

there to attend some function. I should like to take part in the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Bill.

Shri Feroze Gandhi (Pratapgarh Distt.—West cum Rae Bareilly Distt.—East): Conflicting loyalty!

Mr. Speaker: Then I will call the hon. Member today.

Shri Kamath: I want to participate in the debate on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Bill, not on the Second Five Year Plan.

Shri S. V. Ramaswamy (Salem): Would it not be possible to tack 'on Shri Matthen's motion with the discussion on the Second Five Year Plan?

Mr. Speaker: That is what is being done. There will be two hours on the 11th—one hour will be extra and the other hour will be part of the Plan. So far as the work is concerned, let hon. Members understand the position regarding the time taken.

I find that one hour would be deducted for discussion on Appleby's Report from the time allotted for the discussion of the Plan. For the discussion of this Resolution, we have 30 hours. There are five days before us and the maximum time we have is 30 hours. We have to dispose of the other one—the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Bill, for which we have to devote four hours. With this additional one hour, we want 35 hours for the work. Unless we sit an extra hour every day from today we may not be able to dispose of the work before us. Therefore we shall sit for an hour more after 6 P.M. today, and from Monday onwards, if the House is agreeable, we shall sit beginning half an hour in advance and closing half an hour late, that is we shall meet from 10-30 A.M. 6-30 P.M. That will be convenient instead of devoting more time in the evening.

Shri K. K. Basu (Diamond Harbour) When are we discussing Dr. Appleby's Report?

Mr. Speaker: On the 11th.

Shri Ramachandra Reddy (Nellore): I would suggest that Dr. Appleby's Report may be taken up on Monday, so that we shall have a continuous debate on the Plan from Tuesday onwards.

Mr. Speaker: That may also be done. On Monday, out of the six hours we have, four hours may be devoted to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Bill and the two remaining hours may be devoted to the Appleby Report, and the rest of the Plan may start as usual on Tuesday. Therefore, the Appleby Report will be taken up on Monday after the other Bill relating to Scheduled Castes is disposed of.

Shri Kamath: In that case I will miss both.

RESOLUTION RE SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN

Mr. Speaker: The House will now resume 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 development contained in the Second Five Year Plan as prepared by the Planning Commission."

I now call upon Acharya Kripalani.

Acharya Kripalani (Bhagalpur cum Purnea) rose—

The Minister of Planning and Irrigation and Power (Shri Nanda): I thought I was going to intervene at this stage.

Mr. Speaker: We have had four Committees on the Second Five Year Plan. If the hon. Minister indicates the essential points now, what work has been done by the Ministry till now, and what are the points on which attention has to be focussed, it will help hon. Members to take up those particular points. Wherever the hon. Minister has doubts, he may express them and get enlightenment.

Shri Nanda: Sir, on the 23rd of May, 1956, the Prime Minister moved the Resolution on the Second Five Year Plan. It was discussed till the 25th of May, 1956 and then, was adjourned for further consideration. Now that we are resuming discussion, I may, at the start, pay my tribute to the work of the Committees. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Unless you hear him, how can you know things? You hear him first and then state your views afterwards. Anyway, I leave it entirely to the Minister to speak now or later.

Dr. Suresh Chandra (Aurangabad): We want to hear the Minister first.

Mr. Speaker: Let the Minister say something about these Committees. I am going to call the hon. Member later but, if the Minister wants to speak with reference to some particular matter he may have to do so. Four Committees were appointed and they have done some good work. The Minister may explain it to the House with a view to enlighten all hon. friends here and direct the attention to certain main points at issue.

Shri Nanda: I was referring to these Committees. Arrangement was made with the Members of Parliament so that they might have the facility of discussing, in detail, closely all aspects of the Plan. I was present at the various Committees and I can testify to the fact that hon. Members took very keen interest in every aspect of the Plan. In the course of the discussion, very useful and valuable suggestions have emerged.

Now that we take up the discussion again, I may state that I do not think that I am going to cover any new ground. I propose to deal only with such matters of basic importance as were thrown up in the discussion so far and this way initiate the further discussion of this Plan.

During the discussion that took place, certain observations were made concerning the consequences of a

marked acceleration of the rate of development in an under-developed country. In that context, hon. Member Shri Asoka Mehta, who is not here now, drew our attention to the dilemma of development. He cited several passages from an excellent treatise on the theory of economic growth, a book by Arther Lewis. I do not propose to conduct an argument at that academic level. But, there were certain practical implications of the statements then made, regarding which we have to make our position clear.

The essence of the argument relating to the dilemma of development is that growth is related to the rate of savings. In under-developed countries, vast masses of people live below the poverty line and therefore, their capacity to save is severely limited; particularly, when the intention is to make a rapid advance, it becomes a very difficult task to abstract from the current volume of production, an adequate portion for investment which will help development and balance the increase in population and which will also increase the capacity of the economy for a rapid growth thereafter. This was the position stated and in that context it was further asserted that it was not possible to make any appreciable increase in the standard of consumption of the people. So, the talk about that is out of question. If we are to make any promises to the people that we are going to improve their standard of living and better their life, it is not going to happen because, if these promises are fulfilled, the Plan will not be fulfilled. That is the position taken by him.

The second step of the argument is this. If these material gains are not available to the people, what do we substitute for them? What do we offer to them? This argument presupposes that we should place before them the prospect of a just social order; we should try to secure to all the people economic and social justice. It will

create hopes of social justice increasing from day to day. That is the position taken. Another point is also urged at the same time. When the process of development starts, what happens? Investments have to be made. Who makes those investments? Those who have got money, persons who have made profits—that is those who have got economic power and those who have capital goods and all that. Therefore, the result is that the income of those people also rises. Instead of disparities being reduced, they have increased. For the purpose of the success of the Second Plan, this danger or risk should be avoided. Otherwise, these disparities will get accentuated. In this background, we are to consider the situation.

Stated in these general terms, one can broadly agree with this proposition. But, when these are applied to the actual situation here, I am afraid I will have to say that it is not necessary at all to take these extreme positions. I shall first take up the question of increase in living standards. I shall grant that it will not be possible for us to satisfy all expectations, considering the fact that the unsatisfied needs, in an elementary way, of large numbers of people will absorb all increment in incomes that can be made. So, it is not possible to create and satisfy all expectations. We are also conscious of the fact that the expectations are again rising. We are helping in that process. The whole democratic process is meant for that. We are creating a greater consciousness of the needs, etc. and these expectations are rising. What is going to be the consequence, I cannot say. But, at the same time, I wish to urge that this dilemma is not in that absolute or sharp way so far as we are concerned. We realise in a democracy it is not possible to ask the people to submit themselves to the same rigorous restraints and reduce consumption. Such restraints were enforced in earlier days when the economy developed on capitalistic lines or in some countries, where, during the last several years, progress was made regardless of the

hardship caused to the people. We cannot afford to do that and so, we have to do something for the people.

If the hon. Members, who are concerned about these, had seen the position as it is in the Plan, they will find that there is nothing to be perturbed about this. In the First Plan period, the national income increased by about eighteen per cent and per capita income by eleven per cent and the per capita consumer expenditure rose by nine per cent. It is expected to rise by another fourteen per cent or so in the Second Plan period. Consistently with the investment targets proposed for the Plan and assuming that external resources will become available as envisaged in the Plan, the aggregate consumer expenditure in the Second Plan period will be Rs. 12,170 crores out of a total national income of Rs. 13,480 crores. Thus, roughly, the aggregate consumer expenditure will be about forty per cent higher in real terms than in 1950-51. In per capita terms the rise will be about 23 per cent.

When we are told that all that we are giving is an ounce more.....

Acharya Kripalani: You may as well quote the five years reports and cover the time allotted for the discussion.

Shri Nanda: I am answering the important points covering practically the whole speech of my hon. friend Shri Asoka Mehta. I am answering his point that we are not giving anything more. I am only saying that it may be an ounce and a half or two ounces of food, or two or three yards of cloth; but compared to the basic level, compared to what we had at the start, it is a considerable amount. A person drawing Rs. 40 may not count an increase of one anna or two annas in his income, but for a person whose average income is 10 annas, 12 annas or even a rupee will find this increase of an anna or two annas to be very considerable. That is the position regarding this matter.

The other aspect is about the increase in disparity.

Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy (Mysore): What will be the cost of living?

Shri Nanda: I am talking in real terms, in terms of goods, that is the quantitative increase. The information that I have given about the increase in consumption standards also is on the basis of a uniform level of prices.

The other point is, although we have to make a considerable advance in the matter of social justice, we are asked as to what we are doing in this line. It is said that we are setting our face against any extensive programme of nationalisation. We are told that we are not accepting any ceilings on incomes and we are not expanding the public sector at a fast enough pace. These are, Sir, the questions that are raised. The answer, so far as I am concerned, is that these things are very much in our minds. The answer which has been given by the Prime Minister yesterday in Rajya Sabha is that our first priority today is production. Of course, employment also is practically on the same level, but we would not allow any dislocation of production, any break in the continuity of increase in production for these other reasons. But I do not wish to have it implied that there is going to be any accentuation of disparities. If the private sector or, if any other factor in the economic situation interferes with these objectives, objectives also of the maximum advance in the direction of social justice consistently with maximising production, certainly action has to be taken. In this connection I refer to the House the series of measures culminating in the step taken recently about the nationalisation of insurance business. These things have been done. In respect of State trading the hon. Member whose name I mentioned before said, we have done nothing about State trading. But there is a good deal done about it, a good deal is being done and more will be done. So I do not apprehend that consistently with our fullest attention to increased production this aspect of

reducing disparities will not be looked after.

Even regarding the private sector I have some contact, some familiarity, with its working. I know there are faults. I know there are a great deal of imperfections. But I can assure the House, if a call is made to the private sector saying that the conditions are such that they have to play their part, they have to make sacrifices, they have to surrender some of what they suppose to be their own vested interest—I believe in those ideals which the hon. Member Acharya Kripalani cherishes, the ideal of change of heart and the whole scheme of trusteeship—I feel that it is possible that these people will also respond. In the circumstances obtaining today we have to make use of every mechanism, every possibility in the system of increasing production. These are people whose resources, whose experience and all that have to be made available to us. But I say if they are going to have recourse to profiteering and exploitation, then this cannot be permitted. As I said, it is possible also to make them to the line, to transform them. While we cannot do without them, they can also join the call of the nation.

Acharya Kripalani: Join the Bhoodan movement.

Shri Nanda: Bhoodan movement is also a very good movement. I know a good deal about it.

The other question is about the expansion of the public sector. I need not give the details here because, as the hon. Member Acharya Kripalani pointed out, these are all things in the Plan. I do not want to repeat those things, but still I shall give in terms of one single figure that in the course of the Second Five Year Plan the total investment in public enterprises is to be Rs. 3,800 crores as compared to Rs. 2,400 crores in the private sector—a ratio of 61:39. This is much more than in the case of the First Plan.

There is again this question of regional disparities, the question of disparities between the level of rural and urban areas. I wish to place before

the House one sentiment, an opinion, and it is this. In this country, if we want to maintain social peace and stability, knowing the minds of the people one feels quite sure that no Government will be permitted to stop short of the best that can be done to bring about conditions of equality—equality of opportunity and equality in every possible way. Also, because we have to raise resources for the Plan, resources of a very large order, that very thing is going to create these things under compulsion. These are two things, and this Government will have to see to it that it goes as far as possible in narrowing down disparities, in giving a fair deal to all sections and all classes of people. This will therefore, be also a pre-occupation—the first pre-occupation is production—of the Government, not because it is any matter of choice, but because, as I said, it is a compulsion.

There is one thing more in connection with this aspect of the problem of the Plan and that is the question of social justice. It is in that context that I want to refer to land reforms. This land reform problem has been discussed in rather narrow contexts. The problem of land reform is of course a problem of social justice, but it is very much more, in the existing circumstances of the country, a question of suitable organisation, suitable agrarian system which will enable the country to make the maximum use of its resources, land and manpower in the rural areas, which will enable the economy to develop, which will make it a flexible economy, so that much of the burden of manpower on land is relieved, full employment is given to everybody—which is not being done now—and then, after giving full employment to everybody, whatever the land cannot bear they are easily transferred conveniently to other occupations. This is the broad perspective for the land reform. I wish to point out that during this period of the last 4, 5 or 6 years, although there has been adverse comment on it that we have not moved sufficiently, moved fast enough in the matter of

land reform, I feel no diffidence, no hesitation, in saying that considering all the circumstances during this period the progress that has been made is fairly substantial.

I will give you very few simple facts. I do not want to mention the whole question of intermediaries. It is very well known. In 14 States covering about 60 per cent of the country, rents have been reduced to one-fourth or less. In some cases, it has been reduced to one-sixth as in Bombay, Rajasthan, etc. In another four States comprising 10 per cent of the area, rents have been fixed at one-third. In the remaining 30 per cent of the area, rents still exceed one-third or have not been regulated.

Regarding security of tenure, in 14 States comprising 65 per cent of the area of the country, security of tenure has been conferred on tenants, and the landlord's right to resumption has been permitted or is restricted to a limited area and for personal cultivation only. With the exception of a couple of minor States, the ejection of tenants has been stayed. In some States, it has been stayed by temporary legislation pending the enactment of a comprehensive land reform law. The two States are Coorg and Tripura. I have mentioned them because several hon. Members repeatedly referred to this question of eviction of tenants. The information collected from the State Governments indicates that few ejections have taken place in recent years.

There is the question of ceiling on land and the right of purchase by tenants. In two States, tenants have been brought into direct relation with the States. In another nine States, the right of purchase has been conferred on the tenants. These 11 States cover 50 per cent of the total area of the country. Legislation has been enacted for ceilings on the existing holdings by six States. Another five States have imposed ceilings on future acquisition.

In connection with the land reforms, an objection was raised and a point of criticism was made that the Panel on land reform had made certain proposals

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and those proposals have been modified or whittled down, and I was asked to answer that point. I have made a comparison of the proposals as prepared by the Panel and also the text of the Plan. I find that there is no substantial variation. There are certain changes made, for example, in the matter of ceilings. The approach is not different, but it has been made very precise in the sense that while it was not considered feasible to define a ceiling in terms of a particular amount, other tests which are more convenient and more practicable have been retained. We have had to consider the conditions which vary from State to State, and therefore, that point has to be kept in view, and a certain latitude for those variations has to be permitted.

There is also this consideration, namely, that we want implementation. We are charged with the question: "You are going on passing laws and those laws are not being implemented". If we go on at a rate far ahead of the capacity of the administration to implement the reforms, we will be exposed to that charge. So, we want to do the things squarely and, as I said, in the course of this period, the advance has been significant. I am sure that in the course of the second Five Year Plan much of it will have been achieved.

Regarding the question of land reform, I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Members to one aspect particularly, and it is about co-operative farming. It arises out of my earlier remarks about the aim or the goal towards which we are moving in the matter of land reform. Co-operative farming is an essential condition for the success of these aims. It is not in a limited sense that we view the co-operative movement on land; it is viewed in relation to the very purpose which I have mentioned, namely, better production and a greater measure of social justice and greater opportunities for development and improvement of the existing conditions. It is in that context that we are viewing the question of land

reforms. If we want to increase agricultural production and do all these things, a very great deal of attention will have to be paid to this aspect, and proposals in regard to this purpose are before the Government and the hon. Members know them too.

Now, I want to move to another very important question. It is the question of public co-operation. The hon. Members here have time and again laid stress on this aspect. They attach importance to it just as we do. It has been said that, without adequate public co-operation, it will not be possible to secure success of the Plan in sufficient measure. I agree with that, and I would like to state here that public co-operation is not to be understood in that narrow sense only—a little *shramdan* here and little *shramdan* there. It is of much deeper significance. It is a matter of fundamental importance.

Shri Kamath (Hoshangabad):
Sarvasvadan.

Shri Nanda: Ask the hon. Member near you.

We are having some public co-operation through voluntary organisations and through the National Extension Service, and through kind, cash and labour, etc. But it is not sufficient. We have to increase it a hundred-fold if we want to ensure success of the Plan.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya (Muzaffarpur Central): Through colleges and schools.

Shri Nanda: I am coming to that.

Seth Govind Das (Mandla-Jabalpur South): By teaching them through the English medium.

Shri Nanda: There is, in this country, a large, abundant man-power which is not being fully utilised. There is spare-time available, and we want to make full utilisation of it. Let us not understand and think of it in terms of rupees, annas and pies which are put in the Plan. Man-power is an asset of much greater value, if it is fully utilised. It is in this context that we have to consider the question of public co-operation. We have to secure the conscious, purpose-

ful collaboration of the people in all the tasks of the Plan. It is in this context that public co-operation assumes a new significance.

We are asked, "You are launching a Plan. There are plans in other countries like China and the USSR. They have got a kind of power to secure results. They can dictate a pattern of behaviour; they can secure the resources and mobilise them under lines which they think best. What are you doing here? Corresponding to those measures, should you not do something in order that our target can be implemented and our resources raised?" My answer is, "The administration will certainly do its part. It is doing it." But that will not suffice. If we are able to secure public co-operation on the requisite scale, then I am perfectly convinced and I am perfectly confident that we shall not only make up for the deficiency, if it is called deficiency, which is inherent in the system. In a democracy, we cannot and do not dictate to the people. We will make up for that, and indeed do more than what is possible, in a democracy, with the backing of public co-operation, we will secure much better results than they had in China and the USSR. This is my conviction.

Shri B. Y. Reddy (Karimnagar): What are the methods that you will adopt? How will it be done?

Acharya Kripalani: It will be done automatically.

Shri Nanda: I am coming to that, I shall answer the question. What is the way to do it? We attach so much importance to it and we are going to do it.

Acharya Kripalani: Promulgate another SRC plan.

Mr. Speaker: Let there be no interruption. I am not going to allow any interruption. The hon. Members will hold their soul in patience for some time.

Shri Nanda: I am answering that question. In the first place there has to be a much better and fuller understanding of the economic situation of

the country on the part of the people, and for that purpose, we will have to create the necessary means of dissemination of knowledge and information. The people will have to understand their own role in the Plan. That is one part of it. They are the people who are going to provide the sinews of development and the resources for development. I am quite sure that if they make up their mind, this problem of resources which we are confronted with will cease to be a problem, provided we approach them in the right way.

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An hon. Member said that resources for development can only arise in large chunks, that is, where large surpluses arise, and that we could not expect to get much from the small incomes and what little increment they got would be easily absorbed by increased consumption. I differ from that view. That was the view expressed by Shri Asoka Mehta. Our aim is to spread incomes to see that there is more equitable distribution. Particularly because of the large number of schemes and projects that we have, incomes are going to rise in the hands of a large number of people. If we rely only on taxation on large incomes, I think the position would be hopeless; it will be a parlous position. So, we have to raise incomes from small people also and taxes should be indiscriminating in their effect. These are indirect taxes. But, when it comes to savings, automatically the demand is regulated. The demand is according to one's capacity. If we are not able to take away the portion from the increased incomes which is visualised in the Plan, then there is going to be a rising pressure on the demand of whatever we produce and prices will rise. Otherwise, the only course open to us is to consume everything and there will be nothing available for the development of basic and heavy industries and other things which are also required for the purpose of supporting the economy in essential ways. Therefore, from various points of view, it is very

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necessary that there should be a small savings programme of big dimensions—the savings may be small, but it will have to be a big programme—in which lakhs and lakhs of people should join. People in every factory, in every enterprise and people everywhere have to be asked to join that programme. It has to be explained to them; procedures have to be evolved, so that large amounts of small savings may be collected. That is going to be the sheet anchor of the successful implementation of the Plan. It has to be done on a country-wide basis with great intensity. This will be the way to avoid controls.

We do not like physical controls. Hon. Members will be frightened by that word. Considering our past experience, we should not have them; but, if prices go on rising and if nothing is done about it, people will themselves start saying, "do something about it". The best way of avoiding that is to have in the first instance people's co-operation. As far as public co-operation is concerned, it is a large field where all of us can help. There are other aspects of it also. It may be I am not talking in terms of crores of rupees; I am talking of other aspects which are not less vital to the success of the Plan than the money which we are talking about. It is a question of the way in which people work. Better work, more honest work and disciplined behaviour are the things which count for the Plan. How can the administration alone deal with the anti-social elements? Hon. Members may say, "You are the Government; you have the police and the army and it is your business to deal with anti-social elements." Certainly it is, but it will be only a very partial success if it is not accompanied by the people's co-operation. I realise that people's co-operation cannot be taken for granted. The people may be prepared for it, but you have to create the conditions in which you can evoke that co-operation. What are those conditions? It goes without saying that when there has to be mobilisation on a large scale,

there will have to be an appropriate organisation. It must be organised work and not *ad hoc* or haphazard work. There will have to be well thought-out programmes which touch many spheres of the life of the people. More than that, it has to be a genuine people's programme with the people's initiative.

There is one very important condition. This is a point which Acharya Kripalani and others have made and are going to make, namely, people should find that the policies of the Government are creating that atmosphere in the country to which they can respond with enthusiasm. I concede that; people's co-operation will have to be in an atmosphere where exploitation is going down, greater justice prevails in the economic and social relations of the people, corruption goes down and waste is avoided. All these are very essential things and have to be done. Without people's co-operation, no Government can be successful in its plan. All these things have to be done.

There is one last sentiment about public co-operation, namely, it is not a matter for one particular party. It has to be on a non-political basis. No party in this country is big enough to make a plan of this size successful in these conditions. It has to be done with the co-operation of the people belonging to all parties. Mobilisation of the surplus energies of the people is a matter which is both tangible and intangible, where all parties have to unite. I appeal to the leadership of all the parties. I hope they do not question my *bona fides* in the matter. I have been connected with an organisation where the best effort is made to see that it is non-political, working on an independent line purely with the people's initiative. In this our sisters—the women in the country—can play a big part. Among students, the organised youth of the country, there is idealism and there is capacity to make sacrifices; they can come into this in a substantial way.

Shri Kamath: What about the Sadhus.

Shri Nanda: Yes; sadhus also. That is also a resource of the country which has to be put to the best use. I am one of those who attach importance to things which are not materialistic. I believe that the essence of life, its core, depends not simply on these material things; it derives its vitality and the prospect of its real growth from those things which are less tangible. If the sadhus can be organised to help the country in raising the moral and social standards of the people, the country will gain enormously.

Shri Kamath: I agree entirely.

Shri Nanda: I have mentioned some requisities for the success of the Plan. I will now take up the question of administration. When we are talking of raising the industrial techniques, going up to atomic energy, parallel to that there will have to be techniques in administration which will match these new developments. With increased production in the country, big responsibilities have to be assumed by the administration. There is something now which was undreamt of before, not only in the field of production, but in other things also. It is not simply a question of realising certain targets, but targets in the context of certain objectives and certain ideals of social order—a socialist pattern, to sum up the whole thing. This requires a different outlook. The same outlook and the same methods will not suffice. They have to change and here it is that the whole problem of administration arises and it is becoming a very difficult task. Hon. Members are going to discuss very soon the Appleby report, where several issues relating to the subject have been raised. The issue primarily is that for these bigger tasks, there has to be bigger vision. There has to be a new approach to it and better procedures have to be evolved. Hon. Members will find from the report that the chief point of criticism is that

decisions are not taken quickly enough. The procedures are dilatory and the responsibility is shifted. We have to change all that. We have also, at the same time, to see that while we do that, the initiative and the drive of the people is not curbed. At the same time, we have to see that there are proper controls so that the work does not suffer and there is no wastage. These are some of the things which have to be done.

Since this matter is going to form part of a separate debate, I would not like to go into the details of proper administration about things that we are thinking of doing and things that are being done. But I would like to refer to one matter. A question was raised, rather a doubt was raised, that this bureaucratic administration is becoming more and more bureaucratic whereas the need of the time is that it should be non-officialised and the need of the time is that it should be democratised. But one thing I cannot understand is this. The administration needs whole-time workers and they will all be officials. So the distinction between officials and non-officials will be there. But the real point is this. While there is a great deal of wrangling between officials and non-officials now, a great deal of work can be done by each helping the other section. They can do a lot of co-operative work.

In this connection I would like to ask the hon. Members to see the chapter in the Plan where one big idea has been put forward—it is not finalised and that is the democratisation of the district administration. That is something basic. What happens in the districts today? The whole brunt falls on the administrative machinery. So far as the people are concerned, they are just dependents. Such local initiative as it has developed is fragmented and it is very ineffective. That has to be checked and wastes have to be avoided. There must be an effective instrument for economic advance and we want that the participation of the people is secured to the fullest extent. I shall not go into the details of that

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but I would draw the attention of the hon. Members to this basic reform which is now being visualised and when it is put into operation there will be very immense results in the matter of economic progress and it will also give satisfaction to the people.

I now come to the question of employment. I have already dealt with the other two requisites, namely, question of social justice and the question of administration. Now I would like to touch the question of employment.

Shri Kamath: Question of?

Shri Nanda: Employment in which the hon. Member is very deeply interested and when he is going to speak, he is going to speak on this subject.

We have been asked: have we done enough for employing people? That question was asked by Mr. Asoka Mehta. That question was asked by Mr. Chatterjee also. Yet, Mr. Chatterjee challenged the whole size of the Plan. He said the country cannot support a Plan of this size and he cited some authorities for that. Now I would put it to the hon. Members that employment results from investment. That is largely based on that. The bigger the Plan, certainly, we will get bigger results in employment also although I grant that it depends upon the pattern, the pattern of industries, the occupational pattern; that is true. But it has also to be realised, as I shall explain, that in the matter of increasing employment it is not to be considered as in the basic industries, because they consume so much more capital they are taking away persons for employment in large numbers or they are going to create employment for larger numbers later on. They are not going to take large numbers in these basic industries because they cost a great deal. I have got the figures before me. Steel will cost Rs. 1 lakh per employee. There are other industries which will cost about Rs. 30,000, Rs. 40,000/- or Rs. 50,000/- per man.

Now, it is very obvious that even if we are able to invest more for further employment, we won't be able to give employment to a sizable number on this scale of investment per person. It is also true that during the period 1947-1952, whereas the investment had increased from Rs. 403 crores to Rs. 730 crores, the employment figure remained found about 14 lakhs or 15 lakhs. It has not increased beyond that and that is staring us in the face.

Therefore, I now come to the role of the cottage industries and small-scale industries in relation to employment and in relation to the economic needs of the country. If, as is now assumed and as is there in the Plan, such a large amount of money is going to be necessarily invested in the large-scale industry, what is going to happen to those large numbers of people who remain unemployed, not because they do not want to join in the large-scale industry but because we have not got enough money to invest in such large-scale industries? They have to remain either unemployed or they have to employ techniques of a lower order. It is against the compulsion of the economic situation of the country. Here the cottage industry has a role to play. Either these people must be told that there is nothing for them and that they must go on living with their relatives and do nothing and keep their own ambitions idle with nothing to feed on or they must be given some employment. But all the time these people are consuming whatever is being produced by others. This is the situation.

It may be that from the point of view of an individual employer it may be of no account to him, but for the community as a whole this idle manpower is a social loss and it is enormous. If we consider that then we will know the role of the cottage industry. I am not against modernisation. They have their own place. The surpluses created in the large-scale industry will enable the larger sector of

cottage and small-scale industries to be maintained. It is possible in the cottage industry to have employment for a fairly big section of people. There is no conflict between them. There is no conflict also so far as the question of consumer goods is concerned.

Some hon. Members have raised this question as if certain restrictive policies have led to a kind of scarcity of consumer goods and that is because of cottage industries etc. What we have in mind is Ambar charka for example. Now, I must say that the position of the cottage industries and the small-scale industries is this. You fix your targets for consumption in the country, whatever you want in relation to the demands of the country, in relation to how much you want to save etc. Having done that, give the maximum employment to the small people. Whatever they can produce, let them produce. Whatever they cannot produce, well, you can produce by the large-scale industry.

Shri Jhunjhunwala (Bhagalpur Central): Is that your policy that whatever they are prepared to produce, they will be allowed to produce and then the large-scale industry will take the rest?

Shri Nanda: That is the approach of the Karve Committee which the Planning Commission and the Government have accepted. A fairly large provision have been made both for investment and for working capital also. That is the approach to give the maximum employment. But the difficulty is, as was pointed out by Mr. Asoka Mehta, they used a quaint expression which one cannot understand "technological locks". There are two techniques, one at a very high level and another at lower level. This will submerge the lower level. It cannot co-exist in competition with the other. By this method, these people will get more profits, more large-scale industries and in that way, some day, more people will be employed. This will take a long period. In the meanwhile, what is to happen

to these people? This is the situation that we have to consider. As regards the question of locks, it is possible for the simpler techniques to exist with more advanced techniques so that man-power is not wasted. This is the problem for which a solution is to be found. To some extent the Karve Committee has found a solution. May be, more may have to be done.

As regards cloth scarcity and Ambar charka, what has the Ambar charka got to do with this? The whole controversy regarding Ambar charka started only a few months ago. At that time, the Ambar charka was not in the picture at all. Two million spindles had been licensed. What prevented them from coming into being? If they had been there, if the private sector which had got the licences had not put them to use, and if they were suffering, that is not because of Ambar charka. If there had been that amount of yarn, may be, the handlooms might have used them so that there may not be any controversy at all. There is no question of any restrictive practices so far having caused the position regarding scarcity. As a matter of fact, nor need they cause it in future if we, as we hope to, make a sound approach to these matters.

I have dealt with a very important aspect of the problem of employment which, today, exercises the minds of many people. There is another aspect, the question of educated unemployment.

Shri Feroze Gandhi (Pratapgarh Dist.—West cum Rae Bareli Dist.—East): How is all this increased production going to be distributed? Only 29 per cent is the outlay on railways and transport. We would like to know something about it.

Shri Nanda: As I said at the outset, I am dealing with the first stage of discussion. I am dealing with the stage of discussion which concerns itself with the approach, with the resources, with policies, etc.

Shri Feroze Gandhi: Who will deal with the practical side?

Shri Nanda: I am now taking up what has gone before. The question of educated unemployment is also worrying many people. I need not now refer to the committee's work, the report on the subject and the various proposals that have emerged and the action contemplated. It cannot be in a scale which will be equal to the requirements of the problem. Some pilot projects are going to be launched. In the Planning Commission it was considered that on the basis of the experience of these pilot projects, we can consider this matter further. The idea is that no young man, who has finished his education, should remain unemployed even for a day. We may have some programme of free training. But, if people come without particular equipment for doing useful work, new equipment may have to be created.

Now, I will take up one question of practical importance in the line in which the hon. Member Shri Feroze Gandhi put it, agricultural production. The question was raised, overnight you raise the figure from 15 to 40 per cent, did you think of the consequences it will have on the Plan, why did you not think of it before. This figure of 40 per cent, as far as this Plan is concerned, does not appear in the Plan as a target, I must make it clear. In the resolution of the National Development Council, the words are, to improve upon the targets set out in it. Also in the body of the report, these targets are in the nature of first estimates derived from a calculation of the production potential expected to be had as a result of the various development programmes and in view of the considerations outlined, it is both necessary and possible to achieve higher agricultural targets with relatively small adjustments in regard to resources. So that, there was no figure of 40 per cent. The figure 40 per cent emerged at a later stage. When the original estimates were made, they were not the basis of normal routine yardsticks. That was

a time when the prices of agricultural production were falling. Later, when the Plan was being finalised, it was on the background of rising prices and fears about deficit financing. Then, it occurred to us and others that we should try to look at the possibility of increasing agricultural production. Even before, we had a feeling that more could be done than was being done. There was not enough time to go minutely into these estimates. The National Development Council then took the view that we should try to increase. Forty was a suggestive figure, suggestive of physical possibility. It may be 30, it may be 40. I cannot say even now on behalf of the Planning Commission after certain processes have been gone through. There was a conference at Mussoorie. The Agriculture Ministers were there. This matter was discussed and they came to the conclusion that the increase could be of the order of 25 per cent, provided additional resources to the extent of Rs. 100 crores were found. Then, there has been a further discussion.

Shri Feroze Gandhi: Our Food Minister was also there. The Government of India was also a party to the conference.

Shri Nanda: Yes, I was also there.

Shri Feroze Gandhi: Later.

Shri Nanda: I was there from the beginning. I put it to the conference that it should be possible for various reasons to increase production appreciably and considerably on the basis of the existing resources though certain things more may have to be done which may require additional resources, which may have to be of a marginal character. There are many things which can be done. When we met the States, when we put it to them, we find that it is being realised that there is scope for increased production without increased investment. Take the proportion of the area under improved seeds, for example. This does not require so much of money. It requires effort and organisation.

At the moment it is about 20 per cent. Why should it not be fully covered? The programme is that in the matter of rice, wheat etc., this should be done, and in this period, we should try to bring the whole area under improved seeds for which a suitable organisation should be set up. The question of fertilisers is there. It is not only a question of artificial fertilisers. On the other, hand, they play a subordinate role. The principal role is played by the organic manure which is available on the spot, which is being wasted now, and also organic manure which can be created on the soil, that is, green manure. This has been considered at very great length and the representatives of the States who had come to the conference have realised that much more can be done on this score. Then, there is the question of irrigation. When we put up a reservoir, we create an irrigation facility. But, it takes such a long time to utilise it. Only if we are able to better organise the use of it, which we should do and which we are endeavouring to do, that would bring up the fruition of this aim of larger production. If more attention is paid to small irrigation works which are neglected, more water would be available. There are various ways of finding water for irrigation. Several methods have been indicated. Short term credit that we give has not been taken into account. There was a sum of Rs. 150 crores. More can be given. I told the Agriculture Ministers, let them not think of this money for the five year period. If they increase agricultural production and if money is required, they may spend it in three years. And if as a result we get 30 or 40 per cent, it should be possible for us to give more money because that agricultural production would have created the means for any further progress, because it would have facilitated and eased our hands regarding deficit financing. With a large agricultural production, we can play with it to an extent. With a large food production, we can give employment to large numbers of peo-

ple, for what is needed for a man is that he wants a little more food and some organisation which will give him employment. With this we can do all that. Therefore, resources should not come in the way now at this stage, and if the results come about the resources will be available.

I have tried to explain the increase in the target. It has not been put down at 40 per cent in our papers. I told the Ministers of Agriculture there also that what the target will be is not something which should be from imagination. A first indication was given of the physical possibilities. What will be the actual possibilities will depend upon a proper assessment of the conditions in each State. This is being done in State after State. I think four or five States we have considered already, and we have dealt with all these problems.

Shri Velayudhan (Quilon *cum* Mavelikkara—Reserved-Sch. Castes): All these things are in the report.

Mr. Speaker: He is explaining some of those points in the report. If hon. Members are so impatient, they may be in the lobby if they like and come after the speech is over. I am going on hearing comments and I am not able to hear a word of what the hon. Minister has said. Young and old alike are doing the same here. I am really sorry. Hon. Members must hear with patience.

Shri Chattopadhyaya (Vijayavada): On a point of information. The hon. Minister referred to Sadhus when I came. I was very interested. I would like to know whether the Mullahs and Padris will also be included.

Shri Nanda: Does the Speaker want me to answer that question?

Mr. Speaker: Not now. The hon. Member came late and wants to reopen the subject. Let him note down the points and ask questions at the end.

Shri Nanda: I do not want to take much time. There are other aspects—technical personnel, for example. I

[Shri Nanda]

am leaving this question of agricultural production. I think I have dealt with it sufficiently.

Shri Mohiuddin (Hyderabad City): May I ask one question about agriculture?

Mr. Speaker: Not now. Let him note down all the points. At the end I will allow one or two questions.

Shri Nanda: There are two things which I believe are more basic than any others, two key factors for the success of the Plan. One is public co-operation, the other is trained personnel. Given trained personnel, all other things follow, and for that purpose I acknowledge the fact that there was not enough done in relation to the First Plan. We came up against bottlenecks. In the course of the First Plan we have been alive to the needs of the situation and as we went along we tried to make up those deficiencies, particularly regarding personnel at the middle levels. Then we started looking at the problem from the point of view of the requirements of the Second Plan. That was in the middle of 1953 or so. We considered for example the engineering personnel that is going to be required in the river valley projects over a period of ten years. A very close study was made of those requirements from project to project, the contents of the plans and in relation to them the requirements of personnel of different categories. That was gone into and we have now got a fairly clear picture of the requirements there. Then thinking that it is not enough to have engineers for river valley projects—there are other engineers also, it is an interchangeable category—in the Planning Commission we set up another committee for the whole of engineering personnel, and that committee came to the conclusion that the figures that we had first thought of or arrived at for the requirements of engineers of various kinds were under-estimates, and they have made certain further suggestions for increasing the output of

graduates and therefore also of the technical facilities and institutional arrangements necessary for that purpose. The whole question of technical manpower is being given now close attention. A special committee is being appointed for this purpose, I believe in relation to the Third Plan. We are thinking chiefly from that point of view so far as technical personnel is concerned. Today the shortages which are being felt will have to be overcome by some kind of accelerated courses etc., in certain directions, but so far as the Third Plan is concerned, there should be no excuse that we had not enough time. I have got various figures of engineers etc., required and what we are going to produce in the different years, but I am not going to tax the time of the hon. Members with these details, and since I have taken a good deal of time of the House already, I would conclude so that I can listen to Acharya Kripalani also.

I have already mentioned the huge tasks that lie before us. It is true that we have all accepted this fact that we have to develop at a quick rate, a rate which is commensurate with the needs of the people, a rate which will not look insignificant or look inferior to what is being achieved in neighbouring countries, a rate which will enable us to catch up with the more advanced countries. The prospect before us, before this generation, is such that without thinking of other considerations, of other small matters which divide the nation, this is an occasion when the maximum unity will have to be secured so that everybody in the country can give of his best towards the successful implementation of the Plan.

Acharya Kripalani: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish that Shri Nanda had made this speech at the end and not at the beginning.

Shri Velayudhan: He will speak again at the end.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Gurgaon): It was very instructive.

Dr. Suresh Chandra: Very necessary.

Acharya Kripalani: At least he has succeeded in one object, and that is emptying the House for me, and this includes even the Congress Benches.

I am a lay man and therefore I speak with great diffidence on this subject. My diffidence is increased because yesterday in the Rajya Sabha the Prime Minister has said the last word and when he says the last word, it is difficult to contradict him. He has asked us to have faith. In a crude age we were told that faith can move mountains. I am glad that even in this modern age of materialism and mechanisation, to which the Government of India is pledged, faith can make our Plan a success. I am unwilling to disturb this faith and the enthusiasm that the Prime Minister has called for. This also makes it difficult for me to speak. I only hope that the new faith that is demanded will not be shaken and the new enthusiasm that we hope to create will not be damped by what I say.

We have to deal here with a very queer Plan. We have heard of planning and planning is a scientific conception. In a scientific plan there can be very little difference between one expert and another, because a scientific plan is based upon facts, upon figures which are undisputable.

An Hon. Member: What about faith?

Acharya Kripalani: But here, we find that there are wide differences among experts. There were, at one time, differences among the members of the Planning Commission themselves. Of course, as in other matters, so in this, the differences are somehow squared up.

With regard to figures, it is very well known that the statistics of the Government of India are incomplete, and where they are not incomplete, they are unreliable. Whenever a Minister wants to make his proposition, and we face him with the figures given in official reports, he at once says that the figures are not reliable. The Minister himself, says that Gov-

ernment statistics are not reliable. This Plan, is made on statistics that are incomplete, and statistics that are unreliable.

Then, about everything else there are differences of opinion among the experts. Take the question of finances. Increased resources from taxes are uncertain. Internal borrowing is uncertain. As for effects of deficit financing, everybody has his own view. The foreign exchange position is precarious. Foreign aid is absolutely uncertain, especially after what has happened in Egypt.

There are grave doubts about agricultural expansion, on which the Minister at the Centre and the Ministers in the States differ from the luminaries of the Planning Commission, and the Prime Minister. Then, there is the question of transport. Anybody who knows any thing about our railways knows that there are not only natural bottle-necks in transport, but there are man-made bottle-necks. And nobody believes that, if this Plan succeeds, transport be able to bear the added burden that would be placed upon it. Then, there are grave doubts about the availability of the requisite technical skill. There are still graver doubts about the administrative ability of our bureaucracy.

Then comes the question of national enthusiasm. I know, in India, national enthusiasm can be created in no time. It is very easy. Talk of banning cow-slaughter, and you will have all the enthusiasm and the money that you need from the Hindus. Say that a certain book written by a foreigner is against religion, and you will have all the enthusiasm plus riots and murders. Talk of redistribution of States, and you will have all the enthusiasm you need. But as for the Plan, I have not seen much enthusiasm, except in two persons; one is the Prime Minister, and the other is Shri Nanda. And I am afraid that the Plan itself is as understood only in high quarters.

Now, let us see what are the objectives of the Plan as stated by the plan-

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ners. The first objective is a sizable increase in the national income to raise the level of living. It is doubtful if a rise in the national income synchronises with the rise in the level of living of the masses. We have not seen this to be historically true. The second objective is rapid industrialisation with particular emphasis upon the development of basic and heavy industries. The third is large-scale opportunities for employment. The fourth is reduction of inequalities of income and wealth, and a more even distribution of economic power.

There is no systematic arrangement, if I may say so, even of the objectives. The first, third and the fourth are the objectives, and the second, namely, rapid industrialisation with particular emphasis upon the development of basic and heavy industries, is the means to the accomplishment of the objectives.

So far as the means is concerned, there can be no quarrel. There can be no quarrel with the objective of industrialising the country. I believe, no culture and civilization can be built merely on agriculture. Industry is necessary even for agriculture. Everything that we need for a cultured and civilised life, our libraries, our books, and our buildings, everything that makes for culture and civilisation, has to be obtained through industry. So, there is no quarrel with the idea of Government to industrialise the country.

But the question is, whether the word 'industrialisation' is so simple as our planners seem to think? Are there different kinds of industrialisation in the world? There is one type of industrialisation which we received from the West; and unfortunately, after the British dominated over India, our process of thinking has been westernised and we think that industrialisation means only the Western type of industrialisation, that took place towards the end of the 18th century and the 19th century after what is

called the industrial revolution. We seem to believe that there was no industry before in the world, and civilisation in the world began only from the end of the 18th century, and unless we industrialise in the same way, we cannot be civilised in the manner the West has been civilised.

In the West in the 18th and 19th centuries, there was one type of industrialisation and in the 20th century, another type came into existence. The first was through private enterprise, through capitalistic industry, where the instruments of production were in the hands of private individuals. The other type was brought about by the communists. That was State capitalism, in which the instruments of production were in State hands. There are certain things common to both these types of industrialisation, and these are the centralisation of industry and its mechanisation. These two things are common to both these types, whether capitalist or state capitalist.

I may not be a student of economics. But I claim to be a moderate student of history. And my knowledge of history tells me that both these types of industrialisation resulted in great exploitation and misery of the people, not for one or two generations, but for many generations. We are familiar with what happened in the wake of capitalist industry. We know the evils of capitalist industry. It resulted in the poverty and exploitation of the people not only in the home countries, but in the dependencies, in colonial countries. We also know that the rivalries that this capitalist system created among the industrialised countries of the West led to imperialism, and the rivalries between the imperialist powers led to the last two global wars. We are familiar with all this.

About State capitalism, as it developed in Germany and in Russia also, we have some knowledge. In Russia, people had to undergo great sufferings. Millions were liquidated and

many, were killed. Yet the problem of poverty has not been solved; neither of inequality. Poverty is a comparative term. Where there is inequality, great inequality, we must take it that the problem of poverty yet remains unsolved. But leaving aside the question of poverty, there is no doubt that in the process of transformation this State capitalism has destroyed democratic liberties and the freedom of the individual.

In many ways, we are a queer people. We think that history was not written for us, that historical examples do not hold good. We think that we will industrialise in the western way, whether through private industry or through State capitalism, and there will be no suffering in the land. We are naive enough to believe that in the process of industrialisation, there will be no misery for the masses and our standards of living will go on increasing, especially the standards of living of the lower classes, the standards of living of the masses. Planning is undertaken because we want to raise the standard of living of the masses and not because we want to raise the national income. If we want to raise the national income, there are many other ways of doing it, I submit that the identification of a rising national income with the good of the masses is not warranted in economics. In England, in America and in Germany, when national income was increasing rapidly, the condition of the masses was becoming more and more miserable. Our planners have very cleverly disguised this fact. A rise in national income is not a rise in the standard of living of the masses.

Anyhow, our planners believe that they are going to escape the historical consequences of centralised, and mechanised big industry. They believe that whatever may have happened in the world, whether in the 19th century in Europe or in Bolshevik Russia and Nazi Germany, they will not have to bear the consequences of rapid industrialisation.

Let us see why the poor get poorer with the mechanisation and centralisation of industry. There must be some reason for it. I would submit to the Planning Minister that the reason is this, that mechanisation requires heavy investment, as he himself has admitted. Sometimes the investment per worker is Rs. 1 lakh, sometimes it is Rs. 50,000 or Rs. 60,000. Because so much investment per worker has got to be put in industry, mechanised industry means large amounts of capital. If large amounts are required for investment, wherefrom are they to come? They can only come from savings. Wherefrom will the bulk of the savings come? From the poor people. When you begin to mechanise, you will have to put heavy burdens upon the poor people.

The Minister himself accepted the proposition that the money would have to come from the poor people, from the masses, and not from the capitalist. He himself said that most of the money would come from the masses. But can our masses, who, on the admission of the authorities are living on a sub-human level of existence, pay? Do you want them to give more? That the Government wants them to give is very clear from what the Finance Minister did the other day, by putting excise duties upon cloth. Everybody, except the most perverse and the blind, knows that this duty will come from the masses, from the general consumer, and not from the capitalist. You cannot delude us. Gandhiji once said: "Do not delude the people by 'statistics.' You must state plain propositions which every body can see and understand." He must be politically, economically and nationally blind who supposes that these excise duties are going to be borne by the capitalist. They will be borne by the masses who can scarcely afford to bear them.

Remember that even when apparently any amounts of investment come from the capitalists they come from the masses because they (the capitalists) exploit the masses. If the capitalists give to the masses good wages

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and proper conditions of living, they will not be able to create capital.

Now, let us see historically how this capital formation was made possible. The first condition was the exploitation of the masses in the home countries and in colonial lands. In colonial lands, exploitation was made possible through political power. In the home lands what was the condition? There was not trade union activity. I submit that those who want to industrialise the country on the western pattern will have to put checks upon free trade-union activity. In Germany under the Nazis, there was no free trade-union activity. In the Communist countries, there is no free trade-union activity. If we want to have free trade-union activity, we cannot possibly bring about centralisation and mechanisation. If labour had been given the wages and other benefits they were entitled to in the 19th century, capital formation would not have been possible.

Today, there is even talk of profit-sharing in India. When that comes I do not think there will be much left for Nanda or for T.T. to mop up. Our experience here also tells us that after independence, every effort has been made to restrict trade union activity. The biggest trade union organisation, the INTUC, is kept by the Government and the Party in power under their control. And there has been legislation, from time to time, to see that trade union activity is regulated. But I am afraid the Government, with all the faith and enthusiasm it requires, will not be able to restrict trade union activity, whatever laws it may pass. In the morning, we heard how even big officers were going on strike, and did not want to work. You will find it very difficult to have the investment you need, unless you also, like Pakistan, allow America to supply you with all the money that you need. Pakistan wants it for arms. You may say that you want it for economic reconstruction. You also can get money from abroad.

2 P.M.

Another thing necessary for rapid industrialisation is cheap food and raw materials. Mr. Nanda seems unconscious of the fact that at the end when the Plan had been finalised they found out that this (the plan) is not based on cheap raw materials and food. If the production of food does not increase and of the agricultural raw materials does not increase, the whole Plan will be upset. So, at the last moment somehow a brain-wave came to them and instead of 15 per cent they increased food production to 40 per cent; they also added that when there is this 40 per cent increase there will be a 20 per cent decrease in the prices. Even a blind man can see, none so blind as they who would not see, even a blind man can see that the prices of agricultural raw materials and of food are rising. The recent rise has been about 25 per cent and more. How the Government, how the authorities, can propose to increase (agricultural) production by 40 per cent. and lower prices, by 20 per cent. in a country where agriculture is not a paying proposition, in a country where the average holding is not more than two acres, is difficult to understand. The prices that are being paid today are not remunerative to the agriculturist and the agriculturist is not going to increase his production at the prices which obtained before the recent rise took place.

Let us now see if there is any way by which we can avoid the difficulties, the dangers, the poverty and the suffering that the masses had to undergo on account of these two western types of industrialisation, both based upon centralised industry and both based upon mechanisation. Can we take away this habit of ours of slavishly copying the West and considering that everything that the West does is civilised and there can be no civilised way other than theirs. This is something new that has recently come in our national life. We did not think so before independence; but, I think, after indepen-

dence we have become more slavish than ever before.

Gandhiji showed us a type of industrialisation which would not press upon the masses harshly, which would not create the misery of capitalist production or production under State capitalism, what is called the Communist or Nazi type. Gandhiji wanted decentralisation of industry. His whole constructive programme was based upon the idea of decentralised industry. Will our leaders in the Government accept it? Today they may say that the times have changed and they have gone beyond Gandhiji. It is open to them to say so. But the whole of Gandhiji's constructive programme was based upon the idea of industrialising the nation. Gandhiji made charkha as the centre of his constructive work; he made it the centre of his cottage and village industries programme; he made charkha the symbol and put it on our national flag before independence. He made us to wear a uniform that would imply that we wanted this kind of industrialisation, and not the western kind of industrialisation, where the emphasis is on big industry, basic industry or whatever you call it. Gandhiji said— I am quoting from him:

"Khadi is the chief village industry; kill Khadi and you will kill the villages."

Again he said:

"To supply India with cloth manufactured either inside or outside India through gigantic mills is an economic blunder of the first magnitude, just as it would be to supply cheap bread through huge bakeries in chief centres in India and destroy the family hearth. Millions of villagers are living in enforced idleness for at least four months in the year. The restoration of the spinning wheel solves the economic problem at a stroke."

He did not say have heavy industries and big industries and the economic problem will be solved, but he said have decentralised industries

He said:

"Khadi involves the honour of our womenfolk. Everyone who has any connection with mill industry knows that women working in the mills are exposed to temptations to which they should not be exposed."

I am only giving the briefest quotations from Gandhiji. He wanted industrialisation, but he did not want the Western type of industrialisation to which our Government is pledged. However, Gandhiji was not a slave even to his theory.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member has taken half an hour. How much more time does he want?

Acharya Kripalani: I think the Minister took one hour and a half and a leader of one of the opposition parties could take at least one hour.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Asoka Mehta spoke for a long time; some other hon. Members also. I have no objection; let him take fifteen more minutes.

Acharya Kripalani: I am talking on fundamental matters about the Plan and I cannot dismiss them through mere verbiage.

I was saying, Gandhiji was not a slave to theory, even to his own theory. He recognised the present-day needs of modern civilisation; he knew that some kind of centralised production cannot altogether be eliminated; but he also knew that it will be disastrous for India if big, mechanised, centralised industry were to permeate the whole life of India, in pursuance of merely material aims. The primary needs of the people he said must be supplied through decentralised big industry.

2-08 P.M.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair]

Gandhiji further recognised the close connection between economics and politics, between economics and social life, between economics and moral life. Of course, he did not like Marx hold that everything depends upon economics, but he

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Gandhiji) believed that there is intimate connection between economic and political and moral life. He thought that if economic and political power were concentrated in the State it would be dangerous. Like Lord Acton he believed that "power has the tendency to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely." Gandhiji said:

"Political power is not an end but one of the means to enable people to better their condition in every department of life."

I want the Ministers to mark the following words of Gandhiji because they are treading a dangerous path:

"I look upon the increase of power in the state with the greatest fear, because, although apparently doing good (in the name of the welfare State) by minimising exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality which is at the root of all progress. The individual has a soul but the State is a soul-less machine."

These are Gandhiji's words and the Treasury Benches follow Gandhiji! The State having economic and political power would be obliged whether it likes or not to regulate the whole, the entire life of the community, even the thoughts of the individual. This, I hold, Sir, is inimical to democracy. Moreover centralisation of production will centralise Governmental power so that there will be no room for local self-government. Creating *panchayats* in villages is merely tinkering with the problem of local self-government, because there is no economic life in the villages. Why are government development projects not prospering? Because there is no industry behind them. The Government is confining its efforts to the improvement of the village without industry. The improvement of the village without improving the economic life of the villager is an absurdity. You give people schools but of what use if they are starving; you can give them ideas of sanitation but it would be no use if

they are starving. You teach them something about agriculture 'what that also they cannot utilise.

An. Hon. Member: Do you have a solution?

Acharya Kripalani: I have no solution. I am talking of Gandhiji's solution. I thought the members would have understood this by now. If I had a solution I would have been a prophet. I am only giving Gandhiji's solution. You are much mistaken if you are thinking that I am giving my solution. I am only giving the solution of Gandhiji to those who consider themselves as followers of Gandhiji.

An Hon. Member: Gandhiji only used to make suggestions.

Acharya Kripalani: Why did Gandhiji talk of this decentralisation? Because, he knew the genius of his people and he knew the requirements of his country.

The question in India is not of this **ism** or that **ism**; neither of capitalism nor communism. The Prime Minister is quite right when he says that he is not pledged to any 'ism'; but, I am afraid he is pledged to the 'ism' of big industry. The question of questions in India is the groaning poverty of the masses who live on a sub-human level. Nobody can deny this. This, I submit, due to unemployment and semi-employment. These are so colossal that after 8 years the Government has not ventured to find the figures of unemployment.

What do the masses of India need; or, for the matter of that, what do the masses of the world need? They need—may I suggest to those who ought to know better than myself—remunerative employment; they need social security; they need a rising standard of living. But there can be no social security; and the Government has not tried it rightly, because if they had, they would have realised that there can be no social security, there can be no rising standard of living, unless the question of unemployment is solved. As long as there is unemployment, as long as there

are able-bodied persons who are willing to work and do not find work, who are wasting away their lives, whose lives are absolute blanks, as long as we have masses of people like that there can be no social security, there can be no rise in the standard of living. It is a mid-day dream that our Government is dreaming. Unemployment is the greatest curse which India is suffering from, which individuals are suffering from, which the nation is suffering from.

There are four characteristics of big industry, centralised industry. The first is large investment, to which I have already referred. The second is ever-diminishing human labour per unit of production. The third is that the purchasing power does not keep pace with expanding industry. And, the fourth is the rapid exhaustion of natural resources of the country. This is so rapid that future generations may be impoverished.

I am now only talking of the second. It is that ever-diminishing human labour is needed per unit of production. You are introducing a plan which will require ever-diminishing human labour per unit of production. You will industrialise; you will first mechanise. After mechanisation what? There will come rationalisation which you cannot resist, which you are not able to resist in the textile industry. After rationalisation will come automation, where the workers have only to press buttons.

Take the instance of the cloth industry. The cloth industry between 1948 and 1952 expanded greatly. New factories were opened; investment increased by 54 per cent. Yet, the total labour force actually diminished.

The Planners appointed committees. They appointed the Small Scale Industries Board. What was it to do. It was to furnish a programme for village and small-scale industries so that the bulk of the consumer goods in common demand may be provided in the village and through small-scale industries. Secondly, it was to plan so that the employment provided by

these industries may progressively increase. The Karve Committee made recommendations on these points. What did the Committee say? It said that all additional demands for consumer goods arising during the Plan period should be met as much as possible through the expansion of household and hand production; and, that until unemployment was liquidated or brought under control, it was necessary to prevent competition between factories and hand industry. These objectives were endorsed by the statistical expert of the Government of India, Mr. Mahalanobis. Yet, what does Government do? On the one hand, they are talking of the Ambar Charkha and, on the other, they want to mechanise the handlooms. Shri Nanda talks of the Ambar Charkha and Shri T. T. Krishnamachari allows mechanisation of handlooms. It is a very good division, not only of the loaves and fishes of office but also of functions. One function contradicts the other, and yet we are told that the Cabinet is not a body divided against itself.

An Hon. Member: What will you talk of?

Shri Tek Chand (Ambala-Simla): We have had a diagnosis of the disease but what is the cure from your point of view?

Acharya Kripalani: I say you are not listening properly. I suggested that the cure lies in decentralised industry, wherein people can produce for themselves, where they can employ the leisure that they have, where they can create wealth for themselves, where every house will be a factory and where every village will be a factory.

I think you are a newcomer to the Congress, because all old Congressmen know what we have believed so far.

Shri Tek Chand: I may be a newcomer but I am not an outgoer.

Acharya Kripalani: You will soon go away.

Sir, this shows our friend has never known what the Congress policies

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were, what the Congress stood for. I do not know whether he wears khadi. What is khadi except a symbol of decentralised industry? If it is not, I say, it is humbug; it is camouflage. It is insulting the nation if you go in for khadi and yet do not believe in it. It is the policy of your party and you do not believe in it.

An Hon. Member: You say it with anger.

Acharya Kripalani: I do not say it with anger. If you do not disturb me you will find that I will give argument. I won't be angry; but if you disturb me, I shall give you in the same coin.

Seth Govind Das: Gandhiji never did it.

Acharya Kripalani: I am not Gandhiji. I am sure you never suspected me to be Gandhiji. If you did I would at least try to rise to that standard. Have you had any suspicion? Gandhiji had no suspicion about me. If I had been Gandhiji, where would have been the need, I ask, for Gandhiji? (*Interruption*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The Chair has another concern because the hon. Member's time is up.

Acharya Kripalani: I am very anxious to finish soon because I have not taken my lunch, and the hon. Minister began his speech in order to deprive me of my lunch—he does not believe in lunch.

Shri Nanda: The Minister has not yet had his lunch.

Acharya Kripalani: The question is not, as is usually posed, of the rise in national or per capita income. What is necessary is to raise the income of the lowest income group, namely, the masses in the villages. That is to give them the things they want. Help them to produce those things themselves. Even the last Finance Minister, in his last Budget speech was constrained to say: "Increase in the national income or the per capita in-

come will avail little. What is needed is to raise the level of income of the lower income groups".

That this has not happened in the First Five Year Plan is plain from the fact that though the national income increased from Rs. 9,200 crores to Rs. 10,800 crores in the last five years of the Plan,—that means an increase of about 15 per cent.—there was little increase in the income of the lowest group in the villages. We cannot be deluded by figures, but even the figures go against you. We see in the village the same poverty as was before Independence. The average income is estimated to have increased, according to Government estimation, by three to four annas per head per year. If we give *charkha* to a person in a village and make him work for a day, his income will be 12 annas on the Ambar Charkha. The First Five Year Plan, today we are told, was not a Plan but was only laying down the foundations. However this is the increase in income.

I am talking of Gandhiji; but I do not suppose you expect in the Government people who are ultra-Gandhi-ites; at least you cannot accuse Shri B. C. Roy to be an ultra-Gandhi-ite. What does he say? He says that we must plan for the needs of the villagers, for their village enterprises. He says:

"We must plan for the needs of the villagers, for their village enterprises, the need for raw material, improved tools and cheap power. We can thus estimate the supplies that will be needed of coal, iron, steel, machines for making tools, etc."

Heavy and key industries must be developed mainly with a view to help decentralisation which alone in India can cope with the existing colossal unemployment. We must not estimate in terms of factories, mills and machines nor even in terms of national or average money incomes but in terms of the supply to the villager of his primary needs. These he can

produce himself or in the village without much capital. He needs these things immediately. All our emphasis must, therefore, be on production for immediate use if the standards of living are to improve in a short time. I think this is very clear. What we want is immediate improvement in the condition of the poor. (*Interruption*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There ought to be no interruption. Let the hon. Member proceed.

Acharya Kripalani: I don't mind these interruptions; I can answer them. My difficulty is I am not allowed to hear them.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member must wind up now.

Acharya Kripalani: Heavy industry must be developed according to our capacity. This will bring our planning to the level of the money we can raise and invest without having recourse to deficit financing which may lead to inflation, of which there are clear signs already, except for those who would not see. Prices of food and other basic commodities have recently increased by 25 or 30 per cent. The price index that was considered reasonable after the war, at 200, and which was increased to 300 after the devaluation of the rupee, now stands at 408.

There are other advantages of decentralised industry; they are social and moral, into which I need not go because the hon. Deputy-Speaker wants me to finish. It (decentralised industry) would avoid also unequal industrialisation in different areas and in different States. I believe that if there is unequal industrialisation, there will be many more quarrels between different States than have taken place about the reorganisation of States. In decentralised industry there will be no unequal industrialisation in the different States because every home would be a factory and every village would be a factory.

There are certain objections raised against decentralised industry. One objection is that there will be no mass production. This is very strange. When masses produce, what will it be? It will be mass production. Further, production can be mechanised through electricity and you will have more than what you need. Then there is anxiety about the consumer's interest. The consumer's interest comes in only when decentralised industry is concerned. The consumer's interest does not come when big industry is in question. The consumer's interest is not thought of in Government monopolies. On the last occasion, the new Finance Minister never thought of the consumer's interest. Congressman after Congressman pleaded for the consumer's interests, but the authorities brushed aside the plea. The Congress party had to vote as one man, ignoring the consumer's interest.

Then we are told that we have to utilise technology and science, as if technology and science can be utilised only through big industries. Science grew in small laboratories; you can make use of science for home industry and for cottage industry as well as for a factory. As for mechanisation, you can have mechanisation also for home industry. There is no objection to that. Gandhiji never objected to it. Let electricity be supplied cheaply to every home and you will have mass production, and it will also take away the drudgery of the home worker and the village worker. There is no harm in the use of technology and science, but in this atomic age it may give not only more production, but also the atom and hydrogen bombs. This overpraise of technology and science comes rather too late. Sometimes we talk of the horrors of the atom and hydrogen bombs and the nuclear weapons, and sometimes talk of increasing technology and science, as if technology and science are the *summum bonum* of life. There are better things; there are more things in heaven and earth than mechanisation and the use of science and technology. Yet, science and mechanisation could, as I

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said, be used in the service of cottage industry.

There is one thing more which our planners must remember and which they forget. This may ruin our country. I warn them. However you may try, there is no place for private industry in India. You will have to nationalise industries because our industrialists have not the requisite capital. Private capital cannot come up to expectation in the Plans you have; private capital is also too selfish. You will have to scrap this capitalism. If I am to believe you after the present Five Year Plan, forty per cent. of the industries will be in Government hands and after the next Plan, forty per cent. more—that is, eighty per cent. of the industries will be in Government hands. I say this it is very dangerous. As I said on another occasion, we are going towards totalitarianism, when we put in the hands of the Government such a big portion of our economic life. Capitalism is not going to prosper in India; it is impossible with the kind of capitalists that we have, who take away about Rs. 200 crores every year from income-tax. There will, therefore, be progressive nationalisation and this nationalisation will give the State combined political and economic power and this combined political and economic power will drive the country to dictatorship. Signs of dictatorship are already there. We have got one party rule; we have got one party leader. The cult of personality is already there. I do not blame anybody for this. The cult of personality is very natural here. We worship idols, stocks, stones, trees, cows, buffaloes, books, tombs and what not. If then our people worship an intelligent person who is considered a world figure, it is nothing unusual. Even if people were to consider him an *avatar*, it will not be strange, because, we have all sorts of *avatars* from *machcha*, *kachcha*, *vardha*, *narasimha* to *Buddha*. In this land, there is already too much hero worship. In such a land, if we put power in the hand of one man,

economic and political power, we know what will happen. With all that power, it is absurd to say that there will be no dictatorship. Thank God, our Prime Minister today is a mild type of man. He takes time to decide; he is even called a wavering Hamlet, though I do not believe it. If any powerful person comes here.....

An Hon. Member: Why not you come? (*Interruptions*)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Let the hon. Member conclude now.

Acharya Kripalani: If only the Chair allows me to hear what these people say, I will reply to them.

I was saying that if a powerful and ruthless man appears we shall have dictatorship. The cultural life, artistic life and the intellectual life of the country are all in the hands of the Government. The Government publish the text-books. The whole of education is in their hands. They are wanting more and more every day. This will bring about their fall, and with that, unfortunately, the fall of country.

सेठ गोविन्द दास : श्री श्री कृपालानी जी का एक बड़ा लम्बा भाषण हुआ और मेरे हृदय में उन के लिये बड़ी इज्जत है। उन्होंने ने मेरे एक नये मित्र जो श्री कांग्रेस में आय है, बैरिस्टर टेक चन्द जी, उन के सम्बन्ध में एक सीधी बात कह दी। उन्होंने ने कहा कि वह कांग्रेस में नये आय है। मैं समझता हूँ कि कृपालानी जी मेरे लिये ऐसा नहीं कह सकते। इस का कारण यह है कि मैं कांग्रेस में १९२० से हूँ और ३६ बरस मुझे एक ही संस्था में बीत गये हैं यद्यपि उस संस्था को कृपालानी जी ने छोड़ दिया है।

Acharya Kripalani: No honest man can differ from that if he is a Congressman.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member may listen patiently.

सेठ गोविन्द दास : जहां तक उन के भाषण का सम्बन्ध है उन्होंने ने गांधी जी के डिमैट्रलाइजेशन (विकेन्द्रीकरण) के सिद्धान्त को यहां पर प्रतिपादित किया है। मैं बहुत दूर तक उन से इस विषय में सहमत हूँ। परन्तु एक तरफ जब इस तरह का कोई प्रश्न आता है तब कृपालानी जी गांधी जी की दुहाई देते हैं और जब हमारी वैदेशिक नीति पर चर्चा होती है कि जो नीति गांधी जी के मतानुसार चल रही है, उस का भी वह विरोध करते हैं। अंग्रेजी में मैं उसे blowing hot and cold in the same breath कहूंगा। जहां तक गांधी जी का सम्बन्ध है उन्होंने ने मदा एक बात कही थी कि सत्य और अहिंसा इन दो सिद्धान्तों के अतिरिक्त जो कुछ भी वह कहते हैं वह समय के अनुसार परिवर्तनशील है। सत्य और अहिंसा परिवर्तनशील नहीं हैं और बाकी जितनी चीजें हैं वे परिवर्तनशील हैं। इस के बाद कृपालानी जी ने हमारे बंगाल के मुख्य मंत्री श्री विधान चन्द्र राय का एक लम्बा उद्धरण यहां पर दिया। उस उद्धरण में उन्होंने ने बड़े बड़े उद्योग धंधों का भी समर्थन किया है और छोटे छोटे उद्योग धंधों का भी वह समर्थन करते हैं। मैं उस नीति से बिन्कुल सहमत हूँ। मैं यहां तक कहने के लिये तैयार हूँ कि जो उद्योग धंधे झोंपड़ियों में कुटियों में चलाये जा सकते हैं और उन के सम्बन्ध में अग्रर बड़ी बड़ी फैक्ट्रियां हैं बड़े बड़े कारखाने हैं तो उन को बन्द कर देना चाहिये। मैं आगे बढ़ कर यहां तक कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहां तक सूत और कपड़े का सम्बन्ध है वहां तक अग्रर हम सूत और कपड़े की इन सब मिलों को बन्द भी कर दें और खादी की अम्बर चर्ब के द्वारा और हैंडलूम के द्वारा उत्पत्ति करें, तो कोई बुरी बात नहीं होगी। लेकिन उसी के साथ हम को कुछ बड़े बड़े उद्योग धंधों की भी आवश्यकता है। उन्होंने ने श्री विधानचन्द्रराय को उद्धृत किया पर विधान बाबू ने यह भी कहा है कि हम को जोहे की जरूरत है, सिमेंट की जरूरत है। मैं कृपालानी जी से जानना चाहता हूँ कि

अग्रर बड़े बड़े उद्योग धंधे भी इस देश में स्थापित नहीं किये जायेंगे तो क्या कुटियों में लोहा और सिमेंट उत्पन्न हो सकता है। एक तरफ हम को बड़े बड़े उद्योग धंधों की आवश्यकता है और दूसरी तरफ हम को कुटीर उद्योग धंधों की भी जरूरत है। आज यदि गांधी जी होने तो वह इस नीति का अवश्य समर्थन करने।

श्री नन्दा जी का भी यहां पर आज भाषण हुआ। यह भी एक लम्बा भाषण था उन्होंने ने पंचवर्षीय योजना के तीन सब से प्रधान अंग बताये पहला सार्वजनिक सहयोग, दूसरा ट्रेड परसोनल (प्रशिक्षित कर्मचारीवर्ग) और तीसरा एकता। अब मैं इसी सम्बन्ध में कुछ बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। इस के पहले जो योजना हम ने बनाई थी उस को हम ने सफलतापूर्वक समाप्त कर यह हम ने दूसरी योजना बनाई है। इस योजना में केवल धन ही पर्याप्त नहीं है, धन के साथ जिस सार्वजनिक सहयोग की नन्दा जी ने बात कही, उस की उतनी ही आवश्यकता है।

रूस और चीन दो ऐसे प्रधान देश हैं, जिन में ये योजनायें सब से अधिक सफल हुई हैं। इसलिये हम देखें कि रूस और चीन ने इन योजनाओं के सम्बन्ध में प्रधानतया क्या किया है। सब से पहले उन्होंने ने अपने देश के उन कारीगरों का सहयोग लिया, जिन के यहां पुस्तों से किसी प्रकार की कारीगरी का काम चलता था—चाहे वे पढ़ें हों या न पढ़ें हों। मैं रूस तो नहीं गया, लेकिन चीन गया था और वहां जाने के बाद रूस की बहुत सी बातें अपने आप मालूम हो जाती हैं। उन कारीगरों को चाहे वैज्ञानिक और टैक्निकल (प्रविधिक) शिक्षा न मिली हो, पर जीवन भर काम करते करते उन को कुछ विशेष अनुभव प्राप्त हुए थे। उन कारीगरों का चीन में आज भी पूरा पूरा सहयोग लिया जा रहा है। चीन में मुझे मालूम हुआ कि रूस में भी यही बात हो रही है।

[सेठ गोविन्द दास]

एक बात वहाँ पर और की गई। इन कारीगरों के अनुभवों का आधार वैज्ञानिक हो जाय और उस से उन को बल मिले, इस के लिये उन्होंने विशेष प्रबन्ध किया। उन्होंने ने एक प्रकार के विद्यालयों का आयोजन किया जहाँ पर जीवन से प्राप्त उन के अनुभव को वैज्ञानिक आधार और बल प्राप्त होने के लिये शिक्षा दी जाती है।

चीन और रूस में कारीगरों का सहयोग प्राप्त करने के अतिरिक्त जनता का सहयोग भी प्राप्त करने का प्रयत्न किया गया। कारीगरों और जनता का सहयोग प्राप्त करने के लिये रूस और चीन में जो सब से बड़ी बात की गई, वह क्या थी? यहाँ पर मुझे अपनी वही पुरानी बात कहनी पड़ती है कि यह सहयोग उन से लिया गया उन देशों की भाषाओं के द्वारा। हमारे यहाँ अभी हाल ही में २-३ सितम्बर को क्या हुआ है? यहाँ पर राज्यों के शिक्षा मंत्रियों की एक परिषद् हुई और उस में जो निर्णय हुए, वे मुझे बड़े भयावह मालूम होते हैं। उन निर्णयों के सम्बन्ध में सरकार के प्रैस इन्फॉर्मेशन व्यूरो के ३ सितम्बर के बुलिटन में निकला है—

"The general consensus of opinion at the Conference was that the teaching of English should be compulsory at the secondary stage as well as the middle, the senior basic or the lower secondary stage. It also agreed that the teaching of English should start in the same class in basic and non-basic schools. It was recommended that steps be taken to ensure that by the end of the secondary stage students acquire an adequate knowledge of English to enable them to receive education through English effectively at the university stage."

मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम ने जो संविधान बनाया है, यह निर्णय उस की शारणाओं के विरुद्ध है। मैं आप से कहना

चाहता हूँ कि स्वराज्य प्राप्त करने के पूर्व राष्ट्रीय चेतना आने के बाद हम ने अपनी माध्यमिक शालाओं में जो हिन्दी को शिक्षा का माध्यम बनाया था, यह निर्णय उस के विरुद्ध है। मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि स्वराज्य प्राप्त करने के बाद अपने अनेक विश्वविद्यालयों में हम ने अपनी भारतीय भाषाओं को जो शिक्षा का माध्यम बनाया है, यह निर्णय उस के विरुद्ध है। इस के अतिरिक्त शिक्षा विभाग में अब तक जितने आयोग बनाये गए—सैकंडरी एजुकेशन का आयोग और यूनिवर्सिटी एजुकेशन का आयोग—उन सब के प्रतिवेदनों को आप देखें। उन्होंने जो सिफारिशें की हैं, यह निर्णय उन के विरुद्ध है। इस स्थिति में, जब कि हमारी माध्यमिक शालाओं में हमारी भारतीय भाषाओं को चलने इतने दिन हो गए हैं, जब कि हमारे अनेक विश्वविद्यालयों में भारतीय भाषाओं का माध्यम हो चुका है, यदि आप माध्यमिक शालाओं में अंगरेजी को कम्पल्सरी—अनिवार्य—बनाना चाहते हैं या विश्वविद्यालयों में अंगरेजी को माध्यम बनाना चाहते हैं, तो आप का यह निर्णय स्वराज्य प्राप्त करने के पूर्व पर राष्ट्रीय चेतना आने के बाद जो कुछ आप करते आए हैं—स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त करने के पश्चात जो कुछ आप ने किया है, अपने संविधान में जो बातें इस सम्बन्ध में हम ने रखी हैं; उन सब के खिलाफ जाता है। इतना ही नहीं, इस प्रकार आप को "ट्रेड परसनल" (प्रशिक्षित कर्मचारी) तैयार करने के उद्देश्य में भी सफलता मिलने वाली नहीं है। "ट्रेड परसनल" को तैयार करने के लिए आप को शिक्षा की गति को तीव्रतर करना होगा और आप के अंगरेजों को अनिवार्य बनाने और माध्यम रखने से तो शिक्षा की गति तीव्रतर न हो कर उलटी मन्द होगी। इस के अतिरिक्त इस से जनता और शासकों के बीच खाई बढ़ती जायगी और संघर्ष का भय रहेगा। इन दृष्टियों से आप एक बड़ी भयानक बात करना चाहते हैं।

अभी जो हमारे श्री नन्दा ने सार्वजनिक सहयोग और ट्रेड परमोनेल की बात कही। उस को यदि आप कार्य रूप में परिणत करना चाहते हैं, तो राज्यों के शिक्षा मंत्रियों के सम्मेलन में जो कुछ निर्णय हुआ है, उस को आप को खत्म करना होगा। फिर यह निर्णय किसी के ऊपर बाईंडिंग नहीं है—न तो किसी राज्य सरकार के ऊपर और न किसी यूनिवर्सिटी के ऊपर। मैं राज्य सरकारों और विश्वविद्यालयों से यह अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि वे इस मामले में किसी दबाव में न आयें और शिक्षा मंत्रियों के निर्णय को रट्टी की टोकरी में फँक दें जहाँ तक कि भाषा के विषय का सम्बन्ध है।

अपनी इस पंच-वर्षीय योजना में हम दो बातें करना चाहते हैं। एक तरफ तो हम अपना पाषिव उत्कर्ष करना चाहते हैं और दूसरी तरफ बौद्धिक उत्कर्ष। केवल पाषिव उत्कर्ष से हमारा काम चलने वाला नहीं है। हम को बौद्धिक उत्कर्ष की भी आवश्यकता है। जहाँ तक बौद्धिक उत्कर्ष का सम्बन्ध है, वहाँ अनेक वर्षों से जो अंगरेजी यहाँ से जा रही थी, स्वराज्य-प्राप्ति के बाद हम ने निर्णय किया था कि पन्द्रह वर्ष के पश्चात हिन्दी और हमारी भारतीय भाषायें अंगरेजी का स्थान लेंगी, उस अंगरेजी को आप फिर से हमारे देश पर लादना चाहते हैं। आप क्या करना चाहते हैं, यह मेरी समझ से बाहर है। क्या आपकी इच्छा यह है कि हिन्दी, बंगला, मराठी, गुजराती, तामिल, तेलगु, कन्नड़, मलयालम, इन सब भाषाओं के स्थान पर इस देश के निवासियों की भाषा अंगरेजी हो जाय ? आप का यदि यही उद्देश्य है, तो आप को इस में कभी सफलता मिलने वाली नहीं है। इस देश में पीने दो सौ वर्ष अंगरेजी राज्य रहा। उन लोगों ने हरबन्द प्रयत्न किया, हर तरह की कोशिश की कि इस देश पर अंगरेजी भाषा लादी जाय। नतीजा क्या निकला ? नतीजा यह निकला कि जो देश किसी समय शिक्षा में संसार का भिरभौर था—सब से ऊँचा देश था, उस में सौ में से नब्बे आदमी निरक्षर

भट्टाचार्य हो गए। यह बात भी विचारणीय है कि पीने दो सौ वर्ष के अंगरेजी राज्य में आखिर इस देश में कितने आदमियों ने अंगरेजी सीखी। मैं यहाँ पर केवल हिन्दी के सम्बन्ध में ही नहीं कहना चाहता। शिक्षा मंत्रियों के जो निर्णय हुए हैं वे हिन्दी के जितने विरुद्ध जाते हैं उतने ही उन १३ भाषाओं के भी विरुद्ध जाते हैं जिनको हमने अपने देश की राष्ट्रभाषायें मानकर अपने संविधान में स्थान दिया है। तो यदि आप अपनी पंचवर्षीय योजना में आर्थिक विकास के साथ, पाषिव उन्नति के साथ बौद्धिक विकास या बौद्धिक उन्नति भी करना चाहते हैं तो इन निर्णयों को खत्म करें।

फिर जब आप भावी ट्रेड परसनल की बात सोचते हैं तब क्या आप कभी इस बात को भी सोचते हैं कि जिन विश्वविद्यालयों में हमारे नौजवान अभी पढ़ रहे हैं जिन्होंने अपनी भारतीय भाषाओं के माध्यम से अब तक शिक्षा प्राप्त की है यकायक, एक दिन में, इतने वर्षों का प्रयत्न खत्म करने के बाद, उसको उलट देने के बाद, उनकी क्या स्थिति होने वाली है ? उनका भविष्य अत्यन्त अन्धकारमय हो जाने वाला है। इसलिए आप चाहे इस योजना को पाषिव दृष्टि से देखें चाहे आप इस योजना को बौद्धिक दृष्टि से देखें, किसी भी दृष्टि से देखें, हमें इस बात की आवश्यकता है कि हम अपना जो टेकनिकल परसनल तैयार करना चाहते हैं वह टेकनिकल परसनल हम अपनी भारतीय भाषाओं की शिक्षा के माध्यम द्वारा तैयार करें। और इसके लिए हमें करना क्या चाहिए ? हमें सबसे पहले यह बात करनी चाहिए कि हम शिक्षा का माध्यम मातृभाषा रखें। मैं ने कभी इस बात को नहीं कहा कि जिन प्रान्तों की मातृभाषा हिन्दी नहीं है उनमें भी शिक्षा का माध्यम हिन्दी रखा जाये। मेरा स्पष्ट मत है कि जिन प्रान्तों की मातृभाषा हिन्दी नहीं है वहाँ स्कूलों की शिक्षा का माध्यम प्रान्त की भाषा हो। मेरा स्पष्ट मत है कि जिन प्रान्तों की मातृभाषा हिन्दी नहीं है, वहाँ विश्वविद्यालयों में शिक्षा का माध्यम प्रान्त की

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भाषा हो। मेरा यह स्पष्ट मत है कि जिन प्रान्तों की मातृभाषा हिन्दी नहीं है उन प्रान्तों की अदालत में भाषा उन प्रान्तों की भाषा हो। यह प्रश्न हिन्दी का नहीं है। यह प्रश्न प्रान्तीय भाषाओं और अंग्रेजी के आपस के संघर्ष का है। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो नोति शिक्षा मंत्रियों के सम्मेलन ने निर्धारित की है यदि उसका अनुसरण किया गया तो यह देश के लिए अत्यन्त घातक सिद्ध होने वाली है। तो सर्व प्रथम हम शिक्षा का माध्यम मातृभाषा रखें। उसके बाद जब तक हमारे यहाँ ग्रन्थों का निर्माण नहीं हो जाता तब तक हम अंग्रेजी ग्रन्थों से सहायता ले सकते हैं। मुझे कोई अंग्रेजी से शत्रुता नहीं है। पर अंग्रेजी के ग्रन्थों से मुख्यतः सहायता ले हमारे अध्यापकगण। वह उन ग्रन्थों से सहायता लेकर हमारे विद्यार्थियों को उनकी मातृभाषा में शिक्षा देने का प्रयत्न करें। कहा जाता है कि हमारे यहाँ अभी वैज्ञानिक ग्रन्थ तैयार नहीं हैं। जहाँ तक हिन्दी भाषा का सम्बन्ध है, वैज्ञानिक और औद्योगिक विषयों के ग्रन्थ बड़े परिमाण में हिन्दी भाषा में तैयार हो गये हैं और मैं समझता हूँ कि यही स्थिति अन्य भारतीय भाषाओं में भी होगी। मैं यह नहीं चाहता कि वैज्ञानिक और औद्योगिक विषयों में शिक्षा देने के लिये हम को अंग्रेजी के माध्यम का सहारा लेना पड़े। हमें आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि हम अपनी शिक्षा का माध्यम अपनी भाषायें रखें और आवश्यक ग्रंथों का निर्माण करावें। मैं अनेक बार यह बात कह चुका हूँ कि जहाँ सरकार अपनी अन्य योजनाओं पर करोड़ों और अरबों रुपया खर्च कर रही है वहाँ उसे ग्रन्थों के निर्माण पर कम से कम पाँच करोड़ रुपया तो खर्च करना चाहिए, और मेरा निश्चित मत है कि अगर सरकार ने पाँच करोड़ रुपया ग्रन्थों का निर्माण करने के लिए खर्च किया तो न केवल हिन्दी में नहीं बल्कि देश की अन्य भाषाओं में भी बड़ी मात्रा में आवश्यक ग्रन्थों की रचना हो जायेगी। इन ग्रन्थों के निर्माण की बात पर मैं अनेक बार

सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित कर चुका हूँ। अगर इन ग्रन्थों का निर्माण यहाँ की भाषाओं में कर दिया जाये तो शिक्षा की गति तीव्रतर ही नहीं बल्कि तीव्रतम हो जायेगी और जो आप अंग्रेजी के माध्यम द्वारा टेकनिकल परसोनल बनाना चाहते हैं उसकी आपको आवश्यकता नहीं रहेगी। जरूरत इस बात की है कि हम ग्रन्थों का निर्माण करें। इस बात की जरूरत नहीं है कि हम अंग्रेजी की शिक्षा का माध्यम बनावें।

आप चीन का उदाहरण लीजिये। मैं चीन गया था। मैं ने वहाँ क्या देखा? मैं ने वहाँ पर देखकर यह महसूस किया कि यद्यपि चीनी लिपि बड़ी कठिन है, हमारी लिपि तो बड़ी वैज्ञानिक है, लेकिन उनकी लिपि इतनी कठिन होते हुए भी सारे वैज्ञानिक और औद्योगिक विषयों के ग्रन्थ चीनी भाषा में तैयार हो गये हैं और उनको किसी अन्य भाषा की आवश्यकता नहीं पड़ती। मैं ने देखा कि उनकी जितनी टेकनिकल शब्दावली है वह सारी चीनी भाषा में है। उन्होंने इतने टेकनिकल ग्रन्थ अपनी भाषा में बना लिये हैं कि यहाँ बैठ कर आप उनकी कल्पना भी नहीं कर सकते। वहाँ पर जितनी वैज्ञानिक और औद्योगिक शिक्षा दी जाती है वह चीनी भाषा के माध्यम से ही दी जाती है, अंग्रेजी के द्वारा नहीं। फिर मैं ने देखा कि उनको अपनी भाषा पर गर्व है और वे उसको बड़ा गौरव का स्थान देते हैं। वहाँ पर एक साइनो-इंडियन फ्रेंडशिप एसोसियेशन है जिसकी शाखायें यहाँ पर भी हैं। मुझे स्टेशन से लेने के लिए उस एसोसियेशन के उप-सभापति आये थे, उनका नाम श्री चैन था। वह अपने साथ एक दुभाषिया लाये थे और उसके जरिये उन्होंने मुझ से बातचीत करना शुरू किया। वह दुभाषिया हिन्दी नहीं जानता था पर अंग्रेजी जानता था। वह उनके भाषण को मुझे अंग्रेजी में बता देता था और जो मैं कहता था उसे उनको चीनी भाषा में समझा देता था।

Shri B. S. Murthy (Eluru): Why did you not take another man with you?

सेठ गोविन्द दास : लेकिन दूसरे दिन जब श्री चैन मेरे पास आये तो उन्होंने घड़ाके से अंग्रेजी बोलना शुरू किया। मुझे यह देखकर बड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ क्योंकि एक रात में तो कोई आदमी अंग्रेजी नहीं सीख सकता था। मैं ने उनसे पूछा कि कल तो आप अपने साथ एक दुभाषिया लाये थे पर आज आप मेरे साथ घड़ाके से अंग्रेजी बोल रहे हैं, इसका क्या कारण है। उन्होंने मुझे बतलाया कि उनकी गवर्नमेंट की यह इच्छा है कि किसी भी विदेशी के साथ चीनियों को अपनी भाषा में ही बातचीत करनी चाहिए और इस कार्य के लिए दुभाषियों को अपने साथ रखना चाहिए। उन्होंने मुझ से कहा कि चूंकि आप यहां चार पांच दिन ही रह रहे हैं इसलिए अगर दुभाषिये द्वारा बातचीत की जायेगी तो समय अधिक लगेगा और बात कम हो पायेगी, अस्तु मैं ने अंग्रेजी में बोलना शुरू कर दिया। मेरे कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि उनको अपनी भाषा का कितना गौरव है। आप चाहे तो अंग्रेजी को एक विषय के रूप में पढ़ाये मुझे उससे कोई विरोध नहीं है। लेकिन न तो हर व्यक्ति को यहां अंग्रेजी पढ़ने की जरूरत है और न अंग्रेजी को शिक्षा का माध्यम बनाना आवश्यक है। हमारी शिक्षा का माध्यम हमारी भाषाएं हों। हमारे जितने वैज्ञानिक और औद्योगिक विषयों के ग्रन्थ हैं वे हमारी भाषाओं में तैयार किये जावें ऐसा करने से हमको अपनी योजनाओं में काम करने के लिए प्रशिक्षित कर्मचारी बड़ी संख्या में उपलब्ध हो सकेंगे। लेकिन जिस समय हम अपनी द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना तैयार कर रहे हैं दुर्भाग्य से उसी समय शिक्षा मंत्रियों का सम्मेलन हुआ और उसने यह निर्णय किया। शिक्षा मंत्रियों के इस निर्णय से सारे देश में एक तहलका मच गया है। सरकार को कोई न कोई ऐसी बात करनी चाहिए कि यह तहलका दूर हो जाये।

अभी कल ही हमारी संसदीय हिन्दी परिषद् की बैठक हुई जिसमें कि आपके अध्यक्ष जी श्री अनन्तशयनम् अयंगर भी उपस्थित थे, अन्य भाषाभाषी भी थे, श्री राजभोज

आदि और भी बहुत से लोग थे। उस बैठक में हम सब ने सर्व सम्मति से एक प्रस्ताव पास किया। चूंकि इस प्रस्ताव में इस कार्य सम्बन्धी सारे उद्देश्य आ गये हैं इसलिए आपकी इजाजत से मैं इस प्रस्ताव को पढ़ देना चाहता हूं। वह प्रस्ताव इस प्रकार है :

“पिछली २ और ३ सितम्बर को शिक्षा मंत्रियों के सम्मेलन में प्रधान मंत्री और केन्द्रीय शिक्षा मंत्री ने जो भाषण दिये और सम्मेलन की ओर से जो सुझाव हिन्दी और अंग्रेजी भाषाओं के चलाने के सम्बन्ध में दिये गये, उनसे संसदीय हिन्दी परिषद् को बहुत खेद हुआ है और हिन्दी तथा अन्य देशी भाषाओं के भविष्य के सम्बन्ध में शंका उत्पन्न हुई है। इन भाषणों तथा सुझावों में इस बात पर जो बल दिया गया है कि वैज्ञानिक और औद्योगिक विषयों के लिए प्रशिक्षण की भाषा हिन्दी और भारतीय भाषाओं न रहें, किन्तु अंग्रेजी रहे और इस कारण सब विद्यार्थियों के लिए माध्यमिक कक्षाओं तथा उनसे नीचे की कक्षाओं में अंग्रेजी अनिवार्य हो, और विश्वविद्यालय की शिक्षा का माध्यम भी अंग्रेजी ही हो, यह संविधान के अभिप्राय के विरुद्ध और देश के लिए भयावह है।

संविधान के अनुसार नियुक्त भाषा आयोग के प्रतिवेदन के उपस्थित हो जाने पर भी विना प्रतिवेदन पर विचार किये हुए इस प्रकार हिन्दी और अन्य भारतीय भाषाओं तथा अंग्रेजी के सम्बन्ध में नये प्रस्ताव का लाना सर्वथा अवैधानिक और अनुचित भावना का द्योतक है।

अंग्रेजी पढ़ाने का प्रबन्ध रखना उचित है परन्तु, प्रत्येक विद्यार्थी के लिए अंग्रेजी का अध्ययन अनिवार्य करना देश की प्रगति के विरुद्ध है और विद्यार्थियों की उच्च शिक्षा में तथा उनकी भौतिक चिन्तन शक्ति के विकास में बाधा डालना है।

[सेठ गोविन्द दास]

3 P.M.

संविधान की स्वीकृति के पश्चात् बहुत से विश्वविद्यालयों ने अंग्रेजी के स्थान में हिन्दी अथवा अन्य भारतीय भाषा को अपना माध्यम बनाया है। अब नये सिरे से अंग्रेजी को उच्च शिक्षा का माध्यम बनाना तथा माध्यमिक शिक्षा में उसको अनिवार्य करना देश की और शिक्षण की प्रगति को पीछे लौटाना है। यह दृष्टिकोण माध्यमिक शिक्षा आयोग तथा विश्वविद्यालय आयोग के प्रतिवेदनों तथा पंच वर्षीय योजना के प्रस्तावित शिक्षा कार्यक्रम के भी विरुद्ध है। स्पष्ट जान पड़ता है कि इन सुझावों के सम्बन्ध में उच्च शिक्षा विशेषज्ञों से सलाह नहीं ली गयी है। वरन् उनके विचारों की अवहेलना की गयी है। साथ ही यह भी ध्यान में रखने योग्य है कि जिन बहुसंख्यक विद्यार्थियों ने हिन्दी तथा अन्य भारतीय भाषा द्वारा विश्वविद्यालयों में उच्च शिक्षा पाई है और जिनकी विशेष प्रवृत्ति अंग्रेजी भाषा की ओर नहीं रही है उनके भविष्य को शिक्षा मंत्री सम्मेलन के सुझाव अन्वकार-मय बना देते हैं।"

हिन्दी तथा अन्य भारतीय भाषाओं में वैज्ञानिक पुस्तकों की श्रद्धा से आ गयी है और आ रही है।"

Shri D. C. Sharma (Hoshiarpur): He is reading too fast; I want him to read it a little slowly.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member is speaking too fast, because he has already said all these things.

सेठ गोविन्द दास : जी नहीं, इस में कई बातें ऐसी हैं, जो मैं ने नहीं कही। अब एक ही पैराग्राफ और है, जिसे मैं पढ़ना चाहता हूँ।

"कई वर्षों से कुछ राज्यों के विश्व-विद्यालयों की परीक्षाओं का शिक्षण हिन्दी

तथा कुछ अन्य भारतीय भाषाओं द्वारा हो रहा है। आवश्यकता यह है कि देश की सर्वांगीण उन्नति के लिए हिन्दी तथा भारतीय भाषाओं में भिन्न भिन्न विषयों पर ऊंची पुस्तकों का निर्माण और प्रकाशन तीव्रता से किया जाये। रूस और चीन आदि देशों में जो इंजीनियर आदि प्रशिक्षित विद्यार्थियों की बहुसंख्या तैयार हो रही है, जिसका प्रधान मंत्री जी ने निर्देश किया है, वह इस कारण से संभव हो सकी है कि वहाँ का प्रशिक्षण अपनी भाषा द्वारा होता है, अंग्रेजी या किसी अन्य विदेश भाषा में नहीं।

हमारे देश में हिन्दी तथा अन्य भारतीय भाषा द्वारा प्रशिक्षण हो और हमारी भाषाओं में वैज्ञानिक तथा औद्योगिक साहित्य प्रचुर मात्रा में आता जाय और साथ ही अंग्रेजी भाषा की पुस्तकों का भी उपयोग अघ्यात्मकण करें, इस रीति से ही हमारा देश की वैज्ञानिक और औद्योगिक आवश्यकता का पूर्ति हो सकती है।

संमदीय हिन्दी परिषद् आशा करती है कि केन्द्रीय शासन इस शिक्षा मंत्री सम्मेलन के भाषणों और सुझावों को महत्व न देगा और अस्वीकार करेगा।

राज्य शासनों तथा विश्वविद्यालयों का इस परिषद् का सुझाव है कि वे बिना विचारे और दबाव में आ कर कोई प्रतिगामी नीति स्वीकार न करेंगे।"

मुझे अब और कुछ नहीं कहना है। मैं इस योजना की हृदय से सफलता चाहता हूँ। मैं इस योजना का अनेक अंशों में स्वागत करता हूँ और समर्थन करता हूँ। कृपालानी जी के एक मत से मैं जरूर सहमत हूँ कि जहाँ कहीं हम कुटीर उद्योगों को प्रोत्साहन दे सकें वहाँ हम बड़े बड़े कारखाने न बनायें।

अन्त में मैं एक सुझाव और देना चाहता हूँ। हम कैपिटल अर्थात् पूंजी मांगते हैं। पूंजी पर हम सभी जोर देते हैं। मेरा सुझाव यह है कि हम पूंजी की तरह श्रम भी उधार लेने का प्रबन्ध करें। हम श्रम-मुफ्त में लेने की कोशिश न करें, उधार लेने की कोशिश करें। हम इस प्रकार की कोई योजना बनावें जिस में हम श्रम को उधार ले सकें और इस योजना को कार्य रूप में परिणत कर सकें।

अन्त में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं श्री नन्दा जी के एक मत से सर्वथा सहमत हूँ कि कई ऐसी चीजें हैं जिन से हमें दलबन्दी और राजनीति को अलग रखना चाहिये, और उन को अलग रख कर हम को एक मत से काम करना चाहिये और उन का समर्थन करना चाहिये। यह बात मैं अनेक बार पहले भी कह चुका हूँ। जो देश की उन्नति के काम हैं, जैसे पंचवर्षीय योजना उन में सब दलों को इकट्ठा हो कर काम करना चाहिये। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि जिस प्रकार हम पहली योजना में सफल हुए, जब कि हमें कोई अनुभव नहीं था, अब हम को अनुभव भी हो गया है, दूसरी पंच वर्षीय योजना को, जो उस से कहीं बड़ी है, हम पांच वर्षों के स्थान पर चार वर्षों में ही सफल कर देंगे। हमारा देश इस बारे में सरकार को पूरा सहयोग देगा।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Mukerjee.

Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy (Mysore): There is no quorum.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The bell is being rung. Now there is quorum. **Shri Mukerjee.**

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta North-East): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I had an idea that on this occasion, we shall be discussing the Plan with specific reference to certain of its concrete aspects. We had a series of meetings of several committees of Members of Parliament with the Ministries of Planning and Finance and also officials of Government, and the proceedings of those meetings have been extremely helpful. I, therefore,

had an idea that on this occasion, we would try to make our discussion more objective and not speak in the vein of generalities which I have listened to so far. As a matter of fact, I must confess that I have listened to the debate with a growing disquiet and with interest sagging to nearly the point of zero. I heard the prolonged speech of my friend, the Minister of Planning; but, I got the impression that my friend Mr. Nanda's talents are exercised so often on this subject that we are beginning to have diminishing returns. Then, I heard my respected friend to the left, Acharya Kripalani, as near to a philosophical anarchist as I have met in my time, throwing out a number of very valuable suggestions, but at the same time demonstrating a certain distortion in his angle of vision and a sublime indifference to certain problems of real life which we might like to wish away, but which nevertheless are there. Therefore, I confess I am in a quandary and that the sonorous words of my friend, Seth Govind Das, who followed, did not come to me as balm on an anguished soul. Anyhow, I shall try to confine myself to certain specific aspects of the Plan; but, since the Prime Minister happily for all of us is here, perhaps on account of the accident of the quorum bell having been rung, I would like to refer to what he has said in a rather unusual alliterative vein yesterday, about "discouragement, despair and doubt" that some critics of the Plan, according to him, are planting in the minds of our people. I say, Sir, that as a matter of fact the Plan has been welcomed by almost all sections of our people and its professed objectives are such that nobody can really object to it. On the contrary, I should think Government ought to be gratified with the reception which has been given to the Plan and with the assiduous co-operation which all parties and groups in this House and in the country have offered Government in regard to the specific provisions of the Plan.

At the same time, there is no doubt—the Prime Minister is a very acute observer—there is discouragement in

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the country because I expect that just as the British working classes could not be fed on indefinitely with the prospect of "pie in the sky when you die," so our people cannot be fed on a "fundamental" right, the unlimited right of expectation; they want, at the same time, the right of at least partial fulfilment in the time that we can foresee of our expectations and in view of the situation being as dark and as dismal and as disappointing as it was, it appears to me, there is some sense of discouragement in the country and there is despair also because, as we have seen so often, in this House particularly, there is diehard dependence on the dead wood of bureaucracy which is outmoded in the democratic context of our times. Naturally there is despair in this House and we are often in despair because we find the old outmoded bureaucratic methods of work continue and there is, of course, doubt because sometimes we have our misgivings, the people have their misgivings—we might be a bunch of trouble shooters who don't matter in the country, but the people as a whole have their misgivings—and they ask: does Government really mean business? Why is it that our living conditions are attacked? Why is it that food prices are sky-rocketing high? Why is it that the price of the poor man's cloth is going up which not even the Finance Minister could justify with the kind of gusto which he would normally have put on when he made first appearance as Finance Minister in this House? Therefore, there is in the country, discouragement, despair and doubt. But we want to see that all put their shoulders to the wheel so that the Plan, whose professed objectives are good, can really be pursued successfully and effectively and it is in that spirit that I participate in this discussion.

The first matter to which I would like to make reference is in regard to land. Now, 69.8 per cent. of our population, according to the 1951 census, depend on land and nearly half our

national output is derived from agricultural and allied pursuits. Naturally, therefore, it is very important that we try to find out how the Plan is going to assist the solution of our problem of land.

Here, we find that certain astonishing formulations are made in the Plan even though there are many unexceptionable things also in the Plan in the chapter on land. At one point the Plan says:

"The scope for increasing the area under cultivation is extremely limited."

This is a surprising statement considering the fact that there are over 111 million acres of waste land and 68 million acres of fallow land available for cultivation in the country; not all of them might be requisitioned here straightaway, but surely that must be in the calculation of Government and I think when Government talks about increase in food production it does have such an idea in mind but I find this kind of statement in the Plan.

Then I want to refer to the fact that at the moment a delegation from our country, including some Members of Parliament and Government officials, have gone to China to study the condition of things there with special reference to co-operatives and I wish that the makers of the Plan tried and got some real lessons from what is happening in China. I say this because India and China both have a familiar pattern under-developed economy with low levels of production, very low per capita income and so on and so forth. Now, if in China they have done certain things, there is no reason why we cannot do a similar job.

For example, I find that in China with only 7.6 per cent. allocation for agriculture, they plan to achieve a target of 23.3 per cent. increase in output, while we, with an allotment of 21.9 per cent. for agriculture, hope

to achieve only 18 per cent. increase in output. Maybe the reason for it is to be found in the fact that the programme of China's agricultural development provides, among other things, that 85 per cent. of all the present freeholds would be mobilised into agricultural producers' co-operatives by the end of this year.

Now, as far as we are concerned, there is a reference to producers' co-operatives in the Plan but there is not that real emphasis on having producers' co-operatives in the country because I am sure unless we have this kind of producers' co-operatives and unless we have governmental agencies co-operating with producers' co-operatives, we cannot produce the results that we need, as far as agriculture is concerned. In China, therefore, the basic executive agency for agricultural production is the agricultural co-operative assisted by the State with funds and technical knowledge and I want the Planning Commission and other apparatus of Government to look into this aspect of the matter.

In the Second Plan report, we find also reference to the objective of land reform. This is a very welcome statement. We do want land reform very badly, fundamental land reform. But actually when it comes down to brass tacks what the Plan recommends is that certain methods should be adopted—planning of use of land, determination of targets, linking of development programmes, Government assistance to production targets and an appropriate price policy. Those reflect the programme set by the Plan. In other words, to achieve the Plan targets of production, Government propose to rely mainly on those administrative services and technical improvements, that is, the allotment of land between food crops and cash crops and orchards etc., irrigation facilities, use of fertilizers, incentive in the shape of price fixation, price support etc. and the credit policy. It is necessary, however, that in the calculation of the Plan you should have directly and most intimately the interests of the mass of the peasantry. But the mobilisation of the mass of

the peasantry in the pursuit of this Plan for land reform programme and the programme for agricultural and allied production is something which is entirely lacking as far as this Plan is concerned, except for a few platitudinous pronouncements which are made here and there, and I think that is the reason why we cannot increase production as China has apparently been able to do. This is also perhaps the reason why there is so much confusion in governmental circles in regard to the actual quantum of improvement in agricultural production which we are going to expect and that is why different statements were put out by my hon. friend, Dr. Deshmukh, by Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain and by the Prime Minister himself and by some other agencies and then at the Mussoorie Conference there was hullabaloo and there was a babel of voices. One never knew exactly where Government stood. I am sure the reason for this is that Government does not quite know how exactly this improvement is going to happen.

Even now Mr. Nanda seems to think that there might be increase in production of a very substantial nature but, of course, certain allocations, additional allocations, may be necessary. He is trying to put it in very diplomatic language while, perhaps, certain other departments of the Ministry are asking for Rs. 120 crores here and now. I do not know the actual position, but as far as this is concerned, this kind of confusion is there in the Plan and in Government pronouncements.

I wish also to point out that wastage and corruption have been referred to by certain people, like the two engineers, Mr. S. N. Joshi and Prof. B. N. Dhekney, who referred to the report that in Bundelkhand the cost of contour bunding would be Rs. 470 per acre while in Bombay State, where conditions were not very different, the cost would be Rs. 40 to Rs. 60 per acre. I cannot judge the accuracy of this kind of allegation but it does seem that there is wide disparity in expenditure and Government should try to look into this matter.

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Then, again, as I have said before, specialised agencies are not so important as mobilisation of the people, particularly, mobilisation of the enthusiasm of agricultural labour. Now, in regard to agricultural labour, the Plan is very pessimistic because I find the report saying on page 315 that one-fourth to one-third of the existing labour force in agriculture may be surplus to its requirements. As a matter of fact, in regard to agricultural labour, therefore, the expectations of the Plan are not particularly auspicious.

In connection with this, I want also to refer to what I find in the Eastern Economist of the 31st August, 1956, where it is reported that Prof. Dantwala, former convener of the Ceilings on Holdings Sub-Committee of the Planning Commission's Panel on Land Reforms, has lately published some accusations and he says,

"..... both in regard to security of tenure and reasonable rents, the provisions of legislations are almost a dead letter."

He adds:

"It is estimated that there have been more evictions in the last ten years than in the previous hundred years. The Planning Commission, however, has chosen to avoid highlighting of these facts, obviously for political reasons."

May be, Prof. Dantwala has his own reasons for putting out certain allegations. At the same time, maybe, he wants to say that land legislation itself is bad and that it cannot be operated. But, if in trying to criticise land legislation—and he is a responsible person who has held responsible offices under the aegis of Government—he says that whatever land legislation has happened, has remained almost a dead letter, and in the last ten years there have been more evictions than in the previous 100 years, and if the reports that reach us show how evictions are happening all over the place how in spite of warnings of

the Prime Minister against evictions, these evictions go on just as merrily as ever before, then certainly, the situation is extremely bad and I want the Planning Commission and the Government to take note of this matter.

I would turn from this to the question of employment. Actually, agrarian unemployment is one of the most agonising features of our life in our country. Sixteen per cent of agricultural workers had no wage earning employment at all during a year according to the Second Five Year Plan. Rural unemployment is a matter which is of an excruciating character. In regard to urban unemployment, we have been given statistics recently collected by the National Sample Survey. According to the National Sample Survey Eighth report, to which Prof. Mahalanobis writes a foreword, I find he estimates the total unemployment in the urban areas to be something like 5 million. In the absence of unemployment benefits, the urgency of the problem can only be imagined. Therefore, I wish that the Government comes forward with a really tangible plan in regard to the co-ordination of heavy industries and allied aspects of the programme as well as the encouragement to development of handicrafts and small and cottage industries. I am sorry, Acharya Kripalani has left. But, he has been hammering this over and over again. Every time he opens his lips in this House, he says, you have to do something about handicrafts, you have to do something about cottage industries and so on. He puts it on the plank of principle. He says I stand for Gandhian ideals and you are betraying Gandhian ideals. He is certainly entitled to his views. But, I think he is very right in one sense, that is, large numbers of our people who are engaged in occupations which perhaps do not fit in with your conception of modern economic life, cannot be thrown over to the scrap heap, and something must be done to help them. Why not Government try

to do something? Government has not made up its mind. There must be some ways and means to secure co-existence between development of industries on a large scale and maintenance of employment as far as the present levels go and handicrafts and small and cottage industries. I do not know, for example, why there is so little arrangement made for the marketing of our handicraft products. I can tell you, for example, last year, we had the International Industries Fair and from every country in the world, there was a demand expressed by the representatives of those countries who were here. They would jump at the idea of getting the handicrafts produced in India. Perhaps the most popular stall in the whole of the fair was the Indian handicrafts stall. But, I have heard answers to questions on the floor of the House where it is said that in the International fairs, we really do not try to push up the sale of handicrafts. Now, so many countries are coming forward to eat off our hands, so to speak, they want to make friends with us, they want to enter into economic relations with us, and I do not see why we do not try to push up our sale of handicrafts in a larger measure than it is being done today. You go and open in Delhi in Queensway or Connaught Circus an expensive shop, where the common man cannot even walk into because everything is so costly. It is supposed to be in keeping with Gandhian traditions. But, it is no good trying to sell these things to our people here who cannot afford to buy them, except people at the top level. You can try to sell many of these goods, handicrafts of all sorts including even toys and get a large amount of foreign exchange as a result. Therefore, I feel that some kind of effort, a real, serious, thinking effort should be made by the Government in order to co-ordinate the emphasis on heavy industries which must be there, which have got even to be accelerated more than it is in the Plan at present, and the co-existence alongside of it, for the time being, at any rate, of cottage and small industries.

This reminds me how in regard to small industries of a different sort, a contribution to industrial production can be made by the small undertakings like what we find in the Howrah region of West Bengal. We find machine tools of all sorts and all kinds of gadgets being manufactured by these small factories. They are in a bad way and we do not try to assist them in the way in which in the Plan period, people have a right to expect.

Then, I would turn to Education. In regard to Education, it is very peculiar that the Government shows its particular predilection for certain fads, its obvious inability to realise that education and health are matters which are not extraneous to the problem of economic and other kinds of development. We all know how in the directive principles of State policy, the goal set in the Constitution is that in ten years time, children in the age group of 6 to 14 shall have the advantage of education. The proportion of children in the age group of 6 to 14 years at school has risen from 32 before the First Plan to 40 per cent at the end of the First Plan and is likely to increase to 49 per cent by the end of the Second Plan. The Planning Commission's report says in page 503 that this statement gives all-India figures, but the position varies considerably between the States and in many States the averages are much lower than those for all India. Therefore, the position in many States is much worse than what is vouched by the fact that by end of the Second Plan, 49 per cent of the children of School-going age would have the advantage of education. Government does not seem to be worried much about it. Government is worried more about, let us say, prohibitions. Prohibition is a good thing, and as far as I am concerned, I am willing to support it all the way. But, you must have your priorities. You must have a sense of proportion. What is the good of our rushing ahead with the programme of prohibition when there is no real basic popular urge for that policy? Only because you have certain fads, do you want to pursue that?

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You pursue prohibition at the cost of education and health. This is something which I find very difficult to condemn in words which would be adequate to the situation.

I am sorry, I have to rush from one to the other. In regard to health, I find that there has, of course, been some improvement. For example, the number of beds for tuberculosis has increased from about 5,000 to 20,000 during the First Plan period, and shall increase to 40,000 during the Second Plan. This was stated by the Health Minister some time ago. But there is a calculation of Dr. A. C. Ukil who was the President of the All-India Medical Conference that for West Bengal alone there should be 50,000 beds and at least five after-care centres.

Then we are told that at the end of the Second Plan there is expected to be 90,000 doctors, 80,000 nurses 80,000 midwives, 20,000 health visitors and 143,000 hospital beds. This was for a population of nearly 400 million. Now, to get back our sense of proportion, we should recall that the Shore Committee in 1946 had thought that the minimum necessary was 185,000 doctors, 740,000 nurses, 100,000 midwives, 74,000 health visitors and some 400,000 beds. In the Plan Government provides only 5.5 per cent for health purposes while as a matter of fact the demand has been that there should be at least ten per cent of the Union Government's revenue allocated for health. Here again this question of priorities comes up and you have to find money for this kind of nation-building activity without which whatever else you do cannot possibly enthuse the people.

I shall turn from this to something quite different and that is the question of transport. About this transport, of course the main factor is the railways, but I feel that unless we can step up the efficiency of our railways, unless as in war time we keep our wagons moving, unless we can check bottlenecks, in the railway operational system, unless we find out

ways and means of covering up the gap which at present is alleged to exist of about 17 million tons or so which the railways do not know how they should move about, unless, that is to say, there is a definite improvement in the operational efficiency of the railways, we cannot do very much. And for that purpose it is necessary first and foremost to have the willing co-operation, the enthusiastic co-operation of the railwaymen. I know that I shall be told that there are trouble-shooters all over the place and things are happening here, there and everywhere, but actually, as a matter of fact, Government itself has admitted in answers to questions in this House that Government wanted as a matter of policy, of principle, to secure their co-operation, to associate the railwaymen in the working of the administration. But they have not yet been able to work out how they should do it, and I suppose some delegations would go abroad in order to find out how railwaymen are associated with the administration. This is most amazing.

A similar thing happens in another Department. The Post and Telegraph workers with whose movement many Members of this House are associated, have been offering every time, even when they make militant demands and all that sort of thing, co-operation in the work of fulfilling the targets of the Plan, in over-fulfilling them enthusiastically and so on and so forth provided they feel the glow in their hearts, provided they get some kind of advantage which they think is legitimately their due, but Government cannot work out the ways and means of securing the co-operation of these people. Now, what is the good of talking about people not coming forward to co-operate in the fulfilment of the targets of the Plan when your own workers in the railways and in the postal services are offering their co-operation and they are being shown the door, they are being given the order of the boot? This is the kind of thing which is happening.

Then again, I do not know why in regard to road transport we have not reached anywhere near even the Nagpur target which was fixed in 1943, and from the Plan report we do not quite know as to how the transport requirements are going to be organised. For example, we can go through the chapter on transport in the Second Five Year Plan without getting to know either what is the probable size of the total transport needed for the next five years or how this total is to be distributed between the railways, the roadways, the inland waterways and so on and so forth. We do not even possess figures or statistics in regard to that. I am sure the Planning Commission can get this kind of statistics and I wish that the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Planning take the Members of this House into confidence as they did in a somewhat niggardly fashion in the discussions to which I referred in the beginning of my speech. If there is a continuous series of co-operative discussion between the Government and ourselves, then surely we can get to know some of those facts, we can get to know and appreciate even some of the Government's difficulties and then we can, suggest certain ways and means, tangible, concrete steps which can be adopted in order to get over the difficulties of the situation. Now perhaps we shall have some improvement in the motor vehicles legislation, maybe there would be some encouragement given to inland transport, but I want that there should be a co-ordinated attempt to see that rail, road and inland waterways transport are all made to be mobilised together in the interests of the Plan and the development of our economy.

This reminds me also of what I read sometimes ago about bullock carts in our country which still continue to carry a very large proportion of the total load which has to be moved from place to place, and I read also that if you attach rubber tyres to these bullock carts then their efficiency can be multiplied. In those areas where without bullock cart you are

completely frozen so to speak, you cannot move about—and those areas happen to be very large areas in our country—surely something should be done about it. I want to find out what research work is being done by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research or by whichever other agency it might be, and what efforts are being made by the relevant Ministries to see to it that, our country being still, fortunately for Acharya Kripalani or unfortunately for the rest of us, a bullock cart country, we utilise it as efficiently as we possible can at this present moment. In regard to inland waterways also so much remains to be done and I feel that we have been given no indication on this point.

About the ports in our country, I wish to speak especially about Calcutta port. I do not know why in regard to a matter like the Ganga Barrage we should continue to be told, as I find from the proceedings of one of the committees on planning, the international complications are standing in the way. If there are insuperable international complications, we should be taken into confidence and perhaps in regard to Pakistan certain steps might have to be adopted in order to bring about a more friendly atmosphere. And sometimes I have a feeling—I wish the Prime Minister was here—that if we offer Pakistan a kind of what they call in German Zollverein, that is a customs union, so that we can bring about a general development of the economies of our two countries and the present objection on the part of Pakistan to certain common developmental projects and certain other problems which agitate and vitiate the relations between ourselves might also be helped to be healed.

The Calcutta port situation is bad because the river there requires dredging all the time. It is an expensive operation, it is an expert operation and many of those who do

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

the dredging are not Indian nationals even now I understand, and the result is that unless you keep Calcutta port in a going condition, the port which is the largest in the country, the port which is going to handle 4,000 tons of steel every day according to Government in 1957 will be in disrepair. Why do you not have a satellite port at Sagar as Shri Narasimhan suggested in the committee or at Geonkhali as some others have suggested? Why can you not try to bring about an improvement, let us say, in the deltaic region of the Sunderbans so that you can make that area what it was meant to be, the rice bowl of the country, a productive area, and settle many of those refugees who want rehabilitation, and why can you not link that up with the establishment of a satellite port for Calcutta which is absolutely necessary? So, in regard to Calcutta port, if the Ganga Barrage cannot be pursued at the present moment, there must be certain other steps which you should take and I think the question of a satellite port either at Sagar or at Geonkhali should receive very serious consideration.

I have been told also that in regard to the other minor ports, a great deal could be done straightaway. And I learn that Government has promised that there would be a road between Bombay and Cape Comorin very soon. Between Bombay and Goa, there are about twenty minor ports: If we had road communication between Bombay and the furthest south of the country, and if we develop these minor ports which are on the way, then, surely, we can do a great deal in order to help solve the transport problems of our land.

I am reaching perhaps the end of my tether, as far as time is concerned. So, I shall refer only to one other aspect, and that is what I have hinted before, namely the question of popular participation.

Now, I would like to give you a few figures which show how the emphasis of Government is still on the red tape, still on the bureaucratic apparatus. I am reading from the chapter on community development and national extension in the *Second Five Year Plan*. The Prime Minister, wherever he goes, says that the community development projects are a revolution in themselves. He says it everywhere. We should all be very happy, if, without our knowing it, a wonderful revolution has happened in large areas of our country. But I take him on trust that a revolution has happened; it is only that it escapes me.

But I find here that in order to bring about this revolution, you have tentatively defined a programme of expenditure of Rs. 200 crores for community development and national extension centres. And the first item, the largest item which eats up more than a quarter of the total expense is personnel and equipment—block headquarters. For personnel and equipment, you have Rs. 52 crores, out of a total expenditure of Rs. 200 crores. Why should this happen?

I find here a speech made by the President of the Indian Medical Conference at Jaipur in December 1955, where he says that money is being wasted in the buildings of sumptuous structures, while we should not do it. He suggests, and it is a very sound suggestion, that:

"That general tendency in our country today is to design big buildings and sink most of the available money in brick and mortar, leaving very little balance to discharge the functions. Cheaper structures enough to last for fifteen to twenty years, by which time India would be able to replace them by more stately and durable buildings should be designed by those specially trained for the purpose."

Why can we not wait for some time? Till we have got our industry, heavy industry, our machine-building industry, till we are really industrialised, why do we go on putting up enormous structures? And we know what structures are like, these days.

I happened to hear about this very building which cost us a shipload of money, not very long ago, that there are some chinks, there are some very weak spots, and the Library, for example, has been warned that the book-load should not be too much, because, otherwise, this enormous building which was built may not last. These days, we build structures which do not last. Our ancestors, two thousand years ago and more, have built structures which are still there for all the world to see. But we build contraptions which are neither aesthetically satisfying nor structurally efficient, and yet we spend money like water, and we have to wait for cement, for steel, for this, that and the other thing. Why can we not stop this kind of business?

You are spending Rs. 62 crores out of Rs. 200 crores for community development projects, on the item of personnel and equipment. Similarly, I find that in regard to education, you have not got money for education, because you are spending money for your staff, for God knows, what kind of bureaucratic necessity.

I shall give you some figures now. In the First Plan, elementary education got Rs. 93 crores. There are some other figures given, but I need not mention them. 'Administration and miscellaneous' got Rs. 11 crores. In the Second Plan, which is supposed to be a great improvement, we are spending Rs. 89 crores on elementary education, but Rs. 57 crores on 'Administration and miscellaneous'. This is absolutely the last straw. This kind of expenditure, this kind of wasteful extravagance, this kind of playing ducks and drakes with the money of the people, talking in

terms of crores, which to most of our people is inconceivable, and at the same time, not going ahead with those programmes of re-construction which are absolutely necessary, is something which must be said good-bye to. This is something which must be eliminated.

I am told, for example, that people make their *shramdan*. You go to the people; you make an idealistic appeal, and they give their labour. And after the *shramdan*, they perhaps build some kind of an improvised road; but you do not link it up with other roads, so that that road can really be efficient, I know of a certain place where people are shouting for a kind of flag-station, and they say, you, railways, would not have the money for it, we shall make *shramdan*, we shall give our labour, we shall build the ramshackle construction which you need for a flag-station. But there is no response, because the people's enthusiasm, when you rouse it, is treated with impunity, is treated with not only some indifference, but with something like contempt.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I have also rung the bell twice, but there is no response.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I wish to refer also to another matter, and that is that very often, we are lectured that we do not offer as much of co-operation and helpful participation as we should. But at the same time, we discover that certain organisation which are almost entirely—why almost? entirely—in the pocket of the governing party, like the Bharat Sewak Samaj, for example, are there. I have nothing to say against the Bharat Sewak Samaj. Possibly, it is doing very good work. I do not say that a Congressman ceases to be an idealist. I do not say that at all. There are many Congressmen who are doing very good social service. But the Bharat Sewak Samaj is an adjunct to the Congress movement, say what anybody will on the matter that there is no such thing.

Shri D. C. Sharma: No.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: My hon. friend Shri D. C. Sharma dissents, but it is very necessary that ways and means are found out for the co-operation of all elements.

I shall give you one example. Take the case of rehabilitation. I ask the Deputy Minister of Planning who is here to go to Sealdah station. Shri Mehr Chand Khanna is not here. So, I shall ask my hon. friend the Deputy Minister of Planning what the position there is. I was in Sealdah station lately, because I was told the refugees were being herded like—God knows what kind of animals. There I stood at the enquiry counter, because there was no room anywhere else, and I got a piece of paper almost as dirty as this, and I wrote a letter in hell-hot anger—those were my exact words—to Shri Mehr Chand Khanna telling him what I saw. And I was told that in regard to the rehabilitation of refugees, political parties, and non-political organisations are all willing to come and offer you co-operation, but Government does not take it.

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty (Basirhat): Government have refused it.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: In that very area in Sealdah station, medical assistance was not being given to people, and water was not being supplied to refugees from East Bengal, who live in a land of water, who bathe ten times a day; water was not being given to them. Medical assistance was not being given. There were organisations willing to help, but they would not get the facilities, because Government imagines that these organisations are going to exploit the misery of the people for their own political objectives. It is all very well for Government to exploit the miseries of the people for Government's political objectives, but it is only when other political organisations come into the picture that Government takes up a sanctimonious attitude and stops the co-operation of people.

I have seen, for example, Shri Ramachandra Reddi, organising at Nellore important social service, the eye operation of hundreds and hundreds of poor people who came from different parts of Andhra, and I know how far Government co-operation was or was not forthcoming, when Shri Ramachandra Reddi was trying to organise that particular service.

So, as I referred already to the question of the railways and the P. and T. employees, I should say that when Government talks about popular participation in the fulfilment of the Plan, Government surely does not mean what it says. If Government really wants popular participation, let it follow up its professions. It is a good thing, as I have said before, that Government has begun to take M.P.'s. of different parties into some kind of confidence over the operation of the Plan. Let that process be improved upon, and let the popular participation of different sections of our people be really and truly ensured.

It is necessary, therefore, for me only to emphasise that we must prepare our country, psychologically and technically and that we must not merely talk about a sense....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member should conclude now.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I shall finish presently. We should not merely talk of a sense of purpose from our upholstered comfort in New Delhi. We should try and see that conditions at least begin to change.

So much is said about Buddha Jayanti from time to time. This being the Buddha Jayanti year, let us remember that the Buddha left his home and gave himself to contemplation not in order to get bodhi for himself, not in order to get enlightened for his own sake, but in order to find out the answer to the problem of suffering. That problem of suffering has been almost the eternal companion of the Indian people, and

that problem has got to be solved and surmounted in our own fashion, certainly, but with that kind of exhilaration which it is necessary that we begin to feel. But we won't feel that exhilaration unless Government is really serious. I say this particularly because certain interests are sharpening their weapons.

Only the other day big money interests represented by the Chairman of the Tata industrial family said openly that his firm was going to finance political personalities, pro-Congress and independent elements, who would look after big money interests.

That is the atmosphere in which we live and that is why Government, if it really means business, should try to translate some of its professions into practice. Therefore, I suggest that some tangible progress is made, some objective, concrete improvement visible to the people in the near future is guaranteed, and then and then only can you light that glow of happiness and enthusiasm in the minds of our people, without which this adventure of the Plan cannot possibly succeed.

Shri D. C. Sharma: I do not think Shri Tata said that he was financing pro-Congress people.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Why does he protest so much?

Shri C. E. Narasimhan (Krishnagiri): It is a happy augury that when we are discussing the Plan, the various State loans have resulted in great success. Most of the loans have been over-subscribed. That shows that there is not only public co-operation but even public confidence.

Someone was saying that there was despair here and there. I do not believe it for a moment. I just remember what happened about a month ago when the Deputy Minister of Planning, Shri S. N. Mishra, visited my district. There, near the place which is fairly well known to irrigation engineering circles, near Mettur a new canal was opened to irrigate

50,000 acres of dry land. Water is already flowing. The people who were accustomed to only dry cultivation and frequent periods of drought, are now having the sacred water of the Cauveri river to irrigate 50,000 acres of their land. Should we not consider this as a silent revolution? Actually their way of life has changed. Dry cultivation is one thing. Wet cultivation is another. Now people have to get ready for wet cultivation.

I feel that this is really a silent revolution. It has commenced, and we need not be hoping for some intimation or news item to tell us that the silent revolution has taken place. We have to feel it. The people near Mettur are actually feeling it. Shri Mishra will bear me out when I say that the whole people are full of enthusiasm. They had gathered in crowds and were standing at very risky points just to witness the happy event.

Therefore, it won't be right to imagine that there is despair here and there or that there is no co-operation or confidence.

Similarly, I can cite another instance in my own constituency. It was a year and a half ago when another project of very ordinary size, a two-crore project, was commenced. It was started with a good message from the Planning Minister. The Chief Minister of Madras laid the foundation stone, and thousands of people had gathered there, in order to participate in this function. It was not like the other function which I referred to previously, when actually water was diverted into a new channel. This was just laying of the foundation stone of a project which is not yet complete, a third of which is complete but which the engineers there hope to complete before time.

What does this mean? It means that the people are hopeful and optimistic. They see things being done, brick by brick being laid. Thousands of people come and see that. It has become a regular feature, though it is

[Shri C. R. Narasimhan]

a very small thing; it is nothing compared to Bhakra Nangal or any other big scheme. This has created hope for the simple reason that they have taken up a new project. Everybody in the south was familiar only with one or two big projects. But here is a project on the South Pannar river consisting of two schemes. Naturally, the people feel a new hope.

Therefore, it is very wrong to imagine that we have not justified the confidence which the people have placed in us or that things are not moving. Things are moving. A silent revolution has actually taken place, and people are ready for it.

As for the Plan itself, there is no gainsaying the fact that our planners have been foresighted. The very fact that great schemes for the development and peaceful uses of atomic energy and large-scale schemes for oil exploration are afoot, shows that we are planning not only for the immediate present but for the future also. It also shows the confidence we have in ourselves. Even though we are on the eve of the elections, we are not eager to produce immediate results and just make the people feel that we have done something, and then catch their votes. On the other hand, we are keen on building a solid foundation, though we take the risk of displeasing people by not having shown great success in front of them here and now.

We are having large-scale projects for oil exploration and atomic energy and there is no knowing when these are going to come to fruition and benefit us. But still we know we are in the atomic age. We also know that for economic independence we must have our own fuel, particularly petrol. We are, therefore, going with an all-out programme in these matters. This clearly shows that our planners have a very farsighted view of things, and they are functioning rightly. Particularly to areas of the south which are water-starved and fuel-starved, atomic energy is bound to be very

important in the future. Luckily we have monazite from which thorium is produced. If and when the experiments with reactors become a success and if it is proved that power can be developed through atomic energy, it will play a great part to enrich the areas there.

Coming to my own State, it is a matter of great satisfaction that the planners have agreed to push up the lignite project which involves an expenditure of about Rs. 70 crores. This is the principal scheme for the south, for the Madras State, in the Second Plan, and if only it succeeds, the soundest foundation for that part of the country would have been laid. Thereafter, it is easy for that area to move forward on its own volition. Once the fuel problem is solved, allied industries are bound to follow and not much planning will be needed thereafter. The people will be their own planners and enterprising people will start industries and the south Madras State particularly, is bound to take care of itself. The initial start having been given with the lignite project by the planners, there is every hope for the south in this respect.

It is also a matter of gratification that in my own district, they have promised to start a bauxite factory for the production of aluminium, which is going to play a very great part in our Second Plan.

While all this is really promising, there is just one little complaint that I have to make. When they have done all this for the Madras State, in the matter of lignite and bauxite, the problem of transport has not been properly attended to. It is not enough to have all these schemes. We are all familiar with the expression that the Plan is a perspective Plan and we should see it far ahead. We are going to spend Rs. 28 crores on lignite and Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 crores on this bauxite scheme but the strength of the particular area in the matter of railway is a big drawback.

4-0 P.M.

[SHRI BARMAN in the Chair]

It is no good having all these schemes and forgetting the railway problem affecting that area. The railway capacity of the Neiveli area known as the lignite area and the Salem area, which is known as the bauxite area should be strengthened considerably. There is bound to be good trade between this area and the Bangalore area. For this a new line is necessary. But the Railways have been toying with the idea of having a railway line between Salem and Bangalore. Nothing has been done except having a survey and that survey too is not going on as it should. I am very disappointed about this and I hope the Ministers, both the Planning Minister and the Railway Minister will appreciate this and see that the matter of railways is also taken up in right time along with these schemes. There is no good in isolating these schemes and trying to do something. Otherwise, it may mean failure. In the case of the iron and steel plants, they have given priority for railways in the Second Plan. In the case of the lignite and bauxite schemes of the south also this priority should be given and they should also get proper attention.

Shri B. S. Murthy: In Andhra also.

Shri C. R. Narasimhan: When your turn comes you can plead for Andhra; I will plead for mine.

Shri B. S. Murthy: Because his father knows Telugu also, I am asking him to support the claim of Andhra also.

Shri C. R. Narasimhan: If any area gets, then he must be satisfied because he thinks my area is the same as Andhra.

Mr. Chairman: But there was a time when there was no difference between you and him.

Shri C. R. Narasimhan: In this particular case, it is not a very complicated matter at all. There were 100 miles of dismantled line and they have not been restored even though it is so many since the war concluded. If only Government approaches the matter in a sympathetic spirit they can easily solve the problem, the problem of the restoration of the dismantled lines and the building or laying of new lines for the projects, if you combine them and arrive at a solution.

In the matter of exploitation of natural resources even small things have been forgotten. People have been captivated by big and romantic ideas. Take the case of the windmills. If only proper development of the windmills in the areas where there is lot of wind throughout the year is undertaken, every village can have its own windmill owned in a co-operative manner by the village and some amount of electricity can be got there. This will mean *swavalambhan* or self-sufficiency of the villages concerned. I do not think enough tempo has been given to the windmill programme. There is some scheme and the usual way for Government is to appoint a committee. No one knows about the committee, not even members of the committee. They do, probably, forget that they have been appointed to such a committee, because there are other committees of which they are members. When there are a number of committees, some committees go into oblivion. I think the Council of Scientific Research should be asked as to what is happening to the windmill programme.

Another thing that I would suggest is that a Mathematical Research Institute should be started. Several Research Institutes have been started. I am told by eminent mathematicians of the country that a Mathematical Research Institute is necessary. Here there is good talent and at present they have no particular way of utilising that talent. Mathematics is supposed to be the Queen of sciences.

[Shri C. R. Narasimhan]

Modern sciences including atomic energy cannot proceed without higher mathematics. Therefore, a little more attention should be paid and a regular and thoroughgoing Research Institute should be started for mathematical research.

Another thing that Government should do is to have a Nautical Museum so as to develop research in the matter of evolving proper ships for use in the high seas as well as in the internal waterways.

Finally, I must congratulate the Planning Commission and the Minister for Planning in having incorporated a Resolution, which was passed by this House on prohibition, in the final draft of the Plan. The Lok Sabha passed a Resolution that prohibition should become an integral part of the Second Five Year Plan and that nationwide prohibition should be enforced as speedily as possible. This was accepted by the Government and it was incorporated in the Second Five Year Plan. I hope Government will not lose interest in the matter and will see that the same is implemented. Otherwise, crores of rupees that we are going to put into the pockets of the people—I may say astronomical figures—will be mis-spent unless we properly implement it. Drink is a difficult thing to tackle and we find it hard to manage even now, when things are bad. If we do not take steps to control it, it would become much worse when more money goes into the pockets of the people. This should be very well remembered and positive steps should be taken to enforce nationwide prohibition.

श्रीमती शिवराजवती नेहरू (जिला लखनऊ—मध्य) : यह द्वितीय योजना हमारे देश के विचारशील धर्म शास्त्रियों के सुझावों का परिणाम है, जिसमें इन्होंने देश के विकास व उन्नति का कोई पहेलू ऐसा नहीं छोड़ा जिस पर दृष्टि न डाली हो। फिर भी सदस्यों को अपने विचार व्यक्त करने का अवसर दिया

गया है इस कारण मैं अपने कुछ विचार रखने का साहस करती हूँ।

देश की आर्थिक प्रगति के लिये शिक्षा का बड़ा महत्व है। आज हमारे देश के शिक्षा शास्त्री इस राय पर पहुँचे हैं कि इस लक्ष्य को प्राप्त करना है तो देश में बेसिक या बुनियादी पद्धति की शिक्षा प्रारम्भिक व जूनियर स्कूलों में दी जाय और यह अनुमान है कि द्वितीय योजना के अन्त तक देश में बेसिक स्कूलों की संख्या ३८ हजार और छात्रों की संख्या ६३ प्रतिशत हो जायगी।

पिछली योजना में प्राइमरी या प्रारम्भिक शिक्षा के लिये ६३ करोड़ रुपये रक्खे गए थे। यह बड़े अचम्भे की बात है कि द्वितीय योजना में बजाय बढ़ाने के ४ करोड़ रुपया और कम कर दिया गया जबकि यह मान लिया गया है कि छात्र संख्या में अब पूर्व से वृद्धि हो गई है।

इन प्रारम्भिक व जूनियर स्कूलों में भी लड़कियों की संख्या बहुत कम है। इसका एक कारण यह भी है कि लड़कियों के लिये स्कूल बहुत कम हैं। विशेषकर डिस्ट्रिक्ट में तो इनकी बहुत कमी है। सरकार का जो शिफ्ट सिस्टम का विचार है कि एक ही स्कूल में बालक व बालिकाएं बारी से पढ़ सकें वह बहुत ठीक है और उसको तुरन्त लागू करना चाहिये।

सरकार ने यह निश्चय किया था कि १० वर्ष के अन्दर वह प्रत्येक १४ वर्ष तक के बालकों के लिये देश में निःशुल्क व अनिवार्य शिक्षा कर देगी। परन्तु मुझको यह पढ़कर दुख हुआ कि इस द्वितीय योजना में इस सम्बन्ध में भी (इफ) या अग्रर भ्रा गया और यह लिखा है "साधनों के सीमित होने पर ही इसको पूरा करने की चेष्टा की जायगी वरन् इस लक्ष्य को प्राप्त वीसरी योजना के अन्त तक की जा सकती है"।

योजना बनाने वालों की यह शुभसमाधान है कि हमारे देश का कोई भी गांव जिसकी

आवादी ५०० हो बिना बुनियादी स्कूल के न रहे। परन्तु यह स्कूल तभी कायम हो सकते हैं जब इनके लिये ट्रेड शिक्षक उपयुक्त मात्रा में हों जो क्लॉस्ट इत्यादि भी जानते हों।

केन्द्रीय सरकार अभी १५००० टीचर्स को ट्रेनिंग देने पर केवल विचार ही कर रही है और जब तक इस का प्रबन्ध हो पाएगा तब तक योजना के ५ वर्षों का भी अन्त हो जायगा।

यह अघ्यापक देश का भविष्य बनाने वाले हैं क्योंकि बालकों को चरित्रवान बनाना उनके हाथ है, परन्तु हमारे देश में प्राग्भिक शिक्षा के अघ्यापकों को एक मजदूर चपरासी से भी वेतन कम मिलता है व उनका कोई स्टेटस है न आदर सम्मान। इसी कारण बालकों पर उनका अनुशासन नहीं चलता वे उनको नियम व कंट्रोल में नहीं रख पाते।

यही कारण है कि आजकल योग्य व अच्छे पुरुष शिक्षालयों की नौकरी से विमुख हैं जिन गरीबों को बेरोजगारी की मार है वही अभाग्य इस पेशे में जाते हैं।

सरकार ने जो यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रंट्स कमिशन बनाया है वह और बातों के साथ यूनिवर्सिटी टीचर्स के वेतन में बढ़ोतरी पर भी विचार करेगा। मेरे विचार से तो यूनिवर्सिटी टीचर्स को इतना कम वेतन नहीं मिलता जिस पर तुरन्त विचार की जरूरत हो।

अधिक आवश्यकता तो ४५ रुपये पाने वाले स्कूल मास्टर की तन्वाहों बढ़ाने की है, परन्तु वही मसल है कि :

माया पर माया गिरे कर कर लम्बे हाथ।
तुलसीदास गरीब की कोई न पूछे बात ॥

देश के स्वास्थ्य का प्रयत्न और डाक्टरों, नर्सों, दाइयों के प्रशिक्षण का प्रबन्ध जो सरकार कर रही है वह प्रशंसनीय है। इन सब पर ५३ करोड़ व्यय होगा। अपने साधनों को देखते यह भी कम नहीं है।

परन्तु देशी इलाज पद्धति व देशी दवाई के लिये जो १ करोड़ ५ लाख की रकम रखी

गई है, वह कम है। क्योंकि जब यह प्रत्यक्ष है कि ट्रेनिंग के बाद भी ८ लाख डाक्टरों की कमी देश में रहेगी तो उनकी जगह को पूरित वैद्य, हकीमों से भली प्रकार हो सकती है।

विशेषकर गांव में जहां डाक्टरों को जाने में भी आपत्ति रहती है। डाक्टरी इलाज भी इतना महंगा पड़ता है कि गांव वाले जतने खर्च की सामर्थ्य नहीं रखते। वहां यह देशी इलाज बहुत उपयोगी सिद्ध होगा।

आजकल, अग्र्यक्ष महोदय, डाक्टरों ने यह प्रथा कायम कर दी है कि वह सिर्फ पेटेन्ट दवाएं देते हैं जो विदेशों से आती हैं, और यह इन्जेक्शन व दवाएं बहुत महंगी पड़ती हैं और हमारे देश का करोड़ों रुपया हर वर्ष इन दवाओं में बाहर चला जाता है।

क्या यह उचित न होगा कि इन एलोपैथिक दवाओं के बनाने का कारखाना देश में बनाया जाय उसकी दवाएं डाक्टर लोग प्रयोग में लाएं और जर्मन व इंग्लैंड जाने से देश का धन बचे। अच्छे इलाज के लिये ट्रेड कम्पाउन्डर का होना अनिवार्य है। योग्य कम्पाउन्डर की आज देश में बहुत कमी है परन्तु प्रशिक्षण या ट्रेनिंग पाने वालों की लिस्ट में इनका जिक्र या नाम नहीं आया है।

आज हमारे देश में ट्रेड नर्सों की इतनी कमी है कि ५ हजार व्यक्ति पर एक नर्स पड़ती है। नर्सों को बड़ी मांग है फिर भी अच्छी श्रेणी की रित्रियां इस कार्य में रुचि नहीं रखतीं। इसका विशेष कारण यह है कि टीचर्स की तरह इनको भी वेतन बहुत कम मिलता है और नर्सिंग का कार्य बड़ा कठिन है। भले घरों को शिक्षित स्त्रियों को उस समय तक उसमें कोई आकर्षण न होगा जब तक कि नर्सों की लिविंग, और वकिंग कंडिशन में सुधार न हो।

देहातों में चिकित्सा तथा स्वास्थ्य की अधिक आवश्यकता है, इसके लिये ३ हजार गांवों में मेडिकल यूनिट्स या स्वस्थ इकाइयों का बनाया जाना ठीक है परन्तु इनके साथ

[श्रीमती शिवराजवती नेहरू]

जच्चाओं के लिये ट्रेन्ड दाइयों का रहना बहुत आवश्यक है ।

यह संतोष की बात है कि द्वितीय योजना के अन्त तक हमारे देश में १२,६०० अस्पताल और एक लाख ५५ हजार शय्याओं की संख्या रोगियों के लिये हो जायगी पर इसका महत्व तभी है जब कि देश की गरीब जनता भी उससे लाभ उठा सके और उनको आसानी से इन अस्पतालों में भरती मिल सके। अभी तक तो यह शिकायत है कि केवल धनी वर्ग ही इन से लाभ उठाते हैं ।

इन अस्पतालों में कोई शिकायत न हो इसके लिये अस्पतालों के डाक्टरों को प्राइवेट प्रैक्टिस करने की इजाजत नहीं होनी चाहिए। यह अस्पतालों से बड़ी बड़ी तन्त्रवाहें भी पाते हैं फिर भी अपनी रोरिंग प्रैक्टिस बाहर करते हैं। इसी कारण मरीज व अस्पताल नंगलेक्ट होते हैं क्योंकि उनके पास अस्पताल में देने के लिये समय ही नहीं रहता ।

मकानों की समस्या जटिल है। पिछली योजना में भी काफी मकान बने। इस द्वितीय योजना के अन्त तक १२० करोड़ रुपया मकानों पर व्यय होगा। इसमें निजी व्यक्तियों द्वारा और दूसरे संगठनों द्वारा शहर व देहात मिलाकर कुल ३२ लाख मकान बनेंगे जबकि आवश्यकता ६० लाख मकानों की है। दूसरे शब्दों में मोटे तौर पर १९६१ में १९५१ की अपेक्षा इतना प्रयत्न करने पर भी मकानों की कमी दुगुनी से भी अधिक होगी। कारण यह है कि देश की आबादी ४० व्यक्ति प्रति हजार के हिसाब से प्रति वर्ष बढ़ रही है, मकान बढ़ते जाते हैं, परन्तु समस्या और विकट होती जाती है। वही मसल है

“कि मरज बढ़ता गया जों जों दवा की” एक स्लाएन्सदान ने अखबार में लिखा था कि अगर दुनिया में केवल खड़े रहने की जगह रह जायगी इसका इन्त ब्रह्मा के हाथ है। सरकार का इसमें कोई दोष नहीं।

गकानों के सम्बन्ध में कुछ रिलीफ हो इसका उपाय यह है कि मकान बनाने वालों को सरती जमीन प्राप्त हो और मकान बनाने की सामग्री चूना, ईंट, सिमेंट, लोहा इत्यादि सरलता से प्राप्त हो सकें, इसका प्रबन्ध होना चाहिये।

सरकार ने स्वयं जो मकान छोटी आय मध्यम वर्ग के लोगों के लिये बनाए हैं वे विलकुल बक्सानुमां व तक्लीफदेह हैं। अब जो मकान बनें उसमें यह विशेष ध्यान रखा जाय कि इन में किचन, गुसलखाने व डब्ल्यू० सी० हों और वे खुले हवादार व बड़े बनाये जायं।

समाज कल्याण विभाग एक जनहितकारी व आवश्यक विभाग है इसके लिये जो १६ करोड़ रुपया दिया गया वह उचित है। मैं इस बात से सहमत नहीं कि वेलफेयर बोर्ड की देश में जरूरत नहीं, दूसरे विभाग इसका कार्य कर सकते हैं। इसके लिये ओवरलेविंग होती है। मेरे विचार से यह विभाग स्त्रियों व बच्चों के लिये अत्यन्त कल्याणकारी है। सोशल वेलफेयर का कार्य ही इतने महत्व का है कि जितने भी अधिक रास्तों से हो सके देश के लिये उतना ही अच्छा है। यह सामाजिक न्याय है कि देश के दरिद्र अहिज अपनों व गरीब बेकमों की सहायता पर धन खर्चा जाय नहीं तो हमारी आर्थिक उन्नति बेकार है।

यह खुशी की बात है कि इस योजना के अन्त तक हमारे देश के हर जिले में एक सोशल वेलफेयर सेन्टर स्थापित हो जायगा। और देश के सभी राज्यों में एक बैंगर होम बनेगा जिसमें १०० बूढ़े, अपाहिज और रोगी फकीर रखे जायेंगे।

कदापि यह प्रबन्ध बहुत कम है और हमारे देश में तो प्रत्येक नगर में १०० से अधिक फकीर व अपाहिज हैं फिर भी कुछ न होने से अच्छा है। मेरी वेलफेयर बोर्ड से प्रार्थना है कि इसका जल्दी प्रबन्ध किया जाय।

इस योजना में श्रमदान का बड़ा महत्व है यदि इसको सच्ची देश सेवा की भावना से किया जाय और दिखावा व तमाशा न बनाया जाय। श्रमदान से जो गांवों में गांधी चबूतरे, पंचायतघर और सड़कें इत्यादि बनीं यह प्रशंसनीय कार्य थे परन्तु अधिक फायदा इनसे तभी होगा जब वहाँ के लोग इस कार्य को करें।

मैजिस्ट्रेट या जिलाधीश के प्रबन्ध से जीप्स या पिकअप्स पर चढ़कर जो शहरी लोग देहातों में श्रम करने जाते हैं उससे लाभ कम होता है और खर्च अधिक पड़ता है, अच्छा तो यह हो कि शहर के लोग शहर में श्रम करें और देहात के देहातों में।

एक यह भी बात है कि श्रमदान करने वाले युवक बड़े उत्साही अवश्य हैं, परन्तु अनाड़ी हैं। कोई जानकार व एक्सपर्ट इनके साथ न होने से सारा श्रम व समय बेकार चला जाता है। क्योंकि जो सड़कें इत्यादि उस समय बन जाती हैं वह थोड़े समय के बाद फिर ज्यों की त्यों हो जाती हैं।

फिर भी इन श्रमदान के कार्यों से राज्यों में सरकार को लाखों का मुनाफा हुआ है और इस योजना को सफल बनाने में श्रमदान बहुत सहायक हो सकता है। देश के निर्माण का बोझ सभ्र को उठाना है। यह हर्ष की बात है कि आज देश में सभी समुदाय व दल इस योजना के लिये श्रम करने को उत्सुक हैं।

देश पर बड़ा भार अवश्य पड़ा है, परन्तु यह भी सही है कि जब सभी लोग इस भार को उठाने में मदद करेंगे तो भार बिलकुल हलका हो जायेगा और इस योजना को सफलता निश्चय ही मिलेगी।

मैं द्वितीय योजना के निर्माण इतमिओं को ऐसी महान् योजना बनाने के लिये बधाई देती हूँ और उनके भगीरथ प्रयत्न और अथक परिश्रम की सराहना करती हूँ।

जिन उद्देश्यों को लेकर यह योजना बनाई गई है वे लक्ष्य हैं :

1. अपने देश की आय बढ़े जिससे सभी देशवासियों को खाने, कपड़े, व रहने, शिक्षा व स्वास्थ्य इत्यादि का मुल प्राप्त हो सके।
2. देश का औद्योगिक विकास हो जिससे अपनी जरूरत की चीजें हम स्वयं बना लें और देश का धन बाहर जाने से बचे।
3. देश की बंकारी व बेरोजगारी दूर हो और सब को काम मिले।
4. देश में सोशलिस्ट पैटर्न का समाज स्थापित हो, समानता का राज हो, देश में न कोई बहुत धनी हो, न अधिक गरीब।

इस महान् योजना की सफलता में मुझे इन सभी लक्ष्यों की पूर्ति प्रत्यक्ष दीख पड़ती है। जिन भाइयों का यह मत है कि इस प्लान से ये लक्ष्य पूरे न हो सकेंगे—जो इससे संतुष्ट नहीं और इससे अधिक की इच्छा रखते हैं उनको यह भी देखना चाहिये कि हमारे गरीब देश के जितने साधन हैं मैन, मनी और मटीरियल के उन्हीं के अनुसार योजना बनेगी और वहीं तक हम अपनी इच्छाओं की पूर्ति कर सकते हैं उससे अधिक नहीं।

पिछली पंचवर्षीय योजना में सरकार की सिंचाई की महान् योजनाओं से कृषि की काफी उन्नति हुई, देश की उपज बढ़ी—फिर भी यह अभी काफी नहीं है। अब इस द्वितीय योजना में जब हमारे देश में भालड़ा जंगल, दामोदर बेली व रिहन्द डैम तैयार हो जायेंगे तब ७० या ७५ लाख एकड़ भूमि पर अधिक सिंचाई हो सकेगी। हजारों एकड़ बंजर भूमि उपज के योग्य बनाई जा रही है।

इस के अतिरिक्त छोटी सिंचाई कें योजनाओं में गांव व जिलों में हजारों की संख्या में ट्यूब वेल्स बनाए जा रहे हैं। हजारों मील लम्बी नहरें व जलाशय के बांध

[श्रीमती शिवराजवती नेहरू]

सिंचाई के लिये बन जाने से हमारे देश की उपज पिछली योजना से भी दुगुनी हो जायेगी।

फिर भी यह कहना कि सरकार देहाती जनता की आर्थिक उन्नति पर बनिस्बत नगर निवासियों के कम ध्यान देती है बिलकुल अन्याय की बात है।

अब इस विचार से कि सारे संसार में हमारे देश की उपज प्रति एकड़ कम है अगली पंचवर्षीय योजना में सरकार को अपना पूरा ध्यान इस ओर देना चाहिये कि किसानों को कृषि की वैज्ञानिक शिक्षा दी जाये—उन को अच्छी खाद व बीज मिलें जिससे हमारे देश की कृषि की उपज दूसरे देशों की समानता प्राप्त कर ले। तो इसका एक अच्छा परिणाम यह होगा कि हम को जरूरत के लिये अपने खलिहानों व गल्ले के गोदाम भरने के लिये, अपने ही देश की बचत से अन्न मिल जायेगा, दूसरे देशों से मांगना न पड़ेगा। हमारी पिछली पंचवर्षीय योजना में देश की आय १८ प्रतिशत के हिसाब से बढ़ी। द्वितीय योजना के अन्त तक ऐसा अनुमान किया जाता है कि ५ प्रतिशत प्रति वर्ष के हिसाब से ५ वर्ष में २५ प्रतिशत आय और बढ़ जायेगी। कुछ सदस्यों का यह कहना है कि हमको पिछली योजना की आय की बढ़ोतरी के कोई आसार देश में नजर नहीं आते—क्योंकि देश में गरीबी उतनी ही है। विशेषकर किसानों, मजदूरों और मध्यम वर्ग के लोगों की आर्थिक दशा में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं दिखता। मैं उनकी इस बात से सहमत नहीं हूँ।

यह अवश्य है कि खाना, कपड़ा, मकान, शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य इत्यादि का जितना ऊंचा स्तर हम देखना चाहते हैं वह अभी नहीं मिल सका है—पर यह कहना कि पहिले से इन चीजों में बढ़ोतरी नहीं हुई, गलत है। मूख को पिछले ५, ६ वर्षों में और अब में किसानों, मजदूरों, मध्यम वर्गों के लोगों व छोटी नौकरी पेशा लोगों के रहन-सहन खान-पान में जीवन

का स्तर काफी ऊंचा उठा दिखता है। इसका सबूत इन बातों से मिलता है।

शहर के श्रमिक व नौकरी पेशा लोगों का सिनेमा देखना और बच्चों की शिक्षा पर खर्च करना।

अब तेहातों की ओर नजर करें तो दिखता है विनीले के तेल के दिये की जगह मही के तेल का प्रयोग। गूड़ के प्रयोग की जगह शक्कर खाना। मोटे अनाज, ज्वार, बाजरे की जगह गेहूँ खाना और चांदी के जेवर मोल लेना।

इसका कारण है कि आज किसानों पर कर्जों का वह भार नहीं क्योंकि अनाज महंगा है। गेहूँ और मोटा अनाज बेच कर ही वे सरकारी लगान अदा करते हैं जब कि पहिले लगान देने में इनके घर के डोर, डंगर, पशु और बर्तन तक बिक जाते थे। यह सब बड़े हर्ष व सन्तोष की बातें हैं, परन्तु इन सब बातों से यह साफ विदित होता है कि देश का आय अवश्य कुछ बढ़ी है।

परन्तु मैं समझती हूँ कि जब तक देश की आबादी जो बेतरह बढ़ रही है उसकी रोकथाम न होगी तब तक न तो अनाज की बढ़ोतरी दिखाई देगी न देश की आय में बढ़ोतरी दिखेगी और न देश की बेरोजगारी मिटेगी और इस प्लान की सफलता में भी कठिनाई पड़ेगी।

इसके लिये मैं सरकार के सामने एक उपाय रखती हूँ जिसको अगली पंचवर्षीय योजना में प्रयोग में लाना चाहिये। देहातों के विकास व उत्थान के लिये सरकार जो एन० ई० एस० ब्लॉक व कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट चला रही है वह बड़ा महत्व रखते हैं, और जिन गांवों में इस सामूहिक योजना के अन्तर्गत काम हो रहा है उनकी काया ऐसी पलट गई है कि देख कर अचम्भा होता है। और सबसे उपयोगी और सन्तोषजनक बात यह है कि अगले ५ वर्षों में हमारे देश में कोई गांव ऐसा

न बचेगा जहां यह सामूहिक योजना चालू न हो।

इस कारण मेरा यह सुझाव है कि देश के प्रत्येक गांव में इन सभी सामूहिक योजनाओं के द्वारा फैमिली प्लानिंग की शिक्षा दी जाये, इससे एक लाभ यह भी होगा कि फैमिली प्लानिंग के लिये अलग विभाग बनाने की आवश्यकता भी न रहेगी।

देश में बड़े बड़े उद्योग और घरेलू, उद्योग धन्धे (स्माल कोटेज इंडस्ट्रीज) को चालू करना तो हमारे देश के विकास व उन्नति का प्रथम चरण है। इससे देश का धन भी बढ़ेगा। बेकारों को रोजगार प्राप्त होगा, हमारे देश की भूमि की कमी की भी ये उद्योग धन्धे पूति कर देंगे। क्योंकि बहुत से लोग जिन के पास भूमि नहीं वह इन कामों में लग जायेंगे और इससे हमारे देश की भूमि की कमी की जो समस्या है वह भी कुछ हल हो सकेगी।

इस पंच वर्षीय योजना के दूवें अध्याय में मेन पावर और टेकनिकल ट्रेनिंग का जिक्र आया है। वहां लिखा है कि सभी प्रकार की प्लानिंग के लिये मुख्य मुख्य चीजें चाहियें: एक तो सामग्री को कार्यरूप में परिणत करने के लिये मनुष्यमात्र की आवश्यकता है। उसमें भी भिन्न भिन्न प्रकार की योग्यता व टेकनिकल ट्रेनिंग पास हुए व्यक्तियों की आवश्यकता है, इस ट्रेनिंग के सम्बन्ध में सरकार जो कुछ प्रयत्न कर रही है वह तो ठीक है। परन्तु मुझे यह खेद है कि इसमें मेनपावर की ओर ही मुख्यतः पुकार की जा रही है और भारत में जो अपार शक्ति का भंडार "बीमन पावर" है उस ओर अधिक ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है।

मेरी सरकार से मांग है कि अगली पंचवर्षीय योजना में स्त्रियों की भी टेकनिकल ट्रेनिंग दी जाये, क्योंकि मेरा कहना है कि सरकार की इस द्वितीय योजना को बिना नारीशक्ति के सहयोग के सफलता मिलना कठिन है।

यह प्लान इतनी विशाल फैली हुई व बड़ी है कि इसे हर पहलू से सफल बनाने में जनता को बहुत अधिक परिश्रम त्याग व तपस्या करनी पड़ेगी—धन की कमी के कारण कर भी और बढ़ेंगे। मुझे डर है कि इतने अधिक कर व त्याग कहीं उनके उत्पाद को कम न कर दें। प्लान की सफलता के लिये हमको तो सारी जनता का सहयोग चाहिये।

परन्तु इसमें १२०० करोड़ का डैफिसिट जो रख दिया है उसके परिणामस्वरूप यह कहा जाता है कि संभव है कंट्रोल भी फिर लगाने पड़ें, इससे लोग बिचकते हैं—क्योंकि हम सब कंट्रोल के दुखद परिणामों को सहन कर चुके हैं।

सबसे अधिक हानिकारक बात इसमें यह है कि कंट्रोल से देश का व राष्ट्र का अनमोल समय नष्ट हो जाता है—लोग या गरीब जनता और कोई दूसरा काम नहीं कर पाते क्योंकि घंटों कंट्रोल की दुकानों पर लाइन लगा कर खड़ा रहना पड़ता है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, केन्द्र में भी, और राज्यों में भी वह एक अजीब भावना है कि पहिले तो खर्च खूब बढ़ाओ फिर टैक्स लगा कर उसे पूरा करे। मैं तो इस बात की कायल हूँ कि जितनी चादर हो उतना ही पैर फैलाया जाये।

मैं ने पहिले भी यह कहा है कि जनता देश निर्माण का बोझ खुशी से उठाने को तैयार है। परन्तु योजना का मुख्य अभिप्राय यही नहीं होना चाहिये कि धन का अपव्यय न हो, और इस निधन देश व गरीब जनता का करोड़ों रुपया किफायत व एहतिायत से खर्चा जाये तभी जनता को संतोष होगा। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने इस प्लान की फ्लेक्सिबिलिटी या लचकदारी की बात कही है, मैं इसके माने यही समझी हूँ कि इस प्लान की अवधि बढ़ सकती है और बजाय ५ वर्ष के इसकी पूर्ति में ६ या ७ वर्ष भी

श्रीमती शिवराजवती नेहरू]

लग सकते हैं। तब फिर जितना ५ वर्ष में हो सकता था उतना ही रखा जाता तो शायद १२,००० करोड़ का डैफिसिट भी कम हो जाता।

बहरहाल अब इस प्लान को सफल बनाना हमारा परम कर्तव्य व धर्म है। यह एक महान् कार्य है और देशवासियों को अपनी देशभक्ति व सामर्थ्य दिखाने का अच्छा अवसर व कसौटी है। किसी ने कहा है कि

मुसीबत में बशर के जोहरे मर्दाना खुलते हैं,
मुबारक बुजदिलों को मंजिले मुशफिल से
डर जाना।

भारतवासी साहसी हैं, कायर नहीं, वह अपना कर्तव्य जानते हैं कि उनको इस कठिन मंजिल को पार करना है। केवल कसर इस बात की है कि इस प्लान का ऐसा प्रचार किया जाये कि सारा देश प्लान माइंडेड बन जाये। और यह बात उनके हृदय में समा जाये कि प्लान की सफलता ही उनकी व देश की सफलता है।

यह विशाल योजना हमारे देश के योग्य है क्योंकि हमारा देश भी विशाल है, इसकी जन संख्या भी विशाल है। यदि आज इस देश की जनता के ३६ करोड़ दिल व दिमाग और ७२ करोड़ हाथ इसको सफल बनाने पर जुट जायें तो ५ क्या ४ वर्ष में ही इसको सफल करके, अपने देश को स्वर्ग बना सकते हैं।

फिर हमारे नेताओं व प्रधान मंत्री जी के गर्व व खुशी का ठिकाना न रहेगा और सारा संसार चकित दृष्टि से हमारी ओर देखकर यही कहेगा कि

गरफरदोस बरहए, जमीनस्त ।
हमीनस्तो हमीनस्तो हमीनस्त ॥

Shri Debendra Nath Sarma (Gauhati): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I welcome the Second Five Year Plan which envisages big and bold programmes for national development, and I extend my wholehearted congratulations to the members of the Planning Commission for their strenuous labour and investigations.

During the post-war period many countries of the world have been engaged in economic planning, but India is the only country which started its economic planning on a democratic method according to her own traditions, conditions and needs. The results achieved of the First Five Year Plan are tremendously encouraging. Very few people, at the commencement of the First Five Year Plan, could realise its results, but now it has opened a new chapter in our national life.

As a result of the First Five Year Plan our national income has increased by 18 per cent. and the per capita income has increased by 10 per cent; the foodgrains production has increased by 20 per cent., the industrial production by 22 per cent. and the generation of electric power has also increased to almost double. But now the Second Five Year Plan is a bolder outline than the previous one the objectives of which are: increasing of national income with a view to raise the standard of living of the people, and attain full employment and social justice together with reducing the existing disparities of wealth and income.

The Plan has accepted the socialist pattern of society as the objective of its economic policy and so it has outlined community gain instead of private profit as the basis of national progress. It has aimed at progressive reduction of accumulation of wealth and concentration of income. The main targets of the second Plan are to increase the national income by 25 per cent. and to create employment opportunities for about ten million persons and reduction of inequalities in income and wealth besides industrialisation of the country.

I wholeheartedly support the industrial policy of the Plan which is governed by the objective of socialism. I believe that the State must play an important role in industrial spheres for the economic development of our country. In a socialistic society, the role of the public sector and the co-operatives certainly must be greater than that of the private sector. I hope and believe that the directive principles of the State policy as stated in the Constitution will be the guiding factor in implementing the schemes of our Second Five Year Plan.

There are some factors to make the entire schemes of the second Plan successful. The financial factor is the main one. The second Plan for the economic development of our country involves a total outlay of Rs. 7,100 crores—Rs. 4,800 crores for investment in the public sector and Rs. 2,300 crores for investment in the private sector. Out of this total expenditure, the Planning Commission has depended upon the resources from abroad up to Rs. 800 crores; additional taxation of Rs. 450 crores, and Rs. 1,200 crores are to be provided through deficit financing. Besides these, there is a gap of Rs. 400 crores to be covered by additional measures. If funds from the foreign resources are not available, then the country should surely have to be prepared to the possible extent to make good the deficit for financing the Plan. Additional taxation of Rs. 450 crores over the five year period is not excessive in comparison with the need of the country.

In this respect, my humble submission is that taxes are to be levied directly on personal incomes at the higher levels. Heavy taxes ought to be imposed on Indian monopolists and foreign concerns and the Government must create such machinery as would be able to detect tax evasion. Besides these, the highest salary of the public servants should also be fixed.

I must here strike a personal note of warning about the deficit financing. The result of the deficit financing is the rise in prices and cost of living, provided the supply of consumer

goods does not increase sufficiently. By all means, the supply of goods has to be kept increasing to prevent an inflationary rise in the price level. To build up a welfare State, an under-developed country like India must resort to deficit financing, as there is a gap between total expenditure and the total resources available. But I hope the Government would take all precautionary measures so that the evil effect of deficit financing might not occur in our country.

The First Five Year Plan emphasised the need for the development of agricultural production particularly food production, but the second Plan has given emphasis on industrial development. In the second Plan, a sum of Rs. 890 crores has been allotted to industries and mining out of the total central allocation of Rs. 4,800 crores. Out of the total outlay of Rs. 890 crores for industries and mining, Rs. 617 crores have been earmarked for heavy and medium-scale industries. It is really a significant step. It will open opportunities to the people of the country for productive employment in industrial spheres.

But the problem of food is more important. It has been considered by experts that 40 per cent. increase in food production is necessary during the Second Five Year Plan period. So, I hope that the Planning Commission will revise the schemes for food production and will increase the allocation on this head.

I must point out here that the second Plan has nowhere mentioned how many persons would be removed from land and engaged in some other occupations with a view to minimise the pressure on land. The pressure on land is one of the main problems in our country. More than 75 per cent. of the total population of our country live in the rural areas and so, the development of the rural areas must receive priority. But I am sorry to mention here that the Plan has failed to give any guarantee of minimum standard of living to the man in the fields and factories.

[Shri Debendra Nath Sarma].

The successful implementation of the Plan greatly depends upon the efficient administrative machinery. So, the standard of efficiency of the administration ought to be raised by all means. But the Plan has failed to put forward any concrete scheme for the creation of an efficient administrative machinery to implement the various schemes in the Second Five Year Plan.

I do not like to go into the details, but I cannot but mention here the miserly allocation for the development of our transport system. The railways are the main means of transport in our country, and for the expansion and development of this vital transport, only a sum of Rs. 1,125 crores has been allotted in the second Plan. The existing railways are quite unable to cope with the present demand of both goods traffic and passenger traffic. During the Second Five Year Plan, both agricultural and industrial production will increase to a great extent throughout the entire country. With the allotted amount, the expansion and development of railways particularly in the under-developed areas will be insignificant. I hope the allotment for transport, and specially for the railways, would surely be increased. Otherwise, the progress of development will be greatly hampered.

Sir, with all humility, I beg to submit that the Planning Commission has failed to do justice in the matter of elimination of regional disparities so far as the question of developing a balanced economy for the various parts of our country is concerned. I would like to mention here the case of Assam—the State from where I come. I think I need not mention here that during the British regime, all States of India did not receive equal treatment in the matter of development. The British administration cared to develop areas according to convenience in regard to their commercial and imperial interests, and the industries during that time were located accordingly.

After Independence, the people of Assam entertained high hopes of quick development of their areas. But it must be confessed here that Assam remained under-developed even at the end of the First Five Year Plan. In the First Five Year Plan, Assam was allotted only Rs. 20.8 crores as the total outlay. In the First Five Year Plan, Assam failed to receive even the minimum required finance for her economic development from the Planning Commission, though her need was greater. During the First Five Year Plan period, nothing has been done for the industrialisation of Assam in spite of her enormous natural resources.

In the First Five Year Plan, the provision of development expenditure by the Central Government directly, amounted to Rs. 1,240 crores, and out of this amount, the Central Government had spent nearly Rs. 600 crores in the various development projects in different States, but it is my painful duty to mention here that Assam got very little out of this huge expenditure, for her development. The Central Government had executed eleven multi-purpose projects in different States of India excluding Assam in the First Five Year Plan, though controlling of floods is of the utmost necessity for any development in Assam.

A sum of Rs. 140 crores was allotted for large-scale industrial development programmes in the public sector in the First Five Year Plan, but unfortunately, in this head, Assam's share was nil.

From all this, it can easily be understood that the First Five Year Plan did not advance agricultural or industrial development of Assam, and as a result, the standard of living of the people of Assam did not rise, and the problem of unemployment was also not touched.

Adequate transport is very important to Assam for the fuller development of her internal trade and com-

merce, besides her linking up of connection with the rest of India. The division of the country left Assam without a link with the rest of the railway system of the country, which necessitated the immediate construction of the Assam link line. But this link line is unable to cope with the volume of goods traffic. Besides this, the link line generally remains breached during the monsoon.

The present capacity of the link line is about 170 to 180 wagons per day each way, but the present requirement of Assam is much more. This link line is not only meant to serve Assam but also some districts of West Bengal, Manipur and Tripura. The capacity of the link is not adequate even for the existing needs of Assam, much less for the needs, as they will be, at the end of the second Plan period.

The First Five Year Plan did nothing to develop the railway transport system in Assam. The Second Five Year Plan also does not envisage the improvement of the transport system of Assam. The Government of Assam submitted a draft plan amounting to Rs. 290 crores for the Second Five Year Plan, but the Planning Commission has drastically cut that and allotted only Rs. 57.39 crores. The allotment under the head "Power projects" is not adequate and in major industries it is nil.

It is my painful duty here to mention that if these allotments made by the Planning Commission for the Second Five Year Plan for Assam remain the same, then we must presume that the future development of Assam is not bright. I appeal to my leaders—particularly to the Planning Minister, the Railway Minister and the Prime Minister—in all earnestness to develop this eastern part of India, which is full of valuable resources. Besides problems of floods, transport problems and problems of industries are there. Therefore, I appeal to the leaders and to this House to take immediate steps so that Assam is fully developed. If

Assam is properly developed, it will not only enrich itself, but it will enrich the entire country.

श्री वेबगम (वेबस्सा—रक्षित—अनुसूचित आदिम जातियाँ): सभापति महोदय, पहली पंच वर्षीय योजना तो समाप्त हो गई है और दूसरी योजना तैयार कर ली गई है। द्वितीय योजना पर बोलने के पहले मैं कुछ शब्द प्रथम पंच वर्षीय योजना के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ।

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair.]

4-53 P.M.

इस के बारे में स्वयं द्वितीय योजना में यह लिखा हुआ है कि इसका मूल्यांकन ठीक ठीक नहीं हो सका है। इस प्लान के चैप्टर २८, पैरा नम्बर २५ में लिखा हुआ है :

"During the first Five Year Plan, considerable difficulty was experienced in assessing the progress of various programmes for the development of tribal areas".

परन्तु होम मिनिस्टर प्रस्ताव करती है कि उसका मूल्यांकन करने वाली एक आर्गेनाइजेशन जिस का नाम होगा "evaluation organisation for assessing work done for Scheduled Tribes as well as for other backward groups".

कायम होगी। इसलिये मैं आशा करता हूँ कि इस योजना की सफलताओं को यह आर्गेनाइजेशन देखेगी और इसका मूल्यांकन करेगी।

लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि बैकवर्ड क्लासिस (पिछड़े वर्गों) के वेलफेयर (कल्याण) के बारे में फर्स्ट फाइव यीर प्लान (पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना के) सफा ३७ पर जो दर्ज है, उस पर अमल नहीं किया गया है। इसका कारण यह है कि जो अफसर लोग इस योजना को कार्यरूप में परिष्कृत करने वाले हैं वे लक्ष्यों की प्राप्ति के प्रति उदासीन रहते हैं। यह बात मैं आपको अक्सपिरियंस (अनुभव) से बता रहा हूँ।

[श्री देवगम]

और इस का मुझे कटु अनुभव है। मैं ने देखा है कि जो मिनिस्टर दिल्ली में हैं तथा बिहार के जो मंत्रीगण हैं वे सब तो मेरे पत्रों का उत्तर दूसरे तीसरे दिन दे देते हैं परन्तु मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि जिन अधिकारियों के हाथ में आदिवासियों की उन्नति करने का काम है वे कभी भी मेरे पत्रों का उत्तर देने की आवश्यकता ही महसूस नहीं करते हैं। इसलिये यदि सरकार चाहती है कि आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में कार्य ठीक प्रकार से हो तो वहां पर उसे ऐसे असफर भेजने चाहियें जो कि आदिवासियों के कल्याण कार्यों में दिलचस्पी रखते हों। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार को चुन चुन कर अच्छे अफसर उन क्षेत्रों में भेजने चाहियें। ये अफसर ऐसे होने चाहियें जो कि वहां के रहने वाले लोगों के साथ हमदर्दी रखते हों।

मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे जिले में तीन बरस से पानी का अभाव है और वहां फेमिन पड़ा हुआ है, अकाल पड़ा हुआ है : हमारे पास बोनो के लिये धान नहीं था। मैं ने इसके बारे में ६ फरवरी को डी० सी० के साथ मुलाकात की और उनको एक पत्र भी लिखा मैंने उनसे कहा कि हमारे यहां जो मल्टी-परपज कोओप्रेटिव सोसाइटी (बहु प्रयोजनीय सहकारी समिति) है उस के जरिये से धान खरीद करके लोगों में बांटा जाये। मैं ने यह भी कहा था कि इस धान को लोगों को मुफ्त न दिया जाए बल्कि सवसिडाइज्ड (सहायता प्राप्त) रेटस पर दिया जाए, लेकिन अफसोस के साथ मुझे यह कहना पड़ता है कि न तो इस मेरी दरखास्त पर उन्होंने कोई कार्रवाई की और न ही मुझे इसका कोई उत्तर ही दिया। पिछले इंटरवैशन में जब मैं अपनी कंस्ट्रिक्ट-युइंसी (चुनाव क्षेत्र) में घूमने गया तो वहां पर मैं ने देखा कि लोग धान ग्रेन गोला से ले रहे हैं। मैं ने उनसे पूछा कि इसे तुम लोग क्यों ले रहे हो ? उन्होंने मुझे बताया कि

इसके बदले में हम बोनो के धान लेंगे-। इस में बहुत समय लग जाता है ? यह ग्रेन गोला ऐसा होता है जिस में कि बहुत किसम का धान मिश्रित होता है।

इसके अतिरिक्त और विषयों पर भी मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाऊंगा जिन को कार्य-रूप में परिणत नहीं किया गया है। पैरा २८ में एजुकेशन के बारे में लिखा हुआ है :

“Article 46 of the Constitution requires that special attention should be given to the education of children of the Scheduled Tribes.”

इस विषय पर मैं पहले भी बोल चुका हूँ और आज फिर मैं इस और आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। सन् १९२०-२१ में हमारे जिले में चार-पांच स्कूल सब-इंस्पेक्टर रहते थे। आज मुझे बहुत अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि वहां पर एक भी आदिवासी स्कूल-सब-इंस्पेक्टर नहीं है। ऐसी हालत में आप लोग भली प्रकार समझ सकते हैं कि आदिवासी लोग शिक्षा के मामले में कैसे उन्नति कर सकते हैं।

फर्स्ट फाइव डियर प्लैन में सिंचाई योजना के बारे में यह लिखा है :

“Tribal areas are mostly hilly Special efforts are therefore being directed towards the construction of wells and improvement of irrigation facilities.”

5 P.M.

परन्तु मैं अभी अभी कह चुका हूँ कि तीन वर्ष से वहां पर धान की खेती नहीं हो रही है, जो कि वहां की मुख्य खेती है। किसी समय मैंने इरिगेशन (सिंचाई) पर बोलते हुये कहा था कि इसमें बहुत सी स्कीमें बनी हैं, बहुत सा रुपया खर्च हुआ है, परन्तु इतना रुपया खर्च होने पर भी तीन वर्ष से वहां अकाल हो रहा है। मैंने शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स (अनुसूचित जातियों) और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स

(अनुसूचित आदिमजातियों) की रिपोर्ट पर बोलते हुये कहा था कि उसमें यह बात लिखी हुई है कि सिंचाई की योजना वहां पर इसलिये सफल नहीं होती है कि वह ऐसी जगहों पर बनती है जहां पानी काफी नहीं मिल पाता है। मुझे भी घूम फिर कर यही अनुभव हुआ कि इंजीनियर लोग जंगलों में नहीं जाते हैं। वह ऐसी जगहों के लिये सिंचाई योजना बनाते हैं जहां पर वह मजे में हायर आफिसर्स, जैसे मंत्री आदि हैं, को ले जा सकें। डैम आदि बनाने के लिये जो उचित साइट्स होती हैं, प्रापर साइट्स होती हैं (उचित स्थान) वह जंगलों में होती हैं, जहां पर लोगों को पैदल ही जाना पड़ता है। श्रीकान्त जी का भी यही सुझाव है कि लोग अपनी मोटरों को छोड़ कर वहां पर पैदल जाया करें और उचित जगहों को खोजें, जिन जगहों पर नदी आदि पर बांध बनाया जा सके या सिंचाई की योजना बनाई जा सके। सरकारी लोग आदिवासियों से तो पूछते ही नहीं हैं। यह भी उसमें लिखा हुआ है कि जो लोग हमेशा से पानी के बहाव को देखते आ रहे हैं उनको निरा अनपढ़ समझ कर उनसे कुछ पूछा ही नहीं जाता। हालांकि हमारी योजना कहती है कि लोग दिलचस्पी लें सकें इसलिये उनका भी सहयोग इस काम में लेना चाहिये लेकिन हमारे इंजीनियर लोग उनका सहयोग नहीं प्राप्त करते।

फारेस्ट एकानमी के बारे में लिखा हुआ है कि आदिवासियों को फारेस्ट्स के उत्पादन का सारा भार देना चाहिये। चूँकि वही लोग ठीक से फारेस्ट्स की रखवाली कर सकते हैं इसलिये उनको भी शिक्षा देनी चाहिये और उनके लिये फारेस्ट्स स्कूल खोलने चाहिये। इस बारे में जब मैं ने यहां पर प्रश्न पूछा तो हमें जवाब मिला कि यह तो स्टेट का विषय है। मैंने स्टेट्स के आफिसर्स को लिखा, फारेस्ट डिपार्टमेंट के सब से ऊंचे आफिसर को लिखा तो उन्होंने यह जवाब दिया कि आदिवासियों का फारेस्ट सम्बन्धी शिक्षा देने के लिये स्टेट में कोई स्कूल नहीं है।

यहां पर ऐसा स्कूल है जिसमें नौकरी करने वालों को शिक्षा के लिये भेजा जाता है। इसलिये आदिवासियों को फारेस्ट स्कूल की सुविधा भी नहीं मिली।

एजुकेशन के बारे में सेक्रेटरी फाइव इयर प्लान में लिखा हुआ था :

"Considerable importance must be attached to the education of the people, teaching through their dialects, text books in their dialects should be written."

सेक्रेटरी फाइव इयर प्लान में भी यही बात दोहराई गई है। परन्तु इसको भी कार्य रूप में नहीं लाया गया। सेक्रेटरी फाइव इयर प्लान में इसको कार्य रूप में परिणत किया जायेगा, इसमें भी मुझको सन्देह मालूम होता है।

ट्रेनिंग आफ वेलफेयर वर्कर्स के सम्बन्ध में सेक्रेटरी फाइव इयर प्लान में लिखा है कि सेन्टर कई एक स्कोमों लायेगा जैसे :

"Multi-purpose co-operative societies, Forest Co-operatives, training-cum-production centres—technical schools for mechanical and civil engineering. So that tribal youth can receive training near their own areas."

आदिवासी कल्याणकारी कार्य करने वाली ट्रेनिंग पायेंगे। सब से आखिर में लिखा है कि आदिवासियों की आर्थिक स्थिति सुधारने के लिये मल्टी परपज कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटीज खुलेंगी, फारेस्ट सोसाइटीज होंगी, ट्रेनिंग-कम-प्रोडक्शन सेन्टर होंगे, टेक्निकल स्कूल खुलेंगे, जहां पर मिर्कैनिकल इंजीनियरिंग और सिविल इंजीनियरिंग सिखाई जायेगी, जिसमें आदिवासी लोगों को अपने ही घरों के नजदीक ही शिक्षा मिलने की सुविधा हो। द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में सैप्टर २८ के २५ पैरा के आखिर में लिखा है कि सामाजिक कल्याण कार्य करने वाले ट्राइबल्स ही होंगे चाहिये जिसमें वह ट्राइबल एरियाज में रह सकें और वहां के

[श्री देवगम]

लोगों की जिन्दगी के साथ घुल मिल सकें। सब से महत्व की बात यह है कि इसमें बहुत जोरदार शब्दों में कहा गया है :

“Special emphasis is being placed on getting as many tribal officers as possible and training them to work in their areas.”

मैं देखता हूँ कि जितने डिस्ट्रिक्ट वेल-फ़ेयर ऑफिसर हैं, वह सब बाहर के ही लोग होते हैं। मैं कह चुका हूँ कि जब तक ऑफिसर हमारे साथ हमदर्दी रखने वाले नहीं होंगे, तब तक ये योजनाएँ कार्य रूप में परिणत नहीं हो सकेंगी।

इसलिये मैं आशा करता हूँ कि सरकार ग्रामिणों की अचलों में ऐसे लोगों को भेजेगी जो ग्रामिणों के साथ हमदर्दी रखते हों। जो डिस्ट्रिक्ट ऑफिसर हों, अगर वह हम लोगों के साथ दिलचस्पी नहीं लेंगे तो जैसे फ़स्ट फ़ाइव इयर प्लान कार्य रूप में परिणत नहीं हो सकी, उसी तरह से यह प्लान भी नहीं हो सकेगी। यह कागज की नाव हमें कहीं नहीं ले जायेगी।

Shri Thimmaiah: (Kolar—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, we are happy that the First Five Year Plan has been implemented very successfully. It goes to the credit of the planners that Independent India has, for the first time, drawn a Plan and achieved the targets and implemented it successfully. It has considerably improved the economic condition of the country and created certain confidence in the mind of the masses of the people, and they look ahead with expectation to the implementation of the Second Plan.

The First Plan laid stress on the agricultural production, multi-purpose projects and other things. It did not lay emphasis on the development of large industries. Today, we are having a mixed economy. Under the Second Plan, we have to undertake the development of large-scale industries all over the country. There is a

definite field for the private sector and a definite field for the public sector. Some of the industries are exclusively reserved for the public sector and some for the private sector. I wish to submit that whenever the private sector is not able to start industries for certain obvious difficulties or lack of technicians or finance, the public sector should not hesitate to start the industries that are meant for the private sector. It may be the Central Government or the State Government, but the initiative should be taken by the Government to start those industries.

Though agricultural production has increased in our country and we say that we have achieved self-sufficiency in food, I think we have to do a lot to improve the condition of the rural masses of India. If you see the villages, you will realise this. I shall first take up the agricultural labourer and the poor agriculturist who are the backbone of our country. We can tell these people that we have started so many industries and multi-purpose projects. But, for the common man, something concrete has to be done. For improving the lot of the agricultural labourer, Government has passed the Minimum Wages Act. But, while some of the States have implemented the Minimum Wages Act, other States have not implemented it, as is revealed in the Plan itself. I hope that the Minimum Wages Act will be implemented in all the States. That would help the agricultural labourer. The poor agriculturist has to get some land. What have you done in the First Plan? We talk so much of land reforms. To some extent, we have introduced land reforms, but not to the extent of land to the tiller. We have abolished zamindari and landlordism and intermediaries. But, land reforms have not been introduced in full. India is an agricultural country. To the agricultural labourer, to the common man, some land must be given. In our country, it is a question of status to have some land. In the Second Plan, it is said that land

reforms will be introduced and a ceiling will also be fixed for holdings of agricultural lands. I wish that the ceiling is fixed as early as possible. There is a lot of Government land available in the country and the Government has assessed the amount of land available in the country. It is also said that the Government will assess the area of land that could be made available after the introduction of land reforms. All these lands can be given to the poor agricultural labourers.

In addition to that, the Plan says that co-operative farming will be introduced and the people will be educated to take up Co-operative farming. Though I wish every success for this idea of co-operative farming, I feel in my own humble way that co-operative farming cannot bring success to our country. I say this from my own personal experience, because there is one co-operative farm in my own constituency. Whenever I go there, every farmer in that farm comes to me and says, please see that my share of the land is given to me and registered in my own name. There is lack of enthusiasm on the part of the farmers in co-operative farming. Any way, I feel that land reforms must be introduced: whether it is co-operative farming or giving land to every individual.

Merely giving land will not be sufficient to the agricultural labourer. When a man has got land, he requires certain implements. He requires some financial help for developing agriculture. Today, Government gives takkavi or some other type of loans. But, what happens today in the villages? Who is going to take these loans? The loan goes to a man, who is influential or who has influence with the officers. These things must be eliminated as far as, at least, the Second Plan period is concerned. Government should see that the small farmer who gets some land is also given financial help to develop agriculture. The assistance should reach the hundreds of small peasants and not the rich landlord who wants to take away all the

loan, because he is influential. Government will have to start some secondary and cottage industries to supplement the income of the agriculturists. We have got in the Second Plan a programme for the development of cottage industries and village industries in the rural areas. I am very happy that the Government has allotted a large sum for development of cottage industries. As I have observed, under the First Plan, these cottage industries have not helped the common man. If Government wants to see that the common man is really benefited by these cottage industries, it should see that the amount allotted is properly utilised and properly spent for the man who deserves that help. As the agricultural loans are taken away by the influential people, in the same way the amounts to be utilised for cottage industries are also taken away by those who have some industry in their hands. It has benefited those who have something, but not those who have nothing in their hands. Even Shri Shriman Narayan has said in the Magazine *Kurukshetra* that these rural plans have benefited those who have something, but not those who have nothing. This must be borne in mind and we should see that every plan meant for the common man really benefits the common man and goes to raise the standard of living of the common man. It is no use merely showing on paper that we have spent so much for the development of cottage industries etc. It is the duty of the executive to see that the money is spent for the sake of the common man and that the benefit reaches the common man. I stress this point very vehemently, and I hope the Government will take this in a sporting spirit.

Today in the rural parts we see the thatched huts and mud walls and we say we want to change the whole face of India. How are we going to change it?

Shri Jaipal Singh (Ranchi West—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): Why should they change it?

Shri Thimmaiah: We want to change it.

Shri Jaipal Singh: Why?

Shri Thimmaiah: We want to see that rural India looks beautiful, but for rural housing a very meagre sum has been allotted in the Plan. Industrial labourers have got very fine houses in the cities. I do not grudge them. There are so many schemes for urban housing but a very meagre sum of Rs. 20 crores or so is allotted for rural housing. If you allot such a meagre sum for the development of rural housing, can you change the face of rural India? The Government should understand that the backbone of the country is the rural masses. The backbone of your democracy is the rural masses, the backbone of this Parliament is the rural masses. Therefore, I submit that rural housing must be given its proper share and Government should allot sufficient funds for it.

In the villages we see people who do not have even a piece of land on which to construct a thatched hut. In the villages I have seen poor people being driven from one place to another, because the place does not belong to them. The poor man does not have a piece of land on which to build his thatched hut. The municipality removes him and asks him to go somewhere else and when he moves after one or two months they will ask him to go to some other place. This is how things are going on. What is the good of being a human being if a man does not have even a piece of land on which to construct his thatched hut to live in. Therefore, I submit that Government should see that such poor people are given free sites in every village at least to construct dwelling houses. This rural housing is as important as anything else because it adds to the dignity of a man to have a decent house. Even if he does not have food to eat, he will at least live in the house.

The Minister of Agriculture (Dr. P. S. Deshmukh): He can let out the house and live!

Shri Thimmaiah: Lastly I shall come to the amelioration of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Scheduled Castes number more than five crores and the Scheduled Tribes more

than two crores. I can say that the First Plan has improved the economic condition of the country generally, but it has not considerably improved the economic condition of the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes because of the lack of proper and full attention paid by the executors of the Plan. The State Governments do not care to see that the money allotted under the general schemes is also utilised for development works among the Scheduled Castes. For instance, out of the money allotted for cottage industries under the general pool, let the Government show how much has been used for the benefit of the Scheduled Castes people? By giving some land for constructing a few houses here and there, can we improve the economic condition of the Scheduled Castes? Even the agricultural loans the Scheduled Castes do not get, it is only the influential caste Hindu ryot who will get it for agricultural development. Therefore, I say in every aspect of the Plan a certain percentage should be allotted for the amelioration of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. For instance, Government should say out of agricultural loans and out of the money for development of cottage industries the Scheduled Castes people will get so much. Under the Centrally-sponsored schemes we have allotted some money for the development of cottage industry among the Scheduled Castes people. Mysore State was given under the Plan Rs. 1,80,000 for the uplift of the Scheduled Castes people. The result was each taluk was allotted Rs. 120 for development of cottage industries among Scheduled Castes.

Shri Keshavalingar (Bangalore North): Each taluk has 400 villages.

Shri Thimmaiah: I did not dispute it. I say under the general pool you must give sufficient money for the development of cottage industries among the Harijans.

There are so many industries that are being established in this country. Who will be the fitter, the chaprasi, the officer or the clerk there? How many will be Scheduled Castes or Tribal people? You say you have

allotted 12½ per cent. of the jobs for Scheduled Castes. I am very happy and thankful to the Government for that order of Reservation. But even to get the job of a fitter in a factory, the person should be trained. At least the people to fill the 12½ per cent. quota must be trained. Therefore, I suggest that round about big industries Government should open training centres for these people so that the Scheduled Caste boys are trained and absorbed in those industries. I am glad to note, under the Centrally-sponsored scheme Government are training about 30,000 boys in crafts training.

The private sector does not observe the quota system. I submit that Government should insist upon the private sector following this system and the public sector also should follow the reservation order. Let them not give us the post of a managing director.

An Hon. Member: Why not?

Shri Thimmaiah: When they do not give you even the post of a chaprasi, how do you expect them to give you the post of a managing director? I am glad certain factories of the Government have begun to absorb our people, but Government must see that private factories also do the same.

The Scheduled Castes people have got some hereditary industries like shoe making etc. Today no Harijan is worried about them. Why? Because there is competition and some caste Hindus have monopolised our hereditary industries because they are able to invest money. Today, if Harijans want to start some leather co-operative society or some shoe-making co-operative society or some other co-operative society, they have no money; and they cannot compete with others. Even if they get some contracts from Government they cannot fulfil them, because they have no capital. I would, therefore, submit that Government should encourage co-operative societies organised by the Scheduled Caste people, and they should also find out some means by which they could give us some money for capital investments, either in the form of loans or grants, so that we may also thrive on

some industry, and earn our living and improve our standard of life.

My next suggestion is that wherever there are co-operative societies organised by the Harijans, Government should give them petty contracts, without calling for tenders, and without allowing any competition, for these are the ways in which the economic condition of the Scheduled Caste people can be improved.

To do all this work, to co-ordinate all these efforts, and to concentrate on the improvement of the economic condition of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people, it is very necessary that Government should have a separate Ministry.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: After the demanding of money and contracts, Ministry is also being demanded. The hon. Member might conclude now.

Shri L. N. Mishra (Darbhanga cum Bhagalpur): Who will look after it?

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: Otherwise the contracts would not be given.

Shri Thimmaiah: Without the Rehabilitation Ministry, Government would not have been able to solve the problem of the displaced persons. Therefore, I do not hesitate in demanding a Ministry for the amelioration of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. We, the Scheduled Caste people, have been enslaved for centuries, and oppressed economically, socially and in every other respect, so to say, with the result that even now, we cannot assert ourselves, because our spirit is so much suppressed. We think twice and thrice before we speak anything.

One might speak desperately and criticise Government, but the Scheduled Caste people are faithful to Government. History shows that they never betrayed their country, and it was only others who betrayed it. Even after we got power, we have been humble and we have been faithful to Government.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There is no shyness or humility in taking the time. The time allowed has already been transgressed.

Shri Thimmaiah: I submit, in all humility, to Government that they should think of having a separate Ministry for the amelioration of the oppressed and depressed classes in this country.

Shri L. Jogeswar Singh (Inner Manipur): Before I come to the Second Five Year Plan proper, I want to give a short review of the working of the First Five Year Plan and of how far the administration and the Planning Commission have succeeded in their efforts, so far as the under-developed and backward areas are concerned. If we study the chapters of the First Five Year Plan, we find that it is to be regretted that the progress of these backward and under-developed areas has been at a snail's pace, especially in these Centrally administered areas of Himachal Pradesh, Manipur and Tripura and the hilly areas.

Now coming to Second Five Year Plan. In these areas, no big programme has been undertaken by the Planning Commission, nor has any been clearly stated in the Plan which is now under discussion. It is true that some small programmes have been taken on hand, such as the routine construction of some roads, and the launching of some community project centres, some digging of wells, and so on. But no industrial programme which will help in ameliorating the condition of the poor people living in these areas has been taken on hand so far. These areas have been totally neglected, so far as industrial programme is concerned.

My complaint is this. Whenever we approach Government for the exploration of mineral resources in these areas, whenever we approach them for the starting of cottage industries, medium and small-scale industries in these areas, and whenever we approach them to tap the untapped resources which are bountifully available in these areas, their only reply has been that there are no communications at all, and that there are no transport facilities available. And

they say that because there are no communication facilities, it is not advisable to launch any industrial programme in that part of the country.

If this is the position, then we are going to lag behind. These under-developed areas will not be able to go side by side with the rest of India, and we will not be able to go along with the rest of India.

If you want to have equitable distribution of the increased wealth, then you should see that these under-developed areas also get their proper share. Along with the exploration of the mineral resources, and along with the launching of the industrial programmes in these areas, you should also try to develop side by side the communication facilities in these areas. If that is not done, if we have to wait for the next ten years, for the development of communications, and then only you would launch industrial programmes for the uplift of these down-trodden people in these hilly regions, then, in that case, I am afraid, the progress of these areas will not be up to the mark.

So, the essential question with regard to these areas is how to develop these areas according to the Plan. For that, the first priority has to be given to road development programmes. Road development programmes, railway development programmes, development of air communication—these are the essential things with regard to these areas which are not easily accessible at present, owing to lack of proper communications.

I have my own misgivings whether the amounts allotted in the Second Five Year Plan will be profitably utilised in respect of these backward and under-developed areas, especially the hilly regions of India. Speaking to the Committee 'B' on the Second Five Year Plan, Dr. Ghosh said in the course of his reply, with regard to this matter, as follows—I am reading from the *Synopsis of Proceedings* of the Committee 'B' on the Second Five

Year Plan (Industries, Minerals, Transport and Communications)—

"Referring to the Government of India's special concern for the States of Manipur and Tripura, Dr. Ghosh gave details of the provisions made for the development of roads in those States, during the First as well as the Second Plans. He stated that the roads in Tripura had been constructed practically up to the Assam border, and that a sum of Rs. 304 lakhs had been provided in the Second Plan, for the improvement and extension of these roads. Regarding Manipur, he said that the present road system there was going to be strengthened and developed between Imphal and Manipur, and an alternate route would be constructed between Silchar and Manipur. He, however, pointed out the present difficulties of the availability of the materials required for road construction."

My complaint is precisely on this point. What is the trouble before Government? What are the difficulties in their way in the matter of road development? They say, that there is non-availability of the materials required. To my mind, these words 'non-availability of the materials required' are unconvincing. For, after all, what are the materials required for road development? Nothing is required except man-power and labour. Stones are available in plenty in these hilly regions for construction of roads. You can get ample quantity of stones for this purpose. As for labour, there will be no difficulty, because these areas are almost labour areas.

So these materials are easily available. But so far as my information goes, the delay is due to the non-availability of technical hands. It is because of this that they were not in a position to push through the plan. During the First Plan period, in Manipur State Rs. 12 lakhs got lapsed. Why? The only reason was want of technical personnel. This amount was also for the construction of roads.

Non-availability of technical personnel was the main reason given on the floor of the House by the Minister.

In the Second Plan, provision has been made. Dr. Ghosh in his reply in the 'B' Committee has referred to this. It is stated:

"He also referred to the special provision for developing roads in hilly areas which were not generally remunerative. He summed up the position regarding the road development programme by saying that there was a total provision of Rs. 246 crores for roads for States, a provision of Rs. 25 crores from the Central Road Fund for roads and special provision of Rs. 11 crores for roads in hilly areas, totalling a sum of Rs. 282 crores in the Second Five Year Plan."

Out of this amount, Rs. 11 crores are meant for the hilly regions. But I have my own doubts whether this whole amount of Rs. 11 crores can be utilised profitably during the Plan period, because we have the example of the work done in the First Plan period in this connection. The amount for the development of these areas could not be utilised. In Manipur State, lakhs of rupees lapsed due to the non-availability of technical personnel.

Here a proposal was made for the construction of a road from Silchar, Assam, to Imphal, the capital of Manipur State. This was essential inasmuch as our life-line via Kohima which is the troubled area due to the Naga situation, is now blockaded. It is of no use. This life-line has been totally cut off. So a new life-line is necessary. Unless we have two life-lines, I think the State will be cut off from the rest of India.

Recent experience has shown that these areas should be developed in so far as road communications are concerned, because I have already mentioned on the floor of the House many times about the strategic position of these frontier States and border States. During the Japanese invasion, the Manipur State was

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encircled. It was cut off from the rest of India, because there was no life-line. Kohima was the only life-line and it was cut off.

So the urgency of having a road in this part of the country has been taken into account. The only question is whether the programme can be pushed through in the Plan period. According to Dr. Ghosh, this would be completed before 1961, that is, within five years. I think that this period is too long, because the people are already starving. No communications are available. They are cut off from the rest of India. No daily necessities are available. Even if available, the prices are soaring up. So the general masses are put into great difficulty. You must take up this programme on a war footing as the Britishers did. Here you could not construct a road within five years, whereas the Britishers constructed a road within 40 days. This should be borne in mind. During wartime the Burma Road was opened by the Britishers within 40 days. It is a very nice road. Even now it is a very good road.

As against this, in the First Plan period, a road was to be constructed from Imphal to Kangpokpi and from Kangpokpi to Tamenglong. This road was being constructed during the First Plan period. Even that road, which is about 50 miles distant, has not been completed within five years. Then how can you be optimistic about constructing a road which is 130 miles long in the Second Plan? This road is from Silchar to Imphal. Unless action is taken on a war footing, I think this part of the country will be totally neglected. This is my point of view.

Similar is the problem of Tripura. Some amount had been provided for construction of roads in the First Plan period, and in the Second Plan period a sum of Rs. 304 lakhs is to be provided. But up till now, the road link between Assam and Tripura has not been completed. So the people are still suffering. Whenever a famine

takes place, the people are in great difficulty, because everything has to be flown from Calcutta by air. At the same time, it has to be remembered that Tripura is only four or five miles from Pakistan. If it is invaded by Pakistan, there is a grave risk to Tripura; it could be conquered by Pakistan in five minutes. This is the position in areas which are strategically important. Why should we not apply our mind to this question?

The main problem is in connection with the road construction programme. I request the hon. Minister in charge to apply his mind specifically to the problem of road development in these areas.

Another point is regarding railway development. I would ask the Minister to go and see what is taking place in Katihar. The train from Calcutta up to Assam presents a horrible scene. People are sitting upon people and there are all sorts of difficulties being experienced by them. There have been cases of people being run over by the train. These are almost daily occurrences in this part of the country, on the Katihar-Amingoan line. During the flood season, that area is cut off. Everybody has to fly from Calcutta to Gauhati or from Calcutta to Agartala, capital of Tripura, or from Calcutta to Imphal, capital of Manipur State.

So far as this rail communication is concerned, in the Second Plan no provision has been made for the extension of the railway line to Assam areas. We have been demanding the extension of the railway to Manipur from part of Assam and from Assam to Tripura States. Only if these communications are developed, will the economic condition of the people be improved.

Another point I have to make is that backward and under-developed areas should necessarily be taken special care of. For this the Planning Commission should have a Standing Committee or a Sub-Committee. That Sub-Committee of the Planning Commission should exclusively devote

its attention to that particular area. This sub-committee will report to the Planning Commission the actual position in that particular part of the country and that could be profitably utilised. According to the suggestions made in that report, you can make developments regarding road and industries and all sorts of difficulties that are experienced by those people may be removed. Otherwise, I am afraid, this Plan which is meant for the whole of India, the 400 million people of India, will be devoted only to the big industries and big schemes which you are thinking of and the difficulties experienced by these poorer people will be forgotten though they are living in strategic points of India.

Therefore, I request the hon. Minister and the Planning Commission to set up a sub-committee in order to come in close contact with residents of these areas so that they may be well posted with the conditions obtaining in this part of the country.

Shri Gadilingana Gowd (Kurnool): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am very much interested in the development of agriculture which is the main industry of this country and also in the community projects and N.E.S. Blocks which will surely benefit the people, if properly implemented.

When I was first elected to this House about 3 years and 3 months ago, I was under the impression that as a Member of the supreme body of the country I can be of use to the people in getting these schemes implemented properly. But my experience is that I have not been able to do anything. As the acting President of the District Educational Council and as President of the Panchayat Board for the last about 27 years, till I was elected to this House, I was able to do, I feel better than what I have now been doing. I must say that these schemes, if properly implemented, are sure to benefit the people and develop the country.

I should not be misunderstood to be criticising the Government because I

am in the Opposition. My intention in speaking is only to bring to the notice of Government the facts about these schemes, as to how they are being implemented in the districts. I submit, I was elected as the Chairman of the N.E.S. sub-committee of Kurnool district. When I was elected 2 years and 3 months back, I thought that I would be in a position to use the experience that I have gained here as a member of the P.A.C. and the Estimates Committee in working those committees also. But to my disappointment I was not able to convene even a single meeting. With much difficulty I was able to convene only a formal meeting in which a resolution was passed to set up a sub-committee for framing the rules for working. But even that resolution was not given effect to by the Collector of the district. Thereupon I had to bring it to the notice of the State Government. The Government, after six months, directed the Collector to convene these meetings, whenever the Chairman of the sub-committee asked him to do so. But the Collector informed me that according to the new G.O. a new committee has to be constituted. Even though I was there for about 2 years and 2 months as chairman, I could do nothing. The new committee was also constituted. But I am told that a non-official cannot be chairman hereafter and the Collector is going to appoint some official as chairman. Most of the resolutions passed in the District Development Committee of which the Collector is the Chairman and I as Member of Parliament is an ex-officio member—and I have always taken care, during the recess period, to attend these meetings in spite of many other works because I am personally convinced that something can be done through these committees—but to my disappointment most of the resolutions passed are not given effect to.

I brought some of these things to the notice of the Deputy Minister of Planning and how sometimes policies are brought into the working of these committees. The hon. Deputy Minis-

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ter was pleased to tell me on the floor of the House that he was investigating into the matter but the matter has not been completely investigated. I received a communication from his Ministry, of course, upholding the action taken by the State Government. I am afraid that these N.E.S. Blocks are being used more for propagating party politics.

After we achieved independence 9 years ago, I must say that indiscipline has set into a majority of the officers. Probably, these people also seem to think that they are independent to do as they like. They do not care to go through the schemes, nor do they give effect to any of the rules.

I may bring to your notice that in a certain Block in Alur in Kurnool district, loan applications were sent to the Block Development Officer—they were sent through me—about 1½ years ago but no action has up till now been taken on them. The Development Officer did not even care to reply to my letters and when I asked him, he said that his superior officers had asked him not to reply direct. I brought it to the notice of the Collector and the Collector has been writing to him several letters and sending copies to me but the Development Officer has not cared to take action in spite of the directions from the Collector. That sort of indiscipline has now set into the working of these.

Similarly, about 2½ years ago resolutions were passed for the construction of certain buildings. The people also contributed 50 per cent. of the estimate as their share but no action has been taken till now.

The Rural Credit Survey pilot scheme is now launched in every district and there also local politics are coming in. Some of the centres that were selected under this scheme have been stopped because of local politics. Certain group leaders do not want them to be located there because they feel that one section of the people would become influential.

Just before my election 3½ years ago, all the co-operative institutions of which I was the President were superseded just two months before. They are still under supersession. One of the societies for which I had collected about Rs. 17,000 as share capital, it pains me very much to say, that Government has spent Rs. 9,000 for managing it alone.

6 P.M.

You know how difficult it will be for these poor agriculturists who earn only about eight annas a day. Those people, with the hope of getting some loans, have contributed and we were able to collect about Rs. 17,000. That society was one of the best societies having invested about Rs. 70,000, and on account of the local politics, it was superseded. Though it was placed in the grade of good working societies, for the last 3½ years, it is still under supersession. Last year when the Registrar of Co-operative Societies called a conference for selecting centres for the Rural Credit Survey, this village was selected as one of the centres because this is an important village having villages around it. According to the scheme, the Government bears the management charges. Though the society is under supersession, I told the Registrar that I was not anxious to be the office bearer of the Society. I told him that if it is converted into a large scale society, the salary of the Special Officer might be borne by the Government according to the Scheme, and it would still be under the management of the Government and thus the burden of the society will be lessened. He accepted my suggestion and Government also allotted about Rs. 10,000. When this was inaugurated last month, I was here, at Delhi and the local Deputy Registrar T. B. Project was probably won over and he has written to the Registrar to withhold the Rs. 10,000 allotted to that Society on the ground that it is indebted to the Kurnool Co-operative Central Bank to the tune of Rs. 20,000. How can the people of that village be held respon-

sible for the indebtedness of the Society when it is not under their management? For the last 3½ years it is under the management of the Government, and the reason given here is this, and if you will kindly permit me, I will read out the reasons completely so that the hon. Minister, now that he is here, may know how things are going on in the States. This is the report from the Special Deputy Registrar to the Collector:

"I submit that the Gudikal Co-operative Credit Society was registered in the year 1947 and started on its work on 14th February, 1947. As the affairs of the Society were mismanaged by the Board of Directors of the Society, the Committee was superseded by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Madras, with effect from 2nd March, 1953, (just three months before my election). Since then the Committee has been under supersession.

On the date of supersession the dues to the Kurnool Co-operative Central Bank Ltd., Kurnool, amounted to Rs. 42,821 while the dues of the members to the Society under principal alone amounted to about Rs. 72,872. The successive Special Officers (Departmental Inspectors) were able to collect Rs. 39,090 under principal due from members. The dues to the Kurnool Co-operative Central Bank as on the date of supersession, namely, Rs. 42,821, was reduced to Rs. 20,171 as on 30th June, 1956."

You will see from this that Rs. 42,821 was due to the Bank on the date of supersession, and they have collected within these 3½ years about Rs. 39,000 and still the Bank is short of Rs. 20,000 or so.

"174 loans are outstanding as on 30th June 1956, of which 167 cases are under departmental execution and 7 cases under arbitration. On two loans where heavy amounts are involved, the bonds are allowed to be barred by limitation."

It is the Special Officer's mismanagement that is responsible for allowing this thing to be barred by limitation.

"On an examination of the statement of assets and liabilities of the Gudikal Co-operative Society on 30th June 1956, about Rs. 10,000 from out of Rs. 33,782 outstanding and due from members under loans is likely to prove bad and irrecoverable and the realisable assets may not be sufficient to pay off the liabilities inclusive of the share capital of members.

In the circumstances submitted above, and in view of the fact that the Society is heavily indebted to the Kurnool Co-operative Central Bank to the extent of Rs. 20,171, I have recommended to the Registrar of Co-operative Societies (Andhra), Madras, to withhold payment of the State aid of Rs. 10,000 till the overdues to the Kurnool Co-operative Central Bank are paid....."

This is the report that has been submitted. Of course, the Registrar who selected this centre is now on leave and the local Deputy Registrar takes decisions himself and writes like this, and the scheme has not been inaugurated. I do not know how much money they are going to spend over the management of the Society. This is how the administration is going.

I submit if these schemes are to be properly implemented, there must be a machinery which should go and inspect the Block Development Committees, Community Projects and other schemes and which must take severe action on the persons responsible if they fail to implement the schemes properly or if they violate any of these rules. It pains me to say that in some Blocks they are taking a commission of 5 per cent when they grant loans. That is the reason why whenever these applications are submitted through important persons, they do not get loans because they are afraid of taking money from such

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men whose applications pass through important persons. That has come to my notice, and it is a fact. In implementing some of the schemes of the N.E.S. Sub-Committees, 10 per cent commission is being taken. I want that this should be checked. Unless this is checked, the schemes cannot be implemented and the people will not be benefited.

As I already said, though nine years have passed since we attained Independence, we have not developed our country as much as we expected. It is not only my personal view, but also the view expressed in *Rural India* which I had just occasion to read today in the Parliament Library. It says—

“Building the Nation: It is now nine years that this country has achieved complete freedom. But it is difficult to say that the programme of building the nation has been started on the right lines notwithstanding the first and the second Five Year Plans and all that is claimed to have been achieved by them.

Elevation of Character: The essential test of building a nation is in the development of character of its people. Even the greatest protagonist of the present regime could hardly have the cheek to say that the character of the people has risen high in this country after we have attained Independence. On the contrary, one can easily testify it by his everyday contact with the people and the machinery of public administration that there has been catastrophic fall in the character and standards of morality of the people after the attainment of freedom. And all this is to be attributed to the wrong policies of the administration and wrong personal examples of those sitting in places of authority.”

It is a long thing and I do not want to take the time of the House in reading over the whole of it.

I would appeal to the Government through you, Sir, that a special machinery must be set up if the Government really wants these schemes to be properly implemented.

I have only one more appeal to make. In 1953 I had suggested the construction of a railway line from Siruguppa to Kurnool via Adoni, Yemmuganur, Gonegandla and Kodunur, and the Railway Ministry was pleased to say that it had been admitted for consideration during the Second Five Year Plan. I also learn that the State Government and the District Planning Committee had recommended the construction of the line. I request that some provision for at least surveying this line should be made during the Second Plan.

Dr. Rama Rao (Kakinada): Speaking on the Second Plan, I want to say a few words on the land policy of the Government. The Plan has gone through various stages in its policy of agrarian economy. What has been originally suggested has been watered down and my complaint is that even what it has suggested is not being implemented. No steps are taken to implement the suggestions. The majority of the population is agrarian, ranging between 70 and 75 per cent of the total population. In States like Andhra, more than 50 per cent are landless agricultural labourers. 70-80 per cent of our people depend upon agriculture and of them landless agricultural labour is more than fifty per cent of the total population. So, we must remember these people living entirely on agriculture, whatever we may do. There is not any subsidiary industry for them and agriculture gives them work for two or three months in a year. Therefore, they live a life of hand to mouth. We want land to the tiller and land to the landless. I will first take the instance of Andhra.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He wants land to the tiller and land to the landless even though the landless are not tillers. Is it?

Dr. Rama Rao: Thank you. You helped me to clarify my position. When I say land to the landless, I mean land to the landless agricultural labour; I do not mean other labour such as a weaver, etc. I do not want land to be given to such landless. By land to the tiller, I mean land to the tenants. I am making a landless tenant and a landless labourer, distinct from each other. There is also the self-cultivating peasant.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Those who are tillers and those who are prepared to become tillers—both.

Dr. Rama Rao: What I mean is this. The landless agricultural labourer tills the land, not as a tenant, but for wages. Still, he lives on agriculture; there is no other avocation. Such persons are good cultivators but they are not tenants; they work for a pittance. I now come to the Andhra State.

At the time of the last general elections in Andhra, the Congress Party gave three points in its election manifesto, almost the same points that the Communist Party gave in its manifesto, but with a slight difference. I shall first say what we said: twenty acres of best land, something like a standard acre, should be the ceiling on land, but it can be raised up to a maximum of sixty acres, according to the quality. The best land will be only twenty acres. The second point was protection to tenant and the third was about the distribution of cultivable waste land in the possession of the Government to the landless agricultural labour, free of charge.

The Congress Party, in its manifesto, has said the same thing. There must be a ceiling on land; tenants must be protected and the wastelands must be distributed. The only difference is that they never committed to the ceiling which we said—about 20—60 acres.

The present position of the Andhra Government is typical of the Congress mentality. I charge it is not honest about the land reforms. I will read a few extracts, with your permission,

from the statement placed on the Table of the Andhra Assembly by the Government. I want to draw the attention of the hon. Planning Minister to this in particular, because this is typical of the attitude of the landlord section and the vested interest there. They sabotage your whole land policy. They do not want any ceiling on land. I know a few Congressmen honestly wish for these land reforms. The Minister is one of them. But, they are not firm nor have they got the determination to enforce this principle. The new Congressmen, some of them land-lords, who have entered the Congress have great influence and are carrying the day. The same Congressmen who pledged themselves in their electoral manifesto for a ceiling on land now say certain very curious things which are very queer. They clearly show that they do not want any ceiling on land or any land reform.

Shri Keshavaiengar: Who are the vested interests that ask for it?

Dr. Rama Rao: I know them. I need not mention them and take much of the time. For instance, in my own district of Godavary, there is an MLA, who owns about 700 acres; he got Congress volunteers beaten just a few years ago. Another is a zamindar with 1200 acres. After being elected and after receiving the information that he was going to be a Minister, he bought *khadhar* for the first time while going to Madras. These are the type of new Congressmen. There is a saying that new Vaishnavaites have too many caste marks. These new Congressmen put on the whitest of white caps and therefore, they carry the day. That is worse. They are influencing the Government; they are almost threatening the Government.

The statement of the Andhra Government says:

“A rigid application of the ceiling on land holding would be neither possible nor desirable.”

Suddenly, two years after the elections, they have found that fixation of ceiling is neither possible nor desirable.

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"Fixation of ceiling in terms of acreage or assessment will involve a continual revision of the ceiling according to the rise or fall in the price of agricultural commodities. As the ceiling is at all times to be related to income, it would seem both necessary and desirable to express it directly in terms of income instead of indirectly in terms of acreage or assessment."

If they are honest about ceiling, why should they claim that ceiling must be fixed in terms of income? It is queer logic. If you fix ceiling on land in terms of income, is it permanent? It is the income that changes; the price changes; so many things change. We want to give a fair and comfortable living to the people, we fix a ceiling. It is twenty acres according to the manifesto of the Communist Party of Andhra or thirty acres according to the Plan.

Another very wonderful argument is given here.

It is not mentioned here as to what a 'low ceiling' meant.

"If a low ceiling was fixed, the more enterprising agriculturist will migrate to towns in search of more profitable avenues of investment unhampered by ceilings. Such a situation would result in depriving the rural sector of its most progressive elements on whom the prospects of agricultural and other advancement in villages depend."

These wonderful progressive elements will shift from village to towns and heavens will come down, the whole Indian agricultural economy will collapse according to our wonderful Andhra Congress Government. If these people can find alternative employment on the industrial side, they are welcome to do so. Then they say that the financial position of the State does not allow taking over and paying for extra land. You take over the extra land and pay them in bonds or something like that. There are so

many ways of doing it if only you have the will to do it. Because they have not the will to do it, they find all these lame excuses.

Now I will give one more instance. Yesterday I was in Patiala. There I attended the Assembly and saw the demonstration of the kisans. In the evening I attended their meeting also. It is a very significant thing. You know, Sir, sometime back under the President's Rule there were tenancy laws according to which a cultivating tenant could pay a certain amount and get the land by paying in convenient instalments. For three years Acts have been passed year after year, one Act at a time postponing the enforcement of that particular section. Now the Bill is under consideration. A Select Committee has gone into it, but has not reported. Yesterday when I was present in the Assembly they were asking for time for the presentation of the Select Committee's Report. I was glad to find that two members belonging to the Akali Party objected to this delaying tactic, because everybody knew, and it was quite clear, that it was only a delaying tactic to sabotage the whole thing. The Government did not yield to that objection and the Communist members walked out of the House. Outside there was a huge demonstration of about 5000 to 6000 cultivating tenants who wanted to hurry up this legislation. In the evening there was a meeting which I attended. I need not say anything about the meeting, but an old prominent worker, when he just walked out of the meeting on to the road, was beaten. Afterwards when he came to the meeting blood was flowing from his head. He was beaten by an agent of *biswedars*. There was no quarrel, but he was struck by the agent who ran away.

In this connection I also want to mention another thing, and I am mentioning this with a purpose. On the previous day—that is, daybefore-yesterday—there was a demonstration by the landlords and *biswedars* with their tractors, their agents and their

hirelings. It is very significant. I was reminded of the British calling the Army and sending warships and paratroops in connection with the Suez crisis just to show their strength. Is it that our landlords want to show their strength with tractors?

I will tell you a third thing.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: These are very good illustrations, but not relevant to the discussion today.

Dr. Rama Rao: Now I come to the Planning Commission. I am reliably told that the Planning Commission gave direction to the PEPSU Congress organisation that all big and organised farms should be excluded from any ceiling that is to be fixed on holding of lands. That is my information. Now these biswedars and big landlords who have got big farms are not affected. The rich can grow richer and they can enjoy their 500 or 1000 acre farms. That is why they want to show their strength to the people. They want to tell to the people that the Planning Commission is behind them. Though they cannot use tanks at least they want to show their tractors and that gives them courage to beat a kisan leader in the open street. Therefore, I charge the Planning Commission with vacillation.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question of that beating and mention as to who did it ought not to have been made here. That is not relevant here. Moreover, we cannot say who beat him; it might be under investigation. Therefore, that ought not to have been mentioned.

Dr. Rama Rao: I have not mentioned any names. Anyway, I am guided by you. I only charge the Planning Commission of siding with vested interests. It is their actions and their directions that are causing loopholes in the work so much so, in the ultimate analysis nothing is coming out in the form of proper ceilings on land-holdings or agrarian reforms.

Now, the Planning Commission, the Government and all of us want to create enthusiasm among the people. Recently one of our senior officers returned from China and in an article we have read it in the Press, he has stated—I am referring to the Thapar Statement—that one remarkable thing which he found in China was the enthusiasm among the people and he goes on to say how this enthusiasm has been created. He says there that the main cause of their enthusiasm was the land policy, the land distribution of the Chinese Government. Therefore, if you really want to enthruse the people you must do something substantial and not merely talk loud about the socialist pattern of society and then give directions to see that large farms are not touched. This is an acid test of the honesty of the Government. If they are honest about establishing a socialist pattern of society, they must take firm steps for land distribution and fixation of ceilings.

I need not go into the other details of tenancy Acts and distribution of cultivable waste-land in Andhra. They are distributing good cultivable waste-land to so-called political sufferers, but to the landless agriculture labourers they do not give anything.

In this connection I also want to mention another thing. It is reported that the Prime Minister was making anxious enquiries from people who returned from China. It is said he asked them: "You are telling me many things. I want to know what according to you is the cause of enthusiasm among the people. How is it that the Chinese Government has been able to create that enthusiasm?" The Prime Minister wants to know why the people of China are enthusiastic about the Government's action. Why is it that our people are not so very enthusiastic? All of us are anxious to create that enthusiasm. Let him study the agrarian problem. Let him see how his own Congress Govern-

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ment are sabotaging the whole thing and deceiving the people. Then he will realise that our socialist pattern of society is anything but reality.

In this connection I want to raise my firm voice against the Ministers and high officials indulging in this Bhoodan Movement. I have already once spoken about it. I have no objection to a man like Vinoba Bhava propagating that idea. But it is fantastic, unrealistic, hypocrisy for a responsible Minister, when he is in a position to bring in an Act and see that land reform is carried on, to indulge in that. He does not do anything that is in his own hands, but goes on to Andhra, Tamilnad and other places and says: "Come on, give land." This is downright hypocrisy. I do not want to mention names.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He may be a helpless person here to guide all the policies alone and, therefore, he directs his energies outside.

Shri Nanda: Is he referring to somebody in Andhra?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He is referring to somebody here who had gone to Andhra.

Shri Nanda: Some Minister?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Yes, he says, some Minister.

Dr. Rama Rao: I do not think I should mention the name.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No need of mentioning names.

Dr. Rama Rao: My point is, for good or bad, the Congress is in power in an overwhelming majority in all the States and in the Centre. Because that organisation is still powerful, why not they utilise the opportunity, if they are honest about the socialist pattern of society, honest about agrarian reforms, to see that laws are enacted and implemented effectively and expeditiously? (*Interruptions*).

Sir, I do not know if the hon. Members who are interrupting me have anything to say, because in that case I am prepared to yield. I am very keen about this land reforms, because that is the very foundation of our society. If you do not do that, all our plans, all our programmes and all our propaganda would be sheer waste. But, if you do that, if you go, say, to PEPSU, and take up this land reform effectively—even with a section of the Congressmen—you will see the real enthusiasm coming. Will the Government do that and go to that extent? If they do that, then they will see the real enthusiasm of the people.

Now, I was taking of Bhoodan. Persons occupying very high positions should not go about with this activity and they should not start all sorts of fantastic things in connection with Bhoodan, especially when they do not utilise their position to put same principle into effect by legislation. I would not mention names.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member is not against Bhoodan and the equitable distribution of land though it may be by any methods and by any persons. Why should he oppose it?

Dr. Ram Rao: You have said it. I am not opposed to Bhoodan.

Ch. Ranbir Singh: (Rohtak): Question.

Dr. Rama Rao: If the hon. Member is patient, he would understand me. I do not believe that the land problem will be solved.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Though the method may be different, he believes in Bhoodan.

Dr. Rama Rao: But this is no Bhoodan.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He wants that distribution of land should be equitable.

Dr. Rama Rao: That is right. But here, it is charity. That is the difference.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He wants it to be done by the Government. If some other agency does it, he should not be opposed to it.

Dr. Rama Rao: I am not opposed to it.

Shri B. Y. Reddy: Otherwise, it is not possible. Bhoodan is not the method.

Dr. Rama Rao: I do not want to be misunderstood. The land problem cannot be solved in the way in which it is now sought to be solved. The Congress is not doing it honestly and effectively. That is the point.

I should like to say just a few words about industries. I have said many times in this House and in the Committees, about the industrial policy, but it deserves repetition. In respect of foreign capital in India, even at the very beginning we must make a distinction between loans and aids and other things, as distinct from capital. By foreign capital, I mean the foreign industries and the foreign exploitation that is continuing here. For example, the Lever Brothers and other tea estates and so many other things are still continuing here.

I have previously given so many examples. You know what Iran did and what happened there. We know what happened in Guatemala. We know what is happening in Suez. But for the powerful international opinion behind President Nasser, the British would have occupied the Suez Canal by this time. Because he has got a powerful public opinion behind him, too powerful friends all over the world, the British Government, while rattling the sabre and calling up arms, is still hesitating, and now better sense is prevailing. Of course, our friends may think that warships would not come to Bombay if we are nationalising our industries. Warships may or may not come, but the danger is there. Anyway, there are other types of metaphorical warships coming.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Should we not limit our discussions to national issues now?

Dr. Rama Rao: I give the instance of Kolar gold fields. It has been mentioned so many times in the question hour and on other occasions. I repeat it once again. The Mysore Government was prepared to give full compensation at the market value of shares, but because it concerned foreign interests, and because foreign interests were involved the Central Government interfered and advised—that is the word—“advised”—the Mysore Government to pay a huge compensation amounting nearly to Rs. 1,60,00,000. Of course, the British people want still more. In this connection, the Deputy High Commissioner saw the Government authorities. What he said, I do not know, nor is it my business to enter into that matter. But the Central Government should not go out of their way just because it is a foreign concern.

I have pointed out one more instance also. In the dispute regarding the Madras Tramway Company, the arbitrator gave a decree in favour of the workers about the bonus. Then the Central Government entered the field, even though it had no business and induced the Tribunal to change it, with the result the whole thing was squashed. Why should the Central Government, just because a British or some foreign concern is involved, go out of its way and use its influence, I will not say influence, but join the party against the interests of the workers? These are the ways how the foreign concerns influence the Government and it is always a danger.

Regarding industries, there are many but I want to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to the leather industry. There is big money in leather. About Rs. 25 crores worth of hides, skins and some leather are being exported from India every year. If we manufacture

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the leather goods here, we may get anything between Rs. 50 crores and Rs. 100 crores every year. Also, the workers employed in this industry are the lowest and the most suppressed section of the community, being mostly harijans. Therefore, the Government should take up the manufacture of leather goods on a large scale, not in the sense of concentration, but on a wide scale they should supply finished tanned leather. The industry can be carried on as a cottage industry, as the Government wishes to do; it need not be concentrated, but they should supply high quality leather and have an organisation for sales and co-operative credit. If the Government can do these things, it will earn huge profits for itself and also for the workers.

Lastly, I want to say one point about the railways, though the Railway Ministry is not represented here. Our Kakinada-Kotipalli railway which was dismantled during the war has not been restored. The whole land is there; the bund is there and they can develop it by spending a little money. It is in the midst of the Delta District

of East Godavari at the terminal of the Godavari river, and so much so, on the other side, the delta is the only outlet for that place.

I hope Government will take steps to build a socialist pattern in earnest. They should take effective steps and brush aside all opposition from vested interests mostly from the Congress. They should see that the socialist pattern is set afoot and some enthusiasm is created in our people.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I find no hon. Member wants to speak now.

Shri S. C. Samanta (Tamluk) rose—

Shri Kamath: There is no quorum.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The bell is being rung.

The House stands adjourned till 10-30 A.M. on Monday, as there is no quorum.

6-42 P.M.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Half Past Ten of the Clock on Monday, the 10th September, 1956.
