

[Mr. Speaker]

the Government and have their views. This is not an easy matter. Once I start, there will be a number of other things coming up.

12.37 hrs.

MOTION RE. APPRAISAL AND PROSPECTS OF SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN—contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now resume discussion on the motion regarding Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five-Year Plan, which was moved on the 17th September, 1958, and substitute Motions Nos. 1 to 16, 18 and 19 moved thereto on the 18th September, 1958. Out of ten hours allotted to this motion, 9 hours and 29 minutes have already been availed of including one hour extra taken on the 18th September, 1958 and half an hour extra taken on the 19th September, 1958.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava may kindly continue his speech.

Shri M. B. Masani (Ranchi—East): When will you ask the hon. Minister to reply?

Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi): Time should be extended. We have moved many amendments and we should be given some time—at least five minutes.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Pali): Sir, you agree that this motion will be discussed for the whole of the day.

Mr. Speaker: How long will the hon. Minister take for his reply?

The Minister of Labour and Employment and Planning (Shri Nanda): Nearly an hour.

Mr. Speaker: We will go on till the end of the day with this item, including the hon. Minister's reply to the debate. If necessary, let us sit till 6 o'clock or 6.30.

Shrimati Benu Chakravartty (Basirhat): There is a Half-an-hour discussion today. If it can be put off till tomorrow....

Mr. Speaker: We can put off the Half-an-hour discussion till tomorrow. Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava.

पं० ठाकुर दास भार्गव (हिसार) : माननीय म्पिकर साहब, १६ तारीख को जब मैं बोल रहा था तो एक आनरेबल मेम्बर साहब जो मेरे से पहले बोले थे उनको जवाब दे रहा था सीलिंग के बारे में, और मैं पंजाब में ३० एकड़ की सीलिंग के बारे में बहस कर रहा था। उसके बारे में मैं चन्द बातें जनाब को विदमत में अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ।

हमारे सामने सवाल यह है कि देश के अन्दर खेती की पैदावार बढ़े और काफी पैमाने पर बढ़े। लेकिन अब आप इतनी छोटी सीलिंग लगाने जा रहे हैं कि जिससे मुझे पूरा डर है कि देश के अन्दर खेती की पैदावार के बढ़ने में काफी नुकसान पहुँचगा।

सबसे अन्वल मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि पंजाब में आज एक मजदूर दो रुपये रोजाना पैदा करता है। इसमें ज्यादा भी करता है। मगर इतना तो करना ही है। अब आप एक किसान के लिये ३०० रुपये साहवार की सीलिंग रखना चाहते हैं। अगर उसके कुन्बे में पांच आदमी भी हों तो हर आदमी की आमदनी ६० रुपये साहवार यानी दो रुपये रोज से ज्यादा नहीं हो सकती। इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि पंजाब में जितने भी लोग गाँवों में रहेंगे उनमें में किसी की भी आमदनी दो रुपये रोज से ज्यादा नहीं हो सकेगी। मेरी नाकिम राय में इस तरह का सीलिंग पोलिटिकली निहायत अनसाउंड है, इकानामिकली निहायत आबजेवशनेबिल है और मोशली अनर्थकेबिल है। मेरी अदब से गुजारिश है कि आयन्दा लोग जो गाँवों में रहेंगे वे अपने इलेक्शन लड़ेंगे

या नहीं, वे काउंसिल में और पालियामेंट में जायेंगे या नहीं। आप सोचें कि दो रुपये रोज वाला मजदूर यह काम कैसे कर सकेगा। आज मिनिस्टर साहब २ रुपये रोज अपने धरमती को दे बेते हैं, खलासियों को दे देते हैं कुली भी इससे ज्यादा कमा खेते हैं। अगर गांव में एक कुनबे की आमदनी ३०० रुपये माहवार होगी और अगर उस कुनबे में पांच धरमती भी हों तो वह धरमती किस तरह से इलेक्शन लड़ सकेगा, कैसे वह अपने बच्चों को ऊंची तालीम दिलवा सकेगा, कैसे पक्के मकान बनवा सकेगा, अगर उसकी फैमिली में कोई बीमार हो जाये तो कैसे वह डाक्टर की फीस दे सकेगा, वह कैसे अपनी जिन्दगी गुजारेगा। मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि यह सीलिंग निहायत कम है। इसका नतीजा यह होगा कि कोई नौजवान जो कि गांवों में रहता है ऊंची तालीम नहीं हासिल कर सकेगा। उसका इंसेंटिव खत्म हो जायेगा। कोई ज्यादा पैदावार करने के वास्ते आगे नहीं आवेगा। आज इसका असर बहुत हो रहा है कि पंजाब में हर एक जमीन वाला निहायत दुखी है, निहायत अनसर्टेन है और उसकी हालत काबिले रहम है।

आपने यहां पर एस्टेट ड्यूटी बिल पास किया कि ५०,००० से ज्यादा की जायदाद पर ४ परसेंट टैक्स लगेगा। पर आज पंजाब में यह ब्याल है कि अगर किसी का बाप मर जायेगा और अगर उसके पास १०० एकड़ जमीन है और उसके एक ही लड़का है तो उसकी ७० एकड़ जमीन चली जायेगी और उसके पास सिर्फ ३० एकड़ ही जमीन रह जायेगी। यह चीज हर किसम के कानून और कांस्टीट्यूशन के खिलाफ है। कांस्टीट्यूशन में हमने दफा १६ रखी है। उसके रहते हुये यह नहीं किया जा सकता। धरमी तक गवर्नमेंट ने कोई ऐसा कानून पास नहीं किया कि सन् १९५३ के बाद या सन् १९५३ में जो एलियनेशन किये गये हैं वे नाजायज हैं। लेकिन पंजाब में यह होगा कि सन् १९५३ के बाद भी अगर

कोई एलियनेशन किया गया है लेकिन अगर किसी के पास ३० एकड़ से ज्यादा जमीन है तो वह उसे नहीं रख सकेगा। यह कांस्टीट्यूशन के खिलाफ है। यह सबवरसिब आफ ला एंड आर्डर है। इसका नतीजा यह होगा कि गांवों में दो कलासेज हा जायेंगे। हम पहले से ही कास्ट सिस्टम को रो रहे हैं। लेकिन अब गवर्नमेंट नई कास्ट बना रही है। एक वह कास्ट जिसके पास ३० एकड़ जमीन होगी और एक वह जिसकी आमदनी १०५ रुपया साल होगी और तीसरी कास्ट शहर वालों की होगी। शहर वालों के लिये २५०० की परसनल सीलिंग भी गवर्नमेंट ने मंजूर नहीं की। हाउस में यह तजवीज पेश की गई थी कि शहर वालों के लिये इंडवीजुअल आमदनी की २५०० सीलिंग कर दी जाये, लेकिन गवर्नमेंट ने उसे मंजूर नहीं किया। लेकिन गांवों में सारे फैमिली के लिये ३०० रुपया सीलिंग रखना चाहती है। मैं कहता हूँ कि इससे ज्यादा डिस्ट्रिक्मिनेशन और कुछ नहीं हो सकता। यह हरगिज मुनासिब नहीं है और मैं अदब से अर्ज करूंगा कि इस तरह का सीलिंग लगाने से पैदावार और भी कम हो जायेगी।

मैं अब इस किस्से को छोड़ता हूँ और जनाब की खिदमत में मुझे जो असली मजमून अर्ज करना है उसकी तरफ घाता हूँ। हमारे प्लानिंग कमीशन ने इस तरह से प्लानिंग किया है कि न इकानामिक प्लानिंग ही हुआ है और न पोलिटिकल प्लानिंग ही हुआ है। हम यह समझते थे कि हर एक मिनिस्टर अपने अपने मुहकमे का जिम्मेदार है। लेकिन प्लानिंग कमीशन ने ऐसा प्लानिंग किया है कि हर एक मिनिस्टर अपने अपने मुहकमे का आज मालिक नहीं है। आज बड़ी घूमघाम है और बड़ा चर्चा है एग््रीकल्चर की और एनीमल हसबैंडरी का। मुझे इस सिलसिले में किदवाई साहब की एक बात याद आ गयी जिसकी तरफ मैं जनाब की तबज्जह दिलाना चाहता हूँ। वह एक परसनल

[पंजिब ठाकुर दास भार्गव]

वाक्या है जो कि मैं आपकी खिदमत में प्रार्थना करता चाहता हूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारे घारे मिनिस्टर साहिबान किदवाई साहब के नक्से कदम पर चले कि जिन्होंने इस बात का रिकार्ड कायम किया कि देश के अन्दर ज्यादा से ज्यादा सीट्स फीसवान फेलाया। एक मीके पर प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने एनीमल हसबैंडरी के मुताल्लिक तकरीर करते हुये एनीमल हसबैंडरी के उन उसूल के खिलाफ कुछ कहा जिनको किदवाई साहब सही मानते थे। तो मैंने किदवाई साहब से कहा कि यह मामला क्या है कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब इस तरह से एनीमल हसबैंडरी को रगड़ रहे थे कि जो एग््रीकल्चर मिनिस्ट्री के मुसलमा असूलों के खिलाफ था। इस पर किदवाई साहब ने फरमाया कि जब तक मैं एग््रीकल्चर का मिनिस्टर हूँ तब तक इस मामले में मेरी पालिसी ही चलेगी, प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब मुझे ऐडवाइस कर सकते हैं पालिसी मेरी ही चलेगी। ऐसा नहीं हो सकता कि किसी और की पालिसी चले। चुनावे यह देखने के लिये जो कुछ उन्होंने फरमाया है उस पर कहाँ तक जमते हैं मैंने हाउस में सवालात किबे और में बड़े गुरूर के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि हाउस में उन्होंने अपनी वही राय जाहिर की जो कि वह ठीक समझे हुये थे। आज मैं देखता हूँ कि दूसरे हाउस में भी अति प्रसाद जैन साहब ने फरमाया कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर तो सुपर मिनिस्टर हैं एग््रीकल्चर के। मैं अदब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर कोई पूरे तौर से इस मुहकमे का मिनिस्टर नहीं है तो हम किसको जिम्मेदार करार दे सकते हैं। यह अजीब बात है कि यहां कोई मिनिस्टर नहीं है, यहां कोई सुपर मिनिस्टर है, कोई अन्डर मिनिस्टर है, कोई डिप्टी मिनिस्टर है। ऐसी हालत में

हसबैंडरी के लिये कोई मिनिस्टर अहल नहीं है, न कोई इसमें काम करना चाहता है और न कोई जिम्मेदारी लेना चाहता है। और न ही कांस्टीट्यूशनल जिम्मेदारी साफ है। इसी बजह से इस मुहकमे में यह अवतरी फेली हुई है। जनाब वाला मुलाहिबा फरमायेंगे कि यहां पर फारमर्स फोरम की मीटिंग हुई थी। उस मीके पर प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने अलानिया उस जलसे में फरमाया था कि मैं एग््रीकल्चर से वाकिफ नहीं हूँ। पहले भी कई मिनिस्टर साहिबान ने यही फरमाया था कि जो काम वह कर रहे हैं उन मुहकमों की उनको वाकफियत नहीं है। लेकिन मैं यह जानता हूँ कि हमारे मिनिस्टर साहिबान बहुत काबिल हैं। पर एनीमल हसबैंडरी के मुहकमे का अगर कोई ऐसा मिनिस्टर हो जाये कि एनीमल हसबैंडरी के बारे में वाकफियत नहीं रखता तो वही हालत होगी जिसका कि मैं जिक्र करने जा रहा हूँ।

आपके सामने इस मजमून पर बोलेते हुये जैपाल सिंह साहब ने फरमाया था कि प्लानिंग कमीशन को पोलीटिकल प्लानिंग भी करना होगा और कांस्टीट्यूशन में जो गलतियाँ हैं उनको ठीक भी करना होगा। मैं भी यह मानता हूँ कि हमारे देश का एग््रीकल्चर का मसला उस वकत तक ठीक नहीं होगा जब तक कि कांस्टीट्यूशन में तबदीली न की जाये। मेरी पहले भी यह राय थी और आज भी यह राय है।

आप मुलाहिजा फरमावें कि मसूरी की कानफरेंस में एग््रीकल्चर के मिनिस्टर ने कहा कि अगर मुझे ११५ करोड़ रुपया मिल जाये तो मैं १५.५ पैंदावार बढा सकता हूँ।

हैं कि अगर मुझे सी करोड़ रुपया फरटि-भाइपर के लिये मिला जाये तो मैं ३०० करोड़ का ज्यादा गल्ला पैदा कर सकता हूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि मिनिस्टर साहब को अपने मुहकमे का पूरा भ्रक्तिपार हो और जैसे किदवाई साहब करते थे उसी तरह से काम किया जाये और कोई सुपर मिनिस्टर उसके काम में दखल न दे सके। मैं भ्रज करता हूँ कि जो मिनिस्टर अपने को मिनिस्टर नहीं समझता तो उसको चाहिये कि वह इस मुहकमे से इस्तीफा दे कर किसी और मुहकमे में चला जाये अगर वह पूरी जिम्मेदारी नहीं ले सकता। एनिमल हसबैंडी के मामले में हमारे देश का जो सत्यानाश हुआ, उसकी जो खराबी हुई, मैं उसका कुछ जिक्र करना चाहता हूँ। मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि भ्राज उसका कोई वाली-वारिषा नहीं है। हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर, नेहरू जी का ख्याल है कि जापान और चीन में लोग गाय का दूध नहीं पीते हैं, इसलिये उसकी क्या जरूरत है। जब भी गाय का जिक्र आता है, तो वह एक ऐसा प्वायंट भ्राफ व्यू रखते हैं, जो कि गाय के बारे में पापुलर प्वायंट भ्राफ व्यू से मुस्तलिफ हैं।

हाउस जरा कलेजा थाम कर बैठे क्योंकि मैं भ्रापके रू-बक यह भ्रज करने लगा हूँ कि पिछले आठ दस वर्षों में प्लानिंग कमीशन और मिनिस्ट्री की कार्यवाहियों का इस देश पर या असर हुआ है। इस सिलसिले में जितने भी फ्रिगर्ज रखने जा रहा हूँ, वे सब गवर्नमेंट के फ्रिगर्ज हैं—वे मेरे फ्रिगर्ज नहीं हैं। इस देश में १९५१-५२ में ५२ करोड़ मन दूध पैदा होता था और भ्राज १९५६ में—उस दूध की मिकदार ४७ करोड़ मन रह गई है। मैंने हिसाब लगाया है, लेकिन बूकि मेरे पास इतना वक्त नहीं है, इसलिये मैं सब भ्राकड़ हाउस के सामने नहीं रख सकता हूँ। लेकिन मैं भ्रज करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर १९५१ के दूध के मुतात्तिक दिये गये भ्राकड़ों का मुकाबिला १९५६ के भ्राकड़ों से किया

जाय, तो हम पाते हैं कि इस देश में इस घरसे में ५,४१,००,००० मन दूध सालाना कम हो गया है। अगर हम गाय भैंस की मील्ड को देखें, तो उसमें भी हम कमी पाते हैं। जो गाय पहले ५१३ पींड सालाना दूध देती थी, वह भ्राज ३६१ पींड दूध देती है और जो भैंस पहले ११०१ पींड सालाना दूध देती थी, भ्राज वह सिर्फ ९७० पींड देती है। अगर हम इन दोनों को मिला कर देखें, तो हम इस नतीजे पर पहुंचेंगे कि इन पांच वर्षों में इस देश में ५,४१,००,००० मन सालाना दूध कम हो गया है। मुझे पता नहीं कि प्लानिंग कमीशन हमको कहां ले जायेगा और हमको कितने कर्ज के नीचे दबा देगा, लेकिन इन फ्रिगर्ज के मायने ये हैं तकरीबन ८०० करोड़ रुपये का इस देश का नुकसान हो गया और प्लान का छठा हिस्सा समुन्दर में गर्क हो गया। ५,४१,००,००० मन दूध की कीमत ११० करोड़ रुपया सालाना होती है और इस तरह १९५१ से ले कर भ्राज तक इन आठ सालों में प्लानिंग कमीशन और गवर्नमेंट ने अपनी पालिसी से ८०० करोड़ रुपये का नुकसान कर दिया है। क्या यह थोड़ी रकम है? फ़ारेन एक्सचेंज का सारा गैप इससे कवर हो जाता। बाहर से हम जितना गल्ला मंगाते हैं, उस सब की कीमत से ज्यादा यह रकम है, जिसका कि नुकसान हो गया है।

इसके बाद जब जनाब यह मुलाहिजा फ़रमायें कि जो बैल की जोड़ी पहले बालीस मन का बोझ खींच सकता था, भ्राज वह पच्चीस मन से ज्यादा बोझ नहीं खींच सकती है। इस देश के बैल कमजोर हो गये हैं। दूध न मिलने की वजह से इस देश के बच्चे भी कमजोर हो गये हैं। औरतों और बूकों को दूध नहीं मिल रहा है। इस सबका नतीजा यह है कि इस देश में फ्रिजिकल डीजेनेरेशन हो गया है।

जहां तक अग्र-एम्प्लायमेंट का तात्बुक है, अगर गवर्नमेंट उस तरीके से काम करती,

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव]

ऐनीमल हसबैंडी के मामले में जिस तरीके से काम करने की उसको सलाह दी गई थी, वो इस देश में एक करोड़ आदिमियों को काम मिल जाता और कम मे कम पांच सौ करोड़ रुपये मे ज्यादा की आमदनी होती। इस विषय में जितने भी एक्सपर्ट हैं, जितने साइंटिस्ट हैं, उन सबकी राय मैं आपकी खिदमत में रखना चाहता हूँ। उनकी राय के मुताबिक सिर्फ ठीक फ्रीडिंग से ही एक बुल्लाक (बैल) की पावर माठ परसेंट बढ़ जाती है और एक गाय की दूध देने की पावर पचास परसेंट बढ़ जाती है। गवर्नमेंट ने इस मिलसिले में क्या किया, वह मैं आगे बल कर बताऊंगा। इस वक्त मैं कुछ और फिगर्ज आपकी खिदमत में पेश करना चाहता हूँ। इस देश में जहाँ पर २५० बुलज की जरूरत है, वहाँ सिर्फ एक बुल मौजूद है। जहाँ तक बैलो का ताल्लुक है, इस देश में आज जितने बैल मौजूद हैं, उस से दो करोड़ ज्यादा बैलों की जरूरत है। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या बैलों के बगैर खेती मुमकिन है। मैं यह अज्रं करना चाहता हूँ कि प्लानिंग कमीशन और गवर्नमेंट ने आज तक एग््रीकल्चर और ऐनिमल हसबैंडी के आपस के ताल्लुक को समझने की कोशिश नहीं की है। हम जमीन को भी माता कहते हैं और गाय को भी माता कहते हैं। दोनों एक रूट से निकले हैं। उन दोनों के आपस के सम्बन्ध को समझना बहुत मुश्किल नहीं है, लेकिन उस में कुछ इमेजिनेशन की जरूरत है। यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर हम ऐनिमल हसबैंडी की तरफ तवज्जह नहीं देंगे, तो यह नामुमकिन है कि एग््रीकल्चर आगे चले। एग््रीकल्चर कमीशन १९२८ में सारे देश में आभा और उसने यह राय कायम की कि एक पेयर आफ बुल्लाकस दस एकड़ जमीन कास्त कर सकता है। १९५० में मार्केटिंग ब्याक कैंटल की रिपोर्ट में बताया गया कि २.२ एकड़ से ज्यादा एक पेयर आफ बुल्लाकस

खेती नहीं कर सकता है। चन्द बरस दूये, गवर्नमेंट ने ह्युमैन न्यूट्रीशन विज्ञान-बीच ऐनिमल न्यूट्रीशन पर गौर करने के लिये साइंटिस्ट्स की एक कमेटी काबज की, जो कि इस नतीजे पर पहुंची कि घाट एकड़ से ज्यादा जमीन को एक पेयर आफ बुल्लाकस कास्त नहीं कर सकता है। लेकिन वह फिगर गलत है। मैं एक कनसिस्टेंट हिस्ट्री दे भी सकता हूँ, जिससे यह साबित होता है कि इस देश में बैलों की ताकत कम से कमतर होती जा रही है और उसका नतीजा यह है कि आज मेरे हिसाब के मुताबिक एक पेयर आफ बुल्लाकस सात एकड़ से ज्यादा जमीन को कास्त नहीं कर सकता है। इस देश में पैंतीस करोड़ एकड़ जमीन कास्त होती है। आप यह सुन कर हैरान होंगे कि उसमें गधों, हासिज, गाय, भैंस और भैयों, ऊंटों को जोड़ा जाता है—उनसे कास्त की जाती है। सब को मिला कर ६,९७,४९,००० ज्यादा जानवर नहीं हैं, जिनसे कि खेती होती है। पैंतीस करोड़ को चार से तकसीम कीजिये। एक पेयर आफ बुल्लाकस घाट एकड़ जमीन में खेती कर सकता है। इस देश में कम मे कम दो करोड़ बैलों की कमी है। इन दो करोड़ बैलों की प्रदम-मौजूदगी में आप यह कैसे उम्मीद करते हैं कि इस देश में आइंटिमम कल्टीवेशन होगा। पंडित नेहरू रोज लेक्चर देते हैं और वह दिल से चाहते हैं—उनके दिल में इस बात की आग लगी हुई है—कि इस देश में प्रोड्यूस को दुगना तिगुना बढ़ाओ। मैं प्लानिंग कमीशन से यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश में प्रोड्यूस को बढ़ाना कैसे मुमकिन है जब तक कि हमारे यहाँ ट्रैक्टर पावर काफी न होगी। अठारह हजार ट्रैक्टर सिर्फ एक परसेंट जमीन को कास्त कर सकते हैं। उसके बाद हमारे पास बैलों के सिवा कुछ नहीं रह जाता है और बैलों की तादाद आपके पास बहुत कम है। आखिर खेती का राज क्या है? इन्टेसिव कल्टीवेशन किस चीज का नाम है। चीन ने इन पांच बरसों में चालीस फ्रीसदी पैदावार बढ़ाई

है। इसकी वजह यह है कि वे लोग इन्टेन्सिव कल्टीवेशन करते हैं। गवर्नमेंट प्राफ इण्डिया के एक एक्सपर्ट, मिस्टर राइट ने अपनी किताब के पेज ५६ पर कहा है कि इन्टेन्सिव कल्टीवेशन और मिक्सड फ़ार्मिंग के अलावा कोई तरीका नहीं है, जिस से कि इस देश में पैदावार बढ़ सके। जब मिक्सड फ़ार्मिंग को हम अपने मज़दीक नहीं धाने देना चाहते तो फिर पैदावार कैसे बढ़ सकती है। जनाब, जो लोग खेती का काम करते हैं, अगर उनसे पूछा जाय कि ज्यादा पैदावार का क्या रास्ता है, तो उनका जवाब यही होगा कि पानी, बीज और खाद और बार बार जोतना खेतों का। जहाँ तक पानी का ताल्लुक है, गवर्नमेंट ने कोशिश की है, लेकिन आज तक सरकार ठीक किस्म के बीज मुहैया नहीं कर सकी है। मैं पार्लियामेंट का मेम्बर हूँ और एग्रीकल्चरल रिसर्च कॉमिल का भी मेम्बर हूँ, लेकिन मैं भी मिनिस्टर्स को लिखने और हर तरह की कोशिश करने के बावजूद हाई ब्रिड मेज (Hybrid maize) का बीज हासिल नहीं कर सका हूँ। इस फसल के लिये इस हालत में बेचारे काश्तकार को बीज कहाँ से मिल सकता है? जो मीड फ़ार्म की तजवीज़ है, वह सिर्फ़ कागज़ों पर ही है। आज कितने ही ऐसे ज़मींदार हैं, जो कि अच्छे बीज हासिल करना चाहते हैं, लेकिन उनको नहीं मिलते हैं। जहाँ तक खाद का ताल्लुक है, आपके पास एक फ़ैक्टरी है, जो कि देश की अरूरियात के लिये बिल्कुल नाकाफ़ी है। और हम उस बीज का पूरा उपयोग नहीं करते हैं, जो कि नेचर ने हमको दी है। हमारे देश में आठ सौ मिलियन टन गोबर पैदा होता है, जिसमें अगर ज्यादा नहीं, तो सोलह लाख टन नाइट्रोजन पैदा हो सकता है। उसका आपने क्या इस्तेमाल किया? आपने उसका पूरा इस्तेमाल नहीं किया। लेकिन सब से बड़ी बात यह है कि इन्टेन्सिव कल्टीवेशन में ज्यादा पैदावार होने का रास्ता इस बीज में मुब्तमर है कि खेत में बार बार कास्त की जाय—उसको बार-

बार जोता जाय। जितना ज्यादा जोतेंगे, उतनी ज्यादा पैदावार होगी, जिसके मायने हैं कि जितने आपके पास बैल होंगे, जितनी बैलों की फ़िज़िकल पावर होगी, उतनी ही पैदावार बढ़ेगी। आपने इसकी तरफ़ तबज़्जह नहीं दी है। यह क्रिमिनल निगलैक्ट भ्रान भोर पाट है। इससे ज्यादा सख्त लफ़्ज़ इस्तेमाल करने के लिये मेरे पास नहीं है। आपका रबैया इस तरह का रहा है कि देश को आपने बरबाद कर दिया है। यह सब कुछ आपने हमारी आँखों के सामने किया है। सन् १९५३-५४ में जब इस सदन के अन्दर बहस हुई थी तो मैंने एक अग्नेयमंट पेश की थी और वह अग्नेयमंट गवर्नमेंट के वास्ते एक वोट प्राफ सेनशोर थी। वह मंजूर भी हो गई। उसमें लिखा था कि इन दी इटिरेस्ट प्राफ कूलर बेलफेयर इस तरफ़ हमको स्पेशल एटेंशन देनी चाहिये। उस स्पेशल एटेंशन का मैं आपको नभूना पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ। आपने फाइव यीयर प्लान के बारे में जिस रिब्यू को छापा है उसमें आपसे क्या लिखा है, उस तरफ़ मैं आपकी तबज़्जह दिलाना चाहता हूँ। भुमसे तो उसको पढ़ने से भी शर्म आती है। यह नामुमकिन है कि यह गवर्नमेंट कभी भी एग्रीकल्चर के मसले को हल कर के उस वक़्त तक जब तक कि वह ऐनिमल हसबैंड्री की तरफ़, बैलों की तरफ़ एग्रीकल्चरल स्कीम की तरफ़ पूरी तबज़्जह नहीं देती। ये समस्याये तब तक हल नहीं हो सकती जब तक कि पूरा दूध नहीं मिलता। लेकिन दूध की बात को मैं छोड़ सकता हूँ, ज़मींदार इसकी परवा नहीं करता है कि उसको तथा उसके बच्चों को दूध मिलता है या नहीं, वह अपने बैलों की स्ट्रेंथ की परवा करता है, उसके बैलों की स्ट्रेंथ इस देश के अन्दर इस तरह से कम कर दी गई है कि आपको क्याल तक नहीं है। आप बुनिया के अन्दर जो स्सोगंस लगाये जाते हैं, उनकी तरफ़ देखते हैं। लेकिन आप किसान के बैलों की कोई परवा नहीं करते हैं। आपने पांच लाख प्लान बनाया और बहुत मेहनत के साथ

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भागंब]

बनाया और इसके बारे में हम और भी बहुत सुनते थे। जो आपका पहला प्लान था वह मेनली एग्रिकल्चरल प्लान था और आप कहते हैं कि उसके दौरान मैं आपने २० फीसदी पैदावार बढ़ा दी। दूसरा प्लान आप कहते हैं कि इसमें इंस्ट्रुक्टाइजेशन पर ज्यादा जोर दिया गया है, इसमें एपी-कल्चर की तरफ मैं समझता हूँ पूरी तबज्जह नहीं दी गई है।

13 hrs.

अब मैं आपको रिब्यू आफ दी फाइव थीयर प्लान के सफा १२८ से पढ़ कर कुछ पोइंटस सुनाना चाहता हूँ। यहाँ पर लिखा है:—

"An adequate supply of nutritional requirements of cattle both for improved milk production and draught is an essential item in the key village programme, but so far much progress has not been made in this direction...."

यह आपने जो लिखा है गलत लिखा है, आपको लिखना चाहिये था कि ग्रेट रिट्रोपेगेशन हुई है, सक्स्ट डिटीरियोरेशन हुआ है।

आगे चल कर आपने लिखा है:—

"Nor has much progress been made in the organisation of proper facilities for the profitable marketing of improved livestock and livestock products".

यह भी आपने गलत लिखा है। आपने लिखा है नार हैज मच प्राग्रेस बीन मेड, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि नाट इवन दी फ्रिज हैज बीन टर्ब्ड। ये दोनों बातें जो आपने लिखी हैं गलत लिखी हैं। ऐसे हालात में इंटेंसिव कल्टीवेशन कभी मुम्किन नहीं हो सकती है। आपको शोगों की राय पर चलना होगा और दूध की रोज आफज कमी और बैलों की ताकत की तरफ तबज्जह देनी होगी, और उनको बचाना करना होगा। अगर कोई और देश होता जहाँ पर कि पांच करोड़ मन दूध आना कम् होता इस तरह से तो वहाँ की

गवर्नमेंट का कहीं पता न चलता। कान्फिडेंस और नो-कान्फिडेंस का तो कोई सवाल ही नहीं उठता। सच पूछिये तो इस के बारे में आपने कुछ किया ही नहीं है। आप फिबीक आफ दी पीपल को देखें, आप देखें कि उनके मुँह पर क्या लिखा है। आपने लोगों की लस्ती कम कर दी, उनके खाने की जो स्टेपल फूड है, उसको आपने कम कर दिया है, आज जमींदार के किसी लड़के या लड़की को दूध पूरा नहीं मिल पाता है और इसका कारण यह है कि आपने शहरों के अन्दर डेरियां खोलने की स्कीम पर जोर दिया है ताकि गांव का दूध वहाँ आ जाये लेकिन दूध की मात्रा कम करदी है। आपने वहाँ सारा रुपया जो जानवरों की बहतरी पर खर्च होना चाहिये था बरबाद कर दिया है। आपने ६७ लाख रुपया गो सदनों के लिये रखा था पिछली स्कीम में लेकिन पांच साल में आप केवल तीन लाख रुपया ही खर्च कर सके। आपने दो करोड़ ६७ लाख रुपया ऐनिमल हसबैंड्री के लिये रखा था लेकिन सिर्फ २० लाख रुपया ही आपने खर्च किया है। यह एक फंडामेंटल चीज है कि जब तक ऐनिमल हसबैंड्री देश में इम्प्रूव नहीं होगी तब तक मुम्किन नहीं है कि आपका एग्रिकल्चर का मसला हल हो सके।

आपने तीन बड़े बड़े कारखाने लोहे के बनाये हैं। आप इन कारखानों में ट्रेक्टर बनाने का विचार रखते हैं इसको अभी कई बरस लगेंगे। इस वक्त आपके पास ट्रेक्टर नहीं हैं। हाँ जो कारखाने हैं वे आपको मुबारिक। जब वहाँ पर ट्रेक्टर बनने लगेंगे तब तो कुछ फायदा होगा लेकिन आज कुछ गरीब लोगों और किसानों का फायदा नहीं हो रहा है। आज तो आपके पास ट्रेक्टर भी नहीं हैं। आप रोज बरोख नये नये कानून पास करते जाते हैं। लेकिन आज तक आपने उन लोगों को, टेंनेट्स को सिक्वोरिटी आफ टैन्वोर फिलवाक्या नहीं दिया है और अब भी

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बेवस्थामें भी होती हैं। आपकी जो दूसरी चीजें हैं, जो दूसरे कारनामे हैं उनकी तरफ मैं नहीं जाना चाहता। बनारस हिन्दु विश्वविद्यालय के बारे में आपने कानून पास किया। इम्पोंटेंस को ज्यादा कर के हमारे एक कामर्स मिनस्टर साहब ने हमारी इकानोमी को तबाह कर दिया है। लेकिन इन सब चीजों को बरबाद किया जा सकता है। ये सब अस्थायी महत्व की चीजें हैं। लेकिन एग्रिकल्चर को जो शक्स बरबाद करता है, उसके लिये मेरे पास सपज नहीं हैं जिन का मैं उसके बारे में इस्तेमाल कर सकूँ। परमात्मा ने हमको इतनी बढ़िया जमीन दी है, इतने बढ़िया बैल दिये हैं, इतनी बढ़िया गाय दी है, लेकिन हम उन सब का ठीक उपयोग नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। गाय के बारे में तो कई बातें हिन्दू शास्त्रों में लिखी हैं। कहा गया है कि बैल के सिर पर दुनिया खड़ी है। ३३ करोड़ देवताओं का गाय के पैर में बास है। जमीन के बारे में शक्य क्यामला का हमारे बन्दे मातरम् के गीत में प्रयोग किया गया है। ये बातें ठीक हों या न हों, मैं इसमें नहीं जाना चाहता। लेकिन यह मानी हुई बात है कि एग्रिकल्चर पर हमारा सब कुछ निर्भर करता है। लार्ड लिलिथगो ने भी कहा था कि को एंड आक्सन ग्रार दी बैंकबोन आफ एग्रिकल्चर। आपने इन के साथ क्या सलूक किया है। आपने सलूक यह किया है कि आपने सन् १९५६ में ८२ लाख ४६६०३ खालें बाहर भेजी जबकि उससे दस बरस पहले १९४७-४८ में सिर्फ ५८,१२,६५० खालें भेजी गई थीं। यानी खालों के एक्सपोर्ट में नुमायां तरक्की है।

आप हर रोज लोगों को बतलाते हैं कि आपके पास बड़े बड़े एक्सपर्ट्स हैं। उन एक्सपर्ट्स के हाथों में आपने हिन्दुस्तान की जान दे रखी है। मेरे पास बक्त नहीं है कि मैं उनके बारे में आपको कुछ बतलाऊँ। आपकी प्लानिंग कमिशन में म्योरोक्रैटिक एक्सपर्ट्स हैं, वे प्राउटमॉडिड हैं वे नहीं जानते हैं कि एग्रिकल्चर किस को कहते हैं। आप अगर राइट साहब ने जो लिखा है

उसको देखें तो आपकी आखें खुल जायेंगी। इटली, नाइजीरिया, इजिप्ट प्रोस्ट्रेलिया इत्यादि में आप जाकर देखें तो आपको मालूम होगा कि उन्होंने मिक्सड फार्मिंग के जरिये से हर एक घाबरी की घाबरी बड़ा दी है, उनके कैल निहायत कामयाब साबित हुये हैं, उनका सारा एग्रिकल्चर का मसला तय हो गया है। आपने ऐसा नहीं किया है। हमारे देश में ६ अरब और ३० करोड़ रुपये का कऊडंग जाया किया जाता है, उसका ठीक इतिजाम नहीं होता है। २ अरब ८० करोड़ रुपये का जो गोमूत्र है, उसका इस्तेमाल आप नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। मुझे अफसोस होता है जब आपकी तरफ से यह जबाब दिया जाता है कि यह काम मुश्किल है। लेकिन इस दिशा में आप कोई कोशिश भी तो नहीं कर रहे हैं। नौ अरब रुपया इस देश का जाया हो रहा है लेकिन कोई ध्यान ही नहीं देता है। इसका कुछ भी उपयोग नहीं हो रहा है।

इस बास्ते मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप सही मानों में कुछ करना चाहते हैं तो आप एनिमल हसबैंड्री को सब से बड़ा रुतबा दें, इसके लिये सेपरेट मिनस्टर रखें, सेपरेट पोर्टफोलियो बनायें, प्लानिंग कमिशन में इसको सेपरेट रिप्रिजेंटेशन दें। यह बात जब यहाँ कही जाती है कि बुरे जानवर अच्छे जानवरों का खाना खा जाते हैं, तो इसको सुनकर मेरा सिर धाम से झुक जाता है। हमारे मंत्री महोदय की तरफ से एक बार इस हाउस में यह प्रोग्रामेंट भी दी गई कि ह्यूमन बीइंग्स और जानवरों के इंटरस्ट के बीच कनफ्लिक्ट है। हमें तय करना है कि प्राया लोग खायें या जानवर खायें। अगर जानवर खाते हैं तो लोग भूखे मर सकते हैं। इसको कई बार यहाँ रिपीट किया गया है। अगर आपने बैलों की ५० परसेंट स्ट्रेंथ बढ़ा दी होती तो पता नहीं आपकी कितनी पैदावार बढ़ जाये और वह इतनी बढ़ सकती है जितनी कि आपके स्वप्न में भी नहीं है। वह दुग्नी और तिगुनी हो सकती है। आप देखेंगे कि देश के अन्दर सब

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भागवत]

को प्राप्तामी से खाना खाने को मिल जायेगा। लेकिन आज हम तरह की कोई बात नहीं की जा रही है। हमारे एग्जिकलचर मिनिस्टर साहब ने ब प्लानिंग कमिशन के उन पर जो प्राबलीगेशंस थीं उनको ठीक तरह से नहीं निभाया है, उन पर भी कांस्टीट्यूशनल प्राबलीगेशंस थीं उनको नहीं समझा है। इसका नतीजा यह हुआ है कि बजाये इसके कि एनीमल हसबैंड्री को फिसेज मिलता या अनाज व दूध देश में बढ़ता आप रोज बरोख इम्पोर्ट्स को आप बढ़ाते जाते हैं, इसके बजाये माने हैं। यह देख कर मुझे बड़ा दुःख होता है। मैं कई बार कह चुका हूँ कि एक एक मन जो गेहूँ इस देश के अन्दर आता है, वह हमारे देशवासियों का हाटें ब्लड दूमेरे मुल्कों में ले जाता है। इसको आज कोई महसूस नहीं करता है। हर रोज मैं नहीं न कहीं पढ़ता हूँ कि इतना गेहूँ बाहर से आयेगा, दो बरस में और आयेगा। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि कहा से आयेगा और क्यों आयेगा? आप क्यों इसको इम्पोर्ट करते हैं? मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि कैसे आप यह कहते हैं कि यहां पर ज्यादा पैदा नहीं हो सकता? आप किसी भी गांव में जायें और वहां पर गरीब से गरीब किसान से पूछें और कहें कि वह बतलाये कि उसको किस चीज की जरूरत है, वह क्या चाहता है। वह आपको बतलायेगा कि जब तक गाय और बैल की तरक्की नहीं होगी तब तक देश की खाद्य समस्या हल नहीं होगी।

आज तक जो होना था वह हो चुका। मैं नहीं कहता कि आपने नेकनियती से काम नहीं किया। आप ने अब से पहले काफी बोझा कर्जे का हम पर डाल दिया है। आप उसको और न बढ़ायें। आप फस्ट प्रोयोरिटी एग्जिकलचर को दें और उसमें भी एनिमल हसबैंड्री को। एक एक रुपया जो आप एनिमल हसबैंड्री को फीड करने में खर्च करोगे वह आपको इतना रिच डिबिटेंड देगा कि कुछ कहना ही नहीं और आपकी जो समस्या

है वह हल हो जायेगी। अगर जरूरत हो तो आप कांस्टीट्यूशन को भी तबदील करें। आज होता है कि कोई जोफ मिनिस्टर यहां आकर आपकी गर्दन पर हाथ रख कर कहता है कि इतना अनाज मेरी स्टेट में भोजने का आप हुकम दे दें और इतना अनाज बाहर से मंगा लें। आपका फर्ज है कि आप पहले देखें कि फलां स्टेट ने जो उसके पास जमीन है और पानी है उसका पूरा फायदा उठाया है या नहीं। आप जमींदारों को पानी देते हैं लेकिन ज्यों ही आप पानी देने हैं त्यों ही आप बंटरमेंट लेवी के वारंट भेज देते हैं। इस तरह से आप कभी कामयाब नहीं हो सकते हैं। जिन चीजों की तरफ मैंने आपका ध्यान दिलाया है उनकी तरफ अगर आप पहले से ध्यान देते तो न दिक्कतों में आप फंसते और न देश को फंसाते। एनिमल हसबैंड्री और एग्जिकलचर इन दोनों को मिला कर मिक्स्ट फार्मिंग के जरिये आप मामले को हल कर सकते हैं। मेरे पास सारा मसाला फिगरज ब किताबों का मौजूद है लेकिन चूक वक्त कम है और स्टीकर साहब का हाथ भी पंटी पर है और मेरी दुखभरी कहानी को सुन कर वह मुझे बोलने से भी रोकना नहीं चाहते, इसलिये वह सब चीजें मैं आपके सामने हवालों के साथ नहीं रख सकता। मैं इतना ही अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो लास हो रहे हैं जिस की तरफ मैंने आपका ध्यान दिलाया है एक तो पांच करोड़ मन दूध का जिस की कीमत एक अरब रुपया से ज्यादा हर साल का वह कम हो सकता है अगर आप उसकी तरफ तबज्जह दें। जब तक आप इस को नहीं रोकेंगे, तब तक यह मामला तय नहीं होगा। मुझे डर तो यह है कि कुछ बरसों के बाद दूध शायद हकीमों के नुस्खे में ही रह जाय और दरअसल देश के अन्दर दूध का मिलना बन्द हो जाय।

इसी तरह से बैलों को मैं देखता हूँ कि उनकी क्या हालत है मैं प्लानिंग कमिशन की

Plan

खिदमत में अर्ज करता हूँ कि आप और काम खत्म कीजिये । अपने हाथ को स्टे कीजिये । सब से पहले आप इस मामले को हाथ में लें । आज हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर हालत क्या है ? जब हम फिगर्स को देखते हैं तो पाते हैं कि जहाँ सन् १९४७ के पहले दूध का पर कैपिटल कंजम्पशन ७ औंस था वहाँ अब उस का पर कैपिटल कंजम्पशन ४.४५ आउंस आ चुका है । आप नहीं जानते हैं कि यहाँ के बच्चों के लिये दूध कितनी जरूरी चीज है । राइट साहब की किताब के सफा ५ पर लिखा है कि तीन महीनों के वास्ते सिमले में तजुर्बे के तौर पर कुछ बच्चों को दूध दिया गया और कुछ को नहीं दिया गया । उन की छाती वगैरह को सम्भाला गया । लेकिन नतीजा यह निकला कि जिन बच्चों को दूध दिया गया था उन की छाती बड़ी, कद बढ़ा जब कि जिन को दूध नहीं दिया गया था उनका जिस्म ठीक नहीं हुआ । इसी तरह साउथ इंडिया में भी तजुर्बा किया गया । मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि अब वक्त आ गया है कि इस देश में ज्यादा तवज्जह दूध के प्रोडक्शन की तरफ दी जाये, बैलों की ताकत की तरफ दी जाये । आपकी अपनी किताब में लिखा हुआ है कि हमें इतना अनाज मंगाने की जरूरत नहीं है अगर देश के अन्दर दूध की मात्रा काफी रहती । वह प्रैक्टिकली फूड है । और हमें कारबोहाईड्रेट्स की बजाय प्रोटीन की ज्यादा जरूरत है । एक सेर दूध की ताकत ६ अंडों में होती है, आधा सेर गोश्त में होती है, एक सेर मछली में होती है, यह एक मुसल्लेमा अम्प है । इस पांच करोड़ मन के मानी यह है कि आप डेढ़ करोड़ मन रोटी की देश में सालाना कमी पैदा करते हैं । ६ छटाक रोटी की ताकत एक सेर दूध में होती है । एक तरफ आप चाहते हैं कि अनाज बढ़े और दूसरी तरफ आप क्या करते हैं ? आप कंसेन्ट्रेट और फाडर और मवेशी का खाजा इस देश से बाहर के वास्ते भेज देते हैं । आप कहते हैं कि हमारे पास १०० में से सिर्फ ७८ गायों के वास्ते चारा है और २२ के लिये कंसेन्ट्रेट है । लेकिन आपने तकरीबन ७ करोड़

की कीमत की मवेशियों का चारा, ग्वार, दाना व खली बाहर भेज दिया । १९५५-५६ में ११ करोड़ रु० का दूध व दूध की चीज आपने बाहर से मंगायीं, १९५५-५६ में इस देश के अन्दर । मैं क्या क्या शिकायत करूँ ? मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि आज इनका ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन आफ एनिमल हसबैंड्री जो है, वह इतना खराब है, आब्जेक्शनबल है, कि उसके लिये मेरे पास अल्फाज नहीं । अगर और कोई मुल्क होता तो शायद वहाँ के लोग इस गवर्नमेंट की शकल तक न देखते तो-कांफिडेंस का क्या कहना । मैं बहुत दुःख के साथ बोलता हूँ, मुझे मिसअन्डर-स्टैंड न कीजिये । मुझे मिनिस्टर से अदावत नहीं, मैं उनके लिये कोई खराब बात नहीं कहना चाहता । लेकिन मैं बारह बरसों से चिल्लाता आया हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट से, कितने ही बिल पेश किये, कई दूसरी चीजें कीं, लेकिन गवर्नमेंट ने सब की सब को ठुकरा दिया । मैं फस्ट्रेट हो कर कहता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट ने इन दस बरसों में हमारा नुकसान जितना किया उतना फायदा नहीं किया । मैं चाहता हूँ कि आज कम से कम गवर्नमेंट सबक ले और हसबैंड्री और मिक्सड फार्मिंग के उन तरीकों को अपनाने जो खुद उसके अपने एक्सपर्ट्स भी कहते हैं । मगर वह तवज्जह नहीं देती ।

मुझे आप माफ करेंगे, मैंने आपका ज्यादा वक्त लिया । लेकिन मैं अर्ज करता हूँ जितना मुझ को इस पर बोलना था उसके लिये तो मुझ को कुछ और ज्यादा वक्त चाहिए था । तो भी आप ने मुझे जो वक्त दिया उसके लिये आपका बहुत मशकूर हूँ ।

Mr. Speaker: Now, I am going to call Shri S. L. Saksena, because he is feeling ill and he cannot stay here. Thereafter, I intend doing this. I find that hon. Members from various States have spoken except those from Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Kashmir and Orissa. I propose to call at least one from each of these States.

Shri Mahanty (Dhenkanal): Can I get some chance, because from my group none has spoken so far?

Mr. Speaker: Whether it is group or no group, the hon. Member comes from Orissa, and I am going to call him.

Shri Sanganna (Koraput-reserved—Sch. Tribes): Could I get some chance, because I have tabled some amendments?

Mr. Speaker: I shall give opportunities to all hon. Members.

Dr. Melkote (Raichur): Can I get some chance, for nobody has spoken so far on behalf of labour?

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): I had raised certain questions, and you gave me the clear understanding that I shall be allowed to raise those questions. So, could I get some chance?

Shri Khadilkar (Ahmednagar): Nobody has spoken from Maharashtra.

Mr. Speaker: Maharashtra is not yet divided from Bombay.

Dr. D. A. Katti (Chikodi): Nobody has spoken from the Republican Party?

Mr. Speaker: Who is going to speak on their behalf?

Dr. D. A. Katti: I am going to speak on their behalf.

Shri Thanu Pillai (Tirunelveli): Will I get a chance?

Mr. Speaker: How can I assure?

Shri Thanu Pillai: The other day, you said that I shall get an opportunity.

Mr. Speaker: If I have told the hon. Member so already then, all right, I shall try.

Shri S. L. Saksena (Maharajganj): I am thankful to you for having called me to speak on this subject so soon. I have carefully listened to some of

the speeches made by the hon. Members. Some very harsh words have been spoken about the Planning Commission. Some of the hon. Members demanded the resignation of the members of the Planning Commission, and some others demanded the resignation of the Planning Minister. But, I do not think there is that danger. In a way, we have received complaints against Government on many accounts. But, of all the organs of Government, I think the Planning Commission is the one organ which has done something, for which we shall have to be thankful. Were it not for the Planning Commission, perhaps we would not have been even where we are. I, therefore, fully agree with those who think that the Planning Commission should continue and take us to a greater distance.

The Plan which is now in execution was framed with the general approval of the House, and I am only sorry that the Plan has not been struck to and there has been an attempt at an appraisal. I feel that if we had not undertaken the appraisal, we would have been able to find money for the whole Plan just as we are now getting money for meeting the deficit which we are experiencing. It is the appraisal, the reappraisal and all these things have unnecessarily brought us into great difficulties.

Even then, I sometimes wonder how our production is so low compared to that of other countries during the same period. Our Prime Minister is never tired of saying that we should compare ourselves with China. He has, in fact, said so many times that we cannot compare ourselves with the Soviet Union or with the other countries, but we can compare ourselves with China.

I have got here before me the latest report about the progress that China has made. I shall talk about only two or three things. First, I shall take the case of steel. China had a pro-

duction of 13,50,000 tons of steel in 1952, and last year, that is, during the last year of their plan, they produced 53,50,000 tons of steel. So, from about 13 lakhs of tons in 1952, the production increased to about 53 lakhs of tons last year. But what is more astounding is that this year, they are going to produce about 107 lakhs of tons, which means almost double that of last year. I am astonished how they do it. But you will be surprised to know that they have followed our principle. They have decentralised the industry. They have asked each county to have its own blast furnaces. The number of new blast furnaces to be put up during this year is nearly a million. From January to August, 974 steel-making converters were completed in the country, with Kansu Province and the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region ranking first in the building of new furnaces. The number of new iron smelting furnaces completed in this period was 240,000 of which more than 190,000 were built in August, averaging 6,000 new furnaces a day. That means that every county practically is having its own furnace; and every village is having its own furnace for producing steel. Although they have got big works at Anshan and other places, yet it is these smelting furnaces which are there in almost every village, that have enabled them almost to double their iron output; and they are having about one crore of tons of steel this year as their target whereas in our country, when all our steel plants start working in 1962, we shall have only 6 million tons. To double the steel output from 5 million tons to 10 million tons in one year is something which is simply a miracle, which I cannot understand. If we want to compare ourselves with China, then we should remember that China which began its planning after us, and which began with a production of 5 lakhs of tons when we had 9 lakhs of tons in our Tata Iron and Steel Works, is now having a target of one crore of tons of steel as the target for 1958, whereas we probably will not have more than 20 lakhs of tons of steel

this year. This is something which is astounding.

As regards coal, our Minister said that we may not be able to achieve our 6 million tons' target.

Shri M. P. Mishra (Begusarai): Wherefrom has the hon. Member got all these figures?

Shri S. L. Saksena: These are from *China Today*, and I am quoting from the latest issue of *China Today*.

Shri M. P. Mishra: This is all propaganda aspect.

Shri S. L. Saksena: Are 10 million tons so much? Is that propaganda?

I think he will be deceiving himself by such day dreaming. He will find that we will be nowhere compared to other countries if this is the way he deals with these figures. I have been there. I have seen things as they are going on, and the way they have worked and achieved results is simply marvellous. We will only be deceiving ourselves if we say that this is all propaganda. We must take them at their word. Even if we take it at only 80 lakh tons instead of 1 crore tons, our production is only 20 lakh tons after 11 years of independence; it is only 8 years since they became independent and they have produced this much of steel within that time. This is something extraordinary and we must find out how they achieved this production, how they got the funds for it and so on.

Then take coal production. In 1952, they had 63,528,000 tons of coal. Last year, they produced 130 million tons of coal, that is, about 2½ times; this year, the figure is 210 million tons. I simply wonder how they are doing it. In every village and every county, they are working their own mines and producing coal.

As regards electricity, production in 1952 was 7,260 million kwh. Last year, it was 19,300 million kwh. This

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year they have increased it to 27,500 million kwh. In one year, they have almost doubled the output.

With respect to cement, production in 1952 was 2,860,000 tons. Last year, they produced 6,000,000 tons and this year, the figure is 10,000,000 tons.

These are not small figures. If we want to exist in this world as an honourable nation and want to increase our industrial productivity, we will certainly have to see that we do not become the last in this race. And if this is the way in which we are proceeding, I think we shall have no alternative but to be in the very lower rung of the ladder. I would, therefore, request the Planning Commission to make a thorough study of the progress which our neighbour country makes and find out what are the secrets of their success, how they have progressed, how they get finances, how they effect so much improvement every year. This is something which we have to copy.

Personally, I feel here also agriculture is the one thing which has enabled them in the very beginning to finance their new enterprises. In fact, in the year 1950, their total budget was only Rs. 1,200 crores. This year it is about 10 times as much. That is something which is extraordinary, that they should make so much progress, whereas we are in difficulties even to finance our Plan.

In agriculture, their production has increased to almost 4 times of what they had. "The total national output of single-crop rice now being gathered in various places is estimated at more than 56.5 million tons, an increase of more than 15 million tons, or some 40 per cent, compared with last year". In one crop, there is an increase of 40 per cent production! We are told that they are producing in the whole country about 3½ million tons this year; this agricultural production enables them to pay for what they im-

port from outside. That is one of the reasons why they are able to do all these things. On the other hand, we are not able even to utilise the irrigation potential that we have created. Just now, my hon. friend, Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava, mentioned about how we are using our bullock power. I have seen in many foreign countries that an agricultural farm by itself does not pay, unless they have also side by side dairying, poultry and other things. The income from animal husbandry and other things is more than the income from mere agriculture. That is the experience of almost all farms in the Soviet Union as well as in China. The income from animal breeding, poultry and pig-keeping is more than 50—60 per cent. of the entire income of an agricultural farm. Therefore, our farms which depend merely on cultivation of grain are no good because they cannot have this income which people in other countries have. In our country, animal husbandry is wholly neglected and there is no subsidiary industry side by side with cultivation of grains. We have no poultry, we have no pig keeping and we depend only upon agriculture, in which the yield is also very low.

The most extraordinary thing is that we have so much irrigation potential. But we have not utilised it. I know how it happens. In my own constituency, there is a big canal which has recently been dug. But the water rate for irrigation is about Rs. 30 per acre. The result is that the canal water is going waste.

Pandit K. C. Sharma (Hapur): What is the number of pigs?

Shri S. L. Saksena: Even though irrigation potential has been created by huge investments, the water is not being used. Unless we make the water rates within the means of the cultivator, he will not be able to get any advantage. So we have got to

be very careful in seeing that the water which has been tapped is made available to the cultivators at rates within their means.

Coming to the question of fertilisers, my hon. friend, Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava, referred to *gobar*. But you will be surprised to know that in 22 provinces and municipalities in China, they had accumulated 25,000 million tons of manure (8 including farmyard and other manure). On the other hand, we waste a large portion of our farm manure. Only 20 per cent of it is used. We are not using night soil also, although Mahatma Gandhi was very keen that night soil should also be used as manure. We are not trying to utilise all these things. The result is that we have to drink water full of sullage water; instead of using night soil for other purposes, we are destroying our whole health also.

Agriculture, which is the mainstay of our Plan, should be reorganised on a better basis. The irrigation potential we have created should be fully utilised. Animal husbandry and other subsidiary agencies must also be introduced so that we have a really paying agriculture.

On the question of land reforms, I am sorry I differ from my hon. friend, Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava. I do feel that unless the cultivator is enthused and he is made the owner of the land, he will not be able to put in his best. We have about 30 per cent of our people who are landless labourers. Unless these people are also enthused, are made to share in the land, they will not be able to contribute their maximum. In China what they have done is to make everybody who lives on agriculture the owner of land, although as soon as the land is brought under a collective, he is a member like the others. When the land is divided, it is given to him and he is given the satisfaction of having possession. Then he becomes a

member of the collective farm, with the result that everybody is prepared to put in his maximum to produce the maximum quantity. So unless the land is distributed among the landless labourers and they are also made to have a stake in the production of the land and the whole thing is organised on the basis of collective farms or co-operative farms, in order to have the maximum production, we cannot make much progress in agriculture.

Therefore, I feel that we must give very great emphasis to agriculture and must see that we are able to produce at least 100 million tons per year by the end of this Plan. That is not difficult if we take proper care of our irrigation sources, animal husbandry and also manure and also import manure from outside to the extent necessary. Unless all these things are done, we will not be able to produce the necessary amount of food and cotton and all those things which we may otherwise have to import.

My amendment consisting of eleven parts is mainly devoted to agriculture. Unless full consideration is given to all the various suggestions and they are adopted, you may not be able to achieve self-sufficiency in food or fulfil the Plan.

On defence, I would like to say that money should not be spent on obsolete armaments. The armaments required should be produced as much as possible in our country and what one has got to get from outside should be modern and new and should be of the latest design.

I feel that by delaying the introduction of universal compulsory education, we are keeping half of our population in ignorance. I do not know how many Mahatma Gandhis and Jawaharlals there are among them. We cannot recognise them until we have universal compulsory education at the earliest possible date. We should have it up to the age of 14 years by the end of 1960. We have

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wasted a lot of talent which may have been extremely useful to us. The expenditure on education should not be cut. There has been some cut on social services and amenities. Education must be given high priority. I do not want big buildings and big furniture. Let there be a class under a tree in the village so that everybody may have an opportunity to read. I am glad that we have laid emphasis on heavy industries. But it is very essential that there should be no corruption. Until we root out corruption, it is impossible for our Plan to succeed. In China, there was no corruption and that is the secret of their success and unless we do that, we will not be able to achieve enough progress.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Mahanty.

Raja Mahendra Pratap (Mathura): Braj is a holy land; it should also have a voice.

Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi): We have moved some amendments and we should be given some time to speak on them.

Mr. Speaker: Orissa has not spoken; So, I am calling Shri Mahanty.

Pandit K. C. Sharma: U.P. is so big.

Mr. Speaker: I have not yet called a single Member from Kashmir. I will call the lady Member from Kashmir next. What is that I can do within the time-limit? At least one Member from each State has to be given an opportunity..... (*Interruptions.*)

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: It is the viewpoints that matter here.

Raja Mahendra Pratap: Will Braj get time or not?

Mr. Speaker: I cannot promise anything. The hon. Members may go for lunch and then come back. Let us see.

Shri Mahanty: Sir, many harsh words had been spoken against the Planning Commission and the Minister in charge of Planning. I do not wish to add to that crop of bitterness. Never in the history of language or semantics has the word 'planning' been abused and used to convey a meaning which is totally different, as it has been done here. I do not know whether it is an appraisal of the plan or of chaos; I do not know whether it is going to be a reappraisal of the plan or of confusion. So far as the prospects are concerned, to us it is an agonising question mark. I can say that the Government should be charged rightly with breach of faith and breach of contract. In the original Plan, Government had contemplated to raise about Rs. 450 crores by way of additional taxation during the five year Plan period; it was to have been shared in equal measures between the Centre and the States—Rs. 225 crores each. During the Second Plan period, the Central Government alone will raise Rs. 725 crores—Rs. 500 crores more than what the Government had anticipated. The people had gone on paying the taxes cheerfully in the hope and belief that the targets will be achieved. But now, we are being told that instead of eight million new jobs, only 6.5 million new jobs will be available; the production of coal will fall short of the targets by about four million tons and the production in fertilizers, aluminium and engineering and other industries will be substantially lower than the targets, not to speak of agriculture where vast irrigation potentials are lying unutilised. If you do not call it a breach of faith or a breach of contract, I do not know how else you can describe it.

I do not thereby suggest a counsel of despair. I do not suggest that the Planning Commission should be abolished or the Planning Minister should resign. I consider that a counsel of despair and frustration. We are new to planning, both to the techniques

and also to its execution. But my only complaint against the Government and the Planning Commission is this: wise men learn from experience of others; fools learn from their own experience. But the Government has learnt from neither... (Interruptions) I believe, they are worse. They neither learn from their own experience nor learn from the experience of the others. It is for you to determine what they are. If it is left to me, I would compare them with the Bourbons of French history who forgot nothing and learnt nothing.

On the eve of the formulation of the Second Plan, because the First Plan led to frustration in many of its aspects, we were told that the First Plan was not for its own sake but to just accustom the country to the techniques of planning. After the First Plan the National Development Council laid down certain precedents as conditions precedent, for the success of the Second Plan. The House is entitled to know from the hon. Minister in charge of Planning as to what items of those conditions have been fulfilled.

In the first place, the National Development Council was of the opinion that there should be a substantial increase in agricultural production; secondly, there should be a steady increase in domestic savings; thirdly, there should be external assistance for meeting foreign exchange gap; fourthly, maintenance of a stable price level and fifthly, efficient utilisation of the assets and resources. I venture to say that barring external assistance, none of these conditions have been fulfilled. It is high time for the Government and the Planning Commission therefore to consider dispassionately without confining themselves to the ivory tower of planning and to bring to bear some layman's point of view on these problems and to examine why these conditions could not be fulfilled.

I would try to offer my advice for what it is worth. I feel that deficit

financing in which the Government indulged in a reckless manner and the unplanned plan expenditure had resulted in this chaos obtaining today. For that it will be worthwhile to go into the background in the agricultural sector. In the First Plan, all emphasis was placed on agriculture. In the Second Plan 11.8 per cent of the total Plan expenditure has been earmarked for agriculture. Even though we may have spent a sum of the order of about Rs. 300 crores on agriculture—the hon. Minister will correct me, I am not sure of the exact amount—we have not been able to increase the production potentialities; we have not been able to increase the productivity of the land.

Production has no doubt increased as the statistics would show. But, again, in the case of statistics, I venture to submit, it is just like a lamp post which is there not to show the light but for the drunkard to lean against. When we talk of statistics, I am reminded of what Professor Mahalanobis had said, regarding import of foodgrains; that in this country we have produced much more, we have consumed much more and we have imported much more without taking the facts into consideration.

Be that as it may, as the statistics would show, between 1954-55 and 1957-58 the production has gone up by 25 per cent. as compared to the average production during the three years preceding the First Five Year Plan. But the wholesale price index has also gone up, and that only on account of the rise in food prices. We have not been offered any answers as to why the price has been going up for the foodstuffs, when production is increasing. There seems to be a very unhealthy competition between the rise in production and the rise in prices.

This has contributed heavily to the frustration of the Plan. The main cause of this rise, according to me, is, firstly, deficit financing and, secondly,

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unplanned expenditure. It will be remembered, the bulk of the planned expenditure of the First Plan was incurred during the last two years of the Plan, the rate being double the rate in the first two years. The bulk of the deficit financing also occurred during these last two years. On the one hand, there was reckless deficit financing during the last two years of the First Plan and, on the other hand, more than 50 per cent. of the planned expenditure was also incurred during the last two years of the First Plan, which would not be mitigated by the corrective—the only corrective which was available—of increased production. We would have expected the Government to have learnt this mistake of not planning or spreading their expenditure evenly over the five years and incurring all the amount in a sort of rush towards the close of the Plan which creates all these kinds of inflationary complications. Well, Sir, an hon. Member said that they are wise, if they are not fools. I would have called them wise if they had learnt from the mistake which they had experienced during the First Plan period, and which they had recorded in all their minutes and reports.

Now, it is worthwhile to remember that the expenditure incurred during the first three years of the Second Plan is around Rs. 2457 crores which leaves Rs. 2343 crores—roughly about 48 per cent.—to be incurred during the remaining two years of the Plan. Therefore, more is left to be covered during the last two years of the Plan, more deficit financing is in prospect and this will further raise the food prices which are already very high.

I do not mind if the hon. Minister retires or the Planning Commission goes into wilderness; even if God comes to implement the Plan, with this chaos and confusion that has been let loose even God cannot implement the Plan. Therefore, Sir, I

will not be charged of a political crime if I go about in the country and ask people not to pay the increased taxes to Government, because we are not paying the increased taxes for less targets for not fulfilling the targets and for producing more stresses and strains in our economy. Sir, let this matter not be considered as coming from a solitary Member in the Opposition; one day the Government will have to face the issue. You are raising double the taxation you had anticipated. You are considering that with the might at your command you will be able to raise any amount of taxation and the people are cheerfully paying the taxes. When the people expect something back from you, you should not fail in your duty. If you fail, it will be the right of the people, it will be their political duty to fail in their duty to you.

Secondly, another mistake which the Government had committed, which was brought out in the Review of the First Five Year Plan, was the substantial amount of non-developmental expenditure outside the scope of the Plan. We would like to know from the hon. Minister, when he replies to the debate, the up-to-date total amount of developmental and non-developmental expenditure that have been incurred so far, which were beyond the purview of the Plan. We would like to know who is responsible for it. Are you having a Plan or a chaos? If you say that you are in need of money to implement the Plan, why go on incurring expenditure which was beyond the scope of the Plan? Then it is said that everything is all right—God is in heaven and is right in the world. Certainly I must say that you are not taking Parliament very seriously.

Taking all these factors into consideration, during the Second Plan period, according to my calculation, the total developmental and non-developmental expenditure will absorb a total amount of Rs. 224 crores or

more. I do not know why these Rs. 224 crores could not be anticipated by the Planning Commission which, to say the least, lives in a fool's paradise, in an ivory tower. They are planning in an intellectual vacuum with the least attention being paid how to implement it. Even though the taxpayers are allowing themselves to be beguiled into the techniques of planning in an ivory tower, the Planning Commission should have anticipated all this expenditure which was beyond the scope of the Plan. I believe the hon. Minister will give us an answer.

Sir, even though the Planning Commission is attacked with so many experts, the wild and chaotic estimates in some of our most important projects have let loose this confusion and chaos for which the tax-payers today are asked to foot the bill.

Only three months ago we were told that the core of the Plan will cost something about Rs. 4500 crores; now it has gone up by Rs. 150 crores more. We would like to know from the hon. Minister why, under what circumstances, these estimates are going up. As against this increased estimate of Rs. 4650 crores, the available resources may be less than Rs. 4260 crores. Sir, the Government, in the name of their socialist commonwealth—I do not know the recent term.....

An Hon. Member: Socialist pattern.

Shri Mahanty: That was changed at Gauhati to give it a better description. The Government, in the name of the socialist commonwealth, is now playing into the boudoirs of private capitalists. That is exactly their plea today. They say: "Reduce the Plan; do not touch the iron and steel sector; spend your money in fertilisers". We have resources for Rs. 4260 crores. But the core of the Plan, over which the hon. Prime Minister talks in eloquent and emotional terms, need Rs. 4650 crores. Therefore, Sir,—I am not prepared to enter a bet with the hon. Minister—at the end of the Plan, the hon. Minister will come to this House and say: "Well, we could not; we merely tampered with the

figures of the Plan; we could not touch the core of the Plan because our resources were short of our requirements."

For that, I hold, firstly, the Planning Commission and, secondly, the Government responsible. Sir, I do not wish to take more time of the House even though I wanted to bring to your notice some more important aspects of this question, but I would like my hon. friends also to have a chance—they are feeling very impatient. I only want to end with a suggestion that, according to me, the frustration in the Plan emanates from implementing the Plan. The Planning Commission considers the targets, it formulates the principles in a sort of an intellectual vacuum not related to the practicability of administration, and it has ultimately left the day to day implementation, not to the hon. Ministers at the Centre, but to the honourable gentlemen in the States who are more Machiavellist than serious administrators, who indulge in all kinds of political horse-trading with little concern for the welfare or the success of the Plan. Now, they have to depend again on the district magistrates and our good-old sub-deputy magistrates, and to boot, on the police, of course. The planners are planning in a sort of idealistic Elysian fields of the Planning Commission. Their administrators are executing the Plan in a sort of most unimaginative, humdrum, routine. Therefore, I say let this country not spend tons of money in evolving new techniques in planning by giving new political appointments in the Planning Commission.

I would like to make a concrete suggestion to the hon. Minister. Let him convene a conference of all the spokesmen of the various groups. After all, though the Members of Parliament may not be a repository of all wisdom, they have some practical wisdom which his administration lacks and which the Planning Commission lacks. Let him take into consideration our humble submission,

[Shri Mahanty]

for what it is worth. According to me, the crisis today is not in the principle; the crisis today is in the implementation. If that is not heeded to, more miseries will be in store for us and all our five years plans will produce more strains and stresses than the fulfilment of the targets that we have set for ourselves.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Somani.

Some Hon. Members: He has already spoken.

Mr. Speaker: I am noting down the names of hon. Members who have tabled amendments. I think two States or Groups have not been represented yet. Madhya Pradesh is not represented; and there is another group.

Shri B. K. Galkwad (Nasik): May I request that at least one Member on behalf of a group may kindly be allowed to speak? Of course it is a small group.

Mr. Speaker: Who is that hon. Member?

Shri B. K. Galkwad: Shri D. A. Katti has given his name.

Shri Assar (Ratnagiri): I have also given my name.

Mr. Speaker: Shrimati Krishna Mehta.

श्रीमती कृष्णा मेहता (जम्मू तथा काश्मीर) : माननीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना कृटियों तथा कठिनाइयों के होते हुए भी भाग बढ़ रही है और इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं कि इस आयोजना के सफलतापूर्वक पूरा होने पर हमारा देश काफी बीजों में आत्मनिर्भर और स्वावलम्बी हो जावेगा।

कुछ कठिनाइयां जनता के सामने हैं और वे रहेंगी। योजना प्रायोग को चाहिए कि वह इस विज्ञान भरी योजना को चतुराई से सोचे।

इस समय जो सबसे बड़ी कठिनाई हमारे देश के सामने है वह विदेशी मुद्रा की कमी की है। इस सम्बन्ध में मेरा कहना है कि अभी भी हमारे देश में घरबों का घन पड़ा हुआ है और वह धन सोने, चांदी के रूप में है जो सिर्फ देखने के काम आता है। अगर उसका योजना के काम में लाया जाय तो यह हमारी आर्थिक समस्या के हल होने में बहुत मददगार सिद्ध होगा और अगली पीढ़ी के लिए भी बहुत सी आसानियां हो जायेंगी। मेरे विचार में कोई भी इस देश का रहने वाला यह पसन्द नहीं करेगा कि घरबों रुपये की सम्पत्ति देश में हो और हम दूसरे देशों के धन पर निर्भर रहें और सहायता के लिए उनकी ओर ताकते रहें।

इस दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना काल में हमारे उद्योग धंधों को बहुत प्रोत्साहन मिला है। अभी नूतने जुलाई मास में संसदीय स्टडी ग्रुप के साथ पूर्वी क्षेत्र में जाने का मौका मिला था। मैंने मिलाई, दुर्गापुर, रुरकेला और डी० बी० सी० आदि सब जगहों में पब्लिक सैक्टर और प्राइवेट सैक्टर में चलने वाली इंडस्ट्रीज देखीं। मैंने पब्लिक सैक्टर और निजी सैक्टर में कोयले की खानों में काम होते देखा और वहां बड़े बड़े काम चलते देख कर मन में बड़ी खुशी हुई। यह देख कर कि देश निर्माण के काम में जिस उत्साह और लगन के साथ हजारों श्रमिक लोग काम कर रहे हैं, दिल में बहुत खुशी हुई और मन उत्साह से भर गया। वहां के कर्मचारी जब ने हमें सब काम जो बंकर रहे पे दिखाते तो उनके दिल उत्साह और खुशी से भरे हुए थे और उनको इस बात का अहसास था कि वे देश के नवनिर्माण के काम में एक

महत्त्वपूर्ण काम कर रहे हैं। वे सुची सुची हसको बताते थे कि देखिये जब यह चीज पूरी हो जायेगी तो हमारा उत्पादन बढ़ जायेगा और आज जो हमें काफ़ी विदेशी मुद्रा इस पर खर्च करनी पड़ रही है वह बच जायेगी और आज जितनी हमें विदेशी मुद्रा मंगानी पड़ रही है उसमें कमी हो जायेगी। वहां बड़ी बड़ी योजनाओं पर कार्य होते देखकर दिल में बड़ी प्रसन्नता हुई। कोयले की खानों के हमने निजी सैक्टर के भी काम होते देखे। उन लोगों की कुछ कठिनाइयां थीं। सम्बन्धित मंत्रालय को चाहिये कि उनकी कठिनाइयों पर ध्यान दें ताकि वे लोग अधिक उत्पादन कर सकें और देश की जरूरत को पूरा कर सकें।

इस योजना में ग्रामोद्योग तथा कुटीर उद्योगों को काफ़ी प्रोत्साहन मिला है। खादी को ही लीजिये। मिलों से कहीं अधिक श्रमिक खादी में काम कर रहे हैं। इसी तरह उद्योगों में लाखों श्रमिकी लगे हुए हैं और जिनको कि उससे रोज़ी मिलती है। इतना सब कुछ होते हुए आज जनता में एक निराशा की भावना क्यों पाई जाती है। मेरी समझ में उस निराशा की भावना का कारण खाद्य के सम्बन्ध में हमारा आत्मनिर्भर और स्वावलम्बी न होना है और खाद्य के सम्बन्ध में अभी हम बहुत पीछे पड़े हुए हैं।

[MR./SPEAKER in the Chair]

श्रीमन्, इस वक्त जो सबसे बड़ा सवाल हमारे देश के सामने है वह खाद्य समस्या का है। इसके सम्बन्ध में हम आत्मनिर्भर न हों और विदेशों से हमें गल्ला मंगाना पड़े, यह हमारे लिए बड़ी चिन्ता का विषय है। सरकार को इस और गम्भीरतापूर्वक ध्यान देना चाहिए और देश में खाद्य उत्पादन

मद और सुविधा प्रदान की जाय। हर एक गांव में ३,३ और ४,४ कुएं होने चाहिये। यह भ्रमसर देखा गया है कि कृषि किसानों को समय पर साधन उपलब्ध नहीं होते इसलिए उनके खेत बेकार पड़े रह जाते हैं और उनमें पैदावार नहीं हो सकती है। उनको समय पर आवश्यक सुविधायें जैसे बैल, बीज और खाद आदि की नहीं मिल पाती हैं और जिनके कि भ्रभाव में कृषि उत्पादन को बड़ी क्षति पहुंचती है और हमारी पैदावार बढ़ नहीं सकती है। इसलिए, यह बहुत जरूरी हो जाता है कि सरकार उधर ध्यान दे और किसानों को वे समस्त आवश्यक सुविधायें बैल, बीज, खाद और पानी आदि प्रदान करे।

आज जो सबसे बड़ी समस्या हमारे सामने हल करने की है वह भूमि सुधार करने की है। भूमि सुधार करने से भी बहुत कुछ उस दिशा में काम हो सकता है। उसके लिए सरकार सहकारी समितियों की स्थापना करे। इस के भलावा किसानों के दिलों में विश्वास की भावना फैलाना बड़ी जरूरी है। मेरे विचार में अगर सरकार उनके दिल में यह बात बिठा दे कि अगर इस वर्ष आपकी पैदावार कम होगी तो उसकी डिम्पेवारी हम लेंगे और इस तरह मैं समझती हूं किसानों के दिलों में एक भरोसा ही जायगा और वह पूर्व उत्पाद के साथ आधुनिक तरीके से कृषि उत्पादन के कार्य में जुट जायेंगे।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय माननीय मंत्री से मुझे एक बात और कहनी है और वह यह है कि दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में उन्होंने बाल कल्याण की तरफ बिलकुल ध्यान नहीं दिया है और आज भी हजारों बच्चे जोकि यतीम होते हैं या बुजुर्ग और मुसीबतों के शिकार होकर घर से निकल जाते हैं और बाजारों और गलियों में घूमते फिरते हैं। भला ऐसे बच्चों से हम क्या आशा कर सकते हैं

[श्रीमती कृष्णा मेहता:]

श्रीर उच्च नागरिक बनेंगे और देशाहित का काम करेंगे? इसलिए यह जरूरी है कि ऐसे बच्चों की देखरेख करने के लिये कुछ सेंट्रल बोले जायें जहां कि उनकी देखरेख की जाय और उनकी भलाई के वास्ते मुनासिब इंतजाम किया जाय ताकि भविष्य में वे इस देश के योग्य नागरिक सिद्ध हो सकें और राष्ट्र के लिए उपयोगी सिद्ध हो सकें।

अब मैं कुछ थोड़ा सा जम्मू और काश्मीर राज्य के भूतात्त्विक यहां बताना चाहती हूँ कि इस दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के काल में वहां पर कितनी प्रगति हुई है। यह तो आप सब लोग जानते हो हैं कि हमारे राज्य में निःशुल्क शिक्षा की व्यवस्था है और वहां पर एक व्यक्ति एम० ए० तक की पढ़ाई निःशुल्क कर सकता है और इस तरह की वहां पर व्यवस्था होने से जनता में पढ़ाई के लिए उत्साह और दिलचस्पी बढ़ी है और लोग आधिकाधिक संख्या में अपने बच्चों को पढ़ाने लगे हैं और गांव-गांव से स्कूलों की स्थापना लगी गयी है और वहीं हैं जिनको कि राज्य सरकार अच्छी तरह पूरा कर रही है। लगभग २ करोड़ ३५ लाख रुपये दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में जम्मू काश्मीर राज्य में शिक्षा के लिए खर्च हो रहे हैं।

राज्य में उद्योग बंधों को प्रोत्साहन देने की ओर विशेष ध्यान दिया गया है और सहकारी समितियों की स्थापना की गई है। विसू, शिम्पकला और पेंपरमैशीन आदि इंडस्ट्रीज को बड़ा प्रोत्साहन मिला है जिससे कि आज वहां के श्रमिक दुगुनी मजदूरी मिल रहे हैं। उद्योग बंधों का विकास करने के लिए तीन स्टेट्स बनाई गई हैं, श्रीनगर, धनस्तनाग और जम्मू। जम्मू काश्मीर राज्य बहुत पहाड़ी और पिछड़े इलाके हैं जैसे लद्दाख में सेह से १०३ मील पूर्व में एक पाक कांक झील है और जिसमें कि नमक विद्यमान है और वह वहां से प्राप्त किया

जा सकता है। अब यहां से जो नमक उनके लिए बहा पर भेजा जाता है तो वह उन लोगों को उस स्थान पर बहुत मंहगा पड़ता है और मैं आपकी क्या बताऊँ कि उनको कितना मंहगा नमक खरीद कर खाना पड़ता है। इसलिए अगर उस झील से नमक निकालने का इंतजाम हो जाय तो उन लोगों का बहुत कुछ भला हो सकता है और उनको बहुत सस्ता नमक मिल सकता है। राज्य सरकार के और केन्द्रीय सरकार के यह बात विचाराधीन है। आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि इस सम्बन्ध में जल्दी की जाय और उचित व्यवस्था कर दी जाय।

14 hrs.

जब पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना समाप्त हुई थी उस समय लगभग ३६ लाख मन अनाज की कमी जम्मू काश्मीर राज्य में थी उसको पूरा करने के लिए बहुत कुछ किया गया लेकिन पिछले साल बाढ़ ने बहुत कुछ नुकसान पहुंचाया। इस वर्ष बाढ़ को रोकने का काम ७० प्रतिशत पूरा हो गया है और उस पर लगभग ६० लाख रुपये व्यय हुआ है। किसानों में ८६ हजार मन साद बांटी गई है और ७० हजार मन अच्छे बीज बांटे गये हैं। सिंचाई की छोटी छोटी योजनाओं द्वारा ७००० एकड़ भूमि की सिंचाई करने का प्रबन्ध किया है। बड़ी सिंचाई योजना में ऊधमपुर की नहर को चालू किया है। राबी की नहर का प्रश्न विचाराधीन है। उसको भी जल्दी पूरा करना चाहिए क्योंकि वह सब रतीला इलाका है और जब तक वहां नहर के द्वारा सिंचाई की उतम व्यवस्था न होगी, उस इलाके में खुशहाली नहीं हो सकती।

अब मैं थोड़ा सा कित्तवाड़ नहर के भूतात्त्विक कहना चाहती हूँ। यह एक पिछड़ा हुआ इलाका है और बहुत दूरी पर स्थित है और जहां की कृषि की पैदावार

वर्षा पर ही निर्भर करती है। वहां पर किस्त-बाड़ नहर से काम चल रहा था लेकिन इस वर्ष वह बंद हो गई क्योंकि उस नहर को विशेषज्ञों ने देखा नहीं था और इसलिए राज्य सरकार ने वही मुनासिब समझा कि उसको बन्द कर दे। वहां के लोगों को कच्ची भी पेट भर खाना नहीं मिला परन्तु दो, तीन साल से काश्मीर सरकार ने उनको काफ़ी मात्रा में खुराक भेजी है जिससे कि उनकी गुजर बसर हो जाती है लेकिन मैं कहती हूँ कि जब तक वहां पर नहर नहीं होगी और सिंचाई की योजना चालू नहीं होगी तब तक वे लोग घातमनिर्भर नहीं बन सकेंगे और इस तरह भ्रष्ट कब तक उनको बाहर से भ्रताज पट्टाघाते रहेंगे। उनके पास जनशक्ति है, उनके पास काफ़ी जमीन है लेकिन उनके पास वे आवश्यक साधन नहीं हैं जिनसे कि वे अपनी खेतीबाड़ी करके पैदावार कर सकें। वह मेरा निर्वाचनक्षेत्र का कुछ हिस्सा भी है और मैं वहां की रहने वाली हूँ लेकिन मैं नहीं कह सकती कि मैं उन लोगों के लिए क्या कर सकूंगी। जब वह लॉग यहां आते हैं तो उनसे उनके कुटुम्ब का हाल, घर वालों का हाल पूछने के पहिले हम पहली बात पूछते हैं वह यह होती है कि फसल का क्या हाल है। तो मैं इस तरफ केन्द्रीय सरकार का ध्यान दिलाना चाहती हूँ कि वहां पर विशेषज्ञों को भेजा जाये और इस नहर को दिखवाया जाये कि वहां पर पानी क्यों नहीं आता। मैं यह नहीं कहती कि पैसा बेकार बरबाद किया जाये। अगर विशेषज्ञों की यह राय हो कि वहां पर पानी नहीं आ सकता तो दूसरी छोटी नहरों का इन्तजाम किया जाये जिनके जरिये से वहां पानी आये और उन लोगों को भरपेट खाने का इन्तजाम हो सके।

इसके अलावा काश्मीर सरकार ने यात्रियों के लिए बहुत से काम किये हैं। जगह जगह डाक बंगले बनवाये हैं और हट्स बनाये हैं

ताकि यात्रियों को पूरे तीर पर सुविधा मिल सके।

वहां पर बन विभाग, इर्रिगेशन विभाग और दूसरे विभागों ने भी काफी तरक्की की है और हमारी स्टेट काफी आगे बढ़ रही है। फसल के मामले में भी, अगर कोई भगवान का प्रकोप न हुआ तो हम आगे बढ़ने की उम्मीद करते हैं क्योंकि हमने देखा है कि इस वर्ष फसल अच्छी होने वाली है।

Dr. Meikote: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, planning by different Governments of the world has been going on for a pretty long time. If we analyse how those Governments have executed their plans and what difficulties they have had to face, it would become very apparent that all plans of all Governments had to be modified to some extent or the other, depending on the quantum of money that was available, other resources and the type of help that they obtained from other countries. Therefore, that a revision of the plan should take place here in our country under circumstances, which are most extraordinary, is a thing which we should have expected.

There has been a rise in prices all over the world. Though other Governments have not announced their plans, their annual plans themselves are for the welfare of their people and countries are vying with each other in production. In spite of our plan being big, it is found that small countries like Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland and Austria have been spending crores and crores in improving the condition of their people. The same products are manufactured both in America and Austria but the annual plan is of such a dimension that there is a shortfall both in America and Austria, in France, Germany and so on. One country purchases things from the other and therefore, a kind of co-or-

[Dr. Malkote]

dination and co-operation is coming into existence the world over. So, when there is a rise in the prices, it is not merely India that would suffer, but all countries would be similarly suffering. Therefore, to say that there is a crisis in our land, that the Planning Commission has not gone about its work correctly, that the Government has committed mistakes, is not a very correct thing to say.

I was surprised to hear from the hon. Member of the opposition, Mr. Mukerjee, that by taking co-operation and money from democratic countries, we would be selling ourselves to them and become economically enslaved. It is a surprising statement to make. He has a short memory. I might say that even in Russia, after two or three plans, when they found that they could not succeed very well, they revised their economic programme and under the New Economic Plan—NEP—they wanted democratic countries to help them both with finance and material. Today if we in our country go forward to get this kind of help from other countries, these very people who got such help, forget what they did at that time and do not want us to go the way they went. It is a surprising statement. (Interruptions).

If there is a crisis, what is the cause? This has to be examined very carefully. If we analyse the Plan as such, in the first Five Year Plan, we had to make a total expenditure of Rs. 2,150 crores, to which Rs. 200 crores were added to bring about greater employment opportunities. The total quantum of money that ought to have been spent was Rs. 2,350 crores. But about Rs. 2,000 crores were spent, leaving a deficit in expenditure of nearly Rs. 350 crores. In the second Five Year Plan, we had planned for an expenditure of Rs. 4,800 crores. Today we understand that the total amount of money that will be spent would be about Rs. 4,650 crores, leaving a gap of Rs. 150 crores, which

is less than 3-1/3 per cent or so. Therefore, if we succeed in spending these Rs. 4,650 crores, from the point of view of expenditure, we would have nearly reached the target, because even if we keep the plan at Rs. 4,800 crores, there would be shortfalls in expenditure in various categories. Therefore, that should not bother us very much.

But the main problem is, would we have reached the target in the various items of work by spending this amount of money? Certainly not. This is a thing which one has got to imagine. In the first year of the Second Five Year Plan itself, the States got reorganised and in many States, the expenditure was not up to the mark; there was a great shortfall in expenditure. Today, if we want to make up, we have necessarily to make up in the way as we did in the first Five Year Plan. In the first Plan, the expenditure was not very great in the first three year period. But in the last two years of the first Five Year Plan, we spent a good deal, nearly more than half. I am aware that in this kind of expenditure, which is not exactly planned and where money is given away in the last few years, the tempo of work may increase, but in spite of it, there is bound to be a good deal of wastage. In a country like ours, where the monsoon comes at a time when people cannot spend much, because labour goes back to agricultural operations, the budget is sanctioned in the month of April or to be more correct by the end of March. The expenditure starts and the Finance Ministry sits tight and by the time the expenditure starts going, that is, in the months of May and June, the monsoon sets in. There is no proper work till about November, and from November to March, within three to four months the whole year's budget is expended. Naturally, everybody wants, every government and every individual wants, to show that he is able to spend that amount, whether it is in a productive channel or not. So, while the Ministries are

spending the people are crying hoarse that the money is not being properly spent. I would rather suggest that the Ministries should spend less by productive methods, rather than spending more by non-productive ways and then go out to other countries for loans. Instead of doing that, we should raise our efficiency and spend this money usefully.

In this connection, I would like to bring in the question of irrigation. Irrigation potential in the country has been increased enormously. A number of dams have been constructed. But may I say, Sir, that the construction of these dams takes 7 to 8 years or more in many a case to complete? Then, the land is there and the water is there but the water is not utilized sufficiently. We have not built these dams to just utilize them as swimming pools. They cannot be utilized even as swimming pools because there are crocodiles. This water is meant to be utilized on the land, but it is not being utilized. It is not properly planned, because there is cussedness. We still do not seem to feel that every part of India is ours and every citizen in the country is our brother. That feeling has not yet come fully. We have still got that provincial parochialism. If a dam is built in a particular State, it is felt that the water should be used only by the people of that State and not by others. This mentality has been hampering the development of land. Unless we begin to give facilities to people who want to take up to agriculture, irrespective of the part of the country to which they belong, unless we allow them to make use of that land quickly unless we do that, this problem cannot be solved.

Then, while we are spending large sums of money on dams, may I bring to your notice that we have somewhere about five lakhs of tanks in the villages. We have got 5½ lakhs of villages and more than 5 lakhs of tanks. But they are not evenly distributed; some villages have more than three tanks and some have not

any tank at all. They have been in existence for the last 600 or 700 years and to a large extent they have been neglected. Now roughly about one-sixth or one-seventh of them are in a very bad condition. Many of them have breached. Then, the tank bed of these tanks have been given away to the harijans or somebody else for purposes of tilling.

The production of foodgrains would go up enormously, nearly by 10 per cent if we give better seed and 25 per cent if we supply adequate quantities of fertilizers and, what is most important, by 300 or 400 per cent if we provide adequate water facilities to the land. If the harijans are there, I do not want to disturb the harijans; let us give them every kind of encouragement. Let them be given lands, but not in tank beds, because storing water will result in more production. That is my point.

I see that nearly one-sixth or one-seventh of the total number of tanks are in a breached condition. If there are about five lakhs tanks then it would be that about 80,000 tanks are not in good condition which means that about a very big portion of the total remain unutilized. I have not very accurate figures but I think we have somewhere about 30 million acres of land under irrigation under tanks out of which today we may be having 16 million to 17 million acres under irrigation. The balance of about 10 million to 12 million acres can be brought under irrigation through repair of the small tanks. But they are not taken up. And when we take up these questions, the State and the engineers in particular come in our way. This is how it happens. Whenever there is a big project, every Engineer would like to go and work there and make a name for himself. For repairing these small tanks people have got to go to the villages. Further, they cannot show their work. Therefore, they are not enamoured of them. They would like to go to the big projects and dams. The result is

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that during the monsoons the whole crop is washed away by breaches occurring in tanks and after that the green fields get dry for lack of water and attention.

Therefore, the Planning Commission has got to devise means, just like the Army Corps, for these small projects. There should be special engineers who would go and tackle these problems. Or, all the engineers should be told that during the monsoon season they should go to the village sector to work because we can get so much of extra acreage of land under irrigation by attending to these small tanks. There should be special provision to take out every engineer from every major project and put him on work relating to small tanks. Some such scheme is necessary. If you do this, since these tanks are in different parts of the villages they will, to a large extent, help us in increasing our production enormously. This is a part of the Plan which the Planning Commission has got to think about.

The question of employment is a very big factor. People in the village sector today have become conscious that there is something like a Plan, but they ask: "We have got independence, we have got the Plan and money is being spent. But why is it that what we got during the British regime, even that we are not getting today. There is insufficiency of food, which was not there during the British regime, and the prices have shot up enormously since then. To whose benefit are all these things occurring?" They suggest that they should get adequate food and adequate employment. We are an independent country today and everybody should get employment. If the employment potential has got to be increased quickly, then again, attention to minor irrigation immediately comes to the forefront. If there is an agricultural sector where there is no employment, people migrate to the towns. If we can stop that, the backlog of unemployment in the town

sector, the urban sector, could be cleared up to a sufficient extent.

In the Second Plan it was assessed that 9.6 million people would be employed and today the figure is 6.5 million for an expenditure of nearly Rs. 4,650 crores. It means that for an amount of nearly Rs. 150 crores of deficit, the employment potential has gone down from 9.5 million to 6.5 million. Here also it has got to be borne in mind that the private sector has done much more. They have spent money and have shown results within a period of three years whereas the public sector has not shown so much. The private sector is capital intensive and not employment intensive. Though they have been able to spend money, that has not given us much employment. So, the public sector has got to be more efficient. When money is spent in thousands of crores how the employment figure has gone down from 9.5 million to 6.5 million has also not been explained. I hope that the Planning Minister, who is in charge of labour also, would explain the situation as to why this deficiency in employment has been there.

So far as money is concerned, I congratulate the Planning Commission as well as the Finance Minister for the excellent job they have performed to make money available for the Plan from both internal and external resources—external resources by loans and internal resources by increasing the revenue. If all these things have been fulfilled and still the Plan targets as a whole shall not be completed the result can only be due to inflation. If that is not so and the Plan is going on successfully, they should explain to this House and say how we have not fallen short of fulfilling the Plan. But if there has been difficulty, I feel it is due to inflation. According to my calculation they can achieve only two-third of the targets that is about 66 per cent. But from the figures

that have been given, it appears that they are going to achieve about 85 to 90 per cent of the Plan targets.

How they could have come to this conclusion, I am unable to understand. If this is not there and the extra expenditure is there either due to Defence or due to expenditure on other things, why has this been done? What is the reason for that? Of course, I am not speaking of defence only. There is additional expenditure in Rourkela and other Projects. At the Steel Plant projects the expenditure has gone up from Rs. 300 crores to Rs. 490 crores. Why should it be so? Why nearly Rs. 190 crores, i.e., one-third, more should be spent on these projects? It has not been explained as to why there is additional expenditure on these projects.

More money has been spent on foreign exchange. For instance, I will place before you the question of drugs that have been imported. Nowadays on account of the new drugs that have been put up in the market due to research, though the number of drugs that medical men need is very very small, the merchants purchase all the old lot because it is still selling in the market. Why not consult the medical men or the Indian Medical Association about the necessity of all these drugs? Licences have been given for the import of all drugs, on things which we do not want. We can limit the number of drugs to be imported to just a few items and stop the import of other drugs and thus save some foreign exchange.

I understand a similar thing is being done in various other sectors also. Licences are given and they are sold in the black market. Black market is going on in licences. Therefore foreign exchange component also is being spent away recklessly. That is the thing which the Planning Commission ought to look into very carefully.

Then, in Mysore State there is an electricity scheme, Saravathi. Nearly

Rs. 7 crores have got to be spent on it. It would give electricity not only for the industrial purposes, not merely that,—I have been representing this over and over again—by constructing a dam we irrigate the land lower down but by offering cheap electricity we can irrigate lands higher up. Apart from the construction of wells, if we have electrical installations all along the course of the river higher up, above the dam, for lifting of water through electricity, we give water and electricity that is generated lower down which, apart from helping industry, could help irrigation. Instead of giving it for lighting, let it be given for agriculture higher up. We can irrigate double the quantum of land like this and have sufficient quantity of agricultural produce which is the mainstay of our economy. Therefore I feel that whatever may happen we should immediately attend to this aspect of the question that if we have to enthuse and make people give their valuable help to produce sufficient foodgrains, we have to pay more attention to the agriculturists, enthuse them in whatever manner we can and spend more money both on agriculture and on things which could give people more employment. Agriculture and employment are two aspects of the question which are vital matters and I hope the Planning Commission will go into these. Other sectors could gradually come into the picture but this delay would not be disheartening to the people.

पंडित राज नारायण "बजेन" (शिवपुरी) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, योजना के संबंध में काफी सुझाव यहाँ रखे गये हैं। मैं इस योजना के संबंध में इतना ही समझ सका हूँ कि यह जो योजना बनाई गई है और इसके संबंध में माननीय सदस्यों को जो आपत्ति है, उसका एक ही कारण है। हमारे यहाँ स्पष्ट रूप से ऋषियों ने कहा है :—

अमन्नाभरन्नास्ति

नाभोषधि वनस्पति : ।

[पंजित ब्रज नारायण "ब्रजेश"]

अबोधो मुषको नास्ति,

योजकस्तत्र दुर्लभः ।

ऐसा कोई अक्षर नहीं जो मंत्र न हो, ऐसी कोई बनस्पति नहीं है जो शीघ्रिच न हो, और कोई पुष्प धयोप्य नहीं होता है, उसके लिये संयोजक संसार में दुर्लभ होता है। यही देश था, यही आशय था। एक गांधी ने इस देश के लोगों को संगठित करके ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट से लड़ाया और अब क्या हो गया है कि योजकस्तत्र दुर्लभः। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस योजना को बनाने के लिये जिस प्रकार का संयोजक चाहिये था वैसे संयोजक नहीं मिला है। केवल जोश में भाकर, होश को छोड़ कर यह सवोध योजना हमारे सामने रख दी गई है और इस सवोध योजना से यह समझना कि देश का कल्याण होगा, मैं नहीं मानता हूँ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस समय हमारे देश में सब से बड़ी खराबी का जो कारण हो रहा है वह यह है कि यद्यपि हम स्वतंत्र हो गये हैं, फिर भी हमारे देश में दो शक्तिशाली राष्ट्रों की नीति काम कर रही है, अमेरिकन राजनीति और रशियन राजनीति। ये दोनों राजनीतियाँ हमारे देश में खेल रही हैं। एक तरफ अमेरिकन हमको कर्जा दे दे कर दाब रहे हैं और दूसरी तरफ रशियंस, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के द्वारा एक्सप्लायटेशन करके देश को विनाश की तरफ ले जा रहे हैं। हम दोनों तरफ से ही विनाश की ओर जा रहे हैं। हम अमेरिका से कर्जा क्यों ले रहे हैं? इसका कारण यह है कि हमारी सरकार चाहती है कि लोगों का स्टैंडर्ड आफ लिविंग ऊंचा हो और इस हेतु वह कहती है "पैसा लाओ" और दौड़ती है इस पैसे को लेने। तब इधर साम्यवादी दल कहता है कि कम से कम, ज्यादा से ज्यादा धाम और बक्त बेवक्त मालिक को बचनाम। यह स्थिति देश में पैदा हो रही है। कहीं पर भी मैं यह नहीं देखता कि मजदूरों को धमका काम करने के लिये कहा जाता हो। हम देख रहे हैं कि वह

तो कभी नेता नहीं बनता है जो १०-१० घंटे काम करता है बल्कि वह ही नेता बनता है जो ज्यादा से ज्यादा लोगों को एक्सप्लायट करता है, ज्यादा से ज्यादा पैसे की मांग करने के लिये मजदूरों को उकसाता है, खुद लड़ता है, दूसरों को लड़ता है, वही नेता हो रहा है। आज हो क्या रहा है? आज हो यह रहा है कि काम कम हो रहा है, उत्पादन कम हो रहा है और लोग चिलासी होते चले जा रहे हैं। स्टैंडर्ड आफ लिविंग को ऊंचा करने की जो आवाज बुलन्द की गई है उसके कारण घोर भोगवृत्ति जागृत हो रही है और इसमें कम्पटीशन चल रहा है। व्यक्ति समष्टि की चिन्ता से मुक्त हो कर परमेष्टि को भी हड़प कर और यष्टि हाथ में ले कर देश का प्रताड़न करने को लड़ा हुआ है। आज मनुष्य भूल गया है कि देश की क्या अवस्था है? योजना का प्रचार किया जाता है और कहा जाता है कि अत्यन्त ही शीघ्र बड़े बड़े बांध बनेंगे, गंगा, यमुना, नर्बदा, कावेरी इत्यादि पर बांध बनेंगे और फिर उन बांधों से क्या होगा, पानी बहेगा और उसके बाद दूध बहेगा और देश गुलजार हो जायेगा। मुझे पता नहीं, मंत्री महोदय चाहे अपने नाम के कारण गुलजार हो गये हों लेकिन देश तो गुलजार नहीं हुआ है, वह जार जार रो रहा है। देश की अवस्था अत्यन्त भयावह है और वह अमेरिकन और रशियन राजनीति में पिस रहा है। इसके कारण सरकार अपने आप को बचाने के लिये प्रयत्नशील है। सरकार यह भी चाहती है कि युद्ध टल जाये। हमारी सरकार के सिर पर यह न प्रावें और हम धीरे धीरे पनप जायें और बुनिया में खड़े हो जायें।

सरकार की नीति इस देश को मिटाने की है, ऐसा कोई बुद्धिमान व्यक्ति मान नहीं सकता है। शासन को कोई इस देश के साथ शत्रुता है, यह भी कोई नहीं कह सकता है। किन्तु शासन को जिस दृष्टिकोण से देखना चाहिये वह दृष्टिकोण शासन के पास नहीं है।

शासन नक्काल बन गया है। शासन के लोग बिदेशों में जा कर दूसरे देशवासियों की योजनाओं को देख कर घाते हैं और फिर अपने घर में उन्हीं को बनाना चाहते हैं। यह तो बही हिसाब है जैसे कोई गरीब किसी पूंजिपति के यहाँ सोफासेट पर जा कर बैठा तो घर धाकर उसने अपनी दरी को भी जला कर सोफा सेट लेने की सोची। अब सोफासेट वह कहां से ले सकता है। तेरे पांव पसारिये जेती लाम्बी सौर। हमें अपनी अवस्था को देखकर व्यवस्था बनानी चाहिये। लेकिन हम अपनी अवस्था को न देखकर दूसरे देशों में जो व्यवस्था है उसको देखना चाहते हैं और उसी तरह की व्यवस्था यहां भी करना चाहते हैं।

बो ध्रवाणि परित्यज्य भद्रुवाणि निषेव
द्रुवाणि तस्य नश्यन्ति, भद्रुवम् नष्टमेवहि।

जो पास में है उसकी रक्षा हम नहीं करते हैं और जो नहीं है उसको ढकड़ने की चेष्टा करते हैं। जो नहीं है वह तो नहीं में ही चला जाता है और जो है वह नष्ट हो जाता है, ऐसी अवस्था में हम इस समय हैं।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सब से प्रथम योजना कमिशन और योजना मंत्री महोदय, से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि यदि वह ईमानदारी से यह समझते हैं कि इस कार्य को चलाने के लिये जो योग्यता और क्षमता चाहिये वह उनमें नहीं है तो देश का सब से बड़ा कल्याण वह यह करेंगे कि यहां घोषणा कर दें कि मैंने काफ़ी प्रयत्न कर लिया परन्तु मैं असफल और अयोग्य सिद्ध हुआ, इसलिये मैं इस काम से मुक्त होता हूँ तथा देश और शासन कोई दूसरा योग्य आदमी ढूँढ ले। आज केवल अधिकारों की सड़ाई लगना और...

एक अल्पनीय सबस्य : राजा साहब
इस काम के लिये हैं।

पंजित राज मंत्राधन "ब्रह्मज्ञ": प्राय
राजा साहब का नाम लेकर उनके गाम्भीर्य
को नष्ट कर रहे हैं। उपहास की जगह
उपहास होना चाहिये। देश तो भर रहा है प्राय
भूखों और प्राय विनोद कर रहे हैं। सांस्क-
तिक संगठनों का नाम लेकर बिदेशों में पैसा
भूँका जा रहा है। डॉसिंग मंडलियां बहाने
भेजी जा रही हैं। कोई भी अच्छी छोकरी
देखी कि झट से उस के लिये पासपोर्ट बना
दिया और उसको बाहर भेज दिया, ऐसे
कार्य तो प्राय हो रहे हैं। ये बातें नहीं
होनी चाहिये। प्राय देश में लोग भूख से
तड़प तड़प कर मर रहे हैं, खाना न मिलने
के कारण विषपान कर रहे हैं और हम मस्त
हो कर प्रानन्द लूट रहे हैं, ऐसा विनोद नहीं
होना चाहिये।

अपने घर में प्राय लगाकर
काग खेलते हैं मतवाले

और कान कर सकता है
दुनिया में ऐसे करतब काले ?

जब रोम जल रहा था तो नीरो बिन
बधा रहा था, यही हाल हमारे देश में
हो रहा है। दुनिया के दूसरे देश तो
तरक्की कर रहे हैं और हम नीचे की ओर
जा रहे हैं। वे ऊपर जा रहे हैं, हम नीचे
जा रहे हैं। वे ऊंचे उठ रहे हैं, हम पतन
की ओर चले जा रहे हैं। इन चीजों को
ओवरलुक नहीं किया जाना चाहिये।
भारतीय लोक-सभा में इन सब प्रश्नों पर
गम्भीरतापूर्वक विचार किया जाना चाहिये।
देश की चिन्ता हमारे मन में होनी चाहिये।
जो प्राय यहां होता है वह यह है कि हर
एक सदस्य एक भाषण दे देता है और फिर
मुबह उठ कर प्रसन्नता में देखता है कि
उसका नाम उसमें आया है या नहीं, बस
हो गया उसके लिये देश का कल्याण। शासन
की ओर से कभी कभी प्वाइंट्स नोट कर
लिये आते हैं और जबाब दे कर काम खत्म
अवज्ञा जाता है। इससे जो चीज होती है

[पंडित बल नारायण "बजेंस"]

वह जहाँ की तहाँ रहती है और कोई प्रगति नहीं हो पाती है। इससे काम चलने वाला नहीं है। हमको ईमानदारी में सोचना पड़ेगा और विचार करना पड़ेगा कि किस तरह में देश का कल्याण हो सकता है। आज चारों तरफ रोटी के लिये हाहाकार मचा हुआ है। जो हिन्दुस्तान सारी दुनिया का कल्याण करने का दावा करता है वह आज रोटी के लिये रो रहा है। बंकारी के कारण आवाज बुलन्द कर रहा है "मांग रहा है हिन्दुस्तान रोटी कपड़ा और मकान।" यह ज़खी तरह से है जैसे कंगने चीखते पुकारते हैं और आवाज लगाते हैं इन चीखों की। हमारा नारा होना चाहिये "सब को देगा हिन्दुस्तान, रोटी कपड़ा और मकान।" लेकिन आज कोई भी दूरदर्शिता से काम नहीं लेता है। विचार देखो आन्दोलन चल रहे हैं। लोग सत्याग्रह कर रहे हैं। धम नहीं मिस रहा है। मैं कहता हूँ सत्याग्रह करो और सत्याग्रह करके शासन का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करो लेकिन उसी के साथ साथ बाहर आ कर सरकार के साथ कंधे के कंधा मिला कर सचमुच प्रबन्ध भी करो। दोनों काम एक साथ होने चाहिये। जब इस तरह से होगा तब तो काम बनेगा धन्यथा नहीं। लेकिन आज ही यह रहा है कि इधर तो शासन की टांग खींची जा रही है और उधर शासन डंडा मार कर उनको दबाने की कोशिश कर रहा है। इस तरह से कैसे देश का भला हो सकता है। यह तो देश की दुर्दशा का ही कारण बन सकती है।

सब से पहली बात आप जीवन स्तर को ऊँचा उठाने की करते हैं। इसके बजाय घर बन और सादा बनाने की भी योजना होनी चाहिये और योजना में इस योजना की सफलता कैसे हो इसकी भी योजना होनी चाहिये। योजना बना ली और सफल कैसे होगी इसका पता ही नहीं होता

है। कह दिया जाता है कि पैसे की कमी है और फिर इन्हें कमी को पूरा करने के लिये अमेरिका की तरफ भागा जाता है और वहाँ से जब पैसा मिल जाता है तो फिर उसको ही गाली देना आरम्भ कर दिया जाता है। इससे कुछ नहीं बनेगा। हमको आत्मनिर्भर होना पड़ेगा। आत्मनिर्भर होने के लिये दूसरा तरीका शासन के पास क्या है? वह है टैक्स लगाने का, कर लगाने का। लेकिन देश पहले टैक्सों से भार से ही नहीं निपट पाया कि दूसरी योजना कर लगाने की तैयार हो गई। कितने कर लगाएंगे? कर लगाने के सम्बन्ध में हमारे शास्त्राचार्यों ने स्पष्ट घोषणा की है :

"वाहि दाग्धी मुपास्तेच सनित्यम् विन्वते पबः
एवम् राष्ट्रमुपायेन भुंजाना लभते फलम्।"

गाय को बिलामो और दूध लेना। लेकिन हमारी नीति ऐसी है कि अगर वह सम्भव हो कि स्तन काटने से दूध की धारा बह पड़े, तो गाय का स्तन ही काट दो। गाय का स्तन, नहीं रहेगा तो दूध कहा से आयेगा? अगर देश में पैसा ही नहीं रहेगा तो कितने ही कर लगाये, कर ले नहीं सकेंगे। धर बरबाद हो जायगा। आप मर कर ही रहेंगे। आप भी बच नहीं सकेंगे धामन जब अधिक अभ्रिय हो जायगा तो टिक नहीं सकेगा। धामन भी समाप्त हो, जनता भी समाप्त हो, देश भी समाप्त हो, तो ऐसी नीति को कैसे समर्थन मिल सकता है? रिपोर्ट आती है हमारे पाम प्लैनिंग कमिशन की। अरे, पहले देखिये एक्सपोर्ट इम्पोर्ट, उस के बाद दो रिपोर्ट और तब मायो हम से सपोर्ट। लेकिन यह पहले से ही सपोर्ट मांगने लगे, एक्सपोर्ट इम्पोर्ट का कोई ठिकाना नहीं, कितना मुद्रास्फीत का संकट देश में फैला हुआ है दबादब बाहर से कर्जा, कर्जा, कर्जा। हम कहते हैं कि क्या हो रहा है तो कहते हैं कि कोई नहीं हर्जा। कैसे हर्ज नहीं।

जब हम कर के भार से दब जायेंगे, ऋण बढ़ जायेगा, बटा बेटा, नाती और पोते भी उमर दे नहीं पायेंगे तो देश कैसे गुलजार होगा ? देश क्या सम्पन्न होगा, चाहे जितनी भी योजनाये प्राप ले प्रायें ? कभी प्राज तक कोई योजना पूरी हो भी सकी है ? प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना समाप्त हो गई, उस से हमें कितना लाभ हुआ, बतलाइये ? हमारे पाम आंकड़े हैं नहीं, वह पूरी नहीं हो पाई । दूसरी योजना बन कर तैयार है, पर उस में भी कुछ संविध अवस्था है, शायद पूरी हो जाय, कहा जाता है कि हो सकता है न भी हो । कोई ठिकाना है, पैसा मांग कर ला रहे हैं लगाने को, ऐसी योजना बनाने में क्या लाभ है कि जो पूरी न हो । कर्जा भी मांगना पड़े, हम पर भार भी लद जाये और लाभ भी न हो । बांध जो बनता है टूट जाता है या ऐसा बनता है कि पानी तो भर जाता है लेकिन नहरें पानी निकाल नहीं सकती । इसके लिये कोई योजना नहीं है । कोई स्थान देख लेते हैं, उस पर पैसा लगाना आरम्भ कर देते हैं । बाद में कहते हैं कि इंजीनियर नहीं प्राये थे, जगह ठीक नहीं, इमानिये इसका दूसरी जगह पर करेय ।

अभी ६८ करोड़ रुपया राजस्थान में कोटा के अन्दर १०० एकड़ जमीन के ऊपर लगा दिया । ६८ करोड़ एक एक एकड़ के ऊपर एक एक करोड़ रुपया ? भाले सुधन दिने बेग्रहम । जैसे किसी लावारिम का माल है, इस तरह से उम का उपयोग हो रहा है । देश के पैसे का सदुपयोग होना चाहिये । योजना को अग्रर सफल करना है तो ईमानदारी से, मिसिअरली प्रागे आना चाहिये । मैं कोई अश्रुतावण नहीं कह रहा हूँ । मंत्रियों को अपने जीवन से, अपनी आकृति से, यह प्रभाव डालना चाहिये कि एक एक पैसा जो शासन का है उस का दुसुपयोग होना हराम है । वह नष्ट नहीं हो सकेगा । जब इस आकना का निर्माण होगा तब कार्य होगा । हमें देखते

हैं कि ऊपर से गड़बड़ चली आती है और नीचे तक चली जाती है । पता नहीं यह योजना भ्रष्टाचार की योजना या देश को ऊपर उठाने की योजना है । इस का कारण यह है कि योजना में धर्म का कोई स्थान नहीं । योजना है, केवल योजना । योजना को चलायेगा कौन ? अधार्मिक ? अधार्मिकों की योजनाये कभी दुनियां में सफल हुई है ? कभी सफल नहीं हो सकती । प्राप किसी धर्म के अनुसार करे, हम नहीं कहते कि प्राप एक ही धर्म को लीजिये, लेकिन कोई आधार तो हो । दुनियां के डर के मारे केवल हिन्दुस्तान ही है जो धर्म का नाम नहीं लेता । सब लेंगे लेकिन हम नहीं लेंगे । क्यों नहीं लेंगे ? इस लिये कि हम मेकुलर हैं । किस चीज से मेकुलर हैं ? धर्म से ? और सब बातें हमारे माथ लगी हुई हैं ।

“आहारं निद्रा भय मधुनच,

गामान्यमेतत् पशुभिर्नरगणाम्

धर्मोहितेषामधिको विदाशो

धर्मण हीनाः पशुभिः समानाः ।”

धर्म से हीन पशु हो गये, पार्शाविक वृत्ति जाग्रत हो गई । भांगपरायण हम हो गये । दूसरे का माल उगना और मौज करना ।

“दुनियां उगना सबकर से, रोटी खाना सबकर से” यह जब शासन की नीति बन जाय तो कोई योजना सफल नहीं हो सकती । योजना के लिये शासन का मालाकार की वृत्ति स्वीकार करनी पड़ेगी ।

“मालाकारस्य वृत्त्यैव स्वप्रजा रक्षणो न च”

प्रजा की रक्षा मालाकार की तरह करें । जैसे उद्यान में, बागीचे में जो आवश्यक पुष्प होते हैं उन का माली खयन कर लेता है शेष को पानी देता है । लेकिन यहां पर ऐसे माली हैं जो पेड़ को ही उखाड़ देते हैं । जब पेड़ ही नहीं रहेगा तो बागीचा कहाँ रहेगा । इस तरह से करों का भार लादना, बाहर से कर्जा लेना, यहां पर समाज की रचि का पता न लगाया, योजनाकारों

[पंडित ब्रज नारायण "ब्रजेश"]

का बैठ कर अपने खाने की योजना बनाना, वह सब ऐसे काम हैं जिन से योजना कमी भी लफ़्त नहीं होगी। केवल झांकड़े देने से काम नहीं चलता। मुझे तो ऐसा भी ध्वनित होता है कि जो झांकड़े यहाँ उठा कर दे दिखे जात हैं उन के ऊपर भी कोई एक भाव योजना बना ली जाये तो उस में भी बहुत गड़बड़ी निकल आयगी। इस लिये मैं शासन का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ कि सब से प्रथम जो योजना आपने बनाई है, उस योजना का विस्तार में नहीं चाहता। उतना ही इस योजना में काम लीजिये जितना आप ले सकते हैं। बाहर के कर्षों पर आप विस्तृत निर्भर मत कीजिये। आप देश से मांगिये, देश देगा। मैं ने एक बार निवेदन किया था कि जो बड़े बड़े लोग यहाँ बैठे हुये हैं, जिन के पास घरबों और खरबों पया है, उन से मांगो, न कि अमेरिका से मांगो। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हैदराबाद के निजाम के पास जाओ, वह राष्ट्रीय धादमी हूँ, नेशनल धादमी हूँ, वह पैसा नहीं देगा तो क्या जो कम्पनल धादमी है वह देगा? उस से पैसा लो, उस से उधार लो। उस को पटायेंगा देश। और त भी पटा सका तो कोई डर तो नहीं रहेगा। हमारा सा लगा हुआ है, जब आयेंगा तब दे देंगे। लेकिन अमेरिका से पैसा और उस के भार से दबना, यह देश के लिये बहुत बुद्धिमत्ता तथा दूरदर्शिता की चीज नहीं होगी।

साथ ही साथ हम ने दुःख के उत्पादन के बारे में जो योजनाये बनाई हैं, वे अभावक हैं। देश के उद्धार के लिये ट्रेक्टराइजेशन से काम नहीं चलेगा। "कब मरेगी सामू कब आयेंगे सामू।" कब फीकटियां बनेंगी, कब ट्रेक्टर बनेंगे और खेतों में जायेंगे, कब नाज पैदा होगा? लोग आज भूखों मर रहे हैं। इसलिये मैं कहता हूँ कि जो आप का गंवाहन है उस की रक्षा कीजिये। गाय

की रक्षा पहले कीजिये। लेकिन यहाँ तो बैल बेचारे चुनाव का खेत जोत कर सीधे कसाईखानों में चले जाते हैं। जरा इन बैलों से बड़े बड़े काम लो। यह खेत के योग्य हैं, चुनाव के नहीं। उन से उल्टा काम लेना लोग प्रारम्भ कर देते हैं। आप उन से कब तक यह काम लेते रहेंगे? आज एलेक्शन का काम खत्म हुआ और बैल सीधे स्लाटर हाउस में। देश में बैल नहीं, और नारा लगाते हैं "ज्यादा भनाज पैदा करो।" जैसे हमें अक्ल नहीं, हम चाहते हैं कि नाज कम पैदा हो, किसान चाहता है कि भले ही उस के पास दस या बीस एकड़ जमीन है, लेकिन घर में नाज न पैदा हो। वह क्या यही चाहता है? वह आज पैदा कैसे करे? अगर खेत है तो बैल नहीं, अगर बैल है तो खाद नहीं, अगर खाद है तो बीज नहीं, और अगर बीज भी है तो पानेदार साहब बने हैं, नहसीलदार साहब बने हैं, और चोर उबकके जो पैदा हो गये हैं, वह डटे हुये हैं, और अगर कहीं इन से अवकाश मिला तो नेता जी उटे हुये हैं। यह जो स्थिति है उस के कारण आज किसान पनप नहीं पाता है। मैं निवेदन करता हूँ कि मेरे क्षेत्र में डाकू पैदा हो गये। तो रात में तो सूटते हैं डाकू और दिन में आ कर सूटते हैं पुलिस और नेता जी।

श्री म० प्र० मित्र (बे मराय) :
पुरोहित जी।

पंडित ब्रज नारायण "ब्रजेश" : बूक पहले धार्मिक क्षेत्र में पुरोहित जी सूटते थे इस लिये धर्म खतरे में था लेकिन राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में खरबारी सूटते हैं, इस लिये देश का नाश हो रहा है। मैं कहता हूँ कि जन स्वरूप बन कर उस की रक्षा कीजिये। पुलिस और डाकू जबर्दस्ती भा कर जनता को सूटते हैं। डाकू छाती पर लड़े ही कर कहते हैं कि रुपये दो, और उन को देना पड़ता है। बाद में पुलिस धा कर कहती है : क्यों दिया? क्या लोग अपनी जान

न बचायें ? फिस्तील ले कर बँ हें, लडका उठा लिया, पैसा ले ल्ये, फिर पुलिस कहती है कि क्यों दिया। भजी साहब, हम करें क्या ? पुलिस कहती है कि भब लाभो १०० हमें भी दो। उस को भी दो और इस को भी दो। चारों तरफ लूट ही लूट मची हुई है। कोई सुनता ही नहीं। सारी योजनायें कागजों में हैं, प्रैक्टिकल कुछ नहीं है। आप को व्यावहारिक जगत में उतर कर आना पड़ेगा, सब से पहले थारेन्टी देनी पड़ेगी कि शासन द्वारा देश में कहीं भ्रष्टाचार नहीं होगा, भ्रष्टाचार नहीं होगा। लेकिन अगर आप यह कहेंगे कि सुरक्षा को कम कर दो, यह आवाज लगायेंगे कि इस पर जो पैसा खर्च हो रहा है, वह खत्म कर दो, तो यह योजना काम किस के आयेंगी ? कल अगर शत्रु हमला कर दे, तो जो हिन्दुस्तान की सेना है, मेरा विश्वास है कि एक दिन में षो दी जायगी। वह दुश्मन को भगा सके यह दम उसमें नहीं है। उस को और ताकतवर बनाने की आवश्यकता है। विज्ञान के इस युग में अगर हम अपनी सेना को ताकतवर रक्खेंगे तभी हम शत्रु का मुकाबला कर सकते हैं। आज हम पाकिस्तान जैसे शत्रु को अपनी आंखों से मोक्ष नहीं कर सकते। इसलिये सेना को हमें शक्तिशाली बनाना पड़ेगा और जितनी भी बार इंडस्ट्रीज हैं उन को प्रोत्साहन देना पड़ेगा। इस से बेकारी भी दूर होगी। जो भी यहां के लोग हैं उन के लिये सैनिक शिक्षा प्रारम्भ की जाय। जो बेकार फिरते हैं वे लोग अगर सैनिक शिक्षा लेंगे तो उन की समझ में आयेगा, देश का वायुमंडल बनेगा। बेचा की रक्षा का प्रश्न पहले है। उस के बाद ही देश का जो गठ कटापन है वह बन्द हो सकेगा। इस लिये मैं कहूंगा कि सुरक्षा की तरफ ज्यादा ध्यान देना आवश्यक है। बार इंडस्ट्रीज को प्रोत्साहन दिया जाय, चास तौर से बार्डर्स पर जहां से कि शत्रु की फीजें कभी भी उतर सकती हैं। जब

वह आते हैं मारते हैं और मार कर चले जाते हैं। उसके बाद समझीते करते हैं और कुछ न कुछ छीन कर ले जाते हैं, कुछ दे कर नहीं जाते। इसलिये इस को भी हमें ठीक से समझने और हल करने की आवश्यकता है।

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Pall):
There has been very strong criticism of the Plan as it stands, and some of the hon. Members have, in their indignation, even demanded the resignation of the Planning Commission, and certain very disparaging observations have been made against the Planning Commission. But may I know if this Plan has not been accepted by the Government? May I know if this Plan has not been discussed on the floor of the House more than once, and whether this House has not adopted this Plan? How is the Planning Commission responsible?

Shri Braj Raj Singh (Ferozabad):
The whole Government is responsible.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: I entirely agree.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: They should resign.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: It is my contention that the criticism instead of being directed against the Planning Commission should be directed against the Government.

How is the Planning Commission responsible? Is it a super body which exercises control over the State Government as well as the Central Government? Is it a body which has any control over the administrative machinery which implements the Plan? How is the Planning Commission responsible if the Food Ministry goes wrong and creates artificial scarcity of food in the country? How is the Planning Commission responsible if the Ministry of Commerce and Industry goes wrong and fritters away our foreign exchange? I say the whole criticism should be directed

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against the Government, and so far as the Plan itself is concerned, I say Parliament itself cannot disown its responsibility. We have adopted this Plan in all wisdom after discussion at every stage. I can understand that the implementation of the Plan has been faulty, but for that the Planning Commission cannot be held responsible. The responsibility lies squarely on the shoulders of the Government, the Central Government as well as the State Governments. If after accepting this Plan, Government finds it necessary that in the interests of the security of the country, a vast chunk of our resources has got to be diverted to defence, I do not know how the Planning Commission can be held responsible.

My complaint against the Planning Commission is only this, that they should be more in touch with the realities of the situation. They should not live in seclusion and isolation. I cannot appreciate and understand why the Members of the Planning Commission should not at least attend Parliament when the Plan is being discussed. They should. It makes a lot of difference, even if they read our speeches in the papers or when they go there. I think the hon. Minister of Planning owes an explanation to the House as to why the Members of the Planning Commission should not take interest and be here in the Official Gallery to hear the discussion so that they bear in mind the temper and tone of the House. It is a matter of regret that even Government does not take that interest in the discussion which it should take when the Plan is being discussed.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Does the hon. Member really believe that anybody goes through the speeches delivered here, either the Planning Commission, or the Minister or anybody else?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We shall presume that they go through them.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: I give them the best, that I possibly can. Even if I presume that they read these speeches, we do expect the Members of the Commission to be here in the Official Gallery.

I at least expect that the Central Government Ministers take much more interest. What is the use of having one Deputy Minister sitting here listening to the discussion taking place on the floor of the House? I can understand a temporary absence. As a matter of fact, planning is not a subject with which only the Minister of Planning is concerned. It is a subject with which the entire Cabinet is concerned and I at least expect the Minister of Food and Agriculture and the Minister of Commerce and Industry to be here all the time.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I agree with the hon. Member there. I saw that there were some Ministers during the previous day, but certainly it is unfortunate that none of them is present today. There ought to be a larger number of Ministers.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Every Minister has got two or three assistants.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I hope that the wish of the House will be conveyed to the Ministers.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: I am very grateful to you for your observation, and I do hope that the discussions which take place in this House are taken seriously.

Having made these introductory remarks about the responsibility of the Planning Commission *vis-a-vis* the State Governments and the Central Government, I may say that it is true that we all feel deeply concerned about the successful implementation of the Plan. The stake is so big that we have very willingly subjected ourselves to such heavy taxation and are prepared

to stand by that taxation and all the discomforts which are implied, but we do expect that the Plan will be implemented and executed reasonably well. It is not only we that feel concerned; even the foreign countries feel very much concerned about our Plan, and the success and the progress that we make. They have not only expressed their sympathy or concern, but most of the important countries have gone out of their way to render us such substantial assistance as is possible to pull us out of the difficulties in which we have landed ourselves.

I can understand the prejudices and complexes of my hon. friend Shri Mukerjee, but I cannot understand his criticism against the substantial assistance which has been made available to us by the U.K., U.S.A., and Canada and other countries. I do not stand very much for foreign assistance, I do not want foreign assistance, but we cannot ignore the fact that but for the foreign assistance which we are receiving now, it would be simply impossible or difficult for us to pull ourselves out of the difficulty in which we have landed ourselves.

I particularly appreciate the assistance from the U.S.A., because we must appreciate that our foreign policy is so embarrassing to that Government, and it feels embarrassed even in respect of certain of our allies; and in spite of that if the assistance is coming forth to us, we must all the more appreciate it and express our gratitude.

We have not budged an inch from the policy which we have adopted, the policy which we consider to be correct. Only two days back; our representative, the Defence Minister, tabled a resolution in the UNO in respect of the inclusion of the Republic of China which is truly embarrassing both to the U.K. and the U.S.A. We have not budged an inch from our foreign policy, and there are no strings attached to the foreign assistance which we are getting. It is,

therefore, all the more necessary and correct to appreciate that.

While we appreciate this foreign assistance, I wish Government takes a definite warning from the circumstances in which they find themselves today. As I said, I do not object to the foreign assistance which we plan for, but I do not want that through our own administrative failures and through our lapses we create such a situation for the country that we find ourselves at the mercy of foreign assistance. The circumstances were definitely such that we needed foreign assistance, and but for the foreign assistance, we would have been in great difficulty. I hope Government will take this warning seriously, and in future, we shall not find ourselves in such an awkward position. But, in spite of the foreign assistance that we have received or we are likely to receive, which is more than what we had envisaged in the Plan, and in spite of the fact that the taxation returns are expected to be more than what we had envisaged, still we find ourselves in difficulty. The Plan definitely is ailing and languishing. The two reports which have been made available to this House, the appraisal of the Plan and the reappraisal of the Plan, are, I think, just like health bulletins from the doctors regarding an ailing patient. In these health bulletins which have been made available to us, if we give a careful reading, we shall find that some of the facts—of course, we are grateful to Government for making such information available to us—to which I shall refer later, are just like the shifting sands of Rajasthan; they change so quickly and can never be relied upon for anything. And even the facts that have been given in these two reports do not indicate the causes of the disease. There is no diagnosis of the trouble. They only give us a clear picture of the present position, our present difficulties, how we stand and how we fare. To my mind, the real cause or the real trouble of our present difficulties is outside these two bulletins.

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I think if we give a careful consideration, we shall find that the trends and attitudes in the country at present are one of the most basic factors which have been responsible for the present state of affairs. And, no plan can ignore the basic factors, namely the trends and attitudes which are prevalent in the country. And what are those trends and attitudes which are prevalent in the country today? The Planning Minister has complained, and he has even mentioned in his speech that he is not getting full support from the people. Member after Member has said that we have not been able to enthuse the masses. Why is that so? After all, that is the basic thing, and we must enquire into it. So far as I could see, there are two very important factors which are responsible for the present trends and attitudes. One is the lack of confidence in the spending of Government. People have very little faith that the money which is being placed in the hands of Government is properly utilised.

As you are aware, certain Members here and also certain people outside made certain cuts in their allowances, and they were prepared to help the Plan, by giving whatever little contribution they could. But, today, they feel that there is no urgency and there is no necessity for it. Why should they feel so? As a matter of fact, today, if we are faced with any difficulty, it is the difficulty of internal resources. Still, the situation is that people do not want to give anything; no more people are coming forward with cuts, and no more people are coming forward with greater contributions; on the other hand, even those who had made these cuts are withdrawing them. Even the ICS people who are the best-paid people are not giving anything. May I know if anyone of them has offered any cut?

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Why should they? They are the rulers.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Is it, that they think that it is not worth, the while doing it? Or, is it that they have no confidence in the Plan? Or, is that they are not the right persons in the right place? It should be one of these three things. Either they are not the right people in the right place, or they themselves do not know that it is worth the while contributing a single pie to this Government because it is not going to be properly utilised. This is a very important thing, and I feel that Government must create a confidence in the minds of the people that every pie that is being placed in their hands is being properly spent.

While speaking on the Demands for Grants relating to the Finance Ministry, I had laid stress on this point, and I had quoted all the illustrations. I have got hundreds of illustrations now to quote, which will indicate how the money is being mercilessly misspent at all stages. The hon. Finance Minister was then good enough to give me an assurance and give this House an assurance that he would do his very best. But, I think that nothing substantial has been done, or, at least, we do not know what has been done. I have asked question after question to find out whether we can be satisfied that the best use is going to be made of our money.

Another important trend is that those who are in power, not only those in political power, but those who are in an advantageous position politically as well as financially are today engaged only in making more and more money. Those who are not in power politically—they are not confined only to political parties but they also include those dissident groups of the Congress which are almost everywhere—are today engaged only in creating more and more political trouble, and more and more exploitation, with the result that the implementation of the Plan is natu-

gally not very satisfactory, and no importance is being attached to it. Unless and until Government take certain measures in this behalf, nothing is going to happen. For, you cannot energise the masses and you cannot get any co-operation for the implementation of the Plan with the present trends and attitudes.

I shall make certain suggestions now in this respect. My first suggestion is that the National Development Council which is the highest body here should be reconstituted, that is, that the National Development Council should include the leaders of the Opposition. At present, it is constituted only of the Ministers of the Central Government and the Chief Ministers of the States. I would suggest that the Council should have on it Leaders of the Opposition, and also have at least a few members from the Congress side, who are non-officials, who will bring to bear a fresher outlook, an outlook which is different from the outlook which the Minister and those in Government develop. It should also include three to five persons from outside this Parliament. And I wish that the Prime Minister gives a better consideration to the report which has been submitted, particularly, by the Estimates Committee. Our course, he has got an overall control. But, if he devotes more of his energies towards seeking the co-operation of the people, if he gives his energies to give that revolutionary touch to the execution of the Plan, about which my hon. friend the Planning Minister has spoken, if he brings about a proper atmosphere in the States, seeking the co-operation of the Opposition, and smoothing the differences between the Congress groups or scorching them, then I think his energies would be much better utilised and this country will benefit much more than if he were to be engaged as Chairman of the Planning Commission or in the routine administration of the State.

Mention has been made about fresh taxation. I strongly oppose fresh

taxation. I oppose it because, as I said, people have not got any confidence that the money is being properly spent, and also because I feel that it is not at all necessary or required. I would like the Planning Minister just to recollect what the Minister of Finance had said when he had presented the budget a year and a half back and when he had talked about the Second Plan. He almost gave an assurance to the House that during the period of the Plan, there was not going to be any fresh taxation or any substantial additional taxation. So, hardly a year and after that, if we find that the Planning Minister himself spends the money, or rather, the Government spends the money through its own administrative failures and lapses, and creates trouble for us, and asks for more taxation, I think it is wholly unjust and unwarranted.

It is my firm belief that it is not a crisis of resources; it is not a crisis of the external resources; it is not a crisis of the internal resources; it is only a crisis of the administrative failures and administrative lapses. If we can just bring about that revolutionary touch about which the Minister talked so much, if we could see that our administrative machinery is properly set, if our Ministers are made to realise their responsibilities, then we would have done a lot to face this crisis. We have a great asset in our Prime Minister. We can never calculate what a great asset he is. But it also means a little disadvantage to us. The protective umbrella of the Prime Minister's personality here has, as a matter of fact, resulted in a sort of complacency on the part of the Government. We have not been able to produce that impact on the Government, that sense of responsibility has not been created in the minds of the Government because of that protective umbrella of the Prime Minister.

15 hrs.

I would, therefore, suggest that there should be no taxation and that

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we should try to gear up our administrative machinery. Regarding the functioning of the administrative machinery, it is not only I who have been talking all the time. It is not only my view. Even the two-man study team which they had also pointed out that it is very necessary that something is done about it. I understand that those experts have already made certain suggestions. I would like to know from the hon. Planning Minister what suggestions have been made by that team, particularly regarding the administrative machinery referred to in their letter, and what action Government are going to take to gear up the administrative machinery.

Shri D. A. Katti: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the Second Five Year Plan has been the centre of attention. That is but natural because this Plan, or the aim of the Plan, is to bring material prosperity to all. There has been a lot of publicity on this score and as the Plan is regarded as the source of all our greatness and happiness—our Government are making all efforts to finance and execute the Plan successfully and to bring about the so called *Ram Raj* in this country.

This task has forced our Government to approach many foreign countries for loans and to invent all forms of taxes. Now again there is a proposal for additional taxes. This 'tax business' has reached such a stage that it will not be an exaggeration to call this Government a Tax Government or Taxing Government.

I do not wish to speak about the sufferings the poor people are exposed to on account of a horrible increase in taxes on articles of primary needs. And the people may not mind suffering now. But what hope does the Plan offer to the people? What hope does it offer to the common man, the agricultural labourer, the shoe-maker, the wood-cutter and so on? There is no hope for these people.

The First Five Year Plan is over and we are in the midst of the Second Plan. During these seven years, crores of rupees have been spent on various schemes. But what is the result? The result is that unemployment is day by day getting fierce, the food problem is eating the brains of all, the cost of living has gone very high, there is no prosperity there is no promise of prosperity; the result is that there is nothing sure, nothing encouraging, nothing hopeful. Every new day brings with it new problems, new difficulties and new miseries. That is why people in the country ask: Is it for this that we are having these plans, that we are spending crores of rupees?

In the face of these circumstances, it is essential and imperative on the part of Government to re-examine the whole situation and find out where the fault lies, whether there is anything wrong with the Plan, whether there is anything wrong with the working of the plan? There has been such a re-examination and the memorandum submitted by the Planning Commission discloses the difficulties with which the Plan is confronted. The decline in the foreign exchange reserves, the food crisis and the price-level have hampered the progress of the Plan. This has also caused to effect some curtailment in the physical targets of the Plan. Thus the whole blame is thrown on the circumstances and difficulties and it is shown that the Government are in no way responsible for the failure of the Plan and the unhealthy situation that is created now.

I do not wish to speak as to who is responsible for the foreign exchange difficulties, the food crisis and the price level, but taking these into account, are these the only causes or is there anything else? I feel honestly Sir, that inefficiency, dishonesty and corruption in the administration, in the working of the Plan, are, though not solely, greatly responsible for such a situation. I

believe that with the resources available and with all these difficulties, it was possible to make a good deal of progress. It is not known how the money has been spent, whether it has been uselessly spent or wisely spent. The question whether the fruits of the schemes that have been completed have been exacted is also completely ignored. I may say the Government are very sincere. I may also say that they have got good motives. But that alone is not sufficient. Some wisdom is also necessary, wisdom to know the mistakes and correct them.

There I am reminded of a story told about Shivaji, the great Maharatta ruler. Once he happened to be the guest of a peasant. This was in his early days. The peasant's wife never knew that the guest was Shivaji—Shivaji did not tell them about his identity. They offered him food consisting of milk and rice. Shivaji poured the milk over the rice. The milk began to flow all round the plate and it was not possible for him to mix the rice with the milk properly and eat it. The wife, who was observing this, said: "Young man, why are you doing like Shivaji? He is conquering a fort here, a fort there. Fort after fort, he is conquering, but he is able to consolidate the whole position. He is not able to exact the fruits, and there is mismanagement. Why are you doing like Shivaji? Just make space in the rice for the milk, then mix it and make the best use of it".

Shivaji was wise. This opened his eyes; he corrected his own mistakes and became a great Mahratta ruler. The same is the case with our Planning. Our Government are building a dam here and a dam there, a power plant here and a power plant there. So many schemes are there, but the Government have never seen what is first and what is last, what is spent and what is gained.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now the hon. Member is going to act as the 'peasant's wife'.

Shri D. A. Katti: Yes, if that will benefit the Government and the people, I am prepared to play the role of the 'peasant's wife' also.

The Government should be as wise as Shivaji so as to save themselves from the great disaster. Our Government know how to levy taxes, how to get loans and how to devise schemes, but they do not know how to make the best use of what they have got. They have failed in exacting the fruits of the schemes that have been completed.

Then there is another most important aspect. There is corruption in the administration. There is corruption everywhere in this country. But the corruption going on in the working of the Plan and the implementation of the Plan is so rampant that there is no parallel to it.

I would like to cite an example here. In my district i.e., Belgaum, a canal work is going on known as Ghataprabha left bank canal. The Government have fixed some rates for work. For example, for digging one square foot of soft soil, the rate is Re. 1, and for the square foot of rock, it is Rs. 5. But the contractor pays some money to the engineer. The engineer is a magician there. He makes 'soft' soil into 'rock' and for the work of Re. 1, the contractor is enabled to get Rs. 5. In this way, if this continues, what would be the worth of forty-eight a hundred crores of rupees? If we spend again Rs. 4800 crores, we cannot achieve even half the targets. It is a criminal waste and it must be checked but Government is not doing it. Serious efforts should be made to check corruption; otherwise, the country will go to ruination. Corruption must be sternly dealt with. If you are not able to do it, you will find yourself on the verge of insolvency. The people who are corrupt are the enemies of the country and they must be whipped publicly, shot and hanged in the interest of the people.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Not just now?.... (Interruptions.)

Shri Raghunath Singh: Tomorrow.

Shri D. A. Katti: There is misappropriation and waste of money.

I shall give you an example. There is a Sarvodaya centre in my constituency. Once I visited the centre and to my surprise I found there some chickens reared and I later learnt that also country liquor is available. Some Congressman is in charge of that centre. Chicken is there and country liquor is there and the Government is spending about a lakh of rupees for this purpose every year.

An Hon. Member:On chicken and country liquor?

Shri D. A. Katti: Is it not a criminal waste? When money is being wasted like this when there are such things going on what does our Prime Minister say?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let the hon. Member write to the Minister just as he has seen these things.

Shri D. A. Katti: I am speaking here and I hope the hon. Minister will take note of it. The Prime Minister says: we are proud of the Plan; it is very ambitious and we will complete the Plan. He is just like Tippu Sultan. He was playing chess and his people said: "Your Majesty, the enemy is fast approaching". He said: "Ane dho" and he was finished. In the same manner our Prime Minister says: "हाने दो, हम पूरा करेंगे" Allowing this sort of things to go on is to dig the grave of the country. That is why our hon. friend, Shri Bharucha, has suggested that the Planning Commission and the Planning Minister should go. But who is to come there?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I thought that the hon. Member was finishing with the grave.

Shri D. A. Katti: There are many best brains in the country and they must be made use of. It is not a question of the prestige of the Government. It is a question of life and death of millions of people. Please do not gamble with the lives of the people. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was not a Congressman. But he was entrusted with the work. He drafted the Constitution and he did his best. He asked for planning; but he was refused. Had he been given that chance, he would have guided the country properly and the country would have been benefited. I do not exactly say that there should be a Coalition Government but you must try to take the benefit of those who can render service to the country and the people.

The question of agricultural development has been touched by most of the hon. Members. There has been very severe criticism by most of the hon. Members. But if we have a definite land policy. If we exploit the irrigation potential that is available now and utilise the money properly, it is possible to increase production. But will that solve the problem? The rate of growth of our country's population is so high that it will not be possible to meet the needs of all by producing in the land already cultivated. We should also bring under cultivation every piece of land that is available. About 90 million acres of land is under cultivation and there is about 80 million acres of land which is lying waste and which is fit to be cultivated. There are people who are prepared to cultivate these lands if they are given to them. In every village, there are such lands. By cultivating these lands, I am sure there can be enormous increase in food production. But the Government is not doing that.

While speaking on the Demands of the Food Ministry, I had referred to

this and I had attempted to invite the attention of the hon. Minister to this aspect but I do not know why the Government is sleeping on this point. If not today, it will have to be done some day.

In my constituency there is an area which is marked jungle in the records but there is not even a shrub. There is no jungle at all. I asked the forest officer to grant that land to the members of the Scheduled Caste but he replied that it was jungle. When I told them that there was not even a shrub, he continued to say that it was a jungle. That way land is lying waste. If these lands are properly made use of, the problem of the landless agricultural labour will also be solved. These people are starving and groaning under the miseries. The Plan has got no provision for the well-being of ten crores of landless agricultural labourers.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri D. A. Katti: I hope the Government will consider all these things and see what can be done.

Shrimati Ila Palchoudhuri (Nabadwip): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I am very happy that you have given me an opportunity to speak.

Shri Raghunath Singh: We are also very happy.... (Interruptions.)

Shrimati Ila Palchoudhuri: Many things have been said about this Plan. Before I proceed further, I would like to bring to the notice of the House certain facts. The Plan has been conceived at a period when we had many things to look to. The essential features of the Plan included four steel mills which absorbed a large portion of the investment. The expanded railways and transport, coal, power, irrigation, agriculture and other things had been taken into consideration. All this was, when we did not have enough internal resources, naturally contingent on

foreign help. We cannot help that. Yet foreign help was not that easy to get because the price of foreign help was very high at that time. For instance, the World Bank's interest rate was 5.75 per cent. The rate announced by the IBRD was almost equally high. Some short-term capital rates ran as high as 13 per cent. So, we did not get help very cheaply. So, that was another thing that we came up against. It is also true that we did not have such a lot of money in the country. Our rate of interest and savings would still be ten per cent. of the national income compared to 20 per cent. in Russia, 15 per cent. in pre-war Japan and 12 per cent. in China. India with a population of twice of all Western Europe would still have an investment capacity equal only to that of Sweden with its population of seven million. Much criticism has been made of the Plan by various speakers but I will on the other hand say that it has also been appreciated by many countries abroad. I can only quote from the Congressional proceedings in the United States of America where hon. John F. Kennedy of the Democrats has made a very pertinent remark about our Plan. He has stated that if one country, in particular, had successfully pointed the way to progressive economic development, achieved a steady rate of growth, and in which the private sector had some part to play and where it avoided excess of governmental regimentation and controls, that country was India.

Having said that, I must say that we do have certain things, about which we can congratulate ourselves that we have achieved them; but there are certain other things about which, if I may be permitted, I would like to draw the hon. Minister's attention.

Sir, the Plan has been reappraised. I am very sorry to find that the target suggested for the next two years to the States, particularly, for raising additional resources has been indicated as Rs. 140 crores, which comprises of Rs. 60 crores under

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additional taxation, Rs. 50 crores under loans and small savings and Rs. 30 crores under economic in non-planned expenditure. Sir, non-planned expenditures are the only things where we can hope to enthuse the people, where we can give them a few amenities. It is only in these things that we can bring to the man in the street a little bit of comfort that he can get from the Plan. Here we want to curtail that. I do not see how we can enthuse the people. Therefore, I would like to say, first and foremost, that that expenditure should not be curtailed at this stage.

We must also take into consideration the welfare of children. The welfare of children cannot wait. We cannot wait till we have got through the Second Plan and come to the Third Plan to do something for them, for children are children only once. If we have no provision whatsoever for children in the Second Plan. I do not know what we shall have in the Third Plan. Even Mrs. Gandhi who went to Geneva from the Indian Children Welfare Council has had said that it must be a priority in the Plan. I would also quote Mr. Leonard W. Mayo, President of the International Union for Child Welfare, who has said in very clear language: "We must remember in this day and age and this troubled times that a child is a child but once, and this childhood must be as secure, as free from tension and uncertainty and fear as it is possible for us to make it. The problems of children cannot wait. In West Bengal, particularly, the refugee problem having come into West Bengal, there is also the question of children in the refugee camps. If we do not have their welfare, their well-being in our minds and in the Plan, we shall have made a strata of persons who will be anti-social, whom we cannot hope to make good citizens of India and from whom we cannot hope for anything. Their condition is one which does not brook any delay. We cannot curtail the amenities to them

to have steel plants, tractors and other things. We cannot afford not to look after our children. Let us not have steel as our slogan, let us have, on the other hand, "build the children of India, and build the future of India".

Secondly, I would like to say that slum clearance also must have priority. In regard to this, I do not agree that we cannot have more taxation. If taxation is to be had for that, we must have it. It has been recommended in the Report of the Advisory Committee on slum clearance and also in the Report of the Sen Committee. They have said that we could have a terminal tax on railways, and that in itself would produce the money needed for slum clearance. This matter has been considered by Government. Even in the discussion that we had the other day, Panditji himself said that it has to be examined in detail and that the Planning Commission has been asked to do so. He said: "I should like to assure the House that, broadly speaking, the Report has been accepted". If the Report is accepted, then, I hope, on the plea of cutting down the Plan, the provisions of slum clearance would not get the go-by, and that it will be continued; because there also there is the question of children and people living in conditions much below what the Constitution guarantees to them. Also, there are the people who keep the towns clean, who are in the conservancy services. If you see the horrible state of their living you will agree with me when I say, I do not think any Plan can expect to go forward in any town where there are such conditions. Even then we are saying here that we must curtail the amenities and carry on with out steel plants. Is that the way to enthuse the people? I do not think we can get enthusiasm that way.

Thirdly, I have to bring forward the question of food. There was a meeting with the Leaders of the Opposition also. They are also of

the opinion—in this meeting my hon. friends Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri, Shri Asoka Mehta and others were present—that we must get rid of the pre-Independence outlook of the British about test relief and permanent development of a place; because unless we do test relief which will lead to permanent development we cannot hope to produce more food. Therefore, we must give priority through test relief to small irrigation schemes. Of course, we must conserve as much food as we can. Food refrigeration and conservation must find priority, because, unless we conserve what we have how can we hope to compete with world market and keep on importing food? We also lose 30 per cent. of what we get on the railways' tracks because they become unfit for human consumption. Therefore, refrigeration and conservation of food, and the outlook about test relief must undergo a radical change.

With the various suggestion made in regard to food, I would like to say one more thing. The question of giving the irrigation water free to the cultivators must be considered. It is a known fact that we never miss what we never had; but we are willing to pay for what we have been used to. Before soap was introduced, soap was given free so that people may get used to it. Before tea could be popularised, the Tea Board had to give various free samples so that people may first get used to it and then pay for it. In the same way, if water is also given free to the peasants they will use it and when ultimately they are in a better condition you can impose a levy which they will surely pay. If you ask them to pay straightaway, I do not think you can get the payment from them, and all the water will go waste. Your efforts to enthruse the farmer will also fail.

I have already touched upon the refugee problem and the displaced persons. You have got the Dandakaranya scheme. I hope no money will be curtailed from that

scheme. In fact, I would request the Planning Commission to give some more money to this scheme. It is a scheme that will yield huge amounts of money. Unless that scheme is completed quickly, the fate of refugees cannot see any kind of turning point nor can Bengal come out of its economic morass that it has gone into, because it has already reached the saturation point. Bengal cannot accommodate the people who are now a strain on our economy. I hope the Planning Commission will give them some more money if needed, and not curtail any of the rehabilitation provisions as far as possible. Though it has not been said so in the pamphlet, I do not know whether, when the practical working comes, it will be done or not?

Lastly, I have moved a substitute motion. I have mentioned three points there, of which I have already touched upon two. I would like to suggest that there should be some way of increasing our earnings. The three ways of increasing our earnings are promotion of tea export promotion of shipping and promotion of tourism.

So far as tea is concerned, when our exports have gone down and tea industry is facing some difficulty some relief in duties has been promised, but that does not affect the common teas. If we have duties on the common teas, outside buyers who can get common teas from Africa, will not go in for Indian teas. The Tea Board must also create a market in Iraq, Iran and places in Middle East for our good quality tea. The Tea Board has money, and the Government must see that it is properly used to expand our tea industry and thus earn foreign exchange.

With regard to tourism, we had this meeting of Tourist Development Council at Srinagar. It has certainly recommended certain things which I hope the Government will consider

[Shrimati Ila Palchoudhuri]

and put into practice, because tourism, if developed, can earn a lot of foreign exchange. Already it has given us somewhere near Rs. 20 crores of foreign exchange, and the hon. Minister, Shri S. K. Patil, said in Srinagar that he hoped that in future India would be able to earn very much more than that through tourism, because, not only through tourism do we earn foreign exchange but we sell India in the right way to the world and we gain friendship at the same time. We export Indian thought through the tourists and thus attract tourists. It is no enough to have slices of paradise like the Ashoka Hotel to make them learn about India. There are two kinds of tourists: there are the tourists to whom India is like a panorama and a picture, and there are the tourists who want to understand India. We must have facilities in the dak bungalows in the countryside where they can see and feel the pulse of rural India, see what is happening in India and see the whole upsurge that is going forward in India. That also is tourism; it is not only the beautiful mountains and torrents of India of which the tourists can be enamoured. We have other things to show them; our cultural background must find a place in their minds and the tourists should appreciate that sort of thing.

In this connection, I would also say one thing about prohibition. The State control on drinking and liquor should not be very, very strict as far as the tourists are concerned, because they are used to it.

Pandit K. C. Sharma: For their friends too.

Shrimati Ila Palchoudhuri: Well, I do not know about friends. But tourism and austerity do not go together, nor do tourists and moral lessons go together. If we want to make money, we must make the avenue suitable for the money to come, and there, I think we can do

something to earn money for ourselves.

About shipping, the Bill has been passed, and we have gone into a glorious chapter of shipping. I hope that with our own money and without any foreign participation Indian shipping under Indian flags will keep on earning foreign exchange and tide us over the second Five Year Plan as far as possible.

Finally, I just want to put one question to the hon. Minister, the question that Nazi Germany was asked in the old days was: "Will you have guns or better?" They answered that they wanted guns and they saw the devastating effect, of that. The question with us today is, whether it is going to be bread or steel. Look at the little pamphlet that you have given us. In that, how have we answered that question? We have answered it with coal and steel only. I only hope that when the question is put, whether it is going to be bread or steel, we shall at least be able to say that it is going to be not only coal and steel but also bread and amenities and social services as well. That is the only way to keep the Plan going and to carry the people with the Plan.

श्री म० प्र० मिश्र (बंगू सराय) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे गाव में एक कहावत प्रसिद्ध है: "पंचों का कैमला तो सिर पर है लेकिन खूटा यहीं गड़गा।" मैं समझता हूँ कि यह जो हमारा योजना प्रायोग है उसका भी खूट्या कुछ वैसा ही है।

आप जानते हैं कि यह जो दूसरी पंच वर्षीय योजना बनी और इस पार्लियामेंट के सामने आई और देश के सामने आई तो उसके खिलाफ़ एक बात बड़ जोर से कही गई और उसके खिलाफ़ पार्लियामेंट में भी कहा गया कि इस योजना में संतुलन नहीं है और

यह योजना एक तरफ है। इसमें एक बड़ी भूल यह है कि उसने एक तरफ उद्योगों पर तो बहुत अधिक रकमा खर्च करने का क्रमसा किया है लेकिन दूसरी तरफ खेती पर ध्यान कम दिया है। इसके विपरीत पहली जो योजना थी वह सही योजना थी क्योंकि उसमें खेती के ऊपर पूरा ध्यान रक्खा गया था और वह सफल हुई। मैं समझता हूँ कि आज तीन वर्ष के बाद जो देश में संकट घिरा हुआ है, देश परेशानी में आ फंसा है और यह योजना भी परेशानी में आ फंसी है, उसका एक ही कारण है कि इस योजना में संतुलन नहीं था और सरकार ने भी इस बात को कबूल किया और हमारे प्रधान मंत्री महोदय जो कि योजना आयोग के अध्यक्ष भी हैं, उन्होंने सदन में कहा और मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐसा शायद उन्होंने खेद के साथ ही कहा होगा कि दो वर्ष पहले तक मैं यह नहीं समझता था कि इस देश में खेती की इतनी बड़ी जगह है और उसकी इतनी अहमियत है। यह बहुत अफसोस की बात है कि हमारे देश के प्रधान मंत्री को यह बात इतनी देर से मालूम हुई। उसके बाद योजना आयोग ने भी यह कबूल किया है कि आज देश में जो इतना संकट है वह इसलिए है कि खेती पर ध्यान नहीं दिया गया और कृषि की पैदावार नहीं बढ़ी। इसलिए उन लोगों ने और सरकार ने इस बात को कबूल किया कि इस योजना की ओर इस देश की आर्थिक विकास की आधारशिला और फोउंडेशन अगर कोई हो सकती है तो वह कृषि ही हो सकती है। अब यह सब कुछ सुन लेने के बाद, कह लेने के बाद और मान लेने के बाद नतीजा क्या हुआ? नतीजा वही कि "बीताल फिर पेड़ तर जा लटका"। कृषि पर जिस पर कि ५६८ करोड़ रुपये खर्च होने से उसमें कमी करके और उसको काट करके ५१० करोड़ कर दिया गया। इतना ही नहीं खेती से जो लगी हुई चीज सिंचाई है उसके रुपये में भी कटौती की गई और कमी की गई। सरकार बड़े बड़े उद्योगों में जो बहुत अधिक रकमा खर्च करने जा रही है उसके

लिए मेरा यह कहना है कि मैं उद्योगों का कोई विरोधी हूँ ऐसी बात नहीं है लेकिन यह भी एक बहम है जो कि हमारे बीच में से जाना चाहिए कि उद्योगों से पिछड़े देशों का तुरन्त कल्याण होगा। लेकिन मेरा यह कहना है कि आज जो हिन्दुस्तान की स्थिति है वह कुछ दूसरी है और मैं तो कहूँगा कि पिछड़े देशों की स्थिति दूसरी है। आप इस देश में नये नये उद्योग बनाते जाइये लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आप के पास उनको बचने के लिए मार्केट कौन सा है? जापान, जर्मनी और अमरीका के सामान के सामने आपके लिए बाजार कहां है? आपको तो यहां बनने वाली चीजों के लिए यहीं देश में बाजार ढूँढना होगा। और जहां तक हिन्दुस्तान में उनके लिए बाजार का सवाल है तो क्या लोगों पर इतने टैक्स लगा कर, इतना नकली रुपया छाप कर, जिस हिन्दुस्तान को आपने इतना गरीब बना दिया है वह क्या आप जो चीजें पैदा करेंगे वह उनको खरीद सकने में समर्थ होगा?

मेरे एक मित्र श्री माथुर ने कहा कि इस हालत के लिए योजना आयोग पर दोष नहीं डालना चाहिए वरन् इसका सारा दोष इस सरकार पर है। लेकिन मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इनमें योजना आयोग का बहुत बड़ा दोष है क्योंकि उसने मानने के बाद फिर वही गलती की और जो छोटे छोटे असंतुलन इस योजना में थे वे आज २५ प्रतिशत और बढ़ गये हैं इस नई एप्रैजल में जो कि हमारे और आपके सामने है और जिस पर कि हम और आप बहस कर रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि इनके दृष्टि में रख कर योजना अगर फल कर रही है और फल करेगी तो उसका एक बड़ा कारण यह होगा जिसका कि मैंने जिक्र किया।

आज दो वर्ष के बाद फिर जो बाध संकट हमारे देश के सामने पैदा हो गया है और जिसके कि कारण उत्तर प्रदेश में कोई २ या ३ हजार लोग जेलों में बन्द हैं . . .

श्री बजराम सिंह : जनाब, ५००० से ऊपर लोग जेलों में हैं। समाचारपत्र पढ़िये तो आपको मालूम हो जायेगा।

श्री म० प्र० मिश्र : ठीक है, मैं आपकी ही बात माने लेता हूँ। हाँ तो मैं कह रहा था कि अगर यह खाद्य संकट बना रहा और हमने यह समस्या हल नहीं की और यह गड़बड़ियाँ चलती रहें और अगर भोजन रईय्या कायम रहा तो मैं समझता हूँ कि आज सन् १९५८ में जो हालत है वह सन् १९६० में जाकर और बवतर हो जायेगी। आज सबसे बड़ी आवश्यकता यह है कि सरकार और प्लानिंग कमिशन देश की कृषि समस्या की ओर ध्यान दे और वे तमाम आवश्यक क्रम उठाये जिनसे कि इस देश में कृषि की पैदावार बढ़ सके। योजना आयोग यह तो कहता है कि इस देश में कृषि का उत्पादन बढ़ाना चाहिए लेकिन जब उसके लिए रुपया लगाने की बात आती है तो वजाय बढ़ाने के उसमें और कट कर लिया जाता है। उनकी ओर मे जनसहयोग का नारा तो लगाया जाता है लेकिन इस ओर उनका ध्यान नहीं जाता कि इस देश के किसान के पास सबसे अधिक किस चीज की कमी है। कोई ऐसी बात नहीं है कि देश का किसान अपनी खेती की पैदावार को नहीं बढ़ाना चाहता क्योंकि उसके तमाम परिवार की, बाल बच्चों के रोटी उमी पर निर्भर करती है। वह अपनी पैदावार को बढ़ाना चाहता है और मैं समझता हूँ कि योजना आयोग को पैदावार बढ़ाने की जितनी चिन्ता होगी उससे ज्यादा उस किसान को है जो कि गांव में हाथ में कुदाल लिए धूप और वर्षा में हल के पीछे खड़ा रहता है। लेकिन वह बेचारा करे तो क्या करे। आज उसके पास अण्डे बीज नहीं हैं, उसके पास रुपया नहीं है और जिसके कि कारण वह बैल नहीं खरीद सकता है और उसके पास सिचाई की माकूल व्यवस्था नहीं है। यह चीजें केवल जन सहयोग का नारा लगाने से ही नुहैया नहीं हो सकती है। सरकार को

इसके लिए एक प्रायोजित ङग से उस पर रुपया खर्च करना होगा। लेकिन योजना आयोग को एक वहम हो गया है। धनी मेरी एक बहिन ने कहा कि यह ठीक वैसे ही हो गया कि योजना आयोग को इस्पात चाहिए और उसको गेहूँ से कोई सरोकार नहीं है। आज देश में अनाज की बहुत कमी हो रही है और मैं तो दो महीने पहले बहुत घबरा रहा था जब अरिम्मी ऐशिया में युद्ध के बादल मंडलाने लगे थे और यह मालूम पड़ा था कि अब विश्व युद्ध होने को है तो मैं उस समय मोचने लग गया था कि आखिर इस देश का क्या हाल होगा लड़ाई के छिड़ने पर योजना ठप्प पड़ जानी थी और हो सकता है कि इस्पात के कारखाने उतने तेजी से नहीं चलते। यह तो देश के लिए बुरी बात होती लेकिन उतनी बुरी बात नहीं होत जितनी यह बात होती कि इस देश में लोग भूखों मरते, भूखमरी आती क्योंकि आज इस देश के ३६ करोड़ लोगों का पेट भरने के लिए मुल्क में अनाज पैदा नहीं होता है और अमरीका लड़ाई छिड़ने पर अनाज नहीं भेज सकेगा, और लड़ाई किसी भी समय छिड़ सकती है, अब वह आदमी पागल ही होगा जो कि यह ऐलान करे कि लड़ाई नहीं होगी। लड़ाई छेड़ना कोई नहीं चाहता और हम भी यह चाहते हैं कि लड़ाई न हो लेकिन प्रभाव्यबश अगर लड़ाई छिड़ ही जाती है तो मुझे आश्चर्य है कि इस देश में लाखों आदमी कैसे ही भूखे मरने लगेंगे जैसे कि सन् १९४३ में बंगाल में मरे थे। यह खेद का विषय है कि योजना आयोग को अब भी चेत नहीं आया है और उसे इसी बात का ध्यान लगा हुआ है कि हमारे देश को इस्पात चाहिए। हमारे देश को इस्पात चाहिए मैं भी इसको स्वीकार करता हूँ लेकिन उसके साथ ही साथ यह बहुत जरूरी है कि देश को खाद्य के सम्बन्ध में आत्मनिर्भर बनाया जाय। आज हमारे देश को गेहूँ चाहिये, चावल चाहिये और दूसरे दूसरे अनाज चाहिये, हमारे किसानों को अण्डे जानवर चाहिये, अण्डे बीज, खाद

और पानी चाहिये लेकिन योजना आयोग ने इसके सम्बन्ध में कोई उचित व्यवस्था और सक्रियता कदम नहीं उठाया है। इसलिए मेरा ख्याल है कि जब देश में इतनी गड़बड़ी और इतनी आवाजें उठ रही हैं और प्रधान मंत्री महोदय खुद उसकी गम्भीरता को मानते हैं, इसके बाद भी हम देखते हैं कि योजना आयोग द्वारा कृषि के लिए रकबे गये घन में कट किया गया है और सिंचाई के लिए रकबी गई रकम में भी वह कहता है कि काट लो और इस्पात के लिए रुपया बढ़ा दो। मैं समझता हूँ कि योजना आयोग का यह केवल वहम ही नहीं बल्कि पागलपन कहा जा सकता है। इसका एक सबूत इस बात से भी मिलता है कि योजना आयोग में जहाँ कोर आफ दी प्लान में सारी चीजें हैं वहाँ यह फ्रंटलाइजर्स कोर आफ दी प्लान में नहीं है, फ्रंटलाइजर्स कोर आफ दी प्लान में नहीं गिनी जाती। कृषि मंत्री महोदय ने राज्य सभा में रोकर कहा कि उन्हें इस देश में फ्रंटलाइजर्स मंगाने के लिए रुपया नहीं मिलता है। योजना आयोग उन्हें फ्रंटलाइजर्स नहीं मंगाने देगा और फ्रंटलाइजर्स के कारखाने जो कि निर्जी पूंजी वाले इस देश में चलाना भी चाहते हैं उनको वह नहीं चलाने देगा और इस के बाद यह कहना कि हम खेती की पैदावार बढ़ाने के लिए सब कुछ कर रहे हैं, देश के साथ एक गम्भीर मज्जाक करना है। मैं इस सम्बन्ध में अपने उन दोस्तों के साथ सहमत हूँ जो यह कहते हैं कि यह सरकार शहरी है। यह सरकार शहरपरस्त है और यह योजना आयोग भी शहरपरस्त है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : अमीरपरस्त है।

श्री म० प्र० मिश्र : शहर अमीर ही होते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान के ८० फीसदी लोग गांवों में रहते हैं और यह २० फीसदी लोग जो कि हिन्दुस्तान के शहरों में रहते हैं वे उन्हीं के बलबूते पर पलते हैं क्योंकि अगर वे पैदा न करते तो यह खायें क्या। लेकिन उनको

यह सरकार खुशहाल नहीं बनाना चाहती और उनको तमाम आवश्यक सुविधायें प्रदान कर अधिक उत्पादन के लिये प्रोत्साहन नहीं देना चाहती।

एक बात और मैं इस सम्बन्ध में बड़े जोर से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि सारा हाउस और यह पार्लियामेंट सरकार और योजना आयोग से कहे कि अभी भी समय है और वह इस चीज को बदल दे। चाहे कहीं से भी रुपया निकाले लेकिन उसको देश में खेतीबाड़ी पर अधिक खर्च करना चाहिये। और इसके साथ साथ एक आवाज है भूमि सुधार की। खेती के मंत्री ने राज्य सभा में जो यह कहा, कि या तो भूमि सुधार एक साल में कर दो या इस विचार को फिलहाल स्थगित कर दो, उससे मैं सहमत हूँ। आज देश में यह स्थिति हो गई है कि लोग देश में भूमि सुधार का नारा लगाते हैं और भूमि सुधार के मानी समझे जाते हैं सीलिंग। मैं सीलिंग के विरोध में नहीं हूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जमीन पर सीलिंग लगे क्योंकि अभी इस देश में हजारों नहीं तो सैकड़ों लोग ऐसे हैं जिनके पास हजारों बीघे जमीन है जिसका वह ठीक से इस्तेमाल नहीं करते। वे उसको दूसरों को उठा देते हैं। यह चीज बन्द होनी चाहिये। लेकिन सीलिंग लगाने के मानी यह भी नहीं होने चाहिये कि सिर्फ ५ बीघे पर सीलिंग लगा दी जाये जैसा कि कुछ लोग कहते हैं। इस बारे में मेरा अपना यह खयाल है कि मध्य वित्त के जो किसान हैं उनको बचा कर सीलिंग लगानी चाहिये। अगर उनकी कमर तोड़ दी गई तो इस देश की भी कमर टूट जायेगी इस बात को मैं बखूबी समझता हूँ। और भूमि सुधार का मतलब केवल यही नहीं है कि सीलिंग लगा दी जाये। उसके अन्तर्गत कंसालिडेशन आफ होल्डिंग्स भी आता है और भी बहुत सी चीजें आती हैं। और यह जो सीलिंग लगाने वाली बात है इसके बारे में मैंने अपने कुछ मित्रों से पूछा तो मैं गलूम हुआ कि राज्यों में पहले से ही

[श्री: म० प्र० मिश्र]

कायतकारी कानून है कि कोई भी जमींदार उस जमीन को नहीं रख सकता जिसका कि वह इस्तीफा न करता हो। तो अगर सरकार चाहे तो उस कानून के प्रधीन ऐसे जमींदारों से उनकी जमीन छीन सकती है। इस प्रकार बिना शोरगुल के भूमि सुधार हो जायेगा। लेकिन हमारी सरकार यह नहीं करना चाहती। सरकार भी नारेबाजी में विश्वास करती है। पर इससे देश का नुकसान होता है।

दूसरी तरफ हमारे विनोबा जी का भ्रान्दोलन है जो कि यह कहते हैं कि सर्व भूमि गोपाल की। मैं उस भ्रान्दोलन का समर्थक हूँ। मैं भी चाहता हूँ कि लोगों का दृश्य परिवर्तन द्वारा व्यवस्था बदली जा सके और सब लोग जमीन की मिल्कियत छोड़ कर साथ मिल कर काम करें। विनोबा जी तन्त्र मुक्त समाज की स्थापना चाहते हैं और मैं उनकी सफलता चाहता हूँ। लेकिन आजकल जो सरकार की नीति है उससे तो देश में असन्तोष फैल रहा है। आजकल वातावरण ऐसा है कि गांव में जिस किसान के पास दस बीघा भी जमीन है वह इस घबराहट में है कि मेरी जमीन रहेगी या नहीं। और जब घबराहट में है तो वह उस जमीन पर मेहनत कैसे करेगा? उस जमीन का विकास कैसे करेगा? और इस हालत में खेती की उपज नहीं बढ़ सकती। इस लिये मैं कृषि मंत्री के इस सुझाव का बड़ा समर्थक हूँ कि जो भी भूमि सुधार करना ही वह एक साल के भन्दर कर डाँलिये और जनता से कह दीजिये कि हम ऐसा करना चाहते हैं। हम देखते हैं कि हर तरह की भाषाओं उठती रहती हैं। कोई कहता है कि हम कोभापरेटिव खेती करेंगे। लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ कि कोभापरेटिव खेती होने की नहीं। न कहीं धुंरु हुई है और जहाँ हुई है वहाँ अच्छा नतीजा नहीं आया है। किसानों को दिन रात यह डर सता रहा है कि उनकी जमीन रहेगी या नहीं। कोई लोग कहते हैं कि

कलेक्टिव खेती होनी चाहिये। लेकिन सरकार की यह राय नहीं है। मैं जानता हूँ कि सरकार कोभापरेटिव खेती भी नहीं करेगी। और जहाँ तक कलेक्टिव खेती का सवाल है उसके लिये तो अगर घाना होगा तो दूसरे ही लोग आवेंगे। लेकिन इन भाषाओं से देश का वातावरण बिगड़ता जाता है और किसान घबराहट में हैं कि जमीन किसकी है और इस घबराहट की वजह से वह जमीन पर मेहनत नहीं करता और इसी कारण देश की खेती की पैदावार नहीं बढ़ रही है।

मैं आपका ज्यादा समय न लेते हुये एक प्रश्न की तरफ आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि वह देश के विकास से बड़ा सम्बन्ध रखता है। मेरे खयाल से सरकार और योजना आयोग इस और ठीक से ध्यान नहीं दे रहे हैं। यह प्रश्न आबादी का है। जिस रपतार से देश की आबादी बढ़ रही है अगर उसी गति से बढ़ती रही तो चारों सरकार कुछ भी प्रयत्न करे यह देश सुखी नहीं हो सकता। अगर इसी रपतार से आबादी बढ़ती रही तो तीस चालीस साल में इस देश में अकाल और महामारी पैदा हो जायेगी और देश उजड़ जायेगा और बरबाद हो जायेगा। लेकिन सरकार में और योजना आयोग में अभी भी ऐसे लोग हैं जो कि इसको नहीं मानते गो कि सरकार ने इस बारे में फंसला कर लिया है। योजना आयोग इस पर कुछ रुपये खर्च कर देता है लेकिन इस और विशेष ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता। हमारे कैबिनेट के मिनिस्टर श्री कृष्ण मेनन साहब इस चीज का मजाक करते हैं। वह कहते हैं कि यह आबादी को रोकने का प्रयत्न ऐसा है जैसे कि थर्ड क्लास के मुसाफिरो का दूसरे मुसाफिरो को अपने डिब्बे में न आने देने का प्रयत्न। तो वह इस प्रकार से कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर हो कर इस चीज का मजाक करते हैं। एक हमारे मुरारजी भाई हैं। मैं रोख

नैतिकता के नाम पर इसके खिलाफ बोलते हैं। उनको इस चीज से उच्च है कि कृषिम परिवार नियोजन नहीं होना चाहिये। लेकिन यह गलत चीज है। योजना आयोग ने कृषिम परिवार नियोजन की पद्धति को स्वीकार किया है और सरकार भी उसको चलाती है। तो फिर एक कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर के लिये यह कहना ठीक नहीं कि यह पद्धति नहीं अपनाती चाहिये। इससे बुद्धि भेद पैदा होता है। आज इस देश के अन्दर इस चीज का बड़ा महत्व है कि परिवार नियोजन किया जाये। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि न इस तरफ सरकार ज्यादा चिन्ता करती है और न योजना आयोग इस पर उचित ध्यान देता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार, योजना आयोग और सारे देश का ध्यान इस ओर जाना चाहिये। इस देश में इस चीज के खिलाफ कोई रुकावट नहीं है। यहां पर कोई कॅथोलिक चर्च नहीं है जो कि इसका विरोध कर रहा हो। लोग इसको चलाना चाहते हैं लेकिन सरकार उपयुक्त कदम नहीं उठाती।

आखिर में मैं एक बात अपने इलाके के बारे में भी कहना चाहता हूँ। योजना आयोग का यह सिद्धान्त है कि जो पिछड़े हुये इलाके हैं उनको भी बढ़ावा दिया जाये ताकि ऐसा न हो कि जो इलाके पहले से उन्नत हैं वे ही और उन्नत हो जायें और जो पिछड़े इलाके हैं वे पिछड़े ही रह जायें। हमारे यहां उत्तर बिहार में दो करोड़ से ज्यादा लोग रहते हैं लेकिन वहां पर कोई उद्योग नहीं है। बिहार सरकार वहां पर ५ करोड़ रुपये लगा कर एक बिजली का कारखाना खोलना चाहती है। भारत सरकार को इसमें एक रुपया भी नहीं देना है। केवल इस कारखाने के लिये दो करोड़ का फ़ारिन एक्सचेंज चाहिये। लेकिन भारत सरकार इसको देने में धानाकानी कर रही है। उत्तर बिहार का इलाका बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ है। यहां पर दो करोड़ से ज्यादा आबादी

है, कोई उद्योग यहां नहीं है। एक वर्ग मील जमीन पर कहीं कहीं १२०० आबूमी बसते हैं। और सारे उत्तर बिहार में ८००० किलोवाट की बिजली है और यह भी ऐसी बिजली है जो कि ६ वर्ष में खत्म हो जायेगी। यहां पर दिल्ली में अशोक होटल है। मुझे मालूम हुआ है कि उसकी बिजली खर्च करने की कंपासिटी ४००० किलोवाट है। उसके मुकाबले में उत्तर बिहार में जहां दो करोड़ से ज्यादा आबादी है केवल ८००० किलोवाट बिजली है जो कि ६ वर्ष में खत्म हो जायेगी। लेकिन वहां के लिये सरकार रुपया नहीं देगी। पर साथ ही यह कहा जाता है कि हम पिछड़े इलाकों का विकास चाहते हैं। तो मैं निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि उत्तर बिहार को थरमल पावर के कारखाने के लिये न्याय के नाम पर, इन्साफ के नाम पर और वहां के दो करोड़ लोगों के नाम पर फ़ारिन एक्सचेंज की सुविधा मिलनी चाहिये।

The Minister of Home Affairs (Pandit G. B. Pant): The memorandum of the Planning Commission contains a lucid statement on the Appraisal and Prospects of the present Five Year Plan. Nandaji, in his opening address, has given an elaborate and detailed elucidation of the salient features of the Plan. Many speeches have been delivered since and, according to the usual customs, a number of amendments have also been moved. It is impossible for me, nor do I propose to do so, to deal with the many aspects of planning or even a few of the points that have been raised here.

I am glad to find that in spite of considerable diversity of opinion regarding other matters, there is unanimity on one basic point. All have accepted the principle of planned economy. Everyone who has spoken has testified to the efficiency of this method. I am referring to that as human memory is sometimes short and we

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forget that only a few years ago the very idea of planning seemed to repel not only a considerable section of the population but also some eminent economists. Today all, luckily, stand converted to the cult of planning. Those who used to scoff have been converted and they have joined the fold of the faithful.

That raises the question: if there were so many non-believers in the past and if there has been such a change now, is it due to the failure of the Planning Commission or to its success? Because, I would personally imagine that if there has been a change in the climate, and if planning has today become a part of our national thinking and acting, it is because of the success achieved by the Planning Commission. If the Planning Commission had failed, then the idea of planning would have been abandoned and condemned even by those who had stood for it in the past. So, I also recall to my mind that not only has the concept of planning been rehabilitated, but also the results of the First Five Year Plan, which is the only plan which was carried out by the Government, with the support of the Congress, and by the Planning Commission, were more than satisfactory. The targets were exceeded not only so far as the physical performance was concerned but also so far as national dividend, national income and other things which matter, are concerned. In the circumstances, I do not quite understand why some of the hon. Members should have made unkind, if not unfair, remarks about the Commission. We are not even half way through, so far as the present Plan is concerned, and we are seeing things taking shape and projects producing something. The other day my hon. friend, the Minister for Steel, Mines and Fuel informed the House that the Rourkela scheme had almost begun to yield some sort of results. Similarly, other two plants are also likely to give us a considerable quantity of iron

by the end of this year or during the next year and perhaps steel thereafter. I will not refer to the other projects.

So, I do not see why there should be any despondency. Why should the Commission be supposed to have failed in its tasks? Then we have also to remember that our Plan was never intended to be a rigid plan; no plan can be rigid. It was intended to be a flexible Plan, for five years. We had also a vast vista before us for perspective planning and along with this we had our yearly plans, as we knew that in human affairs, specially in a compass as large as ours, and in affairs which concern millions nothing that is designed even with the utmost of care can be regarded as final. So, our Plan was flexible; the Government may have erred. The Planning Commission too may have done so. But we share our errors with other members of this House. No subject has been discussed so fully, so threadbare and so frequently as that of planning.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Discussion alone will not do. Implementation is due.

Pandit G. B. Pant: I sometimes find it difficult to catch the words coming from the other side. But I am not very particular about them, because I hope by the end one may feel that he had got the answers to all the questions that he has in mind.

I was just saying that if there were errors then we all have to share, the credit as well as discredit for the Plan. We have all accepted our Plan as being a national plan. All parties in this House have accepted the Plan as being not a plan for which the credit should go to the Congress party but a plan which has been sponsored by them all.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: No, no.

Pandit G. B. Pant: That is one single voice that speaks like that. That shows how solitary that voice is and how singular it is.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: You were solitary in 1928 perhaps.

Pandit G. B. Pant: Well, we are talking of today, not of the dark ages.

I was just saying that whatever we have done, we have done with the utmost care, with the assistance and co-operation of this House, and have always exposed ourselves to any operations that might have been considered necessary. What has emerged after all that, if it is a beautiful image, then we all take credit for it.

16 hrs.

If there is something in it still, some foibles or some defects, then we all have to combine together to remove them. But let us not blame the Planning Commission for all that. They have not sprung a surprise on us. We have had the opportunity of studying, examining, formulating, rejecting and accepting things. In the circumstances, the responsibility has to be shared by all of us and I am happy to share that responsibility because I feel that we have succeeded more than any other people have succeeded in similar circumstances through planning in economy. So, I am glad to be a partner in this undertaking.

As I said, all sections of thought are unanimous so far as the concept of planning is concerned. Still, I am afraid that the approach is not perhaps identical. Prof. Hiren Mukerjee spoke with his usual eloquence, which was, I am afraid, a little tinged with a vein of superciliousness. He said in a way, "Oh; only the totalitarian methods can succeed. Your Plan, as it is, has this drawback." I must say that that is the real merit of our Plan that it has to be worked with the voluntary co-operation of the people. It aims not only at feeding the beast but on developing the man who lives not by bread alone but looks forward to something higher and nobler (*Hear, hear*).

So, this Plan has its merit. It does not have any recourse to regimentation. It does not impose any embargoes. Of course, all plans are so designed to dovetail all things. We have to see that the needs are kept in view, that the priorities are properly availed of and that the resources are well utilised.

After all, what is the object of a plan? It is to extract the maximum benefit out of our limited resources. That is the main objective which a plan places before itself and how difficult is the task of the planner will be clear from the plethora of amendments that have been given notice of, to this motion. Someone laid emphasis on social services, someone on agriculture, someone on power, some on industrialisation, some on consolidation, some on consumption and so on. So, if each one of them had his own way, there would be more of maladjustment and more imbalance in the country. How to co-ordinate and adjust all these rival claims is a difficult job and it falls to the lot of the Planning Commission to do so. The Planning Commission cannot satisfy all as there are so many rival claims. Then one of them may think that he alone should have whole of the loaf. But that is not possible. I say that even if the whole of the loaf is given to one, it would not serve the purpose we have in view. The loaf has to be so distributed that we may be able to supply more loaf and at the same time not keep the animals hungry to deprive them of their fodder or other people of their needs. Planning has to keep all these aspects in view and when there are so many demands to be fulfilled, I should not be surprised if many people feel that they did not have all that they wanted and consequently they do not feel as enthusiastic as they would otherwise be. If one were to succumb to such demands, the Plan would go to pieces because its very merit lies in adjusting all these demands and in bringing them together in such a way that you

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have an integrated whole. On the one hand, you satisfy the needs of the day and on the other hand you keep in view the requirements of the morrow. It is easy for any planner to say, "Eat away the seeds today and have the feast." But the result would be that thereafter everybody would have to starve and when the next season comes there will be no seed available. So, planning does impose a curb on consumption. Planning does call for regulation. It does call for a certain degree of control. But that is something entirely different from totalitarianism.

If one were to ask me, "Would you have totalitarianism or fascism or democracy?" I would certainly fall for the last and not accept the former two under any conditions or under any circumstances, because if human liberty is lost, then nothing is saved. If that is saved, then everything else is attainable. It may come today, it may come tomorrow or it may come the day after.

Raja Mahendra Pratap: On a point of order, Sir.

Pandit G. B. Pant: We will have our chat later.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: What is that?

Raja Mahendra Pratap: The point of order is that we should build men. You are planning and planning.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: This is rather a point of disorder.

राजा महेंद्र प्रताप : मैं ब्रज से आता हूँ इन्द्रप्रस्थ के दरबार में। मेरी बात नहीं सुनी जाती है। पांच हजार साल पहले भी एक ब्रजवासी यहाँ आया था। उसकी भी बात नहीं सुनी गई थी, तो महाभारत हुआ था।

Pandit G. B. Pant: I entirely agree with him. Our method of approach takes the whole man into account

and not a part of him. There lies the merit of our method. We want to develop our resources whether in money, whether in men, whether in minerals, whether in other raw materials whether in skill and in such a way that the spirit within the man blossoms and is not throttled. So, that is our approach and that approach when you try to produce not things but human elements in its perfection or near-perfection, howsoever far the day of achievement may be,—you cannot hope for it in a day, in a year or even in five or ten years, it must take time—then you have....

Shri Ranga (Tenali): It has taken two generations. Now the third generation is going on.

Pandit G. B. Pant: There are some other ways of doing it which would not take much time. It will serve half of the people. The income goes up. It doubles because only the half have to enjoy. Then, if that is not sufficient, you may compel everyone to work for 12 hours or 16 hours as it may suit you. Those ways, we do not like. We have forsaken them.

So, I was saying that our method is a democratic one and we want to achieve what we desire only through co-operation and not through imposition. If that is so, we must then examine what we have achieved and I think we will find that we have done better than many others.

Sometimes some people say that the Plan is too ambitious. Some do not use the word 'too' but say it is only ambitious. I am prepared to accept either. The Plan is ambitious. We would be untrue to ourselves if the Plan were not ambitious. What is the condition of our country? We have millions of people who have not one full meal a day. We are confronted with colossal poverty, illiteracy, ill-health, mal-nutrition, low efficiency and so on. How are we going to get rid of these ills? How are we going

to get over them? The Plan is meant for this purpose. It is like a man who is weak, whose health is poor and who aspires to be healthy, sound and robust. How is that man to advance? He has to place before himself a high aim.

Similarly, in our country, where we have millions in this condition, we do want to go further. We do want to go as further as rapidly as we can. How can this be done? When efficiency is very low, per capita income is low, the remedy lies in production and more of production. If that is so, you have to produce so much as to be able to save something for further production. You cannot produce except through investment and through the proper utilisation of what you have saved. You have to follow a certain policy till you create the climate in which economy works spontaneously by itself. You have to induce, you have to coax, you have to adopt so many ways. A stage may come when it will take off by itself. Till then you have to work for it and you have somehow to reach that stage and that day. For that, it is necessary that you must have an ambitious plan. An ambitious plan at a time when you are in a weak condition, ceases to be ambitious when you become strong. Because, then, the strength creates momentum and there is nothing to worry about. When you are weak, your plan has to be ambitious. When you are climbing up the summit of a mountain, the higher you go, the greater will be the difficulty. Of course it is easy to slip down.

My hon. friend Shri M. R. Masani talked of consolidation the other day. Of course, we want to consolidate our gains. But, if consolidation means, as I am afraid he perhaps meant, more of consumption, more production of goods for consumption and less capital goods and machine tools, etc., then, I am afraid, he is cutting at the root of progress. Because, if we consume away what we have produced and concentrate on producing more of con-

sumer goods, then, the way to further production is blocked and we cannot advance further. He also said a word, I think, which did not quite encourage industrialisation. He, I think, has been inhaling the smoky air of factories from his childhood and the din and noise have, I think, caused him immense disturbance. When you become too familiar with a thing, it becomes contemptible for you. But still I think he thrives in the atmosphere of industry, big industry and heavy industry. If so, I would ask him to be more tender towards that cause.

So far as we are concerned, what does industrialisation mean? Let us be clear about it. We stand for agriculture. Some people talk of the core of the Plan and all that. I say agriculture is the core and the base of our economy. We cannot do without agriculture.

Shri M. R. Masani: That is why you have cut into it?

Pandit G. B. Pant: Quite right. At least there is one thing in which we agree.

So, agriculture is the real base of our economy, as I said, and we have to produce more of food, more of raw materials not only for our sustenance, but also for the sustenance of our economy. Even for foreign exchange, we have to depend on our agriculture. Whether it be tea, whether it be coffee, whether it be jute, whether it be cotton, whether it be oil-seeds, whatever it be, you can earn even your foreign exchange through agricultural products.

Shri Ranga: We are earning now.

Pandit G. B. Pant: Why, life in the country depends on agriculture alone to a large extent. So, maximum, supreme importance should be attached to agriculture. But is there any

[Pandit G. B. Pant]

rivalry between agriculture and industry? Is industrialisation against agricultural advancement? Really, ultimately the progress of the country will lie in the diversion of people from agriculture to industry. It has been so in all other countries, and ultimately unemployment will be get rid of by a proper blending of the two.

Even for agriculture, can you do without industry? Even for a plough share you want a piece of iron, even for a piece of wood, you want a saw. So, you want iron. If you have no industry, are you going to import it every day? So, it becomes necessary to produce iron for the agriculturist; otherwise, he cannot carry on with his agriculture. He wants more of tractors. Can you have them without iron and without more of machines and more of plants in the country? You want more of fertilisers, fertiliser factories, Can you have them without industry? So, there is no sort of rivalry between the two. The two have, however, to be dovetailed in such a manner that the result is beneficial to both, and as I said, agriculture is the base.

So, industrialisation is essential for agriculture, for giving people an opportunity of taking to other jobs, and relieving the pressure on land, and also for supplying the plants for meeting the needs of the agricultural people. I must say that in our country, while doing all we can for the development of big and heavy industries, we have, however, also to bear in mind that, considering the unemployment that prevails in the country, the under-employment that we have, it is necessary to develop small-scale, cottage and village industries on as large a scale as we possibly can, because immediately, even if we establish big and heavy industries, we cannot provide employment for large numbers. By small-scale and other industries we can do so. Now when imports are restricted and our handicrafts and

other things have a considerable market outside, I think it is just the time when small-scale industries can grow in the country without being handicapped in their race with other factory goods. So, that has to be done.

Then, we must remember that in this matter, we have a task, the magnitude of which must be fully appreciated. We have a very low income today. The speaker who had his say just before me mentioned that population was increasing. As you know, it increases by 1 to 1.5 per cent every year. So, in order to maintain the present standard of living, you must be able to raise your national production by at least 1 to 1.5 per cent; otherwise, it will fall back; new mouths will have to be fed, and every other man's share will come down. So, you have to provide for the new mouths that are as yet to come, in order to maintain the present level which is a level of impoverishment and a level which is intolerable. But if you want to get over that, you have to produce more than what is necessary for these new mouths, and also you have to save something so that you may produce more.

The object of planned economy is not only to produce things but also to augment production and thereby to augment the resources, and through the increased resources, to produce more. That is how the circle goes on every day widening and encompassing more within its grasp, so that ultimately everybody comes to a stage when he has more than what he strictly needs for himself. So, all these things have to be done in a methodical way, and in a scientific way, and that is what we are doing.

We have received aid from other countries. We are grateful to them. We have every reason to be thankful. The world is one today. All distance is being eliminated, and in fact, in the field of economy, this unity has been achieved even before other new

devices had been discovered for eliminating distance and other things. Man has entered into outer space. So, everyone has, when we believe in co-existence and in a co-operative world, to give to the other part of the good things that he possesses, so that all people may come nearer to each other, and there may be no gulf separating one from the other, and each may find satisfaction in having done his part—I would not say duty—well by others.

So, in this one world, as Wendell Wilkie once said, it is desirable that all should co-operate, and all should render to others whatever they can so that this sense of unity might grow, and the human family may become one indivisible unit, and so that man may rise higher. For that, one has to help others. But, ultimately the strength of a country lies in its internal economy. Its economy must be sound. Then, there should be stability. Stability is the first factor. Stability is the base of economic progress. There should be stable government, there should be law and order, and there should be a conviction that those who invest will be able to get the benefit of their investment, and that there will be no coercion. That is the first condition.

The second condition is that people must have courage and faith in themselves. It is not only the monetary aspect of it. The world is made by those who have lived for it and who have died for it. So it requires courage, conviction and faith in oneself and in the future of the country to rebuild it. So our people have to determine and to make a firm resolution that the economy of the country will be placed on a sound footing so that there may be no vast disparity, so that there may be no social inequalities, so that all men may be in a position to live a happy life untrammelled and unhampered by the lack of things which are essential for living.

So we need that faith and courage, and for that we must create a proper

atmosphere, not always condemn those people who are engaged in constructive activities, but do whatever little we can to hearten them. So that is essential if we are to go ahead.

My submission would be that there is no reason for despondency. There has been considerable recovery even in the course of the last few months. The money market, which was tight some days ago, is now in a flourishing condition. We can develop industries. We can get large loans, and I do not think that Rs. 4,800 crores or Rs. 4,500 crores is the limit of our aspirations. We will go ahead according to circumstances. If other countries come to our help, we may even go further. But if for the future progress of the country, it becomes necessary to restrict the scope of our activities today, we will do that. We have done that. As I said, we had never an inflexible, rigid Plan. A Plan like this has to succeed. That is the only limitation under which we function—nothing else. That success has to be achieved and—one other condition—through right means, because we attach as much of importance to means as to ends. I do not think there is any reason why we should feel in any way depressed.

I will just bring to the notice of hon. Members a quotation from the report of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Referring to the aims and the achievements of the country and its potential for further economic growth, it states:

"The record is impressive. To have held together a multi-lingual federal State with a population of nearly 400 million, to have raised output at a sustained rate of 2-3 per cent. a year and possibly more with little price inflation, to have built up almost from scratch the foundations of a modern industry and to have done all this by democratic means is an achievement for which there is no parallel in history."

Shri Braj Raj Singh: By sending people to jail!

Shri Khadilkar: We have just listened to an exposition of the Plan in general given by the hon. Home Minister. I do not think there will be much quarrel over the general propositions he placed before the House. But I am afraid we are supposed to discuss the reappraisal of the Plan which is made just within four months of the first memorandum presented in May last. And when we examine the reappraisal, the question arises whether the process by which we are supposed to plan the machinery, the implementation part of it has proved effective, or whether it discloses failures which must be corrected here and now. Just now we have listened that we are pinning down our faith into democratic methods. I for one would naturally support it but ultimately in a backward under-developed country like ours, the method will be judged from the fact as to what effect it has produced during the last two years on different fronts. Here is a book, "The New India", a very fine study presented for the benefit of the foreigners and on page 24 it is stated very rightly that the crucial test of democracy is whether in an under-developed country it can achieve a rate of investment and economic progress comparable to totalitarian nations. India believes that democracy can meet this test. But does the record of the last two years prove this? I am glad that we are very bravely facing the world with this very eminent group study, the first of its kind presented by the Planning Commission.

Capital formation is the main thing in an under-developed country. How to achieve it with the democratic means is exercising the minds of the world thinkers. Recently, I have come across a book, a very good study, not by a communist but by a Jewish Professor—Mr. Bonne, a Professor at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He has reviewed the position in the Middle-East or West Asia, India and South-East Asia.

Again and again he reiterates his faith in democratic method and says that brushing aside the old theory that there should not be implanted technique from outside. He has brushed aside that old theory for under-developed countries. I will just quote a small passage from that study. He says that there is to be some driving force even in democratic method to achieve some results. Ultimately he says:

"Since development in under-developed countries is not a self-induced process generated from within it needs a strong hand to guide and protect it, a function, which at least for a transitional period will have to be performed by the authorities."

I would like to ask the Planning Commission and the Government: have they exercised this pressure to fulfil the targets or the programme that they had laid before the country? Have they brought in all the people in the vortex of the Plan and created a certain amount of enthusiasm and a will to sacrifice in the people? What do we find? There is a good deal of apathy, and scepticism all round. Is it a success of the Plan? I would like to ask the Planning Minister.

The fundamental issue that this House will have to consider after the second reappraisal that is placed before us is how far the planning machinery has succeeded or failed. How far has it functioned properly regarding the priorities, external trade and internal economic development? These are the issues which could not be easily shelved by sermonising about planning and how beneficent it is. It is no good.

Let us take the people into confidence. I am very happy that in the second revision they have come out very frankly as to what are their achievements and where we are lagging behind. One issue has been shelved in "The New India", a study presented by the the Planning Com-

mission; it has been so time and again and that is the political issue. Every time attempt is to shelve the political issue. That is where the party in power has failed. For instance, we are considering agriculture. What have you done regarding agriculture? When there is a food crisis you invite all people to come together in order to find out a way to avert it. But, so far as agricultural legislation and Government action to implement it is concerned, where do you stand? What is your record? You have a record of utter failures. You have created anarchy in the field of agriculture. You have disturbed the old relations and you have not established a new secure foundation for production which would be guaranteed up to a certain limit. That security is lacking. How can you show results? This is your record.

But, before going into the different fields, I would like to point out what Dr. Gadgil, an eminent economist, had to say about the Planning Commission, because Planning Commission in our country occupies a very crucial position. A few months back, while delivering an address at the Laski Institute, he has made certain pertinent observations. I will not quote at length, but I would like to quote only a small passage from this very thought provoking address. He has said:

"Examination of events since 1955 shows that barring the theoretic formulation, the Planning Commission has failed in almost every respect. It failed to put together detailed and meaningful plans after due technical and other examinations; it did not produce objective criteria relating to composition of programmes allocations, etc.; it failed to produce Annual Plans with appropriate breakdowns and failed to watch the progress of the Plan even in its broadest elements; it failed to give advice insistently on

right policies being followed and at times even participated in the adoption of wrong and inappropriate ones."

This is a judgment of one who played a prominent part in preparing the Plan-Frame, one of the well known economists. I do not want just to suggest, as he has suggested, that we should keep the machinery apart, make it just an advisory body, and let the Prime Minister or some other Ministers sitting there quit their posts. Perhaps, it might be a better arrangement, but there is a fear so far as India is concerned, at the present moment the Commission would be dominated by such elements which represent reaction.

Everybody in this House will admit that our Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, is the father of planning in this country. That would be endorsed by everyone. This machinery which is now reorganised is composed of four Ministers.

We recently faced a foreign exchange crisis. Today it is likely to be averted; there are good prospects of it. But what has the Planning Commission been doing? What has it done to integrate regulating the foreign trade in the Plan! This scheme of quarterly licensing, import and export, has created a field of patronage, a privileged community of traders in the country, to the detriment of ordinary consumers as well as small producers. Has the Commission taken note of it? Here, some people have expressed gratitude for the aid that we are getting. I am also equally grateful to those countries who have given us the aid, but let us examine realistically what it means. I would appeal to my hon. friend Shri M. R. Masani to examine it very carefully before expressing an opinion.

[Shri Khadilkar]

Sir, there is a report by the United Nations in which it has been pointed out that in the sixty years, between 1873 and 1937, the primary commodities lost nearly 40 per cent. of their value in terms of manufacture. That means the terms of trade given by the capitalist world from which we are getting aid are most unfavourable. As a result, what has happened? Recently, you must have read in the press that when Vice-President Mr. Nixon went to Latin America, he had to face trouble, because the terms of trade between America and Latin America were unfavourable.

I will just point out that.

“During two and a half years, from January, 1955, to June, 1957, there was an average increase of about eight per cent. in the prices of goods imported by E.C.A.F.F. region”—

that is, the South-East Asia region—

“and, according to a rough estimate, a drop of nearly 4 per cent. in the prices of primary commodities almost cancels out the entire benefit of the average foreign aid.” This is what *Times of India*, 14th June, has observed.

I would like to point out to our Planning Commission, when we are facing foreign exchange difficulties and making agreements for immediate delivery, time delivery with deferred payments, etc., what the terms of the trade are. Are we not mortgaging the hard-earned revenue of this country? For, in the “The New India” a study people are assured that every rupee must be accounted for because it comes from the poor. We are taxing people with a view that ultimately they will benefit. Have you looked into this aspect of the trade and devised some means? I would like to ask the Planning Commission to regulate trade in such a way that unfavourable terms so far as foreign trade is concerned are completely done away with.

I would also equally say to those nations generously helping us and

passing judgments occasionally on our economic effort, whether it is not right and proper for them, when they are interested in developing this backward country by democratic means, to see that we get a sort of bargain, a just bargain, a term of trade, which is not so unfavourable as at present. This is absolutely essential, and this is one part of the matter which I would like to bring to the notice of the Planning Commission.

Then there is another question. My hon. friend Shri M. R. Masani stated that we should consolidate the gains.

I am sorry he has left the chamber. But this process of consolidation for a backward economy begins when really a self-propelling force of development begins by accumulation. Unfortunately, one feels that, or doubts whether we are not building on foundations of sand a superstructure of industrial society when our agriculture, during the last eight years, has not properly been geared to sustain a planned effort and to create a surplus. Is it the failure of the peasants? Is it the failure of the ordinary man or of the Government and the Planning Commission? That is the question you will have to ask. It has been stated in this book that we will have to run in order to stand. I expected at least they will be walking. But on this front, they are just hanging still, holding back without doing anything. There is a lot of legislation, but no implementation.

Another important aspect is this. In an under-developed country as ours, fortunately for the ruling party, they have their Governments at the Centre and almost all the States except one for the last ten years. With this government machinery in hand, they have not achieved any appreciable results. Therefore, my suggestion is this. Instead of inviting opposition elements from different sections of opinion in times of emergency to tide it over, the Planning Commission should at least come forward with a definite proposal. As my hon. friend, Shri

Mathur, has rightly suggested, in this period of development, we cannot afford to have controversy, once the basic things are agreed upon.

We will fix the priorities, whether it is for steel, agriculture, irrigation, power or transport; we will decide about it, but once we decide about priorities, why not sit together and take counsel to see that every aspect of the Plan is implemented without criticism? That alone is likely to ensure progress. Therefore, without going into other aspects of the re-appraisal, I would suggest that the big cut of Rs. 135 crores that you have made in the social services—I am not talking from the humanitarian point of view, but from the economic point of view—is likely to create a certain amount of demoralisation in the countryside. Though they were getting some results in the beginning, by this big cut in the allocation for social services, I am afraid you are likely not to encourage the people to co-operate, but to create a further deepening sense of apathy

Shri Kamal Singh (Buxar): Sir, I rise to support the substitute motion moved by my hon. friend, Mr. Masani. There has been dissatisfaction expressed by every hon. Member from all sides of the House on the working of the Plan in the discussion that we have had during the last two days on the appraisal of the Plan, excepting the lone voice of the hon. Home Minister which seems a solitary voice crying in the wilderness. It was an ideological picture painted to us. I would like to submit that the matter before us is not about the fabric of the Plan. The question is its implementation. The success of any plan depends on its implementation. The Hon'ble Home Minister had nothing to say on this point.

In the discussion that we have had here in the past two days, there has been a repetition of previous discussions which we have had, ever since the foreign exchange crisis started 2 years ago. I would like to ask, what

have we achieved as a result of these discussions. Conditions have deteriorated since then and at the moment we have come to a crisis. The Planning Minister rather helplessly and, if I may say so, innocently admits the non-fulfilment of targets, non-utilisation of resources, serious wastage of manpower and wastage of expenditure. The time has now come when a serious, drastic and determined step has to be taken to ensure that at least there is some co-ordination between planning and expenditure. I personally feel that in this way we cannot proceed further, specially since the people having fulfilled their part of the obligation by paying the ever-increasing taxes, the Government fails to provide the corresponding benefits which were promised. Let the Planning Commission be scrapped along with their jumble of theories, labyrinth of figures and statistics. Let the Government devise some other means, but let there be an end to the confusion that is existing today. Let us not spend a single naya Paisa until we can ensure that it is spent for what it is intended. I hope the hon. Minister will tell us what steps he intends to take so that we may not have a repetition of such discussions in the House and some tangible results could be achieved.

16-53 hrs.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA in the Chair]

The time has come when we must put an end to ideologies or confusion of conception and take such methods that might be practicable and have some bearing on the conditions that exist today that we could at least achieve some of the targets that the hon. Minister has stated as unfulfilled.

I would like to say something about the existing unutilized water resources. The Planning Commission has stated that the betterment levy when implemented would aggravate the utilisation of water resources. In this

[Shri Kamal Singh]

connection, I would like to know what exactly is meant by "water potential" or "water resources". In Bihar—I come from Bihar—several hundreds of tube wells have been sunk. Does it mean that "water potential" or "water resources" has been created? The question is whether that potential is available to the people.

It is not just enough to say that we have done this thing. Several hundreds of tube wells in north and south Bihar were sunk during the First Five Year Plan. Are the cultivators getting full benefit? They are not! Reasons are several. There is no proper arrangement for electric supply. Many tube-wells have not been energised. The D.V.C. is not able to supply enough electricity nor do the isolated diesel units at different places. There has been non-completion and large-scale disrepair to channels. It is also because of the system of rates as have been devised there. But the sum and substance is that the water resources, whatever was provided, have not been provided properly and the people cannot take full benefit of them under existing circumstances. Yet according to the Planning Commission, water potential has been created.

Then about the canals in south Bihar. In the Patna Division, the Sone Canal system's position is that nearly 50 per cent. of the command area at present does not receive proper irrigation. Water is not given in time nor in adequate quantities. There is a canal system. There are rates. The cultivators have got to pay those rates whether they get water or not. Those rates have been enhanced to double. Apart from that betterment levy is proposed to be levied. Is there any sense or justification? Yet the Planning Commission speaks of "unutilised resources" of the lack of enthusiasm in the cultivators.

Under these circumstances, I would like to ask what meaning the Planning Commission apply, how do they connote the meaning of 'potential' and 'water resources available'. In the

illustrations I gave canals are provided, tube wells are provided, but the cultivators do not get full benefit. I submit that there is a large difference between what we hear and see on paper and what actually is the condition in the country at large. I only gave the example of Bihar because I come from Bihar and I can say something about it.

Having said about water resources, I would like to say something about the food shortage and the importance of food which the Government have now realised at last. It is felt rightly so that more attention should be given to step up agricultural production and that the cultivators should be given more incentives. This word 'incentive' has not appealed to me. I would like to know what more incentive or what other incentive the Government could give to the cultivators when even the basic amenities have not been provided. I come from the village and I find that even the primary and fundamental needs have not been provided.

The Community Project Administration has been functioning since the First Five Year Plan and a substantial amount has been spent in the villages. Where has all this money gone? I do not find any improvement in the condition of the cultivators. I first take communications in villages, which as we all know is the life artery of a village. The cultivator is expected to produce more. If they produce more, how are they going to take their crops and sell it in the market if communications are ill provided? In my district in Bihar—and my district happens to be slightly better off than other districts in Bihar where roads are concerned—I can say that, apart from three or four major roads, all the other roads are only seasonal, in a primitive state. For six months or more in a year, they are not serviceable. This is the condition of our village communications. There is also the dread of flood and erosion.

17 hrs.

The eastern districts of U.P., as we all know, are suffering annually from both. What have the Government done about it? Law and order is deteriorating and lawlessness is on the increase everywhere. Peasants are constantly harassed through a weak and inefficient State administration. Before we give any further incentive to the cultivators, let us at least ensure that primary needs are provided to them. Today, the cultivators in the villages are denied these needs. Local self-government is not functioning. Let us devise some way by which the functions that were performed by local self-government are performed adequately.

In the end, I would say, that the success of a plan depends on its implementation. Let us not confuse ourselves between ideology and implementation. Let us be clear in our ideology. Let us see that whatever we spend is fully utilised. If it is not fully utilised, if we have doubts, then the purpose is not served. The hon. Minister himself said that there is wastage of man-power and there can be sufficient economy all round. Let us be sure that whatever we spend, even one single naya Paisa which comes from the tax-payer is well spent. After all, we are taxing them to the full and they are paying all taxes. It is upon us to fulfil our obligations. If we have not fulfilled our obligations which we have admitted today, we have no right to say that we shall tax you further and that we intend going on with the Plan.

Mr. Chairman: Shri Thanu Pillai.

Raja Mahendra Pratap: May I say a few words? Then hon. Speaker told me . . .

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. I have called Shri Thanu Pillai.

Shri Thanu Pillai (Tirunelveli): Mr. Chairman, listening to the debate for two or three days, we were subjected 204 A L.S.D.—8.

to a frontal attack from the Mukerji-Mehta-Masani axis from different angles. In addition to that, there were volleys fired from here, of projected missiles by Shri Jaipal Singh and Shri Naushir Bharucha at the Udyog Bhavan where the Planning Commission sits. This is nothing new to us, nor unexpected.

Shri Nath Pal (Rajapur): Which is not new? The failure of the Planning Commission or the projectiles?

Shri Thanu Pillai: Your behaviour.

I was mentioning about their attacks which were unexpected.

Shri Nath Pal: We thought you expected.

Shri Thanu Pillai: About the Plan itself, I might say that the difficulties were not unexpected, they were expected. In the report it has been said that we will have to face difficulties, we may not be able to cover up all the gaps, we may not be able to find all the resources. Therefore, deliberately, seeing that the country is so bad and backward, and to catch up with the rest of the world, they planned in an ambitious way.

Shri Nath Pal: Why is he calling the country bad?

Mr. Chairman: Order, order.

Shri Thanu Pillai: Bad and backward in economy. His American accent I do not understand and he does not understand my Indian accent. What am I to do? We are suffering from American-Indian phonetic difficulties. Let him bear with me. They have been all the time saying things which they wanted. They want one-way traffic. They do not want to hear anything from here. Our Home Minister was good enough to point out that it is a national plan. It is a national credit or discredit when we win or lose. And what is the contribution of the other parties? They all talk about the Plan, but have they accepted the Plan? Do they in their

[Shri Thanu Pillai]

heart of hearts wish the Plan to succeed? And what is their contribution?

The parties who have subscribed to this Plan are represented in the consultative committees of the Food and Agricultural Ministry, Commerce and Industry Ministry and every Ministry including the Ministry of External Affairs.

Shri Nath Pai: That is why the Plan is succeeding partially at least because we are vigilantly watching it.

Shri Thanu Pillai: If they take credit for that, any discredit in the Plan is also their discredit because they have accepted and they have contributed to it.

Let us analyse from the point of view of the success or failure of the Plan and the contributions. The contribution of the Communist Party to the Plan is strike and violence, and that of the capitalists, Shri Masani's Forum of Free Enterprise, is criticism. (interruption).

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member may be allowed to proceed in his own way.

Shri Thanu Pillai: It is difficult for them to bear. It is one-way traffic again.

The Forum of Free Enterprise has been sending pamphlet after pamphlet. It is a non-political organisation they say, but all the politics is there.

17.07 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair.]

There is in the country some intellectual dishonesty. People who have not accepted the socialist pattern of society, who have not the courage to oppose it, say they have accepted it, and then try to upset and torpedo it from within. That is the difficulty today.

Shri M. C. Jais (Kaithal): This applies even to some of our Ministers.

Shri Thanu Pillai: May be, I have no knowledge. The hon. Member may have that knowledge, but what I say is that the climate of the country is such that many people who pay lip sympathy do not mean it.

What is it that our people want? The hon. Minister said that the people are non-cooperating. I submit that the people are co-operating. They have expressed their co-operation by electing us in the largest number to this Parliament. We placed the Plan before them, and they have accepted it and voted us. But the Government, I submit, has lost confidence in the people.

Shri Nath Pai: And the people are reciprocating the compliment, don't worry.

Shri Thanu Pillai: I will come to him.

What is wrong with the Government? We preach faith and fearlessness, but fear has possessed us. The moment there is a strike, the moment there is a threat and the leader in the opposite group bangs the table, there goes out the Pay Commission.

Then there is the food crisis. What is their contribution? Prices have gone up, but then what is the way to solve it. Raid the godowns? The godowns are meant to keep food-grains to distribute to the people.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: How many have been raided?

Shri Thanu Pillai: If anybody could have contributed some good suggestion for additional supplies for meeting the demands, I could have understood it. That was not it. The point was: raid the godowns. Why? Raid them so that the Government

may not be able to give even the half quantum which they are getting, and then come here and say starvation, death and all that. They are accustomed to that. It is like the story of the villain in a drama setting thieves against the heroine and then going on playing with the heroine saying: look here, I saved you. This is a good drama, that is, the political drama that is being enacted. (*Interruption*).

Mr. Speaker: Hon. Members have the right of speech here. That is the way to give pep to Members who are sleeping here!

Shri Thanu Pillai: When there was the great Bengal famine, millions of people died in the streets of Calcutta. "People's War" was their slogan then. You may argue that we were not free people, but when the freedom fighters were in jail, the very people who shout about food shortage in U.P. today shouted about "people's war" and not about the care of the people or the dead.

Shri Nath Pai: Triloki Singh was in jail as a patriot. The hon. Member should know better. His history is worse than his economics.

Shri Thanu Pillai: Truth is very hard. We are accustomed to speak plainly without any reservation or without any qualification. But what about the contribution of these people? All that they have contributed to the Plan is to come here and speak like this. If they had the courage to say that they will oppose the Plan and then go to the people, I could have admired their honesty and courage. For, they do not want the success of the Plan, because with the success of the Plan is linked the strength of this party and this Government. They want to torpedo that strength by obstructionist tactics. In their heart of hearts, they do not wish the Plan to succeed. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Speaker: It is open to the hon. Member to say what he feels.

Shri B. Das Gupta (Purulia): If it is a challenge, we accept the challenge. Let him go to the people and say that we oppose the Plan.

Mr. Speaker: Nobody needs get excited over this.

Shri Thanu Pillai: All the excitement was created from their side. I have not been creating any excitement. The excitement came from them. In their speeches the other day they were making all these attacks on Government; and we are here to explain the policy to the people. I have also got to explain from this forum that what they do is deliberate mischief.

Then, take the case of the private sector. My hon. friend was saying that the approach of the Government was bad, and said, 'Give it to the private sector. We shall do everything.' And my hon. friends pointed to the fact that the cost of construction of the three steel plants had gone up, and they also pointed to the food situation. Now, what does the private sector want? The merchants and industrialists, all belong to the private sector. The merchants want licence to import and export freely. They say that they will supply all the consumer goods, and they say, 'Give us licence. That is all. Be done with it. Scrap your State Trading Corporation, your controls, your Department and everything. We shall supply you all the goods.' But at what price? At whatever price they like. And what is the co-operation from them? There was scarcity; there was foreign exchange difficulty, and commodities were imported in lesser quantities. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Members on this side are not wedded to private enterprise. So why should they worry?

Shri Thanu Pillai: Two rupees worth of milk food is being sold at Rs. 12 and what is their argument for this? They say, 'We got hundred

[Shri Thanu Pillai]

tins before; now, we are getting only 20 tins; therefore, we must make the profit on hundred tins on these 20 tins.' Therefore, the prices go up. It is not that the import price has gone up. That is one part of what the private sector has done.

Coming to the industrialists, they want licence for all the machinery. They want loans worth crores to run their industry, but then they go about saying that this Government is totalitarian, it is acting in the totalitarian way and so on. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order: Let there be no running commentary.

Shri Thanu Pillai: Let them have it. It is their pleasure.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Members there are not affected, unless they want to say that they have gone to the right.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: They have gone to their own ranks.

Shri Thanu Pillai: Not satisfied with this, the industrialists always wish that our industries in the public sector must fail. Now, there are certain industries which we have in the public sector and also in the private sector. We have formulated the public sector group. The core of the Plan contains one such industry, namely, iron and steel. There is the private sector also in it. We have not liquidated it. On the other hand, we are assisting the private sector also. At the same time, we are having three steel plants in the public sector. And they say, 'The estimate was first Rs. 350 crores, but now it has gone up.' It has gone up. If you read the report you will find that the increase from Rs. 350 crores to Rs. 440 crores is consequential to an immediate improvement on the draft plan; further, the prices had gone up. Now additional things have been provided which were not included in

the original plan, such as townships for coal mines, iron ore mines, and limestone quarries.

Hence the present hon. friends criticise the Government. But let them accept the truth of it, and say both the credit part and the discredit part. Why should it be that all the discredit must be poured on us, and then the private sector must say, 'We have won everything'?

Now, I come to tax evasion. Is it the poor people of this country who are evaders of taxes? They say that gold is hoarded. But is it hoarded by the poor people? Sir, tax evasion is there. It is admitted. And they say, 'When you tax more, we shall evade.' And what do they do with the evaded money? They import smuggled gold and keep it and then come here and say, 'All your officers are corrupt, your Department is corrupt, your Government is inefficient' and so on. I would like to ask, who are the corrupt people? Is it the people who evade tax, is it the people who smuggle gold, is it the people who hoard gold or the poor officers?

Shri M. C. Jain: Who allows smuggling (*interruptions*).

Shri Thanu Pillai: After all, they are ordinary human beings who could not match with the smugglers. The officers are responsible for administration. But what is the contribution by the people who . . .

Mr. Speaker: There is a time-limit for speeches.

Shri Thanu Pillai: You have been pleased to give me time, but . . .

Mr. Speaker: At the fag end of the day, I will not be able to give more time. How long are hon. Members willing to sit?

An Hon. Member: As long as you are willing.

Mr. Speaker: It is not a question of my willingness alone. The hon. Minister says that he will take an hour. Even if he starts immediately, he will carry on till 6-15 p.m. If he starts at 5-30 p.m., he will continue till 6-30 p.m.

Shri Dasappa: May I make a very humble submission. We have made a number of useful and constructive suggestions and the full House would like to hear the hon. Minister. If you could kindly exercise your discretion, he can reply tomorrow at 12 noon. We would be very grateful to you for that.

Mr. Speaker: Even then, we will adjourn at 5-30. What is the advantage?

Shri Dasappa: He will reply at 12 noon tomorrow.

Shri Raghunath Singh: What is the fate of hon. Members who have moved amendments?

Mr. Speaker: Amendments will all be replied to by the hon. Minister.

Shri Raghunath Singh: Unless he hears what the movers of amendments say, how can he reply?

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): We have extended the time by 100 per cent or 150 per cent. There must be some limit.

Shri Nanda: I would be willing to speak now. But if some hon. Members prolong the debate and want to speak, I am in your hands.

Mr. Speaker: What is the good of saying 'I am in your hands'? I am willing to sit. If the hon. Minister is willing to reply now, I will call upon him.

The hon. Minister.

Shri Thanu Pillai rose—

Mr. Speaker: I will give one more minute to the hon. Member to conclude his speech. I have given him sufficient time.

Shri Thanu Pillai: Again we see accommodation of the people who hustle us into something. The Opposition staged the food agitation and wanted to show that they have won. Our Government have been good enough to invite them for a conference at a time when there was agitation going on and put the seal of success on it. We have been on the floor of the House today unholy alliances and quick divorces when the two people were quarrelling; they are uniting in U.P. and quarrelling in Kerala. They make these a matter of convenience for political purposes. Their object is not objective criticism of the Plan; their object is to misguide and mislead the country and thereby try to occupy these Government Benches some day or other.

Shri Assar: I have not got a chance.

Raja Mahendra Pratap: You had promised me time. I went for lunch and returned.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Minister.

Shri Nanda: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have listened with much care and attention to the many things that have been said in the course of this debate with regard to the Plan and its reappraisal. Before I take up for answer the various points which have been made in the course of the debate, I shall try to summarise the salient points and the main features of the discussion.

Several speakers had harsh things to say about changes in the estimates of costs of various projects and the responsibility of the Planning Commission. Some of them, notably Shri Asoka Mehta and Shri M. R. Masani, drew attention to the increases which had occurred on account of expenditure outside the Plan, which had reduced the resources available for the

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Plan. It was urged that there should be the utmost attention to economy in Government expenditure. An hon. Member expressed the fear that the recent arrangements for budgeting and financial control might lead to laxity and un-co-ordinated expenditure. Reference was made to resources which were not being fully tapped, for instance, on account of arrears in income-tax collections, smuggling of gold, and the failure to mobilise gold hoards. I would also mention Shri H. N. Mukerjee's criticism of the foreign aid which we are getting and the remittances which are being made on account of the private foreign investment. Several speakers expressed concern regarding the progress made in the utilisation of irrigation and the desirability of levying betterment fees. There were certain comments on industrial programmes and the progress made in achieving them. These related to cement, fertilizers and coal. Finally, I would refer to one or two suggestions which were thrown out by Shri Jaipal Singh.

I have necessarily to restrict myself to these major points. There were other criticisms and I do not say that they were not important. But I have to consider the limitations of time and restrict myself to matters which have a direct bearing on the Plan as a whole and which arise out of the reappraisal. So, I may not be able to do justice to the other points. The land reform and other policy matters such as fixation of ceilings, etc. were also brought up in the course of the discussion. They are no doubt very important but it will take me much more time than can be spared now to deal with them. They impinge on policy matters which are incorporated in the Plan and can be reopened on some other occasion.

I am glad that hon. Members spoke candidly and with great emphasis regarding the economic situation in the country and the various aspects of the Plan. Naturally, they directed their attention to the shortcomings

and deficiencies in the implementation of the Plan. This was perhaps due to the fact that they did not have before them the full appreciation of some of the aspects of the Plan on which they brought to bear their criticism; possibly, what they said was exaggerated—in particular what was said about the weaknesses relating to such aspects.

May I point out that if the reappraisal document and the other document which the hon. Members have in their hands were examined more carefully, they will find a good deal of positive achievement. Things are being done. Big things are being attempted which were not to be seen in past years. In the course of a few years, good progress has been made in vital directions; certain basic developments have taken place. There are all those schemes and the various development programmes. You will find that the country is on the march, which should hearten and encourage us and make us hopeful about the future. This balance-sheet has to be seen on both sides. I would, therefore, request the hon. Members to bear this in mind. One, of course, expects criticism and it is natural any deficiencies and failings should be brought out and attention focussed on them. But when the situation is viewed as a whole, we should not forget about the positive gains that have been made during this period. I admit that the situation is difficult. That is perfectly true. Various issues have arisen, some of which are of a crucial nature. I shall deal with the points which I have mentioned and, so far as I am concerned, if there are any errors or any lapses, I shall be prepared to acknowledge them frankly. But what I want to submit is that these issues relating to the economic situation in the country transcend any such lapses or errors. The things which have been pointed out are really not the basic things which account for a lack of progress

in a real sense, or which are relevant for speeding progress in a big way in this country. There are other matters,—the basic issues—to which we have to direct our attention.

Sir, what has happened is this. Our First Plan was a small Plan. On the whole it went through smoothly and it succeeded. But in the First Plan we did not actually have had to face the ordeal of development. Now, when we are halfway through the Second Plan which is really something worthwhile, we have to face the reality, certain crucial problems. This is the dilemma of development in an under-developed country. It is good that we are called upon to think of all these things, not only because they affect the course of the Second Five Year Plan, its success or otherwise, but, much more so, because they affect the whole future course of economic development in this country. Therefore, let us look into the facts and study their implications more closely. Let us put our heads together and try to find our way through the maze of the difficulties that have arisen. This alone will take us forward. That is the spirit, Sir, in which I want to approach the present situation. I would request hon. Members to approach the whole question of planning in this country in that spirit; because, as I said the other day, Members must remember that this is a Plan which had the blessings and support of all parties, and independent Members in this House.

Some hon. Members have expressed their concern about the rising price level. There is a heavy strain on the economy of the country which is reflected more prominently in the rise in the general price level. That is a matter for anxiety, of course, because I feel strongly, and I am sure the whole House agrees with me, that if there can be any danger to the success of the Plan or to the stability of the economy it will be runaway prices. We have to hold the price line. Measures are being taken to check the rise in prices, but the danger still persists.

What is the implication of this factor with reference to the Plan? The implication is that the levels of expenditure in relation to the Plan and outside the Plan have to be kept under restraint so that further inflationary pressures are not generated, resulting in shooting up of prices.

There is talk of raising the total Plan outlay by Rs. 150 crores although on a previous occasion, I tried to make it clear that this figure of Rs. 150 crores was only brought in to show that there are urgent and pressing demands, relating to certain essential programmes. If we had the means, these programmes would have secured a high priority; but until the resources position improves, we have to say 'no' to them. Therefore, let us forget about Rs. 150 crores, because I find that this figure is creating a certain amount of confusion. The Plan stands at the figure of Rs. 4,500 crores, and this additional outlay of Rs. 150 crores does not form part of the Plan. But even this Rs. 4,500 crores Plan cannot be taken for granted because there is a gap in the resources which has to be filled; more resources have to be secured, and I cannot say at this moment that they are assured. Discussions are going on at present with the State Governments and at the end of this series of discussions we could say with some confidence what precisely the position is going to be. Later the whole matter will be placed before the National Development Council and a decision will be taken. I hope it will be possible to fill the gap, but if, for any reasons, this gap remains, then I do not see that there is any sanctity about a particular figure. Of course, if we are not able to fill the gap, we will be very sorry. But, as I said, we can spend Rs. 4,500 crores only if we have acquired the necessary resources. We shall continue to make very determined efforts to achieve this because, as I pointed out earlier, the consequences of doing less are very serious. Government knows that arising from the failure are very grave risks. We know that if we fail to get Rs. 4,500 crores the smooth pro-

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gress of the projects which have already been undertaken will be adversely affected and other schemes might be delayed. One aspect with which I am deeply and personally concerned is the question of employment which has suffered already, and which will suffer more. Therefore, we would like to avoid cutting the Plan further, so far as is possible. But we will have to make great efforts to achieve our object.

Then there was the hon. Member, Shri H. N. Mukerjee; who made certain remarks. He talked of the threatened collapse of the Plan and the impact of such failure on the economy of the country. There were some other expressions also used such as "fight for survival", etc. I appreciate and realise that these expressions were used in order to express a sense of urgency. I admit that there should be a sense of urgency throughout the country to implement the Plan but my only fear was whether this might not create an erroneous or exaggerated impression and might not create a fright, because actually we see that basically the condition of the economy is sound. There is an inherent vitality in our national economy. Maybe that there is a kind of a functional disorder in the economy but we shall get rid of it, certainly. I am perfectly sure in my mind that we have one or two years of trouble, of difficulties ahead of us but the situation may be eased if we witness favourable agricultural seasons at least for a few years. I am quite sure that in the course of a few years, we are going to emerge stronger. We will have built up a strong base for the development of the economy. I am sure that when we look back at the things which are now causing us trouble, anxiety and worry, we shall be thankful for what we did and realise that we did not, out of any fear or any weakness, falter or slacken our efforts. It might be that a few schemes are delayed and a few more schemes might go over into the third Plan. This is what is known as elongating

the Plan. There was a talk of the Five Year Plan becoming a six-year or seven-year Plan. Even towards the end of the first year of the Second Five Year Plan, there was such a talk. It means only this: that some of those schemes and projects, in respect of them, it will be not a five-year Plan but a six-year or a seven-year Plan. But it is nothing such that we should be frightened about such a contingency. However, there is one important consideration that in case we are forced to slow down, we should do so in a co-ordinated fashion so that confusion and imbalance do not arise in the process.

I now come to the question of the role of the Planning Commission, because this aspect has been brought up repeatedly in the course of the debate and it is important that we should be clear about it. Just a few minutes ago, the question of implementation of the Plan was referred to by one hon. Member. It is natural to speak about the Planning Commission but it has been mentioned in the wrong context, that is in the context of implementation. So far as getting the blame for itself is concerned, I do not think the Planning Commission should resent it. As the hon. Home Minister pointed out, the first Five Year Plan succeeded very well, and everybody including the Planning Commission, the Government, the States and the people, contributed to its success. But there was one part of that success for which the Planning Commission did not deserve so much credit, and that was in regard to the easier position regarding food supplies. The principal credit for that should go to nature. Yet, the Planning Commission got the praise for it, which was not correct.

Now, we are beset with certain difficulties which have slowed down the progress of the Plan, difficulties for which nature is mainly responsible and others for which the international situation is responsible. The Planning Commission had no control over the

circumstances which gave rise to such difficulties. But there is a general tendency to link up anything that happens to the Plan with the Planning Commission. Let it be very clearly understood that the Planning Commission has a certain set of functions to perform. It has specific terms of reference. There is a misapprehension, which seems to be fairly widespread that the Planning Commission has the responsibility for the execution of the Plan schemes. This is not true. The Planning Commission no doubt makes an assessment of the resources, determines priorities, formulates the Plan and reports on its progress from time to time. But its functions are always advisory; never executive. The Planning Commission stands outside the field of execution. I do not disclaim responsibility for anything that goes wrong with the Plan or for any failure, because I stand here not only on behalf of the Planning Commission alone, but on behalf of the Government of India also. Therefore, if anything has gone wrong, we are responsible. But when we are discussing the Planning Commission, it is proper that this demarcation should be kept in view as to what the Planning Commission stands for and can bear responsibility.

There were two main suggestions as to what the Planning Commission should do. One was that since the Planning Commission has formulated the Plan or proposed the lines on which it should be re-appraised, it should extend its responsibilities to the extent of ensuring that policies recommended by it are properly implemented. This goes far beyond the legitimate functions of the Planning Commission. Ours is a federal Constitution and the powers of the Union and the States are clearly laid down. There are various governmental and other non-official agencies to execute the Plan. They must accept responsibility for those parts of the Plan which concern them. The Planning Commission does not possess the necessary machinery for the execution of the Plan. However, it does keep

a watch and makes an assessment and recommendations on important matters from time to time. But that is all that it can do.

There is also another suggestion made by some members about the revision of cost estimates in the case of several projects. It was suggested that the Planning Commission itself should see to it that the cost estimates are kept within proper bounds and do not increase beyond a point. Here also I would request the House to appreciate that it is not practicable for the Planning Commission to equip itself with a large body of technical experts. The main technical experts must be in the Central Ministries and the States. The Planning Commission has a relatively small staff. It has made some arrangements for technical scrutiny of irrigation and power projects. But for various schemes in the field of industry, mineral development and transport, the Planning Commission depends on the technical personnel of the Ministries and the arrangements which the Ministries themselves make for further technical examination. Even the Ministries are not self-sufficient in this respect and often have to rely on their consultants, who, in a number of cases, come from abroad. There are various limitations. The experts give a certain estimate and then, later on, the estimates are revised for various reasons. Maybe that after a fuller examination certain other material and facts are revealed which necessitate a revision. In many cases the upward revision in costs has been due to an increase in prices of machinery and equipment, especially those imported from outside which has occurred during the past two or three years.

I would not like to take the time of the House in giving all those details regarding the various cost estimates, the origin of their rises in case of all projects. But I would certainly refer to one matter. One hon. Member mentioned—I think it was Shri Asoka Mehta—that the cost estimates in the private sector had risen less propor-

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tionately to those in the public sector. This is in connection with steel plants. But perhaps the hon. Member does not remember that the relative difference is due to the fact that the units in the private sector do not have direct responsibility for housing of the workers and for various other things. In the case of the steel plants, townships had to be built and other things had to be done, which do not figure generally in the estimates of projects in the private sector. Therefore, these facts have to be borne in mind when we compare the estimates of different schemes in the private sector and the public sector. Then, we know that normally close scrutiny is exercised in the case of the public sector and the whole material is placed before us. On the other hand we do not have the necessary information about the private sector. So, really we are not able to say what exactly is happening there.

The Planning Commission is deeply concerned about the rising cost estimates, because it upsets the Plan. Therefore, they are taking very great care, to the extent possible to exercise some kind of control or check. But, as I said before, it is not always a matter of control because the rise in prices that has occurred within the country and outside has contributed largely to the increase in estimates. Apart from this fact, in the case of steel plants shown in the Second Five Year Plan, we did not have the full figures and there was an underestimation which was known, which was mentioned in the Plan itself.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: But not such a high underestimation.

Shri Nanda: It was a rough estimate and it was not the Planning Commission which changed the figure. The estimates were revised by the consultants themselves who were experts.

About the magnitude of the Plan itself and the estimates under various

heads, well, when we formulated the Plan, that was done with the help of the material available at that time and reflects the best judgment in the circumstances. But the conditions change. Although Shri Hiren Mukerjee does not like me to say that one is a regimented economy and the other is a free economy and I do not want to use that terminology, even in the former case, it is well known that plans have to be extended and suspended. A number of things have to be done there also although the conditions in a free economy are far more difficult from that point of view. Therefore, the fact is that because of certain special conditions, exceptional and extraordinary factors—the estimates have to be revised and the course of the Plan gets deflected to a minor extent. It is not something which can be considered to be altogether exceptional for this country.

It is in the same background that the question of utilisation of irrigation water and the betterment levy should be considered. This question has been raised by several hon. Members, i.e., the failure to utilise irrigation facilities. Since the beginning of this year the Planning Commission has been trying to evaluate the progress in the utilisation of irrigation facilities in every State. Our advisers have visited nine States. State Governments have set up machinery for ensuring that there is the least possible delay in carrying water to the point where cultivators can dig field channels and irrigate their fields. In the past it took many years before irrigation from a project was fully utilised. About ten years was considered to be a normal period during which irrigation facilities might be brought to a point of optimum utilisation. In these days with the heavy investment which projects entail and the urgent requirements of agricultural production, we are under an obligation to hasten the utilisation of water. This requires detailed and careful administrative action. Regarding the

urgency for the utilisation of irrigation facilities, which was not fully realised before in most of the States I can say with a certain amount of satisfaction. That recently there has been some progress. Steps are being taken. For example, in the Mayurakshi Project, in 1957-58 90 per cent of the available potential was utilised. In DVC area also, the extent of utilisation of the available potential rose to 80 per cent.

Some hon. Members felt concerned about the proposal to levy betterment fees on lands for which irrigation is provided. They thought that that might impede the utilisation of irrigation. No betterment fee is, as a rule, charged for the first two years and thereafter recovery is in easy instalments spread over a period of 10 to 15 years. There is no objection to the States making such adjustments or offering such concessions as may be required to increase the incentive to utilise water for an initial period. The Planning Commission has also urged that concessional water rates should be allowed in the early years. A number of States have already provided for this.

Now I would come to that part of the criticism and the content of the debate here which is really the kernel. It is the waste which might have occurred in utilising resources which should have been available for the Plan, but which actually did not become available for the Plan, i.e., the resources which the Parliament sanctioned and approved of on the understanding that they were going to be channeled into the Plan but actually went elsewhere and therefore the Plan is in difficulties. I explained in my speech and it is there in the documents also how this thing has occurred. It was also explained as to where that money had gone and that whether it was misappropriation or theft or money going down the drain or not will have to be decided after looking more closely into the kind of things on which this money was expended. I am not going to justify all this redirection of expen-

diture. There may be something which could possibly have been saved for the Plan. But, by and large it will be seen that the objects on which this money was spent were almost unavoidable. Non-plan expenditures have risen to the extent of Rs. 511 crores. Of this increase in non-plan expenditure, the Centre accounts for Rs. 287 crores and the States Rs. 224 crores. Non-plan expenditures are partly of a non-developmental character and partly of a developmental character. The increase of non-plan expenditure at the Centre is explained mainly by two items: defence expenditure to the extent of Rs. 225 crores over the Plan period and increase in the salaries of low paid Government employees to the extent of Rs. 20 crores. Against the balance of about Rs. 42 crores, there are several items, such as, food subsidies, increases on account of the strengthening of machinery for tax collection, and interest payments on foreign loans etc. This is the position regarding this excess under non-plan expenditure at the Centre.

In the States, expenditure on maintaining the various developmental services built up during the First Plan stood at Rs. 261 crores in 1956-57. The provision rose by Rs. 52 crores in the revised estimates of 1957-58 and by a further Rs. 23 crores in the budget estimates for the current year. These increases are accounted for largely by the higher requirements on account of committed expenditure for developmental services than the estimates the Planning Commission had from the States in 1955 before the formulation of the Second Plan. Besides these, there were also a limited number of projects which certain States were implementing outside the Plan. These, however, have been brought progressively into the State plans within the existing ceilings. What is the position? There are two kinds of expenditure. First, new scheme which might very well have gone into the Plan itself, but which were not included in the Plan. The process of planning and development is a living

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process. The States find that in the circumstances in certain areas, some other things have to be done. They do those things, which, as I said, might very well have found a place in the Plan itself. This is really an extension of the Plan. What we are doing is that we are substituting certain schemes in place of some others. This is a case of rather fitting them in. This is really plan expenditure in a way. In course of time, as health services, education services and other developmental activities increase in volume, their maintenance has to be provided for. The States initially did not possibly make full provision for this. It seems they rectified the mistake very quickly. When they went to the Finance Commission, they gave some figures indicating that the expenditure on these developmental services was going to be more than had been shown in the Plan. You may say, they should have been more accurate about it and more careful. But, it is not money going anywhere. It is money spent for maintaining the schools and hospitals which must be done in any case. What is the use of creating these facilities and not maintaining them fully?

On the non-developmental side, there has been an increase of expenditure in the States of about Rs. 60 crores during the first three years. Of this Rs. 36 crores are due to interest charges and appropriations for reduction or avoidance of debt and Rs. 22 crores for General Administration, Administration of Justice, Jails and Police. This also includes increase in the salaries of low paid employees. I am repeating it because this was the essence of the criticisms. This would show to the world that we have not wasted our resources, that money which should have gone into the Plan has not disappeared somewhere, and therefore the Plan is not being starved. On the whole, it would be fair to say that the bulk of the provisions which the States have had to make during the past three

years for increase in developmental and non-developmental expenditure were more or less justified, but there is, of course, room for economies as I have said before.

There was another point which was raised by some hon. Members, about unfunded debt and miscellaneous capital receipts. Shri Morarka specially pointed this out and asked: how does this loss of Rs. 150 crores or so occur? This unfunded debt and miscellaneous capital receipts are an extremely complex residual item in the estimation of resources. They reflect, for instance, receipts on account of provident funds, allowances for repayment on account of various loans, disbursements under state trading, loans to foreign countries, unforeseen increases in loans to cultivators on account of drought or floods, arrears in the recovery of loans and advances, increases in developmental expenditure on capital account and finally, shortfalls in receipts from betterment levies for which the Plan had taken credit. I shall not go into further details of these items but the break-up shows that this figure is accounted for very properly under various items.

The main conclusion which I wish to submit to the House from the analysis that I have given is this. As we look back we find that the effort which a Plan of this magnitude implies is rather larger than was estimated three years ago. At that time we could not have taken account of the burdens of defence expenditure which in the interests of national security we have since had to accept. There were other additional commitments which both the Centre and the State Governments found unavoidable. A large country with obligations to its own people and faced with new demands from year to year has to go on steadily increasing its effort at raising resources. If it fails to do so at a rate that is adequate, its development is bound to suffer. The resources that it can provide for its projects and for various services which have to be built up

will be wholly insufficient. It is this realisation above all which has compelled the Planning Commission to present the reappraisal of the Plan with all its difficulties before the country.

17.58 hrs.

[SHRI JAIPAL SINGH in the Chair]

I therefore venture to suggest that during the next two years a determined effort to augment the internal resources will be significant not merely for the success of this Plan but also for the shape of the next Plan.

In connection with internal resources, there are certain kindred questions which have arisen—for instance, how we could conserve our resources through greater economy. A number of speakers referred to waste in Government expenditure and emphasized that elimination of such waste was the first and foremost way to obtain additional resources. The Central Government are already pursuing this policy. Government fully share with the House its anxiety for economy in our public expenditure. A number of steps have been taken in this direction.

The Central Economy Board set up by the Cabinet has completed a rapid review of the expenditure of all Ministries. Every Ministry has an internal economy committee charged with the duty of ensuring economy in its expenditure. Wherever a new activity is proposed or a new organisation established, before the staff is sanctioned, the proposals are examined by the Organisation and Methods Division.

Since the past year, the special re-organisation unit of the Finance Ministry has undertaken detailed work studies in as many as 21 different departments or sections in the Government of India. In each case it has proceeded in a scientific way to evolve suitable standards for measuring work, and has, in fact, largely succeeded in

preventing substantial additions to the existing establishments. The House is also aware of the work of the Committee on Plan Projects under the National Development Council which is presided over by the Minister of Home Affairs. This committee has set up special teams to undertake studies of projects with a view to economy and efficiency. The team for the Selected Buildings Projects is working out ways of reducing construction costs. With the help of specialised panels, it has already studied different types of buildings such as grain godowns, multi-storeyed office buildings, residential buildings, factory buildings and slum clearance. In relation to Government industrial and mining undertakings, the staff of the Committee on Plan Projects is now engaged in reviewing the existing purchase policies and inventory control methods, practices relating to plant maintenance and replacement and scheduling of production. Their studies will suggest ways of achieving economy both in plan and in non-plan expenditure. Economies in construction are a promising direction; as I mentioned the other day, the Planning Commission is following up various proposals for achieving them.

18 hrs.

In the same series of suggestions, there were points of criticism about our internal resources. There is the question of income-tax arrears, for instance. Shri H. N. Mukerjee said that it was amazing that income-tax arrears were rising from year to year, and yet we talked of lack of resources. The picture which Shri H. N. Mukerjee presented was not quite correct. At the end of March, 1958, the total arrears of income-tax amounted to Rs. 287 crores; of this, about Rs. 53 crores had not yet fallen due for collection. The recoverable amount was Rs. 114 crores. Against this, recovery certificates issued to collectors for the recovery of dues as arrears of land revenue were for Rs. 93 crores. Normal

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recovery action is being taken in respect of the balance. A number of measures have been taken to speed up recoveries. In 14 important centres, there are special revenue officers employed exclusively for income-tax collection work, for whom the Central Government pays. The recovery of income-tax arrears has been handicapped in a number of cases on account of writ petitions before High Courts, which have been followed by prohibitory orders. The problem of recovery of arrears is constantly before Government, and every effort is being made to secure the fullest co-operation of the States.

Shri Tangamani (Madurai): Even then, the amount is considerable.

Shri Nanda: Yes, there will be some amount outstanding at any given time, but the amount is being reduced gradually, and steps are being taken to this end.

Now, I shall come to some other aspects of the matters which came up in discussion. There is the question regarding gold smuggling and gold hoards. Shri Asoka Mehta and Shri H. N. Mukerjee both referred to smuggling of gold and the possibilities of mobilising gold stocks available within the country. These suggestions are receiving Government's close consideration. A number of measures are being taken to prevent the smuggling of gold. These are based on an organised and effective intelligence system, co-ordinated customs effort, and adequate security and other arrangements along the border, and continuous and surprise checks. I need not say much about this subject, except to assure the House that the smuggling of gold is an evil which the Government will fight with every means in their power.

Neither Shri H. N. Mukerjee nor Shri Asoka Mehta had any definite suggestions about how the gold stocks in the country were to be mobilised

for economic development. Let us understand the nature of the problem. The crux of it is that in India, there are gold holdings of the value of Rs. 1,750 crores largely held in the form of jewellery and trinkets by way of personal possessions of women. As against the international price of Rs. 62.50 per tola, the domestic price is Rs. 105 per tola. If the international price is offered, the gold will not be sold to the Government. Even if the International Monetary Fund could agree, Government could hardly be a party to pay a price for gold which is not in line with the official price. If gold bonds are offered or if a promise is given to return gold for gold, those who have invested their savings in gold will be benefited at the expense of those who have invested in Government securities and small savings. In France, gold bonds were issued some time ago, but as against an estimated amount of £3,000 million, the total quantity for which the bonds were eventually issued was quite small, only about Rs. 87 crores worth.

There are certain aspects of this problem which Government and the Reserve Bank are considering, to which I need not refer at this moment. The important point is that our people have to be educated not to put their money into gold, and the general economic conditions have to be such that those who invest in small savings, in Government securities and in the shares of industrial and other enterprises, should feel sure that the value of their investments will be maintained. These are the lines along which I suggest that the question of mobilising gold stocks can be best considered.

This is about internal resources. There is the other large question of foreign resources. Here also there is a big charge levelled against the administration that the balance of payments deficit has exceeded the figure estimated in the Plan by such a heavy figure. There is also the

implication that there has been some serious mismanagement. Before I give the general picture in a few words, I would like to deal first with one special aspect of this question which Shri H. N. Mukerjee raised. He referred to the outstanding foreign exchange commitments an account of the private sector which were mentioned at Rs. 400 crores in the Planning Commission's Paper on the Fall in Foreign Exchange Resources. The outstanding commitments in regard to foreign exchange for the private sector stood at Rs. 400 crores on the 30th September 1957 and had come down to Rs. 300 crores by 1st April 1958. Of the latter, Rs. 170 crores were represented by licences issued for the import of capital goods and other equipment. The Ministry of Commerce and Industry have a good deal of knowledge now about these outstanding commitments as they have made special efforts to collect this information from the parties concerned.

In this connection, I should like to refer briefly to a question which has been in the minds of some hon. Members, namely, whether imports during the last two or three years had an undue proportion of consumer goods. The greater part of our imports on commercial account are intended for the maintenance of the economy, that is, for the import of raw materials and components. It is an extraordinarily difficult matter to estimate the precise quantities of the very large number of commodities which are needed in order to maintain industrial production. This is not something which at any time can be planned in too much detail, and to a large extent one has to take the judgment of those engaged in different activities. As the economy develops, the maintenance requirements also become larger and more complex. Thus in an average year the maintenance of the economy requires around Rs. 400 crores of imports per year. This is quite the largest item under which foreign exchange is used. There are certain

difficulties of classification in determining the break-up of imports into consumer goods, producer goods and capital goods and the statistical data on these are not quite complete. On such information, however, as has been collected, there is no doubt that the imports of consumer goods which were fairly high in 1954-55 have been brought down to very small magnitudes. Correspondingly, within the limits of exchange available, almost all the emphasis has been on the imports of capital goods and producer goods.

I mentioned the fact that hon. Members have felt very great concern about this position of external resources. I mentioned the position regarding the private sector and explained how there has been a great emphasis on reducing the imports of consumer goods. But the overall position also is not so bad as possibly some hon. Members have taken it to be. I am giving a break-up of the excess over the Rs. 1,100 crores which has occurred in the balance of payments deficit. This is accounted for mainly by increase in food imports etc. Then there is increase in the foreign exchange cost of the Plan projects and other factors, such as increase in freights etc. For instance, steel accounts for Rs. 90 crores; steel projects, Rs. 73 crores and other industrial projects in the public sector, Rs. 27 crores and the private sector industrial projects Rs. 120 crores. This largely covers that deficit.

I mentioned the position regarding the consumer goods. It cannot be denied that at a certain stage the position regarding the foreign exchange resources was not well in hand. They were not managed properly as they should have been. So, a certain amount of leakage has occurred. A certain amount of consumer goods were imported which, today we think, were in excess of the real needs, in the context of greater needs in other directions. This cannot be denied.

[Shri Nanda]

Shri H. N. Mukerjee had something to say about foreign aid and I should explain the facts to this House. He said that the terms of foreign aid indicated a character which was not particularly wholesome; interest paid was exorbitant. American aid meant that we were compelled to buy an enormous amount of farm surpluses; a large proportion of whatever aid came from America was allocated to the private sector. The public sector which was already very small was almost going to abdicate if the conditions on which foreign aid is made available are to be maintained.

I shall give the facts. The terms of assistance received from the U.S. and from other sources are considered carefully by the Government before acceptance. A number of American loans are to be paid in fifteen years. The World Bank loans are to be repaid in twenty years. For all loans under PL 480 the period of return is forty years. In countries with private enterprise economy, like the U.S.A., U.K., West Germany, the lending rate of interest is closely related to the rate at which money can be borrowed. This is a completely different situation from a country like the Soviet Union which does not have a capital market. Soviet loans carry a lower rate of interest, 2½ per cent and are repayable in twelve years. So far as the terms of loans obtained from the U.S.A. and other western countries are concerned, considering their circumstances, the terms should be regarded as reasonable. Except for the loan from the Export-Import Bank, all the other U.S. credits are repaid in rupees which is undoubtedly a great advantage. Most of the credits obtained from the U.S. and the bulk of the proceeds of aid under PL 480 are devoted to projects in the public sector. Under PL 480, up to March 1958, India received assistance amounting to over Rs. 171 crores. The supplies of foodgrains and other commodities were of great value to us. There could be no question of

farm surplus being thrust upon us. The resources which are earmarked for the private sector pertain to projects which form part of our Five Year Plan and have been approved by Parliament.

Our approach to the expansion of the public sector has been set out fully in the Industrial Policy Statement of April, 1956 and Government adhere to this policy and are pursuing and steadily extending it. Foreign aid, American aid and assistance given by the World Bank do not involve any whittling down of Government's declared policy and intentions. I would remind this House that the problem of foreign exchange for India's economic development is of a long term character. While we have to do all that we can to earn foreign exchange from our own resources, for a considerable period we shall need external assistance and use it in carrying out our plans. It is of great importance that we should appreciate the efforts of those countries and institutions which assist us in our development and that we do not unnecessarily and wrongly criticise the terms of assistance where these are intrinsically reasonable and are accepted by us after the most careful consideration.

There was another point of criticism made by Shri Mukerjee. It was with regard to the remittances on account of private foreign investment. It was urged by him that the private foreign investment stood at Rs. 288 crores in June 1948 and rose to Rs. 420 crores in December 1953 and to Rs. 481 crores in December 1955. This, according to him, was a dangerous tendency, especially when we were not in a position to control it and to control the remittances of extra profits. It is a question of some importance that we should be clear in our minds about the place of foreign investment in our current development plans. The House will remember that in the estimates of resources for the Second Plan, credit was taken for private investment from abroad

to the extent of Rs. 100 crores. The policy statement which was made by the Prime Minister in April, 1949, welcomed foreign capital. This view was maintained in the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956. If the private sector has a place in our scheme of development, then, Sir, private foreign investment has also a legitimate part to play.

There are many lines of industrial development in which the participation of foreign capital can be of great advantage. In principle, therefore, we should welcome private investment from abroad on fair terms for purposes which fit into our assessment of needs and our plans. The figures mentioned by Shri Mukerjee are more or less correct, but there are three things which he did not mention. Firstly, the increases from one date to another include increase due to book adjustments, for instances, those arising from the re-valuation of assets in the case of old companies. If we allow for this factor and for one or two other elements, private foreign investment increased only by Rs. 35 crores between December, 1953 and December, 1955. The second point to which Shri Mukerjee did not refer was that the greater part of the amount of Rs. 35 crores was accounted for by oil refineries. The third point with which he might not have been acquainted was that during the past few years remittances from India on account of foreign investment have been more or less stable, being on an average of Rs. 29 crores. Good care is taken to see that private foreign investment comes in the projects which are significant for the growth and development of the economy. Taking all factors into account, there is no doubt that such investments as we have had from abroad have been of benefit in our development. These are, Sir, certain aspects of foreign exchange in our external resources which were brought up during the course of the discussion.

Shrimati Benu Chakravartty: May I know whether the hon. Minister
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would be prepared to lay on the Table the report of the World Bank, because that particular report has been reported in all the Press including the capitalist Press, whereas the Members of Parliament have not yet had an opportunity of knowing what is there in that report?

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: It is in the library.

Shri Nanda: Sir, I note the suggestion that the hon. Member has made.

Sir, I have dealt with the question of resources, both internal and external, in relation to the Plan. That was the major cause of the dissatisfaction and discontent which was expressed in this House regarding the Plan, its progress and its reappraisal.

Some comments were made about the structure of the Plan, regarding the various programmes. Comments were made in the course of the debate regarding certain industrial programmes, targets fixed for them and steps taken to fulfil them. Shri Somani suggested that the target of cement capacity which was mentioned in the Plan at 16 million tons should be reduced. Originally, the Planning Commission had envisaged a capacity target for cement of 12 million tons. The target was raised on the assessment of the Ministry concerned. In the Memorandum which the Planning Commission prepared in May 1958 it was indicated that in terms of schemes already in progress, the capacity likely to be achieved was 9.3 million tons and that with assistance from the U.S. Economic Development Fund, the capacity might increase to 11 million tons. Attention was drawn to two problems, namely, the quantity which the Railways could move and the amount of coal required for the cement industry. The Planning Commission's conclusion was that in view of the shortage of steel and the slackening of construction activity, the off-take of cement had slowed down and production of the order of 10 to 11 million tons should be more or

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less sufficient to meet the requirements at the end of the present Plan. That is to say, the Planning Commission has already taken action on the lines suggested by Shri Somani.

A number of hon. Members who spoke during the debate were concerned over the fact that the fertiliser production programme had not been given a place in the core of the Plan. There was no question at any time about the importance of this programme. When the list of core projects was made up for the first time, a little over a year ago, it was confined to projects which were already in progress for which foreign exchange allotments were unavoidable. This is the main reason for not having included any of the fertiliser schemes among the core projects. Looking back, I think, it would have been wiser and there would have been a distinct advantage in making the fertiliser plants an exception to this general rule.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): It is imported now?

Shri Nanda: I think the fertiliser import and the fertiliser manufacture should have the first claim on any new resources that come in.

Shri D. C. Sharma: Act upon the suggestion now.

Shri Nanda: As I said, I personally feel that when there is an enlargement of these resources, they should go first of all into these things. The second Plan envisaged an expansion in the capacity for nitrogenous fertilisers from 85,000 tons to 3,82,000 tons. This was to be achieved through the expansion of capacity at Sindri, at Neiveli and at Nangal. The actual production expected to be achieved by 1960-61 was 290,000 tons. The expansion of the Sindri fertiliser factory is expected to be completed during the current year. For the Nangal plant, orders have been placed for almost all the equipment needed and

production is expected to commence by 1960. The tenders for the Rourkela plant have been received and are at present under examination, but this scheme may not materialise until towards the end of the second Plan. For the Neiveli plant, tenders have been invited, but the plant is not expected to be in production before 1961. The fertiliser schemes in the private sector are being implemented. On present estimates, the total production of nitrogenous fertilisers by the end of the Plan period may be of the order of 190,000 tons to 200,000 tons of nitrogen, compared to the production target, I mentioned earlier, of 2,90,000 tons. It has been recently decided to increase the capacity of the Rourkela fertiliser plant from 80,000 tons to 115,000 tons. The Planning Commission is at present examining a proposal for establishing a fertiliser plant at Trombay with an annual capacity of about 110,000 tons.

I am mentioning these figures so that the House may appreciate that while progress regarding fertiliser production is not such as we should have wished, this programme is receiving the utmost attention and is regarded as a programme of urgent national importance. In the meantime, there is no doubt that there is a growing demand for fertilisers which we cannot meet fully because of foreign exchange difficulties.

18.23 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Imports of fertilisers which stood at 52,000 tons in 1955 and at 55,000 tons in 1956 in terms of nitrogenous fertilisers, were increased last year, in 1957, to one-lakh tons. In spite of the limited amounts of foreign exchange available during the current year, the amounts allotted, provided for the import of about 80,000 tons of fertilisers in terms of nitrogen. Along with the programme for the import and production of chemical fertilisers, the Planning Commission attaches the

greatest possible importance to the development of local manurial resources, especially organic manures and green manures. Without this programme, which is a programme for every village throughout the country, chemical fertilisers can do but limited good.

During the debate, reference was also made to the coal production programme. Our assessment in the Appraisal Memorandum was that as against the target of 60 million tons of total output, we might reach 56 to 57 million tons. On schemes at present approved, the public sector might contribute about 8.5 million tons of additional production and the private sector about 10 million tons. I should add, however, that the authorities concerned expect to be able to do somewhat better than these figures indicate. But this is in connection with the structure of the Plan. This was one of the things which came up for consideration and called for an answer.

There is another aspect of it also, and that is the question of agriculture, whether we have given sufficient importance to agriculture or not. I agree with hon. Members who regard agriculture as the first priority. I also accord in my mind, and the Planning Commission has also accorded the first priority to agriculture. At the same time, there is very high priority accorded to industry. The two, as the hon. Home Minister pointed out, are not in conflict, because the kind of effort that is needed for developing agriculture is of a very different sort. There what matters is not so much the amount of money that you allocate but the kind of organisation that is set up, the arrangements that are made the enthusiasm that can be generated and the assistance that is given to the farmers by way of supplies, credit, etc. These are things which do not necessarily figure in the figures of outlays.

It is also not true that we have reduced the outlay on agriculture. I have got before me the figures. I do

not want to go much into figures, although in a country which has a planned economy people will have to get used to figures. The figures show that the target of agricultural production has been increased in the re-appraisal; this was done also in the case of minor irrigation.

There was stress laid on the fact that there is some kind of a bias in the minds of Government and of the Planning Commission in favour of the urban areas as against rural areas. I concede that a great deal more has to be done for rural areas than has been done, but a close study of the Plan will show that there is no such bias in favour of urban areas as against rural areas. The situation is being misjudged. On a superficial reading of the provisions and allocations in the Plan, and from the large amounts allocated for industry, transport, etc., it is being construed that all this expenditure is meant for urban areas. That is not true, because Bhilai Plant, Rourkela Plant and the development that follows in the wake of the steel projects are not urbanisation; they do not constitute urban development. These are developments which have their impact on the whole economy and concern very intimately the progress of the rural areas also.

Regarding the policy of letting ideology to come in the way of production, mention was made of coal. No ideology is worth anything if it does not also help us to increase production. As I mentioned earlier, we are fully convinced that what we have undertaken to do in the matter of the public sector is not only necessary, but it is going to strengthen our hands greatly in future both for raising resources for the Plan and also for the proper direction and control of the whole process of planned development in this country. Can we eat steel or not? Whether we should have more of unable values, etc., is a question of opinion. Some people think that we have not made enough provision for industries of various kinds, and there has to be a

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proper balance. We believe that this much needed balance is going to be maintained. There cannot be limitless scope for increase in consumption and in directions which will cut into the savings that will go into development.

There are one or two matters which Mr. Jaipal Singh raised. Although they may appear to be isolated matters, in my opinion they are very important. First comes the question of eviction of villagers in the Rourkela steel plant area. I have had to deal with the question of rehabilitation of villagers who have been displaced in the irrigation projects and I know the troubles and difficulties of the persons who have to quit the places where they have established themselves for generations. Therefore, the greatest sympathy must be shown and every consideration and help should be given to them. In this case I understand that for the Rourkela steel plant, a total area of 32 square miles has been acquired. This involves 32 villages containing about 2,400 families. The Villagers are to be resettled in new resettlement colonies. The Central Government have agreed to various concessions, including compensation for their lands, the total financial liability being more than Rs. 51 lakhs. The Orissa Government are entirely responsible for the settlement of the displaced villagers, and I am arranging to obtain a detailed report from them regarding the progress which has been made. I shall invite their special attention to what Shri Jaipal Singh has said.

Another matter is technical education in industrial areas. Shri Jaipal Singh made a useful suggestion that in the area around Rourkela where the heavy machinery plant is to be established special measures should be taken to give education a technical bias so that the local people are better able to take advantage of the developments in this area. We welcome the suggestion and we shall try to follow it up. The House would be interested to know that some action

in this direction has already been taken. The Institute of Technology at Ranchi and the Bihar Institute of Technology at Sindhri are being expanded under the present programme. An engineering college has already started functioning at Bhilai. A Polytechnic is proposed to be established at Asansol, close to Durgapur area. Mining schools will be established in all mining areas. I agree that steps along these lines are essential for the training of skilled workers and supervisory personnel.

I have covered a large part of the ground. There was one thing in connection with our expenditure which I forgot to deal with in the course of my reply. As I think it is of sufficient importance, I am giving some information regarding decentralisation of financial control. Shri Tyagi was afraid that as the Finance Ministry has decentralised its functions and control, expenditure would be incurred by the Ministries independently and without adequate and proper co-ordination. This fear is not well-founded. The new scheme of delegation of financial power is intended to place greater responsibilities on the administering Ministries in respect of financial control. It is calculated to reduce the delay which is involved in the system under which all kinds of proposals have to be referred to another Ministry, by the Finance Ministry for concurrence. What has been proposed is a system of internal financial control, which will help to expedite matters. This would not mean that administering Ministries would be free to spend money intended for one scheme on something quite different. Parliament's control and Finance Ministry's scrutiny of individual schemes will continue as hitherto. One of the objectives of decentralization of financial control, and an important one was to avoid delays which of course cost money. The risks arising out of delays are not less serious than the risks out of a little more expenditure being incurred than is really necessary. But there

should be no extravagance, no waste and no unnecessary expenditure. This is being attended to.

I have finished the important points which, in my view, had to be dealt with.

An Hon. Member: What about land reforms?

Shri Nanda: I have already said that it will take one hour to deal with the whole question of land reforms.

Shri D. C. Sharma: You have covered all the points.

Shri Nanda: I am now concluding. I am wondering how so many hon. Members could have the patience to stay on till this late hour.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: The treasury benches are now being filled.

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): After all, they have come.

Shri Nanda: I have other things to say, not about the points which have arisen, but about the constructive direction which has to be given to our efforts in future so that the basic difficulties, to which I made mention in the beginning, could be dealt with and resolved. In the last analysis the success of the Plan depends on raising the efficiency of the people by doing more work and harder work; that is going to be the source for greater production and raising productivity, which will help us in the matter of stepping up external and internal resources. The question of preventing corruption and various other anti-social practices have been repeatedly mentioned. These has to be tackled with vigour in order to create a climate for greater effort in the country.

Take the question of unemployment. These things if we take them up and pursue from this angle will lead us to various ways by which we will be able to increase our resources. we have also to see that the assets that

are created are put to better use and yield much better results. I do not want at this hour to develop those points and therefore I shall conclude.

Shri Mukerjee made a reference to the consultation between the Planning Commission and different political parties. At the time when the Plan was formulated there was plenty of such consultation. The point raised was as to why there should not have been consultation at this stage when difficulties had arisen. We had one or two meetings of the consultative committee and I agree with the hon. Member that more of that kind of consultation should take place. I shall personally give attention to the methods and the manner in which this idea could be put into practice.

As I conclude my reply to the debate on the reappraisal of the Plan, there is one thought that is uppermost in my mind. Every great effort involves labour and strain. Countries like the Soviet Union passed through deep and prolonged stresses. If we are to achieve goals worthy of our people, if we are to meet their urgent and pressing needs, we cannot afford to fall behind. To enter seriously upon planned development is to break with the past and to accept a challenge for the future. A plan that looks ahead for several years can never be a static plan. It must change when change is called for. A plan depends upon numerous factors which are not always within our purview. Through success and failure we have to go forward with a clear understanding of the larger social objectives which lie behind all our planning. It is easy to be brave and to be warm in support when things go well. The test comes when we face adverse circumstances. Partly through the working of forces of nature, partly through economic and political developments abroad, and indeed partly through our own errors and failings, today our Plan faces certain difficulties. These are not insurmountable difficulties. There is nothing in them to weaken our resolve, nothing in them to make

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us want to go back. I would therefore appeal to all sections of this House and through it to the country, to view the present reappraisal of the Plan objectively and to work with unity and confidence for the future. If we can join together and intensify the efforts to increase agricultural production and to mobilise all our resources, the difficulties about which we have spoken during the past week will vanish. I feel certain that if we all labour together through this period of doubt and strain, the spirit of our people will triumph.

Mr. Speaker: I would request the hon. Minister of Parliamentary Affairs to ascertain before hand in future and have a full assessment of the time that the hon. Minister in charge of a particular motion will take. Certainly if the hon. Minister had more time, he would have told the House many more things about other vital points that had been raised. We do not have a proper appraisal of the time when we sit in the Business Advisory Committee. Subsequently, there is a conflict between the non-official and the official side as to how the time is to be distributed. I would have personally liked to hear something more from the hon. Minister as the House also would have liked. I would therefore like that in future the hon. Minister of Parliamentary Affairs will have a more correct appraisal of the time.

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha: You are quite aware, Sir, that you consulted the hon. Minister and he himself suggested that 40 minutes will be enough for his reply. What else do you want me to do?

Mr. Speaker: Instead of 40 minutes, he has taken an hour and a half, but even that is not enough.

It is all well that hon. Members have been here and maintained quorum. Some hon. Members were very anxious to speak and I gave them an opportunity to do so. It is a matter of discourtesy to the House if they

refuse to hear the hon. Minister's reply. It seems that they merely wish to hear their own voice. They do not wait here to hear the reply of the hon. Minister. Hereafter I expect this much courtesy to the House that whoever wants to speak, he must make up his mind to stay until he hears the hon. Minister. If perchance he has got enormous or urgent business elsewhere which he cannot avoid, he must write to me that he is going away so that I may be aware as to who is present and who is not present. I find that hon. Members do not follow this rule. I take note of them and may not call them.

Now, I will put the substitute motions to the vote of the House. Is any particular one required to be put to the vote of the House separately?

Shri Naushir Bharucha (East Khadesh): All the motions may be put together.

Mr. Speaker: I shall then put all the motions to the vote of the House.

The question is:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

“This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that Government should make radical changes in the Five Year Plan on the following lines:—

(1) *Utilisation of Indian resources*—

- (a) to solve the food problem in the country a food army be formed by employing lakhs of unemployed agricultural labourers on waste land;
- (b) a literacy army of educated unemployed youths be formed for completely eradicating

ignorance and illiteracy from the country as early as possible;

- (c) full utilisation of Indian craftsmen (masons) be made by limiting the use of automatic machines.

(2) *Industrial Policy*—

- (a) Government should withdraw the emphasis being laid on private sector and pay more and more attention towards the public sector;
- (b) the use of big machines be restricted as far as possible and production be carried on with small machines driven by power, so that unemployed population of India may be fully utilised;
- (c) production of luxury goods and imports thereof be totally stopped;
- (d) parity between the prices of industrial goods and agricultural products as also the prices of commodities should in no case be higher than fifty per cent of their cost price;
- (e) all the foreign capital invested in India be immediately nationalised and large sums of money going out of the country in the form of profits and salaries be used for the prosperity of the country.

(3) In order to make the Plan a success, substantial amounts that are being paid by the Government of India to the following non-Government bodies be stopped forthwith:

- (a) Bharat Sewak Samaj,
- (b) Bhartiya Sadhu Samaj,
- (c) Women's Welfare Scheme,
- (d) Bhartiya Yuwak Samaj; and
- (e) Other such bodies.

(4) Following steps should be taken to create enthusiasm among the people:—

- (a) total decentralisation of the State authority at four distinct levels;
- (b) the Plan should be divided into four main stages i.e. village, district, State and country level;
- (c) the responsibility for the implementation of the schemes should rest with the representatives of the people and not with the Government officials who should only extend their co-operation and give necessary advice.

(5) *Reorientation of policy*—

In order to make the various schemes beneficial to all and to establish a socialistic society,—

- (a) the ratio between the minimum and maximum income and expenditure should be 1 : 10;
- (b) more and more attention should be paid towards the villages;
- (c) until necessary means of communications are made available throughout the country, widening of roads at certain places for the facility of certain privileged classes and use of costly things like concrete etc. be stopped;
- (d) construction of expensive Secretariats be stopped till the country becomes self-sufficient.

(6) *Eradication of corruption*—

- (a) Anti-corruption Committees at district level be set up to put an end to corruption and their members should only be representatives of the people with sufficient powers vested in them;

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- (b) necessary amendments in the Constitution be made keeping in view the above mentioned facts;
- (c) Regional languages at State level and National language at the Centre be introduced immediately in our administration."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that—

- (1) after the period of strain and stress to which the national economy has been subjected by the implementation of the Second Five Year Plan, the primary function of further planning should be that of consolidation and of securing for the people the fruits of existing investment and effort;
- (2) higher priority needs to be given and greater emphasis placed on agriculture, which is the foundation on which the entire structure of industrialisation has to be raised; and
- (3) the fullest opportunity and incentive should be given to the initiative and enterprise of the people in all walks of life so that the most rapid rise in productivity can be achieved."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on May 8, 1958, regrets that there has been no attempt, so far, to integrate the defence organisation and expenditure thereon with socio-economic planning, so as to ensure greater efficiency and economy in development as well as in defence spheres and recommends, *inter alia*.—

- (1) That there should be an effective cell in the Planning Commission to coordinate defence with the formulation and implementation of plans.
- (2) That the defence organisation should be provided with adequate education and technical training facilities, so as to supply the country's need for trained manpower while helping the absorption of ex-service personnel in civil life.
- (3) That the Military Engineering Service, the Engineer Corps and E.M.E. should be entrusted with specific irrigation works, flood embankments and roads in inaccessible terrain for construction, constructional and other allowances being duly paid to the personnel.
- (4) That the Defence Science Organisation be brought up to its authorised strength (if possible expanded) and coordinated with research centres and Universities.
- (5) That the Directorate of Technical Development be reorganised with highly qualified science degree holders, to yield maximum result in design, development and inspection.

- (6) That the achievement of Ordnance Factories be reviewed by the Planning Commission from time to time.
- (7) That the Army Grow More Food Campaign be revived in an intensive form.
- (8) That Deep-Sea fishing projects be expanded with the cooperation of the Navy.
- (9) That Merchant Shipping be considered from the view point of naval defence and suitable provision be made in pursuance thereof.
- (10) That adequate and unified training facilities be given in drill and discipline to the youth of the country so as to canalise their enthusiasm into channels of national service.
- (11) That a cheap suitable pattern of standard cloth be evolved so that the youth of the country could use them at their own costs to minimise the expenditure on the N.C.C., the A.C.C. and military training in general, as well as for sports and P.T.
- (12) That a National Service Organisation be evolved, by coordinating the activities of the defence and other Ministries and by utilising the grants and aids under different heads, so as to serve the country in normal times as well as in emergencies.
- (13) That the equipment lying idle in various Ordnance Depots for the last about 10 years may be made available to the various departments and educational institutions which so badly need them.
- (14) That there should be arrangements for creating a national Pool of Engineers, Doctors and other technical personnel from the Defence, Railways and other Union and State Departments to supply the country's shortage of scientific manpower.
- (15) That necessary investigation be made near Pampan-Thankachinmudam to avoid the expenditure, delay and inconvenience of circumnavigating Ceylone in cruises between the east and west coasts of India.
- (16) That a Naval Dockyard be established early on the east coast to serve the Navy as well as merchant shipping in the Bay of Bengal.
- (17) That Rifles, Scouts, Flying, Glider, Swimming and other clubs, Talimkhanas, Sports and P.T. activities be encouraged, coordinated and utilised.
- (18) That the Lok Sahayak Sena and other organisations be given continuity or follow-up duties (organised through Gram Panchayats). The Village Leader Scheme and Village Fire fighting and emergency service units be integrated with the same.
- (19) That the Commission which is charged with overall planning must be consulted before foreign purchase commitments and foreign exchange involvements are made.
- (20) That Planning Commission must explore all avenues to utilise the trained and experienced ex-servicemen in development schemes."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the

[Mr. Speaker]

House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that the soil erosion schemes worked out in the tribal areas should be subsidised cent per cent. as the tribal people are not able to contribute any amount as their share."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that the Small-scale Industries in the tribal areas should be encouraged through the establishment of the mutipurpose co-operative societies."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that the water resources in the tribal areas should be assessed so that the lands in the tribal areas can be brought under plough in the economic development of the tribal people."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year

Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that the pattern of the multi-purpose Community Development Projects in the tribal areas should be reoriented to suit the genius of the tribal people of the country."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that land donated under the *Bhoodan* and the *Gramdan* movements should be brought under the co-operative farming."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that—

- (1) the Government have not been able to create necessary enthusiasm amongst the people for the successful working of the Plan;
- (2) the administrative structure should be reconstructed in a decentralised way from the village to the Centre, with devolution of power and authority so as to form a strong and wide basis for the working of the Plan by the people and for the people;

- (3) except the commitments regarding the heavy industrial undertakings on the Public Sector, the resources should be drastically diverted towards increasing the agricultural production and improvement of the agricultural economy which should be made the real core of the Plan even now."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that, apart from other efforts, supreme endeavour should be made to—

- (1) limit the outlay of the Plan to Rs. 4,500 crores;
- (2) restrict the maximum deficit financing to Rs. 1,000 crores;
- (3) intensify food production and secure effective utilisation of food potential, among other methods, by a subsidised utilisation of irrigation facilities and a stricter control on procurement and wholesale distribution of foodgrains;
- (4) restrict rigidly imports for the unexpired duration of the Second Plan;
- (5) organise an all-out export drive, particularly by aiding conventional exports capable of immediate response, as well as exports of new promising lines;
- (6) extend relief to industries in the matter of crediting development rebates so long as concessions are ploughed back in developmental projects;

- (7) introduce a system of staggering of investments even within the 'core' of the Plan, with special emphasis on a 'go-slow' policy on such irrigation projects as are not in an advanced state of completion;

- (8) prepare a Plan for consolidation of the results so far achieved and for completing the 'leftovers' from the Second Plan."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that—

- (1) higher priority needs to be given and greater emphasis placed on Indian Shipping which is the foundation on which the entire structure of overseas and foreign transportation is based and which is the earner of great foreign exchange as also the second line of defence of the nation.
- (2) higher priority should be given and greater emphasis placed on naval defence and development, repair and construction of naval establishments.

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted namely:—

"This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the

[Mr. Speaker]

House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that Government should take following steps in furtherance of the economic welfare of the people:—

- (1) The Planning Commission should be reconstituted and should consist of experts, not belonging to any political party.
- (2) The National Development Council should also be reorganised on all party national basis.
- (3) The Second Plan should be extended over a period of at least seven years.
- (4) Agricultural Production and Small Scale mechanised industry should be given first priority.
- (5) Heavy industries, except those which have been taken in hand and likely to be completed soon, should be deferred to a latter period.
- (6) Public enterprise should strictly be confined to Schedule 'A' of the industrial policy resolution of 30th April, 1956. All other industrial schemes of the Central and State Governments should be transferred to the private sector.
- (7) The plan should be reoriented so as to develop India into more or less a self contained economy depending least on foreign help.
- (8) The plan should make promise of work for all.
- (9) Government employees drawing Rupees two thousand or over per month should be given National Plan Bonds for

the amount in excess of rupees two thousand."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that:—

- (1) First priority be given to all hydro-electric and irrigation projects by including them in the core of the plan.
- (2) Further taxation should be stopped as it will be a great strain on the economy of the people and a burden on them.
- (3) Economy in non-plan expenditure and cost of administration be effected to the extent of Rs. 300 crores both at the Centre and the States.
- (4) The policy of prohibition be revised so as to get substantial revenue for plan expenditure.
- (5) The Community Development Projects and the National Extension Service Block be re-oriented and their management entrusted to local bodies.
- (6) A separate fund called 'plan development fund' be constituted both at the Centre and the States to which shall be credited all revenue derived from taxes levied during the plan period, borrowing and loans, external assistance, railway contributions, balance from revenue surplus and

deficit financing which will be earmarked for plan expenditure."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that the most reprehensible and almost criminal neglect in respect of animal husbandary has landed the country in great disaster resulting as it has in an annual decrease according to government statistics of production of milk to the extent of more than five crores of maunds since the year 1951, and insufficient supply of good bulls (only one is there where 250 are required) and bullocks (the shortfall being over a crore from the number requisite for efficient agriculture and other operations).

The House further deplores that the Government is not even conscious of the tragedy involved in these figures as it does not so much as mention or hint at in their appraisal and prospects and re-appraisal reports, the appalling distress in the country to young children, expectant mothers and aged men and loss of production of food in the country except on pages 28 to 46 of the appraisal and reappraisal report on page 22—statements which are not reassuring and tell a doleful tale.

The House is clearly of opinion that the animal husbandary in the country requires the close and special attention of the Government which, if bestowed, is sure to earn very rich dividends in

so far as the production of protective food and agricultural products is concerned."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that there should be no reduction in social service programmes as they are very important for getting the full co-operation of the people for making the programme of the Five Year Plan a success."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958 regrets that there has been no attempt to keep to the original targets in the Second Five Year Plan by ruthless economising in the expenditure and avoidance of waste and by trying to raise further resources from larger loans abroad and inside the country, which is bound to have grave socio-economic consequences, and recommends:—

- (1) That full use should be made of the irrigation potential which has already been created by finding out and removing the reasons for its non-use by cultivators and particularly by making irrigation facilities available at a lower cost by cheapening the rates of irrigation taxes.

[Mr. Speaker]

- (2) That highest priority should be given to providing cheap and easy agricultural credit to destitute farmers for agricultural operations such as for ploughing the land, purchasing the seeds and carrying out other essential agricultural processes at cheap rates of interest so that they may be in a position to invest the necessary capital for raising crops on their fields.
- (3) That the required amount of fertilisers should be imported without the least possible delay to increase agricultural output per acre. Methods to increase night soil and farm yard manure in the fields should also be devised.
- (4) That top priority should be given for putting up new fertiliser plants in the country and for increasing the output to the maximum possible extent of the fertiliser plants already existing in the country.
- (5) That original expenditure on flood control schemes should be restored and floods should be fought on a war footing.
- (6) That the problems of scarcity areas like East U.P., North Bihar, etc. where the yield per acre is the lowest and where drought and floods cause wholesale devastation from year to year, should be thoroughly investigated by appointing a High Power Commission to investigate the causes of perpetual scarcity in these areas and to recommend ways and means to overcome them in the shortest possible time so that the yield per acre may increase several fold and flood and drought may become things of the past.
- (7) That a multi-purpose River-Valley Scheme to control the river Gharghra, Rapti and Gandak with their tributaries should be immediately prepared and included for execution in the Second Five Year Plan itself, so that East U.P. and North-West Bihar may be saved from recurring floods and droughts and cheap electric power may be available for starting small-scale cottage industries in every village, and large areas may be brought under irrigation.
- (8) That money spent on import of foodgrains should be spent in helping the cultivators to grow more food by providing them with liberal credit, cheap irrigation, fertilisers, good seeds and the results of latest agricultural researches for fighting plant diseases and raising the yield per acre.
- (9) That agriculture should be made more profitable by improvement in animal husbandry, poultry, dairying and milk supply.
- (10) That land should be redistributed village-wise so no person who lives by agriculture may be without land and co-operative farming be adopted in every village to overcome the effects of fragmentation of holdings as quickly as possible and this should be the main programme of Community Development and National Extension Service Blocks.
- (11) That as a result of these measures the target for production of food in the country should be raised to at least 100 million tons of foodgrains by 1961.

- (12) That a thorough enquiry should be conducted into the present organisation of our defence forces and ruthless economy should be enforced in it so that the maximum effective strength of the defence forces may be secured with the least amount of expenditure and efforts should be made to make the country self-sufficient in producing its defence equipment of the latest and most advanced types as early as possible. Purchases of obsolete arms should be cancelled forthwith.

- (13) That compulsory military training for a period of two years should be provided to every Indian National.

- (14) That the army personnel should be employed in peace times for productive national work during specified hours.

- (15) That universal compulsory education upto the age of 14 as provided in the Constitution should be achieved by the end of the Second Five Year Plan by giving education top priority, by minimising expenditure on buildings and costly furniture and opening schools in every village immediately so that every child may have the opportunity of going to his village school and the most brilliant and promising students should be helped to obtain higher scientific education.

- (16) That heavy industries should be given top priority so that the country may be able to produce its own machines, industrial plants as soon as possible, and

every walk of national life by exemplary punishment and people's co-operation."

The motion was negated.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that—

- (1) Greater emphasis be laid on the production of food, securing a balanced diet for the peasant, technological development and provision for adequate and modern equipment and the transforming of agriculture into an industrial enterprise and the speedy scientific development thereof;
- (2) First priority be given to agriculture and the allied industries, the second important place to the basic industries and the allied operations, and progress be speedily achieved therein;
- (3) The third place be allotted to the consumers industries and other secondary industries and their modernisation and scientific development be taken up;
- (4) Taking the national resources into consideration, the securing of new welfare services and implementation of social development schemes be re-examined and the services and schemes not imperatively necessary, be postponed till the resources are available for their implementation.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House having considered the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th May, 1958, is of opinion that—

- (1) After the strain which the country has felt in trying to implement even the revised aspects of the Plan, the people must be enabled to feel the effects of their efforts, particularly in the welfare services of the State, and ways and means of Planning must be evolved, to bring this about.
- (2) Contingencies of the influx of refugees, persistent natural calamities of floods and

droughts etc. have given rise to conditions in various States, particularly in West Bengal which must be looked into and rectified as far as possible, so that the people feel reassured, and develop enthusiasm for the plan.

- (3) Ways and means of attracting and earning more foreign exchange to India, through Tourism, Shipping, and exports, and conserving our own resources as regards food by effective conservation, increase of fisheries and horticulture and such like methods should be fully exploited."

The motion was negatived.

18.40 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, the 23rd September, 1958.