

may be some mistakes, *bona fide* mistakes, mistakes committed due to inadvertence and so on. If opportunity for filing objections is given those things can be rectified. Therefore I would like that these provisions should remain as they are even in this amending Bill.

**Shri Pataskar:** Sub-section (3) of section 8 is intended to provide the machinery and procedure to be followed by the Delimitation Commission when they are going to do certain things. For instance, what is laid down is that the Commission shall "publish its proposals, together with the dissenting proposals, if any, of an associate member"; then it says that it shall "specify a date on or after which the proposals will be further considered"; and then it says that it shall "consider all objections and suggestions etc.". It provides an elaborate machinery for making its proposals final. What we are now trying to propose by this Bill is only to take into account whatever revised figures there are. For this simple purpose why is it necessary to follow all this elaborate procedure, it is difficult for me to understand. Therefore I believe the Select Committee has rightly said that these provisions in sub-section (3) of section 8 shall not apply to what is being done here under the provisions of this Bill.

**Mr. Chairman:** The question is:

In page 2, omit lines 24 to 28.

*The motion was negatived.*

**Mr. Chairman:** Amendment No. 11 is already held out of order. I shall put the clause to the vote of the House.

The question is:

"That clause 2 stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted.*

*Clause 2 was added to the Bill.*

*Clause 1, the Title and the Enacting Formula were added to the Bill.*

**Shri Pataskar:** I beg to move:

"That the Bill be passed."

**Mr. Chairman:** The question is:

"That the Bill be passed."

*The motion was adopted.*

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MOTION RE: PROGRESS REPORT  
OF FIVE YEAR PLAN FOR  
1953-54—Contd.

**Mr. Chairman:** The House will now proceed with the further discussion of the following motion moved by Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda on the 22nd December, 1954:

"That the Progress Report of the Five Year Plan for the year 1953-54 be taken into consideration."

Before I proceed further I must remind hon. Members that the Deputy-Speaker was pleased to put a time-limit of fifteen minutes for leaders of groups and ten minutes for ordinary Members.

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज (शोलापुर-राखित-अनुसूचित जातियाँ) : शिड्युल्ट कास्ट ओर शिड्युल्ट ट्राइब्स का मामला कब आवेगा ?

**Mr. Chairman:** It is coming tomorrow, not today. I would request hon. Members to keep to the time-limit because there are a large number of Members desiring to speak.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Hoogly):** I was listening very closely to the hon. Ministers when the economic affairs debate was going on in this House. I am sorry, one of the Ministers said that the debate had been a damp squib. That was a cynical statement which we did not relish. I hope the

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hon. Minister Shri Nanda will not take up that kind of attitude.

**The Minister of Defence Organisation (Shri Tyagi):** If anything, I am not the guilty Minister. If any Minister has passed any remark somewhere in the lobby, I wonder if that could be quoted here.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee:** Here, the remark was made on the floor of the House.

**Mr. Chairman:** Does the hon. Minister think that no hon. Minister is capable of saying so in the House?

**Shri Velayudhan (Quilon cum Mavelikkara—Reserved—Sch. Castes):** If it can be stated so, why cannot that be quoted?

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee:** Shri T. T. Krishnamachari said that he was disappointed with the debate and that it was a damp squib. We can say that this Five Year Plan is a damp squib; but we do not want to say that.

**Shri N. M. Lingam (Coimbatore):** Thank you for the mercy.

**An Hon. Member:** In effect, you have said so.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee:** I must express my sense of regret that from the Treasury Benches was hurled an unprovoked, undeserved and unbalanced attack against an hon. Member sitting on the opposition Benches, who has the reputation of being one of the greatest scientists that India has produced. It was unworthy.....

**Pandit K. C. Sharma (Meerut Distt. South):** He has defended himself.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member need not refer to a matter which has been closed. The hon. Member himself made a personal explanation. It is not relevant to this debate.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee:** This kind of vituperation or indulging in language of declamation will not take us very far. We want to make an objective, real and critical estimate of what has happened during the last three years, how far real achievements have taken

place in the working out of the Five Year Plan. This must be measured in terms of the betterment of the people, the confidence created in them and their faith in the future. From that stand point, I maintain that the achievements are not very encouraging.

Whatever may be the criteria of economic progress, we must bear in mind that the real criterion of economic progress is the raising of the standard of the people, the success of the Government in creating confidence in the nation, to undertake vast programmes of reconstruction and development. The Finance Minister in his speech here said that the principal aim of economic policy in an undeveloped country, apart from any directive principles of the Constitution, must be to promote development so as to raise standards of living and to create as quickly as possible conditions in which full employment is reached and maintained. Nobody will disagree with the Finance Minister in this formulation of that sober and balanced economic policy.

Let us examine the economic worth of the Third Progress Report on this Plan from three points of view: first the reaching of the targets as set out in the Plan, secondly, progress in the direction of full employment which is the real yard-stick by which the worth of this Plan should be judged and thirdly, the financing of the Plan. I shall take up the first item, how far we have reached the targets set before us in the Five Year Plan.

It is proclaimed that India's achievement in the first three years of the working of the Plan has been really commendable in spheres both agricultural and industrial. Nodoubt, agricultural production has increased. Index of industrial production has risen from 105 in 1950 to 140 in the first five months of 1954. Prices have more or less been stabilised at the pre-Korean war level. The balance of payment position is also favourable. Can the planners of the Government really take credit for these small

achievements? I maintain that the rosy picture of achievement is not entirely due to the Plan but may be in spite of the Plan. In agriculture, we have had two favourable monsoons and they have played a helpful part. In industry, the fact that the supply of raw materials was comfortable coupled with a better state of industrial relations, and this was to a large extent responsible for increase in production. I am talking to the Treasury Benches; one Minister is here.

**An Hon. Member:** He plans for all.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee:** As far as industrial production is concerned, the controversy regarding public sector and private sector is still continuing. I am sorry this cleavage between the private sector and public sector has not been brushed aside. Honestly, it is difficult to follow the policy of this Government with regard to this Plan. The hon. Finance Minister talks of a mixed economy, and tries to give some assurances to the private sector, that they will not be hustled out of existence or liquidated. Then stands up the Prime Minister on the floor of the House and talks of complete socialisation, or a socialist pattern of society and so on. We have heard of Pancha Shila. This Government is a Panchamukhi Government talking with five voices when five Ministers talk. We were very much distressed by the continued reports or information with regard to the impending Cabinet disintegration or at least disruption of Cabinet solidarity. The policy should be made clear. In the First Five Year Plan, the planners said that the private enterprise has got to play a very vital role and pointed out that for some time, the State will not be able to greatly extend its activities in the sphere of industry and commerce and that it will assist and direct private enterprise. Then, the planners summed up by saying that private sector will therefore continue to play a significant part in both production and distribution.

What I maintain is this. Having regard to the conflicting voices of the Ministers, there is great misgiving in the private sector. As a matter of fact, you know, on three points, the private sector has been thoroughly unhappy: firstly because they do not know what is the final verdict of the Government or the Parliament on the question of the companies' set up. You know that the Company Law Select Committee is sitting. I am not disclosing what is happening there. We are trying to do our best under the guidance of Shri Pataskar. The longer we are deliberating, the more unhappy the private sector is becoming. Some assurance should be given quickly by the authorities or Parliament so that they may know where they stand.

**Acharya Kripalani (Bhagalpur cum Purnea):** They are making hay while the sun shines.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee:** It is a matter of grave dissatisfaction that the policy issue has not been settled and it should be settled once for all, and an atmosphere of stability, which is necessary for the private sector to work properly, is now lacking. Therefore, the so-called mixed economy of the Government is becoming a mixture of the demerits of both capitalism and socialism. One is talking of a balanced economy and another is talking of a complete socialistic pattern of society, and has relegated the private sector to a secondary place. How can you really have mixed economy if you continuously say that the private sector will be relegated to a subordinate position?

The second objective of the Five Year Plan was the utilisation of the man-power and the solution of the colossal problem of unemployment. What has happened is, the more you are planning, the more you are talking and doing more propaganda for the Plan, the more and more unemployment is increasing. I am not giving statistics from Shri Mehra's

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Saha, I am giving statistics from the Progress Report itself. If you look at that, the facts given in Chapter XVIII under the heading Manpower and unemployment, are simply significant. The total number of unemployed people in this country is increasing. The planners admit that new jobs are not being created at a rate fast enough to absorb the additions to our labour force and they admit that it is at least 1.5 millions per year. That is the wonderful achievement of this Five Year Plan at the end of the third year. Now, I do not know when it started. They say it started in April, 1951. I do not know whether they started it on 1st April, 1951, but it is mere ambitious slogans which they are shouting. It may be a slogan for vote-catching, but they have to admit that there is a large surplus population on land which is not yet employed properly and it is only partially employed. Considerable unemployment exists both in urban and rural areas.

There are certain significant facts which have been disclosed in this book. Since July, 1953, all that they have been able to do is to inaugurate a number of studies with a view to secure reliable data with regard to our unemployment position. After three years, all that the planners say is: we have not yet got proper data for the purpose of knowing the exact position. They have said that something is being done by the National Sample Survey, by the Programme Evaluation Organisation and by the Travancore University to collect certain data. This is a pathetic admission of incompetence and futility, that after three years, after spending crores of rupees, this is the position and this is the achievement.

Now, there is continuous rise in the number of persons on the Live Registers. In July, 1953, the total number registered on the Register

of Employment Exchanges, was 4,93,000 and in July 1954, there are 5,89,000 persons. Therefore, the total increase of unemployment, according to Governmental figures, is 20 per cent. In white collar jobs they had 1,55,000 in July, 1953. It was 1,98,000 in July, 1954 — 28 per cent increase. This is a very serious situation and I draw the attention of the hon. Minister and ask him not to shout that he will give 15 lakhs of fresh employments every year. But let us know how it is to be done. Is it merely a slogan, or has he got any plan? Has he got anything substantial, has he got any definite scheme?

I am making certain constructive suggestions for the consideration of the Ministers. Firstly, I say that State Governments must be allowed to plan for themselves. For Heaven's sake adopt a policy of decentralisation, and that should be the policy in future planning. Secondly, I say, if you want to have the private sector, if you do not adopt totalitarian methods, then, industrialists should be given certain amount of facilities, they must be taken into confidence and they should be given the necessary resources to improve production. Thirdly, I maintain that immediately the planners should institute a census on manpower, especially of our scientific personnel. That should be immediately done, and no foreign expert should be brought into India while similar experts are available in our country. With all due respect to these foreign experts, they are not always conversant with the conditions of our country, and sometimes they disappoint us.

Then, I say that the administrative machinery must be re-modelled. There must be an economic service with trained personnel set up, an industrial and economic service should be instituted, and they should not simply adopt old bureaucratic methods: they should be given free play.

Lastly, training of persons in our own country in small industries should be encouraged. It is a great disappointment that with regard to village industries and cottage industries, our position has been very unsatisfactory. All that we have spent is: 1951-52, under the Five Year Plan, Rs. 14.30 lakhs has been spent; in 1952-53, Rs. 29.30 lakhs has been spent; in 1953-54 they are thinking of spending Rs. 79.80. The total amount meant for these industries was Rs. 15 crores. They have spent not even ten per cent., much below ten per cent. And there is practically nothing done for organising marketing and supply of raw materials. Therefore, I am submitting that that should be properly tackled, and unless you do that, there will be no real improvement. Unless impetus is given to village industries, the little employment that is now taking place in heavy industries will lead to inflation, because those who get employment in these new sectors will compete among themselves for getting hold of existing consumer's goods and that will really not be good for the country. Even now, competent economists tell us, that about 50 per cent. of the consumer goods is produced by small and rural industries. An attempt must be made, if the Government is really serious to improve cottage and rural industries, to give a proper impetus to them and at least to spend a decent sum out of the total sum of Rs. 15 crores.

I come from Bengal and I know the colossal unemployment that is obtaining there. They have made some sample survey in Calcutta and that shows that at least three lakhs of people are unemployed there. (interruption) They have themselves admitted that, but our figures are much more. Now, Government is talking of competent scientific personnel. There was a conference recently held in Calcutta, and there are thousands of our properly trained scientific men whose services are not utilised, and who are remaining idle for want of employment. The

solution of unemployment problem is the most important thing and it is by that yardstick that we should judge.

At the same time, I want to point out that certain guarantees should be given, certain assurances should be given that the sanctity of private property on which our constitutional and fundamental rights are framed deliberately by the Constitution, will not be whittled down. You can have the law of "eminent domain," you can have the power of the State for public purposes to acquire, but if you say that there shall be no compensation or compensation only at the sweet will of the executive, and if you make it non-justiciable, then you are initiating the methods of totalitarian countries. What you are doing is really expropriation without any *quid pro quo*. You are resorting to confiscation which is destructive of sanctity of property, and it will not do; it will not at all stimulate the private sector as it will really cripple them, cripple their initiative and cripple their enterprise.

Shri-N. B. Chowdhury (Ghatal): I presume at the very beginning that in order to make a real assessment of what has been done during the last three years, it is very necessary to examine this Report in the light of some of the objectives of the Plan, for instance, the raising of the standard of living of the people, the gradual removal of inequalities and providing greater facilities for education, health services etc. Accepting this yardstick to judge, if we examine this Report on the work of three years of "democratic" planning, what do you find? What improvements have been effected so far as the living standards of the *demos*, the Indian people, are concerned? I shall confine myself to the people of the villages in which live at least 83 per cent. of the people of India.

You know, Sir, that 70 per cent. of the rural people depend upon agriculture, and we have recently got a report of the Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee which shows

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that at least 18 million families of agricultural workers are living in sub-human conditions. And, as regards the small peasants and other people who depend on handicrafts and other cottage industries, we know what their conditions are. So, when we speak of the rise in the national income of increased production, we have to be clear that it has not gone to these poor people, concern for whom should have been uppermost in minds of the Government, in the minds of the planners.

Then if we go to the peasants to have replies to these questions, they will certainly tell us that their indebtedness is increasing, they are still in difficulties, that their tax burdens are also increasing and there are mass evictions and other sufferings as they have been before.

Now, much had been made about the increased food production. We are glad that there has been an increase due to the supply of fertilisers, to a certain extent due to irrigation facilities, and to a large extent due to favourable monsoons. But even so, we find that there are large parts in the country which are flood and drought-affected areas, and where people are suffering even at the harvest time. Though there has been an increase in food production, we find that the share-croppers and the agricultural workers who remain unemployed for most of the time in a year have not benefited thereby. It is only the few rich peasants, the landlords and hoarders who have benefited by this, and not the primary producers, namely the poor peasants and workers.

Next, I come to the rural credit. What is the position in this respect? We find that the villagers are still in the same position, which goes by the phrase, "born in debt, lived in debt and died in debt". The indebtedness has, in fact, increased, and we find that there is a larger number of sales of land to the village Shylocks and the landlords who are still having their

grip on the persons who live in the villages. The little amount that comes from the co-operatives also goes only to those persons who are the larger owners of land, and not to the poor people who have not got sufficient land, or who have got only very little land.

With regard to irrigation facilities, we have the multipurpose river valley projects. They are very good, and in fact, we want more of them.

But the point is that the betterment charges and the irrigation levies are being doubled and trebled as a result of the increase in expenditure due to wastage, due to costly foreign experts, due to reasons of inefficiency and various other factors. The entire burden is now being shifted to the peasants. In West Bengal, for instance, there is the Mayurakshi Project, for which we have been asked to pay about Rs. 75 per acre as betterment levy, and about Rs. 15 per acre for those plots of land where crop is grown twice a year. In spite of the fact that there had been drought conditions people could not take water from it for about two years. This is the position in which they find themselves.

There has been also a shortfall in the area to be brought under irrigation. The Progress Report tells us that as against the target of about 20 million acres of additional land which had to be provided with irrigation facilities, only 7.5 million acres have been provided with this facility up till now.

What is the position with regard to the price of agricultural commodities? Government had stated in the Plan that they will have some sort of price policy so far as agricultural commodities are concerned. But we find that no minimum economic price has been ensured either for the jute growers, or the sugarcane growers. In spite of the fact that jute millowners are still minting huge profits, in spite of the fact that the sugar factory owners are creating havoc in the country, and in spite of the fact that there has been

repeated demand by the growers' representatives for raising the price of sugarcane to Rs. 1-12-0 per maund, we find that the price of sugarcane has been reduced from that level to Rs. 1-7-0. This is how, difficulties are being created everywhere.

With regard to dispensaries, I want to quote a few figures. If you look at page 255 of the Progress Report, you will find that as against the target of 48 hospitals, they have got up till now only 20 hospitals. They have got only 152 dispensaries in urban areas as against 337. They have got only 209 dispensaries in rural areas as against 611.

As regards water supply, we know that in villages, the people are put to very great difficulties, so far as drinking water is concerned. This should surely have been given the highest priority. There is much talk in the Planning Commission's recommendations about a sense of priorities. But what is their sense of priorities? Whose interests are they taking first and foremost? As against the Rs. 11 crores provided, they have spent only Rs. 5 crores. Why can you not provide wells and tube-wells in order to meet this dire necessity of the people.

Regarding the educational policy, I want to make only one observation. On page 242 of the Progress Report, you will find that out of the 38,059 additional primary schools that had to be started as per the targets laid down in the Plan, only 16,276 have been opened up till now. So, even in these matters, they have fallen far short of the targets, and we doubt whether these targets can be fulfilled by next year.

In spite of all these things, we have been told that there has been an all-round improvement in the economic situation in the country. That is what we find at the end of the first chapter of this Progress Report? In spite of the people being in difficulties, and their condition having become worse, we have been told

that there has been an increase in the total national income of the country. That only means that the Plan has not gone towards gradual elimination of inequalities, but it has brought benefit only to a very few, and it has led only to greater inequalities. That is the only conclusion that can be drawn from it.

When we look at this Progress Report, one thing which we miss very much (but which comes first and foremost to our minds is this that whatever may be said about the socialistic pattern of society that we are going to have, and whatever may be claimed about the gradual elimination of inequalities, what is being done is only to concentrate wealth in the hands of the few; and whatever increase has been achieved in the field of food production has not benefited the poorest, but the benefit has gone to the few who have been at the top. In view of all this, I feel that the pattern of development that has been put into practice here has not been a pattern which will justify any assumption of a socialistic pattern of society. It is simply putting new wine in old bottle.

**An Hon. Member:** Old wine in new bottle.

**Shri N. B. Chowdhury:** New wine in old bottle?

**Pandit K. C. Sharma:** There is neither wine nor bottle.

**Shri Tyagi:** Red wine in white bottle.

**Shri N. B. Chowdhury:** I stand corrected. It is simply putting old wine in new bottle.

The concept of a socialistic pattern may be there in talk, but the capitalistic order of society continues as before.

**Shri L. N. Mishra (Darbhanga cum Bhagalpur):** I take this opportunity to express my sense of appreciation of this report. It not only gives a bold statement of facts, but a clear picture of the working of the Plan and the

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factors governing the progress of the Plan. I would also like to say that this statement does not only indicate the achievements made by the Planning Commission and Government, but also accepts the lapses and omissions made by them. So, I think this Progress Report really gives a true picture of the working of the Plan.

Coming to the achievements in regard to the targets of the Plan, I would like to say that Government deserve congratulations for achieving the targets in most of the sectors. I accept that there have been shortfalls also. But comparing the working of our Plan with that of any other totalitarian regime, we see that our Plan is more realistic and more practical, and it has been more successful than any other Plan in the world.

One thing very significant about the progress of the Plan is that we have achieved all these things, and we have moved forward, without much sacrifice on the part of the people. But this is a thing which I do not like. People should have been asked to make some sacrifice for the Plan, but it has not been done.

The Plan has landed the country in an era of economic stability. I entirely agree with the Planning Commission when they say that the Primary objective of the Plan has been achieved by solving the question of shortages and disequilibrium caused by the war and the Partition.

The most significant point that has struck me is that in spite of the heavy expenditure that we have incurred, the country has not got any inflationary pressure upon its economy, and this is not an ordinary thing. But by all this, I do not mean that we have reached a stage where we can feel satisfied. I say that our standard of living is still very low.

Our country is a country of under-developed industry and of a backward agriculture and low productivity: Our agriculture is still an individual's enterprise with no credit facilities, with the traditional type of farming

and no scientific method of working. The agriculturists' position, as stated by some Members yesterday, is very bad. Today the prices are falling and agricultural prices have little resemblance to the prices of manufactured goods. I think some efforts have got to be made to stabilise the relationship between the two. I feel that the Plan has failed in this respect to solve the problem of agricultural finance so far. To my mind, most of its recommendations in this respect as referred to in chapter XVI, have not been implemented by most of the States. I feel that the Government have to be serious about it, to see that something is done so far as agricultural finance is concerned.

Next I come to the question of shortfall in the working of the Plan. The House is aware that when the Plan was launched, there was a general talk of how the gap in the estimated cost of the Plan was to be filled up. But the experience of the actual working of the Plan for three years has shown something else. We see today that for successful planning something else than mere finance is required. We have seen that what is required more than finance is organisation of machinery for implementation of the Plan. Our apprehensions that the Plan may fail for want of finance have not proved true. It has been something else.

Looking to the shortfall of the Plan, broadly speaking, we see that there can be only two reasons, although I agree with many of the reasons as put forward by the Planning Commission, late finalisation and want of technical personnel etc. (1) Either the Plan was too ambitious or (2) we have no capacity to spend. The first reason cannot be accepted. The planners themselves claimed that the plan was not very ambitious; they have called it a modest one. Then I come to the second reason, that we have no capacity to spend. I feel that everyone will agree with me when I say that the administrative machinery was not geared up for the immediate execution of the Plan. I feel that



there are procedural delays and these have stood in the way of the execution of the Plan. Something has got to be done to reorganise the machinery put in charge of the execution of the Plan. The Planning Commission has itself made certain recommendations about organisation of the services. There were the recommendations of Shri Gorwala. The latest recommendations are by Mr. Appleby. I want to know which of the recommendations have been implemented so far. I think in this respect we have not done a commendable progress. This may be said to be one of the main reasons for the shortfall in the working of the Plan.

From the reports that I have received from my State, I may say that the shortfall in the Plan has also been due to want of Central assistance to the State Governments in time. I wish to refer to Bihar in particular. Bihar's financial position has been very bad on account of serious natural calamities that visited the State since 1951, especially drought and floods. The successive natural calamities have depleted its resources. Bihar has a population of 40 million. It has the lowest per capita revenue among Part A States.

In spite of all that the rate of taxation in Bihar is one of the highest in the country. But how it is beyond its capacity to undertake any big development work without Central financial assistance. I am told that Central assistance to Bihar during the Plan period has been hardly 50 per cent of the promised sum of Rs. 23.9 crores. I therefore suggest that Central assistance to the State may be expedited so that it may help us in the successful execution of the Plan.

Then I come to the question of planning without sacrifice. I will say one thing, that we have not taken up the question in the spirit in which we should have taken it up. We have done it without any sacrifice. We are trying to have a planned economy without tears. Of late, we have been

short of sugar. We decided to import sugar. It is said that we have spent as much as Rs. 20 crores on import of sugar. Why? We could have done without importing sugar. We could have satisfied ourselves with whatever we produced. Soviet Russia has done like that. I do not say that we should go to the extent of all that they have done. But this is an ordinary thing; we could have made some sacrifice for the implementation of the Plan and for building up our future.

Now, I come to the river valley projects. It must go to the credit of the Irrigation and Power Ministry that in the execution of the river valley projects during the Plan period a very significant progress has been made. Out of the five-year estimate of Rs. 617 crores, about Rs. 300 crores have already been spent and Rs. 168 crores are expected to be spent during this budget year. We have already been able to irrigate about 2.8 million acres and generate additional power to the extent of 450,000 kilowatts. We know that river valley projects occupy a very important position in our Plan. One third of the Plan is concerned with these projects. If success is achieved with regard to our river valley projects, most of the work is done. India's efforts about river valley projects should not be taken as a normal one. India, with a total national income of not more than 6 per cent. of that of the USA and with more than twice the population of the USA, is spending as much as four times what they have spent on projects like the TVA. I think in that great venture, India is going ahead. But I would like to suggest one thing, that we should not ignore the question of electrification of the rural areas. I have seen that recently we have sanctioned Rs. 7 crores for electrification of the rural areas. I would suggest that electrification of rural areas should be expedited because that is one of the factors helping rehabilitation of the rural economy. I would suggest that on the question of electricity for the rural areas, we should not be guided by the

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question of demand. Experience the world over has been that demand follows supply. Supply should precede the demand, not that the demand should precede the supply. I would also like to suggest that on the question of supply of power, we should not depend too much on the private sector. I was not very happy to see that we have entrusted many of the things to the Ahmedabad Electricity Company, the Tata Power Company and the Calcutta Electricity Supply Corporation. On the question of supply of electricity, the public sector should be encouraged.

A word about the Planning Commission's recommendations about enlisting public co-operation in the river valley projects. The Planning Commission gives a very good place to the aspect of public co-operation. But I see that the question of public co-operation has not been taken up seriously by the people in charge of river valley projects. Recently the question of public co-operation has been taken up in connection with Kosi. We expect better results from it. But I see that it has not been possible for our officials in general to welcome this unorthodox way of tackling the problem. I would request Government to see that public co-operation is enlisted to the maximum.

Shri Tulsidas (Mehsana): I thank you for giving me an opportunity for participating in this debate. We have had a debate the other day on the economic policy of Government. We are now discussing the progress report of the First Five Year Plan. I find from the progress report that there has been a lag in the expenditure side. The progress report refers to the initial drawback and the low tempo of expenditure coupled with that of less activity in the first two years of the Plan.

Now, I would like to refer here to the speech of the Finance Minister in which he pointed out that every effort is being made to see that no schemes which are worthwhile and

have been properly worked out lag behind for want of finance or on account of procedural delays.

Sir, I would like to tell the hon. Minister for Planning and also the Minister in charge of Finance—though they are not present here—something with regard to the administrative procedure, with regard to the sanctioning of projects, with regard to the finances required for supplying these projects—even those that have been approved—and that is that they get their supplies or finance eight, nine or even twelve months later. I know of a number of instances in which there have been complaints that the payments are received from the Government after a delay of one year or even more. I have made an analysis of the supplies made to Government and nearly about 100 crores still remain to be paid to those people. This is the way in which the administrative machinery is working. If it is so, I do not know how our tempo of expenditure will increase.

We started our Plan with the idea that our savings in the country would be on the basis of 5 per cent of our national income. We started with the idea that we will have to depend very largely on foreign assistance and also that our balance of payments position will be adverse to the extent of nearly about 200 crores and we shall have to take advantage of our sterling balances. What is the position now? We find in the country—at least according to my analysis—that the savings has considerably increased. We also see that there has been no adverse balance of payments position. We did not draw on our sterling balances. We have not also had to fall back on our reserves. But our experience is that the Plan has been able to make very slow progress. We are not satisfied with the progress. No one has ever said that the progress has been so rapid as to cope up with the pace the world is moving. I would like to draw the attention of the Government to the fact that unless this administrative procedure is gear-

ed up properly, the expenditure will not be incurred accessingly. I know that the Secretariat is very much afraid of the criticism of my hon. friend Mr. Das in the Public Accounts Committee. I know that we have got Parliamentary democracy in which every item of expenditure is properly scrutinised. But, when we are on the threshold of implementing a Plan of this nature and our next Plan is going to be much larger than even this, then our machinery should also be geared up and the finances required for the projects should be forthcoming quickly. In a University a project was sanctioned costing about Rs. 3½ crores. It took about six months for the Finance Ministry to okay that and even when they okayed it they said six months have elapsed and so it might be cut to half. If this is the attitude of the Finance Ministry in sanctioning payments, how is the Plan going to progress?

There are a number of instances which I can give where there has been a tightening up with regard to the sanctioning of the amounts, and scrutiny is more strict. I think we shall have to evolve some method by which this delay in payment of giving finances to the different projects will be avoided. I feel that the best suggestion that I can make is that there should be a committee in addition to the Estimates Committee and the Public Accounts Committee which not only works jointly with them and which would get things moving rapidly. I have seen that there is a lot of demoralisation in the Secretariat. Every one is afraid of taking any decision. They say, 'we do not know what is going to happen and we cannot take any responsibility. After three years, Mr. Das will criticise us and say here is a case of error on the part of a Ministry'. I feel that unless and until we gear up to the pace of progress required we are not going to succeed in the matter.....

**Shri B. Das (Jaipur-Keonjhar):**  
Am I to blame?

**Shri Tulsidas:** I am not blaming you. I am saying that we must gear

up the machinery (*Interruptions*). What I feel is that unless we do this we cannot proceed quickly. As I pointed out already, there are about 100 crores of rupees worth of bills presented to Government for the supply of things and the payments are not made for the past 6, 8 or 10 months or even for a year. If that is so, how is the Plan going to progress. In the years 1943, 44 and 45, this Government had to work on a war footing. Why not we do it now? We have got today to develop our country within the shortest space of time and I would like that our machinery should work on a war footing. Unless they do that I am afraid that all our efforts will lag behind.

The other point is with regard to transport. With regard to the transport position, we see that our production both agricultural production and industrial production has increased. We are also hoping to get our industrial and agricultural production to be much higher but our transport is so bad that it is not going to help our activities to increase production. At the time of the Railway Budget I said that the railways are, so far, only rehabilitating the locomotives and the wagon. But the amount of these things which they should have is much more than rehabilitation. We must increase our transport to such an extent that they can cope with the increased production. If the Railways cannot do it, then we must depend on other transport. My personal feeling is that unless we develop other means of transport it is not possible to improve the transport position in this country. In my opinion the railways are not in a position to keep pace with the problem of transport in this country. In other countries only 15 per cent of production is moved by the railways. The balance is moved either by waterways or by roadways. We must develop our transport, to the maximum extent. We want to increase our production on the one hand and on the other we have not transport geared up to move the

[Shri Tulsidas]

increased production. These are two points on which the Planning Commission should pay particular attention and see that things are properly moved.

Only one word more; when we are discussing the Progress Report of the Plan, I would be failing in my duty if I do not speak about the progress in respect of the constituency which I represent. There is only one point which I want to bring to the notice of Government. Four hundred tube-wells were going to be sunk in that part of the country, Gujrat. A contract was given to the Tube-well Company and the history is well-known to this House. I read in the papers that 87 wells have been completed so far. If this is so, I do not know how and when these 400 tube-wells will be completed. There is actually shortage of water in this part being a famine area and if this is really the story of progress I do not know how the people there will have full and adequate water facilities.

4 P.M.

There is one more point, and it is with regard to the question of roads. The roads are practically little or none. There has been a plan to put up a main national highway from Ahmedabad to Delhi, but progress has been very slow. Before further work on a road is taken up, the portion of the road which has already been laid is washed away by rains. That is the progress with regard to the roads, and the building of roads.

One more point and I have done. It is the cost of living index. I for one feel that the cost of living index in this country is based on very old data. Unless we change this system, we will not be able to know exactly what the cost of living index in the country is. I hope that the Planning Commission will look to the question of changing the data on which the cost of living index is based at present.

पंचिम ठाकुर दास भार्गव (गुड़गाँव): जनम  
केसरमन साहब, मैं सबसे पहले एम्पटी

बैंच को मुबारकबाद देता हूँ और खासतौर पर श्री नन्दा जी को जिन्होंने मेरी राय में निहायत डिवाइशन टू ह्यूटी और इमानदारी और सिसीरटी के साथ हमारी प्लानिंग कमीशन के साथ काम किया है। साथ ही मैं अपने सामने बैठे हुए वाइस प्रेसिडेंट प्लानिंग कमीशन श्री कृष्णाचारी साहब को भी मुबारकबाद देना चाहता हूँ कि जिन्होंने अपने बड़ाई के तर्जब से हमारा देश में नेशनल एक्सटेंशन स्कीम चलायी।

समापित महोदय : सामने बैठे हुए का आप ज्यादा जिक्र न कीजिये सिर्फ उनको मुबारकबाद दे दीजिये।

पंचिम ठाकुर दास भार्गव : मैं मशकूर हूँ कि जिस तरह से फंड्स परदे के पीछे रह कर हमारी किस्मत का फैसला करती हैं उसी तरह श्री कृष्णाचारी जी प्लानिंग कमीशन में बैठे हुए हमारा देश की किस्मत का फैसला कर रहे हैं। मेरे पास वक्त ज्यादा नहीं है इसलिए मैं मुबारकबाद में ज्यादा वक्त जाया नहीं करना चाहता। लेकिन मैं फादर आफ दी हाउस को और अपने फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब को मुबारकबाद दिये बगैरे नहीं रह सकता। जिस चीज को कि हम पहले सपना समझते थे उसको उन्होंने सच्चा करके दिखा दिया। उन्होंने इम्पीरियल बैंक को नेशनलाइज किया और रिजर्व बैंक के फॉर्स को रूरल (Rural) क्रीडिट के लिए डाइवर्ट किया गो कि यह चीज बहुत दूर से हुई। मगर मुझे खुशी है कि कम से कम सरकार की रूरल एरियाज की तरफ तबज्जह तो हुई। मुझे अफसोस है कि इससे पहले गवर्नमेंट का रूरल एरियाज की डिफिकल्टीज का अहसास नहीं हुआ। अगर ऐसा हुआ होता तो यह काम अभी तक हो चुका होता।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि मेरी एक बात श्री गुलजारी लाल नन्दा जी के पास पहुंचा दी जाय। वह यह है कि किदवाई साहब ने अपने मरने से कुछ असे पहले हमसे एक वादा किया

था। हम इंफ्रंटेशन लेकर उनके पास गये थे। मंत्रों साथ पंजाब के ड्रीगेशन मिनिस्टर थे, और मिस्टर बंसल थे। आपको मालूम है कि पंजाब में गुड़गांव का इलाका हमेशा से सिंडला रहा है। कमी इसकी तरफ गवर्नमेंट ने तबज्जह नहीं दी। लेकिन जब हम किद्वाह साहब के पास गये तो उन्होंने हमसे वादा किया कि वह गुड़गांव के वास्ते या तो दो-तीन करोड़ रुपया प्लानिंग कमीशन से दिलवायेगे या अपने गौं मांर फूड में से देंगे। इसके अलावा उन्होंने भाखरा डैम के एक हिस्से से रिवाड़ी को पानी देने का वायदा किया था और इसके लिये ४० लाख रुपया देना किया था। हमने उनसे कहा कि गुड़गांव को ट्यूब वेल्लस से कोई फायदा नहीं पहुँच रहा है। तो उन्होंने कहा था कि इस साल जो पंजाब में ४७ ट्यूब वेल्ल बनने वाले हैं उन को प्रायरीटी दी जायेगी। उन्होंने गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया के जीरिये एक सर्वे भी कराने का वायदा किया था जिसको कि उनके मरने के बाद गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया ने टर्न डाउन कर दिया। मुझे आज पता लगा है कि उन्होंने जो वायदा किये थे उनको पूरा नहीं किया गया। कुछ दिन हुए मैं ने हाउस में उन वायदों की याद दिलायी थी और एग्रीकल्चर मिनिस्टर की तरफ से कहा गया था कि उनको पूरा किया जायेगा लेकिन मैं नहीं जानता कि उनको क्या पूरा नहीं किया जा रहा है।

**आचार्य कृपालानी :** और वायदों का भी यही हाल होगा।

**पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव :** कांगड़ा वेली और हीशियार पुर में भी उन्होंने पानी देने का वायदा किया था। मैं हाउस से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो वायदा एक मिनिस्टर कर उसको गवर्नमेंट को पूरा करना चाहिए नहीं तो जाइंट रिसर्पासिबिलिटी ही क्या है।

हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने मंत्रों सामने वायदा किया था कि वह बछड़ों की हाइड्स के एकसपोर्ट को बन्द कर देंगे। मैं ने एग्रीकल्चर

मिनिस्टर साहब से इसके बारे में कहा कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने यह वायदा किया है तो उन्होंने कहा कि न मालूम कामर्स और इंडस्ट्रीज मिनिस्टर इसको मानेंगे या नहीं। जब प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने एक बात कह दी तो फिर किसी मिनिस्टर के न मानने का क्या सवाल रह जाता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जो एक मिनिस्टर वायदा कर उसको इस तरह से न तोड़ दिया जाय कर।

मैं ने कुछ अमेंडमेंट दिये हैं जो कि ६ या ७ हैं। उनको मैं पढ़ना नहीं चाहता। उन का जनरल मतलब यह है कि देश के अन्दर जानवरों की तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया जा रहा है और गवर्नमेंट उनकी तरफ क्रिमिनल निगलेक्ट कर रही है। इस देश के २० करोड़ म्यूट जानवरों की तरफ हमारी गवर्नमेंट का एटीट्यूड निहायत सल्लूअल रहा है। और उसने कमी यह नहीं देखा कि इनका क्या हाल है। शायद गवर्नमेंट काऊ के लफ्ज से घबराती है। लेकिन मैं आपको बतला देना चाहता हूँ कि आज इस रिपोर्ट में क्या दर्ज है। प्लानिंग कमीशन ने हमारे सामने शुरू में वायदा किया था कि वह तकरीबन ४ करोड़ रुपया इस गरज के लिए रखेगी। उसने २ करोड़ ६७ लाख रुपया गावों के मवेशियों की मुस्तलिफ स्कीमों के लिए रखा और ६७ लाख गौसदनों के लिए अलहदा रखा गया था। आज जब मैं इस रिपोर्ट को पढ़ता हूँ तो मेरा सर शर्म से झुक जाता है कि पिछले सात सालों में गवर्नमेंट ने इस तरफ कितना कम काम किया है रिपोर्ट के ५० से ५५ पैरा तक जाहिर है। इस चीज पर हमारी सारी जराबती तरक्की निर्भर है। अगर हम इस तरफ ध्यान दें तो यह सारा काम मवेशियों की उन्नति का दस बारह साल में पूरा हो सकता था। मैं देखता हूँ कि उस २ करोड़ ६७ लाख में से अबतक सिर्फ २० लाख खर्च हुआ है और गौसदनों के लिए जो ६७ लाख रखा था उसमें से २.२९ खर्च किया गया है। मैं अदब से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यही तरीका है गावों की बहुवृद्धी को बढ़ाने का कि

[पीठित डाक्टर दास भार्गव]

जानवरों पर जो २५ फीसदी सारी कॉमी आमदनी सालाना देते हैं उन पर २१४४ करोड़ में से बीस लाख ही खर्च किया जाये। अगर मैं आपको फिगरस देूं कि इस गवर्नमेंट के राज में किस कदर गाकूशी ज्यादा हो गयी है तो आप हैरान हो जायेंगे। आप देखेंगे कि इस असें में किस कदर खालें बाहर भेजी गयी हैं। १९४७-४८ में इस देश से ३० लाख ८९ हजार गायों की खालें बाहर भेजी गयीं, १९५३-५४ में ५४ लाख ५५ हजार ६६० खालें बाहर भेजी गयीं और काफूस की २५,७३,९२०। इस तरह से जो सन् १९४७-४८ में २०,८९,००० थीं वह सन् १९५३-५४ में ८०,२६,०५७ हो गयीं। इसी तरह से सिर्फ तीन पॉर्टिस से ५६,२८,४५२ रुपये का बीफ बाहर भेजा गया। जब मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि आप बॉन्स की तरफ तबज्जह कीजिये। सन् १९४६-५० में १४० लाख की बॉन्स भेजी गयीं और १९५०-५९ में २२० लाख की। गर्ज कि जहां तक गांवां के मबीशियां का सवाल है कोई उन की बहतरी का काम नहीं किया गया। गवर्नमेंट के स्टेटमेंट हमको एक बात बतलाते हैं मगर हम देखते हैं कि अमल उसके बिल्कुल बरअक्स होता है। मैं नन्दा साहब को बहुत मुबारकबाद देता हूं कि उन्होंने हमारे फूड प्रबलम को हल किया और श्री पंजाब राव को मैं पबलिकली मुबारकबाद दे चुका हूं कि उन्होंने फूड के सवाल को और राइस के सवाल को हल किया। लेकिन क्या कोई गवर्नमेंट यह समझ सकती है कि जब तक कि कौंटिल वेलफेयर का सवाल हल नहीं होगा क्या कभी गांवां की तरक्की हो सकती है। जो लोग गांवां की हालत को जानते हैं वे बतला सकते हैं कि एक जमींदार का काम बगैर बैल के एक दिन भी नहीं चल सकता। उसका हर काम बैल ही करता है। वही उसके लिए चितरंजन है और वही उसके लिए संधरी है जैसा कि कृष्णाप्पा साहब ने एक बार इस हाउस में तल्लीम किया था। गवर्नमेंट की इस पॉलिसी का नतीजा

क्या है ? नतीजा यह है कि जिस जिले से मैं आता हूं वहां गायों की दूध देने की शक्ति कम हो रही है। गायें बच्चे कम देती हैं। सूखा पीरिअड बढ़ गया है। मार्कीटिंग आफ मिल्क की रिपोर्ट के २२ पृष्ठ पर साफ लिखा है कि इस देश के अन्दर गायों की दूध देने की शक्ति कम होती जा रही है। गायों का ड्राई पीरियड ज्यादा होता जा रहा है। मैं अर्ज करूं कि यह कॉन सी तरक्की है जो बजाय हमको आगे ले जाने के पीछे की तरफ लिये जा रही है और पशुधन की हानि होने से हमारे देश को एंसा नुकसान हो रहा है जिसको आप कभी भी पूरा नहीं कर सकते। मैं अदब से आपसे पूछना चाहता हूं कि आपने कांस्टीट्यूशन में जो यह दफा ४७ रक्खी है जिसमें लीवल आफ न्युट्रिशन बढ़ाने को कहा गया है, लोगों की हेल्थ बढ़ाने का जिम्मा है, तो मैं पूछना चाहूंगा कि लोगों की हेल्थ बढ़ाने का और कॉन सा तरीका हो सकता है जिसका इस्तेमाल कि आप लोगों के लिये काफी तादाद में दूध का इन्तजाम करें। और जो आंकड़ें उपलब्ध हैं उनसे जाहिर होता है कि बजाय दूध लोगों के लिये हम ज्यादा मुहैया करें हम देख रहे हैं कि वह घटता जा रहा है। पहले प्रति आदमी दूध मिलने का औसत ६.६ औंस पड़ता था, बटबारे के समय वह घट कर ५.३ औंस रह गया और आज दूध का औसत केवल ४.७५ औंस प्रति मनुष्य ही रह गया है और इस तरह हम देख रहे हैं कि दिन ब दिन लीवल आफ न्युट्रिशन नीचे गिरता जा रहा है और हम इस दिशा में तरक्की नहीं कर रहे हैं।

पिछली दफा मुझ से कुछ लोगों ने कहा कि अगर गवर्नमेंट को एंसी राय मिल जाती कि बनस्पति दरअसल खराब है और मुजब है, तो वह बनस्पति को फॉरन बंद कर देती। मैं आपको डाक्टर कंधेर की ऑपीनियन बतलाना चाहता हूं जो कि गवर्नमेंट एक्सपर्ट हैं उन्होंने अपनी रिपोर्ट में साफ कहा है कि बनस्पति खराब और नुकसान देह चीज है.....

कृषि मंत्री (श्री ० पी० एस० ईशमुख): वह रिपोर्ट बनस्यति वालों ने चुरा ली।

पीछित ठाकुर बास भार्गव : वह रिपोर्ट चुरापी नहीं गयी है। वह तो हाउस टाप से बोलती है। सिलवर जुबली सॉल्वनर जो आपने बांटा है उसके अन्दर सफे ६४ पर आपके डाक्टर ऐसा कहते हैं। मैंने चन्द दिन हुए हाउस में कहा था कि इस बनस्यति के इस्तेमाल से उन इलाकों में जहाँ खुराक में काफी विटामिन नहीं होते नुकसान हो रहा है वहाँ के लोगों की जिम्मेदारी गौध कम होती जा रही है और दूध के रहने वालों की तंदुरुस्ती दिनों दिन खराब होती जा रही है और दूध अधोगति को जा रहा है। अगर आप चाहते हैं कि लोगों की तंदुरुस्ती ठीक हो तो बगैरे दूध का इन्तजाम किये यह मुमकिन नहीं है। आप किसी भी नुकते निगाह से देखें जब तक हमारे दूध में जानवरों की पूरी तरक्की नहीं होगी उस वक्त तक नामुमकिन है कि हम लोग जिन्दा रह सकें। आप गेन्द्र महात्मा गांधी का नाम लेते हैं, मैं इन्हीं की भाँषों में आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि उनका नजदीक गाय की रक्षा और पालन का सवाल स्वराज्य से भी बढ़ कर था और उन्होंने कहा कि गौरक्षा और पशुपालन के बगैरे दुनिया का कोई भी देश जिन्दा नहीं रह सकता। मुहम्मद साहब ने गाय के दूध को नेक्टर कहा है। महात्मा बुद्ध आदि जितने भी हमारे दूध के अगुवा हुए हैं उन सब का यही मत रहा है कि गाय जैसी पवित्र चीज और दूध जैसी पवित्र चीज दूसरी नहीं है।

सरकार की १६० गांसदन दूध में बनाने की स्कीम थी जिसमें कि कहते हैं कि अब तक कुल दस बनाये और पिछली दफा हमारे मीनिस्टर ने कहा था कि हम क्या कर सकते हैं, लोग वहाँ पर अपने डंगर ही नहीं लाते हैं। आखिर इसकी वजह क्या है, यह भी आपने सौचा। दरअसल इन्तजाम इतना खराब है कि गांसदन नहीं है

और असल में फाऊ स्लाटर हाउस हो रहे हैं। अगर सरकार सचमुच चाहती है कि दूध में गांसदन स्थापित हो और वह अपना उपयोगी काम करे तो यह काम अगर किसी नान आफिश्रयल बाडी को दे दें तो वह सारे गांसदन चला देगी। गवर्नमेंट तो महज बहाना बनाना चाहती है। गवर्नमेंट को गाय का काम लेते हुए डर लगता है, वह गाय के अन्दर पालीटक्स देखती है लेकिन मैं गाय के बारे में जो कहता हूँ वह सिर्फ एकोनामिक प्वाइंट को सामने रखते हुए कहता हूँ, मैं गाय में पालीटक्स नहीं देखता। कांस्टीट्यूशन की दफा ४८ के अन्दर हमने ऐसा लिखा है :-

“Prohibiting the slaughter of cows and calves and other milch and draught cattle.”

अगर हम अपने कांस्टीट्यूशन को मानते हैं और उसमें जो एकोनामिक प्रीसिपल्स दिये हुए हैं उनको मानते हैं तो हमें अपने पशुधन की रक्षा करनी चाहिये और गौरक्षा का माकूल इन्तजाम करना चाहिये, या गवर्नमेंट कह दे कि हम इस कांस्टीट्यूशन को नहीं मानते और उस हालत में मैं कहूँगा कि वह गवर्नमेंट भी अनकांस्टीट्यूशनल है जो अपने बनाये हुए कांस्टीट्यूशन पर न चलें। यह बहुत जरूरी है कि हर कोई यह जो हमारा संविधान बना है उस पर अमल करे और मैं हर एक मंत्र से बहुत जोर से इतिहास करता हूँ कि अगर हम ईमानदारी के साथ काम करना चाहते हैं और अगर हमारे दिल में कबहूँ यह खयाल है कि हमारे दूध में लोगों की सेहत ठीक हो, हमारे दूध में खुशहाली हो और वह तरक्की करे तो हम सब का फर्ज है कि इसको पार्टी का सवाल न बनाये और जितने मेरे अमेंडमेंट्स हैं उन सब को हाउस को मंजूर करना चाहिये और हमें गवर्नमेंट को कह देना चाहिये कि इस बारे में जो आपकी नीति है वह गलत है और खिल्लाफ कानून है और साथ ही यह एंसी है जिससे

[पीठत. ठाकुर दास भार्गव]

ईश को नुकसान पहुँचेंगा। मैं और भी कुछ बातों के बाबत अर्ज करना चाहता था क्योंकि अखबारों में लोग शिकायत करते हैं कि मेम्बर साहबान सब बातों पर बहस नहीं करते। मैंने जितना हो सका इस इस मिनट के क्लीक अर्से में अर्ज कर दिया, मुझे और भी बहुत सी बातें अर्ज करनी थीं। अगर मुझे कुछ टाइम एक आध मिनट और मिलता तो उनको भी बहुत मुस्तसर में अर्ज कर देता . . . मैंने अपने हिस्से का सारा समय १० मिनट का २० करोड़ पशुओं के लिये लगा दिया मनुष्यों के बारे में बोलने का वक्त ही नहीं।

सभापति महोदय : आपको बोलते चौदह मिनट हांगये हैं, अब मेहरबानी करके रहने दीजिये।

पीठत ठाकुर दास भार्गव : अच्छा जान दीजिए।

Shri Kelappan (Ponnani): Mr. Chairman, let me thank you first because it is rarely that I get the opportunity to thank the presiding officer. Sir, the first Five Year Plan has achieved very many things. The industrial output has increased. We are on the way to self-sufficiency in the matter of food. Huge irrigation works and hydro-electric schemes have made rapid progress. It is not my purpose to be little these achievements, but I cannot help mentioning that our dependence on foreign finance and foreign technical aid is having a deliterious effect on the economic life of this country. Our economic policy is passing into the hands of foreigners. Foreign monopolists are more in evidence in this country today than under the British.

The Prime Minister, speaking about the economic policy of his Government said that his objective was a socialistic society which he defined as a casteless, classless society. The first Five Year Plan is not calculated to lead us to that goal. The Plan only accentuates the class conflicts. The Prime Minister says that his Govern-

ment has taken care to improve the agricultural base of India's economy. That is true. But a land reform legislation for a more equitable distribution of land ought to have preceded the Plan. As it is, the huge irrigation and hydro-electric works will only help to widen the class differences. These have facilitated cultivation; the output will increase; at the same time, cultivation could be carried on with a lesser number of labourers. So, while many will be thrown out of employment, the farmers with large holdings will become richer, which will intensify class distinctions.

I do not propose to deal with all the aspects of the Five Year Plan. I only want to draw the attention of the House to one or two aspects of it. I do so, because I feel it may be helpful in formulating our Second Five Year Plan. I propose to consider how far the Plan has helped to solve the unemployment problem in the country, and secondly, to assess the progress so far made in promoting the health of the nation.

Sir, coming to the question of employment, it is admitted by all that unemployment in the country has very much increased. The latest report on the Five Year Plan admits that there are no comprehensive statistics for assessing the volume of unemployment in the country. I must say that no serious attempt has been made to conduct a thorough survey of the economic conditions of the different strata of society. The report relies on the data available in the Employment Exchanges. While in July 1953, according to the registers in the various Employment Exchanges, there were 4,93,000 unemployed, by July 1954, the figures had gone up to 5,89,000. Thus, there has been an increase of 20 per cent in the unemployment in the country in the course of one year. That is serious enough. But the real position is very much worse. This represents only a small section of the unemployed. Those who register in the Em-



ployment Exchanges are persons with some chance of employment in government offices, business firms or in industry. Even those who come in this category do not all of them register their names in the Exchange. There is also a bigger category of agriculturists in the villages who fall back on land for their maintenance, even though they are not wanted for cultivating the lands. Their number will be a few crores.

Our high schools throw out every year six or seven lakhs of students, 75 per cent, of whom will discontinue their studies and swell the number of unemployed. In 1951-52 62,495 students graduated from Indian universities.

Even though we have no correct figures of unemployment in the villages we can realise the immensity of the problem from figures available from a survey in U.P. The report says: 10 per cent of the people in U.P. have no lands. 85 per cent have no economic holdings. 6 villagers out of 15 are under debt. Villagers are without work for 3 months in the year. Cottage industry workers are idle for 6 months in a year.

From these figures we can realise the extent of unemployment and poverty in the country.

The Progress Report of the Five Year Plan admits that new jobs are not being created at a rate fast enough to absorb the additions to the labour force of about 15 lakhs per year that accompany the increase in population. The annual increase in population is 50 lakhs. So we have to find employment for a larger number than 15 lakhs. That is in addition to the existing unemployed.

It was a foregone conclusion that in spite of the Five Year Plan and the two thousand and odd crores of rupees we spend on it the unemployment in the country will assume alarming proportions. Let us be clear in our minds about the position.

Here are two schools of thought. One includes our Government, our industrialists, and eminent scientists. They hold that industrialisation is the way to solve the unemployment in the country. They are alarmed of the impending energy—famine that faces the world. So they are thinking of nuclear energy. They are prepared to spend crores on building reactors to make atom energy available.

There is the other school which thinks that industrialisation will lead to more and more unemployment. They say that we must use all the human energy available before we think of mechanical energy. They hold that mechanical energy ought not to be used where human energy will suffice. Mahatmaji may be said to be the founder of this school. We have among its advocates Vinobaji, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and the older Congressmen. I shall quote one or two passages to substantiate what I say.

Gandhiji says about Industrialism (I would have wished to quote the whole passage but I have to race against time and I shall just quote one or two portions):

“Industrialism as, I am afraid, going to be a curse for mankind. Exploitation of one nation by another cannot go on for all time. Industrialism depends entirely on your capacity to exploit, on foreign markets being open to you, and on the absence of competitors. It is because these factors are getting less and less every day for England that its number of unemployed is mounting up daily.

The future of industrialism is dark. England has got successful competitors in America, Japan, France and Germany. It has competitors in the handful of mills in India, and as there has been an awakening in India, even so there will be an awakening in South

[Shri Kelappan]

Africa with its vastly richer resources natural, mineral and human. The mighty English look quite pigmies before the mighty races of Africa. They are noble savages after all, you will say. They are certainly noble but no savages, and in the course of a few years the Western nations may cease to find in Africa a dumping ground for their wares. And if the future of industrialism is dark for the West, would it not be darker still for India?"

Dr. Rajendra Prasad enters his mild protest against the industrial policy of the Government. In his inaugural address at the Conference of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board he says.....

**Mr. Chairman:** The President's name should not be brought in.

**Shri Kelappan:** Sir, it is from an Inaugural Address he delivered.

**Mr. Chairman:** His name is not to be mentioned.

**Shri Kelappan:** Of course it is quite relevant. This is what he said:

"It is evident that in a country like India where 80 per cent of the people live upon agriculture and allied callings, the only result of excessive industrialisation will be more production by fewer men, which instead of solving the problem of unemployment will render it more complicated. Its proof lies in the fact that although our country has advanced sufficiently on the road to industrialisation, the incidence of unemployment instead of coming down appears to have gone up."

It is a matter that has been argued over and over again. I shall not be able to convince the Industries Minister or the industrialists who want to use power to step up production in the country to the level of America and Great Britain, that they are following a wrong policy which will result in more and more unemployment. The

reason is simple. Whatever be the target we aim at.....

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member has consulted his notes much too frequently. He should conclude now.

**Shri Kelappan:** One has to commit to writing whatever one has to say and read as fast as one can when one can only get ten or five minutes.

**Mr. Chairman:** Now his time is up.

**Shri Kelappan:** Whatever be the target we aim at, in the production of food, clothing, soap or any other consumption goods, if we use only manual labour, more hands are required than if we use mechanical power. Of course I make an exception in the case of those essential industries which cannot be run without mechanical power. In the steel plants, heavy chemicals and fertilisers etc. no one will object to the use of mechanical power when it is necessary.

The Khadi and Village Industries Conference at Poona also adopted a resolution. This is what they say: "We resolve to base our programme for the solution of India's economic and social problems on the need to protect, strengthen and develop the self-employment sector;

And, secondly, to recommend to the Government to accept economic development through self-employment as an integral part of their policy and to make it the basis of their Second Five Year Plan."

That means that they expect the Government to encourage those cottage industries where nobody is an employee and nobody is an employer.

I wanted to say something about the health problem also. But I have no time. There also we have miserably failed to look to the health of the nation. As there is no time I shall conclude.

**Mr. Chairman:** Shri R. N. Shah: It will be a maiden speech. He has not spoken so far.

श्री आर० एन० शाह (छिंदवाड़ा) : सभापति जी, आप ने प्रथम बार मुझे यहाँ बोलने का मौका दिया इस के लिये मैं आप का आभारी हूँ।

पंच वर्षीय योजना की प्रगति के ऊपर विचार करते हुए कल हमारे योजना मंत्री ने कहा कि हम कृषि उत्पादन में जो हमारे अंक थे उन के आगे बढ़ गये हैं। इस में कोई सन्देह नहीं कि उस के बारे में हम योजना कमिशन को और अपनी सरकार को धन्यवाद दे सकते हैं। हम देखते हैं कि हम अनाज और सिलहने के उत्पादन में अपने लक्ष्यों से बहुत आगे हैं। परन्तु इस के साथ जैसा कल कई सदस्यों ने कहा कि एक खतरा भी हमारे सामने है। अनाज का उत्पादन जरूर बढ़ा है लेकिन उस की कीमतें दिनों दिन गिरती जा रही हैं। यदि हम ने उस की तरफ दुर्लक्ष्य किया तो यह हमारे उत्पादन में बाधक बनेगा क्योंकि आज किसानों की स्थिति यह है कि जो अन्न उत्पादन में आज उन का खर्च होता है वह भी, आज की कीमतों को देखते हुए, निकलना मुश्किल है।

दूसरी समस्या आज हमारे सामने बकारी की है। परन्तु देहातों के अन्दर की हालत इस के विपरीत है। किसानों को मजदूर नहीं मिलते हैं। इस का कारण यह है कि किसान आज उन को उचित मजदूरी नहीं दे सकते हैं। इसी लिये आज मजदूरों में गांवों में रहने की तरफ कोई मोह नहीं है और वह गांव छोड़ कर शहरों की तरफ भागे जा रहे हैं।

तृतीया यह हो रहा है कि किसान को अपनी खेती करने में बहुत खर्चा करना पड़ता है और जब वह अपना माल बेचता है तो उसको उतनी भी कीमत नहीं मिलती जितना कि उसका खर्चा हुआ है। इस लिए हमें डर है कि अगर यही हालत रही तो आगे चल कर किसान केवल अपने काम लायक उत्पादन करेगा और उससे ज्यादा

नहीं करेगा क्योंकि यह स्वाभाविक बात है कि अगर किसी को अपना उत्पादन व्यय भी पूरा नहीं मिलेगा तो वह उस धन्य को नहीं करेगा। इस सवाल पर हमको बहुत जल्दी ध्यान देना चाहिए।

आज किसानों की हालत बुरी होती चली जा रही है। मुझे खुशी है कि इम्पीरियल बैंक का राष्ट्रीयकरण हो रहा है। इसके साथ ही मैं चाहता हूँ कि किसानों को आसानी से कर्ज मिलने की भी व्यवस्था की जाय तभी इससे लाभ होगा। आज किसान को कर्ज लेने के लिए बहुत तकलीफ उठानी पड़ती है और ब्याज के मार उसकी कमाई टूटी जा रही है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि इसके लिए सरकार की ओर से प्रबन्ध किया जायेगा।

देहातों में अभी भी बकारी है क्योंकि किसान के पास पूरे साल भर के लिए काम नहीं है। मजदूरों को भी इसी वजह से पूरे समय के लिए काम नहीं मिलता। यह भी एक कारण है कि मजदूर शहरों को आ रहे हैं। मेरा सुझाव है कि सरकार इन लोगों को कोई ऐसा गुप्तचौग दे कि जिससे इनको १२ महीने गांवों में काम मिल सके। अगर ऐसा नहीं होगा तो गांव उजड़ते चले जायेंगे। हम कहते हैं कि हमारा देश गांवों में बसता है और हमारा लक्ष्य गांवों की उन्नति करना है। मगर हम देखते हैं - कि हो इसके विपरीत रहा है। केंद्रीय सरकार और राज्य सरकारों का अधिकतर ध्यान शहरों की तरफ है। वहां अधिकतर सुविधायें दी जा रही हैं। गांवों में न पढ़ाई का कोई इन्तिजाम है, न वहां के लोगों के स्वास्थ्य के लिए कोई इन्तिजाम है, न कोई दवाखाना है और न कोई इन्तिजाम है। इसलिए अब हमारा सबसे अधिक ध्यान उस तरफ होना चाहिए।

जहां तक रिबर बैली स्कीम्स का सवाल है मैं कह सकता हूँ कि उनका काम बहुत अच्छा हो रहा है और वह तारीफ लायक है।

[श्री आर० एन० शाह]

इस काम के लिए हमें अपने इंजीनियरों की तारीफ करनी चाहिए। मैंने भाखरा बंगल के काम को जाकर देखा है। तो जहां तक बड़ी नदी घाटी योजनाओं का सवाल है मुझे उनके खिलाफ कुछ नहीं कहना है। वह अच्छी तरह से चल रही है।

लेकिन जहां तक नेशनल सरविस् एक्सपेंशन स्कीम का सवाल है, मुझे कहते हुए दुःख होता है कि उनके बारे में जो चिन्तन हमारे सामने रखा जाता है वह गलत रखा जाता है। जहां तक मेरे अपने क्षेत्र का सवाल है मैं कह सकता हूँ कि जैसा वहां के लोगों में इस काम के प्रति उत्साह था उसके अनुसार काम नहीं हो रहा है। इसका कारण यह है कि जो हमारे अधिकारी लोग वहां गये हुए हैं वे पुराने ढर्रे के हैं। वह जनता के बीच में जाकर काम नहीं करना चाहते वे साहिबी ढंग से काम करते हैं। आप सारे देश में इस स्कीम का जाल बिछाना चाहते हैं। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि आप इस तरफ अधिक ध्यान दें। कहा जाता कि वहां काम बहुत हो रहा है। लेकिन मैं कहूंगा कि जो तस्वीर यहां हमारे सामने रखी जाती है वह गलत रखी जाती है। मैं यह कहने को तैयार हूँ कि इस काम की जो पिक्चर हमारे प्रधान मंत्री के सामने रखी जाती है वह सही नहीं रखी जाती हमारा यह कर्तव्य है कि हम देखें कि हमारा काम ठीक से चलता है या नहीं।

हमारे कई भाईयों ने जो कि सार्वजनिक कार्यकर्ता हैं कहा कि भ्रष्टाचार दिनों दिन बढ़ता जाता है। उसके ऊपर कोई नियंत्रण नहीं है। अधिकारी वर्ग की जो पुरानी मंटीलटी है उसमें कोई परिवर्तन नहीं पड़ा है। वह आज भी अपने को जनता का मालिक समझे हुए हैं, अपने को जनता का संवक नहीं समझते।

कुछ सदस्यों ने कहा है कि जो जिलों की डेवलपमेंट काउंसिल्स हैं उनके चेंबरमैन डिस्ट्रिक्ट मजिस्ट्रेट न हों बल्कि

नानआफिशियल्स हों। यह चीज बहुत जरूरी है। हमारे डिप्टी मिनिस्टर साहब ने इस बात को हंस कर उड़ा दिया कि यह गलत चीज है। इन अधिकारियों पर कोई नियंत्रण नहीं है। जब ये लोग कमेटी की बैठक बुलाते हैं तो संसद सदस्यों को बहुत दूर से सूचना देते हैं ताकि वे वहां पहुंच न पावें। ये लोग नहीं चाहते कि संसद सदस्य इन कमेटीयों में भाग लें। इनका सदस्यों के प्रति एंसा बरताव होता है कि जो स्वाभिमानि हैं वे जाना नहीं चाहते। यह बहुत जरूरी है कि आप नानआफिशियल्स को चेंबरमैन बनाइयें। अगर आप एंसा नहीं करना चाहते तो इन एडवाइजरी काउंसिल्स की वहां रखने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। आज सरकारी अधिकारियों पर कोई नियंत्रण नहीं है।

मैं इसका एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। प्लाक डेवलपमेंट आफिस अनाप शनाप खर्च हो रहा है। हमारे क्षेत्र में डेवलपमेंट की स्कीम है। प्लाक डेवलपमेंट आफिस की ओर से एक सरकारी आदमी सिलार्ड का काम सिखाता है। अक्सर यह होता है कि जब गांव की स्त्रियां काम सीखने जाती हैं तो कह दिया जाता है कि अभी आफिसर साहब की स्त्री नहीं है इसलिए आज काम नहीं होगा। इस तरह से काम हमारे यहां चल रहा है।

दूसरे आपके विभागों में आपस में कोई सहयोग नहीं है। मेरे क्षेत्र में एक गांव है खेड़ी कला। वहां पर २ अक्टूबर १९५२ को एक विकास केंद्र खोला गया। वहां ग्रामीणों ने उत्साह के साथ स्कूल की इमारत बनायी। उस गांव तक सड़क नहीं थी, तो उन्होंने एक मील की सड़क भी बनायी। लेकिन आगे एक रेलवे क्रॉसिंग पड़ता था इसलिए सड़क आगे नहीं बढ़ सकी। इसके लिए मैंने रेलवे मंत्री जी से भी कहा और उन्होंने मुझे आश्वासन भी दिया कि हम यह काम कवा दूंगा लेकिन उस पर कोई निर्णय नहीं हुआ और यह सड़क आगे नहीं चल पायी। नतीजा

यह हुआ कि गांधीजी का उत्साह ठंडा पड़ गया। तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपको अपने विभागों में सहयोग बढ़ाना चाहिए।

हम पंचवर्षीय योजना की प्रगति को संतोषजनक नहीं कह सकते। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इसमें अधिक दिलचस्पी ले। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि जो बातें मैं ने कही हैं उन पर ध्यान दिया जायगा।

**Shri Ramachandra Reddi** (Nellore): The Plan is so big and the Progress Report for 1953-54 is so comprehensive.....

**Shri N. M. Lingam**: On a point of information, is the debate going on till 6 o'clock?

**Mr. Chairman**: The usual time is 5 o'clock; it will be adjourned at 5. There are a large number of speakers.....

**Shri N. M. Lingam**: I have to submit that nobody from Madras has spoken. They should be given an opportunity.

**Shri Kanavade Patil** (Ahmednagar North): None from Bombay.

**Pandit C. N. Malviya** (Raisen): None from Bhopal.

**Dr. S. N. Sinha** (Saran East): None from North Bihar.

**Mr. Chairman**: The hon. Member **Shri Ramachandra Reddi** is from Madras. (An Hon. Member: No.) I am not responsible for this state of affairs that nobody from Madras or any other part of India has spoken. I shall try to see that all the persons who have given their names are called. The complaint that certain States are unrepresented is always bound to remain. I do not know how far it is correct to say that none from Madras has spoken. I am in the hands of the House. No request has been made by the Government or any person that the debate may not be adjourned at 5. I do not know what the programme of the Government is. The Minister for Parliamentary Affairs is not here. I do not know what he proposes to do.

[**PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA** in the Chair.]

**Shri Kanavade Patil**: We may continue up to 6 o'clock.

**Mr. Chairman**: Supposing it is not adjourned at 5 o'clock, then the hon. Minister will take some time. So far as non-official Members are concerned, it is likely they will not get any time. If the Government and the House are agreed, I have no objection. I can sit up to 8 or 9, I have no objection, and I am anxious that as many Members as possible should be given an opportunity to speak. But it is not myself that is responsible for all this. If the House agrees and the Government agrees, I have no objection.

**Shri C. R. Narasimhan** (Krishnagiri): We did not want to blame anybody, but we wanted to bring to your notice that one State had been unrepresented.

**Dr. Suresh Chandra** (Aurangabad): Not only one State but several States.

**Mr. Chairman**: As a matter of fact, eight hours were given to this subject, and even if we stay up to 5 o'clock, yet I think it will be short by one hour and 13 minutes. So far as I am concerned, I am not anxious to adjourn at 5 o'clock, but depends upon the House and the Government.

**Shri Kanavade Patil**: It is an important subject.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhuri** (Gauhati): Every State should be given a chance to speak.

**Mr. Chairman**: So far as the proportionate representation of the States is concerned, that is not any concern; but at the same time, I am anxious that as many Members as possible of all the States may be able to take part. I have no objection to sit beyond 5 o'clock. We can go on till 6 or 6.30, but it depends upon the House. Supposing after 15 or 20 minutes we find there is no quorum. So, I am prepared to sit, but it is the business of the Government to see

[Mr. Chairman]

that the quorum is there. The Chair has no objection to sit for longer hours, and we can sit up to 6 o'clock or even later. I have no objection. I am in the hands of the House. If the House is so desirous, we can certainly sit.

**Dr. Suresh Chandra:** The House is willing to sit longer.

**Shri Kanavade Patil:** And I would request the hon. Minister to oblige us with quorum.

**Mr. Chairman:** Then, May I enquire from the hon. Minister how long he will take in replying? It is not in my power to prolong the debate longer than 8 hours. Eight hours were fixed, and if we take time tomorrow, what will happen to the Scheduled Caste Commissioner's Report?

**Dr. Suresh Chandra:** If the House desires to continue the discussion even tomorrow, the Minister may reply tomorrow.

**Mr. Chairman:** Then, what will happen to the Schedule Caste Commissioner's Report? After all, I am equally anxious that that Report may also be taken into consideration. I am not going to prolong this beyond the time allotted, because that would mean that that Report which was not discussed even the last time will not be given sufficient time. I am anxious that full time should be given to it. Even now, it will be actually a discussion for 2½ hours only, whereas we proposed to give five hours to it. I will only request the hon. Minister to reply, if he is agreeable to that. If he is not agreeable, if he feels he should speak tomorrow, then it would be different.

**The Minister of Planning and Irrigation and Power (Shri Nanda):** I am entirely in your hands and in the hands of the House in this matter.

**Mr. Chairman:** How long will the hon. Minister take?

**Shri Nanda:** About 35 to 40 minutes.

**Mr. Chairman:** Then we can go on up to 6 o'clock, and the hon. Minister may be called upon to speak at 5.20.

**Shri Kanavade Patil:** He should reply tomorrow.

**Mr. Chairman:** I am quite agreeable to postpone it to even tomorrow, but then what will happen to the Report of the Scheduled Caste Commissioner? All the hon. Members belonging to the depressed classes will complain that sufficient time has not been given, and it is in the interests of the whole country that that report should be discussed here for at least 2½ hours. Even now, the time given to it is short.

**Dr. Rama Rao (Kakinada):** May I make a submission? However long it may be, this debate must be finished today, because that debate will not have sufficient time, and we have already cut down the time for it.

**Mr. Chairman:** I am of the same mind. I do not want that any time may be taken away from the discussion of that report.

**Shri Velayudhan:** From the time allotted for discussion of the Scheduled Caste Commissioner's Report, nothing should be reduced. No reduction should be made.

**Shri Barman (North Bengal—Reserved Sch. Castes):** In any case, this debate should not be continued tomorrow, because originally only six hours were allotted for this report. Now, after all, we find that tomorrow also not a single minute more than 2½ hours can be allotted for the Scheduled Caste Commissioner's Report. If out of that also, something is taken away by the hon. Minister's reply, then it is better not to discuss that report in this session, rather do it in the next session. It is useless to discuss it for 1½ hours. There are so many states that would like to take part.

**Some Hon. Members rose—**

**Mr. Chairman:** Order, order. So far as the Business Advisory Committee's orders are concerned, sufficient amount of time was allotted for that purpose, and now on account of this Delimitation Commission (Amendment) Bill, some time has been taken away, but I understand there has been agreement that the Report will be considered for 2½ hours tomorrow. I do not want to take away a single minute from the time apportioned for the discussion of that Report. I am therefore anxious that up to whatever time the House may sit, the whole thing may be finished today.

**Shri Gidwani (Thana):** Why not drop tomorrow's Question Hour?

**Mr. Chairman:** I find usually when a proposal like this is made, the sense of the House is not for it. The House is generally not agreeable. Those persons who have given notice of questions are very anxious that this Question Hour may not be dispensed with.

**Shri Gidwani:** I am also one of them.

**Mr. Chairman:** If the House is agreeable, I have no objection to that. Then we can do like this. If the House is agreeable, we will continue this debate up to 6 o'clock, and tomorrow the hon. Minister may reply. Question Hour may be dispensed with. Is the House agreeable to this?

**Hon. Members:** Yes, yes.

**Mr. Chairman:** May I take it that the House is agreeable?

**Hon. Members:** Yes.

**Shri S. V. Ramaswamy (Saïem):** There are a number of important Short Notice Questions for tomorrow.

**Shri T. K. Chaudhuri (Berhampore):** There are two important questions.

**Mr. Chairman:** If the Question Hour is dispensed with, then Short Notice Questions will also go away, because I do not know how much

time they will take. How many questions are there?

**Shri T. K. Chaudhuri:** Only two Short Notice Questions.

**Mr. Chairman:** After all, the hon. Minister wants only 40 minutes. These two Questions may be taken.

**Shri S. N. Das (Darbhanga Central):** What about the other questions?

**Mr. Chairman:** So far as the other questions are concerned, I feel that the consensus of the House is that the Question Hour may be dispensed with tomorrow. I am not doing it out of my own will. But I understand the consensus of the House is it will be dispensed with. Therefore, now we will proceed up till 6 o'clock so far as the consideration of this motion is concerned. Hon. Minister will be called upon to reply tomorrow. The two Short Notice Questions will also be taken up, and the other questions will not be asked.

**Shri S. V. Ramaswamy:** What are those two questions?

**Mr. Chairman:** There are two or three Short Notice Questions. They will be allowed to be asked.

**Shri Ramachandra Reddi:** I was mentioning that the Plan is so big and the Progress Report is so comprehensive that it is not possible to touch even the fringe of the problems that have been placed before us by this Progress Report. More than that, the time-limit scares us away so much.

**Mr. Chairman:** I may point out one thing, that by this arrangement, if the House is agreeable, we are really increasing one hour more so far as the allotment to this particular motion is concerned. But, if that is the consensus of the House, I think the House is entitled even to change the programme at its sweet will. Since we have agreed to it, we propose to stick to it.

**Shri Ramachandra Reddi:** The ringing of your bell scares us more than the threat of placing ceilings on progressive land holdings. I will not be

[Shri Ramachandra Reddi]

able to cover several aspects of this Progress Report, and I will limit myself to a few points.

In the Plan it is provided that special attention should be paid for the development of the mica mining industry so that our exports might be maintained and our dollar-earning capacity might be preserved. It is noticed by the statistics that there has been a drop in our exports of mica ever since 1951-52. In 1950-51, our exports came to about Rs. 10 crores. In 1951-52 it increased to Rs. 13 crores. In 1952-53 it decreased to Rs. 9 crores and in 1953-54 it came down to Rs. 8 crores. And in 1954, from April to August, the most active months of the year, we see that the exports amount only to Rs. 2.60 crores. That shows there is a steady decline in our exports, and the matter has been taken note of in the Progress Report also, that has been supplied to us. One out of the two of our major minerals is thus suffering from the slump, and no attempt has been made by Government to see that our exports are maintained and our markets are stabilised in other countries. It is a pity that though the matter has been brought to the notice of Government from time to time, the attention paid to it has not been satisfactory.

Along with this, there is the question of labour unemployment. Since a number of mines have been closed, and a number of processing factories also have been closed, there has been an increase in the unemployment of both educated and uneducated, and the skilled.

It is also noticed that there are some attempts made in other countries for the preparation of synthetic mica and as such, there is a further possibility of our mica trade going down. It is said that in America, a pilot plant has been established for the manufacture of what is called Micalex. When these things are going on there, the attention paid to our industry here by Government does not seem to be satisfactory and encouraging at all.

One of the suggestions that can be made in this regard to stabilise our mica markets elsewhere, is that some sort of agreement might be entered into—or forced upon—with the countries that import our mica, that the cost of mica that is taken over by them will have to be equated to the cost of the material and machinery that is imported from those countries into India. If this suggestion is agreeable, it is up to Government to move in that direction.

For the last two years, I have been suggesting to Government that something should be done to see that the labour that is being thrown out from the mica sector should be provided for. Unfortunately, serious attempts do not seem to have been made in this regard. As far as Andhra is concerned, I am told in reply to a question that has been answered today that a committee was appointed for the purpose, and that committee said that there is no demand for employment from the thrown out mica labour. It is a misfortune that Government do not see things aright. It cannot be thought that every man that has been thrown out of employment would come to Government and say, I am unemployed, therefore provide me with a job. I am quite conscious of the fact that several labour unions as well as associations dealing with mica mining and manufacture have reported to Government about the unhappy plight to which the labour in the mica industry is being reduced to. If there is a possibility of looking into the matter quickly and speedily, it will save not only our dollars but also our labour from unemployment.

Mention has been made on the floor of this House yesterday and today about the fall in the price of agricultural produce. We have been asked to produce more, and when more is produced, there is the prospect of the produce not being sold.

A good deal of price support is necessary. Besides, an ea-



couragement to export our agricultural produce is also absolutely necessary. It has been noticed that the prices of rice, tobacco, groundnut, groundnut oil and jaggery, which are products of agricultural produce, are going down and something must be done to see that these prices are stabilised by either giving them price support or by exporting them more freely than it is now being done.

In this context, it is necessary to remember how dangerous it will be to think of nationalisation of land, and how dangerous it will be to think of the reduction of landed proprietorship by way of placing ceilings over land ownings. It requires a good deal of thought and a good deal of common-sense, and Government cannot treat these things in a lighthearted manner. It behoves them to see that these matters are properly considered, and greater attention is paid to the results of such a policy in the agricultural economy. Since I would have more opportunities to speak on this aspect, when the Bill to amend the Constitution comes up, I would not pursue the matter just at present.

I have got a word to say about the community projects and the extension schemes. I am afraid that though the Government at the Centre are anxious to do several things to improve the standards of these areas, still the amount of enthusiasm that ought to be created there is not being created. We in the old composite State of Madras have tried what is called *firka* development for the last ten or fifteen years. Till now, the standards of living in those particular areas where the *firka* development has been taken up has not improved at all. The reason is that there is not enough propaganda, and there is not enough incentive given to the people living in those areas to understand things properly. Mere printing of these reports on art paper and distributing them to the Members of Parliament would not suffice. A good deal of enthusiasm has to be created, and I am confident that if that en-

thusiasm is created, it will be possible for these community projects and extension schemes being improved considerably. In this connection, I would suggest or urge upon all the political parties in the country, to whatever section they might belong, that they should show a combined effort to infuse that amount of enthusiasm that is required to see that the people take to these community projects and extension schemes; and if that is done, it will not be difficult in due course of time to tackle these problems more successfully. As it is, there is a greater attempt to preach revolt against the existing Government or the existing administration rather than to assist the workers there in doing their legitimate work.

In these community projects, I find that red tape which has been all along impeding our progress is still continuing. It is up to Government as well as the district administration to see that this red tape is cut down as much as possible, and that greater incentive is given in these particular areas.

5 P.M.

**Shri. Bimlaprosad Chaliha** (Sibsagar—North-Lakhimpur): In spite of all these criticisms against the Five Year Plan and its implementation, I remain quite convinced that the First Five Year Plan which we have taken up in hand is the best Plan India could take up under the circumstances.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhuri**: The question is its implementation.

**Shri Bimlaprosad Chaliha**: It is indeed very wise to make an assessment about the progress of the implementation of the Plan. What I have liked more is the frank admission, where the Plan has been going slow or is behind schedule. This shows that the Government are conscious about their shortcomings and they are determined to work hard to make the Plan a success.

Some friends in the Opposition do not want to give any credit to the

[Shri Bimlaprosad Chaliha]

Government for their achievements. But they want to put all the blame on the Government. We do not mind it. All that we want is the progress of India, development of India and the good of the people of India, and nothing else. What is bad for the country is a feeling of frustration which, unfortunately, is noticed in some of the hon. Members in the Opposition. I am sure that such a feeling of frustration is confined to a very limited number of people who, for their lack of contribution to the implementation of the Plan, are feeling so. I am certain that the country as a whole is feeling more and more confident about its future. They see before their own eyes how the country is fairly rapidly moving from scarcity conditions to self-sufficiency and perhaps towards plenty. There has been enough discussion about the public and private sector. The Prime Minister rightly said that the greatest private sector in this country is the peasantry. If we want to depend on the private sector for the development of the country, we have to bank on their efforts, their enthusiasm and their determination to build the country. There is often a complaint about the lack of enough enthusiasm in our people as compared to that of people in some other countries of the world. If it is so, it becomes our duty to go into the matter and find out the causes for this lack of enthusiasm. My own reading is that if enthusiasm is lacking, it is because of the fact that we have so far not assured the people or placed before the country a scheme to show that the wealth in the country and the wealth that is going to be produced in the country are going to be shared equally by all as far as practicable. Until such a plan is placed before the people, there is no wonder that there will be some amount of lack of enthusiasm, and enthusiasm may not be seen in the degree that we desire. The contention that equal distribution of the wealth we have now will mean distribution of poverty, is not wholly

acceptable to me, at any rate, now. My contention is that the enthusiasm that will be generated in the bulk of the population in India by assuring economic equality will lead the country to much more and greater production of wealth to raise the country from poverty to prosperity. The necessity of equal distribution of wealth to build a happy society is a recognised fact. Our Constitution also recognises this. The great Congress organisation has been repeatedly emphasising it. In 1929, the All India Congress Committee declared:

"In the opinion of this Committee, the great poverty and misery of the Indian people are due not only to foreign exploitation in India, but also to the economic structure of society which the alien rulers support so that their exploitation may continue. In order, therefore, to remove this poverty and misery and to ameliorate the conditions of the Indian masses, it is essential to make revolutionary changes in the present economic and social structure of society and to remove gross inequality".

Again, in the year 1947, the All India Congress Committee appointed a committee to draw up an economic programme. The committee, besides many other things, have stated as follows:

"To establish a just social order and to raise the standard of living of the people, it is necessary to bring about distribution of the existing income and wealth and prevent the growth of disparities in respect of the progress of industrialisation of the country. In the process of eliminating disparities, prime consideration should be given to the income groups farthest removed from the national minimum. A ceiling on income should be fixed which should not exceed 40 times the national minimum needed for the primary needs of food,

clothing etc. The upper limit should be brought down successively to as much as 20 times the national minimum".

The Delhi Congress Resolution of 1951 says as follows:—

"The whole system of production and distribution has to be reorganised with the deliberate object of achieving the ends of social justice. The existing disparities in respect of material well-being between the rural and the urban workers, the backward and more advanced regions and communities under different economic layers of the population must be progressively narrowed down and a ceiling should be fixed for higher income. Taxation and fiscal policies should be examined from this point of view".

Again, the Congress Working Committee while welcoming the Estate Duty Act in May 1953 stated as follows:—

"The Committee welcome the Estate Duty Bill and are of opinion that taxation policy should have for its basic aim—the reduction of economic inequality".

In spite of all these declarations, Sir, I feel that we are going slow in the matter. The only direct attack that we have made so far on this economic problem is, I suppose, by the Estate Duty Act. While this Act is sure to bring some revenue to the Government, with the arrangements for estate duty insurance etc., I have grave doubts how far it will succeed in bringing about economic equality. I attach great importance to this problem of economic disparity not only to sole the social and economic problems but for administrative reasons also. The Madras and Calcutta police strikes should be our eye-openers. My submission, therefore, is that in the manner in which we have been drawing up plans for industries, agriculture etc., we should have a clear-cut and definite plan for remov-

ing economic inequalities within a definite time.

The other point which I want to emphasise is the necessity of regional development. You will pardon me if I say that no attention worth the name has been given for the development of the north eastern region of India comprising the States of Manipur, Tripura and Assam. When I say so, I claim that I represent the views of all the people of this region. The Government have linked this region with the rest of India by a frail and bad railway system that remains closed for almost half the year. The people of this region have to pay high prices for everything, because they have to depend for a long period in a year on supplies by air. I do not know how long this is going to continue, and what is there in the lot of the population of this region. Appeals and representations have not so far produced any result. With such a railway system, I was simply amused when I read the memorandum circulated by the Commerce and Industry Ministry. It says:

"In Assam, noteworthy progress has been made in the silk-rearing, tea and plywood industries. A paper mill, a sugar mill and a jute mill will shortly be established in the State".

I am really sorry that a Government publication should come out with statements which are likely to create a wrong impression. In contradiction to the above statement on page 207 of the Five Year Plan Progress Report, it is written as follows:

"No progress has been made on the implementation of schemes for new plywood factories in Assam and the Andamans".

Whatever the Government of India may say, we know and we have no doubt that this region is never going to be industrially developed unless the present useless railway system connecting this region with the rest of India is improved and the State takes

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the initiative to develop industry. I would seriously urge upon the Government to give its best consideration for the development of the North Eastern Region.

**Shri Kanavade Patil:** Mr. Chairman, I thank you for this opportunity. We have heard the speeches of the Planning Minister and the Finance Minister and also the Prime Minister, regarding the progress and achievement of the Five Year Plan, in general. I would very humbly submit that I generally appreciate the progress that has been made in the execution of our Five Year Plan during the last three or four years. I can say from the speeches and the draft of our Five Year Plan that the aim of the Plan is to establish a casteless and classless society—a so-called socialistic society in this country.

**Shri Gidwani:** Why do you call it so-called?

**Shri Kanavade Patil:** Because it is not exactly socialistic. But, we are approaching to it. I can say, looking to the facts and figures that have been given by the hon. Minister for Planning that we have progressed very satisfactorily towards that end. I will not, of course, go into the details of all these but I would certainly say with confidence that we have made definite progress. On the food front especially, India has made definitely distinct progress. So far as the progress of the public sector is concerned, we have not reached the targets in scheduled time, though I can say that schemes like the Community Projects and the National Extension Service Blocks have taken definite and distinct shape. I have actually seen the working of these projects in various districts in the Bombay State, especially in Maharashtra. Though we have not got sufficient finance, looking to the enthusiasm of the people who very heartily co-operate in the execution of this Plan, we have certainly made definite progress in this field.

So far as the development of power, water-supply and roads are concern-

ed, we have travelled some way though, as yet, we have not reached the targets that have been laid down in the first Five Year Plan. It is impossible for me to take a complete review of the achievements and attainments of the Plan. To assess what we have achieved definitely is a difficult task. However, I make some reference to river projects.

So far, we have known that most of the river projects that have been included are on the point of completion. So far as Maharashtra is concerned, I have to submit before this House that Ahmednagar, Nasik, Sholapur and some other eastern parts of Poona and Satara district are all in the famine tract. Protective measures of a permanent nature should have been taken before this time. Therefore the Kukri river project, the Mula river project, the Adhala river project and the Bandhardan-cum-Runda Hydro-electric project, all these should be given priority in executing the Plan, so far as the famine area is concerned. The Government of Bombay have recently recommended these projects to the Planning Commission and the Planning Ministry and I request this House to take this point into consideration, that these big projects in the famine area should be executed first. From the results of the famine of 1952, I have got some figures. We have lost to the extent of ten to twelve crores in one district alone, by way of destruction of crops etc. This reference is to Ahmednagar District. Therefore, I very humbly submit to the Planning Commission and the Planning Ministry that in the matter of executing these plans they should look to those places for first priority where we have got recurring famine conditions. Runda-cum-Bandhardan Hydro-electric project plan has been submitted by the Bombay Government as far as my information goes. I humbly submit that electricity should be made available to the rural population of my district.

There are co-operative sugar factories which are about 8 in that district and some 5 more co-operative

sugar factories are going to be opened. I thank the Government for this step because it will be helping the agricultural economy to be sound and I really appreciate and thank the Government for encouraging steps of this nature.

I have also to say a few words about the prices. In Bombay State we have succeeded in making much progress regarding the Plan and I would like to say a few words more. In the fields of economic life the Plan has shown a marked degree of progress. Many minor irrigation works such as percolating tanks and some other ordinary tanks in rural areas have been constructed. Therefore, I can say that there is distinct progress in the field of minor irrigation also.

So far as cultivation is concerned, there is mechanised cultivation with the help of tractors in some areas and we have got bunding also. There are several things which I can place before the House from which I can say that Planning has been successful to a great extent. The facts mentioned in the speech of the hon. Minister for Planning yesterday proved that we have succeeded to a certain extent. We have also a marked improvement in the co-operative movement in the Bombay State. I believe Bombay State is marching with the Five Year Plan towards progress. Without any hesitation in my mind I can say that we have been successful to a great extent so far as Bombay is concerned.

Now regarding tractor organisation. Of course, this country has not got sufficient steel for manufacturing them. Lenin in his first Five Year Plan—if I am right in remembering—had aimed to have 10,000 tractors. At present, Soviet Russia, I am told, have got 9,52,000 tractors or 9,65,000, and lakhs of crop harvesting machines. In the same way, if we want our agriculture to be efficient and more productive, we must have more mechanical agricultural implements for the purpose of making this Plan successful.

Then, I would like to come to the question of prices. I would like to say a few words about our Government's efforts. Recently, the price of agricultural products has gone down suddenly. The present price of sugarcane is Rs. 1.7 per md. and the selling price of sugar is Rs. 27 per md. No doubt, the Government's declared objective is to give relief to the consumers by reducing the cane prices. But the object has not been fulfilled although the Government reduced the price of sugarcane and the price of sugar from Rs. 30 to Rs. 27. The prevailing market price of sugar is much higher than Rs. 27 even today. It is the argument of the sugarcane growers that as a result of 20 per cent. reduction in cane prices the agriculturists have suffered a loss during the last two years to the extent of Rs. 20 crores. Rural economy is the foundation of all national economy and if it is shaken there is likelihood of the whole national economy being shaken and disturbed. Due to this policy, there is a fall in the total acreage of sugar plantations. Therefore, I request the Government to revise this sugar policy in the interests of the agriculturists.

There are also questions regarding the prices of other agricultural commodities, but I shall leave them out, because I have no time.

We have been talking about private sector and public sector. Let our Government take a particular, definite decision as to whether we stand by the interests of the common man in the country, whether we stand by the interests of the whole community, or whether we stand to give more encouragement to the private sector which will be exploiting the interests of the masses in the country.

Thus, there are eight sugar factories in my district. One man alone controls 20,000 acres of land. The Bhandardara Irrigation dam is the main source of irrigation in my district—Ahmednagar District. More than 50 per cent. of the water from the dam has been exhausted by fac-

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tory-owners, and the remaining small agriculturists do not get anything substantially from this irrigation project. I beg to submit, and I want to bring to the notice of the Government, that we must be very definite about our policies. The time has come when there must be some checks put on the private sector. We must not allow it in such a way that it will exploit the poor agriculturists and the poor men in the country. With these words, I close.

हा० सुरेश चव्हाण : सभापति महोदय, इस योजना आयोग की प्रगति के बारे में बहुत कुछ कहा गया है। मैं उस के सैद्धान्तिक आधार में नहीं जाऊंगा, लेकिन मैं इतना जरूर कहूंगा कि यद्यपि हमारे यहां एक नक्शा बना और योजना बनाई गई और उस योजना की तरफ जाने की हम ने कोशिश की, लेकिन यह जो बार बार हमारी तरफ से, गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से, हाउस में और हाउस के बाहर जगह जगह के प्लेटफार्मों के ऊपर, कहा जा रहा है कि हमारी प्रगति ऐसी हो गई है कि उस की तुलना दूसरे मुल्कों की तराकियों से की जा सकती है मैं समझता हूँ कि जो इस प्रकार का कथन हमारे वजीर और दूसरे नुमाइन्द करते हैं उस से लोगों के दिलों में एक प्रकार की कम्प्लेसेन्सी पैदा हो रही है और मैं यह समझता हूँ कि जनता का एक नुमाइन्दा होने की हेंसियत से मंरा यह फर्क हो जाता है कि मैं इस बात को इस सदन के सामने पेश करूँ कि यह एक बहुत गलत बात है। हम अपने योजना आयोग की प्रगति की तुलना न सिर्फ एशिया के मुल्कों से करते हैं बल्कि योरप के मुल्कों की तरफ भी कहीं लोंग चलते जाते हैं। यह बहुत गलत बात है। मुझे योरप के बहुत से मुल्कों में जाने का मौका मिला है और न सिर्फ मुझे इस का मौका मिला है बल्कि मैं ने उन की योजनाओं का अध्ययन करने की भी कोशिश की है। मैं ने उन की बहुत सी इन्फस्ट्रीज को जा कर देखा है और मैं यह

कह सकता हूँ कि यह ठीक है कि इस विषय में हमने काफी प्रगति की है लेकिन इन पांच छः सालों में जब से हमने योजना बनाई है यदि सचमुच जैसा हम कहते हैं कि यह एक प्रजातंत्र राज्य है और जनता की आवाज से काम हो रहा है, जनता का सहयोग प्राप्त कर के उन के अन्दर इस योजना के लिये उत्साह पैदा करते तो मैं समझता हूँ कि आज हम दामोदर बॉली योजना जैसा एक बांध नहीं, सैकड़ों ऐसे बांध बांध दंते, और इरिगेशन की ऐसी हजारों योजनायें तैयार कर दंते और आज जिन सिंचाई की कठिनाइयों के बारे में मंत्र से भूतपूर्व सदस्य ने कहा है वह कठिनाइयां इन स्केअरिटी एरियाज में न पैदा होतीं। मैं इस बात को गम्भीरता पूर्वक कह रहा हूँ क्योंकि मैं उस कारिन्स्ट्रुएन्सी की नुमाइन्दगी करता हूँ जो कि एक स्केअरिटी एरिया है और जिस कारिन्स्ट्रुएन्सी के बारे में एक क्रिमिनल नीग्लिजेंस हुई है। सभापति जी, जब आप ने भाषण दिया तब आप ने कहा था :

“If cow is protected the State is protected ; and if cow is not protected the Government is unconstitutional” :

मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी स्केअरिटी एरियाज में जो पाकेट्स हैं वह आग के शोले हैं, वह राजनीतिक आग के भी शोले हैं और आर्थिक आग के भी शोले हैं। जो हमारे वजीर यहां बैठे हैं वह इस बात को सुन लें। यहां पर दो उपवजीर बैठे हैं। हमारे वजीर यहां नहीं हैं, इस का मुझे अफसोस है, मैं चाहता था कि और भी वजीर यहां होते, वह भी सुन लें। मैं हंसी में नहीं कह रहा हूँ, गम्भीरतापूर्वक कह रहा हूँ कि वह इस को सुन लें कि अगर उन स्केअरिटी एरियाज की तरफ जहां से कि मैं आता हूँ, महाराष्ट्र की स्केअरिटी एरियाज की तरफ जिन के बारे में उन्होंने इतना कहा

हैं, उन्होंने ध्यान नहीं दिया, अगर उन की छोटी छोटी इरिगेशन स्कीम्स की तरफ उन्होंने ध्यान नहीं दिया तां वह ऐसे आग के शाले हो जायेंगे कि जिन की लपट से आप सब भस्मीभूत हो जायेंगे। मैं यह बात बहुत गम्भीरतापूर्वक कह रहा हूँ।

डा० राम सुभग सिंह (शाहाबाद दक्षिण): वजीर लोग तां बाहर हैं इस लिये वह लोग बच जायेंगे।

डा० सुरेश चन्मः सब से पहले वजीर आग की लपटों में आयेंगे। यह मैं इस लिये कहता हूँ कि यह योजना का सब से बड़ा सवाल है। मुझे दामोदर वैली घाटी योजना का थोड़ा बहुत अध्ययन करने का मौका मिला है और मैं ने वहां देखा है कि किस प्रकार से करोड़ों रुपया उस में खर्च हुआ। जरूर हमने कुछ काम किया है, लेकिन करोड़ों रुपया खर्च करके हम ने वह काम किया और उस से कोई बहुत बड़ा फायदा नहीं हुआ। वहां के कुछ इंजीनियर्स ने मुझे से यह बताया था कि किस प्रकार से ऐसी स्कीम गवर्नमेंट के सामने रखी गई, दामोदर वैली कारपोरेशन के सामने रखी गई। जितना रुपया इस दामोदर वैली कारपोरेशन ने खर्च किया, उस से बहुत कम में छोट छोट बांधों के जरिये से फलद कंट्रोल और इरिगेशन का काम हो सकता था और यह स्कीम गवर्नमेंट के सामने है। स्वायत्त कंजर्वेशन भी उस में रक्खा गया है। आज दामोदर वैली के जितने बांध हैं शायद ११ वर्षों में स्वायत्त कंजर्वेशन के हिसाब से सब समाप्त हो जायेंगे और नये बांध बनाने पड़ेंगे। लेकिन उन छोटी योजनाओं पर हमारी गवर्नमेंट ने कोई खास ध्यान नहीं दिया। मैं इस बात की तरफ, सभापति महोदय, आप का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ कि वह जो छोटी छोटी योजनायें हैं उन की तरफ सरकार ज्यादा ध्यान दे और इन योजनाओं

को भी बड़ी योजनाओं के साथ शामिल कर ले ताकि आगे किसी भी प्रकार की तकलीफ न हो।

एक बात और है। इस सिलसिले में ४० करोड़ रुपया स्कैजिस्टी एरियाज के लिये रक्खा है। अगर इस ४० करोड़ रुपये को आप स्कैजिस्टी एरियाज के अन्दर छोटी छोटी इरिगेशन स्कीम्स के लिये खर्च कर देंगे तो वहां पर आप के बहुत से सवाल हल हो जायेंगे।

मैं एक बात और कह दूँ। पूर्ण प्रोजेक्ट के बारे में हैदराबाद की जनता के जो लोग हैं उन्होंने हमारे वजीर साहब से बहुत दबाव बहास की। वजीर साहब और उपवजीर साहब दोनों ही से इस के बारे में बात कीत की। उन्होंने हमें आश्वासन दिया, लेकिन कल के सवाल से मालूम हुआ कि उसे फिर स्थगित कर दिया गया है और दूसरी प्रोजेक्ट में रक्खा गया है। मैं यह नहीं कहना चाहता कि आप नन्दकोटा प्रोजेक्ट को कम कर दें या किसी दूसरी प्रोजेक्ट को कम कर दें, लेकिन यदि आप ने इस पूर्ण प्रोजेक्ट को और दूसरे ऐसे प्रोजेक्ट्स को महाराष्ट्र के इस क्षेत्र में नहीं लिया तां वहां पर आप लोगों की कठिनाइयां बहुत बढ़ जायेंगी।

इतना ही कह कर मैं आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

Shri Boovaraghasamy (Perambalur): The Five Year Plan is drawn up in a very beautiful way but while going through the report recently circulated to the Members, I am very sorry to say that I am entirely dissatisfied with the progress which we have achieved during the last three years. From the progress report, we find that out of the total sum of Rs. 2,249 crores for our first Five Year Plan, we have spent only Rs. 885 crores during the past three years. That is, only 40 per cent.—a

[Shri Boovaraghaswamy]

very small amount—has been spent, and our progress also is comparatively very little. So, the progress has not been sufficient for the last three years. The way in which money has been spent on the several projects has also been very improper, and our achievements over all the schemes are not so satisfactory. I can give at least three instances. For example, 155 tube wells have been constructed in the Peeigar Community Project area, Fetigarh District, of these 30 tube wells have proved a failure, resulting in a loss of Rs. 8,70,000. Of the 122 tube wells bored at a cost of about Rs. 35,38,000 in another area, not a single tube well has yielded water, although they had been completed long ago. Nor is there any immediate prospect of their functioning in the near future. No reservoir has been completed, so far, or channels made. Only the boring process is over and the wells sunk.

Sir, according to the figures given on page 125 of the Five Year Plan Progress Report on the multi-purpose project till March 1954 our Government have spent 12,059 lakhs in the past three years, while according to the original Plan, they ought to have spent in these three years, 12,700 lakhs, as mentioned in Chapter VIII of the Progress Report. If you calculate the amount which has been spent on the various major projects, that is multi-purpose projects, during the three years, it comes to 12,993 lakhs, whereas the figure mentioned here in the expenditure column is 12,059 lakhs. I do not know which of these figures is correct, and I do not know if it is due to miscalculation or printing mistake or it is furnished to satisfy the Members of Parliament.

Another thing which I want to mention is that during this period very little encouragement has been shown to the backward classes. According to this Report during the past three years only Rs. 584.91 lacs have been spent, whereas the amount allocated for the Five Year Period is Rs. 1,500 lakhs. So the progress in

the direction of upliftment of the backward classes is not at all satisfactory.

Mr. Chairman: His time is up.

Shri Boovaraghasamy: I think the Chair will be generous to give more time and allow those Members who have not participated in the debates so far. I would therefore request you. Sir, to give me a few more minutes. I have just begun my speech and I would like to say something more.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member wanted five minutes: I have given him seven minutes.

Shri Boovaraghasamy: In the First Five Year Plan Government have selected so many big schemes for the North only, on which they have spent hundreds and hundreds of crores of rupees; at the same time they are ignoring the South. Therefore, the South Indians, especially the **Tabillans**, have a feeling that they are given a step-motherly treatment. So we are naturally discontented and dissatisfied with the treatment meted out to us by the present administration. Now, our Government is preparing schemes for the Second Five Year Plan. There are several schemes which have been recommended by our State Government and about which hon. Members of Parliament have submitted memoranda, for inclusion in the Second Five Year Plan. Some of them have been discussed with the hon. Ministers. Among them is the Mohanur Canal Scheme, meant to divert the waters of Cauvery for irrigation to Masiri, Perambalur and Udarpalayam, Talukin Tiruchi Distt. and a portion of the South Arcot district. This area has been very backward for centuries together. It has been ignored for a long time. It has been famine-stricken for ages, while on the other side of the Cauvery even three crops are being raised. I would therefore request our Government to commence immediate investigation of this scheme.

In the recent report for irrigation and Power projects for Madras State



our Minister has stated that about 95 per cent. of the Cauvery water is already being utilised. According to the statistics furnished to us in page 151 of the Peoples' Edition of the First Five Year Plan, only about 60 per cent. of the Cauvery water is being utilised. I would like to know which of these figures is correct. Therefore I would again request the hon. Minister to investigate the possibilities of further utilising the waters of the Cauvery, and include it in the Second Five Year Plan. Mr. Venkatachari, an ex-Special-Chief Engineer of Irrigation, in Madras State has stated that there is further scope for the utilisation of the waters of the Madras rivers.

Then there is the Pullambadi Scheme. It is no doubt a small scheme. It has already been recommended by the State Government for inclusion in the Second Five Year Plan.

It is understood that plenty of iron ore is available in Salem and Vriddhachalam. If a steel plant is erected at Vriddhachalam, which is near Neyveli where plenty of lignite is available, we can provide employment to a large number of people, and satisfy the demand of the Tamilians.

श्री एन० ए० बोरकर (भंडारा-रीडित-अनुसूचित जातियाँ): पंच वर्षीय योजना की उन्नति के बारे में जो बहस चल रही है उसको मैं ने बड़े गौर से सुना है।

**Shri Kakkai (Madurai—Reserved—Sch. Castes):** The Government of India has taken no important schemes in Tamil Nad.

**Mr. Chairman:** I am not asking him to speak now.

श्री एन० ए० बोरकर : मैं कह रहा था कि जो चर्चा चल रही है उसको मैं ध्यान से सुन रहा हूँ। मैं चाहता था कि भारत सरकार की मजदूरों के बारे में जो नीति है और जो लैंड पालिसी है उसपर भी इस हाउस में चर्चा होती लेकिन ऐसा नहीं हुआ। मेरा विचार है कि मजदूर नीति और लैंड पालिसी को तै किए बगैरे हम अपनी आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार नहीं

कर सकते हैं। ये दो ऐसे सवाल हैं जो कि आगे बढ़ने के लिए रास्ता तैयार करते हैं। मिनिस्टर साहब ने रास्ता तो तैयार किया और उस रास्ते पर चलने के लिए एक अच्छी कान् भी तैयार की लेकिन हाइवर न हो और पेंडोल न हो तो वह कार चलें कैसे। मैं दावे से कह सकता हूँ कि जब तक भारत सरकार की मजदूर नीति और लैंड पालिसी तै नहीं हो जाती तब तक हमें आर्थिक क्षेत्र में या पंच वर्षीय योजना में सफलता नहीं मिल सकती। यदि हमें पंच वर्षीय योजना को सफल बनाना है तो मैं मिनिस्टर साहब से अर्ज करूँगा वह इन दो सवालों का पहले हल ढूँँ। तीन चार दिन से मैं आशा कर रहा था कि इन दो मसलों पर भी कुछ प्रकाश डाला जाएगा लेकिन मैं बड़े अप्सांस के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि मुझे इन दो मसलों पर कोई चर्चा न होतें देखकर बहुत निराशा हुई है। जो लोग अपना खून पसीना एक कर के और अपनी तमाम ताकत दश की पैदावार बढ़ाने के लिए काम कर रहे हैं अगर हम ने उन के बारे में कुछ न किया तो हम उन्नति नहीं कर सकते हैं। हमारे मिनिस्टर साहब ने और दूसरे मंत्रियों ने यह कहा है कि लोगों को दश को ऊँचा उठाने के लिए त्याग करना होगा। मैं कहता हूँ कि वे आज तक त्याग करते आए हैं और आगे भी त्याग करने को तैयार हैं लेकिन मैं आप से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आप उन की खातिर क्या कर रहे हैं और किस तरह से उन की किस्मत का फैसला करने का विचार रखते हैं। अगर आप ने उनकी उन्नति के लिए कुछ न किया तो वे निराश हो जाएंगे और उनमें त्याग करने की ताकत नहीं रहेगी। ऐसी सूरत में यह जो आपकी स्कीमें हैं यह महज कागजी स्कीमें ही रह जाएंगी। इस वास्ते अगर आप उनकी शुभ कामनाएं अपने साथ लेना चाहते हैं, उनका त्याग अपने साथ लेना चाहते हैं तो पहले आप

[श्री ए० एन० बोरकर]

अपनी लैंड पॉलिसी और वह पॉलिसी जो आप मजदूरों के प्रति बरतना चाहते हैं उस को तैयार कीजिए।

अब मैं अपने सूचक के बारे में एक दो बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि मध्य प्रदेश की तरफ हमारी सरकार की निगाह अभी तक नहीं गई। अभी कुछ मंत्रियों ने कहा कि बम्बई में स्कीम शुरू की जा चुकी है और वह सूबा तरक्की भी कर रहा है। लेकिन मध्य प्रदेश जो की सार हिन्दुस्तान की तरक्की कर सकता है, जिसके बारे में कहा जा सकता है कि यदि हम ठीक तरह से सावधान और कोशिश करें तो वहाँ इतना ज्यादा अनाज पैदा हो सकता है जितना कि हमें उम्मीद भी न हो, उसकी तरफ हमारा ध्यान अभी तक नहीं गया। मुझे बड़े अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि जितनी भी योजनाएँ मध्य प्रदेश ने सरकार के पास भेजी हैं उन में से एक भी मंजूर नहीं हुई। हमारी सरकार ने एक मंजूर बंगाला प्रोजेक्ट केंद्रीय सरकार के पास भेजी थी जो अगर चालू हो जाती तो हमारे प्रदेश की काफी उन्नति हो सकती थी लेकिन उसको मंजूर नहीं किया गया। इसके बाद एक लॉयड बंगाला प्रोजेक्ट भी भेजी गई थी जो एक मंजूर प्रोजेक्ट थी, लेकिन मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि इसकी तरफ भी केंद्रीय सरकार का ध्यान नहीं गया। ये दोनों प्रोजेक्ट्स एडवाइजरी कमिटी की मंजूरी लेने के बाद भेजी गई थीं। इसके बाद स्टील प्लांट खोलने की बात चली थी। एक्सपर्ट भी मध्य प्रदेश भेजे गए थे और उन्होंने राय दी थी कि भिलाई में स्टील प्लांट खोला जाना चाहिए लेकिन इस पर भी अमल नहीं किया गया। अब दूसरा स्टील प्लांट खोलने के लिए बातचीत चल रही है। मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि यह प्लांट जरूर मध्य प्रदेश में ही लगाया जाय। वहाँ पर मैंगनीज का धंधा चल रहा है और स्टील प्लांट के लिए

हर चीज वहाँ मौजूद है। उस सूचक की उन्नति के लिए और वहाँ पर लोगों को काम दिलाने के लिए यह स्टील प्लांट वहाँ पर लगाया ही जाना चाहिए।

अन्त में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि भारत की उन्नति करने के लिए हमें दृष्टांतों की तरफ खास ध्यान देना चाहिए क्योंकि भारत दृष्टांतों में ही बसता है। जो लोग दृष्टांतों में रहते हैं वे किसान और मजदूर हैं। उनमें बेरोजगारी हटाने के लिए हमें योजनाएँ बनानी चाहिए। हमने यह तो फैसला कर लिया है कि १० साल के अन्दर हम बेरोजगारी की समस्या हल करेंगे लेकिन दृष्टांतों में बेरोजगारी हटाने के लिए हमने अभी तक कोई प्लान नहीं बनाया। दृष्टांतों में जो बेरोजगारी है उसको खत्म करने के लिए हमें कदम उठाने चाहिए और इस बढ़ती हुई समस्या को हल करना चाहिए।

एक बात मैं मीनिमम वीजज के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। अभी तक हमारी सरकार ने बहुत सी जगह मीनिमम वीजज एक्ट एग्रीकल्चरल लेबरर्स पर लागू नहीं किया और जहाँ लागू किया भी है वहाँ सफलता नहीं मिली। इसको ठीक तरह से लागू करने के लिए हमारी सरकार को कोशिश करनी चाहिए।

एक बार फिर मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार को अपनी लेबर पॉलिसी और लैंड पॉलिसी साफ साफ तैयार करनी चाहिए और जब तक वह ऐसा नहीं करती तब तक उसे पंच वर्षीय योजना में सफलता प्राप्त नहीं हो सकती।

**Pandit C. N. Malviya:** Many allegations have been made against the Government and the Plan, that there is corruption, there is bureaucratic method and there is lack of efficiency in planning. But I say in spite of that we have made progress. There is no doubt about it. And from the speeches of the Opposition Benches what I have collected is that they admit some pro-

gress. They want that more progress should have been made. But we have never claimed that we have made all the progress that we ought to have made. So the only criticism that has been levelled is to create a depression in the country and to say that we are making propaganda. We are not making propaganda. But we are assessing things in a quiet, realistic manner. It is on that that we have based our plan.

I am a humble man. I have been to some foreign countries, and without any exaggeration—if I cannot say and while I do not want to say that our Plan, so far as the planning is concerned, is based on facts and on real conditions in India—I want to say it is better and it is one of the best plans that we have made. In other countries they make plans and they commit mistakes. To commit mistakes is no crime. One who does some work is liable to commit certain mistakes. When we were discussing the First Five Year Plan, the main stress was that without industrialisation you cannot progress. We wanted to lay stress on agriculture. I was in Hungary. I tried to understand their Plan. They laid too much stress on industrialisation. Then, they found that they have to lay stress on agriculture. They have found that only industrialisation has not solved their problem. Therefore, the main test by which I judge the position is this. The argument that without industrialisation you cannot go ahead has proved wrong. We are right when we laid stress on agriculture and we have achieved certain results.

I also judge the Plan from the State from which I come. I want to express on behalf of the 800,000 people of Bhopal State, my gratitude for all the help that we got. There is no lack of demand. The demand is there. Not only demand for demand's sake, but real demand. We have got a State farm; we have reclaimed 300,000 acres of land. We have many minor irrigation schemes. In the field of educa-

tion, we have made good progress. On that basis, I would request the Planning Commission to open a veterinary college, a medical college for which there are grounds. We deserve it because we have spent what ought to have been spent by us. If there are certain areas which are not able to spend, we are prepared to spend that money. I do not want to make any discrimination because if any part of the country is developed, it contributes to the development of the country.

I want that some light should be thrown on some matters. I cannot conceive of a Plan which can be said to be well done, without correct facts and figures. The basis of the plan is human beings. We count the mileage; we count the trees in the forests; we count the cattlehead; we do not count how many starving unemployed people there are in India. We cannot even today say with authority that this is the number of unemployed persons.

The second problem is our rural problem. Day before yesterday, there was a question as to what was the extent of rural indebtedness in India. We have not got a proper, correct, authoritative figure. Another problem is this. I have got the magazine *Trade and Industry* before me. I cannot read all the figures because there is no time at my disposal. Look at the private sector, and the domination of the economic forces of foreign countries on India. If we cannot do away with that, our economic progress may be jeopardised. The position is this. Employment of non-Indians in foreign controlled firms in the salary group of Rs. 1,000 and above: in 1950 it was 2,441; in 1954 it is 4,049. That is how we are progressing so far as the management of such big firms is concerned. I request the Planning Commission to base the price level on human labour. Whatever the labour needs must be given. On that basis, the prices and wages should be fixed. Similarly, the cultivator should get a price in proportion to his investment so that what he gets may enable him

[Pandit C. N. Malaviya]

not only to make both ends meet, but also meet the cost of cultivation. I would be grateful if the Minister of Planning could point out why they cannot base their price policy on this pattern. If they plan their policy on this basis, the whole peasant class and labour class will be encouraged. I am not prepared to accept the charge that there is no enthusiasm in the country. Only we are not prepared to mobilise that force. We are not doing proper propaganda. In the Bhopal State, I can say that even Tahsildars do not know what the Five-Year Plan is. They do not have even a book in their shelves. I have asked them questions; they do not know. I would suggest that you should organise exhibitions in every State at the district level and give credit to the workers. I have seen some countries where there is enthusiasm. There is enthusiasm in my country. With my own experience, I can say that I have created enthusiasm in Bhopal. I also give credit to the services because in Bhopal, the whole credit goes to the services.

There is one great difficulty. You have not created the conditions where workers can be given due credit. In India, you do not remember the hundreds and thousands of those persons who sacrificed their lives on the altar of the motherland. In China, I have seen exhibitions where the personal articles of those persons, young men and women are exhibited. They say this is the cloth that he used to wear, these are his books, these are his note books. When I see that exhibition, I feel that it is worth while to sacrifice one's life for the motherland. Here, young men now feel depressed because the workers feel that they do not get their due credit. It is the feudalistic army that is fighting and the soldiers fight and give up their lives and only the leader takes all the credit. This should not be the case. If you give credit to the workers, there are hundreds and thousands of young men who are prepared to work for the progress of our Plan.

**Shri S. V. Ramaswamy:** The Opposition has been belittling the basic Plan and the achievements under the Plan. Our own countrymen are not able to appreciate the Plan which has been prepared after great labour; nor are they able to appreciate the great achievements that have been made so far. One can realise the greatness of our Plan only if he goes abroad. The very volume and size of our Plan is a wonderment to them.

Many things have been said as to our achievements. It is true that there are shortcomings. The shortcomings have been admitted by the Government also. But, we must realise the grave handicaps that we have had. When we started this Plan, there was shortage of men, material, technical staff, shortage of everything. In fact, we almost started from scratch. Within a short period of three years, we have put forward an amazing performance. It is the duty of every one to feel proud of the achievements of our own countrymen. By that we will not merely be recognising what has been done, it will be a further encouragement to push forward.

I do not wish to emphasise on the points that have been mentioned by other hon. Members. I wish to deal with two or three points only. The Plan has been somewhat defective in one particular aspect. Sufficient emphasis has not been laid in regard to rural electrification.

6 P.M.

**Shri Nageshwar Prasad Sinha** (Hazaribagh East): Now, it is 6 O'clock.

**Shri S. V. Ramaswamy:** My hon. friend says it is now 6 O'clock.

**An Hon. Member:** He has nothing to say.

**Shri S. V. Ramaswamy:** I have everything to say.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member may continue his speech tomorrow.