

publishing the Employees' Provident Funds (Second Amendment) Scheme, 1964.

(v) Notification G. S. R. No. 126, dated the 16th January, 1964, publishing the Employees' Provident Funds (Third Amendment) Scheme, 1964.

(vi) Notification G. S. R. No. 127, dated the 20th January, 1964, publishing the Employees' Provident Funds (Fourth Amendment) Scheme, 1964.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-2383/64 for (i) to (vi).]

A copy each of the following Notifications of the Ministry of Labour and Employment, under sub-section (2) of section 4 of the Employees' Provident Funds Act, 1952:—

(i) Notification G. S. R. No. 1983, dated the 21st December, 1963.

(ii) Notification G. S. R. No. 67, dated the 31st December, 1963.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-2384/64 for (i) and (ii).]

THE INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT (STANDING ORDERS) CENTRAL AMENDMENT RULES, 1964

SHRI C. R. PATTABHI RAMAN: Sir, I also lay on the Table a copy of the Ministry of Labour and Employment Notification G. S. R. No. 208, dated the 31st January, 1964, publishing the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Central Amendment Rules, 1964, under sub-section (3) of section 15 of the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act, 1946. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-2395/64.]

MOTION RE REPORT ON THE MID-TERM APPRAISAL OF THE THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN—continued.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, in the few minutes that were available to me

yesterday, I concentrated my attention on the failure of the Government in the agricultural field under the Third Plan. Sir, this point is inextricably bound up with production and another point, namely, that Government has to control the price line. I know that even in the Soviet Union this has been a problem but the manner in which the Soviet Union has been trying to solve it is to produce more consumer goods. Unfortunately on account of the emphasis on capital equipment in the Third Plan, Government have not given adequate attention to the development of the consumer goods industry. If we have to maintain the price line, more and more of consumer goods have got to be produced which means that there has got to be a realignment of the real objectives of the Third Plan. Sir, it is an extraordinary fact that the price of wheat in the city of Delhi, right under the nose of the Government is ten to twelve rupees more per maund than the normal price.

(Interruptions.)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mani, you are supposed to address the Chair.

SHRI A. D. MANI: The price of wheat in Delhi is about ten to twelve rupees over the normal price that should prevail. If that is the position in the city of Delhi where the Government of India have not been able to exercise any control over the price line, one can imagine what the position would be in the States. Sir, I repeat the suggestion made yesterday that the Government should immediately set up a plan under which an Agricultural Adviser of the Planning Commission and the Government will be located in the State capitals who will advise the State Governments on agricultural production and also on matters regarding controlling the price line.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Sir, the Plan has referred to the fact that industrial production in the first two years of the Plan has recorded only a modest increase of 6.5 per cent. and 8 per cent. respectively

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as against the average increase of 11.1 per cent. in the Second Plan. Though the mid-term appraisal does not say so in so many words it seems to point out that the private sector has not come up to expectations in the Third Plan. I am not speaking here for the private sector. There are other representative who can discharge their representative capacity by speaking for the private sector here. But I should like to say that it is not proper to blame the private sector for not coming up to the targeted expectations under the Third Plan. It is a fact that the engineering industry in India has an idle capacity of over 50 per cent. and this has been due to the lack of equipment.

AN HON. MEMBER: Not now.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Even now it is about 20 to 25 per cent. in the entire industry and 50 per cent. in engineering industries. These are the figures I have with me. However, the Government, on account of the delays in administrative procedures, has not been able to give the equipment required by the industry.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: (Jammu and Kashmir): Madam, it should be.

SHRI A. D. MANI: I am sorry.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE (Uttar Pradesh): But, Madam, where is the Minister of Planning? He is not present here in the House.

THE MINISTER OF PLANNING (SHRI B. R. BHAGAT): Why, I am here.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: I am sorry.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: The Opposition cannot even see today.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Madam, I may mention here that the Swaminathan Committee has suggested certain variations in administrative procedure regarding licences but whatever may be the effect of those recommenda-

tions, I think, the time has come in view of the fact that the private sector is complaining that licences are not issued in time that there should be a Joint Committee of the affected industries at the Centre which will be continuously functioning and which will advise the Government regarding the manner in which the delays in the grant of licences should be eliminated.

Madam, I should like to mention here one thing. There is a strange fact that while power generation has increased under the Third Plan there are power shortages in important cities of the country. In the Calcutta industrial area it is particularly so. We know that Government have been trying to get power generating equipment manufactured by industries in the public sector but if there are people who are willing to invest money on the manufacture of power generating plants, I think, the Government should not on ideological grounds prevent them from investing money in this manner. What we require is that power supply and power distribution should be maintained at the levels expected under the Third Plan.

Madam, I should like to say here in connection with private sector that unless Government gives its attention to the machine tools industry it will not be possible to step up the rate of progress of the industrial economy. In 1965-66 it is estimated that the demand for machine tools manufactured in India would be of the order of about Rs. 60 crores and at present the capacity of the country to produce machine tools is only Rs. 25 crores. It is therefore necessary that Government should give their serious attention to the development of the machine tools industry in India and see to it that all the available equipment which private industry requires is made available and supplied by the industries set up for this purpose.

Madam, I would like to go on to another aspect of the matter of the private sector and that is, the Govern-

ment of India should be in a position now in the third year of the Third Plan to see that the pattern of taxation is so changed as to encourage foreign investment. I understand that direct U.S. investment abroad since 1950 has increased from 11.8 billions to more than 37 billions of which India's share has been only about 451 million. Even small countries like Guatemala and the Dominican Republic have got much more than what India has received. It only shows that international capital is available for investment but the climate should be created for this purpose. In this connection I should like to say that whatever might be the requirements of theory the present pressure on Government to see that banks are nationalised will be a serious blow at foreign investment. There is no point for the sake of fulfilling the requirements of ideology that we should take steps to nationalise banks which will frighten away foreign investments from the country. Madam, I have always been of the view that it is not Pakistan which will do harm to India, it is not China which will do harm to India, but it is the half-baked theories of the London School of Economics that have wrought havoc in our country. We seem to feel that socialism even at a frightful cost must be reached. Madam, I am a socialist myself. (*Interruptions*). The only thing is I do not wear a badge; I do not talk about socialism. I am a genuine socialist. Madam, I do believe that ultimately . . .

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): If you believe in socialism who will believe in free enterprise?

SHRI A. D. BANI: This is the London School of Economics. The London School of Economics also believes in private enterprise and a socialist pattern of society. I feel that these doctrinaire theories would frighten away foreign investments from our country. Let us nationalise the banks when the time for it is ripe but not before the day when it is called for.

Madam, while talking about the private sector I should like to mention here that the Government of India has also been responsible for inflationary forces working in our economy and that is on account of the execution of projects in the public sector not in accordance with the schedule which was anticipated but outside the schedule. I should like to mention here that in the case of the steel mills the original investment in Bhilai, Durgapur and Rourkela was Rs. 353 crores. It was revised in 1957 and the revised estimates stood at Rs. 439 crores. It was again revised in 1961 and the figure then stood at Rs. 478.35 crores. It was further revised in 1963 and the figure now is Rs. 479.9 crores and the actual till March 31, 1962, was Rs. 474.7 crores.

Madam, there is a significant paragraph in this Mid-term Appraisal which refers to the money supply. It is on account of the implementation of the public sector projects on lines not imagined by the planners that there has been inflationary pressure on account of increased money supply resulting from the investments of Government in these projects. I hope, Madam, that in view of the manner in which the public sector projects are working the time has come for the Government to take action on the recommendations of the Estimates Committee. I may in this connection refer to the Audit Report of the Auditor General on commercial undertakings for 1963. He says that on an employed capital of about Rs. 1090.75 crores the net result of operation of all these companies shows a loss of Rs. 10.60 crores during the year as compared to the profit of Rs. 6.34 crores during the previous year. The Auditor General also took 25 companies for purposes of analysis. He says that out of 25 companies 23 companies showed a profit of Rs. 11.48 crores before providing for taxation and two companies incurred a loss of 0.8 crores of rupees during the year 1961-62. He also says that after making provision for taxation and adjusting the profits, losses, etc., of the previous years the

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total net amount available for appropriation was Rs. 8.85 crores. He adds that the total dividend declared by these companies was Rs. 1.3 crores which works out to less than one per cent. to the total paid-up capital of Rs. 156 crores. Now I want the public sector to expand wherever it is necessary but if concerns like the Nahan Foundry are not working properly, what is the difficulty that stands in the way of Government accepting the proposals of the Estimates Committee that 25 per cent. of the capital of this company should be thrown open for private investment?

DR. A. SUBBA RAO (Kerala): Oh?

SHRI A. D. MANI: This is again London School of Economics; it is not understood. I have studied the London School of Economics better than you have done.

PROF. M. B. LAL (Uttar Pradesh): Don't malign the London School of Economics.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM (Madras): You start a Delhi School.

SHRI N. M. LINGAM (Madras): What is your school of economics, then?

SHRI A. D. MANI: Mine is the Indian School of Economics.

SHRI N. M. LINGAM: Then define it.

SHRI A. D. MANI: It will be such that both private enterprise and public enterprise will work together.

SHRI N. M. LINGAM: It is a mixed fare, I am afraid.

SHRI A. D. MANI: That is what the Congress has done. It is your economy. That is not my fault. You swear by it.

(Time bell rings)

Madam, I would take only one minute of your time. I suggest that in respect of those industries which are running at a loss and which are not essential industries like, for example, the Nahan Foundry, the Government may follow a pattern of control which they seek to enforce on oil companies whereby the Government retains a majority control, but the management of the companies is handed over to the private sector.

DR. A. SUBBA RAO: Wonderful.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Even in Communist China the Communist Government—it may be all unpalatable to you—took capitalists from Shanghai and asked them to take over some of the State enterprises. Why can't we also utilise private enterprise and private initiative for the successful functioning of these projects?

I would like to end by saying that unless the Government takes steps to see that our effort in agriculture is consolidated and our production increases, the future is very dark because it will not be possible for us, with our foreign exchange commitments, to go year after year with a begging bowl to foreign countries for assistance in respect of foodgrains or in respect of financial assistance for the purchase of foodgrains. Thank you, Madam.

SHRI B. T. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Madam Deputy Chairman, I am highly thankful to you for giving me this opportunity and chance to speak on the Appraisal of the Third Five Year Plan. This is the first time I am speaking in this House and I have purposely chosen the subject of planning because I am a sincere believer in planning. Moreover, all the leaders for whom I have great respect and whom I have followed like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose were also firm believers in planning and by their inspiration these Five Year Plans have come into being and the Planning

Commission has come into being. By and large, planning has been accepted by the entire country. There are certain political parties in this country which have no economic content in their policies and programmes. They may have won seats in the State Legislatures and in Parliament also, but it is neither here nor there. The only organised Party, in my opinion, which is opposed to the way of planning is the Swatantra Party. Even though the Swatantra Party has been floated in the latter half of the twentieth century, I am not surprised at their attitude because their mental and intellectual outlook belongs to that of the seventeenth century, if not earlier than that. Therefore, all the other important Parties in this country have accepted planning. There is nothing bad in planning and even if there are shortfalls in this appraisal report, I am not worried about the shortfalls. Of course, I am worried about the way this document has been placed before us. The entire wording of this Report, to my mind, is equivocal, because, as I said, I am a believer in planning. I am not worried about the shortfalls provided there is a will to learn from the mistakes we have made, will to learn from what we are doing and what we intend to do and provided we are going to use the opportunities which are lying with us and also if there is sufficient determination to pursue policies which are after our heart. But I am very doubtful whether that will and strong determination lies with us. I think, because of two reasons. I feel that the Government also is not actually observing basic priorities. Planning is the most important portfolio in this country. Next to planning is finance. 'Finance' they have given to one of the intellectual, giants' but in respect of 'Planning', in my opinion, they have downgraded that portfolio. There is no Minister holding the Cabinet rank for Planning. It is not proper. I also see sometimes that for important portfolios like Industry and Commerce, there is no Cabinet rank. Important portfolios

like Transport and Communications have no Cabinet rank, but portfolios like Information and Broadcasting and others have a Cabinet rank. I am provoked to point this out because the Government is not serious about the priorities for these subjects. That is my first contention. My second contention is: What is the Planning Commission's role? There was a great furor when the Planning Commission was brought into being and men like the late John Mathai said that it was a super-Cabinet. Personally I myself would be happy if it becomes a type of super-Cabinet. My complaint is that it is not. It is an inferior version of our Union Cabinet. That is the real difficulty. The Planning Commission's main role should be an advisory role. To advise properly they must have sufficient expertise, they must have a band of competent people with them and also they must have necessary stature for it. Take, for example, any person. I am not worried about the personnel of the Planning Commission. I have nothing against them. They are good people and like Abou Ben Adam let their tribe increase. What I am worried about is they must have sufficient stature to give sometimes unpalatable advice also to the Union Cabinet and even to a man of the stature of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. They must stand up boldly and say: "Gentlemen, you are violating the priorities. You are giving attention to non-essential things and you must aim at essential things." That much stature they must have. They must get domestic and foreign expertise. They must get that from competent people like the World Bank. Then and then alone they can fulfil their role. Otherwise, they may not fulfil their role. They may have good intentions. Good intentions alone are not sufficient. They are necessary, but they are not sufficient.

Another thing is this. The crux of the problem is agriculture. I am not going to dwell more on it. I see it from this point of view. Agriculture is the most important point for the

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economy of our country because half of our national income is derived from it. But have we given sufficient attention to this basic problem? What I see is that Ministers after Ministers come and go, but the agricultural problem remains. It is a knotty problem and a fundamental problem. In regard to this neither any Minister of the Union Government nor the Planning Commission has given any serious thought to the fixation of price. Unless you give serious thought to the fixation of price, the peasant is simply not interested in more production. What they are doing at present is what they are forced to do. Moreover, agricultural production is not only an economic problem. It is in this country partly a psychological problem also. You go and see the villages. Who are ploughing the land? Only those persons are doing who have not got sufficient facilities to go to the cities and for other remunerative employment. Naturally those who have lands are there. There may be a number of rich peasants, but that has nothing to do with those who are forced to remain on the land. They are widows, old people, children, imbeciles, those who are not in a position to go for other employment. They are remaining on the land, with the result that they are forced to do cultivation according to their own mode of working. They are simply unable to have more production. The Government is doing quite a lot to help the agriculturists. I know it. But the only thing they are not going to do is fixation of price and as long as you are not going to give them a sufficient price, they are simply not interested in more production.

I also see from another angle these shortfalls. I am not purposely quoting these figures. There are the small-scale industries. Is the Planning Commission giving any serious thought to help the small-scale industries? I doubt very much. They

might have intended to do it, but they are not doing it sufficiently. Dr. Lakdavalala of Bombay University, with some of his colleagues, has drawn up a beautiful report about the progress of the small-scale industries in Bombay City. It is a very good document to read. Dr. Lakdavalala says in his report that 80 per cent of the small-scale industries are run on a proprietary basis. They are small people. They are small entrepreneurs. They have enthusiasm to do something. Our leaders, our Ministers, everybody is shouting. Please go and start small-scale industries, medium-scale industries, cottage industries and so on and so forth. But what is their experience? Their first experience is that it is very difficult to get the land. If they get land, it is very difficult to get the machinery. If the machinery has to be imported, there is no foreign exchange. If the machinery is to be had from the country, the local machinery people say that their orders are highly booked. You can take the machinery after eighteen months. After surmounting all these difficulties the small industry man has to fulfil a number of roles. He is the adviser for himself on sales tax; he is the adviser for himself on income-tax; he has to strive to get raw materials which are very difficult to get. All these things are to be there. In any procedure I have seen—I myself am a small-scale industry man and I know—the Planning Commission has not exercised its mind for helping them, for giving them some sort of assistance in their other difficulties. As for big merchants, big capitalists and big industrialists, they have their men, they have their liaison officers in Delhi, they have competent persons. They recruit ex-I.C.S. people who give them sufficient advice. All the Ministers, all the Secretaries, all of them dine with them, and they get free advice and get all facilities. For the small-scale industry people it is very difficult. The Planning Commission has not exercised its mind in this regard. That is my second point.

My third point is about mining. India is full of minerals. Take manganese, take iron ore, take mica, take bauxite. This country is so full of mineral wealth that at least for five hundred years to come it will not only be self-sufficient but it can export. But has the Planning Commission at any time given much thought to this question? Three hundred manganese mines are lying idle near Nagpur. I have a mine, I am a mine-owner myself. I know that three hundred mines are lying idle for the last five or six years. At least 50,000 employees have lost their potentialities of employment. There is loss of sales tax, there is loss of income-tax, and there is loss of foreign exchange. Nothing has been done about it. But we see sometimes the pronouncements of the hon. Ministers in charge of Industries and Mining that we are going to have a pig iron plant near about Nagpur. For six years I have been hearing that this plant is going to come up near Nagpur. It has not so far come up. Not an iota of progress has been made. I therefore ask from all these points of view whether this Planning Commission is competent enough to understand the problem. If it is competent, I ask whether it has sufficient courage to advise the Union Government and say: "Gentlemen, you are failing in your duty; you are not observing the priority; you must observe priority, then alone we can march ahead." We are facing stupendous problems. Our population is increasing. Our national income is falling. Our ignorance is increasing. Our smug self-satisfaction is increasing. Our national debt is increasing. With all these problems we have to march ahead with democratic socialism and other things, especially with democratic socialism. I am also a believer in democracy and socialism, but democracy is a very hard thing to achieve. It is a great ordeal to go in a democratic way. Things can be done very easily in a totalitarian way. But we ourselves have philosophically accepted democracy; democracy connotes and

denotes an efficient administration and the most competent personnel for governing the country. Therefore, if we want to have a democratic way of life, we have to do things in a far better, satisfactory and efficient way. Otherwise the entire public will lose faith in democracy, and all of us will stand condemned before the bar of public opinion for centuries together that because of our ignorance, because of our smug satisfaction, we had failed to achieve the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plans and therefore the country did not march forward. Therefore, my request to the Minister in charge of Planning is—he is a thorough gentleman, he is a good man, he is an efficient man, and through you I want this message to be conveyed to him: "Gentlemen, you must be serious to improve matters at the level of the Planning Commission and the Union Cabinet. Otherwise we would fail." I do not want that we should fail. I am also keen that India should be strong because a strong, democratic, socialist country like India would be a bulwark for world peace and prosperity.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras): Madam Deputy Chairman, Plans under the Congress regime like the poor will always be with us. But Plans have to be judged by their fruits, and their fruits are described in the official mid-term appraisal. Compliments have been paid to the writers of this report for their honesty, their truth and their frankness. Is truth-telling so rare in Government circles that the compilers of this report have to be specially complimented on their honesty and truth?

First of all the mid-term appraisal report refers to the short-falls in agricultural production. Foodgrains which were 79 million tons in 1961-62 have fallen to 77 million tons in 1962-63. Even cotton which is a cash crop, which earns much better money than foodgrains, has come down from 99,84,000 bales in 1961-62 to 92,28,000 bales in 1962-63. The state of indus-

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trial production is somewhat better, but that is because in industrial production we have started almost from scratch. Steel ingots have risen by 63 per cent in 1962-63. Aluminium gives even a better show; it has risen by 150 per cent. But automobiles have increased only by 4 per cent, and cotton textiles, perhaps the oldest industry in this country and the most useful to the people, have fallen down by 3 per cent, and sugar, which is another foreign exchange earner, has dwindled down by 28 per cent.

As for small-scale industries, out of Rs. 263 crores provided in the Third Plan only Rs. 125 crores have been so far spent, and only Rs. 80 crores may be spent according to the average expenditure per year in the rest of the period, as against Rs. 2993 crores provided for large-scale industries. That shows the high esteem in which the Government holds or the planners hold the large-scale industries as against the small-scale industries. These small-scale industries provide full employment for only 25 lakh persons and part-time employment for 6 lakh persons, whereas in the countryside there are millions upon millions, there are nearly 15 million persons who are either in full unemployment or in part unemployment. The mid-term appraisal report itself acknowledges that "no firm production targets have been provided in this sector", the small-scale sector of industries.

What are the observations that one is tempted to make in regard to the report that we are considering? First of all it is true that Plans are being worked under pressure. Barbara Ward, the famous economist, a very sympathetic critic of the Plans, says that the Plans are under pressure at present. First of all there is the great pressure of defence. Now how have the planners re-arranged the Plans in view of the great pressure of defence? Why has all this failure occurred? First of all it is because, as we have

often pointed out from this side of the House, first things are not put first. Agriculture in our country must have the first priority. Many small measures which might have improved the agricultural production—as pointed out by Barbara Ward herself, works that tend towards the saving of water, bunding, levelling completion of minor irrigation channels, making of roads that will connect the fields with the markets—these are not attended to. No State legislation has been attempted to compel farmers to help in the completion of minor irrigation channels. One single farmer by his obstinacy may prevent the watering of a large number of acres. Some provision has no doubt been made for minor irrigation works. The revised target for minor irrigation works would provide for the irrigation of 13.8 million acres by the end of the Third Plan period. But so far only 7 million acres have been achieved. As for manure, chemical fertilisers provided are only one million tons whereas our fields require millions of tons. Why is it that the planners neglect the provision of organic manure which can be produced in every field by every peasant? The making of organic manure through composts will be able to solve the manure problem much quicker than chemical fertilisers. And chemical fertilisers have been compared by a famous botanist, Sir Albert Howard, to whisky which no doubt stimulates production for the time being but exhausts the field. Water is so scarce in this country. The failure of the monsoon is the frequent cause attributed by the Government and speakers on behalf of the Government for the failure of agricultural production but in such a country where rainfall is so scarce, every ounce of water has to be saved. There was a famous irrigation engineer, Sir Arthur Cotton, to whom a grateful Andhra people have erected a statue even after independence. I think it is probably the only case of an Englishman getting a statue in the period of independence. It was he who provided the great irrigation works of the Krishna and the Godavari and thereby

created the agricultural prosperity of Andhra Pradesh. Critics of Sir Arthur Cotton at the time used to say that he had water in the brain. I wish some of our rulers had water in their brains like Sir Arthur Cotton. That is to say, I would like them to have a feeling that every ounce of water should be saved. They should become water-conscious. Conservation of water at the source and along the course of our rivers must be provided for. The taming of the snow-bound rivers like the Kosi which is called the river of destruction ought to be taken up, not in building up embankments along the course of the rivers but by attacking the rivers at their very sources. Planting of trees both at the sources of our rivers and along the routes should be done. When I asked a question about this whether there was any large-scale programme for the plantation of trees, the Agricultural Minister said that there was a programme, but he did not go into figures. We should like to know how many hundreds of millions of trees are to be planted during the Third Plan period. It is only then that we shall be convinced that Government is making due provision for the plantation of trees. Barbara Ward also says that in the circumstances of India, wood should be preferred to steel, whereas steel is an obsession with our Ministers and with the Planning Commission.

With regard to the consolidation of holdings, another means of saving agriculture, only 29 million acres have been consolidated in the Second Plan period and 31 millions in the Third Plan period, whereas there are at least one hundred million acres of fragmented land, holdings below five acres, which require to be consolidated.

Inadequate marketing facilities are another obstacle to agricultural production. No figures are given with regard to the roads that the Mid-term Appraisal Report promises. We should be told how many thousands or hundreds of thousands of miles of village-

roads will be built every year. It is only then that we shall be convinced that the Government are serious about the provision of adequate marketing facilities.

Village and small industries are another source of large income. The Plan, as I said, provides only Rs. 260 crores as against ten times that amount provided for the large-scale industries, and only 40 per cent. of that has been spent in the last two years. Mr. Santhanam yesterday issued a warning that unnecessary cottage industries, unnecessary small-scale industries, should not be established. No doubt, that would be a waste. But then these small-scale industries should spring out of the life of the people in the villages, out of the life of the countryside. They can attend to the needs of the people like repairing the carts and repairing the motors that now ply on these roads. Provision should be made for teaching these small-scale industries, old and new, to these people. And the profit motive should come back. Not only in the small-scale industry, but also in the large-scale industry, profit motive is a motive that keeps up the industry alive. Even Mr. Khrushchev has come to be convinced in recent times that the profit motive must be introduced into Russian industry.

And another serious defect in regard to the Plans is that while as Barbara Ward says, much attention, in fact more attention, is paid to the formulation of the Plans, not enough attention is paid to the implementation of the Plans. The States are often criticised that they do not implement the Plans but what can the State Governments do? Most of them are deficit States; their finances are in a deficit. How can they provide for matching grants that the Central Government requires? In view of the circumstances of the country, in view of the financial position of the States who are the poor relations of the Central Government, it should provide all the money that is required in order to

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 implement these Plans. If money is not available for all the plans, then they should choose only those plans that are absolutely and urgently necessary for the economic development of the country. And also there should be Central agencies in the States for the implementation of the Plans. It is no use expecting the State Governments and the State officials to implement these plans. First of all, they are all hard-worked officials. The Collector, for instance, has enough work to do. A Secretary of the Secretariat has enough work to do. A Development Officer in the States has enough work to do. And when he is unable to attend to all the work of the State itself, how can he find the time and energy for doing the work of the Central Government? In the United States of America, the Federal Government has its own agencies for the implementation of its plans and that is a device which the Central Government ought to adopt.

My final word to the Planning Commission, Madam Deputy Chairman, is that they should start from the foundations, they should build the foundations. Agriculture and small-scale industries are the foundations of the industrial development of our country. Orientation of Plans and Planners should be towards the village and the small man. There are five hundred thousand villages and there are about four hundred million people living in the villages. If your plans are orientated towards them, towards their prosperity and towards increasing the income of these people, you will be able to finance your whole industrial development. Their education—primary education, adult education and technical education—ought to be first attended to. In this connection, may I ask why Japan, and not Russia, should not be imitated in regard to industrial growth? When Japan started its modern history, Japan had to start from scratch. How did they set about it? They set about it by improving their agricultural

production; they set about it by starting small-scale industries. It is from small-scale industries that they promoted themselves to large-scale industries.

The Congress Government, Madam Deputy Chairman, in its Plans reminds me of the inhabitants of Laputa Island in one of Gulliver's travels. They built their houses from the top and they were rather surprised that the houses were not completed. We must plan for prosperity, not for socialism, not for any 'ism'. No doubt, under socialism you can achieve some prosperity. But it will be limping and late. Drop all isms, drop all economic and political philosophies and choose a method; whether it is nationalisation here or private enterprise there, choose your devices according to the needs of the time; plan for prosperity, not for socialism, and then you will achieve the industrial and economic prosperity of the country.

SHRI KHANDUBHAI K. DESAI (Gujarat): Madam Deputy Chairman, while discussing what is called the Third Plan Mid-term Appraisal or trying to review the working of all Plans, one finds oneself in rather deep waters. In the maze of so many figures it is very difficult to find out what is what and still if one were to probe those figures in a comprehensive and comparative way, one finds that there are achievements and shortfalls or shortcomings. Some people are apt to say that this is a crisis of development. Rightly so; it may be a crisis of development, but that crisis should not overwhelm us; it is one that has to be overcome, because there is no other way of bringing plenty to the country except through, as the previous speaker has said efforts for building up the economic strength of the country in a planned way. Where difficulties arise, there are two sections of thought in the country and their remedies are different. The panacea of one section for overcoming the evil is: Nationalise everything and

there will be plenty. There is the other remedy which the other rightist section prescribes; Let there be *laissez faire*; let all regulations go; let all controls go and there will be plenty.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair.]

Fortunately, in trying to build up a socialist democracy based on adult franchise, the country has very wisely accepted planned economy which, according to me, is the middle road to prosperity. While keeping in view the urges of the people we have not allowed regimentation on one side or complete freedom to exploit on the other. It is entirely a new process and the country is trying to follow a new pattern of development inasmuch as it is yet an underdeveloped country. As such, in the very nature of things, there are bound to be pitfalls. But they are not to make us nervous; we must go ahead. There is no denying the fact that the Third Five Year Plan has fallen into difficulties; we must admit that. And what are the difficulties? Has the economic growth in the first two years of the Plan been fairly satisfactory? A total of about forty per cent economic growth has taken place giving a *per capita* income of about 18 per cent in the first two plans, but in two years of the Third Five Year Plan period, and the current year, the third year of the Plan gives, if I may say so, an indication of stagnation. Economic growth has gone up only to the extent of 2.5 per cent, and on the other side population growth has also been of the same order. So it can be safely said that no growth has taken place in this field.

As far as industrial production is concerned, while the Plan envisages an increase of 11 per cent per year, it has been 6 per cent, or a little more in the first year; 8 per cent in the second year, and in the third year I do not think it is going to be much more than 8 per cent. Therefore the economic growth, as has been envis-

aged in the Third Plan, of nearly 25 per cent is outside the scope of reality. It must be noted that our agricultural base has been fairly weakened—I use the word ‘weakened’ deliberately—*vis-a-vis* the growth of population and *vis-a-vis* our difficult consumption position. The inflationary trends are still on and the savings of the people are thereby affected. So, during the next two years the whole machinery at the State level and Central level must be geared up monetarily, administratively and otherwise to stop this inflationary trend. Of course the Third Five Year Plan looks very impressive in that big volume, but in the actual working of the Plan the natural equilibrium which they hoped for between production, consumption and purchasing power has not been kept up; that equilibrium has been destroyed and is reflected in the trend for prices to rise further and further. Let us see what is the position of the prices? Taking 1952-53 as the base year and 100 points as the basis, it is round about 137 now, which means that the rupee has eroded to the extent of more than one-third in value. That may be one of the grounds—the inflationary trend—for the complete erosion of the rupee in course of time, which you will find reflected in industrial production, agricultural production and production in other fields. So, for the next two years, instead of being complacent and optimistic—over-optimistic, if I may say so, as the review tries to lull us into—let the Planning Commission realise that we have entered into very deep waters, and unless the inflationary trend is stemmed, planning is likely to fall into disrepute.

1 P.M.

An example of what is aimed at and what is implemented has been placed before us by the hon Member from Rajasthan. He has placed before us how that so-called package aspect of the Planning Commission has been implemented in Rajasthan. No impact of representative opinion has

[Shri Khandubhai K. Desai.]

been found necessary by the officialdom of the State. Presently this thinking in the Yojana Bhawan is again being implemented and reviewed by their counterparts at the Jaipur level and their counterparts at Pali. What can you expect from it? So it requires a clear instruction by the Planning Commission to the Government of the day to associate, whosoever they may be, the representatives of the people to show their day-to-day reaction. That is, if I may say so, one remedy that is called for.

Then, my friend, Mr. Santhanam, made two suggestions, that the Planning Commission in its Review has flourished those figures which are called in the Planning language "the Outlay", the monetary aspect of it. So many rupees have been spent and there is still so much shortfall. Therefore, let it now be "directional planning", the words used by him. It means, let there be no unnecessary monetary target to be spent but what you want to achieve, and whether that achievement has been fulfilled from quarter to quarter assessment, with the consultation of the representatives of the people. That is the way out of the situation.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am now trying to tread on very delicate ground. The Plan now envisages the outlay of Rs. 7,600 crores to be increased even to Rs. 8,000 crores, if possible. Certain taxation measures were envisaged in the Plan in order to find the resources. It has been said that Rs. 1,700 crores will be raised. But in the very first three years of the Plan the target, if I may say so, has not only been achieved but now it is said that at the present rate of taxation, direct or indirect, whatever it is, it might go up to Rs. 2,400 crores. That may be both the cause and effect of the present difficulties because economic growth of 5 per cent. means 25 per cent. during the Plan period is have envisaged a Plan for Rs. 1,700 not going to materialise. Now you crores as taxation. But with the

growth of only 2.5 per cent, that is half and with the rise in population to the same extent, you will be receiving this huge tax during the five years against stagnant economy. You have received this amount through an economic growth, which was, as I said, stagnant. What else can happen in this economic thinking, economic practice? What we complain today is that the Plan re-appraisal comes a bit too late. The re-appraisal or review, if I may say so, should be a continuous process and it must come before the House and before the country every six months, if not earlier.

As I said, for the next two years now, for the Third Plan to go through, I would be satisfied even if 60 per cent. of your targets is fulfilled. Hundred per cent. is out of the question. And even in order to fulfil that 60 per cent. of your undertaking, or your hopes, serious steps should be taken immediately during the next few months otherwise that will also go away. Let us realise that we are in difficulty. The Plan is running into difficulties. But it does not mean that the Plan should be given up. All I say is that it must be looked to in a planned way.

As far as your agricultural base is concerned, as I said, it is not only stagnant but it is weakened. There was a target in the Third Five Year Plan of a hundred million tons of foodgrains and we are still hovering round about 80 million tons which was the target in the last year of the Second Five Year Plan. Is it realistic now to think that we will ever reach our Five-Year Plan target of 100 million tons with the existing target machinery and target thinking? Therefore, it is no re-appraisal. The Planning Commission, as a brain trust of this democracy, of this Government, without loss of time, instead of moving about and exhorting people to do this, that and the other, must sit down quietly day and night and give us a

rethinking for the next two years so that the Fourth Plan can be saved. If I may, I would like to suggest how to deal with the inflationary certainty, I will not say only the trend. When people talk of high prices, the index going up for the urban population and ask others to bring down the prices, do they realise what they are preaching? The prices, according to me, can only be brought down by bringing down the prices artificially of the agricultural raw materials and food at the agricultural level. Is it ever possible democratically? It is not possible. So in the natural course, a conflict has arisen between the rural areas, the agricultural production and the price they ought to get as an incentive and the consumers at the urban level. So let it be clearly understood what is what. That is a question of conflict between 82 per cent. of our rural population and 18 per cent. of urban population. How is it to be tackled? It is no use saying that it would be tackled. It is no use at the same time saying that they should not raise the prices. Let us understand the two conflicts. You cannot have the cake and eat it also. On the other side the salaries of the employees and wage-earners would have to go up. They would ask for more D.A. more wages, more promotions, more salaries. Our Finance Minister, about a month back, had given something. So our workers got more D.A. but what, happened in the small narrow urban areas? By the time that man gets a rupee, it is further eroded by the price rise because the merchants are clever enough to pocket the higher purchasing power without the producer at the other end or supplier at the other end pocketing it. Is it a remedy? It has been found that it is not a remedy. Now we have parties here who come to the urban population and say that they should ask for more wages and more salaries. The same people go to the rural areas and ask them to ask for more price for their production. The arguments differ in the different places.

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SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: That is true of the Congress Party.

SHRI KHANDUBHAI K. DESAI: If it is true of the Congress Party, it is wrong. That is what I am telling. Therefore let this Plan be considered a national Plan. We are all interested in the well-being of the people, both urban and the rural and an equilibrium between production, consumption and distribution would have to be brought about. That is the problem Mr. Planning Minister, before you. How to bring it about? Yes, it can be brought about. As I understand it, at the production level and at the consumption level the intermediary is supposed to get anywhere from 40 to 50 per cent. As it is called in economic terms, the price spread in our country is about 40 per cent. Let the mind of the Planning Commission be applied on whether this 40 per cent. can be reduced. How to do it is for the Planning Commission, as our brain-trust, to suggest to us. If they cannot suggest to us, as somebody said, they are incompetent to advise. We are laymen here and as laymen we place before the Government and the Planning Commission what we feel. How to assuage their feelings is for them to advise. Anyway, as a layman, one thing suggests itself to me which I am placing before the Planning Commission for what it is worth. This eternal conflict, this eternal trouble between 82 per cent. and 18 per cent. is going to dog us. Therefore the only matter in the inflationary trend, which is inevitable as some people call it, is the crisis of development. What the Planning Commission should suggest to us is the subsidising of six or seven essential commodities in the urban areas through shops which have already been licensed. The other day the Home Minister said that 70,000 shops have already been licensed—fair price shops as they are called—in the country which cater to about seven crores of urban population. That is the only remedy which to a layman like myself, suggests itself. That will mean

[Shri Khandubhai K. Desai]
 money, that will mean administration but it has to be gone through. It is a *via media* between complete rationing and regulation. Situated as we are, there are bound to be malpractices even in those subsidised fair price shops. For the next two years it might cost you a few hundred crores but are you prepared to lay by that money to subsidise the urban population for six or seven essential commodities and for giving them all prices 15 or 20 per cent cheaper or are you going to go in for the vicious circle of purchasing power chasing the commodities and the commodities chasing the purchasing power, causing all sorts of fluctuations and all sorts of demands for wage rise and D.A. and the prices going up. The Appraisal gave one figure

SHRI N. M. ANWAR (Madras) On a point of clarification on this aspect of vicious circle. Every time you only see this experience of the purchasing power pursuing the commodity and not the other way round.

SHRI KHANDUBHAI K. DESAI The whole question is, it may happen as it happened in 1954-55. You have broken my chain of thought.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE The vicious circle is broken.

SHRI KHANDUBHAI K. DESAI What I was saying was, this 18 per cent of the urban population are not parasites and they require to be looked after. At the same time agriculture also requires to be intensely looked after and therefore the Prime Minister's suggestions—it is unfortunate that the Chief Ministers have not been carrying it out—must be rigorously enforced. The Chief Minister, with his status and stature as the leader of the Party at the State level must become the Agriculture Minister and must be prepared to get the brickbats and the bouquets in regard to agriculture. He must be prepared to do it, otherwise I am afraid nothing is going to be carried out. That is

the question that has been posed before us. I hope and pray that with regard to the Planning Commission's advice I do not find any fault with them and the fault is with the Government, because the Government has appointed them as experts and it goes on their advice—in their tendering that advice, the Government should not interfere with that advice. Let it be a sort of advice which is genuine, which is not interfered with by people in the Government. After the advice comes, let them apply their mind.

But in the course of giving proper advice, the Planning Commission should have no difficulty, and theirs is not the last word also. Parliament has the last word.

And lastly, I would like to say a word or two about the Planning Commission itself. As it usually happens in any set-up of this order or of this type, people grab everything. The Planning Commission has become a big octopus. Instead of being an advisory, consultative body, it has become an administrative body and all sorts of Secretaries and Joint Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries and so on, go on multiplying every month, and those people who should not bother themselves with files have now got all sorts of files. How can they give you advice? How can they utilise their brain for that? They go on getting into the drab bureaucratic apparatus. So I say, let the Planning Commission gradually—it has to be gradual because the question of unemployment may come in—divest itself of the great load and burden which its members are now carrying on their heads.

Lastly, Sir, there is one point with which I am personally concerned. There was my suggestion regarding the distribution of the national wealth as it was about five years back, and some three years ago the Mahalanobis Committee was appointed. I was anxiously waiting for its

report. But that report is not yet out. If that report had been completed and presented to us early enough, some of these difficulties might not have arisen, because the data which that Committee must have collected, would have enabled the Planning Commission and the Government and also Parliament to come out with detailed suggestions. How can we know? What is happening to the Mahalanobis Committee? I would like to know that. What have they done? They must have been exercising their brains. But does it take two or three years to prepare a report on how the national income has been distributed since that Committee was appointed? May I know if ever that report will see the light of day and if so, when? I would, therefore, urge upon the Planning Commission not only to expedite it but also to take every care to see that this report is put before them and also presented to Parliament as early as possible and a debate should take place on that report so that we can give our concrete suggestions. Let the agricultural obsession be strengthened, let it be augmented and for the time being, let the Planning Commission and the government get out of this industrial obsession. For the time being, let the obsession be for agriculture. Whatever industrial projects have been taken up, you cannot scrap them, because they are in the course of preparation and execution. Whatever industrial projects are there, let them be consolidated. Let this consolidation take place. As far as economic activities are generally concerned, instead of taking up more grandiloquent schemes which we cannot carry out within our resources, let us devote ourselves to strengthening the agricultural sector. That, in my view, is the only solution in the present difficult crisis. Thank you.

SHRIMATI K BHARATHI (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, in spite of what the very distinguished spokesman of the Swatantra Party has said, I wish to congratulate the Government for the frank way in which the evaluation of the Third Plan was submitted to

this House. Sir, I think it is a right thing to be truthful and frank about one's own failures. Mr. Vice-Chairman, the defects were owned and the shortfalls were stated forthrightly. No attempt was made to camouflage the failures and paint a picture of flamboyant success.

But, Sir, it is really sad that some quarters did not respond to this frankness in the way they should have done. Instead, they availed of this opportunity to smash the party in power, the Plan itself and the Planning Commission in general, and what not. Sir, the most dignified thing for them would have been to respond by constructive criticism and helpful suggestions. After all, the Plan is the child of the Parliament, it belongs to us all. I am simply surprised at the sweeping criticisms against planning itself. Even in the so-called free economy, planning is there. It is not to be forgotten that the private entrepreneurs look up to the Government to establish so many social heads for their enterprises to go ahead. They want the Government to build roads, bridges. They want railways, communications, they want, harbours, hospitals. They want even protections and subsidies. Sir, the hon. member Shri A. D. Mani was advocating the cause of the Swatantra party to turn over the hydro-electric projects to the private sector and to leave it to them to take them up as and when they chose.

Sir, it is true that planning and control should not lead to serfdom, as some fear. A correct balance has to be kept between controls and freedom. Controls must be resorted to when they are indispensable for the social good. Even then they must be open to review and criticism. Nobody can allege that this Government in any way hampers or smothers free criticism.

As far the shortfalls and failures are concerned, of course, we have to

[Shrimati K. Bharathi.]
take a serious view of the defects and we should rectify them. There are many defects in executing our programmes today. We cannot be complacent about them. All the same, let us not forget that even after years of planning, the Soviet economy is suffering from shortfalls. Mr. Khrushchev has the courage to own it, to admit it frankly, and he has the humaneness to import wheat lest the people starve; to keep up the bubble of self-sufficiency and the myth of miraculous success.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, life is an eternal struggle. Defects will be thrown up now and then; but men who are honest enough will have to own them and remedy them. If there are shortfalls after years of planning, even under a more rigid control, in a Communist country, with a sparse population like Soviet Russia, let us not take too pessimistic a view of things in this country today. Sir, there is little doubt in my mind that the impact of planning is being felt in every aspect of our life today. There is no denying that fact. But in the agricultural sector there are serious defects. I am glad that the Government proposes to tackle this question and the hon. Minister himself stated the other day that he was enthusiastic about it and he was going to whip up the progress.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Shrimati Bharathi, you may continue your speech after lunch. The House stands adjourned till 2.30 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirty minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at half-past two of the clock, THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair.

SHRIMATI K. BHARATHI: Sir, I was dealing with the serious setbacks in our agricultural programmes before the House rose for lunch. Yes, there are serious drawbacks in our agricultural sphere but the Minister seems to be very enthusiastic about giving a push to the various programmes through agricultural boards, co-ordination boards at different levels, concentrating on minor irrigation projects, etc. Sir, I do join with my esteemed colleague, Mr. Khandubhai Desai, in saying that the Chief Ministers of all States should handle the agriculture portfolio henceforward. Let our industrial obsession be transferred to agricultural front, I request. Sir, the real defect seems to be that agriculture does not attract the best talent in this country today. The best seek government service or join professions or take to trade and industry. It is those with the least initiative and drive that are left in the agricultural sector. How can we expect them to bring about revolution in our agricultural front? There is no need to get furious with our planners and the Planning Commission and the Government for this problem. We notice, Sir, that there is a small stream of talented men going into the plantation industry today. That is because that industry, in the hands of European planters, has acquired a status and reputation, and that is one of the secrets why talented people go into that industry. Another temptation is that it is more profitable than the traditional ones. The old conventional type of cultivation has neither the status, prestige nor income to attract the best amongst us. The holdings must be big enough and the income must be good enough to attract the best of the talent. Why not we recruit the Gram Sevaks from the best educated agriculturists, I ask. In selecting a candidate, the way he cultivates his land, husband his animals and keeps his environment sanitary must be the important consideration. I wish that even I.A.S. men have a

smell of good earth. Today they merely smell old papers. They are divorced from the earth and they stand away and aloof from the people. There is nothing common between them and the peasant. At least I.A.S. men must work as Gram Sevaks for the period of probation and only those who can move well with the peasants should be regularised. Something has to be done to make the peasant feel important, that is what I say; otherwise, no amount of "whipping up" will give the desired effect. Then, Sir, it is true that a large proportion of the money spent on the Five Year Plans goes into channels which in their turn go into non-productive investment. Whether one likes it or not, it is a fact, Sir, that our Five Year Plans are benefiting the big contractors, more than any other section of the society. The contractors have become more powerful than any other section. Their money power gives them great influence if not control over political parties. The officers are, in some cases at least, at their mercy. The money they amass goes into luxurious and opulent buildings as well as chains of air-conditioned theatres. It will be a good thing, Sir, if the construction work is entrusted to the Bharat Sevak Samaj, labour co-operatives, etc. This can be done only if the vested interests in this line are broken. Active interest has to be taken by Government and the Ministers concerned if this has to be pursued effectively. Today, the power of land, and landed aristocracy has faded out but new forces are there in their places. The planners and the Government have to be alert.

Thank you, Sir.

PROF. A. R. WADIA (Nominated):
Mr. Vice-Chairman, I think we ought to be very grateful to Government for producing this very interesting and instructive document. I particu-

larly admire their courage in producing it in a very frank spirit without any windowdressing but this very frankness highlights certain defects, which I am afraid, are somewhat inherent in all planning and which made us fearful from the very beginning about the full success of the Plan. I quite appreciate the difficulties that our planners have had to face from the very beginning. The first difficulty was that we had no experience of planning. We were brought up under the British in the economics of free democracies. We had no idea of planning and therefore, we found it very difficult to adjust ourselves to the new conditions of the new ideologies. The second difficulty was that we had absolutely no proper statistical information and I am afraid that difficulty still exists. We are still short of proper statistics which could enable our planners to develop their plans on a very scientific basis. The third difficulty was that we had no proper personnel. Of course, this follows from the fact that we had no experience. Now, curiously enough, no less a person than our Minister for Mines and Steel had to say, just about a year ago in a conference at Ahmedabad, that he had come across an instance where a decision which could be taken in twentyfour hours was not taken for two years in a public sector undertaking run by I.C.S. managers. Now, that is why on more than one occasion I have emphasised the fact that if the public sector really means to do business, it cannot depend merely on administrative officers to do that work. It must have a special cadre of men, men who are intelligent, who are accustomed to business and know what business means. These people can deliver the goods, not more administrators. The fourth difficulty was that due to lack of proper information, due to lack of definite statistics, there were no proper estimates made and estimates, as my friend, Mr. Mani, pointed out this morning, year after year have been increasing without any limit. I certainly agree with my friend, Mr. Santhanam, that the

[Prof. A. R. Wadia.]
whole machinery of our planning needs to be overhauled. I am inclined to agree with him that the whole planning Commission would be far more efficient if its personnel were reduced by seventyfive per cent. I am perfectly certain that the Government will not accept that suggestion; I would be content even if it is reduced by fifty per cent. There is no doubt that you would have better work and more earnestness in it.

Now, my personal feeling is that the whole planning has been proceeding on four wrong assumptions. The first assumption is that, the Government management is always more efficient than private management. I have already mentioned the certificate given by Mr. Subramaniam himself. Another instance we find in the running of the Heavy Engineering Corporation at Ranchi. The foundry forge plant was behind schedule. It could not be built in time. Why?

Because they were told evidently by persons who did not know their business that the foundation could be laid on granite. As a matter of fact there was no granite; there was only loose earth and as a result of it naturally the foundation took more time. Another example of efficiency of this organisation is this. A huge steel shed collapsed under a 65 mile per hour storm when the shed was supposed to have been designed to withstand a storm of 80 miles per hour. Cracks were found in walls and in buildings, in beams, in the residential quarters which involved loss of Rs. 22 lakhs. Now, that goes to show that you cannot assume, simply because the Government takes up an industry, that it will be more efficient than a private enterprise.

The second wrong assumption is that profits made by private individuals or private companies can be

made equally by Government. Now, that is a very false assumption. You cannot equate any Tom, Dick or Harry with a J.R.D. Tata or a big entrepreneur who knows how to build up an industry and as a result of it we find only frustration in many of the public sector undertakings. We find that the Government machinery is always costlier, much costlier than in private business. With all sorts of leave rules, all sorts of amenities that are offered to Government employees, it becomes a very costly affair. Very often they do not take even a personal interest just as much as any owner of a private industry or a private factory usually takes. I was rather amused by the fact that no less a person than Mr. K. D. Malaviya who has always been championing the cause of nationalisation was constrained to pay a very high compliment to the private sector in collieries for doing a better job than the National Coal Development Corporation. Now, a compliment coming from Mr. Malaviya is worth something; I suppose it ought to appeal even to my friends on the opposite side.

The third wrong assumption is that the employees will benefit under Government management. Well, they do to a certain extent because there is security. And security implies indifference. For lack of efficiency nobody can be dismissed on the spot because all sort of complex machinery have to be taken recourse to. And hence the enthusiasm of the bank employees when they issue circular letters to us and the public at large that the banks should be nationalised. It will certainly do good to them; it will certainly be beneficial to them but on the other hand it is not necessarily to be taken for granted that the employees of Government concerns will be necessarily treated better. Now, my friend, Mr. Khandubhai Desai openly said once—I think it was a year

age or less than a year ago—that the public sector possessed a “feudal mind” and it was deficient in human values”. He even went on to say that the stage of development in the public sector was one out of which the private sector had emerged three generations ago. That is again a compliment which is worth attending to because it comes from someone who was a Minister once and who is very intimately connected with labour.

The fourth wrong assumption is that when the public sector takes up a work the cost of the goods will automatically be less. Now our actual experience is that as soon as a flourishing private industry is taken over by Government the cost rises, naturally because the cost of management rises, and as a result of it the consumers have to pay a higher price. We find it practically in everything, in our State Transport, in so many things. Well, take for example even an institution like our Life Insurance Corporation which has a complete monopoly of life insurance in our country. We should expect that they would manage it in a way which would be beneficial to the public but people who are concerned with that line say that it is not so. People find to their cost that they have to wait long before they can get their policies paid. In one example it went up even to the Madras High Court and the High Court Judges used very damaging language that the Corporation was more interested in denying the legality of the policy than in paying and in winning public confidence. It was an open condemnation by Mr. Justice Venkataraman. Or take again the case of Penicillin which is such a necessary drug unfortunately in modern days. Its cost price was 18 nP and it was being sold for 32 nP. I believe very recently Mr. Kabir has said that the price was going to be reduced.

Now, the fascination that our Government has for planning on the Russian model is not justified by experience. The United States of America, the United Kingdom, West Germany, Japan, France, Canada, Australia, they are all capitalist countries and they are far more flourishing than the Communist countries even in agriculture; leave aside the industries. Russia was predominantly an agricultural country; China is predominantly an agricultural country and both of them have to go to capitalist countries for their bare food needs. They have to get it from Canada or from Australia or from America. That shows that in Russia the planning has not succeeded completely even in agriculture. In industries Russia has succeeded to a considerable extent but every visitor to Russia knows how costly the consumer goods are. There is not the slightest doubt that the standards of living in Russia is much lower than the standard of living in any of the capitalist countries. I again admire the courage of Mr. Khrushchev when he openly asked the question very recently in November 1962: why don't we make use of the things that the capitalists have, that are rational and economically profitable? My friends here again and again have been haranguing against the profit motive but unfortunately human nature being what it is we cannot do without profit motive. Every person who works wants a certain incentive whether that incentive comes in the form of wages or it comes in the form of titles or it comes in the form of appreciation; whatever it might be there is profit motive. In fact Lenin tried a very heroic experiment of putting income at the same level and soon after his death Stalin had to go back on this policy and he had to introduce slabs: foremen getting more, professors getting more and even today the scientists are paid fabulous salaries in Russia much more than what a scientist gets.

[Prof. A R Wadia.]

perhaps even in America A Russian scientist half-jocularly said that the scientists in Russia constituted an aristocracy, naturally because they are paid much more than the average worker in the industries at large. Khrushchev even had the courage to say. "It takes brains and capital to catch up with the US" Now, unfortunately, we in our blind enthusiasm have accepted Russia as our model. It is interesting to note that the Russian collective farms produce only 7.1 tons per hectare, while the private workers produce 11.6 tons per hectare. That means that even in Russia, where private industries are allowed to function, to a certain extent, they produce better results Dr Margaret Miller, an expert on Soviet economics, concludes that one-fourth of all forms of economic activity in Russia is in private hands or passes through non-official channels. Now, that, again, is a tribute to the elementary fact of human nature that Government cannot do everything for us. There are certain things which can best be done by the private industry

There is a note in this appraisal blaming the private sector for non-attainment of targets. This point was taken up by Mr Mani and I agree with him that this is not a completely fair criticism, because the private sector is made to suffer terrible difficulties in obtaining licences Then, they have to face controls when they want raw materials They do not get foreign exchange And naturally for want of these materials they cannot go on with their industries. So, if the private sector has not quite succeeded in coming up to their targets, as expected by the Planning Commission, I am afraid we cannot entirely blame the private sector.

Now, in this connection it is interesting to turn to Mr. Tarlok Singh's article, which appeared in the

"Yojana" and to which my friend, Mr Santhanam, drew our attention yesterday. In fact I had not read it till he drew our attention to it It is interesting to note that he is a gentleman who has been connected with planning from the very beginning In fact, it was an open secret that the First Plan was really his work He says:—

"From the mid-term appraisal the lesson can be drawn that the existing system of planning in relation to private industry leaves too much uncertainty in fields where assured progress has enormous implications for the growth of the economy as a whole."

Now, here again, it is a compliment not coming from anyone interested in the private sector, but from an official, a very clever official who knows what he is talking about and who knows his business. Now, there is a need for the private sector to be encouraged and there should be a certain settled policy as to the clear and distinctive spheres of the public and private sectors. Even the Labour Party in England has come to accept the principle of private industries and to repudiate nationalisation as a policy One important member of the British Labour Party, Mr Douglas Jay, has said that "absence of private property implies denial of freedom" and that is a very useful idea to bear in mind

Now, therefore, it seems to me that if our planning is going to succeed, there will have to be a genuine overhauling of it a sincere reconsideration of the whole policy implied in this planning Well, I venture to suggest merely as a humble man three things The first thing is that the Planning Commission should concentrate on a few really big ventures which are beyond the capacity of the private sector and which are really needed for the

economy of our country. The second point is there should be a definite assurance to the private sector that it can develop instead of being continuously nagged. It is a very distressing thing to find one Minister saying at one place that nationalisation of so and so will be brought about. Immediately the stock market registers a fall. Some other Minister says that nationalisation is not thought of by the Government and the share market rises. Now, this sort of uncertainty is very disastrous to industry. Unless the private sector industry is assured of its continuance, it cannot flourish. No one can tolerate the sword of Damocles continuously hanging over his head. There is a common idea that cement is going to be nationalised, just as banks are going to be nationalised. Now, in these circumstances, which bank will try to bring in more money or more enthusiasm to develop the banking business or how can the cement industry be expected to invest more money or to do something to develop, when there is a fear that the next morning the Government will pounce upon it? That is a very unfortunate sort of thing.

The third thing and that is what I expect in real planning is this. In Russia, for example, they know what industries and what offices will require what type of personnel. On that basis they regulate the admission of students to their schools, colleges and universities, so that there is really no unemployment. Unfortunately in India this sort of planning simply does not exist. Foreign scholarships are given to Indian students, bright students. They go and come back with degrees, but the Government has no jobs for them. No wonder that many of them settled down in foreign countries and those who are anxious to come back to India are frustrated that their degrees are of no use and are not made use of. Now, why cannot real planning be done by our Planning Commission,

e.g. so many people will be required with a knowledge of Japanese or with a knowledge of Russian or with a knowledge of Chinese? And the universities ought to be called upon to introduce courses accordingly. Scholarships should be given to deserving students to specialise in these subjects, so that when they come out there are jobs waiting for them. Similarly, if you know that a particular industry requires an officer of a particular type, send a bright man to a foreign country, but when he comes back, give him the job, make use of him. Otherwise, the amount spent on scholarships is completely wasted.

Sir, I do not wish to take more of your time, except to emphasise the need to revise the whole concept of planning in the light of our fifteen years experience. It will be wrong to doubt the good faith of our communist friends. They mean well, but I appeal to them not to doubt the good faith of the industrialists or capitalists and who are usually also called as monopolists. They are not necessarily all monopolists in the sense in which many industries in the public sector are monopolies. The capitalists are doing good work

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE
(Bihar): Not all.

PROF. A. R. WADIA: Maybe. I am glad that there are some at least. If you know that there are certain bad people, weed them out. My complaint against the Government is when they know that certain industrialists in the private sector are working dishonestly, why do they not come down on them and keep them down? They have not done it. That is the charge made by my communist friends and I sympathise with them. They are absolutely justified in making that charge. If the Government are sure of the fact that a certain company is not working honestly, the company

[Prof. A. R. Wadia.]
law gives them enough power to shut it down. They do not do it. 3 P. M. The reason is, well, everyone knows I submit that the industrialists are creative. They employ labour, they find opportunities of employment for our teeming millions. They pay better dividends than the public sector. They pay also more taxes to the Government. For all these reasons I think the Planning Commission should be clear as to what is going to be in the public sector and how far they are going to encourage the private sector.

श्री गोडे मुराहरि (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, योजना के बारे में जब चर्चा होती है, तो हमें सिर्फ तीसरी योजना की चर्चा नहीं करनी चाहिये बल्कि पिछली जो दो योजनाएँ हो चुकी हैं उनकी कामियाबियों के ऊपर और उनके फलस्वरूप जो तीसरी योजना बनाई गई, उसकी जो कामियाबियाँ अभी तक हुई हैं और जिन का जिक्र किया गया है, उसके बारे में भी हम लोगों को सोचना चाहिये। इन तीनों योजनाओं को अगर हम देखें तो एक चीज साफ हो जानी चाहिये कि जिस ढंग की योजनाएँ हमारी देश में बनाई गई हैं उनमें कोई बुनियादी खराबी है। नहीं तो आज जिस परिस्थिति में हम गुजर रहे हैं वैसी परिस्थिति क्यों पैदा हुई? कृषि का जो फल होना चाहिये, जो उत्पादन होना चाहिये, उसको देखते हुए, जो दाम दिन पर दिन बढ़ते जाते हैं उनको देखते हुए, और हिन्दुस्तान के साधारण नागरिक की आमदनी को देखते हुए जब हम इस योजना के बारे में सोचते हैं तो फिर यह साफ हो जाता है कि कोई बुनियादी गलती है हमारी जितनी तीनों योजनाएँ बनी हैं उन में।

हिन्दुस्तान जैसे देश में जब हम कोई योजना बनाते हैं तो यह साफ हो जाना चाहिये कि हमारे यहाँ पूँजी की कमी है। इसलिए जो हमारी मैन पावर है, जो

हमारी मजदूर शक्ति है, उसको ज्यादा से ज्यादा इस्तेमाल करने के लिये जो भी योजना बन सकती थी, उसका ज्यादा फल मिलता लेकिन दुर्भाग्यवश हमारे योजना-कर्ताओं ने कुछ विदेशी योजनाओं की नकल की। जो पहले कुछ अन्य देशों में योजनाएँ बनी थी, उन्हीं की नकल करके हमारे यहाँ पर भी योजनाएँ बनी जिनमें प्रधानता दी जाती है पूँजी को और यह सब पर जाहिर है कि हिन्दुस्तान में पूँजी की कमी है। तो यह जो बुनियादी गलती हमारी योजना में है इसको ले करके जब हम आगे बढ़ते हैं तो यह लाजिमी है कि हमारी जो योजना बनी है उसका कोई नतीजा न निकले।

हमारे देश में जो उद्योग अभी तक हम लोग बना पाये उसमें भी एक बुनियादी गलती यह हुई है कि उद्योगों का केन्द्रीयकरण हुआ है। बड़े बड़े उद्योगों के बारे में तो समझ में आता है कि उनका विकेन्द्रीकरण नहीं हो सकता, लेकिन कंजुमर गुड्स के जो उद्योग हैं उनका भी केन्द्रीकरण होता है तो फिर समझ में नहीं आता है कि हमारे देश में जो मैन पावर है उसका इस्तेमाल कैसे हो सकता है। यह जरूरी था कि हमारी जो गावों में मैन पावर है, जो आदमी बेकार पड़े रहते हैं, उनका अगर इस्तेमाल करना था तो हमारी जो कंजुमर इंडस्ट्री है उसका विकेन्द्रीकरण करके वह हमारे गावों तक पहुंचाई गई होती। हम देखते हैं कि हमारे गावों में साल में तीन महीने या चार महीने तक कोई काम नहीं होता है और आदमी बेकार पड़े रहते हैं और उनके इस्तेमाल करने की कोई योजना इस सरकार ने नहीं बनाई है। तो यह सारी योजना का जो ढंग है वही गलत है। आज इस योजना के फलस्वरूप हम यह देख रहे हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों को अनाज नहीं मिलता और बार बार यह कहने पर भी कि हम अनाज में अपने आप को सेल्फ सफिशियेंट कर देंगे और अनाज की पैदावार बढ़ेगी फिर

भी आज हम यह देखते हैं कि जगह-जगह पर अकाल पड़ा हुआ है और अनाज के दाम इतने बढ़ गए हैं कि फसल के समय पर जब उसके दाम गिरने चाहिये उस वक्त भी दाम बढ़ते जा रहे हैं। तो आज की स्थिति जो हम लोगों ने इस देश में पैदा कर रखी है, यह भी हमारी जो बुनियादी गलतियाँ योजना की हैं उनके फलस्वरूप हैं।

एक और बुनियादी गलती यह भी है कि कृषि के बारे में जब हम लोगों ने सोचा तो यह ध्यान नहीं दिया गया कि छोटे-छोटे सिंचाई प्रोजेक्ट्स जो हैं उनके ऊपर ध्यान दिया जाता। बड़े बड़े प्रोजेक्ट्स, जिनकी हमने योजना में कल्पना की थी, उनमें हम कुछ सफल भी हुए हैं लेकिन यह बड़ी बड़ी सिंचाई की जो योजनाएँ हैं न उसी सारे देश का कल्याण हो सकता है ऐसा तो है नहीं और हमारे देश में जहाँ ज्यादातर लोग गावों में रहते हैं और हिन्दुस्तान भर में बैठे हैं वहाँ कोई एक या तो इलाके के लिये कोई बड़ी योजना बना कर हम सारे देश में उत्पादन की बढ़ोतरी कर सकेंगे, ऐसी बात नहीं है। इसलिये हमको पहले चाहिये था कि हम छोटे छोटे इरीगेशन प्रोजेक्ट्स का हाथ में लेते और उनके जरिये सारे गावों का कल्याण करते और उसके बाद हम और चीजों के बारे में सोचते। लेकिन हमने ऐसा नहीं किया। ज्यादातर बड़ी योजनाओं की ओर हम लोगों ने अपना ध्यान बैठाया और उद्योगों को बढ़ाने की ओर हम लोगों ने अपना ध्यान बैठाया। अब उद्योगों के बारे में जब हम देखते हैं तो इस झगड़े में पड़ना नहीं चाहता कि प्राइवेट सेक्टर या पब्लिक सेक्टर में कौन एफिशियंट है और अच्छी तरह से उत्पादन कर रहा है मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है कि प्राइवेट सेक्टर और पब्लिक सेक्टर दोनों ही निकम्मे बने हुए हैं। प्राइवेट सेक्टर ने अपना ज्यादा ध्यान आफिट करने में लगा रखा है और पब्लिक

सेक्टर का ज्यादा ध्यान हमेशा इनएफिशियसी पर रहा है क्योंकि जो आफिसर लोग हैं उनको कोई इनसेटिव नहीं है, उनको उसमें कोई दिलचस्पी नहीं है और वे समाज की किसी चीज से बंधे हुये हैं, ऐसा भी नहीं है। उनको एक नौकरी मिल गई है, अच्छी तनख्वाह मिलती है, इसलिये उनको कोई फिक्र नहीं है कि पब्लिक सेक्टर में कैसा काम हो रहा है। इसलिए एक तरफ पब्लिक सेक्टर में इनएफिशियसी है और दूसरी तरफ प्राइवेट सेक्टर ज्यादा मुनाफा करने में लगा हुआ है। इसलिये मुझे इस झगड़े में नहीं पड़ना है। लेकिन जो हमने देश में उद्योगों का एक ढाँचा बनाया है, वह जैसा कि मैंने कहा एक गलत बुनियाद पर बनाया गया है, और इसलिये उसका जितना हम लोगों को लाभ मिलना चाहिये वह नहीं मिल पा रहा है। उसका विकेन्द्रीकरण होता तो ज्यादा लाभ हम लोगों को मिलता।

जब हम शिक्षा के बारे में सोचते हैं तो भी योजना-कर्त्तारों ने कोई बुनियादी तरह से नहीं सोचा। हिन्दुस्तान की जो जनता है, जो गरीब जनता है उसकी आमदनी के बारे में भी गलत आकड़े दिये जाते हैं, तरह तरह के गलत आकड़े दिये जाते हैं। कभी प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब यह फमति हैं कि १५ आने रोज़ में वे गुजर करते हैं। फिर तीन या चार दिन के बाद हमारे योजना मंत्री आ कर के यह कहते हैं कि १५ आने नहीं, ७ आने में वे गुजर करते हैं। फिर यह पता लगाना है कि वह ७ आने भी किसी बुनियाद पर नहीं है। उसके लिये भी कोई स्टैटिस्टिकल बुनियाद उनके पास नहीं है। जो कमेटियाँ सरकार की ओर से बैठाई जाती हैं, जैसे महालानोबिस कमिटी है, उसकी रिपोर्ट अभी तक हमारे सामने नहीं आई है। क्योंकि असल में हमारे यहाँ केन्द्रीकरण का चोर घुसा हुआ है। इससे साफ है कि हिन्दुस्तान की गरीब जनता की जो आमदनी है उसमें कोई बढ़ोतरी

[श्री गोडे मुर हरि]

नहीं हुई है और जैसा कि राम मनोहर लोहिया जी ने दूसरे सदन में कहा था कि तीन आने से ज्यादा उनकी आमदनी नहीं है वह साफ हो गया है और जितने भी आकड़े सरकार की ओर से दिये जाते हैं उनकी सारी बुनियाद यही है कि वे ७ आने पर गुजर करते हैं।

लेकिन वह आंकड़े कहां से लाते हैं और किस तरह इकट्ठे करते हैं उसकी तहकीकात करके देखे तो यह साफ मालूम होता है कि हमारी जनता के कुछ उन हिस्सों को भी इसमें जोड़ते हैं जिनकी आमदनी ज्यादा है और इस तरह यह दिखावा चाहते हैं कि यह आमदनी ३ आने नहीं है बल्कि ७ आने है लेकिन यह साफ है कि बहुत कम आमदनी पर हमारे लोग जीते हैं। तो इन लोगों की शिक्षा के बारे में जब कोई योजना बनाते हैं तब बुनियादी तौर पर यह नहीं देखते कि हमारे गांवों में कितनी जनता पड़ी हुई है जिसको कि शिक्षा देनी है और हमारे देश में बहुत से नौजवान हैं जो कि पढ़े लिखे हैं और बेकार हैं, जिनको कोई काम घन्घा नहीं मिलता है, तो इन सब लोगों की कोई एक फौज बनाई जाती, एक सेना बनाई जाती जिसे कि गांवों में भेज कर जितने अशिक्षित लोग हैं उन सब को पढ़ाया जाता, उन सब को क, ख, ग सिखाया जाता, तो कुछ होता, लेकिन ऐसी कोई योजना नहीं बनी। ऐसा लगता है कि हमारे देश में जो योजना बनाई जाती है वह सारी जनता की दृष्टि से नहीं बनाई जाती है, हमारे देश में जो गरीब लोग हैं और जो माधारण जनता है उसकी दृष्टि से नहीं बनाई जाती है बल्कि जो हमारे देश के कुछ ऊंचे वर्ग के लोग हैं उनकी दृष्टि से, उनकी भलाई के लिये बनाई जाती है क्योंकि अगर हम सारी जनता की दृष्टि से बनाते तो फिर यह लाजिमी था कि शिक्षा की कोई ऐसी योजना बनाते जिससे कि सारे देश की जनता को शिक्षा मिल जाती, हम कोई प्रगति थी कर सकते और इसके साथ साथ जो बेकार हैं उन लोगों को भी नौकरी मिल जाती।

इसी तरह से जब कृषि के बारे में सोचते हैं तो हम देखते हैं कि हमारे देश में अभी भी बहुत सी जमीन पड़ी हुई है जिसके ऊपर खेती नहीं होती है। ऐसी बहुत सी जमीन पड़ी हुई है लेकिन ऐसी जमीन को खेती के अन्तर्गत लाने की कोई योजना बनाते और जो बेकार किसान है उनकी एक सेना बना कर के उस जमीन को इस्तेमाल करने की कोशिश करते तो कुछ होता लेकिन ऐसी कोई योजना सरकार ने नहीं बनाई क्योंकि ये सब बड़ी बड़ी योजनायें होती हैं, इसमें कई लाख लोगों का भर्ती होना है और कई लाख एकड़ जमीन को इस योजना के अन्तर्गत लाना है और लाजिमी है कि अगर हमारी सरकार का दृष्टिकोण भी इसी तरह का बनता तो वह जनता का दृष्टिकोण होता और यह कोई समाजवादी सरकार होती तो शायद इन सब बातों के बारे में सोचती लेकिन कांग्रेस सरकार को इन सब चीजों के बारे में फुर्सत नहीं है, उनको तो कहीं न कहीं उद्योग बनाना है, कुछ लोगों को कांटेक्ट दिलवाना है, कुछ लोगों को लाइसेंस दिलवाना है, वह तो इसी में फंसी रहती है। तो इस तरह की योजना से हमारे देश का कोई कल्याण हो सकेगा यह तो हमको नजर नहीं आता। जहां लाइसेंस बगैरह दिये जाते हैं वहां भी हम देखते हैं कि इतना भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ता है कि कोई चीज सही ढंग से मिले ऐसा नहीं होता। मैं एक मिसाल देना चाहूंगा। पूना म्युनिसिपल ट्रांसपोर्ट अंडरटैकिंग है उसको हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार की ओर से कुछ फारेन-एक्सचेंज का कोटा दिया गया था, कुछ स्पेयर पार्ट्स लाने के लिये और मोटर की रिपेयरिंग जो होती है उनमें लगने वाली जरूरी चीजों के लिये। उनको ५० हजार रुपये महीने के हिसाब से फारेन एक्सचेंज की जरूरत थी और उनको उसके लिये परमिट दिया गया लेकिन हुआ क्या? हुआ यह कि वहां के जो अफसर हैं, जो जेनरल मैनेजर और ट्रांसपोर्ट मैनेजर हैं उन्होंने उस फारेन एक्सचेंज कोटा को किसी

प्राइवेट फर्म को दे दिया, कोई वेस्टर्न फ्रांटो-मोबाइल करके एक फर्म है उसको और ४, ५ और फर्म्स हैं उनको दे दिया, तो जितना फारेन एक्सचेंज या उसके अन्तर्गत कुछ माल भी आया और उसको बेच कर, बाजार में बेच कर, उन लोगों ने कुछ मुनाफा कमाया और शायद उसका कुछ हिस्सा इन अफसरों को भी मिलता रहा। तो यह सारी चीज सामने आई और महाराष्ट्र सरकार ने पूना म्युनिसिपल कारपोरेशन को चिट्ठी भी लिखी कि इसके बारे में कोई जांच होनी चाहिये और यह भी लिखा कि फलाना अफसर जाकर के इसकी जांच करेगा। यह ४ नवम्बर को होता है और फिर ११ नवम्बर को महाराष्ट्र सरकार का वही अफसर एक चिट्ठी लिखता है कि कुछ और नए डेवलपमेंट्स हुए हैं इसलिये हम इस इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर को स्थगित करते हैं और इसके बारे में कोई जांच होने की जरूरत नहीं है। तो जब कोई चीज पकड़ी भी जाती है तो उसको इस ढंग से ढकने की कोशिशें होती हैं। यह तो मैंने सिर्फ एक मिसाल के तौर पर कहा। अभी फारेन एक्सचेंज के जो घोटाले हुए हैं, कलकत्ते में कुछ कंपनियों की तलाशी भी ली गई है, लेकिन हर मामले को दबाया जाता है और हमारे देश की जो सम्पत्ति है जिसे कि प्लान में जो जरूरी चीजें हैं उनमें लगाना चाहिये नहीं लगती हैं और उनका इस तरह दुरुपयोग किया जाता है, किसी प्राइवेट फर्म या किसी प्राइवेट इन्डिविजुअल के मुनाफे के लिये उसका इस्तेमाल होता है। तो जब तक इन सब चीजों को देख कर कोई बुनियादी तबदीली नहीं करते हैं तब तक हिन्दुस्तान का कल्याण होने वाला नहीं है।

इसलिये मैं यह चाहूंगा कि जब सरकार हिन्दुस्तान में एक समाजवादी ढांचा लाना चाहती है और यह नारा भी देती है कि हम समाजवाद कायम करने के लिये कोशिश कर रहे हैं तो फिर उनका यह साग जो योजना का ढंग है उसको वह बदले, उसका योजना का जो दृष्टिकोण है उसको बदल कर के जब

तक कि वह सारी जनता का दृष्टिकोण अपनाती नहीं है तब तक कोई कामयाबी हासिल होगी, ऐसा हमको नहीं लगता।

SHRI K. K. SHAH (Maharashtra):
Sir, the idea of planned economy is accepted by people wedded to democratic socialism and it is conceded that it is only by planned economy that you can prevent the concentration of wealth, provide equality of opportunity, prevent lop-sided growth, meet the demand of foreign exchange and ultimately, make the country self-sufficient. But every Plan has an object, and the immediate objects so far as our Plans are concerned are that the back-log of unemployment must be removed, under-employment must be made up, the low per capita income should be raised and the demands of the rapidly rising population should be met along with the demands of defence expenditure and the heavy deficit in foreign exchange. Now let us examine what has happened during the last two Plans, and the Third Plan as the Appraisal shows. It was thought that these demands would be met during five such five-year plans, but now it is said that the returns are low because the execution is poor. And when we ask why is the execution poor we are told that pre-planning was not done, that corruption in some quarters has retarded the growth, that the private sector has lagged behind, that raw materials are not available and therefore the factories are not working to full capacity, that agricultural production is low, etc. Now are we not justified in asking: Could this not have been thought of earlier? Is it something which came as a bolt from the blue? Did the planners not foresee these results? And if they did foresee the results, why then this Third Plan Mid-term Appraisal gives us a very dark picture? With due apologies to the planners they will permit me to say that there has been somewhere wishful thinking; the application has been half-hearted, and we have not been able to enlist the cooperation of the masses to the extent it should have

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been. Sir, I wish to point out from this Mid-term Appraisal what the 'Introduction' says in the third line.

"The Plan also sought to give a more precise content to the social objectives of the Constitution and to ensure a significant advance towards the achievement of socialism"

I have taken great pains to go through both the 'Introduction' and the subsequent chapters including the chapter on 'Economic Background' and I do not find anything else except what I see on page 5 of the 'Introduction' which says:

"A number of proposals were set out in the Third Plan, including those relating to expansion of opportunities for employment, development of education and social services, grants of scholarships and other forms of aid, provision of minimum amenities in rural areas" * * *

Now does this comprise the social objectives? Does it provide equality of opportunity? Will it remove the back-log of unemployment? Figures are given so far as unemployment is concerned, and the Appraisal says here :

"An important aim in the Third Plan is to ensure substantial expansion in employment opportunities and fuller utilisation of the country's manpower resources. As against increase in non-agricultural employment of 10.5 millions visualised over the plan period, it is reckoned that in the first three years about 5 million additional jobs might be created."

If we now turn to page 10 we find that in paragraph 8 it is mentioned :

"Additional employment generated in the non-agricultural sector during the first two years has been estimated at 3.2 millions."

meaning thereby that during this third year of the Plan 1.8 millions will find employment. Now, if that is the position, then the remaining two years at the most can give you 4 millions. If this is the estimate—I leave aside the question of equality of opportunity—what has happened is this. We thought of going somewhere and we have reached a state far short of it. And if we go on like this during the thought Plan, I am sure we can expect a great upheaval. Therefore, Sir, I plead with the planners and the Planning Commission that if this is the future for which we are planning, then a complete overhauling of our thinking is necessary. It is not possible to reach the objective of democratic socialism unless important changes take place. One is that the worker must have an incentive; he must have a share in the profits. If you do not like workers' management, at least the worker must be associated with the management. I have gone and seen in Yugoslavia—I hope my friend will not run away with the idea that because it is Yugoslavia therefore it is bad. There two important changes have taken place, and sooner or later—I have no doubt whatsoever—we will have to think on those lines if we want to increase production. Why should our worker who is working in a factory help you to increase production if the entire profit is to be taken away by somebody who has the means at his disposal? The ultimate result is that five millions go on multiplying into ten millions, or ten millions go on multiplying into fifteen millions. He has not share in it and therefore he is not interested in increased production nor is he interested in savings. What is more important is that the planners should have an eye not only on increased production, not only on returns but on savings too. If these three important aspects of planning are not borne in mind we are heading for a crisis. Here they say that the private sector—I am not enamoured of the private sector; I can safely say that and I have also no malice against the private sector—here they say that the

private sector is lagging behind, because it has not been possible to give them the raw materials, which are not adequately available. Now did we not realise that the private sector or the public sector will need a particular minimum, that this minimum requirement of raw materials will be needed for the private sector? And while planning if they did not realise that this is the requirement it will be wrong, it will be criminal to allow moneys to be utilised for setting up factories and after the factories are set up we see we have no raw materials. Therefore the capital is lost, the return cannot be expected, the production is not forthcoming and so debt charges increase and we are called upon to pay heavy interest on these debts. Now this is something which deserves our immediate attention, why it is not possible to work to our optimum capacity. And if it is not possible to work to our optimum capacity, then we should take to a line whereby at least the idle capacity will not be allowed to be wasted. This is one problem. In the same way the same thing has happened in agriculture. England and America, when they started the industrial revolution in their countries, up to five hundred million dollars or up to one billion dollars were available to provide a capital base for the industry. Now we have to go in a reverse way. In this country agriculture does not supply the capital base for the industry, on the contrary industry has to meet the deficit in agricultural production. If that is so then let us go and see in Yugoslavia. In Yugoslavia they took the risk they met the deficit in agricultural production from returns from industrialisation which were so heavy that they could more than offset the deficit in agricultural production, and after they had reached the peak of industrialisation, they have taken to agricultural production so that they may become self-sufficient. But we are neither here nor there. Neither agriculture provides the base for industrialisation nor heavy returns from industrialisation allow us to make up the deficit in agricultural

production. The agriculturist is also not interested unless he gets an incentive for increased production because he finds that the gap between the selling price of his commodity and the price at which it is purchased from him is so big that he feels that somebody else is benefited at his cost. Therefore, so far as planning in this country is concerned, with every emphasis at my disposal I beg to point out that unless we go the whole hog these half-hearted measures will not help us. When we talk of democratic socialism, we should be prepared to go to the fullest extent possible so far as democratic socialism is concerned, equality of opportunity is concerned or increased production or saving is concerned. Therefore, I wish to plead before the planners that the first thing that should be done is that minimum steps should be taken to see that no idle machinery is left to remain unused, in other words, see that the factories are working to the fullest capacity possible. Certainly I do feel and I do wish to bring to their notice that the experiment carried out so far as workers' management is concerned has succeeded. Now workers' management does not mean communism; workers' management does not mean that there will be concentration of economic power, on the contrary, workers' management means—let me give the example of a factory.

PROF M B LAL What do you mean, workers' participation in management and workers' participation. These are two different things.

SHRI K K SHAH Workers' management and workers' participation ultimately lead to the same thing. Let me tell you, I have studied this problem.

DR SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND (Madhya Pradesh) How can it be?

SHRI K K SHAH I will give you an idea, an illustration, the instance of a factory in Valencia, a place in

[Shri K. K. Shah.]

Yugoslavia; I will tell you how the workers' management there is working. The Government lends the capital necessary for setting up a factory. It is repayable in twenty years. It is entirely not workers' management but workers' participation for a few years in the beginning. Representatives of the Government which supplies the capital are there on the management. But once repayment is made in ten years or fifteen years' time, then workers' participation comes to be workers' management. From the surpluses they set up another factory; and in another factory so set up, it is entirely workers' management and not workers' participation.

PROF. M. B. LAL: Do you think that workers' participation or workers' management as defined in the Third Five Year Plan will lead to full-fledged workers' management in course of time?

SHRI K. K. SHAH: Yes, I do think in that way, because what is workers' participation? Let us start with workers' participation; workers' participation should ultimately result in share of profits either by way of bonus or share in surplus income that they will get; if workers are only going to be represented without actually sharing the profit it is no longer participation.

PROF. M. B. LAL: Are you thinking of a situation where they are allowed joint control of wealth?

SHRI K. K. SHAH: Therefore, please bear with me. So far as I am concerned, workers' participation envisages sharing of profits. Workers participation does not mean that the worker goes and sits there. It should ultimately lead to workers' management. Otherwise, it will not be possible in this country to meet the demands of increasing population and the competition in view of the new technology in the world. Therefore, I have been pleading that if we want to reach our

goals, so far as planning is concerned with reference to the objectives of democratic socialism, the sooner we start workers' participation the better. I am not interested in nationalisation. If you please allow the workers to participate both in the private as well as the public sector, I am sure even the management will be prepared to allow the workers to participate in the management. Take any factory. The factory assets are known. They can be valued, and after they are valued, the management can be repaid in ten, fifteen or twenty years' time with 5 per cent. or 6 per cent. Today it has become impossible for new factories to repay the entire capital in six or seven years' time. So far as the old factories, where workers are working, are concerned, it will be possible to repay the entire capital in ten, fifteen or twenty years' time. And I am sure from that capital the private sector can put up another factory if they like.

In the same way, Sir, we take the idea of co-operative farming. In fact, co-operative farming was mixed up with joint farming. In fact, it was service co-operatives. Service co-operatives did not catch. Now my plea is that if the service co-operatives have not been able to appeal to the agriculturist, time has come when the Government could set up, what are called, Government centres for supplying the necessities for agriculture to the agriculturist. If you like, you may call it service co-operatives or you may call it anything else. But these centres will supply all the means of modern production to the agriculturist at a reasonable price. The idea caught in Yugoslavia, and after this experiment was successful, they have come to a stage where they are now prepared to make use of these modern means of production. So far as agriculture is concerned, they are prepared to hand over their lands for a year or two so that the Government or the centres can make an experiment. And

after making that experiment, when the private owner realises that increased production is possible, that higher yields are possible, he is prepared to take to those methods and in this way the question of the country's self-sufficiency can be met.

I want to make an appeal to Mr. Asoka Mehta. The country expects big things for him. A new mind will be brought to bear upon the subject. I make this appeal that after going through the Mid-term Appraisal I hope and pray that he will find out better methods of improving the defects of the first three years.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR (Madras): Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is unfortunate that this Mid-term Appraisal makes a sorry reading. But sometimes things like this happen and if they serve the purpose of putting us on the right track, then it has served well. There are two factors, two things very explosive in Indian economic conditions. One is the great poverty of the land which is responsible for the great unemployment in this country. The second is the population explosion. The population explosion, which is happening every day in this country, the effect of which has not yet been properly appreciated—maybe, it has been appreciated intellectually but not emotionally—and really if it were appreciated, many more stringent measures to control the population would have been taken.

Sir, it has been forecast that in 1975-76 our population will be somewhere near 65 crores. Our population was static in the beginning of the century. It increased by 11 per cent when it was in the twenties. Now we are increasing by 25 per cent, all round. That means that in 1975 we will be 75 crores of people. Right now it is said that we are 50 crores. Now no doubt the national wealth is increasing. In the course of the last ten years it has increased from 1202 RSD—5

Rs. 10 thousand crores to Rs. 15 thousand crores. But the *per capita* increase has been very little indeed because divided by this increased population, the *per capita* increase dwindles into something very little. This, in my opinion, Mr. Vice-Chairman, is a very important factor in the Indian economy. If we do not meet it now, it will demand our attention later. But then perhaps it may be too late.

I know that certain measures are being taken to combat it. Family Planning centres are being opened. If it is necessary to meet this grave situation, serious effort has got to be made. And unless that is forthcoming, any number of plans are not going to solve the problem. That is not my opinion, Mr. Vice-Chairman, but it is the opinion of well-thinking economists.

Secondly, Mr. Vice-Chairman, we had a backlog of over 12 million people at the end of the Second Plan. We expected an addition to the labour force of about 7 million people. The total, we thought, was 19 million people who had to be provided with employment. We expected in the Plan to provide employment for about 9 million people. Even when we had framed the Plan we expected that we would not be able to provide employment for all. But what has proved is something worse than what we expected. And what we expected was by no means rosy, by no means great. This will provide a very explosive situation in the Indian economy. And that is something which we will have to take into consideration.

I do not like to repeat, Mr. Vice-Chairman, many of the statistics which have been quoted before, many of the remarks that have been made before. People talk about a socialist society very glibly. We have made socialism as our objective. But where is this socialism in the present set-up of the society?, I ask. Time was

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when even in England with the imposition of the death tax people expected that property would be divided up and there would not be any more rich men in the world. Even after the imposition of the death tax, in the United Kingdom what they found was that in spite of the heaviest death duty that they have levied, the wealth grew and concentrated into people's hands. It was by no means a socialist economy that emerged out of this death tax. We have been trying to do many other things. But in effect there is no socialism as a result of the measures that we have taken. Even the forecast of the Mahalanobis Committee report, that has been published in the papers—I do not know whether it is real or not—says like this. They say that the income of the people in the towns has gone higher but the income of the village people has gone lower. In actual naye paise it might have gone higher but the purchasing power of the rupee, when that is taken into consideration, the income of the people in the villages has gone lower. If the report in the papers is true, then let us not say very much about our socialist objectives however much desirable and necessary they are for us. I am for a socialist objective but at the same time I am aware that in any developing economy, it is the man who creates the wealth, that will first handle the money. In an economy like ours, when we have a mixed economy and rightly so—and the proofs and the experience that we have had—into which I will go directly—have not shown that public institutions or State managed institutions are in any way better than the privately managed institutions, in fact, they have proved, in some cases they have been, worse, when that is so, when there is a mixed economy, when industries are properly managed by the private sector, it goes without saying that in a developing economy, the money that is first earned will first come into their

hands and it will take a generation for that to be brought out to be distributed. We cannot afford to be doctrinaire. What we want is the production of wealth at any cost and production and employment at any cost. We do not want a doctrinaire approach in this matter. If that is so, we should see that what we want is not to go into the niceties of whether the rich people are getting richer. They will get richer whatever we do. They are bound to get richer whatever you do because it is they who handle and develop the economy and they do not develop it for nothing. When they develop industries, it goes into their hands and big money they have. In steel mills or textile mills or whatever it is, when Rs. 2 crores they invest in it, they are going to get something whatever tax you may levy. So there is no doubt about it. They are bound to gather wealth, a few people or a few thousands of people or some hundreds of families are bound to get richer because in any developing economy, not only in this country but anywhere in the world except in Russia, where people are not developing the industries in the private sector, wherever there is a private sector it is so. I think in the conditions of India, the private sector is essential and must be maintained. I say that wherever there is a private sector, there will be a concentration of wealth but for that reason you cannot afford not to start industries, not to give licences, not to develop them because the greater necessity is to develop industries and to develop employment. Whatever that happens, we will have to tackle the distribution of the wealth a little later. Therefore, the less we talk about a doctrinaire approach, the better.

My friend, Prof. Wadia talked about a socialist conception. I personally see, after all that we have said and done, that there is not very much of a socialist concept in the result of the Plan, whatever we may say. I also agree that the people who want to develop industries must be given a

with a certain amount of security. They must know what is happening tomorrow. This loose talk about nationalising everything is not helpful. Even in regard to inviting foreign capital, we want foreign capital day in and day out, we want foreigners to invest money, we want them to intelligently cooperate and collaborate with our people, in industries for which we do not have proper skill, and if we want these, if we want industries to be developed, if we want the collaborators to come, we must give a certain amount of business of approach.

Having said that, let me examine about the resources of the Plan. About the resources of the Plan, I was surprised and happy that the public contribution, the contribution of the people of this country to the resources has been much better than was promised in the Plan. It was said :

Both the Centre and the States together, the measures of additional taxation undertaken so far would yield over the plan period roughly Rs. 2,400 crores.

Only that was expected but what has happened? About Rs. 700 crores more than the target has been received. What does it mean? This only proves that as far as the general public is concerned, they have made their proper contribution towards the Plan by way of taxes. They have done so but who has not contributed towards the Plan? It is things which we have ourselves set up, that have not contributed towards the Plan. Let me come to the other people—the Railways or the surpluses of other public enterprises. What was expected from public enterprises? Rs. 450 crores was expected from the enterprises under the Centre and the remaining Rs. 150 crores was expected to be realised from the State undertakings. But what has happened? Up to date only 100 to 80 crores of rupees have been received—nearly half or more than

half—and the expectation of reaching the target is as follows :

Even allowing for some improvement over the last two years of the Plan, it is clear that the target of Rs. 300 crores for the contribution of Central enterprises would not be reached.

It is a poor consolation. Something has happened to the State enterprises also. A sum of Rs. 150 crores was expected but only Rs. 50 to Rs. 75 crores are now expected. I ask, why is it so that in our public enterprises we borrow money from outside countries and we say we will repay them interest and capital but what happens is that we do not get the money back to repay. Why? I am coming to the 'why' of it a little later but coming to the small savings also, it is the same story.

[The Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

Coming to the private sector, I do not want to refer again to the figures that have been given by other people regarding aluminium, industrial machinery, automobiles, fertilizers, paper, paper boards, cement, etc. But the fact is and it is necessary for us to go into the reasons for these shortfalls and then find out and supply the necessary needs which will meet the emergent situation.

About agriculture, I would like to say only one word. It is easier to make an improvement in industry than in agriculture because nearly six and a half crores of families or eighty per cent. of the population is involved in agriculture. No order from the Development Wing can improve agriculture. You have to do it by the hard way by inspiring these people to better efforts, by better seeds, etc. Everybody knows and the departmental notes and the Committees they have set up and the recommendations they have made are replete with recommendations. It is all very wise recommendations. There is no new recommendation in any of these Committees—the Ford Foundation

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Committee, the Asoka Mehta Committee, the Nalagarh Committee and there are numerous committees like the Indo-American Team Committee. They have made numerous recommendations—all the same recommendations. There is nothing new about them. They recommend better seeds, better fertilisation, better water management, greater plant protection and pesticides, better marketing facilities and above all assurance of proper price to the cultivators. They have said everything but in spite of all the reports, things do not move. Even in the Food and Agriculture Ministry itself, there is a conflict. The Agriculture part of the Food and Agriculture Ministry want better price to be given to the agriculturist but the Food part of the Food and Agriculture Ministry says 'No, no. The food prices will go up. We cannot give it'. They say 'No'. This is the fact. People who sit on the Agriculture Committees will understand and will assure that this is a fact.

With this conflict going on between food and agriculture in the Ministry itself, what will happen to agricultural production? That is exactly what has happened to agricultural production. Unless with single-minded devotion people are interested in forwarding agriculture and agricultural production, the result cannot be achieved. You cannot do it by issuing orders, because orders by themselves will do nothing. You cannot do it by increasing the number of your officers, because officers by themselves can do nothing, not by writing fine big reports, because reports by themselves can do nothing. It is by enthusing the agriculturists that you can succeed. I do not want to say more on this point and I shall go on to the next one.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But your time is over.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: No, Madam. I am sorry, you will please give me a little more time.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: How much more?

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: You see, Madam, I am not a lengthy speaker.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But you will be keeping out somebody. You can have five minutes more.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: Very good, if you think that is the time I should have.

I should then like to refer to other matters. Take education. We are yet to understand that investment in education is a paying proposition. But what has happened? I have got here the statistics. Numbers have increased, but the quality has not increased. The same story you find everywhere, in elementary schools, in high schools, in colleges, in the university and in technical education.

About technical education I would like to say a word or two. The numbers are given here. Some 20,000 engineers are being trained in the degree courses and some 40,000 in some other courses and so on. But what is the objective of our technical education? The numbers that are given in the Report are very impressive indeed, but numbers are not everything. What about the quality of the Indian engineer after all this education? Indian industry now is in the imitation or copying stage today. Very soon we should be able to produce our own designs and develop our own new products and techniques of industry and so on. And for that and for training such people the training has to be different from what we now have and we should endeavour to train such men.

Another important problem to which I would like to draw the attention of the House is the wastage in our technical education. You know we spend Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 4,000 per student for technical education in the degree course in the engineering college. But according to a survey by the Plan-

ning Commission, the average wastage is of the order of 25 per cent in the case of colleges and 50 per cent in the case of polytechnics. We know we do not have the money. We are a poor country and yet we allow that amount of wastage in our technical education. Therefore, I say, these are matters which must be gone into if we are to produce a real improvement in our situation.

There is only one thing more that I would like to add, Madam Deputy Chairman, and it is this. Money alone does not and cannot do things. It is enthusiasm that does things. Swami Vivekananda said one word which I always remember. He said: A spider's web, with proper facility, can cut through a big oak. A spider's web, we all know, is a very slight thing; but given the force behind it, it gets the sharpness, the strength and the stability to cut through a big oak. It is not the strength of the web that counts, but it is the force that is behind it that counts. Even so, it is not money but it is the enthusiasm of the people of this country that counts.

Recently we have heard much talk about corruption and about the huge organisations that are going to be set up to find out this corruption. Today we do not have enthusiasm because of this very bad thing that is happening in our country, nepotism on the one hand and corruption on the other. You go to a student and ask him, "How will you get a job?" and he tells you, "I have got somebody in such and such office and through him I will get a job." It is not by passing in the first class that he hopes to do it. Even a third class man thinks he can get a job because of the intervention of other people. That, to my mind, that demoralisation, to my mind, is the basis of our failures, in whatever sphere it may be, be it in politics, in the economic sphere or in education or agriculture. The man must feel that by his efforts he will get what he deserves. But today that kind of enthusiasm is wanting in this country. Money alone, taxation alone, will not do. You have so many Acts. You have the Sales Tax

Act, the Income-tax Act and so on. But how many evaders are there? The evasion perhaps is much more than what you get. Why is that? It is because morality is not there, character is not there. Therefore, Madam Deputy Chairman, I would like to end on this note. The success of the Plan is not always to be measured by these money targets that are being fixed. The success of the Plan is not to be measured by the expenditure that is being incurred, as it is being measured now, not by the numbers also. It has to be measured by the quality of our people, by what we are, what our officers are, what our Ministers are, what our men and women are. And for that we have a great responsibility, we people in Parliament and those in the Assemblies, and the officers, the Secretaries and others, and Ministers, if I may say so. They all have got a great responsibility because they must be examples to the other people, and unless we make ourselves such examples, I feel with all our efforts, we will not really be able to create that great country which we want to create. Thank you, Madam Deputy Chairman.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND: Madam Deputy Chairman, I would like to make a few observations on this Third Five Year Plan's mid-term appraisal. I feel it was a good thing to have it presented in this manner because it saves a lot of bother in collecting figures and comparing the present with previous results. I feel that it is not possible for any planner in any country, except in communist countries, to achieve the targets set forth. In communist countries the conditions and the reasons are different. Planning itself, Madam, is, in a sense, a thing copied from communist countries. Lately, Western countries are resorting to planning; but originally it was from the communist countries that the thing spread and it was there because they have dictatorships and the corresponding powers and so they could show achievements; also there is nobody to check whether they are correct or not, according to their plan. Therefore, we have nothing to feel sorry about our own achievements,

This was to affect the educational programme in colleges, etc., and this, in turn, was responsible for falling standards. If, at that time when there could not have been much difference of opinion among the States, if we had adopted a provision in the Constitution that for a short period of ten years or fifteen years education at University stage at least should be a Central subject, then for Higher Secondary Education, the States would have had to follow suit and this would have solved our problem. Where are we now? We are again talking of making English the fifteenth language; perhaps, if Sindhi is taken it will become the sixteenth language. In short, with the various methods that we have followed, there has been a tremendous lot of confusion in the country over education.

I would now turn to the question of discipline. The country was lucky to have General Bhonsle, a colleague in the I.N.A. of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, to come forward with a plan for national discipline. He had to plead with the Ministry of Education, canvas Members for adequate finances to carry out his scheme. I know very well that in one meeting of the Board of Secondary Education this idea of the National Discipline Scheme doing any good to the country as compared to the N.C.C. and Boy Scouts was pooh-poohed and turned down. Thanks to the national emergency, this scheme of National Discipline became very popular. I remember General Bhonsle saying, "If I am given five crores of rupees for five years and if the discipline of the children of the country does not perceptibly show any difference, I am prepared to commit *hara kini*." He had tears in his eyes at that time. In a way, he saw to it that the money he wanted was given and he perhaps died a martyr's death on the field as it were because he died of heart failure when he had taken the Prime Minister to attend some function. I am sure that he died with a feeling of satisfaction in his heart that to some extent he was

able to show what he had said, in action. There are so many pitfalls in the development of education. It is surprising that being aware of these they fall into the debris and the convenience of politics is brought into every national plan which should be above politics. No doubt everyone wants education for his children and so, whether there are fully qualified teachers or not, schools are opened; whether there are enough students or not, colleges are promised for every district; whether there are enough students of proper qualifications or not, polytechnics are opened; if someone promises a contribution of four lakhs of rupees, even though it costs ten times this figure to open a polytechnic, polytechnics are promised, and when there is one mining polytechnic in one district, in the neighbouring district another polytechnic is promised and is sought to be opened. This is a very sad state of affairs because, as was rightly pointed out by the previous speaker, the quality of the students suffers. These are not so-called graduates who can sit in an arm chair and work, their quality of education not mattering. These people go into the mines, take up responsible jobs and are appointed to hold supervisory positions in the mines and if due to bad education or bad equipment or selection of material any mishap takes place, how many people would lose their lives? Whose responsibility it is? The previous speaker rightly pointed out that we have a target—this is where the Planning Commission has gone wrong—and we want to see that we produce so many technically educated people without reference to their employment, and we go on with education more and more with the result that there is a wastage of above twenty-five per cent, as he said, in a poor country like ours. Secondly, I am now talking of the Eastern Zone Regional Conference of which I am a member, even when we know that for the existing polytechnics we do not have adequately trained staff, people are more or less constrained to recommend the opening of another

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polytechnic. Now, how are these polytechnics to be manned with properly trained staff and properly paid staff? I am talking of the mining polytechnics; if some of these people find that they can get better jobs as Managers or otherwise, they go away. Now, we have to think of these problems before we allow any further institution for technical knowledge to be opened. This is a waste of money. I am very glad that Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari is here and I was happy when he pressed for co-ordination because that is the point to which I want to come now.

That has been my pet fad, you may say, all these years. For the last seven or eight years I have been pressing for co-ordination between the Ministries. It is not only in the industrial field at this critical juncture that you require co-ordination but in the educational field also you require co-ordination between three or four Ministries for raising moral standards. The Ministries concerned are the Education Ministry, the Information and Broadcasting Ministry, the Home Ministry and perhaps ultimately even the Community Development Ministry may also come in. The Education Ministry has to see how, in spite of all the education they give, the effects have been nullified, as far as its moral influence and corrupting influence on the children and the students go, through many bad things, bad advertisements, bad posters and through import of bad literature. I should have said Commerce and Industry instead of the Community Development Ministry. Here I would like to refer to the way in which summary answers are given to questions of Members of Parliament who have at their heart the well-being of the people. When they ask from where money is got for this, the answer given is that there is no difficulty of foreign exchange because there is some type of arrangement in which foreign exchange is not involved. The point, when the questioner asked the ques-

tion, was that the Government as a whole should apply co-ordinated thought to these matters. They should give thought to the manner in which this type of literature, cheap comics, etc. is brought in, how these posters are published. The Home Ministry should see what effects these exciting captions on the front page of murder, crime, burning of every kind of thing that is put on paper will have on the youth. I would say very soon at this rate the reading clientele in India too would demand a type of a newspaper similar to the one called the *World News* in England which has about eighty pages. It is called the *Landlady's paper* and it contains all these kinds of things and also some sport. I would ask therefore for a reorganisation of education. And I am incidentally glad to point out that a new questionnaire has been sent by a Committee of which Mr. Sapru, a Member of this House, is the Chairman. The object of the Committee is to examine in what way education could be made in certain spheres at the university stage a Central subject. It was as a result of the Supreme Court Judgment of 21st September 1962 that this Committee of Members of Parliament was set up to see what type of autonomy the Universities could have. The answers are yet being collected and I would not like to go into that but I would like to say that the Government should treat education as the most important subject and give it top priority. I feel it is important now when it is pointed out that there is no emergency. In normal times it should have the topmost priority because on that are based all your standards of public life and public morale. When the people are corrupt thousands of anti-corruption agencies appointed are not going to help. Today you read about the charges made against our topmost people, against everybody in every sector of life, business people and others, and one does not know what kind of effect this has on the minds of the young people.

I would like now to refer to women's education, especially education of the tribal, backward and scheduled caste women and women coming from villages. Whatever the amount of money the Government spends on their primary education, Madam, you are not likely to see the effects of it after eight or ten years because they go back into illiteracy. It is very easy to say glibly that eighty per cent. of India's population, or as it is now said 72 per cent. of India's population, lives in villages. But what are we doing for this 72 per cent. of the population in the matter of modern standards of hygienic living, in the matter of family planning on which we are going to spend Rs. 150 crores, not a mere four or five crores of rupees? How are those going to be appreciated and how are we going to get results for that expenditure from an ignorant and illiterate womanhood? Women in the villages have therefore to be given education in centres which can be called Home Welfare Training Centres, like those which are run by some missionaries with very good results. We are giving higher education and jobs on a percentage basis to the menfolk of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and naturally they would like to marry women from their community with some understanding of modern India. I do not mean in the sense of fashionable women. I have seen these girls who are educated in the Home Welfare Training Centres run by the missionaries where the family spends Rs. 2 per month and the mission spends Rs. 25 per girl per month. They are very modern in the sense of using lipstick and perhaps modern ear-rings; otherwise every type of education that any girl would use in her daily life—like any girl in the Lady Irwin College—is given along with religious training to these girls who come from the rural areas. Therefore co-ordination between the Home Ministry—I am glad that the Deputy Minister is sitting here—because locations for tribal welfare

etc. are under that Ministry though managed by the States—and the Education Ministry should be there. The Education Ministry has two branches, Social Welfare and National Council for Women's Education. If they pool their resources together and take up this experiment of running forthwith at least four such Centres per State, they will see how popular these Centres become. I have visited these Centres. Though the course is for two years, the course is for women between sixteen and seventeen, and I have seen how these girls are taken away in marriage by these newly appointed officers of the tribal classes. Therefore if we want really to do something for the tribal people, we should open these Centres.

One more thing I would like to touch upon. The Government does not take care to see what recommendations the various Committees make. I refer to the Committee which was under the Social Welfare Board before the National Council of Women's Education came in and that Committee had made a firm recommendation that in the States the new Council should have a separate Chairman and an Adviser and it should not be the same persons from the Social Welfare Board. Yet when a question was put to the Education Minister he said that he was not aware of such a recommendation. I was surprised that his Ministry did not advise him by referring to the pertinent paragraph to come before the House—it was a breach of privilege of the House to have given a wrong information—to correct this. There are some States where the two are the same with the result that the work has not got the impetus.

Many Members have dealt with labour problems. I have only to say two things. As the Finance Minister is here I would like to point out to him—though this is a labour matter—that when we appoint different Wage Boards for different industries and give interim relief and again when between their various recommenda-

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 Now you have this Bonus Commission and other things, their effect on the price level can at once be seen. In small industrial areas the shopkeepers take away all the benefits that they likely to be got by them. They actually calculate how much extra per family the worker is going to get. Again, co-ordination is required between the Home Ministry and Labour Ministry or under whomsoever these people are. They are affected. It is no use saying that under the Essential Commodities Act or under the Defence of India Rules we have enough powers to take steps against such people. But the experience is that nothing very much is done and prices go on soaring high.

Then, about the workers' participation in management, that is also not being done. A question was asked by an hon. Member in the Opposition, where the speaker who said about workers' participation in management, was referring to workers' management itself. I do not want to go into all that because there was confusion in the speaker's mind, about the employers inviting workers for taking part in management, sitting across a table and coming to know about their difficulties. That is what is called workers' participation in management by the Labour Ministry. But even that is not being done. When we make provisions and are unable to implement them, the employers become strong. They connive at the Government's orders or legislation and the workers get frustrated.

One thing more and I have done. With regard to coal production, when the planners asked for a certain target of coal production at the end of five years or at the end of, say twelve years, they did not envisage—it can be said clearly—that certain industries, as soon as electricity was available, would switch on to electricity and certain others to diesel oil and that as a result lower class coal would not be lifted. As a result, what has happened is this. Thousands of tons of coal are lying at pitheads and so

many workers today are working four days in the week in spite of protests to the Government. The Government have said: "We cannot force the employer, who is running the industry at a loss and keeping the workers in the hope of some later relief coming in the form of purchases, to employ them for the full six days. We have made them employ them for four days." The workers are demanding at least five days, if not six. These hardships have come about because of lack of foresight in planning about the switch that the industry will make.

With these few words I feel that, on the whole, there has been considerable improvement. As I quoted in the beginning from the press conference of General Carlos P. Romulo, former President of the U.N. General Assembly, I feel that we are making the best of what we can. But the real trouble is corruption, which is due to lack of proper education. Now that we have got a really strong Education Minister, who believes in reorienting education, he will do something. He has already scrapped 176 bodies under the Education Ministry—it shows what a wastage there was—with a view to organising them and focusing attention on important points. I hope he will not be switched on to another Ministry because he himself is interested in education. He says education is the most important factor in a country's proper development and once that is done corruption will be rooted out.

Thank you.

شہری بھارے لال کوہیل دے طالب:

(اثر پردیس) - مقدم - مؤن آپ کا بہت ہی شکریہ ادا کرتا ہوں کہ آپ نے مجھے تھوڑا سا قائم دیا۔ میں پلاننگ کے بارے میں کہتا تو بہت چاہتا تھا مگر چونکہ میرے ساتھ آپ نے خاص مہربانی کر کے تھوڑا سا قائم دیا ہے۔ اس لئے میں

[شری پیارے لال کرپل دطالپہ]
 دماغ ہے دو ہانہ ہیں، دو آنکھیں
 ہیں، ان کو آپ خود بھی کچھ
 کرنے دیجئے، ان کو دوسروں سے
 کمپیت کرنے دیجئے، کوئی ریزرویشن
 مت دیجئے۔ ان کی انیشیٹیو کو
 ختم مت کیجئے۔ آپ نے جب
 سے ریزرویشن دیا ہے ان کو ارد کمزور
 بنا دیا ہے۔ جس وقت مرکزی
 اسمبلی میں دو آدمی تھے، ایک
 میں تھا اور ایک دوسرا، ڈاکٹر امبیدکر
 کیہیلٹ میں تھے اس وقت سب
 سے پہلے شیڈولڈ کاسٹ کے لوگوں نے
 لئے باہر جانے کے لئے وظیفہ دینے
 کے واسطے روپیہ مقرر ہوا جو بعد
 میں ختم کر کے اب سیلنڈر گورنمنٹ
 کی طرف سے وظائف دیئے جاتے
 ہیں۔ سب سے پہلے سنٹرل اسمبلی
 میں یہ پرستار پاس ہوا کہ بوجوں
 کے اندر انکو کمپلیٹ فورسز میں
 بھرتی کیا جائے۔ میں نے یہ پرستار
 رکھا تھا۔ سب سے پہلے ریزرویشن
 سروسز میں اس وقت ہوا۔ محکمہ
 بھی اور ڈاکٹر امبیدکر کو بھی
 موقع اس ریزرویشن کے دلانے میں
 ملا۔ سب سے پہلے ان کو ۱۹۴۳
 میں ایچ کنسیشن ملا۔ اس وقت
 بہت سی تبدیلی آئی کہ کس طرح
 سے ان جاتوں کو اونچا اٹھانا چاہئے۔
 اس وقت جتنے بھی کنسیشن، رعایتیں
 سہولیتیں شیڈولڈ کاسٹ کو ملی ہوئی
 ہیں وہ اسی دوران کی ملی ہوئی

ہیں۔ یہ میں جانتا ہوں کہ آپ
 کہیں گے کہ بھت میں ان کے
 لئے زیادہ روپیہ دیا جا رہا ہے۔
 تھک ہے وہ تو جوں جوں بھت
 بڑھے گا انکا روپیہ زیادہ بڑھے گا ہی
 مگر شروع میں اس وقت یہ کام
 ہوا۔ مگر آج ہم دیکھتے ہیں کہ
 پاپولیشن بیسیز پر پارلیمنٹ میں
 شیڈولڈ کاسٹ کے لئے ریزرویشن ملا
 ہوا ہے مگر کوئی نئی چیز شیڈولڈ
 کاسٹ کے لئے نہیں ہوئی۔ صرف
 ایک انتھیپلیٹی بل پاس ہوا۔
 اس میں بھی ہم لوگوں نے حصہ
 لیا اور ہم لوگوں نے کوشش کر کے
 پاس کرایا ہے۔ اس وقت میں
 ٹوک سبھا میں تھا۔ مگر انتھیپلیٹی
 بل پاس ہو جانے کے بعد بھی اس
 دیس سے چھوڑ چھوڑ نہیں گئی۔
 یہ سمجھنے کی ضرورت ہے کہ یہ
 بھی ہمارے بھائی ہیں۔ آپ خود
 جانتے ہیں یہ نیچے نہیں ہیں،
 انھیں نہیں ہیں۔ مگر کچھ لوگ
 اپنی سہریوں کو قائم رکھنے کے لئے
 ان کو انھیں بتاتے ہیں۔ ہم انہی
 دلوں کے اندر جانتے ہیں کہ وہ
 انھیں نہیں ہیں۔ آپ اس ذہنیت
 کو بدلئے۔ آپ قربانی دے کر خود
 مت کھائیئے، ان کو کھائیئے اور آگے
 بڑھائیئے جو آپ کے بھائی ہیں۔ اگر
 آپ کے سماج کا کوئی انگ بے کار رہے
 گا تو اس میں آپ کا نقصان ہے، دیس
 کا نقصان ہے قوم کا نقصان ہے۔ میں

آپ سے درخواست کروں گا کہ آپ سوچنے کی کوشش کریں - ہم دشمن نہیں ہیں، ہم چاہتے ہیں یہ لوگ آگے اٹھیں اور دیہی کے نرمیاں میں حصہ لیں اس میں کوئی اعتراض نہیں ہے - مگر آپ اصلیت کو ماننے کے لئے بھی تیار نہیں ہیں۔ آپ ماننے اس چیز کو اور انہیں اونچا اٹھانے کی کوشش کیجئے - اس سے پہلے جب میں نے اس سدن میں اقلیتوں کا مسئلہ اٹھایا تو دو چار ممبر کہنے لگے کہ نیگروز کی حالت بھی ایسی ہے - آپ نیگروز کے ساتھ شیڈولڈ کاسٹ کو کھپیر کر رہے ہیں، جو نیگروز بڑے بڑے کالج اور یونیورسٹیاں چلا رہے ہیں، جن میں بڑے بڑے بزنس میگلٹ ہیں، کنسٹیٹیوشنلسٹ ہیں، میوزیشنس ہیں، اتھلیٹس، ڈاکٹرس ہیں - کسی بھی شعبہ میں وہ امریکہ کے سفید لوگوں سے پیچھے نہیں ہیں - صرف یہ ہے ان کو ساتھ نہیں بیٹھنے دیا جاتا - یہ فرق ہے بسوں میں نہیں ملے دیا جاتا مگر دوسرے شعبوں میں آپ ان نیگروز کو 'ور امریکہوں سے کسی بات میں پیچھے نہیں پڑیں گے - ہمارے یہاں نے خود کئی سدھیوں نے اس بات کی طرف توجہ دلائی ہے - تو یہ جو لوگ ہمارے سماج کا پرکار ہے اس کو آپ اپنے ساتھ لیجئے اور جب تک ایسا نہیں کریں گے تب

تک دیہی کا نرمیاں نہیں ہو سکتا ہے - دیہی کبھی آگے نہیں بڑھ سکتا ہے - اور آپ کے یہ جو پلانز ہیں یہ کسی حالت میں کامیاب نہیں ہو سکتے - پلانز کے ذریعہ یہ جو ویکر سیکشن ہیں ان کو آگے بڑھانے کی ضرورت ہے اور یہ ہمارے سلوڈھان کا ایک خاص مقصد رہا ہے کہ ویکر سیکشن کو ہم آگے بڑھائیں - یہ میرے پاس ایک رپورٹ ہے "General Report of the Committee of Direction, All-India Rural Credit Survey" یہ بڑی اہم رپورٹ ہے اور اس میں دیہات کے حالات کا جائزہ لیتے ہوئے یہ کہا گیا ہے - میں چاہتا ہوں کہ میں اس پیراکراف کو یہاں پر پڑھ دوں -

"One of the foremost of the objectives of the Constitution is the welfare of the weaker sections. The medium and small cultivator the agricultural labourer, the village handicraftsman, the small-scale industrial worker, the industrial labourer, the small operator in industry and transport and the lower middle class—all these share three significant characteristics which justify a prior claim on the attention of a democratic and planning State: they are numerically large, economically important and socially disadvantaged. To these must be added, as another special concern of the State, the backward classes and tribes whose degree of disability, both social and economic, is so great that the Constitution enjoins it on the State to pay them special attention. In all or most of these cases, neither legislation nor

more administrative and educational efforts, however extended, will by themselves help to solve a problem of welfare which essentially arises from grave disadvantages which are rooted in past development and have become part of the socio-economic structure of the country. If this statement is correct, then it has to be assumed that the future plan will embody measures for the diminution and eventual removal of these disadvantages; it may further be assumed that such measures, since they will otherwise fall of their purpose, will be concerted, nation-wide, state-sponsored and to the extent necessary, state-financed. Of a plan which is based on such an approach to this important aspect of the total problem and which embodies such measures, we submit that the proposals made in this Report in the more restricted context, largely of the medium and small cultivator and partly and incidentally of the handicraftsman, rural and urban, will be found to constitute a logical, necessary and integral part."

One of the main problems of the country is the socio-economic problem which today confronts the country, the approach has necessarily to be constructive and constitutional; and if only for this reason—there are others such as, for example, are pertinent to the Indian tradition—the approach of violence and class conflict and of 'revolution' in terms of these two, is of course a priori excluded from consideration, but the gigantic constructive effort which this imposes on the State as well as the people and their institutions is the reverse of inaction, laissez-faire and lack of concerted purpose. All the more is it necessary, in such a context, to devise

positive institutional modes of approach which, among other goals, lead to the resolution of conflict and mitigation of caste and class disparity, and the promotion of new factors of unity across the older divisions. In the village itself, nothing is so important in this context as to build up a new loyalty of production—of common economic effort in the widest sense—across the loyalties of caste and the disparities of riches, influence and economic privilege."

پیشہ ورانہ رشتہ کی بنیاد پر
اس کے لئے ذرا سا کام کرنے سے متعلق
انہوں نے خاص طور پر یہ کہا ہے :-

The existing rigid social stratification should not be forgotten. For centuries, landowners and tenants may live nearby but have no close intimacy for sympathetic understanding of their day-to-day needs. Nearness alone does not impart mutual knowledge. Again, close contacts among castes create an affinity which cuts across co-operative loyalties. Backward communities are tied to their old-world ceremonies, priests and caste rules. Their range of contacts is little."

جہاں تک کوآپریٹو سوسائٹیز کا تعلق ہے، کوآپریٹو سوسائٹیز اس لئے چلایا گیا تھا کہ غریب لوگوں کو اس سے مدد مل سکے گی اور غریب لوگوں کو اس سے فائدہ ہوگا۔ مگر آپ دیکھیں گے کہ کوآپریٹو سوسائٹیز میں ان کم زور آدمیوں کا ان گہرے ہوئے آدمیوں کا ان چھوٹے آدمیوں کا کیسی حصہ نہیں ہے۔ اس کے متعلق اس رپورٹ میں یہ کہا گیا ہے :-

"The directors of certain co-operative societies are Kamas,

Reddis, Brahmins (top communities in villages) and they do not take even on their staff members of any other communities. If a Reddi is the president of the society, all the members of the staff are Reddis. If the president is a Brahmin, all the members of the staff are Brahmins."

میں زیادہ نہیں پڑھنا چاہتا ہوں لیکن انڈیا بتلاؤں گا کہ کوآپریٹو سوسائٹیز کا مقصد جو ہونا چاہیئے وہ مقصد پورا نہیں ہو رہا ہے - کوآپریٹو سوسائٹیز پرافتخار کر رہی ہیں اور جس شرح سود پر کسانوں کو لون دینا چاہیئے - اس شرح سود پر وہ لون نہیں دیتی ہیں - جو اچھا سید ہونا ہے وہ مارکیٹ میں چلا جاتا ہے اور اس کی جگہ پر انفریو سہ دیا جاتا ہے - اس کے علاوہ فرٹھلائز قائم پر نہیں دیا جاتا ہے اور اس طرح کی ایکیوں پرکار کی شکایتیں ہمارے دیہات کے آدمیوں کو ہیں - اس سلسلہ میں ضاع پڑے ہوں گے پریزیڈنٹس کی ایک کانفرنس لکھنؤ میں ہوئی تھی اور بہت سے مدسہ جو وہاں پر آئے تھے انہوں نے کوآپریٹو ڈپارٹمنٹ کو کہیں ڈپارٹمنٹ بنالیا اور یہ بھی بنالیا کہ کس طرح سے کوآپریٹو مومنٹ سے کسانوں کو اور غریب لوگوں کو کوئی فائدہ نہیں پہنچتا ہے - اس کی صرف دو تین لائنیں میں پڑھ دینا چاہتا ہوں جو وہاں مجھوں نے کہیں - ایک ممبر

منسٹر شیو بخشی سنگھ زاتھور کے بارے میں

"Mr. Sheo Balish Singh Rathore, Zilla Parishad President of Mainpuri, spearheaded the attack. He said that corrupt officials of this department were shielded and promoted. He pointed out that he was compelled to make this observation because of a case in his district in which an officer had been transferred and had handed over charge, but yet continued to remain in the district. Now he was seeking promotion to a higher job as a district planning officer in Lucknow."

ایک دوسرے ممبر بدونت سنگھ مظفر نگر کے ہیں - انہوں نے لونس کے متعلق یہ کہا :-

"Mr. Balwant Singh (Muzaffarnagar) said that loans were now available from a number of agencies — co-operative societies, cane societies, land mortgage bank and the agriculture department. It was not a happy state of affairs. The generations to come of the tillers of the soil would have to remain in the clutches of the co-operative society, instead of the money-lenders."

ابھی تک وہ ملی لینڈرس کے نیچے دیے ہوئے تھے اور اب کوآپریٹو سوسائٹیز کے نیچے دیے گئے ہیں - ایک اور ممبر گلاب دھر مسرا

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kureel, you need not read but you can refer to that in your speech.

شیو پمارے لال کر دیال مطالبہ : میرے کہنے کا مطلب یہ ہے کہ میں یہ بتانا چاہتا ہوں کہ آپ کے کانگریس کے آدمی کیا کہتے ہیں، آپ کے اپنے آدمی کیا کہتے ہیں -

[شری پیارے لال کریل دوطالبہ]

With your permission two small paragraphs I will read.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please listen to me. You need not read from that. You can give the substance from that.

شری پیارے لال کریل دوطالبہ :

جیسا کہ آپ نے کہا ہے میری سبسٹینس ہی دئے دیتا ہوں - ان میں تمام ممبروں نے آگے چل کر یہ کہا کہ کسانوں کو فرٹیلائزر ٹائم پر نہیں ملتا ہے اور اس دام پر نہیں ملتا ہے جس دام پر ان کو ملنا چاہیئے - وہ سہ سے پر نہیں ملتا ہے اور کم قیمت پر نہیں ملتا ہے - اچھا سید جو ہے وہ مارکیٹ میں چلا جاتا ہے - کیسے چلا جاتا ہے ؟ افسوس کے ذریعہ سے وہ مارکیٹ میں جاتا ہے اور اسکی جگہ انفیویر ٹائپ کا سید لوگوں کو دیا جاتا ہے - اس طرح کی اینیکوں پرکار کی شکایتیں ان کسانوں کو ہیں -

میں اس کی طرف دھیان نہ دلاتے ہوئے اس پلان کی طرف خاص طور پر آپکا دھیان دلاؤنگا - اس پلان کے متعلق میں ایک چھوٹا سا ٹکڑا دٹائمس سے پڑھ کر سلانا ہوں -

उपसभापति : आप किससे यह पढ़ रहे हैं ?

What are you reading from.

SHRI P. L. KUREEL URF TALIB: It is from 'Time'.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: From where?

SHRI P. L. KUREEL URF TALIB: From 'Time'.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Which Time'?

SHRI P. L. KUREEL URF TALIB: It is the well-known international periodical 'Time', a journal. I will just read out only one paragraph:

"The question remains as to whether . . ."

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are reading from 'Time' or 'The Times'?

SHRI P. L. KUREEL URF TALIB: It is 'Time', dated the 17th January, 1964.

PROF. M. B. LAL: That is a weekly paper of the U.S.A.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kureel, are you reading from 'Time' magazine or from 'The Times'?

SHRI P. L. KUREEL URF TALIB: there it is said:

"Yet the question remains as to whether India's domestic problems, which defeated a healthy Nehru, are not too pressing for an invalid Prime Minister. Population increase still outstrip the rise in national income, and more than 75 per cent of the country's 450 million people are illiterate. Government machinery is so cumbersome that for a tragic length of time a cholera epidemic in West Bengal went virtually unattended. Three-quarters of the population lives on less than 20\$ a day, food is short, prices are rising, and the Third Five-Year Plan is foundering. Land reform is only partially implemented, and many basic industries are half idle."

یہ باہر کے ایک بیچر کے وچار ہیں - میں تو اس سے کہیں زیادہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں مگر زیادہ نہ کہہ کر

اس کی اور خاص طور پر دھیان دلوں گا کہ ہمارے یہاں بہت سے کھیتی ہر مزدور ہیں، تو اگر پروڈکشن بڑھانا چاہتے ہیں تو دیں میں جو اتنی پرتی اور بلنچر زمین پڑی ہوئی ہے جس میں کہ کلتوریٹھن نہیں ہوتا ہے اس میں ان کو لگائیں - اگر اس زمین کو کلتوریٹھن میں لایا جائے تو ہماری فوڈ پراہم حل ہو سکتی ہے - 1952ء میں ہی ہم نے کہا تھا کہ ہم حلف سٹڈیٹھن ہو جائیں گے لیکن آج 1963ء ہے اور ابھی تک یہ پراہم سالو نہیں ہوئی ہے - تو یہ زمین آپ ٹلرس آف دی سوائل کو دیجئے لہنڈ لوس ایگریکلچرل لیمبرس کو دیجئے اور وہ اپنے ہاتھ سے کاشت کاری کریں مگر کچھ ایسا ہوتا ہے کہ یہ زمین بھائے ان ضرورت مند لوگوں کے پاس جانے کے ایسے اصحاب اور ایسے لوگوں کے ہاتھ میں چلی جاتی ہے جو کہ خود کاشت نہیں کرتے ہیں اور جو کہ اس کو لے کر صرف، رکھ چھوڑتے ہیں - بڑے بڑے فارمنس بڑے بڑے لوگوں کے پاس پڑے ہوئے ہیں جن کا بہت تھوڑا سا حصہ کلتوریٹھن میں آتا ہے، باقی سب یونہی پڑا ہوا ہے - آپ دیکھیں کہ چٹلی زمین ہے - اس کو لہنڈ لوس ایگریکلچرل لیمبرس کو دیں - فارہسٹ کی نہ معلوم کتنی زمین ہے اور غریب لوگ جن کے پاس زمین نہیں ہے وہ اس

کے لئے درخواست دیتے ہیں لہکنی پروسسجر اتدا لہکنی اور لگھن ہے انڈی رکاوٹیں ہیں، کہ غریب درخواستیں دیتے ہی وہ جاتے ہیں اور ان کو زمین نہیں ملتی ہے - سدرہ اپنے فلع اناؤ میں جو کہ لکھنؤ اور کان پور کے بیچ میں ایک فلع ہے، اس میں اتلی فارہسٹ کی زمین پڑی ہوئی ہے کہ اگر وہ کلتوریٹھن میں آ جائے تو کافی پروڈکشن بڑھ سکتا ہے - مگر لوگ مانگتے رہتے ہیں اور ان کو زمین دی نہیں جاتی ہے - آفیسرلس کا جو رویہ پہلے تھا وہی اب بھی ہے، جیسا پرانا رویہ تھا ویسا اب بھی چل رہا ہے - اس میں کسی قسم کی بنیادی تبدیلی نہیں ہوئی ہے - ان کے رویہ میں تبدیلی آئی چاہیئے، جس کو زمین کی ضرورت ہے اس کو زمین دیلی چاہیئے تاکہ ہمارے دیں کے اندر پروڈکشن بڑھے - مجھے خوشی ہے کہ آپ نے ایگریکلچرل بورڈ بنایا ہے - وہ ان تمام باتوں کی طرف غور کرے، وہ ان غریبوں اور ناخواندہ آدمیوں کو جا کر کھیتی کے بارے میں بتائے، ان کے پاس آدمی بھجیوں جو کہ ان کو بتائیں کہ آج کل کے موجودہ حالات کا استعمال کسے کیا جاتا ہے، ان کو کھاد کا استعمال بتائیں، گوہر کا صحیح

[شری پیارے لال کرپل مطالبہ]

استعمال انکو بتائیں تو اس طرح سے پروڈکشن بڑھ سکتا ہے ۔

اب کنسلیدیشن ہو رہا ہے اور بری چیف پکار ہے ۔ کنسلیدیشن بری چیفز نہیں ہے ۔ کنسلیدیشن کیجئے ، ہم آپ کے ساتھ ہیں ، تمام پارٹنر آپ کے ساتھ ہیں مگر کس طریقہ پر کنسلیدیشن ہوتا ہے ؟ جس آدمی کا اثر ہے ، رسوخ ہے ؟ اس کو ایک جگہ ہی زمین مل جاتی ہے اور اچھی اچھی زمین مل جاتی ہے ، باقی اور جو کاشت کار ہیں وہ چلاتے دھتے ہیں ۔ ایک دروازے سے دوسرے دروازے پر جاتے ہیں لیکن ان کی سلوائی نہیں ہوتی ۔ ایک ٹکڑا یہاں پر ہے تو دوسرا ٹکڑا وہاں پر ہے اور اس کے علاوہ جو خراب زمین ہوتی ہے وہ ان غریب کسانوں کو دی جاتی ہے ۔

تو ایک بیسک تبدیلی لائے ۔ میں زیادہ وقت نہیں لیڈا چاہتا ہوں ۔ یہی آپ نے مہربانی کی کہ اتنا ٹائم دے دیا ۔ میرے پاس اتنے فیکٹس اور فیکٹس تھے مگر میں زیادہ نہ کہتے ہوئے یہی درخواست کروں گا کہ جو ویکر سیکشن ہے اس کی طرف زیادہ دھیان دیں اور تعلیم کو آگے بڑھائیں ۔ تعلیم کے بارے میں ہم کیا دیکھتے ہیں کہ ۸۰ سے ۸۵ فی صدی لوگ اب بھی ان پڑھ

ہیں جن کی تعلیم کا کوئی انتظام نہیں ہوا ہے ۔ دو پلان گزر گئے اور تھسوا پلان چل رہا ہے لیکن اب بھی یہی حالت ہے ۔ تعلیم کی بنا پر جو سماجی برابری آئی چاہئے اس سے ہم دور ہو رہے ہیں ۔ آج کچھ ایسے اسکول ہیں جن کو کہ پبلک اسکول کہا جاتا ہے ، جہاں پر ایک طالب علم کو پڑھانے کے لئے تین سو چار سو یا ڈھائی سو روپیہ مہینہ خرچ کرنا پڑتا ہے اور وہاں ایک دوسری ہی تہذیب پرورش پاتی ہے ، ان میں سہریریٹی کمپلکس قبول ہوتا ہے لیکن اور جو ہمارے ہزاروں اسکول ہیں انکو دیکھئے وہاں کا لوگ چاہے وہ مہترک ہو یا بی ۔ اے ۔ پاس ہو تو بھی وہ ”He go“ بولتا ہے ۔ آپ دیکھئے کہ وہ ایک معمولی درخواست بھی نہیں لکھ سکتا آپس میں کتنا انٹر بڑھتا جاتا ہے ۔ میں خود اپنے بچوں کو پبلک اسکول میں نہیں پڑھا سکتا اور جو ایر مڈل کلاس کے لوگ ہیں وہ بھی اپنے بچوں کو پبلک اسکول میں نہیں پڑھا سکتے ہیں ۔ تو یا تو آپ پبلک اسکول کو ختم کیجئے یا پھر ہمارے اسکولوں کا اسٹینڈرڈ بڑھائیں تاکہ اس دیس میں سماج واد آ سکے ، برابری آ سکے اور یہ جو چھوٹے بڑے کا انٹر ہے وہ ختم ہو سکے ۔

میں ایک بار پھر آپکا بہت بہت
شکریہ ادا کرتا ہوں۔ - تھیلک ہو
مہدم -

†[श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील "तालिब" (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मैडम, मैं आपका बहुत ही शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ कि आपने मुझे थोड़ा सा टाइम दिया। मैं प्लान्स के बारे में कहना तो बहुत चाहता था मगर चूँकि मेरे साथ आपने खास मेहरबानी करके थोड़ा सा टाइम दिया है इसलिये मैं एक आध बात आपके सामने रखूंगा। हमारे प्लान्स का मकसद तो यह था कि यहाँ की गरीब जनता को उठाया जाये, जो गिरे हुये हैं, जो कमजोर हैं, उनकी हालत को सुधारा जाये मगर हम देखते हैं कि हमारे समाजी और आर्थिक ढाँचे में किसी किस्म की बुनियादी तबदीली नहीं हुई है। दो प्लान खत्म हुये। तीसरा चल रहा है। इसके बाद भी हम देखते हैं कि हमारे देश के अन्दर कोई बुनियादी तबदीली नहीं हुई है। बेरोजगारी बढ़ती चली जा रही है। रिस्वतखोरी बढ़ती जा रही है। भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ता चला जा रहा है। सरकार के महकमों में जो वैसेज है वह बजाये कम होने के और ज्यादा होता चला जा रहा है। किसानों की हालत किसी तरह से नहीं सुधरी है। जमींदारी के खत्म हो जाने पर भी आज किसान को पेट भर कर खाना नहीं मिलता है। मजदूरों के बेजिज में किसी किस्म का परिवर्तन नहीं हुआ। ना मजदूरों को मैनेजमेंट में किसी किस्म का हिस्सा ही मिला है। खेतीहर मजदूर हमारे देश के सबसे गरीब आदमी हैं जिनके पास कोई जमीन नहीं है। जिनको मजदूरी भी साल में थोड़े अरसे के लिये मिलती है और उनकी रोज़ाना आमदनी ११ या १२ पैसे के करीब है और उन में से बहुत से ऐसे हैं जो इधर उधर से मांग कर खा पी लेते हैं। यह खेतीहर मजदूरों की हालत है। शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट की हालत यह है कि एन्टी अनटचेबिलिटी बिल पास हुआ

और जैसा कि शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट कमिशनर की रिपोर्ट पर बहस के समय मैंने बताया था कि छुआछूत अभी देहातों में ही नहीं शहरों में भी बढ़ती जाती है। बजाय इसके कि छुआछूत के बरतने में कमी हो हर महकमे में यहाँ तक कि यूनिवर्सिटी और कालेज में भी इसी छुआछूत का जोर बढ़ रहा है।

श्री शील भद्र याजी : कहां बढ़ रहा है ?

श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील "तालिब" : बढ़ रहा है। बिल्कुल सही बात है जो मैं बता रहा हूँ। बजाय कम होने के यह और बढ़ रहा है।

श्री शील भद्र याजी : गलत बात है।

श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील "तालिब" : . . . क्योंकि हम शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लोग चाहते हैं और शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट की मैजोरिटी के लोग चाहते हैं कि रिजरवेशन खत्म कर देना चाहिये। हम चाहते हैं कि देश के अन्दर से यह लानत चली जाये। आखिर शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लोगों का भी एक दिमाग है, दो हाथ हैं, दो आँखें हैं, उनको आप खुद भी कुछ करने दीजिये, उनको दूसरों से कम्पीट करने दीजिये, कोई रिजरवेशन मत दीजिये, उनकी इनीशिएटिव को खत्म मत कीजिये। आप ने जब से रिजरवेशन दिया है उनको और कमजोर बना दिया है। जिस वक्त मरकजी असेम्बली में दो आदमी थे, एक मैं था और एक दूसरा, और डा० अम्बेदकर केबिनेट में थे उस वक्त सबसे पहले शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लोगों के लिये बाहर जाने के लिये बजीफा देने के वास्ते रुपया मुकर्रर हुआ जो बाद में खत्म करके अब सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से वजाइफ दिये जाते हैं। सबसे पहले सेन्ट्रल असेम्बली में यह प्रस्ताव पास हुआ कि फौजों के अन्दर इनको कम्बेटेंट फोर्सिज में भरती किया जाये। मैंने यह प्रस्ताव रखा था। सबसे पहले रिजरवेशन सर्विसेज में उस

[श्री प्यारे लाल कुरोल "तालब"]
 वक्त हुआ। मुझे भी और डा० अम्बेदेकर को भी मौका इस रिजरवेशन के दिलाने में मिला। सबसे पहले उनको १९४३ में एज कन्सेशन मिला। उस वक्त बहुत सी तबदीली आई कि किस तरह से इन जातियों को ऊंचा उठाना चाहिए। इस वक्त जितने भी कन्सेशन, रियायते, सहूलते, शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट को मिली हुई हैं वह उसी दौरान की मिली हुई है। यह मैं जानता हूँ कि आप कहेंगे कि बजट में उनके लिये ज्यादा रुपया दिया जा रहा है। ठीक है वह तो ज्यों ज्यों बजट बढ़ेगा उनका रुपया ज्यादा बढ़ेगा ही। मगर शुरू में उस वक्त यह काम हुआ। मगर आज हम देखते हैं कि पोपुलेशन वेंसिस पर पार्लियामेंट में शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लिये रिजरवेशन मिला हुआ है। मगर कोई नई चीज़ शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लिये नहीं हुई। सिर्फ एक अनटचेबिलिटी बिल पास हुआ। उसमें भी हम लोगों ने हिस्सा लिया और हम लोगों ने कोशिश करके पास कराया है। उस वक्त में लोक सभा में था। मगर अनटचेबिलिटी बिल पास हो जाने के बाद भी इस देश से छुआछूत नहीं गई। यह समझने की जरूरत है कि यह भी हमारे भाई हैं। आप खुद जानते हैं यह नीचे नहीं हैं। इन्फीरियर नहीं हैं। मगर कुछ लोग अपनी सुपीरियरिटी को कायम रखने के लिये उनको इन्फीरियर बताते हैं। हम अपने दिलों के अन्दर जानते हैं कि वह इन्फीरियर नहीं हैं। आप इस जेहनियत को बदलिये। आप कुर्बानी दे कर खुद मत खाइये उनका खिलाइये और आगे बढ़ाइये जो आपके भाई हैं। अगर आपके समाज का कोई अंग बेकार रहेगा तो उसमें आपका नुकसान है, देश का नुकसान है, कौम का नुकसान है। मैं आप से दरखवास्त करूंगा कि आप सोचने की कोशिश करें। हम दुश्मन नहीं हैं। हम चाहते हैं कि ये लोग उठें और देश के निर्माण में हिस्सा लें। इसमें कोई एतराज नहीं है। मगर आप असलियत को मानने के लिये भी तैयार नहीं हैं। आप

मानिये इस चीज़ का और ऊंचा उन्हें उठाने की कोशिश कीजिये। इससे पहले जब मैंने इस सदन में प्रकलियतों का मसला उठाया तो दो बार मेम्बर कहने लगे कि नीग्रोज की हालत भी ऐसी है। आप नीग्रोज के साथ शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट को कम्पेयर कर रहे हैं, जो नीग्रोज बड़े-बड़े कालेज और युनिवर्सिटियाँ चला रहे हैं जिन में बड़े बड़े बिजनेस मैनेजर्स हैं, कान्स्टीट्यूशनेलिस्ट हैं, म्युजिशन्स हैं, एथलीट्स, डाक्टर हैं। किसी भी शोबा में वे अमरीका के सफेद लोगों से पीछे नहीं हैं। सिर्फ यह है उन को साथ नहीं बैठने दिया जाता, यह फर्क है। बसों में नहीं बैठने दिया जाता मगर दूसरे शोबों में आप इन नीग्रोज को और अमरीकियों से किसी बात में पीछे नहीं पायेंगे। हमारे यहाँ के खुद कई सदस्यों ने इस बात की तरफ तवज्जो दिलाई है। तो यह जो अंग हमारे समाज का बेकार है उसको आप अपने साथ लीजिये और जब तक आप ऐसा नहीं करेंगे तब तक देश का निर्माण नहीं हो सकता है, देश कभी आगे नहीं बढ़ सकता है। और आपके यह जॉग लान्स हैं यह किसी हालत में कामयाब नहीं हो सकते। 'लान्स' के जरिये यह जो वीकर सेक्शन हैं उनको आगे बढ़ाने की जरूरत है। और यह हमारे सविधान का एक खास मकसद रहा है कि वीकर सेक्शन को हम आगे बढ़ाये। यह मेरे पास एक रिपोर्ट है — "General Report of the Committee of Direction, All India Rural Credit Survey." —यही बड़ी अहम रिपोर्ट है और इसमें देहात के हालात का जायज़ा लेते हुए यह कहा गया है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि मैं इस पैराग्राफ को यहाँ पर पढ़ दूँ।

"One of the foremost of the objectives of the Constitution is the welfare of the weaker sections. The medium and small cultivator,

the agricultural labourer, the village craftsman, the small-scale industrial worker, the industrial labourer, the small operator in industry and transport and the lower middle class—all these share three significant characteristics which justify a prior claim on the attention of a democratic and planning State: they are numerically large, economically important and socially disadvantaged. To these must be added, as another special concern of the State, the backward classes and tribes whose degree of disability, both social and economic, is so great that the Constitution enjoins it on the State to pay them special attention. In all or most of these cases, neither legislation nor mere administrative and educational efforts, however extended, will by themselves help to solve a problem of welfare which essentially arises from grave disadvantages which are rooted in past development and have become part of the socio-economic structure of the country. If this statement is correct, then it has to be assumed that the future plan will embody measures for the diminution and eventual removal of these disadvantages; it may further be assumed that such measures, since they will otherwise fail of their purpose will be concerted, nation-wide, state-sponsored and to the extent necessary, state-financed. Of a plan which is based on such approach to this important aspect of the total problem and which embodies such measures, we submit that the proposals made in this report in the more restricted context largely of the medium and small cultivator and partly and incidentally of the craftsman, rural and urban, will be found to constitute a logical, necessary and integral part".

यह उन्होंने रिपोर्ट में कहा है। इसके भागे उन्होंने कान्फ्लिक्ट्स और लायलटीज के मुतालिक यह कहा है :—

"To the socio-economic problem which today confronts the country

the approach has necessarily to be constructive and constitutional; and if only for this reason—there are others such as, for example, are pertinent to the Indian tradition—the approach of violence and class conflict and of 'revolution' in terms of these two, is of course a *priori* excluded from consideration, but the gigantic constructive effort which this imposes on the State as well as the people and their institutions is the reverse of inaction, *laissez-faire* and lack of concerted purpose. All the more it is necessary, in such a context, to devise positive institutional modes of approach, which, among other goals, lead to the resolution of conflict and mitigation of caste and class disparity, and the promotion of new factors of unity across the older divisions. In the village itself, nothing is so important in this context as to build up a new loyalty of production—of common economic effort in the widest sense—across the loyalties of caste and the disparities of riches, influence and economic privilege".

यह भी रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है इसके भागे जरा सा कास्ट के मुतालिक उन्होंने बात तौर पर यह कहा है :—

"The existing rigid social stratification should not be forgotten. For centuries, landowners and tenants may live nearby but have no close intimacy for sympathetic understanding of their day-to-day needs. Nearness alone does not impart mutual knowledge. Again, close contacts among castes create an affinity which cuts across co-operative loyalties. Backward communities are tied to their old-world ceremonies, parities and caste rules. Their range of contacts is little."

जहाँ तक कोऑपरेटिव मुवमेन्ट का ताल्लुक है, कोऑपरेटिव मुवमेन्ट इसलिये बलाया गया था कि गरीब लोगों को इस से मदद मिल सकेगी। और गरीब लोगों को इस से फायदा होगा। मगर आप देखेंगे कि

[श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील "तालिब"]
कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज में इन कमजोर
आदमियों का, इन गिरे हुए आदमियों का,
इन छोटे आदमियों का कोई हिस्सा नहीं है।
इसके मुतल्लिक इस रिपोर्ट में यह कहा
गया है :—

"The directors of certain co-operative societies are Kamas, Reddis, Brahmins (top communities in villages) and they do not take even on their staff members of any other communities. If a Reddi is the president of the society, all the members of the staff are Reddis. If the president is a Brahmin, all the members of the staff are Brahmins"

मे ज्यादा नहीं पढ़ना चाहता हू लेकिन
इतना बतलाऊंगा कि कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज
का मकसद जो होना चाहिये वह मकसद पूरा
नहीं हो रहा है। कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज
प्राफिटियरिंग कर रही है और जिस तरह
सूद पर किसानों को लोन देना चाहिये। उस
तरह सूद पर वह लोन नहीं देती हैं। जो
अच्छा सीड होता है वह मार्केट में चला
जाता है और उसकी जगह पर इन्फोरियर
सीड दिया जाता है। इसके अलावा फर्टी-
लाइजर टाइम पर नहीं दिया जाता है और
इस तरह की अनेकों प्रकार की शिकायते
हमारे देहात के आदमियों को हैं। इस सिल-
सिले में जिला परिषदों के प्रेसीडेन्ट्स की एक
कांफ्रेंस लखनऊ में हुई थी और बहुत से सदस्य
जो वहां पर आये थे उन्होंने कोआपरेटिव
डिपार्टमेंट को करप्शन डिपार्टमेंट बतलाया
और यह भी बतलाया कि किस तरह स
कोआपरेटिव मुवमेन्ट से किसानों को और
गरीब लोगों को कोई फायदा नहीं पहुंचता
है। इसकी सिर्फ दो तीन लाइनें में पढ़ देना
चाहता हू जो वहां मेम्बरों ने कही। एक
मेम्बर मिस्टर शिवबल्लभसिंह राठौर के
बारे में यह है —

"Mr Sheo Baksh Singh Rathore, Zilla Parishad President of Mainpuri, spearheaded the attack. He

said that corrupt officials of this department were shielded and promoted. He pointed out that he was compelled to make this observation because of a case in his district in which an officer had been transferred and had handed over charge, but yet continued to remain in the district. Now he was seeking promotion to a higher job as a district planning officer in Lucknow".

एक दूसरे मेम्बर बलवन्त सिंह मुजफ्फर
नगर के हैं। उन्होंने लोन्स मुतल्लिक यह
कहा —

"Mr Balwant Singh (Muzaffarnagar) said that loans were now available from a number of agencies—co-operative societies, cane societies, land mortgage bank and the agriculture department. It was not a happy state of affairs. The generations to come of the tillers of the soil would have to remain in the clutches of the co-operative society, instead of the money-lenders"

अभी तक वह मनीलेंडर्स के नीचे दबे हुए
थे और अब कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज के
नीचे दबे रहेंगे। एक और मेम्बर गुलाबधर
मिश्रा . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kureel, you need not read but you can refer to that in your speech.

श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील "तालिब": मेरे
कहने का मतलब यह है कि मैं यह बतलाना
चाहता हू कि आपके कांग्रेस के आदमी क्या
कहते हैं, आप के अपने आदमी क्या कहते
हैं।

With your permission two small paragraphs I will read

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please listen to me. You need not read from that. You can give the substance from that

श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील "तालिब": जैसा कि आप ने कहा है मैं सबस्टेन्स ही दिये देता हूँ। उनमें तमाम मेम्बरों ने आगे चल कर यह कहा कि किसानों को फर्टीलाइजर टाइम पर नहीं मिलता है और उस दाम पर नहीं मिलता है जिस दाम पर उनका मिलना चाहिये। वह समय पर नहीं मिलता है और कम कीमत पर नहीं मिलता है। अच्छा सोड जो है वह मार्केट में चला जाता है। कैसे चला जाता है? अफसरो के जरिए से वह मार्केट में जाता है और उस की जगह इन्फ्लिक्शन टाइप का सोड लोगों को दिया जाता है। इस तरह की अनेकों प्रकार की शिकायतें इन किसानों को हैं। मैं इस की तरफ ध्यान न दिलाते हुए इस प्लान की तरफ खान तौर पर आप का ध्यान दिलाऊंगा। इस प्लान के मुतल्लिक मैं एक छोटा सा टुकड़ा "टाइम्स" से पढ़ कर सुनाता हूँ।

उपसभापति : आप किस से यह पढ़ रहे हैं ?

What are you reading from?

SHRI P. L. KUREEL URF TALIB: It is from 'Time'.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: From where?

SHRI P. L. KUREEL URF TALIB: From 'Time'.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN. Which 'Time'?

SHRI P. L. KUREEL URF TALIB: It is the well known international periodical 'Time', a journal. I will just read out only one paragraph

The question remains as to whether . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are reading from 'Time' or 'The Time'?

SHRI P. L. KUREEL URF TALIB: It is 'Time' dated the 17th January, 1964.

PROF. M. B. LAL: That is a weekly paper of the U.S.A.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kureel, are you reading from 'Time' magazine or from 'The Times'?

SHRI P. L. KUREEL URF TALIB: 'Time' magazine

There it is said—

"Yet the question remains as to whether India's domestic problems, which defeated a healthy Nehru, are not too pressing for an invalid Prime Minister. Population increases still outstrip the rise in national income, and more than 75% of the country's 450 million people are illiterate. Government machinery is so cumbersome that for a tragic length of time a cholera epidemic in West Bengal went virtually unattended. Three-quarters of the population lives on less than 20\$ a day, food is short, prices are rising, and the Third Five-Year Plan is foundering. Land reform is only partially implemented, and many basic industries are half idle".

यह बाहर के एक पेपर के विचार हैं। मैं तो इससे कहीं ज्यादा कहना चाहता हूँ मगर ज्यादा न कह कर इसी की ओर खास तौर पर ध्यान दिलाऊंगा कि हमारे बहुत से खेतीहर मजदूर हैं, तो अगर प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाना चाहते हैं तो देश में जो इतनी परती और बंजर जमीन पड़ी हुई है जिसमें कि कल्टीवेशन नहीं होता है, उनमें उनको लगाये। अगर उस जमीन को कल्टीवेशन में लाया जाये तो हमारी फूड प्राब्लम हल हो सकती है। १९५२ ई० में ही हमने कहा था कि हम मेलफ मफीसेट हो जायेंगे लेकिन आज १९६४ ई० है और अभी तक यह प्राब्लम सोल्व नहीं हुई है। तो यह जमीन आप टिलस आफ दी साइल को दीजिये, लैंडलेम एग्रीकल्चरल लेबर्स को दीजिये, और वह अपने हाथ से काश्तकारी करे मगर कुछ ऐसा होता है कि यह जमीन बजाय उन जरूरतमन्द

[श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील "तालिम"]

लोगों के पास जाने के ऐसे असहाब और ऐसे लोगों के हाथ में चली जाती है जो कि खुद काशत नहीं करते हैं और जो कि उसको लेकर सिर्फ रख छोड़ते हैं। बड़े-बड़े फार्मस, बड़े बड़े लोगों के पास पड़े हुये हैं जिनका बहुत थोड़ा सा हिस्सा कल्टीवेशन में आता है बाकी सब योंही पड़ा हुआ है। आप देखें कि जितनी जमीन है उसको लैंड-लेस एग्रीकल्चरल लेबरर्स को दें। फोरेस्ट की नामालूम कितनी जमीन है और गरीब लोग जिनके पास जमीन नहीं है वह उसके लिये दरखास्त देते हैं लेकिन प्रोसीजर इतना लम्बी और कठिन है, इतनी रुकावटें हैं कि गरीब दरखास्ते देते ही रह जाते हैं। और उनको जमीन नहीं मिलती है। मेरे अपने जिले उन्नाव में जो कि लखनऊ और कानपुर के बीच में एक जिला है उसमें इतनी फोरेस्ट की जमीन पड़ी हुई है कि अगर वह कल्टीवेशन में आ जाये तो काफी प्रोडक्शन बढ़ सकता है मगर लोग मागते रहते हैं और उनको जमीन दी नहीं जाती है। आफिसियल्स का जो रवैया पहले था वही अब भी है, जैसा पुराना रवैया था वैसा अब भी चल रहा है। उसमें किसी किस्म की बुनियादी तबदीली नहीं हुई है। उनके रवैये में तबदीली आनी चाहिये। जिसको जमीन की जरूरत है उसको जमीन देनी चाहिये ताकि हमारे देश के अन्दर प्रोडक्शन बढ़े। मुझे खुशी है कि आपने एग्रीकल्चरल बोर्ड बनाया है। वह इन तमाम बातों की तरफ गौर करे वह उन गरीबों और नाखुवांदा आदिमियों को जाकर खेती के बारे में बताये, उनके पास आदिमी भेजें जो कि उनको बताये कि आजकल के मौजूदा हालात का इन्तैमाल कैसे किया जाता है। उनको खाद का इन्तैमाल बताये, गोबर का मही इन्तैमाल उनको बताये तो इस तरह से प्रोडक्शन बढ़ सकता है।

अब कान्सालीडेशन हो रहा है और बड़ी चीज पुकार है। कान्सालीडेशन

बुरी चीज नहीं है। कान्सालीडेशन कीजिये, हम आपके साथ हैं, तमाम पार्टिया आपके साथ हैं मगर किस तरीके पर पर कान्सालीडेशन होता है? जिम आदिमी का अमर है, रसूख है, उसको एक जगह ही जमीन मिल जाती है और अच्छी अच्छी जमीन मिल जाती है बाकी और जो काशतकार हैं वह चिन्लाते रहते हैं, एक दरवाजे, से दूसरे दरवाजे पर जाते हैं लेकिन उनकी सुनवाई नहीं होती। एक टुकड़ा यहाँ पर है तो दूसरा टुकड़ा वहाँ पर है और इसके अलावा जो खराब जमीन होती है वह इन गरीब किसानों को दी जाती है।

तो एक बेसिक तबदीली लाइय। मैं ज्यादा वक्त नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ। यही आपने मेहरबानी की कि इतना टाइम दे दिया। मेरे पास इतने फैक्ट्स और फिगरस थे मगर मैं ज्यादा न कहते हुये यही दरखास्त करूंगा कि जो वीकर सेक्शन है उसकी तरफ ज्यादा ध्यान दे और तालीम को आगे बढ़ाये। तालीम के बारे में हम क्या देखते हैं कि ८० से ८५ फीसदी लोग अब भी अनपढ़ हैं जिनकी तालीम का कोई इन्तजाम नहीं हुआ है। दो प्लान गुजर गये और तीसरा प्लान चल रहा है लेकिन अब भी यही हालत है। तालीम की बिना पर जो समाजी बराबरी आनी चाहिये उससे हम दूर हो रहे हैं। आज कुछ ऐसे स्कूल हैं जिनको कि पब्लिक स्कूल कहा जाता है, जहाँ पर कि एक तालिबइल्म को पढ़ाने के लिये तीन सौ, चार सौ या हाई मौ रुपया महीना खर्च करना पड़ता है और वहाँ एक दूसरी ही तहजीब परवरिश पाती है, उनमें सुपीरियराटी कम्प्लेक्स डिवेलप होता है लेकिन और जो हमारे हजारों स्कूल हैं उनको देखिये, वहाँ का लड़का चाहे वह मैट्रिक हो या बी० ए० पास हो तो भी वह "He go" बोलता है। आप देखिये कि वह एक मामूली दरखास्त भी नहीं लिख सकता। आपस में कितना अन्तर बढ़ता जाता है। मैं खुद अपने बच्चों को पब्लिक स्कूल में नहीं पढ़ा सकता और जो अगर

मिडिल क्लास के लोग हैं वह भी अपने बच्चों को पब्लिक स्कूल में नहीं पढ़ा सकते हैं। तो या तो आप पब्लिक स्कूल को खत्म कीजिये या फिर हमारे स्कूलों का स्टैंडर्ड बढ़ाइये ताकि इस देश में समाजवाद आ सके, बराबरी आ सके और यह जो छोटे बड़े का अन्तर है वह खत्म हो सके।

मैं एक बार फिर आपका बहुत बहुत शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ। थैंक यू, मैडम।]

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY (Orissa): Madam Deputy Chairman, I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity to say a few words on the Mid-term Appraisal of the Third Five Year Plan. I would like to begin my observations with the following words of Shri Gulzarilal Nanda written in the introduction to the book 'Problems in the Third Plan'. He said:

"An essential feature of planning in India is its democratic character. While experts have necessarily an important part to play in the formulation of our plans, a democratic plan cannot be merely an exercise by experts. The people have to take an active part both in the formulation and the implementation of the Plan. This is the essence of democratic planning, and in so far as it gives everyone a sense of participation, it helps to make our Plan a people's plan in the truest sense of the term."

No better definition could be given than this of a democratic Plan. But coming to the practical field, we find that things are something different. People have got nothing to do with the formulation of the Plan. So we find very little co-operation from them while implementing it. A Plan by the experts who have taken an average view of everything is at times imposed on the people. As we all know, conditions from State to State, even from village to village, vary, and a parti-

cular Plan for everywhere will not bring solution. So, I think that if the States could do something to plan for themselves, then they can take a detailed view of the situation.

In this connection, I would like to mention the State Planning Board of Orissa which is doing excellent work under the able chairmanship of Shri Biju Patnaik. I cannot say about other States. As far as I remember, this attempt at having a State Planning Board in Orissa was criticised here also. It was said that this would be a parallel body to the Planning Commission. But now it is found that this is just a body which helps the Planning Commission in formulating its policy. Now, Shri Patnaik, with the able advice of Dr. Khosla, the Governor of Orissa, wants to explore the natural resources of that State and to make plans accordingly so that the pitiable condition of the State will be ended soon. Dr. Khosla mentioned in his inaugural Address to the Orissa Legislative Assembly that this State with 4.96 per cent. of the area and 4.02 per cent. of the population of India contained almost half of its mineral wealth and one-tenth of its water resources. So, Orissa's Third Plan outlay has been increased to Rs. 220 crores, and the schemes of the State Plan include the Paradeep Port and the allied schemes of express highways and mining operations, some important power schemes, transmission lines and the rural electrification programme.

Madam, if all the States will not develop simultaneously, then we will not be able to see a bright face of the country. Some bold steps, in spite of all criticisms from a section of the people, should be taken while planning. It is quite natural that sometimes a group of people have to suffer for the larger benefit of the country. At the same time I would like to mention that these people should not be left to their fate. Government should take upon itself the responsibility of those who suffer. But, if for this

[Shrimati Nandini Satpathy.]

only, somebody goes against the development plans, he will definitely have to answer before the people in the long run. The plan to build the Tikkerpara dam in Orissa is such an idea; which is criticised by some people. They are trying to exploit the cheap sentiments of the local people there. It is very easy to do this. Anyway, Tikkerpara dam is in the stage of planning. Responsible persons are doing it with full consciousness of the problems that may arise; they are also planning simultaneously the best possible solution for them. So there is nothing to be agitated about, nor can we allow others to take undue advantage of situation. This project is a multi-purpose one and mainly aims at generation of power and flood control, the latter being the long cherished hope of the people who have been suffering from the ravages of floods for generations. When it comes, it will come as a boon from the heaven and will serve not only Orissa but the nation as a whole. So I think it should not be viewed from a narrow angle.

Madam, this Plan has been criticised from different sides, but even in the U.S.S.R., which may be called the pioneer country in planned development, there have been many setbacks. We all know that the agricultural plans of U.S.S.R. and China had both failed, and last year Russia had to purchase wheat from U.S.A. and Canada. When it is so difficult for a totalitarian country we must know the difficulties we will have to face in planned development in a democratic set-up. We should not argue to abandon the Plan because of the difficulties we will have to face but, at the same time, we should boldly analyse our shortcomings and try to overcome them.

It is a matter of regret that agricultural production has increased by only 1.5 per cent. against the 5 per cent. target. What is the reason for this? It has been mentioned by the Minister while initiating the debate that the

failure in agriculture is due to bad weather conditions and some such other factors. But is it enough explanation for the shortfall in agriculture? Irrigation is the main problem, also, fertilisers and improved seeds. If we cannot give the farmers irrigation facilities, then we cannot ask them to increase production. Moreover, the price of agricultural produce should be so fixed up as to give proper benefit to the farmer. If his income will not increase, naturally he will not put his heart into agriculture. We cannot possibly keep the farmer away from the modern world and its amenities and comforts. The farmer rather prefers his son to become even a peon in any office rather than keep him in his own profession, and the reason for it is well known to everybody.

I would now like to mention about the agriculture colleges which have been set up throughout the country. What are we getting from these colleges? Are we getting really good farmers who will try to increase production with a scientific mind, or are we only getting officers for the Agriculture Departments in the big Secretariats? In those colleges they place emphasis on learning the English language. How this English language or English literature will increase the production, I do not understand. Once Vinobaji sarcastically remarked that after some days we may teach English even to our bullocks for the better ploughing of the land. This I mention here to say that we should be clear about our goal. It goes without saying that it is time for us to become self-sufficient in food articles, but actually credit is given to those people in high places who get more and more food from foreign countries.

Coming to land reforms, Madam, we see that nothing has been done yet regarding it as well as regarding the fixation of a ceiling on land. This was promised to people even in the First Five Year Plan. Another land movement is going on in the country launched by Vinobaji. The States where

Vinobaji is going to receive him with full vigour; he is getting granddams everywhere, even from the hands of the Chief Ministers of some States. But what is Government's policy regarding this? If they accept this movement and the response, why not they take it as their own policy, as their own movement? People should not be left in confusion.

Madam, I would like to speak something on Education which has been already dealt with by some Members. Education is another important aspect in planned economy. We may build a number of dams, roads, hospitals and other things. But if we cannot build the coming generation properly, then what is the use of all these big buildings and huge dams? It will be just like *Rakshasas* or devils in a *Swarna Lanka*. Education has been neglected so far to a great extent; there is no uniform system of education in the country. On the one hand we are helping the Basic schools, and on the other the ordinary public schools. I do not understand how we can build a classless society by doing this. Schools are springing up in the country just like mushrooms, but the problem of teacher and equipment is there. If a teacher could be got, then there is the problem of his pay. Teachers are most ill-paid creatures. If the teachers have to go on strike for increase of their salaries or for better conditions, how can we expect of them that they will teach the students? There are so many things to be said regarding the Education policy of the Government. It is true that as against a provision of Rs. 213 crores for 'general' and Rs. 60 crores for 'technical' education in the Second Plan, those in the Third Plan are Rs. 370 crores and Rs. 130 crores respectively. But, as has been already stated, money is not the only factor. We should realise that planning in a democratic country has to rely on intelligent and discriminating co-operation and support of the people.

it cannot be done by mere propaganda. No doubt we are spending more and more money on technical education. But the doctors or engineers who are going to foreign countries are not willing to come back from there. Sometimes they grumble about the meagre pay they are getting here, or about the lack of research facilities in this country. These things should be considered seriously. As has been already said by Dr. Seeta Parmanand, it is better not to say anything about women's education; it is lagging far far behind. Many things have been done for the development of women's education on paper and pen. Special officers with grand pay have been appointed for women's education, but unfortunately girls' schools are closing down for not getting aid or stipends in time. Students far from their home places are rotting in schools without getting their stipends for months together. As has already been mentioned by Dr. Seeta Parmanand, the National Council for Women's Education has been formed and in different States, State Councils for girls' and women's education are also there. But these Councils are meeting hardly once a year—I am referring to my State; I do not know about the condition in other States. So I think we should now have a better and strong education policy.

I will now finish up with a few words of tribute to Shri Nanda. His bold call to end corruption within two years has brought new hope and courage to the people as well as the humble workers in the remotest corner of the country. Many hon. Members have expressed their doubts about the words of Shri Nanda, but I think they should extend their helping hand to him and see what happens; at least they should rely on him first. I hope Nandaji also will not hesitate to combine all the good elements to achieve his end. From all over the country good and moralist people should be picked up and asked to help

[Shrimati Nandini Satpathy.]
in this work. They should be made free from all sorts of pressures and fears from all sides. If corruption can be checked, it will be far more easy to achieve the target within the limited period of the Plan.

Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 26th February, 1964.