

MOTION re REPORT ON THE MID-TERM APPRAISAL OF THE THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN—*contd.*

SHRI VIJAY SINGH (Rajasthan): Mr. Chairman, when I was speaking last time, I put before the House that when we discuss about the Mid-term appraisal of the Third Plan, it will not do merely to quote figures and statements from here and there to show where we have lagged behind or where we have achieved much. On such an occasion we must take a panoramic view of the whole thing and see what has been our basic approach, so to say or do we need to change that approach? In this connection I put before the House what Gandhiji said in 1945 in the course of his letters to Panditji. In fact Gandhiji could not develop his argument further. Shri Pyarelal has done a great service to humanity by developing that argument in his book "Mahatma Gandhi—the last phase". I will not take undue time of the House if I read the testimony of the two greatest men of India. This is what Acharya Vinoba said about this aspect of what Gandhiji said:

"By giving us MAHATMA GANDHI—THE LAST PHASE in two volumes, Shri Pyarelal has rendered a unique service to the world that perhaps no one else could have done. I have compared the closing phase of Gandhiji's life to SHANTI PARVA (The Peace Canto) and SVARGAROHANA PARVA (The Canto of the Attainment of Elysian Bliss) of the MAHABHARATA. Shri Pyarelal's book, which I dare say will in the years to come rank as a classic, brings to us a vision of this modern epic.

This was the height of Gandhiji's career though to the world, for a moment, it seemed to be a period of his eclipse. His thought had attained its full maturity. As it added to itself more and more dimensions, the frail earthy taber-

nacle became, as it were, a fetter upon it. It had to break free from its shackles and become all-pervasive to help further evolution of the world's thought."

This is what Dr. Rajendra Prasad has said while writing the Foreword to this Volume. He said:

"The time had arrived when with all the experience gained and prestige acquired in the course of the Indian struggle for freedom which he had conducted for more than thirty years, Mahatma Gandhi could extend the ambit of his activities and take up causes in even more inauspicious circumstances and hostile conditions and thus prove that Ahimsa could work wonders even in the most adverse of circumstances. At this stage he was taken away. But the horoscope of his experiment is not yet exhausted and the ideas and forces that he has released may yet accomplish after his death things undreamt of and even more marvellous than were witnessed in his lifetime."

Mr. Chairman, I have just taken the time of the House to show what these two great men of India have thought about the ideas of Gandhiji about planning and other things but this is not all. What has appeared outside the Parliament I have given and I will not take undue time of the House if I just take a few minutes more by reading before you what Shri Purushotam Das Tandonji speaking in this very House in 1959 had to say. This is what he said:

"मैं जानता हूँ कि समय बहुत थोड़ा है। एक दूसरी बात कह कर समाप्त करूँगा। वह यह है कि हमारे प्लानिंग का काम बहुत नाजुक समय में आ गया है। तीसरी योजना पर विचार हो रहा है, तीसरी योजना बड़ी योजना होगी, सब मानते हैं। परन्तु दो योजनाएँ हो गई, तीसरी

[श्री विजय सिंह]

चल रही है, लगभग समाप्ति के है, अभी समाप्त नहीं हुई है, परन्तु आख उठा कर जब देखता हूँ, गांव के अन्दर घुसकर जो कुछ देख सकता हूँ उसमें मुझे ऐसा नहीं लगा कि हम गांव के लिये कुछ काम अब तक कर पाये हैं। गांव की दशा सम्हाल नहीं सके। ब्योरे मे मैं नहीं जाऊंगा। स्थिति देखिये उनके रहने की, उनके घर, किस तरह से गांव बसे हैं, आज उनकी कितनी बुरी दशा है, कोई सूरत नहीं दिखाई देती कि उनमें कोई अच्छाई की गयी। मेरा निवेदन है कि गांव की दशा सम्हालने के ऊपर ध्यान पर्याप्त नहीं दिया गया है। अभी ऊपर से खेल तमाशे बहुत हो रहे हैं, साथ ही कुछ बड़ी बड़ी योजनायें, पानी की योजनायें, बिजली उत्पादन करने की योजनायें, यह तो हैं, परन्तु देहात के जीवन पर हम कुछ प्रभाव डालते, मो मुझे नहीं दिखाई पड़ता और मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि हमारी स्वतंत्रता का मूल अभिप्राय, मूल ध्येय, यही होना चाहिये था कि हम देहातों को उठा लेते। कहते तो हैं—हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी अक्सर कहते हैं—परन्तु मैं कार्यवाही में जो देखता हूँ उसमें उन्नति नहीं है। मेरे ऊपर यह असर है कि हम शहर वाले आज भी बहुत अच्छी तरह रहते हैं और देहात वालों की दशा बुरी ही होती जा रही है। हम देहात वालों से छीनाझपटी करते रहते हैं। हम देहात को—अंग्रेजी शब्द का प्रयोग करू तो “एक्सप्लाइड” कर रहे हैं। शहर के लोगों के लिये काम हो रहा है। जो जाब्स निकलते हैं उन जाब्स का लाभ कौन उठाता है? शहर के लोग, हमारे दोस्त और हमारे दोस्तों के बच्चे। हमारे बच्चे दौड़ते हैं, उन जगहों को घेरते हैं और देहात वाले बचारे वैसे ही दरिद्र बने हैं। यह हालत ठीक नहीं है, इसको तुरन्त बदलने की आवश्यकता है। हमारा

तो कर्तव्य था कि हम देहात की ओर देखें, वह हमने नहीं किया। इस सम्बन्ध में मैंने पहले भी कहा था, आज भी सुझाव देता हूँ। आप बैठे हैं, हमारे एक बड़े मंत्री जी, मैं उनको सुझाव देता हूँ कि आप साहस के साथ अधिक नहीं कर सकें तो हमारे देश के एक एक जिले में दो दो गांव नमूने के तो बना दें। एक जिले में दो गांव, आदर्श गांव—माडल विलेज—कुछ बना करके दिखाइये। आप को जमीन भी मिल जायेगी, जगह भी मिल जायेगी, अच्छा गांव हो। उसमें कुछ लग जायेगा, बहुत मुमकिन है २० या २५ करोड़ रुपया लग जाय, वह आपके लिये बहुत नहीं है। परन्तु नमूने के इस तरह के एक दो गांव एक जिले में बना दीजिये। ऐसा गांव होना चाहिये जिसमें गन्दगी न हो, जिसमें घर ठीक हों, जिसमें आप यह यत्न करें कि हर एक आदमी को जो काम मांगता है काम दे सकें। जो काम करना चाहता है उसको काम न मिले तो यह तो प्रशासन नहीं है, बहुत कमी है प्रशासन की।

एक बड़ी मुख्य बात है रहने की। उनके घर ठीक हों। आज गांव में घुस घुस घर में एक बीमार होता है तो सब घरों में बीमारी हो जाती है। घर मिले जुले होते हैं और अगर आग लग जाती है तो चक्कर काट कर गांव भर में लगती है। मेरा सुझाव है कि हमारे घर एक दूसरे से अलग हों। एक घर और दूसरे घर के बीच में भूमि हो। मैं तो चाहूंगा आधा एकड़ भूमि हर घर के लिये दी जाय। पर न हो तो चौमाई एकड़ दें, परन्तु एक एक घर अलग अलग हो, सुन्दर बस्ती हो। उसके अन्दर कुछ घास, पात साग लगा सकें किसान। उनकी घर की स्त्री काम कर सके। खेती की अलग बात है, किन्तु हर एक घर के साथ थोड़ी भूमि हो। इसको मैं “बाटिका गृह योजना”

कहता हूं। इसको आप "बाटिका गह" कहें या "गार्डन हउसिंग" कहें, इसकी आवश्यकता है और यह हो सकता है। यह कोई अव्यावहारिक बात, आसमान की बात नहीं कह रहा हूं। यह आपके ध्यान देने की बात है। यह एक रास्ता है देहात को उठाने का।"

Mr. Chairman, Purushottamdasji was speaking in this House in 1959, that is to say, fourteen years after Gandhiji had written and some twelve years after our attaining independence and after he had seen the working of two of our Plans. Therefore, what he said is quite relevant. And let me add that this was the last time that Purushottamdasji spoke in Parliament. Therefore, when we are discussing about the mid-term appraisal of the Third Plan, we have to bear in mind what the finest minds in India had to say. We have to see what is the actual condition now and where we are going. We have stated our Plans from which the people should draw inspiration. We have elaborate reports, evaluation reports, expert committee reports and so on. Sometimes I wonder what is the necessity to refer to these expert committee reports. When we have so much past material in our own hands, since we have the leaders who have thought deeply about these problems, There is no necessity to refer to these things. In this context, Mr. Chairman, I am reminded of Surdasji's words:

"सूरदास प्रभु कामधेनु तजि छेरी
कौन दुहावे ।"

When we have got such a vast storehouse in our own country, why not take advantage of that?

Mr. Chairman, we would like to see how far in our Plan we have approximated to the picture that the Father of the Nation had before him, and I will show in the course of my speech in a few minutes that though we have

made attempts to approximate our thinking and actions to the picture that Gandhiji had before him, we have still not realised that and as I was just saying, it will not do quoting statistics and figures and statements from here and there. We should see the actual things as they are. As has been said, life is greater than logic. When I study these things invariably the picture of the Package Programme Districts comes before me. Here is the plan for the Package Programme. What have we achieved by the Package Programme and what is the picture that the Package Programme Scheme envisages? Mr. Chairman, I will state what the mid-term appraisal has to say. It says on page 79, para 27:

"Intensive agricultural districts represent a new emphasis in the programme for agricultural development. A network of extension services having been established in most rural areas in the country, the idea of concentrating greater efforts where conditions of climate and irrigation are, on the whole, favourable is now being built into the general approach of community development and implementation through Panchayati Raj institutions. From the experience gained thus far, certain aspects of work in the intensive areas appear to call for much greater stress than they have received hitherto. These are:

- (i) the need to draw village Panchayats and other Panchayati Raj institutions more effectively into the implementation of agricultural programmes,
- (ii) preparation of village agricultural production plans as the indispensable framework within which the production plans of individual farmers can be implemented
- (iii) devoting special efforts to the strengthening of the co-

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- operative structure along sound lines and expansion of the movement to include all families,
- (iv) strengthening the programme for animal husbandry and dairying.
 - (v) evolving a broad crop plan for each area, which indicates the main directions of change and links up detailed agricultural programmes to the crop plan, and
 - (vi) undertaking additional programmes for general resources development of the area, e.g., reclamation of land, village fuel plantations, soil conservation and dry farming, extension of irrigation, etc."

Mr. Chairman, as I was just now saying, this is the picture of the Package Programme districts that has been drawn before us in this Third Plan Mid-term Appraisal, and as a matter of fact, in the Third Five Year Plan itself. Now, how have we reached this stage? What are the intermediate stages? We must bear that things also in mind in order to see what is the implementation of the programme, because that will bring before us the idea of the administration, the idea of the village and the idea of agricultural development. All these problems are interlinked.

We all know that in order to develop the villages we first launched the Community Development Programme, and I think it was in the year 1952. Then after two or three years, we found that that programme was not working satisfactorily. Therefore, a committee was appointed under Shri Salwantraï Mehta to examine this programme and as the result of the deliberations of that committee, the idea of the Panchayati Raj came before us. After working for two or

three years this Panchayati Raj movement, at the instance of the Ford Foundation we have now come to this Package Programme Scheme. So we have gone through a period of ten or twelve years to evolve this Package Programme Scheme for the districts. I must say, Mr. Chairman, that we have not reached the stage that Mahatmajî envisaged in 1945. Here I am reminded of the time of my student days. I was studying at Allahabad in 1941 and at that time Sir Stafford Cripps came to India to present his plan before the leaders of India. Gandhiji after seeing that plan said: "This is a post-dated cheque on a bank which is about to crash." At that time Acharya Kripalani was the General Secretary of the Congress and he came to the university to deliver a lecture and in the course of his speech he said that what Gandhiji was able to decide in fifteen minutes, it took fifteen days for others to decide the same thing. Therefore, I submit it is not necessary that we should have all these elaborate reports. We should see the actual conditions as they are and then we should formulate our Plans, but we are not doing that. We are lost in the maze of secretariat studies, expert committees reports, so many other documents. And may I say we have not got the time and none of us really care to study all these things?

Mr. Chairman, I would like to invite the attention of the House to the Package Programme Districts in this connection. I do not want to burden my speech with many facts and figures. I would only place before the House my personal observations concerning the district from which I come. And I wish to say, Mr. Chairman, at the very outset that I would like to apologise and say that there is no consideration of personal gain or motive. In fact, the idea of personal gain or motive never enters in these things. If there seems to be any personal motive or personal approach involved in this particular respect, I beg to be excused. Now, this Pali is

one of the seven districts selected for this Package Programme Scheme. And I would like to put before you what is the picture of this Package Programme District in the Pali district, the district from which I come. I submit that these things may be borne in mind in all seriousness.

I would like to refer to four points, Mr. Chairman. It has been stated here that in the Package Programme scheme we should have public co-operation, that we should employ the Panchayati Raj institutions for the work of this scheme in the district. Now, let us see what is there in Pali district. Here is the Report on Intensive Agricultural District Programme. There is a Coordination Committee at the State level and another at the district level. On page 195 of this Report you have the members of this committee, i.e., the State level Committee. When you see the membership of this committee, you will see how this scheme is being implemented. The State-Level Coordination Committee contains the Chief Secretary, the Development Commissioner, Secretary, Agriculture, Additional Secretary, Finance, Deputy Secretary (Planning), Deputy Secretary, Finance, Director of Agriculture, Registrar of Cooperative Societies, Director of Animal Husbandry, Collector, Pali, Deputy Director Agriculture, Pali, Assistant Chief Officer, Reserve Bank of India. You can see there is not a single representative of any Panchayati Raj institution. There is not a single representative of the people.

SHRI C. D. PANDE (Uttar Pradesh): All the Secretaries are there.

SHRI VIJAY SINGH: I say, no people's representative.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: It is a big package.

SHRI VIJAY SINGH: That may be. But one would like to see at the State level some representative of the people also the people's represen-

tative should be associated with the Coordination Committee. But let us see what is the composition of this Coordination Committee at the District level. There you have the Collector, the Deputy Director, Agriculture, Assistant Registrar, Executive Engineer, District Agriculture Officer, District Animal Husbandry Officer, Chairman, Central Cooperative Bank, Secretary, Zila Parishad, Project Evaluation Officer, Rural Credit Officer, Reserve Bank of India. So here the Zila Parishad has been represented through the Secretary. But if we do not associate the people's representative and still if we want the Package Programme Scheme to be successful, we would be simply expecting the moon.

This is one aspect of the package programme that I want to mention. Another idea is that we must strengthen the co-operative societies. I would now like to tell the House in all confidence that whatever be the nature of the report on the co-operative societies that we see here is not all correct. I know it because I come from that district and for the last two years not a single co-operative society has received any loan. As a matter of fact, more than seventy-five per cent. of the co-operative societies have been rendered uncreditworthy. This is because we made a similar sort of set-up in the case of the district co-operative banks and the Reserve Bank has not sanctioned loans to them. We are not associating the peoples' representatives and we are not strengthening the co-operative sector but we say that we are doing something else. At page 73 or thereabouts is mentioned that in every package programme district there will be an agricultural workshop to repair the tractors or other agricultural implements. Now Pali is a package programme district and for the last four years it is there but no workshop has been established. How do you expect the programme of mechanisation of agricultural operations to go on? It is also said that

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there will be a map in every district showing which areas can be irrigated by which irrigation scheme. That map is not there. Now, all these things are not there. The failure is on the part of the administration and yet voices are heard in Parliament and elsewhere to say that the package programme has not succeeded and hence it must be pushed off. I think it is not the fault of the package programme; the fault is in respect of implementation. I, therefore, Mr. Chairman, would like to stress with all the emphasis at my command that we must see the things as they are, as people at various levels see and then find out what can be about this matter. It will not do merely to blame anyone here or there. Mr. Chairman, the time at my disposal is rather short and I think I have taken too long a time in discussing the affairs of my district; as such there may be charge of parochialism against me. I would, therefore, like to say something of a general nature about agricultural programmes. We have so far been laying very great stress on the production of foodgrains and cereals but equal stress has not been laid on the growing of vegetables and fruits as yet. In fact, if we shall not switch over to vegetable and fruits to supplement our diet, we will not be able to succeed in our Plans. Let us see what has been our achievement in this direction. Per acre we can produce thirty maunds of wheat; if we switch over to potatoes, the produce on an average will be about 200 maunds. As a matter of fact, the highest average produce of potato has been estimated to be of the order of 750 maunds. So, by putting the same areas under vegetables we can get a greater amount of food than by putting the same under cereals. I am a farmer myself and I have to do this thing simply for the sake of economic reasons. I get a better price when I switch over to vegetables. What is the picture that is available in other countries, advanced countries

like Europe or Japan? If we see their agricultural pattern, we find vegetables and fruits occupying a larger portion of the land. Therefore, greater emphasis should be laid on the growing of vegetables and fruits than we have done so far. If we look at the chapter on horticulture we will find that the growth of vegetables and fruits has been hundred per cent and the same remarkable thing is not to be found so far as the cereals are concerned. The first suggestion that I would like to make, when we are having a mid-term appraisal of the Plan is that we should lay greater emphasis on the production of fruits and vegetables than on the production of cereals and India is a country of vegetarians and we should lay the greatest emphasis on this aspect.

Another thing that I would like to say is that when we are thinking of trying to bring about a true revolution in the countryside, we must think of electricity. As Lenin said, electricity plus socialism is communism. Therefore, if we truly want to revolutionise our agriculture, greater emphasis should be laid on power for agricultural purposes. We all know that in the First Five Year Plan we could hardly make any provision for rural electrification. In fact, the few crores of rupees that were allotted for rural electrification lapsed and the same emphasis for rural electrification could not be found either in the second or in the Third Plan. I will just show you by small examples as to how this thing can be done. There is available to us a report from the Madras Electricity Board. Now, Madras is one of the States where electricity has made great progress. They have calculated that irrigating one acre of land by bullock power costs Rs. 435; diesel engines cost Rs 86 per acre and electricity costs Rs. 56. What a great contrast there is, Rs. 435; Rs. 86 and Rs. 56? The entire structure will be changed, if we give power for agri-

cultural purposes and here I would like to point out, Mr. Chairman, that **business mentality** enters into our mind when we think of electricity for the rural areas. I do not want to name any State but at one place we had suggested that power for agricultural purposes must be charged at the rate of 12 nP per unit. Now, if we sell power at the rate of 12 nP per unit to the agriculturists, the gain to the Electricity Board would not be what it ought to be and therefore on one pretext or the other they do not give electricity to those farmers. I can mention several industries which get power at the rate of 1 nP or 2 nP per unit. (*Interruption*). It may be my State or your State; it does not matter. Power is supplied at the rate of 2 nP for the big industries whereas the agriculturists are not given power even at the rate of 12 nP per unit. We have laid this down in law. The lines pass over the villages. The villagers see the line passing over them but they do not get power. What can be the feelings of the villagers? How can you find enthusiasm among them for electricity and for various plans that we are making? This is something that I want to bring to your notice.

There is another point that my esteemed friend, Shri Deokinandan Narayan was saying when he proposed the vote of thanks to the President. He said that there are 25,000 agricultural graduates in the country but only two per cent of them are on the farms. If we are not creating conditions in the farms so that our educated people can go there and adopt all the improved methods we can never expect any improvement in agriculture. Take it from me, Mr. Chairman, that no amount of State planning can revolutionise agriculture. The example of Soviet Russia and China is before us. After forty years of experimenting in agricultural planning Russia is still importing wheat from America. Therefore we should create conditions in our countryside so that our people can go and live there.

Another thing that I would like to say in this connection is that there must be finality about our land reforms. We hear again and again that land reforms are being held up on this account or that account. Whatever reforms we are going to have we must have some finality about them and then create conditions worth while for our educated youths to go and settle in the countryside.

The next point I would like to say here is that we must give price support to agriculture for a fairly long period, say, for a period of five years. If we are not going to assure them like that, people will not have any incentive to go there.

Now, there was a circular from the Prime Minister that the portfolio of agriculture in all the States should be held by the Chief Ministers. But now none of the Chief Ministers takes the agriculture portfolio because they know that they cannot deliver the goods and they pass on to others. Whoever has been in charge of agriculture, it does not bring credit to him. Therefore this specific direction of the Prime Minister should be enforced in all the States.

Last but not the least, I want to place before you the problem of the Rajasthan canal. It is the longest canal in the world, a canal and irrigation project, which if executed very well and in a short time cannot only solve the problem of the Rajasthan but can solve the food problem of India as a whole. This is going to irrigate no less than four million acres. If today Rajasthan appears rather as a desert—and we were talking about paucity of water just now—after ten years this will be the granary of India. So we can divert some of the funds from other sectors and take up the construction of Rajasthan canal on a war basis or on any other basis. Today what the Government of India is doing is that they have placed the responsibility of

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Rajasthan canal's finances on the Plan resources of Rajasthan State. But our State is a very poor State; it is one of the most backward States. Therefore I will humbly suggest and appeal to them that the Rajasthan Canal should be taken up in the Central sector and emphasis should be placed on it not because it is going to benefit Rajasthan alone—in fact Rajasthan has not enough people to settle there—but because it is going to solve the country's problem of food production more than any other project.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Before I ask Mr. Chagla to make a statement I would like to tell you that we will sit till 1.30 P.M. today and tomorrow because we have a very long list of speakers.

STATEMENT RE. DISCUSSION ON KASHMIR IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION (SHRI M. C. CHAGLA): Mr. Chairman, with your permission, I would make a short statement about the debate that took place in the Security Council on Kashmir. This House knows that Pakistan went to the Security Council on two specific charges. One was that Kashmir was in open revolt and the other was that India was trying to integrate Kashmir.

With regard to the first we pointed out that far from Kashmir being in revolt against India, both when the sacred relic was lost and when it was recovered all communities joined in the first case in bemoaning the loss and in rejoicing at the recovery and that all the demonstrations in Kashmir were held in favour of India and not against India. That was the answer with regard to the charge of Kashmir being in open revolt.

With regard to the question of integration, we pointed out that

legally and constitutionally Kashmir was a part of India and the so-called integration was merely a domestic matter of relations between the Union and one of its States and therefore no question of further integration or annexation could arise. We also pointed out that India would never agree under any circumstances to hold a plebiscite and I think that once and for all we have laid the ghost of plebiscite. This ghost often rises up in the Security Council and elsewhere and we made it clear that no question of plebiscite could arise. We also pointed out the terrible political implications if a plebiscite was held. We pointed out that if the loss of the sacred relic in Srinagar could cause riots 1500 miles away in East Pakistan what could be the result of stirring up communal passions in the vale of Kashmir. This was our answer to the question of integration.

Now, I would like to say a word about the discussion that took place. Frankly we were shocked and surprised at the statement of the representative of the United Kingdom. If I did not expect a speech that was favourable to India I at least expected a speech which would try to hold the balance even between the two countries but I am sorry to say that the speech of the representative of the United Kingdom was a very partisan speech. And it was partisan on three grounds. First, Sir Patrick Dean, the representative of the United Kingdom made an astonishing statement that to consider the legality of the accession was unrealistic. Now he is a lawyer and I happen to be a lawyer myself and I cannot understand how you can consider the accession of any country except on legal grounds. It is a question of international and constitutional law and in this case the accession was the result of an Act passed by the British Parliament and yet the British representative said that to consider the legality of accession was unrealistic.