुआ है, उस सब को ग्रैस्प (दृढयंगम) करना एक मामूली आदमी के लिये, मैं समझता हूँ, बहुत मुश्किल है जो काम प्लानिंग कमिशन ने किया है, उस के लिये वह निहायत . . .

**Shri Debeswar Sarmah: The Report of the Planning Commission is printed in English; so I would request you to speak in English.**

**Shri U. M. Trivedi (Chittor): Why don't you say that loudly? You want him to speak in English.**

पंडित ठाकुर दास भागंब : मेरे दोस्त कहते हैं कि चूंकि प्लानिंग कमिशन की जो रिपोर्ट है वह हिन्दी में नहीं लिखी गई है, इस वास्ते मैं हिन्दी में क्यों बोलता हूँ।

मैं यह कह रहा था कि इस सब के लिये प्लानिंग कमिशन को धन्यवाद दे कर मैं चन्द एक बातें अब आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह जो बहस हो रही है यह गालिबन इसी तरह से हो रही है कि मुस्तलिफ खयानात का इजिहार किया जा सके और जो कमियां रह गई

हैं, उन को दूर किया जा सके। मेरे ख्याल में सरकार का भी यह मंशा नहीं है कि उस की केवल तारीफ ही की जाये और उस पर कोई क्रिटिसिज्म (आलोचना) ही न किया जाय। इस वास्ते गवर्नमेंट (सरकार) का मंशा पूरा करने के लिये जो कुछ मेरी राय है और इस पर जो क्रिटिसिज्म मुझे करना है, मैं करता हूँ।

2.53 P.M.

[**SRI BARMAN in the Chair**]

सब से पहले तो मैं एनिमल हसबैंडरी (पशु पालन) के बारे में थोड़ा सा कहना चाहता हूँ। जिस तरह से प्लानिंग कमिशन ने इस प्लान में इस का जिक्र किया है, वह फिलवाका तसल्लीबक्खा नहीं है। सच बात तो यह मालूम होती है कि एनिमल हसबैंडरी का जो मजमून है वह ऐसा है जिस को कि हमारी सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट और हमारे मँम्बर साहिबान पसन्द नहीं करते। चुनावे इस सारी बहस में शायद मैं ही पहला शक्स हूँ जो इन बेजाम जानवरों की बात कहने जा रहा हूँ। ये बेजबान जानवर जोकि आदमी के लिये इतने ज्यादा आराम और आसायिश का सामान मुहैया करते हैं, इन के प्रति भी शुक्रगुजारी का जज्बा हमारे दिलों में होना चाहिये था और उन की तरफ भी कुछ ख्याल हमारा जाना चाहिये था। लेकिन ऐसा लगता है कि चूंकि आज इस देशभ में मनुष्य अपना पेट भी नहीं भर पाता है और उस को पहनने के लिये कपड़ा नहीं मिलता है और वह मुसीबत में फँसा हुआ है, इस वास्ते वह इन जानवरों की बात भी नहीं पूछ सकता है। मेरी खुशकिस्मती है कि माननीय देशमुख साहब जोकि मिनिस्टर आफ एग््रीकलचर (कृषि मंत्री) हैं, इस वक्त यहां बैठे हुए हैं।

**डा० पं० देशमुख :** काऊ स्टाटर, (गोबध) तो काफी सूबों में बन्द हो गया है।

**पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव :** कहां हो गया है। अगर काऊ स्लाटर यू० पी० में या बिहार में या पंजाब में कानून पास कर के ही बन्द हो जाता तो बात ही क्या थी।

**डा० पं० शं० बेशमुख :** यही तो आप की मांग थी।

**पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव :** अगर इस से ही काम चल जाता तो कहना ही क्या था। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि आप सारे कानून वापस ले लें और फिलवाक्या इस देश के अन्दर काऊ स्लाटर न हो और इस देश में इतने ज्यादा यूजफुल कैटल (लाभदायक पशु) हों कि लोग यह महसूस करें कि उन को पीने को काफी दूध मिलता है और खेती के लिये मजबूत बैल मिलते हैं।

ये दो ग्राइडियल (आदर्श) हम ने अपने सामने रखे और मैं समझता हूँ कि इसी वास्ते ये कानून पास किये गये। मैं उस कानून पर जाना नहीं चाहता। डाक्टर साहब ने ऐसी बात कह दी कि मेरे स्थालात का सारा मिल्सिला ही टूट गया। मैं दूसरी बात कह रहा था। आप ने कानून पास किये हैं चोरी को रोकने के लिये और मर्द को रोकने के लिये लेकिन ये चीजें आज भी हो रही हैं। भ्रष्टाचार को रोकने के लिए भी कानून पास किया हुआ है, लेकिन वह बढ़ता ही जा रहा है। मैं अब से अर्ज करूंगा कि महज कानून पास करने से कुछ नहीं होगा। जब तक आप इन कानूनों पर पूरी तरह से अमल नहीं करेंगे तब तक कुछ फायदा नहीं होगा। चुनावों पर आपने सन् ५३ में एक एक्सपर्ट कमेटी धान की प्रिवेशन आफ स्लाटर आफ कटिल इन इंडिया (भारत में पशु बंध निषेध सम्बन्धी एक विशेषज्ञ समिति) मुकर्रर की, लेकिन उस के टर्मस आफ रेफरेंस (निदेशपद) में इस बात का जिक्र भी नहीं था। उस के टर्मस आफ रेफरेंस कुछ थे और सलाह उस ने कुछ दी, यह उस ने महज अनकांस्टी-ट्यूशनल (असंबैधानिक) बात की। इतना ही नहीं। उस कमेटी ने उन बातों के बारे

में भी कहा जोकि उस को टर्मस आफ रेफरेंस में नहीं थीं। यह रिपोर्ट ११ फरवरी सन् १९५५ को छपी, और यहां पर उस वक्त शायद हुई जबकि कमेटी बहस कर रही थी, यानी साल भर बाद हम लोगों को मिली। रिपोर्ट में मुक्किल से २० या २५ सफे होंगे। उस में जितनी बातें लिखी गई हैं अनकांस्टी-ट्यूशनल हैं। उस कमेटी ने लिख दिया कि यहां पर बैन (प्रतिबन्ध) न होना चाहिये। उन को यह चीज रेफर नहीं की गई थी।

मैं इस वक्त यह अर्ज नहीं करना चाहता कि कैटिल का स्लाटर (पशु बंध) बैन हो या न हो। यह सवाल और है और इस पर मैं पहले अर्ज कर चुका हूँ। जो मैं इस वक्त अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ वह मुक्तसिर में यह है कि हम ने अपने संविधान में लिखा था कि इस देश के अन्दर लोगों के खाने पीने का स्तर ऊंचा होगा और हम उन के स्वास्थ्य की परवाह करेंगे और इक्ष के वास्ते एक खास दफा नम्बर ४७ संविधान में रखी गई थी। वह दफा इस प्रकार है :

“राज्य अपने लोगों के आहारपुष्टि तल और जीवनस्तर को ऊंचा करने तथा लोक स्वास्थ्य के सुधार को अपने प्राथमिक कर्तव्यों में से मानेगा तथा विशेषतया, स्वास्थ्य के लिये हानिकार मादक पेयों और औषधियों के औषधीय प्रयोजनों से प्रतिरिक्त उपभोग का प्रतिषेध करने का प्रयास करेगा।”

इस का जो पिछला हिस्सा प्राहिबिशन (मद्यनिषेध) के मुताल्लिक है उस को मैं इस वक्त छोड़ता हूँ लेकिन जो पहला हिस्सा है उस में यह प्राइमरी इयूटी लिखी है कि यहां का जो न्यूट्रीशन का स्टैंडर्ड (आहारपुष्टि का स्तर) है वह बढ़ेगा और स्वास्थ्य की चीज बढ़ेगी। मैं अब से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस के बारे में क्या किया गया। इस देश के अन्दर गरीब आदमियों की खुराक, अछतों की खुराक, गांवों के अन्दर जो ७० या ८० फीसदी लोग रहते हैं, उन की खुराक छाछ है और वे छाछ को दूध से भी कहीं अच्छा

## [पंडित ठाकुर दास भागंव]

समझते हैं। लेकिन इस छाछ के वास्ते सरकार ने क्या किया ? हमारे देखते देखते जिन गांवों में दूध तक नहीं बिकता था, वहां आज छाछ तक बिकती है। और मैं अपने तजबों से कहता हूँ कि आज लोगों को उस भेजूर (पैमाने) में छाछ नहीं मिलती जिस भेजूर में कि पहले उन को मिला करती थी।

डा० पं० श० बेशमुख : जितना पहले दूध मिलता था उतनी अब छाछ नहीं मिलती।

पंडित ठाकुर दास भागंव : मुझे खुशी है कि डाक्टर साहब मेरी ताईद करते हैं। उन के तजबों में यह जरूर आया होगा। मैं अब से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यहाँ पर खाने पीने के स्टैंडर्ड को बढ़ाने के लिये गवर्नमेंट ने क्या किया है। और जगह तो हमारे संविधान में "एंडेवर" (प्रयत्न) शब्द लिखा है, पर यहाँ पर तो "प्राइमरी ड्यूटी" (प्रमुख कर्तव्य) लिखा है। आनरेबिल मिनिस्टर साहब भी मुझ से मुत्तफिक हैं कि हमारा खाने पीने का स्टैंडर्ड गिरा है।

श्री० रणबीर सिंह (रोहतक) : वह यह कहते हैं कि पहले छाछ मिलती थी पर अब दूध मिलता है।

पंडित ठाकुर दास भागंव : डाक्टर साहब तो यह नहीं कहते, पर मालूम होता है कि चौबरी साहब का तजर्बा उन से बखिलाफ है and his out leading H rod (और वह हेराड से भी अधिक कठोर है)

तो मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि कोई अम्स इस हाउस में अपनी छाती पर हाथ रख कर कह दे कि पहले गरीब आदमी को जितना दूध मिलता था उतना अब मिलता है। खुद डाक्टर साहब के मुहकमे की रिपोर्ट में लिखा है कि यहाँ पर १६ पर सेंट फेमिलीज को तो दूध देखना भी नसीब नहीं होता।

श्रीमती शिवराजबती नेहरू (जिला लखनऊ-मध्य) : आबादी भी चौगुनी हो गई है।

पंडित ठाकुर दास भागंव : मेरी बहिन कहती हैं कि आबादी चौगुनी हो गई है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस वजह से सरकार की ड्यूटी भी तो चौगुनी हो गई है।

श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा : पटना पूर्व) : चौगुनी किस तरह से हो गई है ?

पंडित ठाकुर दास भागंव : तो मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ तक जानवरों का सवाल है, गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से सस्त गफलत रही है। और यह गफलत कितनी सस्त है इस का हम अन्दाजा नहीं लगा सकते। इस देश में दूध कितना कम पिया जाता है इस की मात्रा इस हाउस में कई बार बतलाई जा चुकी है और उस के मुताबिक मैं ज्यादा जोर देना नहीं चाहता। मैं एक छोटा सा फिगर आप की खिदमत में अर्ज कर देना चाहता हूँ और उस से रोजाना हो पायेगा कि क्या हालत है। भारत में प्रति आदमी प्रति दिन दो छटांक दूध काम में आता है, जबकि अमरीका में १७ छटांक, डेनमार्क में २० छटांक, आस्ट्रेलिया में २२ छटांक, न्यूजीलैण्ड में २५ छटांक, स्वीडन में ३१ छटांक और फिनलैण्ड में ३२ छटांक प्रति दिन प्रति व्यक्ति का औसत है। जिस वक्त कि सन् १९४७ में झगड़ा चला उस वक्त भी एक आदमी के दूध का औसत ७ आउंस बतलाया जाता था, और अब एप्रीकल्चर मिनिस्ट्री के अन्दाजे के मुताबिक वह पीने पांच आउंस के करीब हो गया है। इस के अन्दर सारे प्राविसेज शामिल हैं। मुझे यह फिगर सही मालूम होता है कि यहाँ पर १६ पर सेंट परिवारों को दूध देखना भी नसीब नहीं होता। यह तो एक चीज हुई।

देश के अन्दर मेरे देखते देखते, चौधरी रणबीर सिंह जी मेरी ताईद करेंगे, जो बेल ३५ या ४० मन बोझा ढो सकता था, आज मुश्किल से २५ मन बोझा ढो सकता है। शायद चौधरी साहब मेरी ताईद नहीं करना चाहते क्योंकि वह बोलते नहीं, चुपचाप बैठे हैं . . . . .

**डा० पं० शं० बेशमुख :** बेलों की ताकत में कोई फर्क नहीं है। जो अच्छे बेल हैं वे अब भी उतना ही बोझा ढो सकते हैं।

**पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव :** यह ठीक है कि जो अच्छे बेल हैं उन की ताकत में कोई फर्क नहीं है। लेकिन सवाल तो एवरेज (औसत) बेल का है। उस की ताकत में फर्क है या नहीं। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री श्री जवाहरलाल जी नेहरू ने लोक सभा में २ अप्रैल, १९५५ को इस बारे में फरमाया था :

“मैं आशा करता हूँ कि हम सब देश के पशु धन की रक्षा चाहते हैं। हम सब इस धन की गिरती हुई दशा को देख कर चिन्तित हैं। यदि धर्म और भावना आदि का प्रश्न छोड़ दिया जाये तो आर्थिक तथा अन्य महत्वपूर्ण कारणों से भी इस धन का परिरक्षण और संवर्धन आवश्यक है। चिन्ता संख्या की नहीं संख्या तो है पर उन की दशा दिन प्रति दिन बिगड़ती जा रही है, उसे रोकना है।”

मैं डाक्टर साहब को यह बयान प्रेजेंट (पेश) करता हूँ। पहले हमारे यहां गायें १५ या २० सेर तक दूध देती थीं, लेकिन आज मुश्किल से आठ दस सेर दूध देने वाली गायें मेरे इलाके हरियाना में मिलती हैं। इस तरह से आप देखें कि गाय और बेलों की हालत में कोई तरक्की नहीं हुई है। आप अपने रिकार्ड को तो देखें। जब सन् १९५३-५४ की रिपोर्ट पर बहस हो रही थी उस वक्त आप की रिपोर्ट का यह कन्फेशन सामने

आया था कि आप मानते हैं कि एनीमल हसबैंडरी में हमने कुछ नहीं कर पाया है। उस रिपोर्ट में दिया गया था कि हम ने एनीमल हसबैंडरी के वास्ते तकरीबन पहली प्लान में २ करोड़ ९७ लाख रुपया दिया जिस में से बीस लाख खर्च किया गया, मोसदनों के लिये ९७ लाख रुपया दिया गया, जिस में से ३.२१ लाख रुपया खर्च किया गया। अब इस नन्दा रिपोर्ट में यह साफ अल्फाड में लिख दिया गया है कि मोसदन फिजूल हैं और इन को चलाना फिजूल है। इतना ही नहीं बल्कि अपनी सर्किड फाइव इअर प्लान में गवर्नमेंट ने यह भी लिख दिया है कि स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स देखभाल कर अपने यहां कटिल स्लाटर को बन्द करें क्योंकि यह रियलिस्टिक नहीं है। एक तरफ हम ने अपने संविधान में दफा ४८ रखी हुई है और दूसरी तरफ हम इस तरह उस की पाबन्दी करते हैं। डाक्टर देशमुख साहब की स्पीच मेरे पास मौजूद है और अगर वह चाहें तो मैं उस का तारीख और पता दे सकता हूँ। जिस में उन्होंने ने कहा था कि हम आरटीकल (अनुच्छेद) १४८ के पाबन्द हैं।

3 P.M.

इतना ही नहीं बल्कि हमारे एग्रीकल्चर मिनिस्टर साहब ने गौ संवर्धन कौंसिल में स्पीच दी और बतलाया कि हमारे एक्सपर्ट्स ने जो इस बारे में राय दी है, उस के बर-खिलाफ भी हम गौरक्षा करेंगे और १४८ पर चलेंगे और हमारे डाक्टर साहब ने इस हाउस में इसी तरह की स्पीच दी लेकिन प्लानिंग कमिशन ने काऊ स्लाटर के बारे में यह लिखा है कि काऊ स्लाटर को बन्द करने के लिये स्टेट्स गवर्नमेंट्स को बहुत काशसली और सोच विचार कर आगे बढ़ना है और कहीं ऐसा न हो कि चारा कम होने से देश में चारे का अकाल हो जाये और हमारे मवेशी भूखों मरने लगे जिस के कि माती यह हुए कि काऊ स्लाटर को बन्द मत करो और मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐसा लिख कर हमारे प्लानिंग कमिशन ने कांस्टीट्यूशन में जो

### [पंडित ठाकुर दास भागव]

इस के बारे में लिखा हुआ है, उस की एक तरह से खिलाफवर्जी की है।

अब जहां तक कि काऊ स्लाटर को बैंन करा जाये या न करा जाये, इस सवाल का ताल्लुक है, उस के बारे में मेरा कहना यह है कि हमारे देश में कुछ लोगों का यह विचार है कि काऊ स्लाटर को बैंन कर देने से देश में खराबी होगी और मैं उन लोगों को हरगिज कम पैटरियाटिक (देशभक्त) नहीं समझता हूं जिन की कि राय यह है कि काऊ स्लाटर के ऊपर बैंन नहीं होना चाहिये और मैं ऐसे लोगों को उतना ही पैटरियाटिक समझता हूं जोकि यह चाहते हैं कि गोवध बन्द कर दिया जाये। मैं इस में कोई प्रैजुडिस नहीं रखता। हर शख्स को अपनी अपनी राय रखने का अख्तियार है। अब उस के बारे में जो कुछ हमारे संविधान के अन्दर लिखा हुआ है और इस देश के अधिकतर लोगों की मांग है और जिन में से मैं भी एक हूं कि फिलवाक्या यहां पर बैंन हो जाना चाहिये क्योंकि ऐसा करना धार्मिक दृष्टि से दुस्त है और जो लोग इस के बरखिलाफ कहते हैं, उन के ऊपर इस का बर्दण है कि वे यह साबित करें कि जो कुछ वह कहते हैं वह सही है।

मैं इस किताब के अन्दर जो फीगर्स लिखी हुई हैं उन को यहां पर नहीं पढ़ना चाहता। नन्दा कमेटी ने यह कहा है कि हमारे पास इस सम्बन्ध में स्टैटिस्टिक्स (आंकड़े) नहीं हैं और हम बगैर फीगर्स के नहीं चल सकते और चूंकि हमारे पास इस सम्बन्ध में जरूरी आंकड़े उपलब्ध नहीं हैं, इसलिये हम कोई नतीजे पर नहीं पहुंच सकते लेकिन हम ने देखा कि बगैर स्टैटिस्टिक्स के खुद इस नतीजे पर पहुंचे गये और उन्होंने ने कह दिया कि काऊ स्लाटर के ऊपर बैंन रखना मुनासिब नहीं है। मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि इस तरीके से साइंटिफिक मामले तय नहीं होते।

सन् १९४८ में जब हमारे प्रेसीडेंट साहब एग््रीकलचर मिनिस्टर थे तो इस सवाल पर गौर करने के लिये एक कमेटी बिठलाई गई थी और वह कमेटी इस फ्रैसले पर पहुंची थी कि हिन्दुस्तान की सोल सैटिस-फाई नहीं होगी जब तक कि इस देश में काऊ स्लाटर बन्द नहीं होगा और मैं समझता हूं कि जब तक हमारे संविधान में वह चीज मौजूद है तब तक किसी कमेटी को जब तक कि वह गवर्नमेंट से एपायन्टेड न हो और जब तक वहां पर गवाहियां ले कर कोई फ्रैसला न करा जाये, इस नतीजे पर पहुंचने का कोई हक नहीं था। प्लानिंग मिनिस्टर या किसी भी मिनिस्टर को इस बात का हक नहीं है कि बगैर इस हाउस के जरिये कांस्टीट्यूशन में तबदीली कराये, इस तरह की तहरीर जारी कर दें जिस से कि यह खराब नतीजा निकले।

इस देश के अन्दर यह गलत तौर पर कहा जाता है कि यहां पर चारे की कमी है और अग्रर फ़िलवाक्या मान भी लिया जाये कि चरि की कमी है तो उस कमी को दूर करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये। बिहार में कई लाख आदमियों के खाने के वास्ते नहीं था और काफी तादाद में आदमी सन् १९४३ में कलकत्ते की गलियों में कीड़े मकौड़ों की तरह मर गये लेकिन क्या हुआ? सरकार ने क्या लोगों के खाने के वास्ते मुनासिब इंतजाम किया। हुकूमत का यह फ़र्ज हो जाता है कि अग्रर इस देश में वाकई खाने की कमी है तो उस के वास्ते उस को इंतजाम करना चाहिये लेकिन मैं देखता हूं कि पिछले ७, ८ सालों में जिस क्रूर गफ़लत इस चीज की तरफ हुई है उतनी गफ़लत किसी और चीज के सिलसिले में नहीं हुई है। मैं साफ़ अल्फ़ाज़ में यह अर्ज कर देना चाहता हूं कि आप का यह सेक्रेड फाइड इयर प्लान या आप का कोई भी एग््रीकलचर का प्लान उनना कामयाब नहीं होगा जितना

कि आप समझते हैं कि वह होगा जब तक कि आप के बैल ठीक नहीं होंगे और जब तक कि गाय का दूध जितना मिलना चाहिये उतना इस देश के रहने वालों को नहीं मिलेगा। मैं इंसानों की तन्दुस्ती को सब से भ्रज्वल तरजीह देता हूँ। इंसानों की तन्दुस्ती जब तक कि उन के खाने पीने की बात ठीक न हो उस वक्त तक कभी उन की तन्दुस्ती ठीक नहीं हो सकती। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे देश में दूध की मात्रा बहुत कम है और खास कर ऐसी हालत में जबकि इस देश में बहुत कम लोग गोशत खाते हैं, असल में इस देश में गोशत खाने की प्रथा ही नहीं है, मेरी भ्रदब से गुजारिश है कि यह बहुत जरूरी हो जाता है कि दूध यहां के लोगों के लिये भ्रादर्श पेय है और सस्ती और अच्छी चीज है और यह यहां के हर एक इंसान को मुयस्सर होना चाहिये। यह हमारे लिये शर्म से डूब मरने की बात है कि कलकत्ते और बम्बई की बनिस्वत संदन और पेरिस में दूध सस्ता मिलता है। हम और और देशों से दूध मंगाते हैं, मक्खन मंगाते हैं, मिल्क पाउडर मंगाते हैं और और मिल्क प्रोडक्ट्स (दूध की बनी वस्तुयें) बाहर के देशों से मंगाते हैं और उन के बदले आप जानते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान उन को क्या भेजता है? हिन्दुस्तान बछड़ों की खालें और गायों की खालें भेजता है, भ्रातों और जिह्वा और मैं समझता हूँ कि इस से खेवजनक और दुःखदायी बात दूसरी नहीं हो सकती। दूध की पैदावार बढ़ाने की तरफ जो तवज्जह दी गई है उस को देख कर मेरा सिर शर्म से झुक जाता है और मैं देखता हूँ कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट और गवर्नमेंट आफ दी स्टेट्स इस बारे में रिगुलिस्टक नहीं हैं और वे अपने फ़रायज को नहीं पहचानतीं। एक तो इस के लिये रुपया नहीं दिया जाता और हम ने देखा कि प्लानिंग कमिशन ने जो रुपया इस काम के लिये दिया भी उस को वे खर्च नहीं करतीं हैं।

मैं एग््रीकलचर मिनिस्ट्री की जो गौ संवर्धन कौंसिल है उस का मेम्बर हूँ और

उस के भ्रदर हमारे भ्रानरेबल पहले मिनिस्टर मुंशी साहब ने जो काम किया और किदवई साहब भी दो, तीन मर्तबा उस के भ्रन्दर तशरीफ ले गये तो उस से उम्मीद हो चली थी कि यह गौ संवर्धन कौंसिल इस दिशा में कुछ महत्वपूर्ण काम करेगी लेकिन हमारी तमाम उन उम्मीदों पर पानी फिर गया है और यह नामुमकिन है कि गौ संवर्धन कौंसिल कोई काम कर सकेगी। हम ने देखा कि पिछले आठ, दस सालों में एनिमल हम्बेडरी के बारे में कतई कुछ नहीं हुआ और मैं समझता हूँ कि सिफ़र के बराबर चीज हुई। आज सवाल तो यह दरपेश है कि जब एक्सपर्ट्स कहते हैं कि गौसदन एक फ़िज़ूल चीज है, तो यह काम कौन करेगा। हम ने पिछली दफा गौसंवर्धन कौंसिल में मिनिस्ट्री के सामने एक तजवीज़ रक्खी थी जिस को कि मैं हाउस के सामने अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ— हम ने सुझाव दिया था कि गौसदनों का काम आप उन लोगों को दे दीजिये जो आज गऊ के भक्त बने हुए हैं। मैं यह नहीं चाहता कि देश के किसी हिस्से में कुछ लोग गऊ के पीछे गवर्नमेंट के बरखिलाफ़ सत्याग्रह करें और गवर्नमेंट के बड़े अफ़सरान यहां पर इस तरह के जवाब दे दिया करें कि यह गलत रास्ता है कि जो तुम गौसदन चलाते हो। अगर आप को अपने फाइव थ्रर प्लान और दूसरी डेवलपमेंट की स्कीमों को काम-याब करना है तो मैं कहता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट को तमाम पबलिक का कोआपरेशन हासिल करना होगा और मैं कहता हूँ कि उस को उन लोगों से जो गऊ की कसमें खाते हैं उन के साथ टूस कर लेना चाहिये। मैं काऊ स्लाटर के बँन के हक़ में हूँ क्योंकि मैं समझता हूँ कि आर्थिक दृष्टि से ऐसा करना ठीक होगा। जहां तक एकोनामिक्स का सवाल है, यह ठीक प्रापोजीशन (साध्य) है और इस में किसी मजहब का दखल नहीं है और मीरिट्स की बिना पर हम चाहते हैं कि काऊ स्लाटर के ऊपर बँन लगा दिया जाये। लेकिन अगर आप की राय में काऊ स्लाटर

## [पंडित ठाकुर दास भावेव]

पर बैंन लगाना एकोनामिक दृष्टि से जायज न हो तो मेरी यह तजवीज है कि आप मेहरबानी कर के जितना रुपया आप को इस पर खर्च करना हो, वह उन लोगों को दे दीजिये जोकि गौशालाओं और गौसदनों को चलाते हैं और जो कि ईमानदारी से यह काम करते हैं। मैं आप से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आप इस काम में किस का कोआपरेशन लेने जा रहे हैं? क्या आप उन लोगों का कोआपरेशन लेने जा रहे हैं जिन के लिये कि आप ने दुर्गा पूजा के भवसर पर कपड़ों के दाम महंगे कर दिये हैं या आप उन लोगों का कोआपरेशन लेने जा रहे हैं जिन को कि आप गोवध बन्द कराने के सिलसिले में पकड़ पकड़ कर कैद में डालते हैं या आप उस साधु समाज का कोआपरेशन लेने जा रहे हैं जो कि एक स्वर से यह आवाज उठा रहे है कि इस देश में गोवध पर पूर्ण पाबन्दी लगाई जाये? मैं पूछता हूँ कि काफ़ी वर्षों से भ्रष्टों के जमाने से यहां पर काऊ स्लाटर पर बैंन नहीं रहा है फिर भी आप के जानवरों को वही खराब अवस्था है और तन्दुरुस्त जानवर जोकि ज्यादा दूध दे सकें नहीं हैं। मेरी अपील है कि आप अपने इस सेकंड फाइव इयर प्लान को कामयाब करने के लिये कोआपरेटिव रिफ़्ट में भागें बढ़िये और गौसदनों को उन लोगों के जरिये चलाइये जोकि गऊ भक्त बनते हैं और उन पर इस काम को अच्छे तरीके से चलाने की जिम्मेदारी डालिये। आप कितने ही अच्छे तरीके से गौसदन चलायें आप को बदनामी के सिवाय और कुछ नहीं मिलेगा क्योंकि आखिर गौसदन एक तरह से कसाई-खाने हो रहे हैं और वहां जा कर जानवर मरेगा, हम नहीं चाहते कि बहुत दिन तक वहां पर जिये, तो ऐसी हालत में आप यह बदनामी उन्हीं लोगों को क्यों न लेने दें जोकि अपने को गऊ भक्त कहते फिरते हैं और उन को यह काम करने दीजिये।

इसी तरह फ़ौडर के बारे में मेरा कहना है कि इस की तरफ़ तबज्जह नहीं दी गई है। उस के लिये मैं ने यह तजवीज की थी कि दो, तीन चीजों को बांट लिया जाये और यह नान आफ़िशियल तरीके से होने दिया जाये और आप बाक़ी इंतज़ाम रखिये और उस के लिये आप के पास एक्सपर्ट्स हैं ही। लेकिन आप ने जो कुछ किया वह इतना नातसल्लीबख़्श है कि मेरे पास काफ़ी भ्रष्टाचार नहीं है कि मैं आप को कंडेम कर सकूँ। जब तक इस देश में काफ़ी तादाद में फ़ौडर नहीं होगा, गैर मुमकिन है कि यह मसला हल हो और यह भ्रष्टाचार का मुक़ाम है कि आप उस के लिये कुछ नहीं कर रहे हैं। काफ़ी ज़मीन हमारे देश में बंजर पड़ी हुई है और बेकार पड़ी है और न ही जो पास्चर (Pastur) लैंड्स (चरागाह) हैं उन को बहतर करने की कोशिश की गई है। भारत जैसे बड़े और विशाल देश में स्टेट्स से हमें यह मुनने को मिले कि हमारे पास गौसदनों के वास्ते ज़मीन नहीं है, यह बिल्कुल गलत है और मैं समझता हूँ कि गौसदनों के खोलने के वास्ते हमारे पास ज़मीन की कमी नहीं है। जब "सी" कमेटी के अन्दर इस मसले पर बहस हो रही थी तो एक सदस्य ने बतलाया था कि मध्य प्रदेश में इस के लिये काफ़ी जगह पड़ी है और वहां पर आप के सब ऐसे डंगर रह सकते हैं लेकिन असल में चीज यह है कि आप की दिलचस्पी इस में नहीं है। अगर आप के पास चारे की कमी है तो आप के पास कोई इलाज नहीं है कि आप चारा बढ़ायें। आप की जो यह एनीमल न्यूट्रिशन कमेटी थी और यह गवर्नमेंट की कमेटी थी उस ने जो कहा था उस को आप को याद रखना चाहिये कि जो गायें सिर्फ़ एक सेर और दो सेर दूध देती हैं उन को आप यह

नहीं कह सकते कि वे यूजफुल कैटल नहीं हैं क्योंकि उन को भ्रगर भ्राप निकाल देंगे तो ६० फ्रीसदी से ज्यादा भ्राप के जानवर निकल जायेंगे और वह तमाम दूध भी चला जायेगा। दूध भ्राप दें या न दें, दूध के बगैर तो लोग जिन्दा रह सकते हैं लेकिन बगैर बैलों के खेती नहीं हो सकती। इस देश में जमीन के हिसाब से देखा जाये तो भ्राब भी बैलों की तादाद १ करोड़ ६० लाख कम है। ३६ लाख २० करोड़ एकड़ भ्राप की जमीन है जोकि कल्टिवेटेड है और पांच एकड़ के हिसाब से भ्रगर एक बैल खेती करता है, जोकि भ्रापके एग्रीकलचरल कमीशन (कृषि भ्रायोग) की रिपोर्ट में दिया हुआ है, तो भ्राप को पता चल जायेगा कि भ्राभी भी १ करोड़ ६० लाख बैल हम को और चाहियें। एक गाय भ्रच्छी या बुरी कैसी भी हो, बछड़े को खास वक्त के बाद पैदा करती है। जब तक इतने बैल हमारे यहां नहीं होंगे जो हमारी जरूरत को पूरा कर सकें, भ्राप कुछ भी करें भ्राप की साइंस इतनी भ्रागे नहीं पहुंच पाई है कि एक ब्याते में वह एक गाय से दो या चार बछड़े पैदा करा दे। इसलिये भ्राप के पास कोई चारा नहीं है सिवा इस के कि भ्राप बैलों की तादाद बढ़ायें। इसलिये भ्राप यह नहीं कर सकते कि जिन गायों को भ्राप खराब कहते हैं, और जिन की तादाद भ्राप बढ़ाते जाते हैं, उन की तरफ भ्राप ध्यान न दें, भ्राप को ऐसा इन्तजाम करना होगा कि उन के बछड़े भ्रच्छे हों और भ्राप की खेती के काम में मदद करें, क्योंकि बैलों के बिना भ्राप की खेती ट्रेक्टर्स के जरिये नहीं हो सकती है।

इस के अलावा मैं भ्राप से एक भ्राज और करना चाहता हूँ जोकि ऐसी चीज है जिस का किसी के पास जवाब नहीं है और मेरे पास सिवा इस के कि भ्राप को कंठेम करूँ, कोई चारा नहीं है। कमी भ्राप कहते हैं कि १० से ३० परसेन्ट तक भ्राप के यहां यूजलेस कैटल है, भ्राप की सेन्सस

कहती है कि सिर्फ ऐसे ४६ लाख ऐस कैटल है, भ्राप की नन्दा रिपोर्ट में भी दिया हुआ है कि ऐसे २ करोड़ जानवर हैं। यू० पी० की गौसंवर्धन इन्व्वायरी कमेटी ने लिखा कि यहां पर सिर्फ ७ परसेंट यूजलेस कैटल है। मैं ने हिसार के भ्रन्दर एक छोटा सा सेन्सस कराया वहां पर १ परसेंट यूजलेस कैटल निकले। भ्राप भ्रनप्रोडक्टिव कैटल को भी यूजलेस कैटल समझते हैं। महात्मा जी की गोसेवा संघ ने वार्धा के भ्रन्दर यह साबित कर दिया कि जो गाय पहले मुश्किल से तीन पाव या भ्राघ सेर दूध देती थी, वही वहां पर ५, ५ सेर दूध देती है। भ्रनप्रोडक्टिव कैटल को यूजलेस कैटल कह देना ठीक नहीं है। यह तो हमारे एक्स्पर्ट्स किया करते हैं कि कौन भ्रांसट में पड़े, किसी भी गाय को जो दूध कम देती हो उस को यूजलेस कैटल कह दो कोई इस से इन्कार भी नहीं करेगा क्योंकि मुल्क में फाडर की कमी बताई जाती है। मुझे पता नहीं है कि किस तरह से गवर्नमेंट इस नतीजे पर पहुंची है, क्योंकि कुछ लोगों का दावा है कि चारे की कोई कमी नहीं है। काम करने की कमी है। लेकिन प्लैनिंग कमिशन की रिपोर्ट में इस तरह से लिखना जायज नहीं है। मैं इस बात पर भ्राज बहुत जोर नहीं देता हूँ, लेकिन फिर भी मैं यह कहे बगैर नहीं रह सकता कि पिछले १० साल में भ्राप ने और भ्राप से पहले पुरानी सरकार ने, ६०, ७० सालों से भ्राप ने इतनी गलत पालिसी भ्रस्त्यार की हुई है कि जिसे कोई शरूष पसन्द नहीं करता। भ्राज होता यह है कि कलकत्ते के खटालों में हमारे पंजाब के हिसार और रोहतक की गायों को ले जाते हैं, वहां पर एक ब्याते तो वह दूध देती है, उस के बाद उसे जबह कर दिया जाता है। भ्राप मेरी बात को न मानिये लेकिन भ्राप की जो रिपोर्ट इस बारे में छपी है, उस को तो देखिये। उस में लिखी है सारी कहानी कि किस तरह से पचासों वर्षों में इस तरह से हो रहा है पिछली गवर्नमेंट

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव]

की चेष्टा से और कम से कम दस वर्षों की हमारी गवर्नमेंट की नापरवाही से इस देश के पशुधन का जितना हमारा स्टाक था, उस का सत्यानाश हो गया। क्यों १५ सेर दूध देने वाली गाय मात्र ८ सेर दूध देती है, इस की कहानी इस किताब में दी हुई है, इस किताब में ही नहीं हर एक किताब में दर्ज है, मैं भी आठ सालों से कहता चला आ रहा हूँ, लेकिन गवर्नमेंट के कानों पर जू नहीं रेंगती। गवर्नमेंट को और कामों से फुर्सत नहीं है। लेकिन अब वक्त आ गया है जबकि इस पर आप को ध्यान देना ही होगा। अब आप इस को बहुत ज्यादा टाल नहीं सकते हैं।

*Mr. Chairman:* The hon. Member should finish now.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव : मैं बहुत जल्दी खत्म कर रहा हूँ। मैं कह रहा था कि अब इस चीज को नहीं चलने देना चाहिये कि यहां के जानवर कलकत्ते के बाजारों में जाये और एक व्यात के बाद काट दिये जाय और देश गरीब होता चला जाये। आप मेरी बात को न मानिये, लेकिन कम से कम इस किताब की बात को मान लीजिये और इस बात को खत्म कीजिये। आप इस तरफ तबज्जह दीजिये कि यह सवाल क्यों पैदा हुआ। ६ वर्षों से रोजमर्रा हम लोग श्री जयरामदास दौलतराम और श्री मुंशी से यह बात कहते थे और रोजमर्रा हमारी लल्लो-चप्पो होती रहती थी कि हम नें गौसंवर्धन कौंसिल बना दी है, यह कर दिया है, वह कर दिया है, सब कुछ बना दिया है। मैं कहता हूँ कि जो कुछ आप ने किया, बहुत अच्छा किया, लेकिन कम से कम जो कुछ आप के एक्स्पर्ट आप को कहते हैं उसे तो मान लीजिये। हमारे कहने के मुताबिक जब तक आप एक भलाहदा मिनिस्ट्री ऐनिमल हस्बैंड्री के लिये नहीं बनायेंगे तब तक और मुमकिन है कि इस तरफ गवर्नमेंट की पूरी तबज्जह हो सके। यह भकेला मेरा

खयाल नहीं है, हैदराबाद में कांफेंस में यह पास हुआ, नन्दा कमेटी ने जो कुछ भी कहा है वह सफा ६५ पर दर्ज है, उस में लिखा हुआ है कि प्लैनिंग कमीशन में सोलली ऐनिमल हस्बैंड्री के वास्ते एक मेम्बर चाहिये। कम से कम २,००० करोड़ रुपये की ग्रामदनी इस इंडस्ट्री से मुल्क को होती है, जोकि किसी भी इंडस्ट्री से नहीं होती है। इस रिपोर्ट में यह लिखा हुआ है कि इस इंडस्ट्री की ग्रामदनी ६६४ करोड़ है, अगर यह दुस्त है तो क्या यह ज्यादा से ज्यादा कंटेन्शन नहीं है इस गवर्नमेंट का कि यह ग्रामदनी आजाद हिन्दुस्तान में कम हो गई, और अगर यह दुस्त नहीं है तो रिपोर्ट के फिगर्स गलत हैं। राइट साहब ने लिखा था कि कैंटल वेल्थ से १,००० करोड़ रुपये की ग्रामदनी होती है। मेरा तो खयाल है कि इस से भी ज्यादा ग्रामदनी होती है। राइट साहब ने ही नहीं, आप की फाइव इअर प्लैन में भी लिखा हुआ है कि १,००० करोड़ से ज्यादा की ग्रामदनी होती है। अब की आप ने ६६४ करोड़ लिख दिया है, अगले मर्तबा आप कुछ और लिख देंगे। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि जो फिगर्स आप ने दिये हैं वह कतई सही नहीं हैं, आप की कम से कम २,००० करोड़ की ग्रामदनी इस से है। इसी पर आप की सारी सिंदरी फैक्ट्री का इन्हेसार है, प्रोटेक्टिव फूड का इन्हेसार है। देश के अन्दर जितनी भी इंडस्ट्रीज हैं, सब के लिये आप ने इन्तजाम किया हुआ है। उसी तरह से जब तक इस के वास्ते एक भलाहदा मिनिस्ट्री नहीं बनाते तब तक कुछ नहीं होगा। कभी कभी तो मुझे सुन कर हैरत होती है कि इस इंडस्ट्री की तरफ लोगों का कितना कम ध्यान है। परसों मैं ने राज्य सभा की कार्रवाई में देखा कि लोग कहते हैं कि ऐग्रिकल्चर मिनिस्ट्री को जो जरूरत है कि इतना रुपया दिया जाये, ऐनिमल हस्बैंड्री से यह रुपया ले कर ऐग्रिकल्चर में लगा दो। जितने रुपये की जरूरत हो

५६ करोड़ या ६५ करोड़, उस में से खर्च कर दो. क्योंकि यह मोहकमा तो एक तरह से फूजूल सा है। मैं बड़े जोरों से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक ग्राम प्लानिंग कमिशन में एक मेम्बर और सेन्टर में एक अलाहदा मिनिस्ट्री इस के लिये नहीं रक्खेंगे, तब तक नामुमकिन है कि एनीमल हस्बैंडरी के मुताल्लिक ठीक से काम हो सके ?

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member has taken more than half an hour. He should finish now. I may just inform the House that there are already 43 names in the list, and so hon. Members must be brief and they may just touch the material points without going much into details.

**पंडित ठाकुरदास भागवत:** जनाब वाला मैं आप की खिदमत में इन २० करोड़ बेजबान जानवरों की तरफ से अब ज्यादा अर्ज नहीं करूंगा। थोड़ा सा मैं न अर्ज कर दिया है, बाकी फिर किसी मौके पर गुजारिश करूंगा। मैं दो बातें और अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ।

एक तो मैं एग््रीकल्चर के बारे में अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ। मैं समझता हूँ कि आप की यह स्कीम तभी कामयाब होगी जबकि आप का एग््रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्शन बढ़ेगा। उस के बाद कपड़ा आता है। जहाँ तक एग््रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्शन का सवाल है, आज एनिमल हस्बैंड्री को जितना रुपया आप देंगे उतना ही ज्यादा डिविडेंड वह आप को देगा। यह एक ऐसी चीज है जिस के मुताल्लिक देश के अन्दर दो रायें नहीं हैं। एक करोड़ आदिमियों को काम और ५०० करोड़ की आदिमनी (cattl. Rearing) (पशु-पालने) से आप की बढ़ सकती है। इसलिये मैं ज्यादा न कह कर इतना ही अर्ज करूंगा कि आप की पालिसी ने जो हेजान मुल्क के अन्दर पैदा किया है, आप को उस का अन्दाजा नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि जिस तरह से हमारे शुल्क में आप अनाज की कमी बतलाते हैं,

उस तरह से तो हम कमी भी सेल्फ सफिशिएंसी के नजदीक नहीं पहुँच सकेंगे। जब हम सेल्फ सफिशिएंसी से इतनी दूर हैं, तब आपके फिगर्स को देख कर हमें परेशानी होती है। आप ने तीन बरस में १७२ करोड़ रुपये का बोझ बाहर से अनाज मंगाने के लिये हिन्दुस्तान पर लाद दिया, ८० करोड़ रुपये का बोझ आप ने बर्मा से खुराक मंगा कर लाद दिया है। कुल मिला कर २५० करोड़ रुपया हो गया। इस को देख कर मुझे हैरानी होती है। आप कहते हैं कि हम सेल्फ सफिशिएंट (आत्म-निर्भर) होना चाहते हैं फूड प्रेन्स (खाद्यान्न) के मामले में। आप की सेल्फ सफीसियेन्सी कहाँ है। आज हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर इतनी चीजों का इम्पोर्ट किया जाता है, आखिर वह दिन कब आयेगा जिस दिन से फूडप्रेन्स का एम्पोर्ट जारी होगा ? मुझे आज की हालत बड़ी दुःखदायी मालूम होती है।

आखीर में मैं एक चीज और अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ। प्लानिंग के ऊपर जो सब कमेटी बनी थी, उन में से एक सी कमेटी का मैं चेअरमैन था। हम ने सीलिंग्स (अधिकतम सीमा) वगैरह की बहुत चर्चा की। मैं इस की तफसील में नहीं जाना चाहता, लेकिन आप की खिदमत में इतना जरूर पेश करना चाहता हूँ। जब से आप की सीलिंग की बात हो रही है, खुसूसन सेल्फ कल्टिवेटेड लैंड्स (स्वयं जोती गई भूमि) के मुताल्लिक, तब से सारे हिन्दुस्तान में बड़ी धूम मची हुई है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यू० पी० ने तो पहले ही फ़ैसला कर दिया कि हम सेल्फ कल्टिवेटेड लैंड पर सीलिंग नहीं करेंगे, आंध्र में भूमि वह नहीं हो सका, बिहार में पता नहीं वह हो सका है या नहीं, लेकिन सब जगहों पर सीलिंग करने के बखिलाफ एक हवा बह रही है। मैं आज इस बहस में नहीं जाना चाहता कि आप सीलिंग कायम करें या नहीं, लेकिन इतना जरूर कहूंगा कि अगर आप २०, ३० एकड़ की सीलिंग करते हैं तो यह एक पोलिटिकल क्वैश्चन (राजनीतिक प्रश्न) बन जायेगा। मैं नहीं चाहता कि

## [पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव]

सारे शहर वाले जा कर गांवों की फिजा बदल दें, वहां की सारी जिन्दगी में एक सैलाब आ जाये और कोई आदमी इस काबिल न रहे कि अपना सिर ऊंचा कर सके, या उस की फाइनेश्ल इण्डिपेण्डेन्स (वित्तीय स्वतंत्रता) कायम रह सके। गांव में कोई कुम्बा ३०० रुपये माहवार से ज्यादा आमदनी वाला न हो और शहर की एक आदमी की आमदनी २५०० से भी ज्यादा हो यह इंसाफ से विरुद्ध *incomptable* है और देश इस को बर्दाश्त नहीं करेगा। अगर आप ने सीलिंग जरूर मुकर्रर करनी ही हो, तो एक सौ एकड़ से कम न कीजिये ताकि वहां पर ट्रैक्टर-कल्टीवेशन भी कर सकें और अपना गुजारा भी कर सकें। उन पर अच्छी पैदावार करने वाला मजदूरों को ठीक उजरत देने की पाबन्दी लगा दी जाये ताकि पैदावार और बढ़े और बईसाफी न हो।

जनाबे वाला, मैं ने जरूरत से ज्यादा समय ले लिया है। मेरा यह इरादा नहीं था कि मैं दूसरों का समय लूं।

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad** (Purnea cum Santal Parganas): I would suggest that for the future guidance of the House there should be a division of time; one hour for one-hour wallas, half hour for half-hour wallas, and five minutes for five-minute wallas. Let there be clear guidance for this House so that there may be differentiation between the Members. That will be better; otherwise we will get tired.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member may make this suggestion when the Speaker comes. **Shri Mohiuddin.**

**Shri Mohiuddin** (Hyderabad City): Mr. Chairman, Sir, while the report of the Planning Commission for the Second Five Year Plan has been received more or less with enthusiasm in this House as well as outside, I wish to draw your attention to one important factor, that so far we

have not had a complete picture of the achievements of the First Five Year Plan in its various sectors. I hope the achievements of the First Five Year Plan, in its various sectors, will be presented to the House as early as possible. Secondly, during the last Session, the Prime Minister announced that as the Second Five Year Plan has been made flexible, yearly Plan would be presented to the House and we expected and we hoped, that the budget of the first year of the Second Year Plan will be presented to this House during this Session. We are practically at the end of the Session and the budget has not yet been presented to us.

With these preliminary remarks, I wish to say that we generally agree with the objectives of the Plan, that the Second Five Year Plan should lay the foundation for rapid industrialisation of the country and for that purpose basic and heavy industries have been given priority and we will commence manufacturing machinery for the manufacture of machines. Now, this foundation that is being laid for the rapid industrialisation of the country and for the manufacture of machines is a clear indication that the ultimate aim of the industrial policy in India is the adoption of the modern improved technique of production and that the cottage and small industries and the hand industries which are given encouragement in this Plan are only a temporary measure and are only a relief for unemployment. I welcome this principle laid down by the Planning Commission, and as accepted by the Government that the future technique of production will be modern technique and will not be the antiquated technique of handloom or hand industries.

Now, at the beginning of the Second Five Year Plan we are faced with some difficulties. While there has been considerable improvement in the economic condition of the country as a result of the achievement of the First Five Year Plan, while our industrial output has been increasing

from year to year and now in the middle of the year 1956 it stands at about 136, and our balance of trade is favourable, on the other hand there has been a sharp rise in the prices in the country. The index number has gone up from 360 to 421. In 1955-56, the foodgrains production was less only by 2½ per cent. as compared with 1954-55 but the demand for foodgrains has gone up considerably and the prices have risen very sharply. Similarly the price of cloth has gone up in spite of the fact that the total production of mill industry as well as the handloom industry has increased considerably. Now, this state of affairs, that in spite of the successful achievement of the First Five Year Plan, the foodgrains have to be imported in large quantities and the price of cloth has to be controlled or its demand to be checked, shows that the estimates made by the Planning Commission for increased consumption of these articles three or four years hence are really an under-estimate. The Planning Commission has not made correct estimates regarding what would be the demand for foodgrains and what would be the demand for cloth in the country when the income of the people rises by a certain percentage or by a certain ratio. Now, Sir, the demand for cloth and the demand for foodgrains in a country like India is bound to be very elastic. The increased demand for these commodities shows that the elasticity of demand for cloth as well as for foodgrains is more than unity viz: if the income of the poor man increases by 10 per cent. the demand for these commodities increases by more than 10 per cent. If this were true—and the figures show that this is largely true—the demand for cloth and for foodgrains in 1960-61 will be much more than what has been estimated by the Planning Commission. The Planning Commission estimated that in 1960-61 the average consumption of cloth will be about 18 yards per head. They have given also some consideration for contingencies when it might rise to 20 yards per head but I am sure, the Second Five Year

Plan at the end of 1961, will show that the demand for cloth will be much higher. It will grow very rapidly. Similarly, the requirement for foodgrains will be much higher than what has been estimated. Under these circumstances it is desirable that the targets for consumption of these commodities, which are elementary necessities of the poor man, should be revised and the production should be arranged accordingly.

The Finance Minister in his speech in the Rajya Sabha has said that he is anxious about two things in regard to the Second Five Year Plan: the first is regarding the maintenance of the level of prices, and the second is about foreign exchange. Now, the maintenance of prices is the most important factor. The average expenditure in the Second Five Year Plan comes to about Rs. 950 crores. In 1955-56 the outlay on the Plan was about Rs. 400 crores. With the increasing outlay on the Plan, even at the rate of about Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 crores a year, the purchasing power of the masses of the people will go up, and proportionately the demand will also go up; and naturally, unless the supply is also increased proportionately, the prices are likely to rise and shoot up.

The Planning Commission has fully realised, and has stated in strong terms in the report, that the maintenance of prices of cloth and foodgrains is of strategic importance. But the report of the Reserve Bank of India, the extracts of which were published yesterday, says that the supply of money has tended to outpace the production level and the economic activity in the country. This is the first warning. The increase of the supply of money on the one hand and the lack of supply of foodgrains and cloth on the other with the consequent rise in prices is the first warning regarding the state of affairs that may arise with the deficit finance in the Second Five Year Plan. I personally agree entirely that deficit finance should be, and must be, a strong plank for the carrying out of

[Shri Mohiuddin]

the Second Five Year Plan. But at the same time it is necessary to see that with the addition of money, with the pumping of money into the economy, the supplies of cloth and foodgrains should also be proportionately increased. The state of affairs as it prevails at the present moment, when the supply of money has out-paced the supply of commodities, should be a warning to the Planning Commission regarding the future policy.

The Planning Commission had originally estimated the increase in agricultural production at the rate of 15 per cent. for the Second Five Year Plan. This figure seems to have been revised, and it is likely that the target of increase of foodgrains production may go up to about thirty or thirty-five per cent. If the foodgrain target is raised by thirty or thirty-five per cent, it will be necessary to provide necessary facilities for the fulfilment of that target. The Ministry of Agriculture had calculated that in 1960-61 the requirements of ammonium sulphate will be 375 thousand tons. The Planning Commission has accepted that figure. But that figure is on the basis of fifteen per cent increase in foodgrain production. If the target of foodgrain production were to be increased by thirty-five or forty per cent, there must be a proportionate increase in the supply of fertilizers. So far, we have not had any indication from the Planning Commission as to their revised figures for fertilizers. We are importing ammonium sulphate from America and other countries. Perhaps we will have to import more during the next few years. But it is necessary and essential that we should revise the figures of production of fertilizers if the Planning Commission has revised the figure for production of foodgrains and agricultural produce.

3.39 P.M.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair].

In this connection I would suggest that in addition to the expansion of

Sindri, and integrated plan of production of lignite and ammonium sulphate at Neiveli, the plants at Nangal and Rourkela, another factory for the production of ammonium sulphate should be established. And I would certainly recommend that Kothagudam in the State of Hyderabad (or the future Andhra State) should be selected for this purpose. The distribution of industries in the various parts of India must, of course, depend upon the facilities and availability of the requirements for that particular industry which is proposed to be established. But at the same time it is desirable that industry should not be concentrated at one place, as unfortunately it has been the policy during the last few years. It is desirable that industries should be dispersed consistently with the availability of raw materials and other requirements in as many States as possible.

Shri L. N. Mishra (Durbhanga cum Bhagalpur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I extend my whole-hearted support to the Second Five Year Plan. I support it because of the fact that it is going to lay a sound foundation for the development of a socialistic pattern of society in our country. I support it also because of the fact that while giving priority to large-scale and basic and heavy industries, it has given an important place to rural and small-scale industries. I am in agreement with the object and order of priority in the Plan. You are aware, Sir, that the Plan while giving top priority to the basic industries has also given an important place to food. As a matter of fact, food has been treated as the base for industrial development. Without prosperous agriculture, I feel, industry cannot thrive. I would, therefore, like to confine myself here to the question of food.

When I talk of food, I do not mean the question of fertilisers or the Japanese method of cultivation or better seeds. They are important, no

doubt. We have to arrange for them. To my mind, the most important aspect of this question is the land policy and the price policy. As you are aware, the First Five Year Plan recommended certain programmes for land policy. The question of land reforms was discussed at great length in the First Plan. Abolition of zamindari, ceilings for future acquisition, security for tenants, consolidation of holdings, and co-operative farming were recommended. An examination of the progress made in this respect reveals that some progress has certainly been made, especially in the abolition of intermediaries like zamindars and talukdars. But, I feel that no alternative method has been evolved to replace these two systems of zamindari and talukdari. I can say with some personal experience that the question has not been dealt with on scientific lines. There is confusion. As a matter of fact, we have not been able to get a good name in this respect. Therefore, I would suggest that the Planning Commission should examine this aspect of this problem and try to provide some scientific method to replace these systems. I am in full agreement with the question of abolition of zamindari. It is an out-moded system. But, we must, at the same time, provide some better method of management.

I feel, in this respect, that the panchayats can play quite a good role. If we rely on the panchayats for revenue collection, etc., we will develop some sort of village leadership also.

I shall take up the question of land reforms dealt with in the Second Plan. The subject of ceiling has been dealt with at great length in the Second Plan. I have tried to understand this aspect of the matter. The more I have tried to understand this question, as detailed in the report on the Second Plan, I have become more dejected. I feel that the Planning Commission has not been fair to the question of ceilings on land holding.

The Bhoodan movement and the working of the First Plan created a favourable atmosphere for this. But, I feel, that we have not been able to take advantage of this favourable situation to meet this chronic demand. The reforms in regard to ceilings on land holdings are, I feel, much below popular expectation. The exemptions given to sugar farms and the so-called scientifically managed farms are, to my mind, reactionary in nature. When I talk of ceilings on holdings, I have nothing dogmatic about it. I advocate ceiling just to maximise production from land. I suggest imposition of a ceiling just to increase both the marginal and total return from the land. I do not neglect the production aspect. I consider it a crucial thing in the Plan that so far as food production is concerned, we must make every effort to increase food production by 40 per cent. Therefore, when I suggest a ceiling on land holding, that is only with a view to maximise production. It is my firm belief that postponing the question of ceiling and giving various exemption to higher income groups in the rural sector are not the correct means of ensuring higher production. Rather, it is inviting contrary results.

While I plead for a ceiling on land holdings, I would like to say something to those people who talk of transitional dislocation. They feel that there might be dislocation and production might suffer. In this connection, I would like to suggest that surplus land may safely be entrusted to co-operatives. We may have co-operative farms. In the case of the people who are being given exemptions because they have sugar farms or scientifically managed farms, there should be a condition that that exemption will be given only if their farm will be entrusted to a co-operative, with equal partnership between the labour on the one side and ownership and capital on the other. In this way, we will be encouraging the co-operative movement in our country.

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I feel that the solution for the agrarian problems and the chronic complaint of deficit economy so far as our agriculture is concerned, is to be found in growth of the co-operative movement in our country. Mutual co-operation in the development of agriculture, agricultural marketing and warehousing alone will ensure better results so far as production of food is concerned. The past record of the co-operative movement in our country has not been very much encouraging. The record of some of the States in this respect, I may say, is not very encouraging. I feel that the people are not to blame. The people who were in charge of the administration or the people who were in charge of the organisation may be blamed: not the people. I feel that our people are quite receptive. If we appeal to them, they can hear us. They will come forward to have co-operative farms. Recently, a survey was carried on by the University of Patna in rural areas. The report has not yet been published. But, I had a chance to go through the report. That report says what amount of awareness there is among our people. There is urge to move forward. They want co-operatives. That survey has been carried out under the guidance of an eminent economist in my State. The people want to encourage co-operatives provided they are given proper leadership and organisation. Therefore, the problem is not want of awareness or consciousness among the people, but proper leadership and organisation for the purpose.

You may have seen the proceedings of the conference of State Ministers of Agriculture in Mussorie. I was startled to read some of the speeches delivered by some of the state Ministers there. It appeared from their speeches that they do not care to go through some of the recommendations of the Planning Commission itself. So far as co-operatives are concerned, they do not try to follow the

spirit of the Second Plan. They have criticised this. They were doubtful whether the co-operatives will succeed or not. I can say with a full sense of responsibility that the co-operative movement will succeed in our country provided we give leadership. I have had some experience of directly working in this line. I know how receptive they are, how dynamic they are and how eagerly they come forward. You know about the Kosi project. There we have tried labour co-operatives. The labourers were in charge of execution of works just like some big contractors. They behaved more efficiently and more effectively than any of the other people. Therefore, if we have confidence in them, there can be no difficulty in having co-operative farming in our country. There is nothing new about co-operation. You are aware, Sir, that in many fields, it has succeeded even in a country like the U.S.A. China has created a new history in this co-operatives movement. I am told in the year 1955 more than 60 per cent of all peasant holdings were in producers' co-operatives, and by 1956 they want to achieve a target of 85 per cent. There is much similarity between our economy and the Chinese economy. Our people are as backward as the Chinese people. If the Chinese people can be receptive to the idea, there is no reason why our people cannot be receptive. Moreover, I feel in a democratic set-up planning is not merely an economic endeavour of some few individuals or a particular party, it is an organised effort of the whole community to produce more of wealth for the whole community. Therefore, if we want to succeed in the Plan in a democratic manner, we should have confidence in the local leadership. If we have faith in the local leadership and believe in decentralisation as one of our prime objectives, this Plan can succeed and this target for food or co-operative movement will succeed definitely. I am of the view that no amount of centralised leadership or centralised control can deliver the goods. The

success of the Plan lies not only in the achievement of the physical targets. We have also to see what amount of enthusiasm and what kind of spirit we have been able to generate in our people. That should be one of the yardsticks to measure the success of the Plan. In a Plan like this or in the democratic set-up that we have, too much of centralisation will result not only in delay and inefficiency, but will also deprive us of valuable public co-operation. Therefore, if we want to have public co-operation, we have to develop local leadership and the creativeness of our people.

Our pattern of society or our political set-up is not the same as in Yugoslavia, but those people had faith in their local leadership and they have succeeded in their Plan. We know what results they have achieved. Therefore, I feel it is high time that we consider giving impetus to the question of co-operative management so far as agricultural farms are concerned.

Now I come to the second aspect. For a few months our mind has been very much agitated over the question of price. The question of price is not limited only to foodgrains. There has been rise of price in other fields also. As yet we have not been able to evolve a stable price policy. We have not yet been able to evolve the normal price policy or we know what should be the range of fluctuation in prices. A slight rise in prices is taken to be the result of deficit financing or is treated as an inflationary trend in our economy. The tragedy is this that inflation and deficit financing are treated as more or less the same in our country. This feeling has gone round and it is high time that we allay such kind of misgivings. It is very much necessary to evolve a definite price policy for the success of the Plan. If we fail to keep the price line steady, if we fail to pursue a stable price policy, all the estimates and calculations and

targets made in the Plan will turn out to be unreal. Therefore, if we are serious about the execution of the Plan, as surely we are, we have no alternative but to have a stable price policy.

We know there has been a considerable increase in price levels since May 1955. The general index of wholesale prices has risen from 341 in June, 1955 to 421 in August, 1956, the rise in prices having been most abnormal in food articles. There has been a continuous rise since June 1955 and the increase in wholesale prices has spread to almost all groups. Even semi-manufactured goods have been affected and there has been a rise of about 10 per cent in them. The price of rice has risen from 405 in June 1955 to 563 in July 1956, wheat from 347 to 521 and vegetable oils from 351 to 547. Working class consumer prices have increased by 11.2 per cent.

I believe in an agricultural economy like ours, fluctuations in prices are bound to be there. When we have to implement such a gigantic Plan there will be some fluctuations. It is not abnormal and hence there is more room for caution, we have to evolve a price mechanism by which we will be able to have some grip over the situation. I demand a comprehensive price policy also because of the fact that there have been some apparent mistakes on the part of the Government in some cases where instead of controlling the situation they have helped to aggravate it and it has deteriorated.

I will take up the question of buffer stocks. We all know that the key to the success of Shri Kidwai's food policy laid in maintaining a huge quantity of buffer stocks. We did not realise the importance of the buffer stocks and we decided to export food. We exported food when our stock was going down. We did not realise its consequences. The stocks of rice declined from 1.6 million tons in May, 1955 to 363,000 tons in July, 1956 and the stock of wheat from 346,000 tons in September, 1955 to 62,000

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tons in July, 1956. Shortage in stock was so much that the Government could not come forward in the market and help in reducing prices.

The situation deteriorated also on account of the fact that the Reserve Bank was not very much alert to meet it. We know that during the busy season of 1955-56 there was far more expansion of bank credit compared to 1954-55. From Rs. 449 crores in October, 1954 it came to Rs. 590 crores in March, 1956. That means an increase in bank credit by 22 per cent. Advances against agricultural commodities have been more liberal.

Besides liberal credit advances, we allowed progressive increase in money supply, and it is said there has been an increase in money supply by 24 per cent. I feel therefore that there have been instances where the Government have made mistakes by helping the rise in prices.

I say all this with a view to suggest that the Government should not do any such thing which may add to this tendency of rise in prices. Government should be alert and vigilant and see that there is less of rise in prices. I admit it is not easy to maintain an economic equilibrium when we have divergent economic and also political stresses, but it is high time we realise that as we move forward in the execution of the Plan, more and more money will be injected into the society and its natural reaction will be felt mostly on cloth and food. Therefore, if we guard against the rise in prices in cloth and food, we need not worry much.

How can we control the prices of food? I feel there should be strategic controls and perhaps Government is thinking on that line, but we should be also ready to have physical control if strategic control fails. I will not mind if we have rationing and price control, because the execution of the Plan is our first object.

When you think of strategic control, you must also evolve a machinery for physical control. Before you have physical control, you must have restrictions on movements also and if you have restrictions, I think you will be in a better position to maintain a grip over the situation.

I also suggest that the scope of State trading should be expanded to cover a wider field. Along with State trading, we should also encourage consumers' co-operatives. If we do this, we will be able to deal with some of our worries that result because of middlemen etc.

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On the question of buffer stocks, I would suggest that we must build up a good stock of foodgrains, for, only in that case, we shall be able to enter the market and bring down the rising prices. Although coming from an area which is mostly agricultural, and belonging to the peasant class, I am not against Government taking resort to procurement also, because it is high time that for the success of the Plan, some drastic steps have got to be taken when emergencies arise. Drastic situations need drastic actions. Therefore, if a drastic situation arises, Government should take courage in both their hands and come forward and have all these measures.

Lastly, in regard to cloth, I would like to suggest that these should be an examination of the question whether there were possibilities of increasing the shifts in our mills, and whether the idle looms can be made to work. I do not feel shy of encouraging the Ambar Charkha, because, I feel, that if we encourage the Ambar Charkha through public co-operation and other co-operatives it will certainly relieve us of some of our worries.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: Though I should have wished to have half an hour, yet I am not among those

who would take that much time. I shall confine myself to 25 minutes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The point is whether the hon. Member has the discretion to apportion to himself the time that he wants.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** I know, but I am not asking for an extension of time to half an hour.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Let us proceed, and we shall see. It cannot be promised.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** After seeing the success of the First Five Year Plan, we have been emboldened and encouraged to fix the targets for the Second Five Year Plan, and we are going ahead with such speed, encouragement and emphasis, that we hope we shall be able to do a lot in the Second Five Year Plan too.

This Plan has been formulated, keeping in view three or four main objectives. Firstly, we are visualising that there will be an increase of five per cent every year in the national income. Then, we hope that with rapid industrialisation, with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries, and their co-ordination with a planned expansion of cottage and small-scale industries, we would succeed in industrialising the country to a great extent. Thirdly, we hope that there will be a large expansion of the employment potential. And last but not least, we are hoping that there will be a reduction in inequalities of individual income, and that there will be an even distribution of the national income and the flowing income, among the different sections of society.

Now, we shall see how far we shall be able to achieve the objectives that have been laid down in the Second Five Year Plan, by the measures that we are adopting.

It is heartening to find that more emphasis has been placed on the public sector, in this Plan, as compared with the First Plan. We are

spending also more than double the outlay on the First Plan. Therefore, we feel that we shall be able to increase the income which will be available for distribution among the different sections of society and not merely go into the pockets of some small sections.

But we feel also that the relationship between the public and the private sectors should not be that between equal partners. I have been advocating this point ever since the First Five Year Plan was launched, because we have been finding that much of the money that has been generated, and the increase in the national income that we were able to achieve, —namely 18 per cent though we had envisaged only 11 per cent—have gone only into the pockets of a small section of society. But in the Second Five Year Plan, we want that the increase in national income which we shall be able to achieve, namely 25 per cent as we are at present envisaging, will percolate to the different sections of society.

For this, it is very necessary that the relationship between the public and the private sectors should not be that between equal partners, but should be that between a younger brother and an elder brother, or that between a senior and a junior partner; the junior partner, namely private enterprise, is more interested in his personal profits, whereas, the senior partner is more interested in keeping the entire family of the nation going.

I wish to emphasise this point, because in the Second Five Year Plan, we should always have our grip on private enterprise, so that we can control them, and we can regulate how they will invest, and how they will go on. We should not merely say, there you are, here I am, here is the public sector, and there is the private sector, do as you like, and have more profits and more crores. For the successful implementation of the Plan, it is necessary that we must have a strict grip over the private enterprise, so that we can ask them

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and direct them as to which side they should march, and how they should invest their money.

Now, come to the question of foreign investments, about which many hon. Members have spoken already. Not only in this House, but even outside, a great opposition has been voiced to foreign investments. I, for one, am not opposed to foreign investments, but I want that it should be known to the country and to the people, what percentage of foreign investments we can have, up to what extent, we can receive foreign aid, and what advantages we shall get by having foreign investments.

So far as foreign experts are concerned, I deprecate the idea of going in for foreign experts for anything and everything, as, for instance, sanitation. Our Health Minister would like to have foreign experts from outside, for sanitation. For domestic cooking, she would like to send a batch of our friends abroad to learn cooking with electric ovens etc. I do not know when that electric oven will come to India. In our houses also, for washing, cleaning and for everything, we want some foreign experts. I feel that our friends have mortgaged their brains to the god of foreign experts. I deprecate this.

I am not opposed to foreign investments, but I want that they must be regulated. We must not allow them to come to this country and develop Leaver Bros., so that the price of the poor man's blade may go up from one anna to four annas, or that the price of a Lifebuoy Soap may go up from six annas to eight annas. I do not like that such sort of things should happen.

Then, I would say that the foreign investors should not be allowed to remit as much as they want, in the shape of profits, to their countries. There must be regulation and control over this also. There must be a condition prescribed that they must invest a certain percentage in this country, and not remit as much profit as they like to their country, at the cost of the consumer in this country.

If you want foreign investment, you must lay down a certain percentage which they should re-invest in this country, and you should also have a restriction as to the sector or department of industry in which they should invest. That is the type of foreign investment that we want. Let us shake off this idea that for anything and everything we want a foreign expert, and that even for cooking, we want a foreign expert.

It is true that there are many good points in this Plan, but here we are to see what the drawbacks are. I feel that this Plan will collapse in the third year of its execution, owing to lack of transport; it will not be implemented, because there will not be the necessary technical personnel. According to my reading these are the two drawbacks in this Plan.

We have many good schemes in this Plan, and we are having money also, now that the new Finance Minister is there to give the needed revenue to the Planning Minister. Let it be by taxing cloth. I do not mind. I am prepared for it. I can say that I shall speak to my people and ask them to reduce their consumption of cloth. For my part, I am prepared to reduce my consumption of cloth. I have three dhotis and two pants. I am prepared to have only one. But I must be assured by the Finance Minister and the Planning Minister that the money which is lying in the pockets of a small section of society will also come forth. I would not like that the poor consumers be taxed in the name of planning, while the big *moneywallahs* are allowed to go 'hay and gay' in Bombay, Ahmedabad and Calcutta. These money-bags must be opened first. Then, for our part, we are prepared to pay any tax; whether it be excise duty on cloth; or excise duty on anything else, we would not mind. But it should be known to the people there that there will be a fair distribution of the burden for financing the Second Five Year Plan on the different sections of society. Up till now, we are not having that.

The other day, Professor Asoka Mehta.....

**An Hon. Member:** He is not a professor.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** By (professor' I mean a student of economics. He said the other day that there are other measures also to tax the people and to get the money. But the Finance Minister would not say a word about that. Let us hope that when the new budget is presented he is there and is bold and courageous enough to come out with new taxes which would tap these money-bags also.

It is essential when you want to call upon the country to share the burden, that you must have a fair distribution of the burden. Whereas we profess to raise the standard of living of the people in the Second Five Year Plan, what about the immediate apparent relief, like clothing? This is not the only means but this is, all the same, a means towards increasing the standard of living at the end of the Second Plan.

What about the technical personnel? Now you have got the money. The Finance Minister is sure he can bring the money. You have also got the plan, a very big thick book, as so many plans are. But what would you do with all that? There is no indication in the Plan. I would like to have a categorical and specific assurance as to what are the methods envisaged for obtaining the technical personnel required for implementing the Second Five Year Plan. I do not mean any aspersion on our friends, either in office or outside. But I would say that there is something wrong with the machinery that is called upon to implement the Plan. They have not got that zeal which is required. Over and above the officers, there is the necessity for technical personnel for which there is no provision indicated in the Plan. Whereas we have all other things, on one important point there is something missing, but which is essential for implementation of the Plan, that is, large numbers of technical personnel. We have not got them.

On the other hand, though we cry that we want engineers, we want ex-

perts in iron and steel and so on, we find that there are experts going abegging on the roads. On paper, they will say that they want experts. But in the field, there are so many available. Still they will say that they are not there. Let me give an instance. I know of one particular gentleman—I won't name him—who had gone to foreign countries and had gained experience in iron and steel. He is a very qualified man. But he is put in an aluminium factory getting some money. He is a man specialised in iron and steel in England and he wants to work as an expert in iron and steel. But he does not get it. At the same time, the Ministry is crying that there are not men available for the job. What a nice plan? What a wonderful plan? You want men specialised in iron and steel. Here is a man over-qualified from England. But you do not want him. Here is an engineer. But there is no job for him. At the same time, you say: 'Oh, what can we do? There are no hands available'.

These two lines run parallel. Of course, I admit there is dearth. But there are people available, say, a dozen or a hundred. But they are not taken because there is no planning. I can name at least five people now who are experts. But the hon. Minister will say: 'I am sorry. I cannot take them'.

So this is a most important point on which we would like to have some clarification from Government as to what their plans are, what is the numerical strength of the personnel by which they would be able to have to tide over this difficulty. We require all these people also to implement the Plan.

In my opinion, our planners are more alive to the present needs and requirements than to the future needs. They have refused to peep into the future. They are much too attracted by the present and they want to have more show of such schemes and things which can be seen immediately, the results of which will not accrue in the

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present. But so far as the future is concerned, I am sorry to say that they do not view the requirements from that point of view.

What is the position regarding cement, iron and steel and heavy industries? What did they visualise during the period of the First Plan? The industrial planning in the First Plan was not successful from the point of view of the Second Five Year Plan or the Third Plan or the Fourth Plan. They knew already what was the need and what were the requirements of iron and steel, in the First Plan. They should have visualised what would be the requirements in the future. But they did not do so. Now they are running here and there and are behind schedule though they would say: 'We are not behind. We will make up. Do not worry'. Wish you the best of luck to make up all these things. But I do not know how you are going to do it. Planning has to be done differently.

As regards cement, I can say that in my area all schemes, minor schemes, are held up. Formerly they used to give 50 per cent. of the cost in respect of minor schemes. It has been a great success. Now the contribution has been reduce to 25 per cent. A very nice way of planning! Now people will be discouraged, not encouraged by this kind of planning. As regards these minor schemes, after they had gone a certain step—after the last rainy season—they have all collapsed because there was no cement available. Some cement was given. But it goes here and there. I do not know who is responsible, whether it is the district officer or others. They are taking away cement, I do not know where.

So they had not seen what would be the resultant increase in demand after the successful implementation of the First Five Year Plan in respect of all these articles. Today my hon. friend, the Finance Minister is crying:

'Oh, Mr. Azad, you opposed this spindle-lage'. I was opposing it for five months. What were you doing for the last five years? The Finance Minister said that I did not impress him as a student of economics. I can only give facts and figures, not brain. I hope the House would say the same thing. I also am not impressed with history of dealing things. That is a fact.

We want not only more cloth but more employment as well. Let there be a fine balance between all these aspects. They could not see all these things. Now there is scarcity. It is their responsibility, it is their failure. Now they come and impose an excise duty. I say, by all means have it. You have failed once. Let us hope that you will not fail twice, and add to the burden of the consumer more.

What I was pointing out was that the planners could not see what was the resultant demand for essential commodities in the Second Five Year Plan. Therefore, now we are faced with these difficulties. Even in this Plan, which is industrially-biased, you have no provision for a heavy machinery industry. The other day in Committee B, this was raised. But the reply was: 'Do not worry. We have called for the experts. The team has arrived'. A country going ahead with a rapid industrialisation programme would require a heavy machinery plant, but they say they have called for the experts and they are examining the matter. What a nice plan? So in this respect also, the planners have not properly visualised things for the future, and have not planned in the right way.

Now, I come to one of the most important points, that is, employment. We know that at the end of the First Plan, we have had 5 million people unemployed in the country. The Government say that they would be able to create jobs for 8 million people. At the end of the Second Plan, the number of job-seekers will be 10 million.

So there will be 7 million people roving in the streets and begging for employment at the end of the Second Plan.

So far as the problem of educated unemployment is concerned, we know that 14.5 lakhs of people will be added during the course of the Second Plan. We have already 5.5 lakhs people under the category 'educated unemployed'. So the figure comes to about 2 million. They would be able to create jobs for only 1.5 million people, leaving 0.5 million educated unemployed.

This is the state of affairs about employment. Last year on our suggestion—or on our protest—the size of the plan was increased by Rs. 200 crores to provide increased employment opportunities. We give our thanks and appreciation for that. But we do not know what will happen in the Second Plan, when the employment position at the end of the Plan would not even be what it was at the end of the First Plan. This is not a happy sign. I know that the prospect of full employment is an utopia. There are unemployed people everywhere, even in the best industrialised countries of Europe. But the fact remains that the volume of unemployment which will be there at the end of the Second Plan does not indicate a happy position. We have to see how we can tackle it. We have to so adjust our priorities, our allocation and our Plan and our schemes, that we can achieve one of the four cardinal objectives we have in view and which I referred to in the beginning, so that we have at least have a reasonable number of men employed during the Second Plan.

Then, I would come to the last but the most important point and that is about transport. One of my friends in this House is studying this problem in detail and I hope he will give his fine views tomorrow. But within these 2 or 3 minutes, I would like to say something on this point also.

The other day the Minister of iron and steel was saying that we have imported iron but it is lying there and

there is no transport to carry it to the destination. The problem before them is arranging for facilities for storage. Leaving aside the demand in different areas of the country, the problem now is that of storage first and then of transport. The transport facilities at present are not sufficient to handle the traffic that is there. I do not know what will be the position when there will be the resultant increase due to the implementation of the Second Five Year Plan in the first, second or third year. My fear is that we will be faced with an even more critical situation. My hon. friend to the left says that there will be a collapse; but I do not want to say that. I say that we would be faced with a very critical situation in the beginning of the third year when due to our implementation of the Second Plan there will be increased goods which will have to be handled by the transport. Not only in this House but also outside, experts and others who are conversant with this problem, have said that this is the most difficult problem before the Planning Commission and the Government, because we know they would not be able to handle the traffic or the goods and other things which will be there as a result of the Second Five Year Plan in the third year. But we do not see our Government moving. They are also saying so. They are not pointing out what would be the measures that they would adopt for strengthening this and what are the schemes by which they will re-allocate the resources in respect of spending. Supposing they spend A on industries and B on transport, will they consider that the resulting increase from the amount A invested should be lessened so that it should be given to B so that there may be a happy balance? We would like to know from the Planning Minister.

I would ask the Planning Minister whether it is wrong to say that the Plan will reach its most difficult stage in the third year or so or in the 4th or the 5th year. But let him say that the country will not suffer; the progress of the country will not suffer due to lack of transport facilities when

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we industrialise or strengthen in the agricultural sector. We would like to know from the Planning Minister what are the schemes for development of this. I would say that we have to be on the guard against these things which may go to wreck our Plan. They are important points and I would like the hon. Minister to tell us what the schemes they have in view are.

With these words, I wish this Second Five Year Plan great success. Indeed I and everybody in this country will give our whole-hearted co-operation and support.

**Shri Debeswar Sarmah:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, grateful thanks are due from us and others for the arduous troubles which produced this Second Five Year Plan.

**An Hon. Member:** The book!

**Shri Debeswar Sarmah:** It is a masterly Plan and it has taken into account all the circumstances in which we are conditioned. I am not a pandit in economics. Therefore, I will not take up the time of the House in speaking of high economics. But I will only deal with two or three features of the Plan which have struck me from my study experience and inference therefrom.

The objectives of the Plan briefly stated are, increase in the national income a rise in the level of the income in the country, rapid industrialisation with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries, large expansion of employment opportunities, reduction of inequalities in incomes and wealth and a more even distribution of the economic power.

If we examine the scheme or the shape of things to come in the light of these objectives, we are confronted with certain flaws in it. One thing which strikes me at the outset and which I was a little apprehensive of voicing earlier is this. Where plans like these are leading us to? I have no doubt that the philosophy of the Plan is very well expounded; but when

the philosophy of the Plan is examined with the real schemes and plans which are envisaged for the next five years, one is bound to feel confused. Is this Plan in the pattern of the West or have we introduced something new? Surely, India has taken into account certain new thoughts and certain new ideas which are traditional to the genius of India. But have we tried to put emphasis on these? What is the condition of the West?

Briefly stated, about 200 years back, when there was the scientific discovery of steam and other things, they went ahead with industrial revolution. Added to that, with the help of the same they exploited the rest of the world. They looted the rest of the world—the Colonial Powers, if I may say so—and they enriched themselves. They were small countries with small populations but with very considerable amount of wealth. So, they maintained an economy which we are trying to imitate today. But, what is their plight today? The industrialised countries of the West, shorn of their colonies, are coming to grief, because of the pattern of economy that they followed. America, no doubt, is doing fine. But what is their race for more power, more speed and more wealth leading them to? Subject to correction, I was reading somewhere the other day that insanity in America is 7 in a thousand. Is that the state of things that we are looking forward to?

In this Plan, certainly, nobody would quarrel that we have to develop basic industries so that they would serve as the foundation of the prosperity of the country. But, at the same time, when we read in another chapter that by 1976 the population of India might come to about 500 millions, one shudders to think whether this capital-intensive industries are likely to feed these millions, whether there will be parity or greater disparity of wealth between those who have and those who have not.

As regards employment, it is already stated that the employment prospective under this Plan is not very great because it is the beginning of the establishment of key industries as the foundation for other industries. Therefore, one has to wonder where and when we shall cry halt to our present policy before we come to grief. What I mean frankly and clearly is this. When do we look to the self-sufficiency of the villages, the teeming millions of the villages and so that we may adjust the pattern or design of our big industries which have an ulterior motive as we have stated here, to raise national incomes so as to raise the level of living of the masses generally in the country?

Let us take a lesson from the last Five Year Plan. We have achieved a great deal. Any country in our position and in our difficulties may be proud of it. Right from the top, I mean the Ministers, down to the ordinary man in the street and the labourer who has put his shoulder to the success of the Plan may congratulate himself. But even looking back to the first Five Year Plan, what do we actually find in our villages? What do we find in our State? I may state briefly that the objective is no doubt good, but there is lacuna. For example, unfortunately, my State, that is, Assam, is not a model. A small amount was allotted, round about Rs. 20 crores, and that could not be spent entirely, I am afraid. If something could not be spent, it is no fault of the State. I will come to it later if you would be pleased to give me a little time. What do we find in the N.E.S. Blocks and Community Projects on which we lay great stake? If we have to lift the entire community, entire people, if they have to feel that it is their India for which they have to live and they have to die, what should we do? The Community Projects have been worked with the best of feelings and everybody is putting his shoulders to it. But what do we find? In the ordinary administrative system, for ex-

ample, in the district level, the agricultural inspector in the district where there is a N.E.S. Block, says that it is the duty of the Agricultural Extension Officer and that it is not his duty to look after it. Similar is the case with the Education Officer and similar is the case with the Health Officer. Have we been able to bring about co-ordination here? If not, how can we raise the level of this country?

In this Plan, out of a total allotment of Rs. 4,800 crores, we find only about Rs. 200 crores given to village and small industries. I submit here is an indication that the masters who framed the Plan went the Western way. They did not think in the way that we have to lift our villages and to look to our villages for uplift of their conditions. Rs. 200 crores is a big sum by itself, but when we have five lakhs of villages with people having no adequate means of living, we have to pause and ponder whether Rs. 200 crores is enough. I submit that another Rs. 200 crores is perhaps allotted for the Community Projects and N.E.S. Blocks. There again I would submit that it is time that the Administration rather than keeping their eye on books and papers would evaluate what is going on actually in the field.

The other day when our amiable young Deputy Minister for Planning delivered a lecture on a Resolution here, I felt impressed and I also felt enthused. I was going to my constituency and was trying my level best to maintain that enthusiasm, but alas! It evaporated, because we find here one thing on papers and speeches and actually in practice we have not been able to work up to that, rather the ways and methods adopted are tending to work the other way about, almost.

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So, I would submit that in this Plan, foundations for key and basic industries have been very well laid, but village and small industries have not been adequately provided for. Until and unless village and small industries are adequately provided for and looked after in India, India as a whole cannot prosper, and the standard of living of the common man everywhere cannot be raised.

The second point that I would deal with is the imbalance in this Plan—that is to say imbalance in zonal or regional development. The States Reorganisation Commission as well as the Plan itself say that we have to see that the Central money is spent in such a way that people in various parts of India get equal benefit and that the different regions may develop, as much as conditions permit, at par. Of course, one cannot be unmindful of the fact that other conditions such as raw material, power, water, electricity, etc., do count. But leaving aside those crucial points which we cannot afford to neglect, has this Plan a scheme for balanced regional development? Unfortunately it has none. One cannot sound a warning too emphatically against such a treatment. There are places well, some portions in Madhya Bharat, in India in the East, in the West as some places in the South, and perhaps certain regions in Punjab also.....

Shri Bansal: Yes, definitely.

Shri Debeswar Sarmah: .....which have never received due consideration from the Centre. If you speak about opening up or development of these areas you cry in the wilderness. If India is a Union of so many States, it is only equitable and fair that the different States receive adequate consideration from those who are at the helm of affairs in India. What do we find, for example, in the North-Eastern portion of India? If you examine the last Plan, if you examine the present Plan, you feel like

asking yourself with great depression of mind as to whether our Indian leaders want this portion of territory to remain inside India or they do not care what happens to it. Otherwise, how can you think that in both the Plans there is no plan for the development of this area? I submit that it will be no news to you, I hope, since you keep wide information of this sub-continent, that sometimes up to five months in the year there is no communication, and within that period something there is no air communication even. To that extent things are to be carried usually by air, even essential commodities. So long as the train plies to Assam or the Airline Corporation works in Assam, Assam pays very well and it is always profitable and remunerative. Even for all this rejected wagons and locomotives that find their way to Assam; there is no workshop worth the name and not much development has taken place.

As regards shipping, it is out of question as this is *via* Pakistan. One can never be too sure, therefore, as to what Pakistan may do and one cannot afford to send strategic goods by a British steamer *via* Pakistan. One has to be careful about it.

As regards industry, there is not a single factory even for cement, for paper or sugar, not to speak of a big industry. Lately oil has been found in abundance in that State. We are not sure and the Government has not been able to tell us whether a refinery will be established there. Technical and economic difficulties have been trotted out to deprive that State of a refinery for the newly found oil there. The people in that State are asking "What is the technical difficulty? What is the economic dis-feasibility?" It may be that if an oil refinery is established nearabout Calcutta or Allahabad, or Kanpur or Gorakhpur, there may be more profit. Certainly, crude oil will not be manufactured at loss if the refinery is set up in Assam. No one can believe if it is said that a refinery will work at

a loss in Assam. Why then this anxiety for more profit? After all, ours is a welfare State, and in a welfare State the welfare of the people is more to be looked to than income. Our is not a capitalist economy. What are the technical difficulties, one wonders! It is a fact that oil has been found in Assam in abundance. Some say it is one million tons annually; others say it may be two million tons per year; yet others say that there may be four million tons per annum, that is a big bulk of the total requirement of India.

The other difficulty, technical difficulty, which the ordinary common man feels is this—whether the soil there will stand the heavy steel structures for the refinery or not. The rest of the difficulties, whatever they are, are man-made. If the Centre wants to take away or deprive Assam of a refinery, it will find any number of technical and economic pleas etc. But if it wants to give a refinery to Assam in the same way it will find technical and economic advantages and other arguments in support of giving the same to Assam. This regional imbalance in planning must be avoided. The Centre can do it easily. One can pass on today, tomorrow or some years. But, let not psychological frustration come over big sections of the populations. Evenly distributed, balanced zonal development is the accepted policy of the Government and therefore, it is for the Government to fulfil its promise to the people of different States.

I now come to the railways. We criticise them; we attack them on various counts. There is a saying that if a child does not cry, even the mother is likely to forget to give it milk. When we come to the railways, this plan appears to be lop-sided. All activities are dependent on Transport. There will be increased productivity in the agricultural sector; there will be the steel plants which will produce millions of tons of steel; there will be industries in other sectors which will produce

more. But, how to transport all these things? I am afraid that this transport bottle-neck will hamper and hinder the plan to a very great extent. The railways, we hear, asked for Rs. 1480 crores and then they raised it to Rs. 1520 crores. But, their demands have been reduced to Rs. 1125 crores. Let us see how this cut affects the Plan. With Rs. 1520 crores, there was an estimate that they would be able to carry sixty per cent more of the goods and thirty per cent more of passengers. With the curtailed amount, eighteen per cent has been cut off from the goods and so, only forty-two per cent remains. With the overall increase that has been envisaged in the Plan, how will the railways transport the raw materials, finished goods, etc.? How the planners expect that the railways will be able to supply all the necessary materials and will be able to transport goods and run services with this cut? Rs. 120 crores are being cut from the amount allotted for the purchase of rolling stocks. I fail to understand, how, with this cut, they would be able to transport steel, coal, etc. It is said that the Plan will be revised from year to year. Railway, I submit, is an industry where immediate investment of money cannot increase the tempo of working. If they have to purchase new engines and other things, they will require a minimum of three years or a little more. To produce in India, it will certainly take more than that time. So, how will they be able to transport all the goods and passengers to the extent demanded of them. I fail to understand. The railway is the foundation on which the rest of the Plan depends.

Take for instance, a State like Assam. We cannot do anything if we cannot get steel or corrugated iron sheets or cement. Even if the railways work all through the year, we cannot get our normal requirements and so the prices are high there. How will that State execute the Plan? Rs. 59 crores have been allotted. I do not think that we can get enough materials

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to execute the Plan to the extent of spending Rs. 40 crores. I shall consider it lucky if the Plan could be achieved to that extent, in spite of this transport bottle-neck.

One may say that there is room for efficiency. If one looks at our railways, there is room for criticism here and there. But, certainly, our railways are doing a first class job of what they have, with all the short-falls in materials, etc. And also considering the fact as to how they were mercilessly used during the previous ten years by the British and the Americans during the war. You will be surprised to know that in my State, when an engine gets disabled or when a bogie gets out of the track, the Americans threw it away to the ditch with their jack and other equipment; literally it was done so, and another train would be rushed in. Considering the way they treated the railways and considering also the short-falls of rolling stock etc. that we have had to face, I must say that they have done a good job. A ten per cent increase in the efficiency has been taken into consideration in the Plan. Further additional efficiency, I submit it will be difficult to attain in the present state of affairs. More money must be allotted if the Railways are to perform the task that they are called upon to.

In the Plan itself, it is stated that for extreme operational urgency and for transport of iron, steel and coal about eight hundred miles of new lines will be laid. Is petroleum less important? I submit that in India, petroleum is one of the most important things today, if not the most important. If you take a short range view of the matter in the immediate present it is of the utmost importance. I submit that the Planning Commission must be able to find some money for transport of oil. From where it should come, I do not know. But it must find money for laying additional track for carrying petroleum—either doubling the present lines or changing the metre-gauge into broad

gauge. If the Plan is to be executed and if we have to achieve our target, the railways cannot but have more money. The railways cannot achieve desired development without more money and this aspect of the matter should receive the earnest attention of the Planning Commission.

**Shri N. Rachiah** (Mysore—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Sir, I rise to support this Resolution. The First Plan has been completed with success. Our Government has sponsored the Second Five Year Plan with the object of achieving a socialist pattern of society.

In page 21 of the summary of the Second Five Year Plan, it says:

"The socialist pattern of society is not to be regarded as a set or rigid pattern. Each country has to develop according to its own genius and traditions, but it is important to stress certain basic values and the institutional arrangements implied in them. The accent of the socialist pattern is on the attainment of positive goals; the raising of living standards, the enlargement of opportunities for all, the promotion of enterprise among the disadvantaged classes, and the creation of a sense of partnership among all sections of the community. The socialist pattern is, one could say, a more concretised expression of the directive principles of State policy embodied in the Constitution."

This shows that the true objective of the Second Five Year Plan can be achieved and taken advantage of by the people of the country only when there is compulsory and free education in the country. Otherwise the entire benefit of the Second Five Year Plan, as it was in the case of the First Five Year Plan, will go to the benefit of the few advanced classes or the greedy vested interests in the country.

The true objective of the Constitution and the true perspective of the First and Second Five Year Plans is

to uplift the masses economically, socially and educationally. Without social equality we cannot achieve the economic progress, and without economic progress there cannot be any political stability. So, to achieve the social objective, the social equality or social justice for all the people of the country or the society, education is the first and best thing. Whenever any country—as a matter of fact, any country in the world—attained its independence, we know it always made it a point to introduce compulsory and free education immediately. Even in our Constitution, article 45 contemplates, and directs the State, that within ten years of giving effect to the Constitution free and compulsory education should be given. But, although we are already in the tenth year after we achieved independence and in the seventh year after the Constitution has been given effect to, no attempt has been made by the Planning Commission or the Government to introduce and implement this particular provision of the Constitution.

Sir, the Planning Commission seem to have people who have no practical experience or knowledge of the masses of India. I can boldly say this because they want to build this democracy from above; they do not want to build this democracy from below. Without introducing this compulsory and free education I do not know how our democracy would thrive, I do not know to what extent this democracy would flourish in our country. To create the great desire, the dynamism or the enthusiasm among the masses it is the education that is the most important factor needed in our country. Ours is a country where there are hundreds and thousands of castes and communities which are in conflict. It is not a question of class conflict that is seen in our country, but it is only the communities, castes which are now struggling for power in this country. Many of the communities, though they are numerically small in number, want to take advantage of the ignorance, the poverty and the illi-

teracy of the masses. They want to exploit and perpetuate their supremacy or superiority over the masses. We the Scheduled Castes people have been subject to a lot of untold misery and criminal atrocities of the upper classes.

**Shri Boovaraghasamy (Perambalur):** Which is that community that is dominating over the Scheduled Castes?

**Shri N. Rachiah:** It is not one single community. Even among the Backward Classes there are certain communities. I do not say that it is one particular community. In every community there are vested interests. You may speak of one particular advanced community, but what is happening in the south? There are Backward Classes which call themselves as Backward Classes but who, at the same time, do not want to give justice to Harijans. So I do not blame only the advanced classes. Seeing the advanced classes perpetuating their supremacy in their sphere over the others the Backward Classes want to perpetuate their supremacy in their field with the result that the socially very backward, extremely backward classes, are the worst sufferers today. Unless and until compulsory and free education is introduced and the people take advantage of that education I am sure—I am deliberately telling you as a very true Congressman—no scheme, no Plan would be a success.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad** said that within three years this Plan is going to collapse, because he did not see any provision for giving transport facilities and training technical personnel. I say this Plan is sure to be a success without any transport facility or technical personnel. I do not agree with Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad on that point. But this Plan is certainly going to fall because there won't be any co-operation from the public. Why do I say that there won't be any public co-operation? Without giving them education, they would not understand the spirit of democracy. How can you expect any co-operation from the people even if they are willing to co-operate when

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they cannot understand what your Plan is, what co-operation is and what the real object of this Plan is?

They have not understood what the socialistic pattern of society is. It is only mere talk by some people who are Members and Ministers, and by people who are to some extent literate. But what about the masses? They have not understood the real spirit of the socialistic pattern of society. As such I request the Government to see that compulsory and free education is introduced with immediate effect. Even the Backward Classes Commission, in their Report which was placed on the Table of the House last week, have stressed this point. They have emphatically requested the Government to see that this article 45 of the Constitution, which deals with free and compulsory education, should be implemented. Moreover, article 46 of the Constitution provides protection of educational and economic interests of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections of the society. The object of this article is actually based or is dependent on article 45, and it is one of the Directive Principles of State Policy. How can the Government implement all these important articles, which actually desire to give special and some certain concessions or protection with regard to education and economic equality to the Backward Classes, unless they introduce free and compulsory education?

Why I am so emphatic about the necessity for introduction of compulsory and free education is this. Now I am sure not a single child belonging to the advanced classes is going without the benefit of education. They are in power with united strength and economic stability. So the Backward Classes try to provide themselves through the Government officials and Ministers certain privileges and facilities in the form of hostels, grants, immovable property and so on. That is not taken note of by the country. But, if one or two

grants, or some aid is given to the Scheduled Castes there is wide publicity given to it to show to the world how lots of things are being done for the uplift of the Harijans. All this, I should like to say, though not farce, is only a pacifying factor in view of the fact that we have not been able to understand the Government objective. If compulsory and free education is not introduced, it is only the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who will not get the benefit of this plan because such a thing will directly benefit them and afterwards the other extremely backward classes in the country. Very small amount is provided in this plan for their uplift. It is only this compulsory and free education that will add to the stability of our politics.

Coming to land reform, one Mr. Thapar, a Government official who accompanied our beloved Deputy Minister, Shri Krishnappa, to China last month, gave a talk on his impression of his tour in China to Members of Parliament last week in the Central Hall.

5 P.M.

I put a question to him as to whether there is any problem like agricultural labour in China. He said that there is no problem like agricultural labour as such there, because no man who is an agricultural labourer is without land. That means every agricultural labourer who was without land before the advent of the present Government has been provided somehow or other with some land on which he depends. So, land is the source of all wealth in the country or in any part of the world. As such, land has solved every problem, according to him, in China. Thus, without solving this problem of land reform, I do not know what these planners of our country are imagining. I do not understand it at all. It has taken ten years after our Independence and it is now seven years since our Constitution came into force, and yet, they want to consult some committees; they want to

appoint another sub-Committee; they want to waste the poor man's money on these committees and other things. If the Government brings forward legislation today, treating this land problem as a Union subject or a Union problem, and introduces a Bill like the Hindu Code Bill, I am sure that in eight days, this Parliament can pass such a legislation and nobody can come in the way. I say so because we have removed hundreds of Rajas and Maharajas. So, there would not be any difficulty in removing such vested interests in the country. If the land reforms are not effected with immediate effect, it will certainly add to the dissatisfaction and disintegration of our society. For, after the Constitution came into force, the people have become aware of their rights and their privileges and they cannot bear this exploitation any longer. As such, I urge upon the Government, particularly, the Planning Commission, to give more attention and immediate attention to the solution of the land problem.

The Government have already assessed certain lands as available for cultivation throughout the country, in every State. I urge on the Government that such lands should be immediately given to the landless labourers. Now, there is no one rule which has to be followed in regard to the giving of land to the landless labour or the tillers of the soil, in the country. In the name of relations, people approach the Ministers and other officers, and thus, many people who are in power and who do not cultivate the land and who have already got lands with them get further lands. The result would be that by the time the poor people come to know their rights, the available land would have been granted outright to those who already possess land and those who are wealthy and are in power. Therefore, this kind of exploitation should end.

Next, I would come to the question of administration. Power is always accompanied by honour, money and what not. Certain classes in India

claim superiority over others because they happen to be in power; they monopolise power and so, I would say that power is superior even to God. I say so because God does not discriminate between man and man, while it is man who discriminates between man and man. So, it is the social, religious, economic, political and educational monopoly that has made man feel superior to others. So, with regard to administration, in the name of efficiency, merit or qualification, people who have no heart or sympathy to the poor man and who have no national-mindedness or patriotism and who have no sense of non-communalism are appointed to several high posts in the administration, even after the advent of freedom.

Nearly 99 per cent of the gazetted posts, particularly the posts in the IAS and IPS, have been monopolised by the advanced sections and some backward classes. If you refer to the statistics or data given by the Public Service Commission of Mysore and as published by the Backward Classes Commission in its report, you will see that the advanced sections have monopolised 50 per cent of the posts in Mysore. The backward classes have monopolised the remaining 50 per cent. But what happened to the Scheduled Caste people in Mysore? The Scheduled Castes form one-fifth of the entire population of Mysore. We have 20 seats out of 100 in the Mysore Legislative Assembly. That shows that the Election Commission and the Parliament have recognised that we form one-fifth of the population in Mysore. But in the matter of administrative services, though the popular Government has been functioning in Mysore for the past ten years, we have got only .07 per cent of representation in the administration. Article 335 and article 320(4) of the Constitution provide that Government can appoint or recruit a Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe candidate even without consulting the Public Service Commission. In spite of this, adequate representation is not given to Harijans. I have been

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urging these matters on the Home Minister Shri Datar but he has not been able to consider our request. Though half a dozen people were available from our class, though they were very senior to some non-Scheduled Caste officers and they have been intelligent and very efficient and also very honest and though they have put in 15-25 years of service, having been recruited to the civil service by the old Dewans,—they have not been taken over to the IAS, whereas people who were appointed straightaway from the college about three years back have been taken over to the IAS. On the contrary, the Scheduled Caste officers whom I mentioned should have been taken over to the IAS, in the usual course, as Deputy Commissioners and District Magistrates. But they have been superseded by the caste Hindus due to deep rooted caste prejudices under some plea or other.

Recently, 62 officers have been appointed, but not one of them is a Scheduled Caste member. The posts are usually given to the privileged classes, the advanced sections and also to some backward classes but not to the Scheduled Castes. As such, I earnestly request the Government not to allow such favouritism. If any Minister practises such discrimination, I am sure the Prime Minister would take action against such a Minister.

With these observations I support the resolution moved by the Planning Minister regarding the Second Five Year Plan, and I hope that the Minister will implement the provisions of the Constitution properly and give effect to the recommendations made by the Scheduled Castes Commissioner in the matter of appointment to the services and I also hope that he will do justice to all sections of society and in particular to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

**The Deputy Minister of Planning (Shri S. N. Mishra):** It is unique occasion and it is indeed a unique pri-

vilege of each one of us in this House to participate in this great debate. This is going to be a year of great change, because, in this year, we are going to lay the foundations for the fundamental transformation of our society. It was in this year that the sovereign Parliament redrew the political and administrative map of India. It is in this year that the Second Five Year Plan has been put out, and it is in this year that nuclear energy has been generated in the country heralding a new era. So, it is without any fear of exaggeration that I say that when this sovereign Parliament will be setting the final seal of approval to this great Plan, it will be reckoned as a day on which Indian history took a new turn.

After I have said this, it is obvious that it would not be possible for me to deal with the entire spectrum of views and comments that have been expressed on this Plan either in this House or in the Committees in which the hon. Members of this House participated. Most of the points, as you know, were dealt with at great length in the Committees and I assure the House that all the points are being considered in the different divisions of the Planning Commission with all seriousness and attention they deserve. Even in attempting to deal with certain points, I am conscious that I am going to assume a certain amount of omniscience, because the points that I have to cover belong to so many Ministries which were in the picture in the formulation of the programmes. However, I take this comfort that the criticisms that have been made of this Plan were mostly of a very peripheral nature, while there has been agreement on the central. We in the Planning Commission do not suffer from what the psychologists call the "narcissus complex". It is not our claim that we have presented to the nation or the Parliament a perfect plan or a plan which is faultless in every detail of its design. One can easily and justifiably, therefore, find fault with a number of points contained in

this Plan; but, it must be recognised, when I say so, that there is no such thing as a perfect plan. A plan becomes perfect only in the process of implementation. One simply does not begin with a perfect plan. The subjective design in a plan has to be tested in the objective conditions; we have to test out the correspondence of the Plan with reality.

I think I should also say by way of introductory remarks that a plan, for that matter, is not like a book of cookery which tells you that if you mix so much of this and so much of that, you get a delicious food, nor a planner can be said to be a perfect angler in any sense of the term. Therefore, I should say that while planning, we are all in a sense groping towards certain balances and a certain co-ordination which ultimately lead to correct solutions. There are genuine dilemmas in the way and if hon. Members express certain other points of view, one cannot say that they are wrong. It may be possible that some of those solutions might stand us in good stead. Therefore, I say that there are genuine dilemmas in the way and it would be foolhardy to say that one is categorically right. Whatever claim we in the Planning Commission can make so far as the Second Five Year Plan is concerned is only this, namely, that we are trying to evolve a streamlined rational methodology and look at our problems in the proper perspective to find out right solutions. We are trying to find out scientific methods of planning, but we have made only a beginning in this direction. Therefore, we cannot lay claim of an accuracy of the kind to which some of the Members have drawn our attention.

Having said that, I think that with all respect I should refer to certain observations made by Acharya Kripalani the other day, while opening this phase of the debate. It is needless for me to say that Acharya Kripalani is one of those personalities in the country upon whom we look with great respect as one of our great national leaders. But on that day he

seemed to be full of undue scepticism and he collected the uncertainties of the Plan with the passion and assiduity with which a philatelist collects stamps or Casanova collected his wives. He seemed to be always harking back without looking towards the future, nor even looking all round at other countries, in what directions they are going and what great changes are being made in those countries. I may say, again, with great respect, that many of the speeches which sounded to us in the past as clarion calls seem to sound to us like an old gramophone record with the needle stuck in the groove. He said, our plan is based on western industrialisation. Let me state very categorically that we have not purloined the garments of any other nation. Whatever pattern of industrialisation we have adopted is quite peculiar to our own conditions. They are in line with our own genius.

Acharya Kripalani nailed his flag to the mast of cottage and small-scale industries. We also salute that flag. Had he been here, I would have invited him to look at our ranks in this part of the House to see whether we respect or we have the necessary passion for the cottage and small-scale industries in the measure he wants, or the ranks of his party-men have that passion. All of us are wedded to that and even the clothes that we have on our body belong to the cottage industry—I mean khadi. He propounded in my opinion a very queer theory of industrialisation. I do not know whether in the modern conditions of today, there would be even 5 per cent. of the intellectuals in this country who can subscribe to that kind of view about industrialisation; but, at the same time, I should like to say that we attach the greatest possible importance to the development of cottage and small-scale industries. For that, you have not to go very far, but look into this Plan itself. When Acharya Kripalani was speaking about it, he was speaking no doubt in a very fundamental sense. But even so, he should have seen what a great

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magnitude of effort is going to be made in regard to the development of the cottage and small-scale industries under the auspices of the second Five Year Plan. The House would remember that while in the first Plan the provision made for the development of cottage and small-scale industries was only to the tune of Rs. 35 to Rs. 40 crores, the amount that has been earmarked for the development of this sector is somewhat of the order of Rs. 220 crores, if you take the provisions under the Ministry of Rehabilitation etc. also into account. So, this shows clearly that we have a great passion for the development of this sector of the industry. If you look at the Industrial Policy Resolution which was adopted during the month of April this year, that also clearly lays down that we have to take steps to impart sufficient vitality to this sector, so that it may be self-supporting and it may ultimately be integrated with the large-scale industries. Therefore, our effort is to see on the one hand to integrate it with agriculture and on the other hand to integrate it with the large-scale industries. We are going ahead in that direction and I think it is a challenge to the constructive workers of the country to rise to the occasion and make vigorous efforts to see that the programmes are made a success. If the entire programme of Rs. 220 crores or so is successfully implemented, I have absolutely no manner of doubt in my mind that it would make a substantial impact on the under-employment in the rural areas.

When I speak about cottage and small-scale industries, and also about the heavy industries, basic and capital goods industries, many people might say that we are flaunting a coat of two colours. But it is not that we are having two things which are diametrically opposite. In our pattern of industrialisation we do feel that cottage and small-scale industries constitute an integral part of our whole economic fabric and they are going to continue in very progressive forms, in changing forms, which may be in

consonance with the spirit of industrialisation.

Having said that, I would like to say one word or two about the idea of Acharya Kripalani in having all the important basic and heavy industries also on the model of the cottage and small-scale industries. I do not know how it would be possible to derive all the advantages of modern technology and all the economies flowing from them if we want to develop all of them on the basis of the cottage and small-scale industries.

So, after having said all this in regard to the point raised by Acharya Kripalani relating to cottage and small-scale industries, I think I would not be doing justice to him if I do not deal with another important point that he raised and that has a good deal of philosophical or ideological importance. He said that if we went ahead with the programmes of industrialisation, as we were doing now, he had no doubt, we were heading for centralisation of power and the emergence of authoritarianism in the country. I do not know how anyone can be afflicted with a doubt of this kind, in a country in which we are functioning within the framework of a vigorous and vigilant parliamentary democracy unlike Russia with which Acharya Kripalani compared the conditions in India which would be flowing from the Second Five Year Plan. I would like to humbly submit that even in Russia the process of democratic regeneration is at work—that the process of such regeneration is not at work in Russia, one cannot say now. And so in India with the temperament and traditions of the people, knowing as we do, I do not know how we are going to have authoritarianism. Then, we will have also to bear in mind that the political system in Russia is completely different from the political system in our country. What happened in Russia in the elections of 1954? The students of politics would bear testimony to me when I say that in the elections of 1954, while the per-

centage of voters who went to the polls constituted 99.98 per cent. those who voted for one list of candidates constituted 99.7 per cent. That being so, how can you compare with any amount of validity the conditions that prevail in Russia with the conditions that are going to prevail in our country? So, I think the House would bear in mind these things while considering the observations of the kind that have been made by Acharya Kripalani. But I wish also to say, Sir, while I am in this context that I believe with Arthur Lewis that governments may fail either because they do too little or they do too much and I think it is significant enough to be only cryptic like that in this particular connection.

I would then come to fears and anxieties and apprehensions about the uncertainties in the Plan. At this stage, I think the real question is not whether the Plan is going to succeed. When there is near unanimity in the nation on the basic objectives of the Plan, when in this House also we find that there is a majority of the section in complete accord with them, in my humble opinion the real question is not whether it can succeed but the question is that it must succeed because that represents the minimum that the situation demands from us at the moment. So far as fears and anxieties are concerned, I would only say that our fears are infinitely more precise than our hopes. I think I cannot say much more at this stage. Unless the planned becomes the actual, the real argument from the Planning Commission would not be forthcoming. The real test of the Planning Commission would lie in the fact when the planned becomes the actual, the potential becomes the factual; and so we have to concentrate all our energies and attention on this aspect of the Plan.

Now, it is not for me to deal with the question of resources with which my hon. colleague, the Finance Minister, will deal tomorrow, I think, some time in the afternoon round about 5 o'clock. But if anybody is feeling somewhat diffident about the

resources, I am reminded in this context of what a Russian expert said to an American at Geneva probably two years back. He was working at an enormous machine which is called the "atom smasher" and almost astronomical amount is required for building that machine. When the American asked him how he got the fund "What do you mean?" was the reply. "How do you get all that money?" was the question again put. The reply was: "I do not understand. We decided that this was the machine we need and we built it." So, Sir, the resources in a community are the function of the awareness of the community of the urgent needs which face it and the determination of that community to fulfil it. Therefore, I don't feel any amount of diffidence on that score and I would humbly submit to this House that the situation demands much greater effort than playing safe in the normal sense of the term.

Having said that, I think I should take cognizance of some of the observations made by Professor Hiren Mukerjee and I shall do that with a certain amount of personal feeling of what you may call 'class consciousness'. I had the honour to belong to that class though only for a little while but I suffer from a certain amount of class consciousness. Mr. Mukerjee happened to be—I do not know whether he still happens to be—a professor and I know that he has a great reputation as a professor. He said that Prime Minister always said that the community development programme had brought about a revolution in the country. But Professor Mukerjee was at a loss to find where that revolution was. When I heard Shri Mukerjee speaking like that I was reminded of the sad fate of a French nobleman who, when he was told that the French Revolution had broken out, remarked that he had decided to ignore it. I would not say anything more than that but I think that if he has not been able to sense that revolution, there is something that is wrong with his way of looking at things; I do not know whether

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it is because of a deliberate effort on his part that he is not able to see it. (Interruption).

I do not have much time to go into all the good results produced by this movement—the community development programme. It was only a few months back that this House had the full opportunity of going into all the aspects of the community development programme when a non-official resolution was discussed in this House.

I must also say a few words about the observations made by Shrimati Renu Chakravartty this morning. Shrimati Renu Chakravartty showed a certain amount of passionate attachment to the plan frame. We stand for the approach and the spirit of the plan frame, but I am sorry that we have no physical infatuation for it.

Sir, the Plan frame approach is indeed what guides the approach to the Second Five Year Plan. That approach was endorsed by the National Development Council and that still continues to be the sheet-anchor of the Second Five Year Plan. But to hold on to everything that was contained in the Plan-frame is something which does not stand to my reasoning. That was, as the Finance Minister, in the last Session, said, only an exercise in macro-planning, and that only served as a peg on which to hang on one's hat. But that did not mean that every detail that was contained in the Plan frame was to be adhered to even when the experiences showed the other way.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Fundamentals.**

**Shri S. N. Mishra:** But our communist friends have the knack of making religion and idolatry of everything and they have made a religion of the Plan frame also. I would not say that they should not have all the fervour for it, but I would only say that we should look at all these things with a certain amount of rationalism and a certain amount of pragmatism. What we have done is this. We have made certain modifications keeping the basic

approach of the Plan frame intact as far as possible.

Shrimati Chakravartty also suggested, I hope I did not get her wrong, that we should not invest at this stage so much in the consumer goods industries. Now, Sir, I do not know whether we can oblige her by bringing about conditions in India which may be similar to those of Poznan because we have to bring about a balance between the consumer goods industries and the basic and the capital goods industries.

Before I take some other points—I know that I have shown some preference for these three distinguished speakers—I think that I should draw the attention of the House towards a more important test that should be applied in judging our Second Five Year Plan. A question was asked during the last Session also in this regard and, therefore, this has always been in my mind to suggest to this House to judge our Second Five Year Plan by certain important indicators and also in relation to certain countries which are, more or less, in similar economic conditions or which are facing, more or less, problems of a similar character. I think it should be of great interest to this House to think on those lines. It is necessary to do that lest we judge ourselves by complacent standards of our own and we indulge in self-congratulations. I must, however, sound a note of warning in this connection that any comparison that we make would be only of an extremely limited validity, because comparisons with other countries are always difficult, due to a number of qualifications attached to the conditions in them. Now, what are these indicators by which we should judge our Second Five Year Plan, or for that matter, any Five Year Plan? They are, mainly, the rate of investment as a percentage of the national income, (2) rate of growth in national income and (3) the rate of growth in *per capita* income. Let us take, first of all, the rate of investment which is the most vital

determinant of the rate of progress. The rate of net investment as percentage of national income in our country during the Second Five Year Plan is expected to rise from 7.3 per cent. in 1955-56 to 10.7 per cent. in 1960-61. In the Italian Ten Year Plan, it is expected to rise from 14.5 per cent. in 1954 to 19.7 per cent. in 1964 and in Ceylon's Six Year Development Programme it is expected to rise from 10 per cent. in 1954 to 10.3 per cent. in 1960. A comparison of our Plan with that of China's First Five Year Plan, that is, their planning from 1953 to 1957, is somewhat difficult in the absence of official estimates of the national income figures for China. But according to one eminent economist to whom Shrimati Renu Chakravartty was referring this morning, Dr. K. N. Raj, the investment in China is expected to rise from 8 per cent. of the national income in 1953 to 12 per cent. in 1957, that is, as against 10.7 per cent. of India in 1960-61.

Now, as we are starting from the lower level of economic development, the House would observe that our rate of net investment.....

**Shri K. K. Basu** (Diamond Harbour): What about China?

**Shri S. N. Mishra**: I am speaking of other countries. Please bear with me for a moment. China stands in a separate category and my hon. friends would not like me to lump it with other countries. I am, in deference to their wishes, going to take China in a separate category. In regard to Ceylon the rate of investment there is higher. The standard of living in Ceylon is higher.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi**: Why not Goa?

**Shri S. N. Mishra**: But I would not go into all that. I was going to mention that as we are starting from a lower level of development in comparison with some other countries our rate of net investment as percentage of national income is expected to grow at a faster rate, i.e., the percentage of increase in the rate of investment in India during the Second Five

Year Plan would be 46 per cent. as against 36 per cent. in Italy during 10 years, as against 3 per cent. in Ceylon in six years and in the case of China, increase at the end of 1957 would be of the same order as at the end of the Second Five Year Plan of India.

After having said so much about the rate of investment of national income in this country I would come to the rate of increase in national income and per capita income as a result of investment. The rate of increase in national income, as the House knows, in this country is 25 per cent. whereas in Italy it is expected to be 63 per cent. in ten years, in Ceylon 26 per cent. in six years and in Pakistan 20 per cent. in five years. As a result of the investment programme in China—I come to China now—the total output of agriculture and industry there is expected to increase by 43 per cent. during 1953-57. This increase seems exaggerated because on the industrial side only factory output is taken into account and weightage is given to industries in the index of total output. That is again according to the authority whom Shrimati Chakravartty was quoting this morning. Now, Sir, Dr. Raj says that if we make somewhat comparable the conditions in China to those of India in this respect then 25 per cent. increase in national income would be almost comparable to about 30 per cent. in China. He does not believe that it would be to the extent of 43 per cent. as is made out. It may be that there are certain qualifications attaching to it, but if we bring them down according to the conditions which prevail in India then it would be of the order of 30 per cent. Hence, on a rough basis, the First Five Year Plan of China and the Second Five Year Plan of India, in overall terms of investment and income, do not differ in any great extent. But we should not forget that their plan will be over by 1957, and we will be reaching the same level in 1960-61. Thus, they are, in this view of the matter, three years ahead of us. But here I would submit to the House that if we increase our agricultural production to

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the extent that we intend to, that is by thirty to forty per cent., and we also improve the targets of the plan by energetic and vigorous drive, I do not think that the rate of growth in India would in any way be inferior to the rate of growth in China.

If we have a look at the per capita income, probably the conditions are similar, and I would not weary the House with these figures.

Now, a few words about employment. But here I would again like to sound a note of caution, that to put out the absolute figures of employment to be generated in different countries does not convey much sense. But since it might interest the House to know the employment targets in the plans of different countries, I would like to put them out, with a certain amount of hesitation. While in India, as the House knows, in the Second Five Year Plan we are going to generate 8 million jobs in the non-agricultural sector, in Italy it is going to be 4 million in ten years, mostly in sectors other than agriculture; in Pakistan it is going to be 2 millions in the industrial sector; in Ceylon it is going to be 0.14 million in six years; and in China, by 1957, 4.2 million additional workers, office employees and shop clerks may be employed. I do not want to suggest that this is the total employment to be generated so far as China is concerned. But whatever figure is available, I have put out before the House.

Now, Sir, having said something about these aspects, I would come to education about which there has been a good deal of criticism and concern in this House. It has been said that we have assigned a shockingly low priority to education. The Planning Commission are also painfully aware of the inadequacy of provision made in relation to the urgent tasks awaiting to be accomplished in the sphere of education. We would, indeed, have been very happy to make a higher allocation for this purpose, because we believe and recognise that education is not only an end in itself but

it is also a means for securing greater production and greater productive efficiency. But the financial limitations were there which had to be reckoned with; and although we have tried to do our best in the circumstances, we do feel that we could have done much more, had we got a little more resources at our disposal.

It is indeed true, as many hon. Members have tried to emphasise, that economic progress requires a well designed system of education. In no country of the world has any significant progress been made without a well designed system of education. But a balance has to be struck between a social investment of this kind and the economic investment. And what we have tried to do, with all humility I might suggest, is only to strike this kind of balance in the given circumstances.

The position in regard to allocation for education, however, is not so bad as it appears to be on the surface. What was the provision in the First Five Year Plan? Let us remember that and then we shall find that it has almost doubled. The provision that has been made during the Second Five Year Plan is double the provision that was made in the First Five Year Plan. The provision is to the extent of Rs. 307 crores. Hon. Members are sometimes apt to forget that there is also a committed expenditure of the order of Rs. 448 crores which we have to meet, and then the provisions under other heads for education have increased from Rs. 55 crores in the First Plan to Rs. 150 crores during the Second Five Year Plan. So, if we take all these together, we shall find that we have got not an inconsiderable amount of money for this purpose.

But we have not contented ourselves with having made a provision of that order. We have also suggested, as the honourable House knows, that there should be a levy of local cess

for the purpose of education. When I mention that, I am also reminded of a criticism that has always been made that we have done that only to get away from the responsibility for making a higher allocation for education. It is not a matter of that sort in any manner, because, the House knows that in other countries too most of the responsibilities for local education are shared by the local communities, and we in India also have had this great tradition of fostering and maintaining institutions for education in the localities. So it is a duty cast upon us to see that this great tradition is revived. And if we revive the tradition, it will not only give us more funds but also give more responsibilities to the community, it would import vigour and life into those communities themselves.

Having said this about the total allocation for education, I would now like to say a few words about the elementary education. Hon. Members in this House have complained that the Planning Commission does not seem to be in any way serious about conforming to the Directive Principles of the Constitution so far as universal, free and compulsory primary education is concerned. Indeed, the overall target of achievement for the Second Five Year Plan is low, and we are unhappy about it. The percentage of children of the age-group six to fourteen will rise from 40 in 1955-56 to 49 in 1960-61. But here I would like to draw the attention of hon. Members to the fact that if we attempt a little more analysis, it would reveal that in the age-group six to eleven the percentage of boys attending schools would rise to 86 per cent. It is only in the age-group eleven to fourteen that the real shortage has occurred. About that also we have to do a great deal. But let us explore the reasons as to why the percentage is so low. The reasons are, in the first instance, the shortage of girls to take advantage of the facilities. And the shortage of girls is manifestly due to the prevailing conception in the society in regard to the education of girls. Here is a

great challenge to the hon. Members of this House as the leaders of public opinion to go about and create conditions in the society, so that there may be a larger number of girls taking advantage of the existing facilities of education.

**Shrimati Sushama Sen** (Bhagalpur South): That is not correct.

**Shri N. Rachiah**: Why don't you implement article 45 of the Constitution?

**Shri S. N. Mishra**: The second factor is the poverty of the parents which compels them to withdraw their children from school to supplement their family income.

When all is said and done, my submission is that the problem is vast, and we can think of solving it only over a period of the next ten years or so. That seems to be the inevitable result of the situation with which we are confronted at the moment. I would also submit that it should not be looked at as a purely financial problem. The problem of education is not only a financial problem, least of all, primary education. If we are a little earnest about it, if we are able to take maximum advantage of the existing facilities of education, I have no manner of doubt that there would be a larger percentage of boys and girls attending schools. We can also economise on buildings on which there is a tendency generally to splash about a good deal of money. There is a good deal of scope for saving funds in this case. So far as wastage between the ages 11 and 14 is concerned, this should not be allowed to happen. Compulsion should be introduced everywhere and enforced. These are the practical points which the Planning Commission want to bring to bear upon the problem of elementary education. It is not in a theoretical or in a purely financial way that we look at this problem. We want this problem to be faced in a rather concrete, practical, realistic way. There is no reason why with determined effort and with the support of the people we should not be able to achieve

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much higher results than we have been able to achieve so far, or which on purely financial considerations we would be able to do in future.

I would say a few words about the problems of the under-privileged and the most disadvantaged sections of our society. Having sat through the debate and also through the discussions in the Committees, I have been somewhat impressed with the way in which many Members have tried to make a realistic appraisal of the situation. Some of the observations made in this House were rather moving, because, they depicted the pathetic plight of the most disadvantaged sections of our society. There is no doubt that there is need to move faster in the matter of the uplift of about 74 million of our brethren who are designated as backward classes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It is true, as hon. Members have pointed out, that there is no sense in talking about an egalitarian social order unless we are able to take care of the 74 million people who happen to be disadvantaged at the moment. Taking cognisance of this problem, the Planning Commission, as hon. Members would find, has tried to do the utmost possible in the circumstances. Therefore, we find that there has been an increase of the order of 133 per cent. in the provision of the Second Plan over that of the First Plan so far as the welfare of these sections of our society is concerned. In other words, the increase is from Rs. 39 crores to Rs. 91 crores for the uplift of these people. This provision is meant especially for programmes designed for the welfare of these people. But, it must not be lost sight of that there are provisions for the general population of the country in which these sections of society are also going to be beneficiaries in no mean measure. Taken together, all these provisions, I have no doubt, are going to make a substantial impact on the situation so far as the problems of these classes are concerned.

Some hon. Members have made a demand for the formation of a separate Ministry for the backward classes. This has become a kind of mania. Because, I have found during the debate and in the discussions in the committees, suggestions for the formation of so many Ministries coming forth from hon. Members. This morning, we had a suggestion from a very revered Member of this House regarding the formation of a Ministry for animal husbandry. In the same manner, there is a suggestion for a social welfare Ministry. All kinds of Ministries are suggested by hon. Members. But, when Ministers are appointed they always raise a voice that there is almost a ministerial inflation taking place. So, I do not know how to meet the argument in this respect.

**An Hon. Member:** It is good for you.

**Shri S. N. Mishra:** The purpose for which they suggest the formation of a Ministry is going to be served by the two panels which have been constituted by the Ministry of Home Affairs, one for Scheduled Castes and another for Scheduled Tribes. As the hon. House is aware, there is also going to be a unit for the welfare of backward classes which will look to the administration of the programmes and undertake an evaluation and assessment of the results achieved in these fields.

**Shri L. N. Mishra:** What about animals? No panel for animals?

**Shri S. N. Mishra:** I am not going to take care of the animals in precedence to men.

Emphasis was also laid on the right approach and personnel in this respect. There were several other points also raised. But, it would be almost impossible for me to take care of all these points even though I try to move almost at a supersonic pace fitting

from one point to another. One would like to express agreement with hon. Members when they say that there should be right kind of personnel, mostly drawn from these sections of the people and that if workers are drawn from these sections, they would command greater confidence and bring to bear on the problems of these classes a great deal of sympathy and passion which the others may not be expected to. We have also suggested that welfare extension workers should be found, as far as possible, from amongst the educated youth in the tribal communities. In a nut-shell, our approach is to assist the tribal people particularly—I am now speaking of the tribal people—largely through their own institutions and if possible, through the workers drawn from their own ranks. The main approach of ours is to build the economic strength of these classes. For that, a number of measures have been suggested. I cannot be temerarious enough to think that I would be placing before the House more than what is contained in the Second Plan itself. Having said all this, I would like to make some general observations in this regard.

Some hon. Members have had in their mind the need to increase the allocation for these purposes. They want more money, more funds for programmes of this kind. To my mind, allocations and recommendations in the Plan, are, after all, only preliminary steps. The real struggle in my mind, lies in the fulfilment of programmes in the Second Plan in the interests of the weaker sections of the community. I speak of the entire gamut of the Second Plan. The real struggle lies in the implementation of the Plan in the interests of the disadvantaged and backward people. It is on this that the success of the Plan will depend. If, therefore, throughout the country there is a sincere effort with a conscience which is sensitive to the needs of these sections of the people, I hope much greater results can be achieved towards the uplift of these sections of society.

I wish to say only a word or two regarding rural housing. Many hon. Members think that the provision for rural housing has been rather extremely meagre. We also think that the provision is meagre, if we look at the vast needs with which we have to struggle. But, the provision is not so low as it appears on the surface. The hon. Members think that the provision is only of the order of about Rs. 10 or 15 crores.

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If you analyse the Ministry of Rehabilitation and some other Ministries and then the community project administration, the entire provision for rural housing comes to about Rs. 40 crores. And now a decision has been arrived at to work out programmes in a co-ordinated manner—the programmes which would be based on the allocations made to these Ministries—but the real problem in my opinion is not to make contribution to each hut or hovel for their improvement. The real solution lies in bettering the conditions of the people in the rural areas so that they may be able themselves after some time to bring about an improvement in their huts and cottages. Therefore, to think of it in terms of pure financial allocations is somewhat looking at this problem in a wrong way.

A few words about regional justice. I am conscious of the fact that I am taking too much of the time. Probably I would be displacing two Members during the course of my speech, but there are so many points made by the hon. Members that it would be doing injustice to them and showing a little less respect if I do not take care of one or two points today. This problem of regional disparities has also exercised the minds of the hon. Members in a considerable way, but my submission as a student of economics would be that the essence of this lies in making an impact on the total problem of under-development in the country in the first instance. That is the essence of the present situation. But there is no doubt that we have to take care of the conditions in diffe-

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rent areas and, to the extent it is possible, we should try to bring up those areas which are at the moment at a lower level of economic development. But this I would like to state with a certain amount of clarity and emphasis that the real struggle lies in making an impact on the total problem of under-development in the first instance and after our economy has gathered some strength and momentum to apply correctives to the situation. But that does not mean that to the maximum extent possible in the given circumstances we should not bring about the correction here and now. The Planning Commission has tried to do as much as possible in the present circumstances. In some cases, however, it would be realised that the location of industries is bound up with the natural advantages, with the availability of means of transport and communications and things of that kind. These operate rather rigidly in so far as the heavy industries, the basic industries are concerned. So far as the consumer goods industries are concerned, there, however, is a little room for manoeuvre, and there we have tried to do a good deal to help those areas which are in need of industrialisation of this kind. If you take into account what has been done even in regard to the basic industries, you would readily come to the conclusion that some of the most backward areas of our country have been taken care of. Iron and steel, coal, lignite, aluminium and petroleum are proposed to be developed in relatively undeveloped regions like Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Vindhya Pradesh, Orissa, Assam and Travancore-Cochin. I would also like to suggest that we should not look at this problem of industrialisation purely from the point of view of industries. The basic thing is to build up the economic overheads which form a part of industrialisation no less than the industries themselves. If we go into the history of the industrialisation of Japan, if we go into the history of the industrialisation of the United States, we shall find that in the preliminary stages the economic overheads formed a great part of their in-

dustrialisation, and so if that is sought to be done at the moment those areas should think they are also going to have industries in no distant future.

The Planning Commission has, as the House knows, made certain recommendations in this respect to do justice to these backward areas. They have said that the encouragement of decentralised modes of production should be undertaken. They have also said that location of industries and enterprises should be in the backward areas where there is a choice so far as location is concerned. Then they have also suggested mobility of labour and organisation of schemes of migration and settlement from more to less densely populated areas. In this connection I would also like to draw the attention of the hon. Members to the industrial policy statement which has made recommendations in this regard. We have to adhere to the industrial policy resolution and particularly the Planning Commission is anxious to do that.

Before concluding I hesitate to touch upon the subject of transport on account of which my friend, energetic and indeed one of the most vigilant Members of this House, Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad made a kind of prognostication that the Second Five Year Plan was going to collapse in the third year. The hon. Member Shri Debeswar Sarmah also had his fears and anxieties about this transport. Let me state very clearly that we in the Planning Commission are also not quite happy with the position in regard to transport, but we are not so panicky about it either because we are taking certain steps which should help us to steer clear of the situation about which the hon. Members are naturally apprehensive.

**Shri Matthen (Thiruvellah):** May I know what steps the hon. Minister is taking about development of shipping?

**Shri S. N. Mishra:** If the House would like me to take up shipping, I shall do so.

**Shri Feroze Gandhi (Pratapgarh Distt.—West cum Rae Bareli Distt.—East):** We should like you to sit down.

**Shri S. N. Mishra:** I know the story has gone round that Shri Feroze Gandhi has been studying the problem of the railways for the last six months or so. And he is naturally very anxious to be on his legs himself to regale us with all the facts and figures he has been able to muster during the course of his study. We shall be indeed grateful for his observations. I was looking forward to his observations this morning and it was with a certain amount of reluctance that I got up to speak this afternoon.

**An Hon. Member:** You can speak again tomorrow.

**Shri S. N. Mishra:** I do not know whether he is confident that he would be making such substantial points as would require some observations from this side. I think humility should be the badge of this tribe of parliamentarians also.

About transport and communication, as the House knows we have made a provision which is 29 per cent. of the total of the Plan. Whereas in the First Plan the allocation was 23.6 per cent., in the Second Plan the provision is 29 per cent. So, it comes to 2½ times the provision made during the First Plan in over-all terms; and relatively speaking the proportion of this sector in the total outlay has increased by over 5 per cent. What has been exercising the minds of the hon. Members is the gap that we have ourselves shown between the traffic offering and the provision made for transport. We have not tried to disguise the gap that, we think, would occur in this regard.

Let us first of all take the railways, about which Shri Debeswar Sarmah spoke at some length. The Railway Ministry came to us for a provision of Rs. 1480 crores on the basis that there would be an increase in the originating traffic to the extent of 60.8 million tons, that is, that the total traffic offering at the end of the Second Five Year Plan would be 120 million tons plus 60.8 million tons,—120 million tons at the end of the First Five Year Plan, and 60.8 million tons that would occur during the course of the Second

Five Year Plan—or a total of 180.8 million tons. In terms of finance, we have made a provision of about Rs. 1125 crores. But in terms of line capacity, the provision made is for 170 million tons. In regard to wagon capacity, the provision made is for 162 million tons. So, it is obvious that in regard to line capacity, there is a shortage of about five to six per cent, and in regard to wagon capacity, there is a shortage of about ten per cent.

This is the shortage that stares us in the face. What are we going to do about it? There are certain factors on which also we count for relief in this respect. Although those factors are not of a very substantial nature, yet they may be mentioned in spite of the fact that I do not know to what extent I shall be able to mention them, during the short time at my disposal.

As the House knows, there are some provisions for the rehabilitation of stock, and we do feel a certain amount of confidence that the replaced stock would relieve the position to a certain extent. They should not be lost sight of in making the calculations in this regard.

Then, we have made also certain provisions for the steel imported from the foreign countries, which would be consumed by the railways. It is the opinion of some people that some portion of the price for the imported steel may be shifted to the Ministry of Iron and Steel. Now, it is neither here nor there. But it is thought that a part of this burden may be shifted.

There is also a provision of Rs. 10 crores for the participation of the railways in the rail-road undertaking, and it is felt that the participation of the railways in this respect may not be required to that extent.

But all these things are only of a small nature, and we do not bank upon them. Rather, we are apprehensive that because of the increase in the load of traffic and also because of the intended rise in agricultural production, there might be an accentuation in the pressure on transport. That is the position. So, there might be some

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accentuation in this position. But I would again submit what I had submitted to the other House the other day, that the pressure on transport depends upon the developments taking place in other spheres of activities. All this traffic of 180·8 million tons that would be offering to the railways can only occur, if the developments in other spheres take place. We do not pray for short falls in this respect. But if developments take place in other spheres, we can also be optimistic that there would be enough of stimuli working upon the economy which can give some resources that may be required for the purpose. That is to say, in plain and simple language, the response from the economic situation might be of a greater order than we are thinking at the moment, if all our programmes go off quite well.

**Shri A. M. Thomas (Ernakulam):** But should we not plan ahead?

**Shri S. N. Mishra:** We have done that. In fact, as I submitted earlier, we have already seen to what extent we have made provision, and to what extent the gap remains. But the precaution that we have taken is that in the first year of the Plan, that is, during this year, we have made a provision for the entire expenditure required by the railways; during the second year of the Plan also, we hope to do the same thing. If we do that during the first two years, I think the conditions during the later years of the Plan would be of a satisfactory nature, and everything might proceed according to schedule. But time does not permit me to go into greater details about it.

Now, I come to the observations made by the hon. Members, that we have not taken into account the diversion of traffic to other forms of transport, that is, road transport, inland water transport, shipping and all that. Again, I do not have time to go into all these forms of transport. But I would only submit that the Plan clearly shows that we have laid to the extent it is needed, a stress on all

these forms of transport. We do not have any preference for a particular form of transport on a priori grounds. We take into account all the factors of the situation, and then come to a conclusion regarding the adoption of a particular form of transport.

I have taken too much time of this House, and so, I would now like to end with the observation.....

**Shri Matthen:** What about shipping and inland transport?

**Shri S. N. Mishra:** But the hon. Member would not permit me more time.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** This is not the final reply. The hon. Member shall hear the other Ministers also. Shipping can come later. Let us walk on the earth for the present.

**Shri S. N. Mishra:** Hon. Members have said that the conditions in the rural areas have not improved to the extent they should have during the course of the First Five Year Plan. What we had claimed in regard to the results of the First Plan was not that they had ushered in a spring on the economic scene of India, but only that the ice had begun to melt. But the very results and achievements of the First Five Year Plan should be a constant reminder to us that we are riding a bike, and we must keep pressing forward, lest we fall down.

With these observations, I now conclude.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** To attack this Plan is a very difficult task, inasmuch as, from the way the debate has gone on, we find ourselves in the very unhappy position that a plaintiff brings forward a plaint before the court, tells us that all the facts and all the premises of the plaint are accepted, and the case may be argued against the plaint.

In the case of this Plan also, the same thing is true, that the Plan must be accepted, and we can offer such criticisms as we like. But I submit that when we find that the whole

plaint is untenable, when we find that the whole Plan is untenable, it becomes extremely difficult to offer even one constructive criticism on a point to which we cannot agree.

I would say at once that this is a soulless Plan. The first fundamental that was laid down by Mr. K. T. Shah in his *National Planning—Principles And Administration* was this:

"Planning under a democratic system may be defined as the technical co-ordination by disinterested experts, of consumption, production, investment, rate and income, and distribution in accordance with the special objectives set by the bodies representative of the nation. Such planning is not only to be considered from the point of view of economics and the raising of the standard of living, but must include cultural and spiritual values and human side of life."

I have gone through this whole big volume of the Plan. I have gone through also the two big volumes that had been supplied to us on the last occasion. I find that so far as the spiritual and cultural values are concerned, we are absolutely mute about it. We have absolutely closed the chapter about them.

The four points that have been introduced when the Plan was considered by the National Development Council and the resolution was passed by them were put in this language:

"Having considered the Draft Second Five Year Plan, the National Development Council places on record its general approval and acceptance of the objectives, priorities and programmes embodied in the Plan; and

"relying on the enthusiasm and support of the people...."

God alone knows where is the enthusiasm and where is the support—

"affirms the common determination of the Central Government and the Governments of all the States of the Union of India to carry out the Plan, and to improve upon the targets set out in it; and

"calls upon all the citizens of India to work wholeheartedly for the full and timely realisation of the tasks, targets and aims of the Second Five Year Plan".

Nowhere in the whole Plan has the point been touched upon that we must improve the standards of our people in morality. Hundred and fifty years of British rule and four hundred years of slavery under the Muslims have rendered our nation completely devoid of good morals. We were struggling under the Muslim rule. We struggled hard, but we were being crushed. Then came the British, and what little we had left in us was also crushed out of us. Seven years of this rule—we will call it 'misrule'—have left us as stranded as we were before. (An Hon. Member: No). We are our own rulers and we have now to build up ourselves in such a way that our morality must rise, corruption must go out—corruption must be rooted out. However big our schemes may be, however much money we may spend, if out of the Rs. 4,800 crores which you intend to spend, Rs. 2,400 crores go into the pockets of dishonest people, corrupt people, people who want to enjoy life, life of a different type from the life which an Indian wants to live, then this Plan is not going to take you anywhere.

Shri Raghavachari (Penukonda):  
Distribution.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: Not into the dishonest hands of dishonest people. We are running down people who are dishonest. Time was when we used to say, just when the war was ending, that we would catch the black-mailer and would hang him in the street. But we are not able to do it, even though we know that blackmailers and black-marketeers are there. There are tons of money and we have not been able to touch anybody except

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those who have not been gracious enough to give into the coffers of the ruling Party funds for purposes of elections.

I will, therefore, say that this soulless Plan that has been put before us will not lead the country anywhere. There ought to be a programme and there ought to be a plan for religious tuition to be imparted at the elementary stage in our education. It is there that we are missing completely. We have not provided anything whatsoever by way of religious tuition. There is not a single religion, at least none of the religions practised in India, which will say that corruption is very good, that bribery is very good, that telling lies is very good, that killing people is very good, that murdering people is very good and drenching one's hands in blood is very good. No religion will teach that.

**An Hon. Member:** This is secular State.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** Leave aside your secular State. Do not talk of a secular State. It is not a secular State, absolutely. It is a State in which the rulers are frightened of a particular type of community, and frightened of it, they want to call this secular. Go to their houses. One puts on a\*\*mark on his head in one way. A second puts it on\*\*in another manner. A third puts on a sacred thread. The fourth grows a beard and moustache. Everything is there.

**Shri Nand Lal Sharma (Sikar):**  
rose—

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member should not refer to these things in such a light manner. Others have their own sentiments. He may not agree with them. That is a different matter.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** I say we are not secular. We are all very religious.

That is what I am propounding.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** But the way the hon. Member has been talking was rather offending.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** I am very sorry if I have conveyed in any manner any disrespect to anybody. What I say is this, that I was interrupted in my speech....

**Shri Nand Lal Sharma:** I rose on a point of order, that he should not be talking out of point with regard to so many religions and their faiths in such a light manner.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** It was far from me to convey in any manner any such impression or to ridicule any faith.

**Shri Nand Lal Sharma:** May I beg pardon to intervene again? The very word \*\*used was most objectionable.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I entirely agree with the hon. Member.

**Shri Nand Lal Sharma:** I would appeal to you to order that it should be expunged.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** I agree with him. It should be expunged\*\*. That was the only thing I wanted to convey. I am very sorry if it has offended anybody.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I will consider whether it ought to be expunged.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** I would request you that it should be expunged.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I will consider that and pass orders. The hon. Member may continue.

**Shri N. R. Muniswamy (Wandiwash):** He also used the words 'beard and moustache'. They may also be expunged.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Beard and moustache would not suffer by his saying anything. I myself have them. (Interruptions.)

I would direct that the word\*\* and the adjoining words might be ex-

\*\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

punged. I would ask the Press: also not to report them like that.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** That is very kind of you.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Others ought to be kind to him. He wants to be kind to others as well!

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** I am really very sorry if I have conveyed any impression offending others. I am extremely sorry if I have in any manner wounded the feelings of any Member in this House. It was far from my intention.

**Dr. Suresh Chandra:** In your over-enthusiasm, you did it.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** What I wanted to say was that our country was still full of people who were religious minded. That was the only purpose of what I uttered. That was the only thing that I wanted to convey.

**Shri Raghavachari:** What about corruption?

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** This corruption is not due to people of the age of Shri Raghavachari or of my age. They are not doing the illegal act of taking illegal gratification and accepting bribe.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Has corruption any relationship with age?

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** Yes, Sir. (*Interruptions*).

When our country was developing with people with good education and University education being placed in

jobs, where only a few educated persons were formerly going, we expected that, at least after people with University education were placed there, the corruption, which was rampant and which was only attributable to the lack of education on the part of those employees who were there, might no longer be in existence. But unfortunately, what has happened is that the new generation which is now coming into being under this so-called secular State has absolutely no religious education being imparted to it. This applies to a very great majority of the boys, to a very great majority of the inhabitants of this country. No religious education is imparted. Thereby, when they come into employment, a temptation is being offered to them and they are easily tempted and go the wrong way, in which ordinarily people would not go, if they had received a religious education with a moral backing behind it. It is there that this Plan of ours has miserably failed to provide that particular aspect of the fundamentals of our life through which we are bound to pass.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member has dealt with what is not contained in the Plan. Does he want to deal with what is contained in the Plan?

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** Yes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He may continue tomorrow.

6.30 P.M.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Half Past Ten of the Clock on Wednesday, the 12th September, 1956.*