

March, 1956, in relation to the State of Travancore-Cochin—2 hours.

2. Discussion on the Report by Dr. Paul H. Appleby on Re-Examination of India's Administrative System with special reference to Administration of Government's Industrial and Commercial Enterprises—3 hours.

3. The Indian Post Office (Amendment) Bill, 1956—45 minutes.

4. The Public Debt (Amendment) Bill, 1956—45 minutes.

5. The Central Excises and Salt (Amendment) Bill, 1956—4 hours.

6. The Constitution (Ninth Amendment) Bill, 1956—7 hours 30 minutes.

7. The Khadi and Village Industries Commission Bill, 1956—2 hours.

8. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Bill, 1956—2 hours.

9. The Representation of the People (Third Amendment) Bill, 1956—1 hour.

The Constitution (Ninth Amendment) Bill, 1956 will be considered by the House on the 10th and 11th September, 1956.

In order to be able to complete this programme by the 13th September, 1956 (the date fixed for the adjournment of the present session), the Committee also recommended that a sitting of the House should be held on Saturday, September 8, 1956, and that the lunch hour should be dispensed with as and when required.

ALLOTMENT OF TIME FOR THE CENTRAL EXCISES AND SALT (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1956

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have also to inform hon. Members that under rule 162 (2) of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, the Chairman has allotted four hours for the completion of all stages involved in the consideration and return by the Rajya Sabha of the Central Excises and Salt (Amendment) Bill, 1956, including the consideration and passing of amendments, if any, to the Bill.

RESOLUTION REGARDING SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN—Continued

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is no further time for this debate and we shall have to conclude it.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: I suppose that what you have read out now is absolutely silent so far as the time allotted to the Second Five Year Plan is concerned.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The remaining time from tomorrow.....

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: That is another thing. You may close it if you like. I was only submitting that so far as the advice of the Business Advisory Committee is concerned, it does not say anything about the reduction of time which was originally allotted and accepted by the House.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yesterday the Chairman informed the House that the debate would close today at six o'clock.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: That is an entirely different matter, if the Chairman and you so wish, we shall respect your wishes. All that I was submitting is that the decision accepted by the House has not been altered by the Advisory Committee on this matter.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: I may inform the House that the matter was taken up and discussed in the Business Advisory Committee today and it was the consensus of opinion in that Committee that we should close this debate today and the Prime Minister should reply tomorrow.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is a member who attended the Business Advisory Committee meeting today.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: One thing more. I do not want to waste any more time over this. I am glad that you have conveyed all this. So, we need not hold our souls in patience. We know where we stand. Sir, you were pleased to remark that those who were on the various Committees.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I leave it to hon. Members.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: May I also submit that it was the wish of the Chairman that if there are many Members still desirous of speaking, we might extend the time today by an hour?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If the House wants to sit till seven, I have no objection. Even till seven you can sit. I hope the hon. Minister will have no objection.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA. I have no objection.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: So, it is decided to sit till seven o'clock.

SHRI V. S. SARWATE (Madhya Bharat): Sir, my name may be dropped.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

SHRI PURNA CHANDRA SHARMA (Assam): Is it so that those who were on the Committees should not speak?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is not compulsory. First, let us give chance to persons who have not served on the Committees and then if there is time we will take it up.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: Sir, my name also may continue to be dropped. I had given my name in the last session. It was not carried over to the list of this session. So, it was dropped and it may continue to be dropped.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Warerkar.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR in the Chair.)]

SHRI B. V. (MAMA) WARERKAR (Nominated): Let me first congratulate the Minister for Planning for the Second Five Year Plan before us and we are giving our strong support to the proposal that has been made by the Planning Commission. Of course, I do not want to go into arguments; I also do not want to go into the figures. I shall try to be as brief as possible so that others may have a chance of speaking. I have only one complaint to make and that is about art, literature and cultural activities. The subjects appear to be not taken into as much consideration as it is essential for the execution of the Five Year Plan. As far as art and culture is considered, there are two aspects. The

first is the written or printed word and the other the spoken word. As far as the written word is concerned, I think the Sahitya Akadami had been delegated the work of developing literary activities. Fortunately for us the Chairman of the Sahitya Akadami is our Prime Minister and he is taking keen interest in the work of the Sahitya Akadami and literature in all the fourteen languages will be translated and that will be a great addition to the Indian literature. That work is going on all right. As far as the spoken word is concerned, the second Akadami is the Sangeet Natak Akadami. The Chairman of the Sangeet Akadami is the Chief Justice of the Madras High Court. He occasionally comes to Delhi and looks into that. The Vice-Chairman of the Sangeet Natak Akadami is also half the time of the year outside India and the work of the Sangeet Natak Akadami is neglected. The Sahitya Akadami though working to its full extent, I think, requires more funds for its work. As far as the Sangeet Natak Akadami is concerned, up to this time it was concentrating more upon music than dance and drama. Dance also is now taken into consideration. There was a drama seminar, but very little has been done, as far as the theatre is concerned, by the Sangeet Natak Akadami. Matthew Arnold, the great English author, says the theatre is irresistible. Organise the theatre. The theatre has done a lot of work during the fight for independence. At least in my region, the Marathi region, the theatre was more important, more expressive, and more effective even than the newspapers. The forerunners of the theatre were the leaders of the independence movement and since the time of the Vanga Bhanga, the theatre was in the forefront. The spoken word was doing a lot of agitation in the villages as well as in the urban and suburban areas. Generally, the theatre in Maharashtra, that is, the Marathi theatre, was never a medium of entertainment. It was a medium of agitation. It had worked for agitation, for educating the general public. The masses are illiterate. The literates are very few. And generally what is done up to this time is that pamphlets are issued, posters are issued. They do it in English and they are sent to the villages. Of course they are useless, who is going to read those pamphlets and those notices? They cannot read even their own language. How can they read English posters and English pamphlets? Before this medium was found,

the message was given through the stage to all the masses, not only in a play but in a 'tamasha', in 'povada' in a bhajan troupe—all these were working on the strength of the spoken word. The spoken word is more powerful than the written word. The written word is read by the few literates while the spoken word can reach the masses, and it has been proved that the spoken word has done a lot to create agitation in the villages, in the urban and the suburban areas. That has been neglected, I find nothing has been done, there is no provision made for the stage, for the theatre in the present Second Five Year Plan. They have just mentioned that this work will be done by the Sangeet Natak Academy. I wish that the Sangeet Natak Academy had a Chairman just like our Prime Minister who would have taken more interest in it, who would have guided the work of the Sangeet Natak Academy.

Another department which is working through the spoken word is the All India Radio. Fortunately for us the Minister for Information and Broadcasting during the last five years has done tremendous work through the All India Radio. More artists are coming, more musicians, more talkers, more lecturers, more writers, more playwrights, and they are doing their best through the medium of the radio to educate the general public. But that also is not sufficient. Though the All India Radio is doing its utmost, its voice cannot reach the remote villages because there is no electricity there and the broadcast cannot reach as far as the remotest village, though attempts are being made by the State Governments to instal radio receivers in villages. There is also that lack of human touch in the radio. The word is heard but the speaker is not seen. Till the television is there, the radio only will not be as attractive as the television or the stage. So the stage must be developed, the theatre must be developed. Since the advent of the talkies all the theatres have been captured by the film people. There were forty dramatic troupes in my region in Maharashtra. Now there is only one which is also on the brink of extinction. There is no theatre. There are the authors, there are the playwrights, there are the actors, there are the technicians, but where are they going to perform their plays? Where are they going to exhibit their art? Through what medium are they going to approach the general

masses? Theatres are required. I am given to understand that a big national theatre is being erected in Delhi at a cost of some 1 or 2 crores of rupees. I would like that sum to be divided and small theatres erected in all the districts of Bharat. That is most essential. Even for the propaganda of the Second Five Year Plan the theatre will be the best medium. Through the stage play, through the 'tamasha' through the 'povada', through bhajan troupes, the propaganda for the Second Five Year Plan can be done. There is a song and Drama Department opened under the auspices of the All India Radio. They are trying their best, but where are they going to have their performance? There is no theatre. They are now talking of open air theatres. Open air theatres are not meant for stage play. They are only useful for music programmes and dance programmes. Those programmes have to be given on amplifiers and mikes. The mike and the amplifier distort the stage. The stage must have human touch and that is why small theatres are necessary, and I would like to see one theatre in every district of Bharat.

This subject of art and literature is considered under the head of Education. The Education Ministry is already burdened with so many subjects as primary education, secondary education, high school education, college education and university education, and it is neglecting this most effective form of education of the masses. Even the Sub-Committee which was appointed to discuss this subject of education under the Five Year Plan did not take cognisance of this art and culture business. I feel that there should have been a Ministry of Art and Culture. Perhaps the Information and Broadcasting Ministry should be called the Ministry of Art and Cultural and all these subjects should be given under their charge. That is the only suggestion that I have to make. I thank you for giving me the time to express my views.

श्री अभिमन्यु रथ (उड़ीसा) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय बहुत से माननीय सदस्य द्वितीय पंच-वर्षीय योजना के बारे में कह चुके हैं। मैं इस योजना के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहने से पहले एक कथा कहना चाहता हूँ। मेरे नाना जी ने एक मर्तवा मुझे एक कहानी सुनाई थी जिसमें एक वृहन्नर योजना के बारे में चर्चा थी। वह ऐसी थी कि एक रोज देवताओं ने कहा कि इस भारतवर्ष में बहुत किस्म के आदमी

[श्री अभिमन्यु रथ]

हैं, यह एक बहुत बड़ा देश है लेकिन यहां के लोग सुख शान्ति से नहीं रह सकते हैं। इसलिये उन लोगों ने एक योजना बनाई। वह योजना क्या थी? वह योजना यह थी कि उन्होंने भारतवर्ष में बहुतसा अर्थ जमा कर दिया। फिर यह सोचा जाने लगा कि इसकी परिचालना कैसे हो, इसका ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन कैसे हो। इसके लिये इन्द्रजी ऊपर से आये और कह दिया कि कोई एक अच्छा आदमी यहां चला आये। एक आदमी आ गया और उसको इन्द्र जी ने ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटर बना दिया। वह आदमी वहां पर बैठ गया और सोचने लगा कि सब चीजें यहां पर हैं, इनका ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन कैसे करना पड़ेगा। वह आंख बन्द करके बैठ गया और कहने लगा कि कल इन्द्रजी आयेंगे तो क्या समझायेंगे, क्या बतायेंगे। उसकी विचित्र गति हो गई। उसने देखा कि इतने विशाल ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में किसी को सुख शांति पहुंचाना मुश्किल होगा। इस लिये वह बार बार आंख बन्द करके यही कहने लगा कि कल इन्द्रजी आयेंगे तो क्या बतायेंगे। दूसरे रोज जब इन्द्रजी आये तो उन्होंने देखा कि यह आदमी जनसेवा में आंख बन्द करके तन्मय हो गया है। इस लिये उन्होंने उसको छेड़ना ठीक नहीं समझा और आदमी को वहां लाकर छोड़ दिया। उस दूसरे आदमी ने पहले आदमी के पास कान लगा कर सुना तो वह कह रहा था कि कल इन्द्रजी आयेंगे तो क्या बतायेंगे। यह सुनकर दूसरा आदमी भी आंख बन्द करके बैठ गया और कहने लगा कि जो तुम कहोगे वह मैं भी कहूंगा। तीसरे दिन जब इन्द्रजी आये तो उन्होंने देखा कि दोनों आदमी देशवासियों के लिये तन्मय हो गये हैं और कोई काम नहीं हुआ है। इस लिये उन्होंने तीसरे आदमी को वहां खड़ा कर दिया। तीसरा आदमी सोचने लगा कि मैं क्या कहूंगा। उसने कान लगाकर सुना कि पहला आदमी कह रहा है कि कल इन्द्रजी आयेंगे तो मैं क्या कहूंगा, कल इन्द्रजी आयेंगे तो मैं क्या कहूंगा और दूसरा आदमी कह रहा है कि जो तुम कहोगे वह मैं भी कहूंगा। इस लिये उसने यह कहना शुरू कर दिया कि यह कब तक चलेगा। यह कब तक चलेगा। इस तरह चौथे दिन जब फिर इन्द्रजी आये तो उन्होंने चौथे आदमी को बिठला दिया। उसने देखा कि पहला आदमी कह रहा है कि कल इन्द्रजी आयेंगे तो मैं क्या

कहूंगा, दूसरा कह रहा है कि जो तुम कहोगे वह मैं भी कहूंगा और तीसरा आदमी कह रहा है कि यह कब तक चलेगा। यह सब सुनकर वह भी आंख बन्द करके बैठ गया और कहने लगा कि जब तक चलेगा, तब तक चलेगा। इसी तरह आपकी प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना खत्म हो गई, द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना आ रही है और आगे भी तीसरी, चौथी, पांचवी योजना आ जायेगी। और जब तक चलेगी तब तक चलेगी, लेकिन हम लोगों को कोई सुख शांति नहीं मिलेगी। इसका कारण क्या है? इसका समाधान नहीं हो सकता है। बात यह है कि पंचवर्षीय योजना एक बहुमुखी योजना है, एक-मुखी नहीं है। जैसा कि हिन्दू शास्त्र में है कि शेषनाग अपने बहुत से मुहां पर पृथ्वी लेकर बैठे हैं और जब कभी डोल डाल करते हैं तो हल-चल हो जाती है, वैसे ही कांग्रेस ने ऐसी योजना हम लोगों के सामने रख दी है जो बहुमुखी है अनेक मुखी है। एक मुख खोलेंगे उसमें कुछ अंश जायेगा और फिर एक मुख खोलेंगे उसमें कुछ अंश जायेगा, इस तरह ऐसी बहुमुखी योजना से किसी को सुख शांति का मौका नहीं मिलेगा।

अशिक्षित हमारे देश में बहुत हैं। विशेषकर हमारे देश के अन्दर जितना द्राइबल एरिया है वह अभी तक अशिक्षित है, असभ्य है, अपढ़ है अपूर्ण है। ऐसे अपूर्ण लोगों को पूर्ण करने के लिये सरकार को अपनी दृष्टि उनकी ओर आकर्षित करनी चाहिये, लेकिन सरकार ऐसा नहीं कर रही है। सरकार अपनी योजना को छोटे छोटे गांवों तक पहुंचाने में बहुत देर लगा रहती है।

बिना समझे इस योजना में सारे राष्ट्र की प्रगति करने की चेष्टा की गई है। मेरी समझ में इस पर विचार करना पड़ेगा कि इस द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के प्रति राष्ट्र की क्या प्रतिक्रिया होगी। राष्ट्र के अंग मनुष्य है। एक मनुष्य अपने घर का घटक होता है, अपनी जाति का घटक होता है, अपने कुल का घटक होता है और अपने समाज का और राष्ट्र का घटक होता है। वह राष्ट्र का हित करता है, देश का हित करता है। इस लिये प्रत्येक मनुष्य का सहयोग लेकर काम करने की चेष्टा होनी चाहिये। लेकिन यह बड़ा मुश्किल है क्योंकि यहां नाना किस्म की भाषायें हैं, नाना किस्म की जातियां हैं, नाना किस्म के धर्म हैं। इस लिये बहुमुखी योजना किसी को संतुष्ट नहीं कर सकती है। जब यहां अंग्रेजों का शासन था तो बम्बई, मद्रास, बंगाल तीनों जगह उन्नति हुई,

लेकिन बाकी जगहों की तरफ दृष्टि नहीं डाली गई और आज की सरकार भी उसी आधार पर चल रही है। सरकार की जितनी भी योजना है वह शहर ही में रह जाती है, ग्रामों के भीतर नहीं पहुंच पाती है। उसको ग्रामों तक पहुंचाने के लिये सरकार जो कुछ कोशिश कर रही है और जो आफिसर रखे हैं उनके ऊपर वह कोई लगाम नहीं रखती है। सरकार उन आफिसरों पर जो कुछ लगाम रखती भी है, वह इतनी ढीली होती है कि वे मनमानी करते हैं। वे पंचवर्षीय योजना को अपने स्वार्थ साधन के लिये समझते हैं और जितना भी पैसा है उसको वे दो साल में ही खत्म कर देंगे। मैं बहुत से कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट्स की दशा देख कर आ रहा हूँ। कोरापुट और मध्य प्रदेश के बस्तर जिले में मैं देख कर आ रहा हूँ कि वहां पर सरकार बहुतसा पैसा खर्च कर रही है, लेकिन जो खर्च कर रही है उसके ऊपर कोई लगाम नहीं है। इस लिये वहां का आदमी संतुष्ट नहीं है। वहां जो अशिक्षित लोग हैं, अपढ़ लोग हैं, जो सरकार से असहयोग करते हैं, उनके ऊपर जो पैसा खर्च हो रहा है वह पैसा अधिकांश वहां के आफिसर स्वार्थ सिद्धि के लिये खर्च कर रहे हैं। जब तक वहां के ट्राइबल यह नहीं समझ सकते कि उनके लिये क्या चीज हो रही है तब तक उनको समझाने के लिये सरकार का यह कर्त्तव्य है कि सरकार उस एरिया में उनकी शिक्षा पर विशेष जोर दे। उस एरिया में अधिकांश लोग अशिक्षित हैं और उनको शिक्षित बनाने की आवश्यकता है। इसके साथ साथ शिक्षा प्रणाली में भी सुधार करने के लिये भी एक रास्ता खोलना चाहिये। आजकल जो कालेज और बड़े स्कूल खुले हुये हैं उनसे आदिवासी और दूसरे बैकवर्ड लोगों को कुछ फायदा नहीं है। उन लोगों के लिये कुटीर शिल्प और ग्रामोद्योग की शिक्षा का प्रबन्ध होना चाहिये। उसमें कुछ त्रुटि हो तो उस त्रुटि को दूर करना सरकार का कर्त्तव्य है और आदिवासियों को ठीक शिक्षा देने के लिये सरकार को यह करना चाहिये कि कुछ आदिवासियों को शहर में शिक्षा देने के बाद उनको अपने ही एरिया में शिक्षक नियुक्त कर देना चाहिये क्योंकि वे अपनी भाव भंगिमा से वहां के आदिवासियों को अधिक प्रभावित कर सकते हैं और सरकार के काम में सहयोग कर सकते हैं। सरकार पैसा जरूर खर्च कर रही है लेकिन उससे कुछ फायदा नहीं होता है। आज जो श्रमदान होते हैं उनसे लोगों के पेट के ऊपर आंच आती है। उनके पास खाने को नहीं है, उनके पास पहनने को

नहीं है, लेकिन उनसे श्रमदान लिया जाता है। खासकर उड़ीसा स्टेट में और मध्य प्रदेश में बस्तर और कुछ ऐसी जगहें हैं, जहां एक्सटेंशन ब्लाक में पूरी लूट हो रही है। ऐसी जगहों पर सरकार को ऐसा प्रबन्ध करना चाहिये कि शिक्षा का प्रचार हो जाय। ऐसा करने के बाद ही रुपये का ठीक उपयोग हो सकता है।

इस पंचवर्षीय योजना में कृषि के सुधार के लिये जो योजनाएँ बनाई गई हैं, उनमें भी बहुत सी त्रुटियाँ हैं। जो सरकारी पार्टी के बड़े बड़े लीडर होते हैं उनके द्वारा बहुत सा काम होता है। उसमें यह होता है कि दो, चार, पांच गांवों का पैसा दे दिया जाता है और छोटी मोटी स्माल स्केल ऐग्रीकल्चरल स्कीम में छोटे मोटे कुएँ और नाले बन जाते हैं, लेकिन जब स्थानीय विरोधी दल इन सब कामों में सहयोग देना चाहता है तो दूसरी पार्टी के लोगों को एकदम दूर रखा जाता है। इस तरह वहां पर मतभेद हो जाता है और उस पैसे का कोई सचाई से उपयोग भी नहीं होता है। सरकार को इस पर दृष्टि रखना आवश्यक है। तो ऐसा होने पर क्या होता है; होता यह है कि कृषि की उपज जितनी होनी चाहिये उतनी नहीं होती है। जो स्थानीय एडमिनिस्ट्रेटर्स रहते हैं वे आधा तो अशिक्षित गांव वालों को दे देते हैं और आधा पैसा अंगूठे का निशान लगवा कर खुद ले लेते हैं। मैं आपको एक दृष्टांत देता हूँ। इसी पार्लियामेंट में, लोअर हाउस में, बस्तर के एक ऐसे आदमी हैं जो कि अपनी तनख्वाह भी लेना नहीं जानते हैं, अपनी तनख्वाह भी अंगूठा लगा कर लेते हैं। इस बारे में दो साल पहले यहां पर कुछ आंदोलन हुआ था। तो मेरा कहने का मतलब यह है कि ऐसी भी जगहें हैं जहां के लोग पैसे का मूल्य भी नहीं समझते हैं, जहां के लोग कुछ भी नहीं जानते हैं, वे सिर्फ पेट भरना, शारीरिक श्रम करना और अपनी इज्जत को किसी तरह से ढक लेना जानते हैं और कुछ नहीं जानते हैं। तो मेरा कहना यह है कि सरकार को पहले लोगों को, ग्रामीण लोगों को, शिक्षा देनी चाहिये और उनको कृषि की शिक्षा देनी चाहिये। आज हालत यह है कि इन अशिक्षित जगहों पर वहां के लोगों की उन्नति के लिये सरकार जितना पैसा खर्च कर रही है वह सब एक तरफा हो करके वहां के छोटे मोटे अफसरों से ले कर बड़े से बड़े अफसर यानी एकजीक्युटिव आफिसर तक में खर्च हो जाता है।

अब जैसे आप देखिये कि कुटीर उद्योगों में आप पैसा खर्च करते हैं, कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज

[श्री अभिमन्यु रथ]

में, बटर सीड्स सोसाइटीज वगैरह में खर्च करते हैं और इन सब कामों के हिसाब में इस प्लानिंग में रुपया दिया गया है। मैं भी जगदलपुर, मध्यप्रदेश में जो बस्तर है, उडोसा में कोरापुट, बोलंगीर और कलहंडी आदि स्थानों में घूम कर आया हूं और मैंने वहां पर देखा है कि वहां के जो आदमी हैं, वे अशिक्षित हैं। होता यह है कि वहां के लिये जो पैसा दिया जाता है उससे वहां के लोग शिक्षा के अभाव में कोई लाभ नहीं उठा पाते हैं और वह सब का सब अफसर लोग आत्मसात् करते हैं और गरीब लोगों के वह कोई काम में नहीं आता है। इसलिये सरकार के सामने मैं यह निवेदन करता हूं कि इस प्लानिंग के अंदर जो भी पैसा खर्च हो रहा है या खर्च होने वाला है वह तब तक खर्च न किया जाय जब तक कि ट्राइबल एरिया के लोग शिक्षित न हो जायें। जब तक ट्राइबल एरिया के लोग शिक्षित नहीं होंगे तब तक इस पैसे से वे कोई लाभ नहीं उठा सकेंगे। इसलिये मेरा यह निवेदन है कि पहले आप यह करें कि जितना भी पैसा खर्च करना है वह सब उस एरिया में शिक्षा के ऊपर ही खर्च करें। सारे पैसे शिक्षा विभाग में ही खर्च करना उनके लिये ज्यादा सहायक होगा क्योंकि तब वे उस पैसे का उपयोग कर सकेंगे।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूं।

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI (Nominated): Sir, I have been associated with some of the Committees of the Planning Commission, and I am therefore very well acquainted with the policies and principles governing the Second Five Year Plan, but this is an occasion on which I think that I might make certain observations which I hope the Government would consider even at this late hour.

First of all, I should like to refer to the background to which this planning scheme is related. It is the background of the appalling poverty of the country. That is really the main question to be solved. The objective of this planning is certainly to raise the standard of living of the people by trying to increase production in every sphere, industrial and agricultural. But we must have a very clear idea as to the poverty, the extent of the poverty from which the country is suffering. Now, this can be best understood if we consider the budgets of countries like the U.K. or the U.S.A. You will then find how colossal is

the poverty of India. Now, our total annual revenues—I mean federal India—may be roughly taken to be Rs. 450 crores, but I find that the U.K. gets a revenue of Rs. 500 crores per month, and that for a country like the U.K. which is much smaller than India.

SHRI J. S. BISHT: The budget of New York City is two billion dollars a year.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: I was going to say that myself. The thing that matters most is this: The educational budget of the U.K. amounts to about Rs. 340 crores, practically all that India can spare for general expenses. So, the real question is how to reduce this poverty. Now, a Mission from the International Monetary Fund recently reported to say that according to their opinion, the standard of living in India leaves no margin for the people for reducing their consumption without impairing their health and efficiency. This is the background in which we have to work. Inflation, therefore, must be avoided, lest it should reduce the standard of living further. That is also the remark made by this Mission of the International Monetary Fund. They also said that the people are incapable of the effort that is necessary to make the Plan a success by providing resources. Of course, you know certain other facts of our colossal poverty. For instance, only 1,208 persons have incomes over Rs. 1½ lakhs and above a year. Out of a population of 36 crores, these few people pay in taxes Rs. 29 crores on their total income of Rs. 43 crores. As regards the assesses on the basis of a very low income, they number about 5 to 6 lakhs of people. As regards the middle classes, they form only 12 per cent. of the population, and they pay 88 per cent. of the taxes. I therefore think that this is really a very very difficult problem as to how to raise the level of life of our people in the face of this colossal poverty. This poverty is ultimately due to the poverty of production, paucity of production, in the field of industry as well as in the field of agriculture.

My second point—I shall be brief, because the time at my disposal is very short—is that some of the financial estimates of the Plan appear to me to be somewhat optimistic. The First Plan for instance showed an increase of 12 per cent. in the national income, over five years. It means roughly an increase

of 2·5 per cent. per year, but the second Plan expects an increase of the national income by five per cent. every year. But in the meantime the population will not be stationary. There will be additions to the population to the tune of about 4·5 million new births, with 1·8 million labour force waiting to be employed. Therefore, whatever progress we make in production will be absorbed by the natural growth of the population. Now, to raise our national income by 25 per cent. in five years has been the aim in the Second Plan. Investment also must be stepped up from 7 per cent. of National Income actuals to 11 per cent. over the next plan period. Now, this is also a very optimistic estimate, because it is doubtful whether we can really show such progress in a matter of such importance. Fresh taxation, therefore, may be needed to maintain the revenue even at the rate of 7 per cent. of our national income in order to prevent deficit financing. Supposing we can show an excess production resulting in an increase to our national income of five per cent. per annum, the real difficulty will be about the sources of saving and investment. Now, I will give you certain figures: While our Second Plan attempts to increase our national income to the tune of 5 per cent. per annum. West Germany shows the figure of 2·8 per cent. per annum, Canada 2·6 per cent. and Australia 2·3 per cent.

PROF. HUMAYUN KABIR: On what base?

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: What is the meaning?

PROF. HUMAYUN KABIR: Compare the base of the two countries, India and Canada, *i.e.*, their respective total national incomes. Take also the *per capita* income.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: The point is this. The rate of increase in the Second Plan is assumed to be 5 per cent. per annum, against the actual figure of 2·5 per cent. achieved under the First Plan. That is roughly shown by countries like West Germany, Canada and Australia. Therefore, the assumed rate of increase of five per cent. per annum seems to be excessive. That is the simple proposition. There is no question of base.

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA: There are other countries which have achieved even more.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: The communist countries have achieved a better record, but I am purposely not giving their example, because I do not think that we shall follow their methods.

PROF. HUMAYUN KABIR: What was the rate of progress in America between 1860 and 1870?

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: That is far far back. I am now in the midst of the present. Although I am a historian, I still live in the present.

SHRI B. B. SHARMA: The conditions might be different in India also.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: My proposition is very simple. The rate of increase during the First Plan period has been at the rate of 2·5 per cent. Now suddenly we find that for the Second Plan we are assuming an increase of 5 per cent. That is double this.

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA: Investment also has been more than double.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: I am coming to that. If you assume 5 per cent. rate of increase, you must show that you can achieve this increase by means of greater investment. I have already said that you have to step up production and you have to again make another assumption, namely, the national saving or income will be raised from 7 per cent. to 11 per cent. which will be ready for investment. That is also a problematical factor. I am not criticising. I am simply putting before you certain facts which form the basis of our financial assumptions in the Second Plan. The point is this that, supposing we can achieve some increase in national income, the question is, how will that increase be utilized by the people concerned? Most of the people are already half-starved and if I may say, so, half-clothed. If you go into the realities of the food situation, you will find that India lags far behind in nutritional standards as regards food. For instance, whereas U.S.A. or U.K. make available 3,000 calories per head, India can only make available to an individual about 1683 calories.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: 1800 perhaps.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: I think it is a little lower. If you estimate the nutritional value of food in terms of ounces, whereas the nutritional standard required is about 48 ounces, you have available in India only 18 ounces per head. Again if you insist on the nutritive diet which is prescribed by your own Nutrition Committee which fixed it at 2840 calories, to get that every individual must spend Rs. 34/8 per month, against a *per capita* income of Rs. 23 per month. Against these figures we have to be careful in regard to the requirements of the situation, that is to say, we must see that the people are more properly fed. At present the nutritional diet of the individual is very much below the standard. I will give you a few instances if you are not fed up with facts and statistics. I will quote one.....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR): But you have not much time, Dr. Mookerji.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: What time have I? May I know?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR): Two or three minutes.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: All right. So my point is this that the food situation must be carefully envisaged by the Commission and perhaps more priority should be given as regards agriculture. You know of the importance of protective foods. We have been producing only cereals and pulses which are not very good elements of nutritive diets. Of ghee and oil—for instance—what is required is 2 ounces. Available is 0.3 ounces. If you consider milk and milk products, we are so short that instead of 10 ounces required we can only get 5 ounces per head. As regards fish, against the requirement of 4 ounces, you have only 0.4 ounces available. Therefore what I say is this that if it is our idea that we living ultimately raise the standard of living in the country, then we must see that the people are properly fed.

Another question is this. No doubt the Commission at page 92 stress the need of making more provision for protective foods but unfortunately the production of protective foods is rather an expensive process because there is shortage in land. Therefore although there

is an increase of provision in the Second Plan for horticulture, animal husbandry fishing, poultry, farming and so on, we have to consider how all these ideals can be realized in view of the paucity of land. So the only way by which the situation can be saved as far as the first primary necessity, the food of the people, is concerned is this that perhaps we should all try to see that the rate of yield per acre of rice or wheat is increased. But it is practically stationary all through because we practically produce only a fourth or a third of the standard that is attained in a country like Japan or China or in some countries of Europe also. Unless therefore the yield per acre of these primary foods is increased, I don't think that land will be available for the development of animal husbandry. At present another great handicap to agriculture is that it is pursued in under-sized uneconomic holdings and this also should claim the prior attention of the Planning Commission. They must find out some scheme by which without making the small farmers landless, these small-subsistence farmers can be made to stand on their feet by some kind of common management or co-operative effort whereby each individual farmer will be able to earn more profit out of his own existing holdings. That means that there should be some schemes of common management which should be worked by the trained personnel of the Planning Commission. They alone can really improve the lot of the villagers. Of course the bulk of the population of India lives in these villages and they are in charge of these under-sized agricultural farms. Therefore they really require primary attention at the hands of the Planning Commission: although I know that the Second Plan lays stress upon heavy industries and the production of consumer goods, I still think that perhaps the time has not yet arrived to curtail the proportion of grant which was originally made for agriculture. Even in the Second Plan, on account of the programme of the production of protective foods, that is so necessary for the health of the people, on account of these urgent agricultural programmes, the time has not yet arrived which will justify a reduction of the agricultural grant in the Second Plan.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): Sir, in view of the short time it is not possible to touch on more than one point and so I will confine my

remarks only in regard to the unequal development in the various States. The Prime Minister when introducing the debate also touched on this subject and he told us that in due course of time all the parts of the country would be developed but priorities have to be given to certain regions. Similarly when the Planning Minister yesterday was speaking, he also spoke in regard to this unequal development but in regard to this I would like to submit that it is true that all the regions of the country cannot be developed at the same time but there are regions which stand in dire need of improvement and for which there is necessity for something being done; priorities should go by that criterion rather than by other considerations, particularly political considerations.

I would submit that as far as Rajasthan is concerned, that is one of the States which has suffered at the hands of the Central Government in this respect. Throughout the whole period of the five years of the First Plan and now in this Second Five Year Plan that is coming into being, so far as major industries are concerned, nothing has been done which will encourage the people of Rajasthan to put their heart in the implementation of the Second Five Year Plan. We have been told time and again that this is a people's Plan. I would like the hon. Minister to visit Rajasthan and find out for himself how far we can claim that this is a people's Plan, because on the one hand they are starving there in Rajasthan and their condition is pitiable, while on the other they see all around them in their neighbouring States the people are getting so many things, everything is flourishing and they are so happy, that this Plan in all directions is being pushed forward. In this state of things, how can the Government expect the people of these areas to wholeheartedly co-operate in these development plans? It is practically humanly impossible for them to consider this Plan as their own.

In this connection I would submit that so far as heavy industries are concerned, Rajasthan is one of those unfortunate States where so far nothing has been done. That State is very rich in mineral resources and I may mention some of them, namely, mica, gypsum, magnesite, soap-stone, zinc and lead sulphide ores, lime stone etc. Though so much is being done in other States, so far throughout the period of five years of the First Plan, not a single under-

taking has been taken up in Rajasthan, in spite of this great mineral wealth. You can have a fertilizer plant there. You can also have units for smelting minerals, like zinc. With regard to zinc smelting my hon. friend Shri Vijay Singh spoke yesterday at length and I do not want to repeat his own arguments or to bring forth other and new arguments in support of his plea. In the short time at my disposal I will say a few words about the fertilizer factory.

As you know, Sir, Rajasthan was formed out of some twenty two former Indian States which were in different stages of development and the very first thing that needs to be done so far as Rajasthan is concerned is to make an earnest effort to develop all those backward areas in the State. Now, with regard to the establishment of a fertilizer factory, there was a very good case for it and the Government itself recognised the justice of this claim. When the question of the actual location came up, we were given every hope and we were told that Rajasthan's case was very strong and that this factory would be located there. But one day suddenly we learnt that this factory had actually gone somewhere else. In its Resolution No. Fy. 1—17 (I)/54 dated the 29th October, 1954, the Government of India appointed a Committee of five members designated the Fertilizer Production Committee, to consider and make recommendations on the various questions involved in the creation of fresh capacity for the production of fertilizers for augmenting food production. At present in the country the production of ammonium sulphate at Sindri is only 3.5 lakh tons. At Alwaye in Travancore-Cochin State they produce some 64,000 tons and in Belagole in Mysore another 13,000 tons. That is all the fertilizer produced in the country at present. But if the proposed Rajasthan factory had materialised, it would have contributed very substantially to the supply of nitrogenous manure in India. There was a technical Mission which recommended that the smallest commercial economic unit should have a minimum capacity of 3.5 lakhs tons of ammonium sulphate per annum. For producing this manure, five kinds of raw materials are required. First of all you need gypsum and you need 5.5 lakh tons, of gypsum of purity 87 per cent. Then you require 2.1 lakh tons of coal and 1.75 lakh tons of coke. Then you

[Shri Jaswant Singh.]

require water supply and power supply. If you consider all these factors, you will find that as far as Rajasthan is concerned, all these are very easily and readily available there, more easily than anywhere else. Take the case of gypsum. Gypsum is the largest item for the production of ammonium sulphate and the best and the cheapest gypsum deposits are there very near the surface and easily available at a place near Hanumangarh. The estimated stock is about 40 million tons and it is of the very best quality not only in India but it is said that nowhere else can you get better quality of gypsum than what is available at Jamsar near Bikaner. As for coal there is lignite close to the place where the factory was supposed to be located. One-third of the requirement of coal was already available close at hand. And from Jamsar near Bikaner we send something like 170 wagons carrying 1,700 tons of gypsum daily by special train to Sindri. And these 170 wagons which go from Bikaner with gypsum to Sindri, return from Sindri quite empty. If the factory had been located at Hanumangarh, then the remaining two-third supply of coal could have been brought by these empty wagons and this would have gone a long way towards avoiding the wastage of the wagons. It is understood that in Russia also, as in India, they have iron ore and coal located at distances. So they set up separate units at the two places so that the wagons do not have to return empty. On one way they carry iron ore and on the return they carry coal. But here we find that something like 170 wagons daily are returning empty from Sindri. If only this fertilizer factory had been established at Hanumangarh, this gypsum could be taken to Sindri and while coming back these wagons could have been utilised for bringing in coke. With regard to water supply also, Hanumangarh was close to the main canal of the Bhakra canal system, and the rate for the water is the same in Punjab, PEPSU and Rajasthan. Similar is the case in the matter of power supply. Rajasthan is partner in the Bhakra-Nangal project scheme and the rates are uniform for Punjab, PEPSU and Rajasthan. When the matter was considered from all these points of view, the first choice was Rajasthan. The other things that are necessary with regard to building sites and building materials etc. are all available there in plenty.

As regards labour, of course, we have to import skilled labour but we have got an unlimited amount of unskilled labour available and this project would have employed something like 8,000 people. Distribution of finished fertilizer is also very convenient and very cheap. At present the requirements of Rajasthan are nearly one lakh tons per year; as the irrigation facilities increase and as more land becomes fit for irrigation another one lakh tons will be consumed in Rajasthan. So, out of three lakhs and fifty thousand tons, two lakhs of tons of fertilizer would have been consumed in Rajasthan itself and the remaining would have been distributed in the other States neighbouring Rajasthan. This Hanumangarh is a junction and alteration from metre to broad gauge would have to be done. This is not a very expensive item because, in regard to Sindri, to connect this village to Dhanbad Station, Government had to spend something like sixty lakhs of rupees. So far as Hanumangarh is concerned, the change could be effected within one-fourth of the sum spent in Sindri.

Now this factory intended for Rajasthan has been allotted to Punjab and is to be located in Nangal. I know that at present the Government has to please Punjab in every way possible but then it should not be at the cost of a poor State like Rajasthan which also stands in need of development. As compared to other States, the position of Rajasthan was as follows. When the Technical Mission toured India to select the best suited site, special attention was paid to the supply of raw materials amongst which the availability of gypsum was by far the most important one! 'Apart from the supply of water and electricity, the main discussion' says the Report, 'hangs round gypsum, coal and coke. Certain States are well placed as far as water and cheap power are concerned. In the total production of ammonium sulphate, however, both water and cheap power together play a comparatively minor role. The costliest of the items is, however, the supply of cheap, abundant and good quality gypsum. Although gypsum is available in different parts of India, it has been proved that in no part of India is the supply so good, cheap and abundant as it is in Rajasthan.' Indeed, in certain parts of India, like Travancore-Cochin, gypsum has been imported at Rs. 60 per ton

from far off places like Egypt and Cyprus.

(Time bell rings.)

I would like to speak on a few more subjects but as the time is short, I would confine my remarks to a few items only, say one or two. When this Committee appointed by the Government of India visited Bikaner, Hanumangarh, we were given to understand, more or less, that 99 per cent. chances were that this factory would be located at Hanumangarh. At the same time, Sir, the Punjab Government publicised that this factory has been sanctioned to be located at Nangal. I was, at that time, a Member of the Rajasthan Assembly, and we protested against this. The Chief Minister gave us an assurance that he had heard from Delhi, from the Ministry here, that the statement of the Punjab Government had no basis and that the question was still open. Overnight, however, we were told that this factory was to be established in Nangal. This is a matter which is, for Rajasthan, a question of life and death and if discrimination could be taken to this extent, if undeveloped areas are not to be treated with sympathy, it would be very difficult for a Plan of this size to have the people's support all round.

The hon. Minister said that there were not only differences amongst the States but that there were differences inside States, amongst the different areas, and I am glad that Government takes this responsibility on them. So far as Rajasthan is concerned, since it consisted of a number of States—there are five Divisions which were the big States previously—a Division is treated as a stepchild if the Chief Minister did not come from that area.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

I would submit that, so far as Bikaner is concerned, for the whole period of five years, not a single item has been located in Bikaner District and the people there are even ignorant as to what the Five Year Plan means and what it consists of because, so far as they are concerned, in the whole district of Bikaner and in the district of Churu—this Division consists of three districts—not a single item has been located there, not even a Community Project area or a National Extensive Service block has been established. Nothing has so far been done, and,

therefore, I would, in the end, submit to the hon. Minister that if we want that this Plan should have associated with it the people and if we want that this should be a people's Plan, then all citizens of India have to be treated on an equal footing. If discrimination for political reasons or for other reasons is made then, I am afraid, this Plan will under no circumstances be a people's Plan.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI (Nominated): Sir, this is our second Plan.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Were you a Member of any of the Committees, Mr. Malkani?

PROF. N. R. MALKANI: Every one of us was a Member of some Committee or the other and we were paid for it also.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let those hon. Members who were not Members of any Committee speak first.

SHRI B. B. SHARMA (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I was not a Member of any Committee.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him speak first, Mr. Malkani.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI: I have to go away, Sir, I have got a meeting at 4 P. M. I have already started and am on my legs.

This is the second Plan. We went through the experience of the first Plan and the experience has been extremely healthy. We have become plan-minded, which is a great achievement to my mind. Whatever may be the results of the Plan, we have become plan-minded and at all levels, we are thinking over the Plan and now we have also got measurements of the Plan and the targets to achieve. In the second Plan, we feel very confident about the targets. We feel very confident about the structure and we feel very confident about the organisation that we have set up. It is, to my mind, the one most important achievement. After the first Plan, we know what plan making is and we know how to make a plan fairly successful but, Sir, may I say, just as my hon. friend just now said, I have taken active interest in the Plan but I have not read the whole of the Second Plan. I think very few would have read the whole

[Prof. N. R. Malkani.]

of the Plan. I have hardly read one-fourth of it. It is such a big brick that I am afraid to sit down and read it. I have not the time. My own table and desk are full of so many other reports and papers to be gone through. They are all very important. I have hardly gone through one-fourth of the Plan and I do think, Sir, I am a fairly good reader and a fairly interested reader but the Plan is too big for me. It is too voluminous. I rather wish that this Plan were one-fourth of the size but containing the quintessence of the present Plan and presented in a more attractive form, in a more readable style. I do not say that this style is heavy or it is unreadable. But I wish there was a touch of the literary person about it so that it could become more readable than it is at present. I certainly wish that the volume had been reduced to one-fourth its size and everybody should be able to read it.

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA: Sir, we are going to bring out another edition in which we have.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have the people's edition.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI: Thank you for the assurance.

At the same time, I want to drive one more point home, that is to say, there should be a brochure for me, as a Member of Parliament, as a public spirited man, what am I expected to do? The students as a class and the intelligentsia as a class, what are they expected to do?

Labourers, urban as well as agricultural what are they expected to do? I don't think so far anything has come out, though it was proposed at the time of the last Plan also. I have not come across any monograph of that type telling the labouring classes: This is what you have got to do, telling the various other classes: This is what you have got to do. I think they should be told. They may or may not do. Some may do; some may not be serious about it. But the appeal must be more direct, to all the sections of the community, than it has been in the past.—Sir, about the size of the Plan, it could not be less than what it is. Already in the First Plan our arrangements and our organisations had been improved to such an extent that we could spend about 600—

700 crores per year on development. Naturally in the Second Plan where the tuning up is a little higher, there is nothing surprising about the size at all. It was to be expected and nobody suggested that the size should be cut down. But everybody is worried about the resources; and many people are worried about the so-called, that euphemistic term 'deficit financing', which simply means putting more paper currency into circulation. Now let that come; but when it does come you see this dangerous thing called inflation. You create this inflation, artificially or you may say deliberately, and when you are worried, you want to take certain steps. You say, when faced with inflation: that Agricultural production must jump up by 40 per cent, as if by magic alone! Without making any financial or organisational or other provision you want it to go up from 15 per cent to 40 per cent. Why? Because there is going to be inflation, and you are going to meet that inflation. Even that does not worry me very much, so far as food is concerned. Well, I have more food and so on. A machine may be worked to respond to the call of a 40 per cent increase from 15 per cent and 25 per cent. But when you go further and come to cloth the whole policy about cloth is badly, I would say, undermined if not torpedoed in the name of reducing that inflation. I am coming to that later on. Then I say this inflation is a funny thing. You create inflation and when the results just assert themselves, then your whole planning policy is changed and transformed and the whole ground on which you stand becomes shaky. Why is that? Why go in for that much of inflation? It is like an intoxicant; it is like brandy. First you take some drops of brandy. You get intoxicated. When that is not enough you take a little more. Gradually it becomes more and more and you get more and more intoxicated. When you are too much intoxicated you get upside down. Then you take a number of measures to combat this inflation which make the whole plan a fitful plan to my mind. I am very sorry to say so. If you must try an intoxicant like deficit financing you must do it like wise men taking intoxicants in moderation.

Sir, I hardly find that sufficient attention has been paid to the other side, that may be called the negative side. While in the size of the Plan perhaps there won't be much of a shortfall in expenditure, why don't you think of

economies instead of resorting to more and more deficit financing? I have never heard of anybody thinking of economies or putting emphasis on economies. The hon. Minister, my friend there, has been talking of not austerity but restraint, self-imposed restraint, consumption control. And again in a second voice with his tongue in his cheek he says: But the consumption is increasing, that people are eating more, are drinking more, are dressing more and so on. Why can't you control them? Do then try that if you can. But you don't do that. You again open another channel and say more cloth should be produced by more mills and automatic looms and so on for the townsmen; whom you ought simply to take by the nose and see that they do not go in for extravagant consumption. Why are we spending like that? And when he does spend like that and creates what you call inflation it is also caused by Government spending more and more money for these people. Then you are worried about it and you react upon the whole Plan in a way so that it goes, to my mind, in a wrong direction. Rather I would say: Look within yourself. Has the money which has been spent on the last Plan been spent without any wastage? There are intelligent people, who sit together and after scratching their heads say: We hope 50 per cent of the money was well spent and if that was well spent don't you think you should be satisfied? We talk like this. It is the general talk. If it is 50 per cent fairly well spent they think it is good enough. I do expect it should be much better than that. Now, Sir, we should have a peep into the working of the public mind. It is not a vicious mind at all. It is a fairly clean mind anyway. But we get reconciled to the belief that 50 per cent. is being wasted. Perhaps it is not, probably it is not, God forbid it.

PROF. G. RANGA: 25 per cent.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI: It may be Professor Ranga's figure.

PROF. G. RANGA: Your P.W.D. is eating up everything.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI: They are a troublesome people. I know; you never can tell. But nobody has thought of a probe within ourselves about this waste of money? And a tremendous waste is taking place in the big projects. It comes

to our notice in Parliament and we go on gassing away but they go on eating it away, drinking it away.

Therefore, to my mind it is necessary in the Second Plan that, sufficient emphasis must be laid upon this. Create an opinion, not in the villages, but in the towns, that they should eat less, dress less, spend less, save more, invest more wisely. Now here when you want to introduce prohibitions there is hulla-baloo about prohibition, without any sense of shame, without any sense of disgrace. At a time when we have a Plan of the size of Rs. 4800 crores they want to drink and some of us are weak enough to think how shall we face the loss of revenue. Now, Sir, I am of the opinion that the size of the Plan should be what it is, and when it is what it is please go with deficit financing in a proper way and please, when you do so, do not be deflected from the Plan. Do not take it on different lines which, to my mind, undermines the very foundations of the Plan.....

PROF. G. RANGA: And do not waste.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI: And do not waste, Sir.

Now I come to the third point because the Deputy Chairman may say: You have been already speaking long. You need not gas so much here. My third point about this Plan is: I like the Plan. I liked the First Plan, more specially for its Community Projects which gave it colour, tone and quality. But what is the colour, tone and quality of the Second Plan? I also like the Second Plan more than the First Plan because, now, in the Second Plan we are taking a direction and we are now firmly standing on our legs. Now we know what planning is, and understand how to execute the plan. Now we want to go forward on a road, we have taken a direction. Therefore the Plan is good. We call it a socialistic plan, we call the pattern of society a socialist pattern, whatever that may mean, and I am trying to find out in the first chapter, in the second chapter, in the tenth chapter, what is that socialist pattern. Where is that? Seriously I try to dig it out of it and it takes sweating labour before you can dig it out toiling and moiling to find out where this socialistic pattern was lurking. Somewhere it is there. Certainly it is there. I think it should be there.

[Prof. N. R. Malkani.]

Then, Sir, I take my first case, food. It is quite right that the production of food has gone up.

PROF. G. RANGA: By starving the peasants.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI: You say now that the production of food must go further up by 20 per cent, 25 per cent and 30 per cent. Now the provision is 40 per cent or so. Yes, I am with you, very much with you, for the very reason you go to the rural areas; you go to the villagers. And you now go to the peasant, not to the middleman, not to the zamindar, not to the Jagirdars in Rajasthan; do not go to those people. You don't go to the Maharajas. You go to the peasant. It is very refreshing for us to go to the peasant. It is extremely good. But I say where are the means for that? Where are your arrangements for that, where are your preparations for that? The other day I heard Mr. Thapar. I must pay my compliments to him; although I have paid my compliments twice before, personally. I will pay him once again. If you have such officers, send them by the dozen to China and to Japan and to other countries and do send them. But you are sending officers who when they come back do not do their jobs properly; when they return their heads are slightly upturned or upside down. If you send men like Mr. Thapar, do please send them by the dozen, because he gave us a lecture, especially so refreshing it was. And he gave us an insight into the working of agriculture in China. One thing he said which I cannot forget. He said in the whole of China, as in the whole of Japan, they have got guaranteed prices for food-grains. Prof. Ranga, whatever that may mean. Today you are saying that food prices should not go up. Some time back, a year back, I had been to Madras and met a very distinguished person there. I do not want to name him here. And he said your Plan is a swindle. Please do not ask too much of the peasant. He said that the Plan is a swindle. *(Time bell rings)*. Why is it that you want to swindle the peasant? You want to depress his prices and the prices of cloth go up. The differences go to the middlemen, to people like you who make the Plan, who talk of the Plan but the people who work for you and sweat for you, what do they get even today? Nothing. And as I said, all sorts

of preparations to depress the prices are there. Then you inflate the prices and to check it you produce more. This is a very vicious circle. Certainly the greatest incentive would be a good price given to the peasant. If I were a peasant, if you were a peasant and, also you in the Chair were a peasant, what would you like? You would like that your prices should be guaranteed. They are guaranteed in a rich country like America and I say the most spendthrift country in the world. It has a system of guaranteed prices and if there is surplus it is offered to India, or dumped into the sea or is sold elsewhere, but the price is guaranteed for the peasant. I know, Sir, the hon. Minister is very sympathetic and I am certain that he must be thinking of it in his mind. Do please get about it. Let the money go to the poor, not to the middleman. On the contrary the middlemen must be eliminated as quickly as possible and his place must be filled by other people, that is to say, co-operative farming. And where are we in regard to that? How are we starting it? We have sent a delegation. Very good.

PROF. G. RANGA: Co-operative marketing.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI: It has become.....

(Time bell rings.)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is time, Prof. Malkani.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI: A few minutes more, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are 25 speakers more.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI: I will finish now. I was just saying about co-operative farming. It is the fashion now to send delegations to China. It is a good fashion. It is a very healthy fashion because we learn much from them and, I believe, there is a great deal to learn so far as agriculture is concerned. I know that they have gone miles ahead of us. They were already ahead of us. They are going in the right direction now. We, too, should follow them so far as the reorganisation of agriculture is concerned. And so far as the agrarian reform was concerned, it was carried out there within a few months but we have been struggling for it, against it, and with it for the last six years. And my hon. friend, the Minister, promised two years back,

"Malkani, within two years agrarian reforms would be completed." Have we ever completed the process of stopping evictions of tenants, the very preliminary to agrarian reform?

Have we succeeded in that.....

PROF. G. RANGA: We are succeeding.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI: What to talk of ceiling, what is talk of consolidation of holdings we have not even succeeded in stopping evictions of people from the land which belongs to them.....

PROF. G. RANGA: We are succeeding now.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI: Very little.

PROF. G. RANGA: What do you mean?

PROF. N. R. MALKANI: All right Sir. So, you concede from the point of view of land reform we are on the right road. We are proceeding well. But we must proceed much faster with a will to succeed. Sir, I have much to say on the subject, but I stop simply because your bell calls me to stop.

श्री बी० बी० शर्मा : श्रीमान उपसभापति महोदय, मैं इस प्रस्तावों का समर्थन करता हूँ क्योंकि इसके द्वारा हम प्रगति के पथ पर बहुत तेजी से अग्रसर हो रहे हैं। यह भी सही है कि हमारी विकास योजनायें हमारे देश की आर्थिक अवस्था में विशेषकर परिवर्तित स्थिति लाकर हमको वह दिन दिखलाने में समर्थ हो रही है कि जिसमें हम यह समझ सकते हैं कि हम भी अपने बाहुबल से कुछ कर सकते हैं।

यह भी एक विचित्र सी बात है कि दस वर्ष पहले हम यह सोच भी नहीं सकते थे कि कभी वह दिन आयेगा कि जब हम अपने भाग्य का निर्माण अपने हाथों से कर सकेंगे। ईश्वर की कृपा से, महात्मा जी की तपस्या से, सुभाष बाबू के त्याग से, देशवासियों की तत्परता से वह दिन आया, वह शुभ घड़ी आई। हम ने अब अपने भाग्य का निर्माण करना आरम्भ कर दिया है। ईश्वर ने हमको ऐसे देशनायक दिये थे, अब भी दिये हैं, जो कि संसार के सामने अपना मुख उज्ज्वल करने में समर्थ रहे हैं। उसमें कुछ श्रैय अग्रर पा सकते हैं तो हम छुटभङ्ग्य भी आ जाते हैं, हम भी उसमें एक अच्छे कैम्प फौलोअर

ठहरेंगे। किन्तु यह सब कहते हुये भी और यह मानते हुये कि इस पांच साल में हमने काफी उन्नति की है, हमारी आर्थिक अवस्था सुधरी है, प्रत्येक आदमी को कुछ न कुछ इस स्वराज्य का सुख, कम से कम मानसिक सुख तो प्राप्त हुआ है, यह सब होते हुये भी यह दुख की बात है कि स्वतंत्रता के बाद के लगभग दस वर्षों में हम जो कुछ कर पाये हैं वह इतना ही हुआ है कि, जैसा कहते हैं, कही दामन में या किनारी में रंग चढ़ा है। वस्तुतः सारा मैदान अभी वैसा ही मरुस्थल सा दिखाई देता है, जैसा कि राजस्थान का एक बड़ा भारी मरुस्थल है, लेकिन उसमें यदाकदा कहीं कहीं हरियाली कोई देख पाता है, तो आज लाखों आदमी, बल्कि मैं कहूँगा ७०, ७५ फी सदी आदमी अधभूखे, भूखे, नंगे हमको गावों में दिखाई पड़ते हैं। मैं कहता हूँ कि गावों में जहा कही अगर एक हजार आदमी की आबादी है, तो उसमें दो चार आदमी ही ऐसे हैं जिनके पास रहने लायक मकान है, बाकी लोगों के पास आदमी के रहने लायक कौन कहे, पशुओं के रहने लायक भी मकान नहीं है। मेरा खायल है देहली के करीब ही ऐसे गाँव होंगे जिनमें ढोर पशु और आदमी एक साथ गंदगी में पड़े हुये हैं और अगर उनको मच्छर काटें, मलेरिया हो जाय या और कोई बीमारी हो जाय, तो वह दवादारु का भी इंतजाम नहीं। डाक्टर के बुलाकर लावें, २५ या ५० रु० उसको फीस दें, यह उन लोगों से सपरता नहीं। यूनान और आयुर्वेदिक हकीम और वैद्यों की पूछ नहीं होती क्योंकि उनके साथ जैसा न्याय हो रहा है उनकी उन्नति के लिये क्या हो रहा है और उनकी राहत दिलाने के लिये जैसा आप कर रहे हैं वह तो आप स्वयं सोच सकते हैं। योजना में उनके लिये कोई स्थान नहीं है, आयुर्वेदिक औषधियों के विकास के लिये उसमें कोई स्थान नहीं है और न उसके लिये कोई साधन रखे हैं

दूसरी ओर हम यह अवस्था भी देखते कि काशी, अयोध्या, प्रयाग आदि धर्म स्थानों व कौन कहे, झुंड के झुंड भिखमंगे, नंगे, लूले, लंग कोढ़ी नरककाल, दरिद्रता के प्रतिरूप, आज सड़व पर राजधानी दिल्ली में भी पाये जाते हैं। उन लिये हमारी अपनी इस योजना में कोई स्था नहीं है, उनका क्या होगा, उनके लिये क्या व्यवस्था आप कर सकेंगे आप स्वयं सोचें कि ऐसी दशा आ भी हमारी है। तरक्की होते हुये भी, उन्नति हो हुये भी अभी हम उस अवस्था को प्राप्त नहीं व सके हैं जिसमें कि हम स्वराज्य का सुख अनुभ

[श्री. बी. बी. शर्मा]

कर सकें। तो सबको सुख के साधन पहुंचाने की स्थिति में हम अभी नहीं आये, आशा है कि प्रागे चल कर हम इस बात को करने में समर्थ होंगे, किन्तु अभी तो वह अवस्था बहुत दूर दिखाई देती है। वह लक्ष्य जिसको लेकर हम आगे बढ़े हैं, याने कि आर्थिक स्वतंत्रता, क्योंकि राजनीतिक स्वतंत्रता के बाद आर्थिक स्वतंत्रता की घोषणा हम करते रहे हैं, तो हमारा वह लक्ष्य, हमारा वह उद्देश्य अभी बहुत दूर है। लेकिन सबसे बड़ी वैचित्र्य बात यह है कि हमने एक शब्द "मिक्स्ट कोनोमी" गढ़ लिया है, जिसके मानी क्या हैं आपको बतलाता हूं। आप चाहते हैं कि धनिक लोग और धनी हों, वह कैपिटलिस्ट हैं तो उनके लिये कैपिटलिज्म बना रहे और जो दरिद्र लोग वे दरिद्र हों उनके लिये सोशलिज्म है, और सोशलिज्म और कैपिटलिज्म का जो यह गठबन्धन उसे कहते हैं मिक्स्ट इकोनोमी। मिक्स्ट कोनोमी का परिणाम क्या हो रहा है? जैसा मलकाजी साहब अभी कह रहे थे कि इस विशाल समुद्र को पार करने के लिये रे गस्तिष्क की नौका बहुत छोटी ठहरती" तो मैं भी इसके गहन तरवों को समझने असमर्थ रहता हूं। उसका अंकशास्त्र भी एक विचित्र चीज है। उसकी पुस्तक बनाने के लिये आप कमरे में बैठकर अंक गढ़ लीजिये, जितने अंक हो, जितना परसेंटेज हो, इतना है इतना टोटल है, उसको बांट दीजिये। यानि जितना उसका कारोबार है वह व्यवहारिकता से सम्बन्ध नहीं रखता, केवल पुस्तकों कागज से, रोशनाई से, दवात से, कलम और पेंसिल से सम्बन्ध रखता है। सम्बन्ध में एक बुलैटिन निकाली जाती जिसे स्टेटिस्टिकस कहते हैं और उस के आधार पर सारा निर्माण का काम होता है। उस स्टेटिस्टिकस को समझने के लिये मेरे पास कभी माग होगा या नहीं, यह बात मैं नहीं समझता हूं, लेकिन इतना मैं जानता हूं कि उस स्टेटिस्टिकस में केवल कल्पना ही कल्पना रहती है। मैं यह दिया होता है कि हिन्दुस्तान में इतनी लड़ एरिया कल्टीवेशन में है और पर एकड़ ल्टीवेशन इतनी होती है, और उसके साथ ला पड़ने से, तूफान आने से और बाढ़ आने से, नी हांनि हुई, उसका लेखा जोखा करके, रको घटा बढ़ा कर टोटल पैदावार बना ली तो है और उसके आधार पर योजना का कार्य-न बनता है। तो इन आंकड़ों के आधार पर

हमारे यहां योजना बनी है और उसके अनुसार काम हो रहा है, यह एक बड़ी खुशी की बात है। लेकिन इन आंकड़ों से कुछ नहीं होता है जैसा कि रास्ते में जब अंधेरा हो तब भी लोग चलते हैं और जब अंधेरा न हो तब भी चलते हैं, उसी तरह से इस अंक जाल के अंधकार में भी हमारे यहां काम हो रहा है, कुछ काम हो गया है और होना चाहिये। किन्तु मैंने सुना है और इसी अंक जाल में पड़कर इधर उधर टटोलने के बाद मुझे मालूम हुआ कि इस अंकजाल के अनुसार सब से बड़ी इंडस्ट्री जो है वह इस देश की कृषि है। हमारी राष्ट्रीय आमदनी का आधे से अधिक अंश कृषि से आता है और उसके आधार पर ही परकैपिटल इन्कम का निचोड़ निकाला जाता है। लेकिन इस आधी आमदनी वाले राष्ट्रीय व्यवसाय के साथ जिस तरह से स्टेप-मदरली ट्रीटमेंट किया जा रहा है—स्टेप मदरली ट्रीटमेंट तो बहुत कठोर शब्द हो गया है, जैसा कि मलकानी साहब ने इस सम्बन्ध में एपेथेटिक शब्द का प्रयोग किया, इसलिये मैं भी उस शब्द का प्रयोग करता हूं—तो जैसा कि अभी मलकानी साहब ने बतलाया कि प्राइस लेवल निश्चित करने के लिये हमारे पास कोई व्यवस्था इस समय नहीं है। हमारे पास तो अंकशास्त्रियों और विद्वानों द्वारा बताये हुये अनुमान और आंकड़े हैं कि एक एकड़ जमीन में इतनी पैदावार होती है। लेकिन एक एकड़ जमीन की पैदावार में से वह अन्न निकालने के बाद जो वर्षा, आतप, गर्मी इत्यादि से बरबाद हो जाता है और जानवर चर जाते हैं, खा जाते हैं, फसल जो कीड़ों, द्वारा नष्ट हो जाती है, उससे जो पैदावार किसान के पास बच रहती है, वह कितनी होती है, इसका कोई अंकन नहीं। वह बेचारा सारा समय, रात दिन मेहनत करता है और हम उसका मुकाबला बाहर के मुल्कों के किसानों के साथ करते हैं। मैं उस आदमी को चैलेंज करता हूं जो कहता है कि जापान में किसान बड़ा मेहनती है। यहां भी किसान जी जान से मेहनत करता है। मैं भी किसान हूं और मेरे घर वाले पुश्त दर पुश्त इस काम को करते चले आ रहे हैं। मेरे भाई भतीजे सब कृषि का काम करते हैं और मैं किसान के व्यवसाय को जानता हूं कि उसमें कितना परिश्रम करना पड़ता है। उस परिश्रम को देखते हुये आफिसों में दो चार घंटे काम करने वाले, बड़ी बड़ी तनखावा पाने वाले लोग किसान के मुकाबले में काम करने लगें तो वे पिस जायें। वे एक दिन भी वहां खेती के काम में नहीं चल सकते हैं। हमारे किसान को इससे कुछ मतलब

नहीं कि इंडिया की पर एकड़ कास्ट आफ प्रोडक्शन क्या है, मेरी कास्ट आफ प्रोडक्शन क्या है। वह कोई हिसाब तो रखता नहीं, इसलिये अपनी कास्ट आफ प्रोडक्शन का अनुमान वह कैसे लगावे जब कि उसे इतने आदमियों को मजदूरी देनी पड़ती है, जो हल चलाते हैं, पानी देते हैं, घास निकालते हैं, खेत पर काम करते हैं, खेत की रखवाली करते हैं इसलिये इन सब बातों को ध्यान में रखकर ही हिन्दुस्तान की कास्ट आफ प्रोडक्शन 'पर एकड़' का सही अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है और इस आधार पर हम प्राइस पालिसी का निर्माण करें तब तो बात समझ में आ सकती है। लेकिन हम उसके कास्ट आफ प्रोडक्शन पर ध्यान न देकर उसकी आमदनी ही का अनुमान लगाते हैं जो उचित नहीं है। ऐसी मूरत में किसानों को आखिर एक आना, दो आना, चार आना, कुछ भी उसको मुनाफे की शक्ल में देना ही चाहिये। लेकिन जरा भी अन्न की कीमत बढ़ जाती है तो लोगों में शोर मच जाता है। शहर के जो लुटेरे हैं वे कभी इस प्राइस को बढ़ा देते हैं तो कभी घटा देते हैं और इस तरह से स्पेक्युलेट करते रहते हैं। जब साल भर तड़प तड़प कर किसान मेहनत करता है, गर्मी जाड़े की परवाह न करके, खून पसीना एक करके वह उसे पैदा करता है तब वह पैदावार होती है। कपड़े या किसी चीज की जरूरत पड़ने पर वह अपने अन्न को बाजार में बेचने के लिये जाता है तो अन्न का भाव सस्ता हो जाता है। शहर के लुटेरे उस अनाज को सस्ते भाव में खरीद कर स्टोक कर लेते हैं और बाद में मनमाने भाव में बेचते हैं। मेरे कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि प्राइस के बढ़ने से किसान को किसी तरह का कोई खास फायदा नहीं होता है। प्लानिंग कमीशन की रिपोर्ट में जहां तक मैंने इसको पढ़ा है और समझा है किसानों के लिये कृषि विभाग के लिये कोई आयोजन नहीं किया गया है। हमें स्वतंत्र हुये करीब दस वर्ष हो गये हैं लेकिन अभी तक किसानों की भलाई के लिये कोई योजना नहीं बनाई गई है। दस वर्ष के अंशों में मुल्कों का नक्शा बदल जाता है। हमने जर्मनी और इंग्लैंड को देखा कि पिछली लड़ाई में उनकी क्या दुर्दशा हो गई थी लेकिन उन्होंने कितनी जल्दी अपने देश का नक्शा बदल दिया मगर हम इन दस वर्षों में अपने लोगों को तन ढाँकने के लिये अच्छी तरह से वस्त्र भी नहीं जुटा सके। इन वर्षों में हम अपनी आर्थिक दशा को भी सुधार नहीं सके। मैं जानता हूँ कि जितना हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब को हमारे देश के कष्टों और दरिद्रता का अनुभव है उतना शायद किसी को नहीं होगा। मैं यह जानता हूँ कि उन्हें

इस चीज को देखकर दुःख होता है। लेकिन अफसोस है कि उनकी यह सब सहानुभूति होते हुये भी, उस हिस्सों में, जहां से वे आये हैं चुने जाकर आये हैं, वहां पर किसी किसम की व्यवसाय की ओर न किसी इंडस्ट्री की योजना ही है और न इस प्लान में वहां की उन्नति के बारे में कोई स्थान ही है। मुनने में आ रहा है टांडा से नहर निकाली जा रही है। वह कब आयेगी और किस जमाने तक जौनपुर पहुंचेगी और कब तक उसका पानी मिलेगा, कुछ नहीं पता। यह भी मुनने में आया है कि वहाँ पर कुछ ट्यूबवैल्स लग रहे हैं और इधर उधर काम हो रहा है। इसके अलावा और कुछ नहीं है। पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश की आबादी दो कमिश्नरियों की और यदि इलाहाबाद भी मिला दिया जाय तो दो करोड़ के करीब है। उस दो करोड़ की आबादी में इन दस वर्षों में क्या विकास कार्य हुआ है? जो नई स्टेट्स निर्मित हुई हैं उनमें दो करोड़ की आबादी की बहुत कम स्टेट्स हैं। त्रावनकोर-कोचीन बहुत छोटा है। फिर भी आप देखिये कि उस पर कितना व्यय किया जा रहा है और वहां कितनी इंडस्ट्रीज खोली जा रही है। लेकिन पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश की इस दो करोड़ की आबादी के लिये कुछ नहीं हो रहा है। यह सही है कि हमको संतोष है, शांति है, हम को बड़ी खुशी होती है, जब हम यह देखते हैं कि हमारे खित्त का आदमी, हमारे टुकड़े का आदमी प्रधान मंत्री है। किन्तु ऐसे संतोष से क्या लाभ जब कि वहां की दरिद्रता और वहां के भूखें नंगों को वस्त्र और अन्न के मिलने की संभावना वैसी ही है जैसी दस वर्ष पहले थी और उसमें कोई विशेष परिवर्तन नहीं हुआ है। इस पंचवर्षीय योजना से इरिगेशन का कुछ प्रबन्ध जरूर हुआ है।

(समय की घंटी)

मैं दो तीन मिनट और लूंगा। मुझे बहुत ज्यादा बोलना आता नहीं है और बोलने का समय भी हमें हमेशा नहीं मिलता है।

मुझे इतना ही कहना है कि २० अरब रुपया गत पंचवर्षीय योजना में व्यय हुआ है। यह सही है कि इसका कुछ भाग ऐग्रीकल्चर पर और कुछ भाग इरिगेशन पर व्यय हुआ है। लेकिन योजना आयोग से मैं यह जानना चाहूंगा कि ऐग्रीकल्चरिस्ट कहलाने वाले जितने हैं उनके पास इस २० अरब रुपये का कौन सा अंश गया? ७० फ्रीसदी ऐग्रीकल्चरिस्ट को २० अरब रुपये का कितना अंश मिला? यदि आप कहें कि इरिगेशन के प्रोजेक्ट्स बने, न रें बनीं, ट्यूबवैल्स लगे, तो

[श्री बी. बी. शर्मा]

सही है कि लगे । मैं यह नहीं कहता कि नहीं लगे, लेकिन उनके लगाने में जो रुपया लगा वह ठेकेदार ले गये । दस फ्रीसदी जो आपके पी० डब्ल्यू० डी० कि बंधी हुई रकम है वह चली गई, पांच रुपया सैकड़ा हर एक में ओवरसियर साहब लेते हैं । पांच रुपया सैकड़ा इंजिनियर साहब और दफ्तर वाली के हिस्से में जाता है । तो एक १० फ्रीसदी बंधी हुई रकम इस प्रकार चली जाती है अर्थात् जितनी बड़ी योजनाये हैं उन पर व्यय होने वाली रकम का दसांश ओवरसियर और इंजीनियर की जेब में चला जाता है । अगर एक अरब रुपया खर्च होता है तो दस करोड़ रुपया इन लोगों की पाकेट में जाता है और यह एक रिवाज है, यह करप्शन नहीं कहलाता है ।

श्री जसोद सिंह बिष्ट : यह तो एक पर सेंट हुआ ।

श्री किशन चन्द (हैदराबाद) : एक अरब का दस करोड़ हुआ ।

श्री बी० बी० शर्मा : जी हां, दस करोड़ हुआ । तो यह करप्शन नहीं कहलाता है, यह रसूम कहलाता है, देहाती भाषा में रसूम कहलाता है । यदि ये लोग ईमानदार होते, तो, यह दस करोड़ रुपया बच सकता था । यह देख कर अंज हैरत होती है । इस सम्बन्ध में मैं आपको एक किस्सा सुना दूँ । हमारे यहां एक नहर बन रही है जो दोहरीघाट से बलिया को जा रही है और उसके लिये ईंटों के भट्टे लगे हुये हैं । वह इंजीनियर साहब जो खुदवा रहे हैं वे इतने एक्सपर्ट हैं कि जहां से पानी छोड़ना है वहां उन्होंने नीची नहर बोदवा दी और जहां पानी जाना है वहां ऊंची ाहर खोदवा दी । इस प्रकार दस पंद्रह मील तक बोदाई की गई ।

श्री महेश सरन (बिहार) : यह बलिया का मामला है ?

श्री बी० बी० शर्मा : जी हां, यह बलिया प्राजमगढ़ का मामला है । यह उन जिलों का मामला है, जिन्होंने स्वराज्य हासिल किया । देश भरमें किसी खित्ते ने वह काम नहीं किया जो इस खित्ते ने सन् १९४२ के आन्दोलन में किया ।

तो मैं नहर का किस्सा बतला रहा था । ाहर का किस्सा यह है कि जब बाद में यह मालूम आ कि पानी बिलकुल नहीं चढ़ेगा तो यह तय आ कि इसको ऊंचा बनाया जाय, सीमेंट के ाड़े बड़े खंभे बनेंगे और लिफ्ट से पानी चढ़ाया ायगा । दो तीन मील तक पुल बांध दिया ाया । अब जरा यह सुनिये कि किसानों का

पहल क्या नुकसान हुआ । उनके खेत खोद डाले गये और उनकी फसल काट डाली गई ।

डा० डब्ल्यू० एस० बालिग : (मध्य प्रदेश) यह कहां की बात है ?

श्री बी० बी० शर्मा : आजमगढ़ जिले के दोहरीघाट का किस्सा है । फिर यह हुआ कि पानी नहीं जा सकता है तो वह पाटा गया और उस पर रुपया खर्च हुआ ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do, Mr. Sharma.

SHRI B. B. SHARMA: Sir, I am just relating a story which is very interesting.

श्री उपसभापति : आपने पांच मिनट ज्यादा ले लिये हैं ।

श्री बी० बी० शर्मा : इस स्टोरी से बहुत लुत्फ आ रहा है, थोड़ा और समय दे दीजिये । उसके बाद उन्होंने यह किया कि पुल बना रहे हैं और उनके लिये ईंटों की जरूरत पड़ी तो २४ भट्टे खोले गये । ईंटों के भट्टे, ब्रिक किल्नस, लगे, हुये हैं । वहां एक आफिसर हैं जिनका मैं नाम जानता भी नहीं और लेना भी नहीं चाहता । मैं किसी को आइडेंटिफाई भी नहीं कर सकता, क्योंकि लोग मेरे सामने देते नहीं हैं । लेकिन जहां तक मैं जानता हूं, उनकी ३६ हजार रुपये की सालाना आमदनी है । वे डेढ़ सौ रुपया तनख्वाह पाते हैं और ३६ हजार रुपया की एकमुश्त रकम उनको इकट्ठा मिल जाती है । १५, १५ लाख ईंट फी भट्टा से सप्लाई होती है जिस की कीमत ३०, ३५ हजार रुपया होती है और वे डेढ़ हजार रुपया फी भट्टे वाले से लेते हैं । इस प्रकार २४ डेढ़ ३६ हजार उनको मिल जाता है । कहने वाले ४८ हजार रुपया कहते हैं, लेकिन ३६ हजार रुपया उनको अवश्य मिल जाते हैं It is not bribery, it is not corruption. यह तो सिर्फ नजर है, बख्शिश है ।

हुजूरवाला, यह तो करोड़ दो करोड़ की योजनायें हैं, जहां अरबों की योजनायें हैं, वहां कितना पाकेट में जाता है यह समझने की बात है । तो मलकानी साहब की शिकायत गलत नहीं है । अगर उनको गर्मी न आयें तो वे उसको हजम कैसे करें और गर्मी निकालने के उनके पास साधन भी होने चाहियें, वे सब उनके पास मौजूद हैं इसमें कोई कहने की जरूरत नहीं है । मैं इसकी कोई इक्वायरी कर के तो नहीं बतला सकता हूं लेकिन कह सकता हूं कि यह हालत है । यही हिसाब सब जगह हुआ है । साहब, ट्यूबवेलस बना रहे हैं, नहरे

बना रहे हैं। इंजीनियर लोग उसके लिये इस्टीमेट बनाते हैं कि इतना सीमेंट लगेगा इतनी ईट लगेगी, इतनी बालू लगेगी, इतना लोहा लगेगा, इन सब का इस्टीमेट बनाते हैं।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do, Mr. Sharma.

श्री बी० बी० शर्मा : तो अगर सात बोरे सीमेंट के लिये उसमें बनाया है.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is all. Shrimati Chandravati Lakhanpal.

श्री बी० बी० शर्मा : तो उसमें से १ बोरा इस्तेमाल होता है और ६ बोरा दूसरी जगह चला जाता है, ब्लेकमार्केटिंग में चला जाता है।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shrimati Chandravati Lakhanpal.

SHRIMATI CHANDRAVATI LAKHANPAL (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I never thought that my turn would come today. I would like to speak tomorrow, if you permit me.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No no; not tomorrow. If you are not speaking today, I will call upon Janab Muhammad Ismail Saheb.

JANAB M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHEB (Madras): Mr. Deputy Chairman, as we are now fighting for time and as you have been kind enough to accommodate me, I shall not speak on all the subjects on which I wanted to speak.

Sir, I wanted to say something about the regional disparity that exists between one part of the country and another, particularly between South India and other parts of the country. There is disparity in the matter of standard of living, in the matter of income and in the matter of even development of industries, I also wanted to show how certain parts have been neglected, if I may use that word, Sir, by the Planning Commission even at present.

I wanted to say that even in the matter of railway construction certain parts of the country, particularly in the South are suffering from dearth of railways and that there are places there which are miles and miles away from any railway line and how people cannot live a full life without this facility. I wanted

to say how the survey of mineral resources and their exploitation especially in South India, have been neglected so far and how, if proper exploitation of the mineral resources of the country takes place, we can in many instances become rich overnight. All these things and more I wanted to deal with, but because of the pressure of time, I would confine myself only to one specific point, a minor matter according to some people but a matter which touches very acutely one class of people who have been suffering for long. I mean the handloom weavers and particularly those who are outside the co-operative movement. Sir, the Government of India initiated and introduced a scheme of subvention in the year 1935 and from that time until now, they have been extending all sorts of assistance, financial and otherwise, to the co-operative organisations. Yet, what is the percentage of the weavers that have come into the movement? It is only 25 per cent. Though there is a controversy about this between the co-operators and the non-co-operators, so to say, the real figure is only 25 per cent. About 75 per cent. of the 25 lakhs or so of the handloom families are still outside the co-operative movement. Now the Government seems to be averse to extending any substantial help to this class of people. This class of people do not feel enthusiastic about coming into the co-operative movement. If they know and if they feel that it is advantageous to come into the co-operative movement, why should they feel at all diffident and why should they fight shy of coming into the movement? We have a class of people among the weavers, the silk weavers of a town called Kanjeeperan in Madras State. There are about a few hundred weavers there. Government recently announced a number of schemes of financial assistance to them, so as to induce them to come into the co-operative movement. They are to receive further facilities, further assistance, after they come into it. This is on one side. For the handloom industry, the Plan has allotted Rs. 60 crores for subventions, subsidies and other things, and another Rs. 60 crores for capital purposes. Taking the two together, it comes to Rs. 120 crores. Taking the handlooms to be 25 lakhs in number, then Rs. 120 crores will come to about Rs. 480 per loom for the whole of the five year period. Now, the assistance which these silk weavers of whom I spoke, get is more than this Rs. 480 which a handloom is expected to get. Why such an amount is being

[Janab M. Muhammad Ismail Saheb.]

given to these silk weavers is to enable them to meet their debts and their other commitments and then come into the co-operative movement of freemen. That is also the position of the weavers in general. If the weavers are convinced that it will be advantageous to them, beneficial to them, to come into the co-operative movement, they will surely do that; there need not be much inducement for it. As a matter of fact, their industry itself is a co-operative industry. In the preparation of the yarn, in weaving and such other things, a whole street, or in many cases, a whole village join together and do the work jointly. But then there is no co-operation among them in the matter of securing yarn and in the matter of securing a market for their products. Now, the question is why they should not extend this co-operation to those other fields also. There, there is real difficulty and that difficulty is experienced not only by the weavers but by many others in our country, particularly the poor people. There is, say, some death or illness or marriage in the family. The weaver wants money on the spot immediately. He wants Rs. 100. Now, if he joins a co-operative society, first he will have to give an application. First of all, writing the application is a process which will take a number of days for him. He has to meet some high-brow and that high-brow is not different from the high-brow of the master weaver. While the high-brow of the master weaver will give him ready help, the high-brow of the official of the co-operative department does not even inform him whether he will receive this financial assistance or not. First the application has to be given, and then what happens is that it is sent to some other office, and it takes three months or four months for him to be informed whether he is getting this assistance or not. Sir, illness, marriages and deaths do not wait for the sanction of the co-operative societies. People know and experience these hard facts. They cannot get assistance when they want from the co-operative societies. This is one of the reasons why people do not join the co-operative societies. For this reason, they should not be subjected to privation and starvation. These people, these resourceless, poor, simple, suffering people should be persuaded to come into the co-operative movement. I am all for the co-operative movement. I know it is for the good of the people,

but the people must be made to understand it. I think that these people also should be given substantial aid under the Second Plan. The amount that is being allotted for the handloom industry should not be concentrated more or less only on the co-operators who form only 25 per cent. of the weaving population. That is my point. If the Planning Commission or the Government of India can give up their reluctance in this matter of assisting the weavers who are outside the co-operative movement, then that will really be a substantial help and if I am able to impress upon the Government this one point and persuade them to look into it very seriously and more earnestly, it would really be a great thing achieved for these poor people. I know that they may say that they have appointed a Committee to go into this question, that they will surely go into the matter with impartiality and justice and all that. But the Members of that Committee are strong co-operators and they swear by co-operation and I don't know what kind of report they are going to give and what will be the result but however I want the Government to take this matter seriously and see the real difficulties of these people who are not in the Co-operative Societies and see that their reluctance is not wanton and see that these people don't want to continue in their difficulties, starvations and privations without any reason. There is real hardship for them. Therefore that hardship must be recognised and something must be done for them. This is what I wanted to say.

SHRI T. J. M. WILSON (Andhra): Sir, the First Plan resulted in an increase of 18 per cent. in real national income, an increase of 11 per cent. in *per capita* income and 9 per cent. in consumption expenditure per head. The rate of investment has risen from 4.9 per cent. to 7.3 per cent. of national income. In the Second Plan the financial allocations are nearly twice those of the First Plan and targets are higher, the increase in national income being 25 per cent. In the First Plan period, the incremental capital output ratio worked out at 1.8 to 1. For the Second Plan period it will be 2.3 to 1 and this, with the exclusion of non-monetary investment in our rural economy. The rate of investment would rise from about 7 per cent. to 11 per cent. in the Second Plan. The threshold, however, will be crossed only after the next two Plans and during this crucial period of 10 years of development, the benefits of

rising productivity would not substantially go to the mass of the people, but would only go towards capital formation. This was the feature of the economic development of all those countries in the world that have advanced and this is the answer to the charge that the First Plan has not shown, and the Second and the Third Plans also may not shown, an improvement of an appreciable degree in the level of living of the people. Also I believe that the present generation will bear up and go through it for their children and for their children's children. It is also perhaps in some measure an answer to the charges levelled by the Members who spoke before me regarding the small allocations made for Social Welfare Services like education, health etc. The investment pattern of the Plan is Rs. 2,559 crores for the Centre and Rs. 2,241 crores for the States. The Centre has a greater proportion of investment expenditure to non-investment expenditure while the States are charged with welfare activities that involve largely non-investment expenditure, like education and health. There is, therefore, a shortage in the resources of the States and I trust that the Finance Commission will allot more sources of revenue to the States.

The provision of internal budgetary resources through taxation and borrowings is quite large and I am afraid that the increased target of small savings to the tune of Rs. 55 crores is rather too high in view of the very low level of living of the mass of the people. The fiscal measures should not only meet this provision but also reduce inequalities in income and wealth. The tax on wealth and capital gains on expenditure and on gifts should be examined soon and taken up. The tax evasion of the extent of Rs. 20 to 30 crores as pointed out by Prof. Kaldor should be stopped.

The foreign exchange position today with very large imports of steel, machinery and food is not very encouraging and the present indications appear to put our requirements at not Rs. 1,100 crores, but nearly Rs. 1,500 crores. The Government will have to cut down imports of certain luxuries and also imports of certain other items for which we have substitutes, for example cement. The imports that we are proposing to have of cement for the next five years will cost about Rs. 20 to 30 crores and the constructions, public as well as private, should be popularised in lime

and cement which has been done in India since time immemorial. Here I would like to refer the Government to the decision taken recently to construct the Nagarjunasagar Dam in masonry and not in concrete which is a good example and this is quite in contradiction to the previous projects on which have been wasted quite a lot of cement and machinery and other things. It will not only reduce the requirements of cement and machinery but it will also employ more labour.

So far as unemployment is concerned, I don't see much evidence in the Plan of the desire to implement the scheme of more employment by encouraging cottage and small scale industries which are the industries that employ more labour. The Plan will not have any impact on the carry-over of unemployment of the earlier period. The Panel on Unemployment of Educated has not taken into account the educated unemployed who study upto Middle-School standard, i.e., the Eighth standard and who are in a very large number and who present a much more complex and graver problem than the educated unemployed who have studied up to Matriculation.

Judging from the result of deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 550 crores in the First Plan, there may not be very great danger of inflation as a result of the proposed creation of credit of Rs. 1,200 crores in the Second Plan and it is for that reason that we have got to raise the production of food-stuffs by about 35 to 40 per cent. which has been characterised by many as impractical but which has to be realised by the Government and by the Planning Commission by certain steps which the Central and State Government must and can take. Also I would like to say that the Government should not fight shy of even making preparations for controls and rationing, with all the unpopularity of controls, if an emergency arises, in order at least to protect the low income groups and the other poor sections of the people who should be guaranteed their minimum supplies of food.

Regarding public co-operation, I suggest that frequent exhibitions—as has been suggested by many others—of the Plan should be held and I may suggest that besides the university forums that have been proposed in the Plan, forums may be started in big important towns

[Shri T. J. M. Wilson.]
 where not only students and the teachers but also along with them people belonging to various professions, business and other professions, might come together and have a more effective and a more practical discussion and publicise this Plan. The chief lacuna or defect in the Plan, to my mind, is the lack of an emotional appreciation of and sympathy instead of a mere intellectual understanding for the agrarian problem. By agrarian problem, I don't mean in the sense in which Prof. Ranga often speaks, but in the sense of satisfying the hunger of millions of landless people of this country for lands. The 20 per cent. increase in agricultural production and the additional 6 million acres under irrigation achieved in the First Plan have not fully solved our food problem. The landless labourers constitute about 30 per cent. of the population and if you don't improve their standard of living and if you don't improve the internal market, this rapid industrialisation envisaged in the Plan is absolutely impossible. There will not be any appreciable shift in the occupational pattern which I believe is one of the four or five Objectives of this Plan. The core of India's development is this easing of pressure on land and it has not been tackled with imagination and the recommendations of the Panel on Land Reforms, which I believe, are the minimum, have not been accepted.

An hon. Member who preceded me spoke about the guaranteeing of minimum price to peasants for their produce. He cited China and America as examples. He thinks that this is the best way to combat inflation but I don't know how. As I said, about 30 to 35 per cent. of the population are landless labourers and, besides, there is a large proportion of low income groups with fixed salaries. The fixing of a minimum price for agriculturists means of course a slightly higher price than it is now and that minimum price would certainly hit this large proportion of the people. Could these large sections of the people be guaranteed their food within their incomes and would an increase in these prices not react on the other prices and would it not lead to inflation?

The guarantee of prices for agriculturalists for their produce can be thought of and discussed only in the context of fixed landholdings and not

in the present conditions. The creation of the Indian Industrial Service is to be welcomed. But the Plan does not disclose what definite scheme they are going to have to provide the technical personnel to ensure the implementation of the Plan. The provision of district Panchayats is all right, but there are certain difficulties visible where the Panchayats are working in the districts, difficulties like the creation of discord in the villages and the consequent litigation accompanied by the domination of the backward classes by the wealthier classes. I hope the Government and the Planning Commission will remedy these and work out a system of Panchayats which will carry out the implementation of this Plan.

I will end by saying this. The Plan is great in its objectives as well as in its resources, not so much in terms of money, but in terms of the manpower in the country. This is a Plan which is undertaken by a Government which is not a totalitarian Government, but a democratic Government and which is to be implemented through democratic methods. This is something that is unprecedented and unparalleled if we look at the history of other countries. Let us hope and pray that this Plan will be as successful as the first one was.

SHRI PURNA CHANDRA SHARMA (Assam): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to express my views and offer my suggestions on this Second Five Year Plan that has been presented to us. At the same time it passes my comprehension as to why, when the First Plan period was over in last March and the Second Plan period started in April last, this Plan has been presented to us now, for us to offer our criticisms or express our approval.

Anyway, we have got an opportunity to criticise this Plan and we must avail ourselves of it and I will do it in the best way I can. First of all, as regards the Plan, it should be seen whether it is a plan for the nation and whether it is a plan for actually building up the nation. I feel that this Plan is a partial plan in the sense that it is a plan only for five years. We have to see whether it is for the general benefit of the whole country, whether it actually serves the whole nation. That has to be considered. In laying down

the basic objectives of the Plan it has been said that the raising of the standard of living or material welfare, as it is sometimes called, is not an end in itself, though it is essential and the immediate objectives have been laid down as:

(a) a sizeable increase in national income so as to raise the level of living in the country;

(b) rapid industrialisation with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries;

(c) a large expansion of employment opportunities; and

(d) reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power.

Now apparently there is shown to be a sizeable increase in the national income. But it has got to be seen whether that increase in national income will go to the nation as a whole or only to particular people. It is clear from the distribution of the industries in the various States in the country that there has been clear neglect of certain States, for instance the south of India and also in the north-east as in Assam. We see that in the programme for the distribution of the industries, certain industries have been concentrated in particular places whereas others have been neglected in spite of various factors like natural resources, mineral wealth and so on which are there awaiting exploitation. So, though the national income in a particular State may increase a hundred fold, the benefit of it will not go to the poorer States which will remain as poor as they have been till now. In spite of representations that were made by different States, by the poorer States their voice has fallen on deaf ears and no attention has been given to them. Even in the distribution of the total amount of Rs. 4,800 crores among the different States, if there was any plan for distribution of these resources in those areas according to the population or even according to their areas, perhaps some justice would have been done to those backward States. For instance, in Assam, after consultation with the Planning Commission, they had presented a draft Plan for Rs. 290 crores. That was cut down and only Rs. 59 crores has been allotted to this poor and backward State. After that with several entreaties, they have submitted

another plan, a supplementary plan for another Rs. 40 crores, including in it some very important projects so as to be at least on par with other poor States in India, but that has also been turned down. It is said that some matters are under consideration, but no assurance has been given. In the matter of the improvement of the railway lines which is the most important factor for the improvement and development of Assam, there has been neglect and not even a crore of rupees has been allotted for improvement of railway communications to Assam although there is a Budget of Rs. 900 crores for the Railway development programme. As regards a bridge over the Brahmaputra which has been so much urged by the Government of Assam for inclusion in the Second Plan that also has not been accepted. As for developing other industries and the generation of power and the undertaking of river-valley projects, even about those that had been investigated, nothing has been done till now. There is frustration among the people and the youth of the country has been feeling that the Centre has been neglecting Assam and that frustration has had very deplorable results in several areas.

Take the question of the refinery, a refinery for mineral oil or petroleum which is normally pumped out in Assam. Now, this refinery is contemplated perhaps to be taken away from Assam and the people of Assam are feeling very frustrated in all respects in the dealings of the Centre towards this poor backward State. I appeal to the Planners to consider whether they want Assam to lag behind others, whether they want the difference between the prosperity of Assam and that of the other States to continue not only to continue but to get widened to the extent of killing the people of the North East corner of India. As I have already said, these are all things which are causing frustration in the strategic State of Assam. I, therefore, appeal to the great Prime Minister of India through this House to show some consideration to the problems of Assam. A sum of only Rs. 40 crores has been asked for by the Government of Assam for development in this Plan and this sum, by way of a supplementary Plan, should be given to Assam; otherwise, there will be no prosperity and there will be no prospects of Assam developing at any time and since the frustration will fall upon the youth, this may have disastrous effects.

[Shri Purna Chandra Sharma.]

I feel, Sir, that when a Plan is made, it should be made for a generation; piece-meal plans for five years cannot give us any idea as to what the country wants and what the country will have. We do not know what we are going to have after this Plan; if we do not know what benefits we are going to get after this or by this Plan, then there may be no public co-operation and there can be no co-operation asked for from the people. When public co-operation has been so much emphasised, we must be able to direct the minds of the people to the Plan which we are presenting to them and we must inspire confidence in them that they will get such and such things in such distant or near future. We should have a Master Plan with the whole statistics of resources in different areas and all other data—a character—and we should be able to say which areas should be developed and how they should be developed and when they should be developed and at what time and by what stages we would reach the standards and so on. That we have not done. In any plan, there should be mentioned clearly as to how the standard of living is going to be raised. This socialistic pattern of society is a vague idea; it is a vague expression; it is not clearly stated anywhere as to what actually this expression means. When different leaders give different interpretations, it is a little difficult and we do not get a clear picture before our eyes. We should put the complete picture before the nation and say what we hope to achieve and by what ways. Therefore, a Master plan in the sense that everything is put there, for example, by what time and by what stages you reach the minimum standard, so that every man in the street, every man in the country, every citizen, gets so much of food, enough of clothing and so on must be there. We must be able to tell them that by these particular stages, after so many years, we would arrive at a particular standard of living. Unless we can tell our countrymen, unless we can tell the youth of the country that they will have this and this—it may not be in five years, it may not even be in ten years, let it be in 12 years or even 25 years, the period is immaterial—that there will be no poverty in the country, that there will be no man going without the necessities, that there will be no man going without a shelter, it may not be of much help and there may not be much of co-operation forthcoming. We

must tell them by what stages we hope to reach this target of freedom from wants, freedom from diseases ultimately, it may be five years or ten years more or it may be even earlier by five years but the point is that we should be in a position to tell everybody that this is the standard, that this is the ideal, for which we are striving. This was given to us by Mahatmaji; he never mentioned the time or the period but he said clearly that we must come up to this standard, that we must not rest and that we must work till then. The planners ought to have something of that kind mentioned; it may be socialist pattern or any other pattern but the point is that we must have the individual before us as the person whom we must house, whom we must clothe and whom we must feed. That has not been the angle of vision of the Commission; their angle of vision is different from what I am contemplating. I think the right angle should have been, the right approach should have been, to aim at the individual.

Apart from that, I do not find anywhere in the Report mention about the destitutes. We have innumerable destitutes still begging from door to door. Many of them are living in the streets of Bombay, the richest city of India, the biggest capitalist centre of India. Even in that big city, we see people rolling on the roads and foot-paths. They have no houses. They have to work day and night and even then do not get a morsel of food. We do not find any mention in the Plan about these beggars. There are so many who are going from door to door for a morsel of food. We must plan for those people. I think the first thing we ought to have done was to collect these people and put them in destitutes home. We should give them food and clothing and work for those who can and are able to work. We should so arrange things that any outsider coming from anywhere cannot see a beggar or a man begging in our streets. Till then, we would have done nothing for our country. By the process which you have been adopting in the Plan, you will be making the rich richer and the poor poorer as it were. The poor people in the poor States will have nothing to do, no work to do and there may be a few, may be a few thousands, who will be living rather happily and in comfort. No provision is contemplated or is even mentioned in this Plan as to how the others

who are in need of work are to be dealt with. We are appealing to the youth of the country to give us the co-operation. What for? Are they to serve in the air? Is it for that that we want their co-operation? Where is the work that we have provided for them excepting that we require their help in the construction of a few roads in the villages by way of shramdan. Where is the ideal that we are putting before them? Why has not the Plan appealed to the youth of the country? Why has it not been able to draw their co-operation like a magnet? When Mahatmaji put before us the ideal of independence, it fired us; it inspired us to give our life and everything for it. If we want to build this country, we must put before the people of this country a definite ideal, a clear picture of the country as to what it will mean to them. Until then we can expect nothing, no co-operation from the majority of the people.

Thanks.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER FOR PLANNING (SHRI S. N. MISHRA): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am really very glad to be able to participate in this debate on a historic occasion. Sir, I call this occasion historic rather deliberately because I am convinced that future historians would dig into these thoughts and reflections of the sovereign Parliament for finding out the ideas which set the future prosperity of this country on sound lines.

Sir, it is obvious that I would not be able to deal with all the points that have been raised during the course of the debate either in this House or in the Committees in which the hon. Members of this House participated but I am conscious at the same time that I have to perform a function of what you may call the Sesha Nag in the sense that I have to reply to many points that concern different Ministries which were really in the picture in formulating the different plans and programmes. To my great bewilderment I find that a number of very important points have been made, but I shall try to be rather selective in my approach to them, because, it is impossible even if I try to flit from one point to another with supersonic speed to do justice to all of them. But, in doing so, I would rather assure the House that I would not be showing disrespect to most of the important points that have been raised during the course of the debate.

Before I proceed, Sir, to take care of the individual points, I think it would be proper for me to make a reference in the very beginning to certain observations of the hon. Dr. Kunzru which related to the speech of the Planning Minister yesterday.

THE MINISTER FOR PRODUCTION (SHRI K. C. REDDY): He is not here.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: I am sorry he is not here, but I would like to clear the point lest there should be any misconception or misunderstanding created in the minds of the hon. Members about the observations made by the Planning Minister yesterday. Dr. Kunzru seemed to have gathered an impression that the Planning Minister deprecated the tendency to criticise the Plan before us. I would like to assure you that I have tried to go through the speech of the Planning Minister, but I have not been able to find any observation to that effect.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): On the other hand he welcomed it.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: On the contrary, Sir, even if he may not have said so in so many words, I would like to say it here and now that we very heartily welcome the criticisms in regard to the Plan and, in fact, Sir, you would bear witness to it that we have been responsible for provoking and stimulating criticism on an unprecedented scale in the country in regard to the formulation of the Second Five Year Plan. When I say this Sir, I am reminded of what Pascal said some time back. He said about philosophy that "to run down philosophy was to philosophise". With a little adaptation I can say that criticising planning is in a sense to plan, and so we very much welcome all these criticisms, and we want that there should be a flood-tide of nation-wide debate in regard to the plans and programmes that we formulate.

Sir, Pandit Kunzru emphasised the role of well-informed criticism in a democracy and particularly in regard to the formulation of plans. I am quite at one with him that well-informed criticism has a great part to play, because I also feel that for planning it is better to be criticised rather than be ignored.

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would not even make any grievance if a criticism is destructive rather than constructive in its nature. Bernard Shaw said that a criticism is bound to be destructive in its nature but the least that you can expect of a critic is that he must be well-informed, and that is what we demand from the critics of the Plan also.

After having said that I think I should direct my attention to what Dr. Zakir Hussain said in regard to some of the basic principles that should guide a Plan. Sir, when I was listening to him I was reminded almost that I was listening to some great expert in linear programming. He was also speaking of connectivity and the like and therefore I was also reminded of the input and output tables and all that. On this subject he reminded me of great professors like Frisch and Tinbergen. He was speaking almost in the same strain about all these basic techniques of planning, and I was very pleased to hear his most significant observations on those points. But Sir, I was a little surprised when he asked a somewhat peculiar question—but that is a very basic question at the same time. He asked whether we have not changed the basic strategy of planning and he was particularly having in his mind the differences that have occurred between the Plan Frame and the Plan as it has emerged finally. Sir, we attach a great deal of importance to the Plan Frame and, in fact, the National Development Council had approved of the basic approach contained in the Plan Frame. But we don't think that there is any sacredness or sanctity attaching to each and every thing contained in the Plan Frame; we don't consider that document to be of such a sacrosanct nature. Things that we had said once upon a time, one and a half years ago or something like that, cannot hold true today on all points. And moreover, during the process of planning, we came to certain realities which had to be reckoned with, and therefore something in the Plan Frame had to be changed. But the basic approach of the Plan Frame holds good. If his question was whether we are going to change the basic approach my answer is an overwhelming and definite 'No'. We are not going to change the basic approach of the Plan, but he was rather emphasising that we were going to make the public sector subservient to the private sector. I do not know how

he gathered that impression from what is contained in the Second Five Year Plan. Because Sir, you would find that in the Second Five Year Plan, if you take the industries into account, the total provision is Rs. 1245 crores, out of which the public sector accounts for say Rs. 670 crores and the private sector accounts for Rs. 575 crores. The provision for the public sector in the Second Five Year Plan is almost ten times the provision in the First Five Year Plan, whereas the provision for the private sector in the Second Five Year Plan is higher by only two-thirds of the provision in the First Five Year Plan. That shows the relative strength of the two sectors in the Second Five Year Plan. But he observed and, probably, other Members too observed that the private sector is being strengthened with the funds made available by the public sector. Now, Sir, it must be made clear beyond all doubt that it is the policy of the Government to extend such help to the private sector as would afford it the opportunity and facilities to function effectively within the field allocated to it. Let there be absolutely no doubt about it. Because it is clear that that sector also has to perform a national role and a social role, and therefore to that extent it has to be encouraged. For the investment programme of Rs. 575 crores in private industries and mining, the financial help to be given by public authorities in the period of the Second Five Year Plan has been envisaged at Rs. 60 crores—Rs. 40 crores by way of loans from the Industrial Finance Corporation, the State Finance Corporations and all the rest of it and Rs. 20 crores by way of loans for share capital from Government directly or from the Equalisation Fund. Now, Sir, in the present phase of the development of our country this measure of assistance is essential for promoting industrialisation. Besides, it should also be found as to what is the relative share in another sense, the relative proportion in investment outlay. In the First Five Year Plan the private sector accounted for half of the investment outlay and in the Second Five Year Plan it is going to account for only 39 per cent. of the total investment outlay; the public sector is going to account for 61 per cent. or so. So this clearly demonstrates that we are going ahead with our policy, which is geared to the objective of a socialist society.

The Plan has emphasised in no mistakable terms that the role of public

investment in securing the development of the country has to be emphasised and there is no escape from the fact that public investment will have to be stepped up steadily and substantially as development proceeds. This process of acceleration, I would submit, is going to commence during the Second Five Year Plan. The First Five Year Plan, as we have always been saying, has been a preparatory plan in that sense and, therefore, we are going to start on the real voyage in the Second Five Year Plan—the voyage which is going to take us to the goal of the 'socialist society'—and it is so very heartening to find that many hon. Members are wishing us *bon voyage* on this occasion.

After having heard the debate all through and as one who devoted much of his time to the discussions in the Committees also, I can confidently say that the discussions have revealed that the Plan has given a new dimension to our thought—new dimension because we have come face to face with the essential problems of economic growth and that of a planned economy. Therefore, it should be proper for me to pay my respect to all the Members who have really given a good deal of thought and made substantial contribution to the debate. Particularly I would refer to what fell from the mouth of my hon. friend, Prof. Humayun Kabir but I must say that it would not be possible for me to go again into all the points that he made this morning. I was very glad to hear that he had not only to make a contribution to the ideas regarding the Plan on education, but in regard to other aspects of the Plan also and his contribution must be reckoned to be really substantial in all those respects. But before I come to one aspect of planning, that is, the Plan on education, I think I should say a few general words about the principles that have guided the allocations. What can be the principles that should guide the allocation in regard to the social services? In regard to that, if our perspective is clear, I have no doubt that we shall not find much fault with what has been done in respect of education. Some Members have criticised the priorities in the Plan and referred to the inadequacy of certain other allocations, just as some Members have criticised the inadequacy in regard to the education Plan. Allocation for a single head of development, I would submit, should not be judged separately. That has to be judged in the light of

allocations required elsewhere. Unless we do that we cannot come to a balanced and co-ordinated picture of the whole problem. In an under-developed country like ours, if we only look to the social services as the most important aspect of our planning, we would not be able to lay down the foundations for real prosperity. And in this context I would like to say that we in our country do not see to be taking due cognizance of the developments in other countries. Let us be quite clear on this point, that we have not only to make good absolutely in our country, but also relatively to other countries. And it should be clearly before our mind's eye in flaming letters as to what is the rate of growth that is being achieved by other countries. If we have that basic thing clearly in our mind, I have no doubt that we shall subscribe to whatever programmes we have suggested in regard to the other aspects of social services too. In the Second Five Year Plan, as we all know, we want to take a decisive step towards the industrialisation of the country. Now, from that many consequences follow from which there can be no getting away. If we want to start on the scheme of industrialisation, then simultaneously we have to look to certain developments in regard to the essential consumer goods. And in the same way we have to think of certain economic overheads to stint in which would be to hold up the progress in future.

Now, let us take what we have done in regard to education and what remains to be done. Particularly if Dr. Zakir Hussain, were here, a simple and straight question could have been addressed to him, because he was referring all the time to the basic principles, the techniques that should guide the planners. He referred to the linear programming etc. I would ask him whether he wants to take away from other sectors of economy on which he was laying a good deal of stress and give them to the programmes of education? He was speaking for the most part of his time about the development of the means of production. If that is so, then it becomes a mathematical proposition for each one of us and particularly on the basis of the connectivity about which he was speaking. At the same time, it becomes almost a matter of mathematical proposition to deduce what can be available for the developments in other spheres. But we did not

[Shri S. N. Mishra.]

work in that strait-jacket, because we are working in a democracy and we have certain values of our own which we cherish. And, therefore, we have given a good deal of thought in regard to the Plan on education. Education is indeed one of the most important nation-building activities which determine the pace of our future advance. It is natural, that we should, all of us, feel very much concerned about it. In the course of the speeches, some of the shortcomings in the education plan were pointed out. One that was uppermost in the minds of hon. Members was the inadequate provision for the elementary education and it was very emphatically pointed out that we were not going to conform to the Directive Principles of the Constitution in this regard. It is a matter of regret for us, too, that we are not able to conform to the Directive Principles of the Constitution. But it is our firm belief that the social services can be developed only on the basis of a sound structure of industrial development. Although both things are needed and both of them must be in a happy balance, the basic thing is that these social services can be developed in an expanding way only on the basis of a sound structure of industrial economy.....

PROF. HUMAYUN KABIR: And *vice versa*.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: And *vice versa*, but to what extent, is the question. So, the low priority of allocation for education came in naturally for much of the criticism. But it would not appear to be so low if we take into account also the committed expenditure for which the provision has been made. We only take into account the Rs. 307 crores that have been provided for the development of education. But there is the committed expenditure too. I think that goes up to Rs. 448 crores. And so, if we add up the two together, the amount is not what we may consider as meagre. It is meagre, of course, in relation to the needs of education in the country; but if you take the two together then the amount is quite significant.

PROF. G. RANGA: What percentage of the total school going children of the elementary school age are expected to be brought into the schools during the Second Five Year Plan period? Is it hundred per cent. or is it only fifty per cent. ?

PROF. HUMAYUN KABIR: 63 per cent.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: I will come to that part of elementary education. Sir, I was going to mention that we have got a further provision of Rs. 150 crores for education under other heads as against Rs. 55 crores in the First Plan. So, all these things added together give a considerable amount, and even then we have not rested at that. We have suggested that local cesses should be levied for the augmentation of resources. Now some Members said that we were rather running away from our duty of allocating additional resources by suggesting the local cesses. In other countries too, I would humbly submit, local communities share a good deal of the burden for education in their areas, and in our country we have had this great tradition of maintaining educational institutions by the local communities. So if a call is made to the country, I have absolutely no doubt in my mind that a good deal of resources would be contributed by the local communities for the development of education.

Now, in regard to elementary education I was asked what percentage of school going children would be in the schools as a result of the efforts made during the Second Five Year Plan period. Indeed, Sir, the overall target is somewhat low. The percentage of children of the age group 6 to 14 will rise from 40 in 1955-56 to 49 in 1960-61. If, however, we analyse this target further, we would find that 86 per cent. of the boys of the age group 6 to 11 will be in schools. It is only the percentage of girls which reduces the overall percentage. But the percentage of boys going to schools between the age group 6 and 11 would be 86. So far as the education of girls is concerned, we know what is the conception of our society in regard to that. We are functioning in a kind of society, at the present moment, which reminds me that we are having one foot, as it were, on the rocket and another on the donkey. That is politically we have hitched our wagon to the highest polestar of democracy, and socially we have another foot on the donkey; that is, all kinds of superstitions and all kinds of queer ideas about education and all the rest of it prevail in our society. Here is a challenge to the hon. Members, if I may submit. Educational facilities which are being provided by the Government should be pro-

perly utilised as a result of our efforts, they are not being fully utilised at the moment. Even this percentage of school going children can be raised substantially if the hon. Members as leaders of public opinion help in desired direction.

Then, Sir, there is another factor which has to be taken into account regarding the percentage of boys and girls in these schools. Most of the parents of these boys and girls happen to be of the poorest class, and they want to take away their children from the school after a certain age to help them in their avocations, in their professional activities. All these factors account for the low percentage of boys and girls in the schools.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR : Before the hon. Deputy Minister passes on to another subject, will he please enlighten us as to why, whereas in the First Plan the amount allotted for elementary education was Rs. 93 crores, in the Second Plan this amount has been reduced to Rs. 89 crores? On the other hand, the overall expenditure has been increased from Rs. 169 crores in the First Plan to Rs. 307 crores in the Second Plan.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Member to the fact that if the provision in the First Plan was 93 crores, in the Second Plan the total provision would be 93 crores plus 89 crores; 93 becomes the committed expenditure and 89 is the expenditure for development in this field. But even this 89 is not merely 89 but it is 89 plus X.

PROF. HUMAYUN KABIR : Is the hon. Deputy Minister quite sure that of the Rs. 93 crores provided in the First Five Year Plan the entire amount will be committed expenditure in the Second Five Year Plan? I think he should check up the figures.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : When an hon. Member like Prof. Kabir says that, I will certainly have to check it up because he was the author of the Plan in regard to education. Even in regard to Rs. 89 crores, I was going to submit that it is not only Rs. 89 crores, but there are certain other provisions under different heads. One such provision is under the Community Development Projects and the National Extension Service. Another is under the Ministry

of Rehabilitation. Another again is under Tribal Welfare. All these total up to something like Rs. 35 crores.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR : That was so even in the First Plan.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : Please see what was the provision in the First Plan. It was much less. So it is 89 plus 35 even in the Second Five Year Plan so far as the development of elementary education is concerned. I think I have covered this ground although I do not know whether I have carried conviction with some of the strong advocates of expansion of elementary education to the extent of conforming to the directive principle of the Constitution.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR : Anything for the pre-elementary ?

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : I would now go to another important aspect, and that is transport. Sir, it was mentioned that there is imbalance in this respect and that there is not adequate arrangement for transport. And then I was rather surprised to hear from Dr. Zakir Hussain that the transport development was mainly designed to encourage and help the private sector. It sounded to me rather queer that he should hold an opinion of this kind, because transport is the main artery for any development, and even if it helps the private sector there is nothing to be ashamed of it. The private sector has to function in the national interest and perform the social role which we want it to perform. It was urged by a number of speakers that the provision for transport was insufficient. Now let us have a look at it and find out whether it is really an insufficient provision.

PROF. G. RANGA : Don't try to defend that also.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : It is such a cast iron case in another sense—in which I would like the Member to look at it—that I cannot resist the temptation of referring to it. Now, Sir, in the Second Five Year Plan let us see what is the provision made for transport and communication. As the hon. Members know, it is Rs. 1,385 crores, which is 29 per cent. of the total outlay, and in the First Plan it was Rs. 557 crores which was 23.6 per cent. So, it means that the provision in the Second Plan is to the extent of two and a half times over the First Five Year Plan, and that

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the relative share of this sector in the total outlay has increased by over 5 per cent. as compared to the First Five Year Plan. But after having said that, I would like to submit that the Planning Commission recognises that considering the heavy demands that will be made on the country's means of transport even larger resources than those allocated could be utilised for this sector with profit to the national economy. But that does not mean that in the given circumstances we have not taken care of the transport aspect in the way in which we should have, and I would like to go into that in a little detail.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: May I ask you a question? What are you increasing your production for if you cannot enable your transport system to move it? All your arguments will be perfectly sound and you may have been very generous to the transport system, but what is the use of this generosity if you cannot move all that you want to produce?

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: Sir, when I referred to this provision for transport in a general way, I also meant to show in detail how we were going to take care of the increased production. And I hope the hon. Member will bear with me when I put forth some of the significant details in this respect. I was also going to submit that it is true not only in regard to transport, but in regard to a number of other things also, about which it may be said that the full provision that was required has not been made. But we have taken all precautions to see that the real needs do not suffer.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR) in the Chair.]

Now, Sir, take for instance the railways. It has always been in the minds of the hon. Members that the original provision required by the Railway Ministry was to the extent of Rs. 1,480 crores, but the provision made by the Planning Commission has been only to the extent of Rs. 900 crores. Now, Sir, that provision of Rs. 1,480 crores included the current depreciation but this provision of Rs. 900 crores excludes the current depreciation. So, if you take into account the figure of Rs. 225 crores, the total comes to Rs. 1,125 crores. Sir, the hon. Member, Dr. Kunzru, was asking whether we are

going to take care of the increased production.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: I want to ask you a question. You say that Rs. 900 crores is exclusive of the current depreciation. Now what would be the total sum for transport, if you include the current depreciation?

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: Rs. 1,125 crores, Sir, including the contribution from the Depreciation Fund.

Now, Sir, the Ministry's assumption in demanding a provision of Rs. 1,480 crores was that the originating traffic which was 120 million tons at the end of the First Plan would be increased by 60·8 million tons, that is to say, the total would be 180·8 million tons at the end of the Second Plan to be borne by the railways. That was the original assumption of the Ministry.

Then, Sir, the hon. Member, Dr. Kunzru, mentioned in the morning something about the line capacity. The provision for line capacity is of the order of 170 million tons, but the rolling stock capacity is for 162 million tons. So, it is clear on the basis of the provisions that in regard to line capacity, there is shortage to the extent of 5 to 6 per cent., and in regard to rolling stock capacity, the shortage is to the extent of about 10 per cent. so far as the total originating traffic of 180·8 million tons is concerned. Sir, we are not at all complacent about this gap. What are we going to do about this gap? We are rather apprehensive that there is going to be an accentuation of the burden on our transport system. We are thinking of increasing the agricultural production, and that would necessarily go towards increasing the pressure on transport. We are also apprehensive that there would be an increase in the average lead of the traffic during this period.

Now, Sir, in regard to the average lead, there are some differences of opinion, of which I am fully aware, because there are some people who think that as a result of the regional development and also because of the steel plants being set up in the areas containing raw materials and coal etc., there may not be any increase in the lead of the traffic. In this connection, I may point out that we have got the estimate of the Coal Commissioner according to which there would be a 12 per cent.

increase in the lead of the traffic. And this is the experience of all developing countries. Under the impact of economic development there is always an increase in the lead of traffic, and in many countries, you will observe, there has been an increase to the extent of 50 per cent. in the lead of the traffic. So, Sir, ultimately, in the estimate of the Ministry, the increase in the lead of traffic would be to the extent of about 20 per cent. That is to say from the present 293 miles the lead would go up to 360 miles. For convenience's sake, let us take it from 300 miles to 360 miles. Sir, because of the increase in lead of traffic and because of the increase in our agricultural production, we are rather apprehensive that there might be an accentuation of this burden on our transport. Now it is certainly a vital question as to how we are going to bridge this gap.

There are many factors which give us some hope, one of them being that on account of heavy rehabilitation we hope that there would be many replaced stocks in a sufficiently serviceable condition to be retained in service. Secondly, Sir, perhaps a part of the burden, because of the increase in the price of imported steel, might be shifted to the Ministry of Iron and Steel. Rs. 40 crores have been provided for this increase in the price of the imported steel and it may be possible to shift a part of this burden to the Ministry of Iron and Steel. Thirdly, Sir, it may also be possible to divert a part of the provision of Rs. 10 crores which have been earmarked for participation in road transport undertakings by the Railways. We recognise, of course, that these adjustments are bound to be only of a small and insignificant nature. But, Sir, there are other factors like increasing the uses of rolling stock and improving its turnover. This morning, Sir, this particular point was emphasised by some hon. Members that we could increase the speed and efficiency, and thereby we could substantially improve the present transport position. At the present moment the turnaround is 9.5, and we can recall that only some time back the turnaround of wagons was 10.5. But during the war years, many of us might be knowing that it was 7.5. So, we do recognise that there is a good deal of scope for improving the speed and efficiency, and we are indeed very thankful to the Ministry of Railways for having taken a number of steps in this direc-

tion, and they have certainly achieved some progress, as it demonstrated by this figure of 9.5 relating to the wagon turnaround.

Sir, it was also emphasised that a scientific study should be made for increasing the speed and efficiency. We all know that an American team had recently undertaken the study of our railway system, and the report of that expert team is now under consideration. But, Sir, my conclusion is that with all these things it may not still be possible to bridge the gap entirely. I am not going to enter into any argument why it may not be possible to bridge the entire gap. But let us take into account another factor which is rather important in the context of a plan of this size. The development of pressure on transport would necessarily depend upon the developments in other fields. Possibly, Sir, there may be shortfalls in some other fields. But that does not mean that we are praying for those shortfalls in some other fields, so that there may not be so much of pressure on transport. What we are emphasising is this. I would like the hon. Member, Dr. Kunzru, to listen to it rather attentively. We may not be able to bridge this gap entirely. The magnitude of pressure on transport would depend upon developments in other fields. I submit, Sir, that in a plan of this size it is possible that there may be some shortfalls in some other directions. We do not pray, of course, for such shortfalls, but if other things come about, let us also be confident that there would be adequate response from the Indian economy, which would give us enough resources to bridge this gap as well. We are not in a static economy, and if so many stimuli work to ginger up the economy, we can be sure that there will be resources to meet this gap. As you know, in spite of these facts, it is the intention of the Planning Commission to make periodical appraisals of the situation, and the Planning Commission has assured of the Ministry of Railways that it would take all possible steps to help carry out the programmes of the Ministries. In the first two years of the Plan which are very important for the Railways, we have said that we are going to take care to see that all the necessary funds are provided for the Ministry of Railways. For the first year, the requisite funds have already been provided. So, I think that for the future also the position may be taken to be rather optimistic and we

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should not think that there is going to be any shortfall in the programme of the Railways, which are of a very vital nature for the entire Second Plan. It was also emphasised by Dr. Zakir Hussain and others.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: Does the hon. Minister claim that the Railways would receive Rs. 900 crores from the general revenues?

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: From where are these Rs. 900 crores to come?

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: Out of these Rs. 900 crores, Rs. 150 crores would be produced by the Railways themselves and so, the total contribution from the general revenues to the funds required for the development of the Railways would be only Rs. 750 crores.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: To the general revenues, the contribution to be made by the Railways, so far as I remember, is Rs. 150 crores. In a sense if there is going to be any contribution towards this Rs. 900 crores, it is only this Rs. 150 crores. But according to me this Rs. 150 crores is going to be added up only to the general pool of resources.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: In that case, the Railway Depreciation Fund would also be part of the general resources.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: Since I am pressed for time, I would like to refer to another point about which mention was made this morning. It was said that we should take care to see that we divert a good deal of the burden on the Railways to other means of transport and that we should not give undue weight to the Railways. We do not prefer any particular form of transport on *a priori* grounds. We do so on a balance of considerations, and there also it will be recognised that we have suggested a number of steps, into the details of which I am not going at the moment, for the development of road transport about which Dr. Zakir Hussain spoke this morning. We have suggested to the State Governments to relax many of the restrictions and to eradicate certain misapprehensions and fears in the minds of the private operators so that road transport might develop adequately. We are also aware that in our country at the moment we have rather very

inadequate development of road transport. We have got 250,000 miles of metalled roads, but we have got only 125,000 trucks going at the moment.

SHRI J. S. BISHT: Is the Government satisfied that all the revenues from automobiles in the form of various taxes, like motor tax, petrol tax, excise, etc., are devoted to the construction of roads?

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: That would require a good deal of enquiry from the States as to what extent they are utilising these resources for the purpose of building up roads.

SHRI J. S. BISHT: That has been the standing grievance of the industry.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: I would not dwell on this matter further. I would only refer to another point which has been exercising the minds of hon. Members. Many Members emphasised the need for the construction of new lines in their areas. I concede that it was not only because of their passion for their own areas that they were suggesting the construction of new railway lines in the many areas mentioned by them, but because it is a great necessity for even developmental purposes. It must be stated that the position, financial position particularly, has been such that it has not allowed us to do much in that direction; also the position in regard to foreign exchange is such that we cannot hope to do enough for the development of new railway lines in some of the areas which may be characterised as backward. I would like to refer in this connection to the point made that, instead of doubling the tracks, the Railways should take up the construction of new railway lines. In this connection, there are certain factors which have to be taken into account. One factor is the time factor. Another is the cost factor. A new line takes a much longer time than doubling and while the cost of construction of a new line exceeds Rs. 8 lakhs per mile, doubling costs only Rs. 6 lakhs per mile. Then, again, doubling can be completed by sections and can be opened independently. A new line will not be of use unless completed in its entire length, and therefore if we want to develop the capacity of transport rather quickly, I think we have no escape from taking up doubling of the lines in place of new constructions. Even so in certain

cases the Railway Ministry are already considering the choice between some of the proposed doublings and the construction of new lines; for instance, the construction of a new line from Guna to Ujjain or Nagda in preference to doubling the Bina-Bhopal and the Bhopal-Ujjain sections is being investigated. But the general position is that we have been able to provide only for such purposes as are warranted for new industrial development, and therefore the construction of new lines has been confined only to 850 miles.

I do not know whether I can say something about shipping, whether it would interest hon. Members or not, because I found that during the course of the debate during the last two days, not much mention was made about the development of shipping. The development of shipping—if I may say a few words about it—is one of the most basic things for the development of our economy. Now, the provision made for it was criticised by many hon. Members on the ground that, although shipping is such a great foreign exchange earner, it has not received due attention. The Shipping Policy Committee in 1947 recommended a target of 2 million G.R.T. At the beginning of the First Plan we had only 390,000 G.R.T. The target in the First Plan was 6 lakhs G.R.T. Even in regard to the achievement of this target during the First Plan, there was some delay. A special study group of the Consultative Committee of Ship-owners, after a careful study, had recommended that an additional target of 45,000 G.R.T. be acquired during the Plan period, in addition to the 90,000 G.R.T. required for replacing obsolete tonnage.

This should have raised the total Indian tonnage to a little above 1 million G.R.T. A provision of Rs. 70 crores in the Plan was recommended by the Study Group and Rs. 10 crores were expected to be provided by the companies from their own sources. On account of the limitation of funds, however, this modest target could not be accepted. The provision that we have made in the Second Five Year Plan is for an increase of 3 lakh tons during the Plan period instead of 445,000 G.R.T. and the financial provision is Rs. 45 crores and Rs. 10 crores are expected to be provided by the companies. So the total provision is to the extent of Rs. 55 crores instead of Rs. 80

crores that was recommended by the Study Group. Considering the heavy requirements of Rs. 8 crores that may be needed for completing projects that are to be covered from the First Plan and also considering the recent increase in the price of ships, the amount provided in the Plan will not be adequate and the full target of additional 3 lakh tons may not be achieved during the Plan period. That being the position, the potential capacity of shipping may not be to the satisfaction of the hon. Members, but it is not to be expected as some of the hon. Members suggested that we can earn the entire foreign exchange that we have to spend on the transport by ships. At the moment, probably we have to spend about Rs. 200 crores on freight charges and if we undertake the entire project recommended by the Study Group or even if we had completed the target recommended by the Expert Committee in 1947, we would not have done anything substantial in the direction of earning the entire foreign exchange that we are spending on the transport by ships. That is in short the position in regard to shipping. We are ourselves not very happy about the entire allocation but the financial position has been such that it did not allow for any relief in this direction. We are even apprehensive that it may not even be possible to procure ships for the additional tonnage because many of these shipyards seem to be rather heavily booked at the moment. It may be difficult also on account of the rise in the prices; the price of the second-hand ships also seems to have gone up a good deal. But here also we have to take recourse to the periodical review and find out to what extent the provisions in this direction can be increased by internal adjustment.

I shall say a few words in regard to the regional disparity which seemed to have exercised the minds of hon. Members much more than any other problem. This problem of inequality as between regions is indeed a problem which can be tackled only over a longer period. The Planning Commission has been criticised for not giving attention to some of the regions which have been pointed out by the hon. Members to be in an extreme state of backwardness. I myself come from an area about which I sometimes think that it is in a state of extreme backwardness. I come from North Bihar and it may sometimes seem rather strange to many hon. Members,

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who know Bihar for the Tatas and Sindri and all the rest of it that exist in the southern part of the State, to hear from me that my part is extremely backward. In North Bihar, in which much of the population of Bihar is concentrated, I find people living almost at sub-human level and the density of the population is in some areas to the extent of 1,400 per square mile. So in one sense I may also have a grievance, personally speaking. But I also feel that when we are thinking of a planned economy, we must also think in a way that the prosperity anywhere in the country is going to be shared by the community in all other parts of the country.

Frequent references were made to the existing regional disparities and it was suggested that we have not made sufficient provision for their correction. The entire country is an under-developed one. The industrial development has been concentrated in certain areas. Mineral development has not taken place and agriculture continues to be the bulk of the avocation of the people here. In this broad picture of under-development, there are areas and classes which are particularly backward and steps have to be taken to see that these disparities are progressively reduced. To some extent it would be recognized that the areas which have got an earlier start necessarily have certain advantages and I don't see how those advantages can be prevented from flowing to them in a certain sense. In some cases the location is bound up necessarily—very closely with the availability of natural resources, means of transport and communication. In the case of heavy industries, they operate rather rigidly. It may not be so in consumer goods industries. But generally Members have their minds fixed on the heavy industries and I would like them to consider that particularly in the case of heavy industries, these limitations in regard to the availability of natural resources and transport operate very rigidly. All the same the Plan has taken into view the need for promoting balanced development. Where are mostly the steel plants being set up? They are being set up in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa and one steel plant is going to be in West Bengal. So if you take into account the steel plants—a subject which generally comes to the Members' mind very easily—I would like to submit that two of them are going to the most backward areas.

A reference was made to Orissa in this context. But I would like to say that the *per capita* outlay is fairly high so far as Orissa is concerned. If you compare the *per capita* outlay of Orissa with other States also, you would find that it is fairly high. A careful study would reveal that the programmes of industrialisation also tend to disperse the benefits of industrialisation to a great extent, over many areas. I would point out the instance of basic industries—iron and steel, coal, lignite, aluminium, petroleum etc. which are proposed to be developed in relatively under-developed regions like Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Vindhya Pradesh, Orissa, Assam and Travancore-Cochin. One important aspect that is generally lost sight of.....

SHRI VIJAY SINGH (Rajasthan): Will he say something about Rajasthan? What is the *per capita* outlay there?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Hyderabad): Also about Hyderabad and Andhra?

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: Just now I cannot give figures with regard to all these individual States. But what I was going to submit was that we generally take into account only the industries to be a part of the industrialisation. In my conception of industrialisation, the economic overheads which are sought to be built up are as much a part of industrialisation as the industries themselves. This fact is generally overlooked by us. If you take into account the industrialisation of Japan or United States, in the earlier stages the economic overheads formed a greater part of industrialisation and in fact it is only on the basis of these that we can hope for industrialisation in the future.

The first priority is to make an impact on the problem of under-development as a whole. As the process of development gathers strength, correction has naturally to be accelerated. The Planning Commission as hon. Members know, has recommended various measures for this purpose. They have recommended firstly the encouragement of decentralisation of the means of industrial production. Secondly they recommend the location of new enterprises in under-developed areas wherever there is a choice relating to location. Thirdly they recommend the promotion of

greater mobility of labour and organisation of schemes of migration from more to less densely populated areas. Lastly the Industrial Policy Resolution also has stressed the need for an appropriate policy of location of industries in the interest of planned and co-ordinated development of the economy of each region. But, as hon. Members will realise, this problem has many facets and we all recognise that intensive studies have to be undertaken. These studies would necessarily be spread over a long period and they would form part of the perspective planning about which we have already made a beginning in this country. So if hon. Members take all these things into consideration, they would find that the principles that have guided the Planning Commission have been not only in the interest of the aggregate of the national welfare, but also in the interest of the welfare of the different parts of the country. It may not be to the satisfactory extent; but that is the helplessness of the present position.

I wish to say only one word more and that is about rural housing about which hon. Members said that very inadequate provision has been made. They have in their minds only the sum of Rs. 10 crores which is on the surface. But there are provisions in the other Ministries also and if you total up all those provisions made under the different Ministries, then the total provision comes to not less than Rs. 41 crores. Particularly my hon. friend Mr. Dasappa criticised this provision and I do not know whether he is here to get this information, that the provision is more than Rs. 40 crores, about Rs. 41 crores. This provision is not going to help us in reconstructing about 550,000 villages in this country. I know that is a very insignificant contribution to the solution of the problem of the reconstruction of the villages of India, but all the same it is a good beginning.

With these words, I think I should close my observations, since I have taken a good deal of time I wanted to say a few words about the second ship-building yard also which is of such basic and strategic importance for the development of our economy. But I would not do that now because there are many hon. Members on the waiting list to participate in the discussion which is to go up to I think seven o'clock now. There is just one point and that

relates to population about which my hon. friend Mr. Ram Sahai spoke yesterday morning. He seems to be against the policy of population control or family limitation. I have nothing much to say about that. But I would only submit to hon. Members that we have to take steps to see that in the race between production and reproduction, production wins, if we are to win the battle for the prosperity of the country. Otherwise we may not even be able to keep our head above water. Recently a study was made by the Princeton University regarding population, the size of the population that is going to be in the country. They have made a projection for 30 years. I would not go into the details of all these things. I would only mention that they go to show that there can be a significant change in the rate of development of the country if we are going to bring about the right kind of demographic reversal.

With these words, Sir, I close my speech and I thank you very much for having given me so much time although I am conscious that I have not been able to cover many other points on which a great deal of stress was laid by hon. Members.

SHRI MAHESH SARAN: At this fag end I would not have liked to intervene in the debate when people are tired and when there are very few Members here. But I feel that it is necessary that I should stress some of the points which I feel very strongly about.

Sir, the Second Five Year Plan has been very carefully considered by the Planning Commission, then by the Central Government and then by the State Governments, and it has taken a very long time and now they have come out with this present Plan. Now, there is a change between the original Plan that they gave and the Plan that has come to us now. Therefore, what I feel very strongly is that the Planning Commission and the Government should have an open mind. The importance of this House and the other House lies in the fact that the suggestions made by them should be carefully considered, because I feel that people are not great experts. Of course, expert opinion is taken. The reason why the Planning Commission feel so hopeful about the present plan is that in the First Plan there has been success. But I must tell them very humbly that they should be very careful.

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This is something with which we are experimenting. So every suggestion that is made should be very very carefully considered. I was disappointed at the speech made by the hon. Deputy Minister, because I find that he has brushed aside all the suggestions that have been put forward. They cannot be so easily brushed aside. You have to devote a lot of time. This is planning and for planning immediate replies, without due consideration, are not the correct things to do. I would beg of him, and beg of the Planning Commission and of the Government of India to consider our suggestions carefully.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: I have already stated that they are being considered in the Planning Commission.

SHRI MAHESH SARAN: We have given the reply it is there. You should have said that our suggestions would be considered. Instead of that, you have given the replies on the spot to all those points and practically brushed aside all the points that have been raised. What I feel is that the eyes of the world are on us. Also our own prosperity depends upon the successful implementation of the Second Plan. Therefore, I would very strongly urge that these matters should be carefully considered, because I am sure there will be changes in the allotments in the different heads. There is bound to be change, because I feel that some of them are not very proper. Of course, the Planning Commission should ponder over them and should make changes if necessary.

I would at the present moment only confine myself to one or two facts. Take the case of elementary education. It is said that elementary education is not so very important. Why is it that the amount given to elementary education has been decreased? You look at the amount of money that is being given to university arts education, to the kind of education which creates people who hanker after service, who roam about from place to place and who get service nowhere. Then they become a lot of discontented people. They are the people who are fed up with that sort of university arts education which is now being given. University arts education creates people without work and people who can only do mischief because they are hungry and they have got no job. This sort of univer-

sity education is not the proper education. Of course, so far as other education is concerned, I mean technical education, that is all right. But let us see what has been done so far as university education is concerned.

Elementary education, under the first Five Year Plan, got Rs. 93 crores and has now got Rs. 89 crores. We want free and compulsory education and this is the amount that we are giving for elementary education. In the case of secondary education, of course, it is a little more, Rs. 22 crores in the first Plan and Rs. 51 crores now. The allotment in the case of University arts education has increased from Rs. 15 crores to Rs. 57 crores and I consider it preposterous because the present University education is not the education suited to India and unless we change the whole structure of it, unless we give University education in different subjects it will not be of much use. We are only increasing the number of unemployed as it is. We will ultimately have to change the allotment for these different items.

Let us come to health. Health is one of the most important things. We should try to give as much facility for medical treatment as possible, but what do we find? We are producing doctors, nurses, midwives and all the rest of it. These people will not go to the villages but will just go to places which are near about the place of their residence. It is very well known that people refuse to go to villages. We have given—the States have given—about Rs. 3 crores for setting up 2,100 maternity and child welfare centres. Of course, I consider this particular allotment proper but the other item, the production of 82,500 doctors is not. These doctors are not suited to the villages. We must know that India is a place where the majority of the people are peasants. Seventy per cent. of the people stay in the villages. They should be supplied medicines which could be easily obtained. The injections and costly medicines are never given to any person in the villages. I roam about from place to place and I try to see the conditions of the people. This is a wrong approach that you are thinking in terms of doctors, M.B., B.S. and the rest of it. It is really homoeopathy, it is really ayurveda, which are the systems really suited to the people of the villages. What amount do we find for homoeopathy? This has been

lost sight of. For indigenous systems we have given about Rs. 6.5 crores and let us see what we have given for the other. I want to show that comparison to you, Sir.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: I can give you one set of figures. It is Rs. 497 lakhs for family planning.

SHRI MAHESH SARAN: My submission is that so far as this point is concerned, this should be very carefully considered.

You can have good results only if you have, in addition, strong people, if you have healthy people. Therefore, the attention of the Government should be directed towards the question of sanitation, towards the question of nutrition and to all these things because, your Plan will fall unless you have strong-bodied people to carry out the Plan. Therefore, I say that the villages have not received as much attention as they should ordinarily get so far as the medical question is concerned.

There is just one other point which I wish to touch, I am referring to the cottage industries. Dr. Kunzru is not here but he referred to the charkha and said that it was absolutely useless because men would not be able to work for eight hours and, so far as the women were concerned, it would be very inconvenient for them, and so on. This shows that he has not been to the villages. Women go on doing work and they are, all the time, moving the wheels of the charkha and this is because the income in the villages is so little that it ought to be augmented. It is not a whole-time job but it is a job which adds to the income. The income is so little there. Therefore, proper attention has to be given to this aspect of the question.

There are beautiful things produced in India by the cottage industry method and they remind us of the great quality of things that India produces, or the fine textures that the Indian artists produce. All these things have to be developed and encouraged because, in addition to everything, the culture of India has to be maintained and the world should know what wonderful things Indian people produce with their own hands. Therefore, I feel that more attention towards the cottage industries is necessary than it has received in the second Five Year Plan.

Another point that is very essential is the allocation on roads. What I feel, Sir, is that the production and all these things will be of no avail unless in the villages you have roads to carry things from one place to another. The railways will not be able to move these things in the villages; in the villages it is the bullock carts or the buses that will ply and carry the produce from one place to another. Therefore, greater attention has to be paid towards the question of constructing more roads and road transport in the villages than has been provided for in the second Five Year Plan.

The last thing that I wish to refer to is agriculture. Now, agriculture is the most important thing so far as India is concerned because, as all of us know, 70 per cent. of the people live on agriculture. We should know that the area under cultivation cannot be extended very much. Therefore, the only thing is to make the yield more than it is at present; therefore, fertiliser is necessary; therefore, good seeds are necessary. In addition to all these, we have to see that when the produce is ready, there is a warehouse where it can be stored when the grains are selling cheap and can be disposed of when they are dear. These things are necessary. In addition, a little more attention has to be paid to irrigation. Irrigation is most essential for the villages for the production of food crops. I know that Government has done a lot but I very humbly submit that a little more is necessary than is being done for the present.

I shall say one more thing in the end and that is, we have to view the whole of the country as one unit and we have to see which portion requires more careful consideration. That aspect of the question has to be gone into in more detail than has been done so far and, therefore, my submission would be that a necessary survey of the country should be undertaken once again with a view to helping the people to create the proper things that they require. Time is short and so I shall not touch on the very many points that I wanted to touch—I am thankful to you for having given me this opportunity to speak—but will once more say that the wishes of the people and the opinion of the Members of the Parliament who have devoted a lot of time over it should be carefully considered because the success of the Planning Commission is the success of all—it is the success

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of the country—and, therefore, there should be no hesitation in taking, even at this last moment, the suggestions, if they are sound, if they are good and if they are beneficial to the country.

SHRI N. C. SEKHAR (Travancore-Cochin): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am glad to have been offered this opportunity to speak a few words on this Second Plan. I think this is the last stage of our discussion of the Plan. We have considered this Plan in this House and in several committees, but still certain elements of discontent and dissatisfaction remain. One element of discontent is that the people, at least from my part of the country, still feel that equal treatment is not meted out to our side. The second is that before the Plan is put into operation inflation has started to raise its ugly head affecting the day-to-day life of our labouring millions.

As for the first point, Sir, I should like to dilate on one single subject for instance, and I am glad that our Deputy Minister for Irrigation and Power is present at the moment. Sir, it is the uniform cry of our people that the potential, particularly the potential for generation of power, that is available in our State, should be utilised to the utmost to generate power and to that effect even the previous Congress Ministry of the Travancore-Cochin State had pleaded to rather imploringly before the Planning Commission as well as the Ministry for power projects, for a number of hydro-electric schemes to be included in the Second Plan. They had suggested several schemes and that of all those schemes the Idikki scheme was the biggest which should have been taken up first, for that single scheme not only can produce something about 3 lakhs of kilowatts of electricity but also can irrigate lakhs of acres of land. I wish you heard this point.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER FOR IRRIGATION AND POWER (SHRI J. S. L. HATHI): I did not catch the name of that.

SHRI N. C. SEKHAR: It is the Idikki hydro-electric scheme and I believe the Ministry is in possession of the paper prepared by the association of engineers of Ernakulam.

SHRI J. S. L. HATHI: Estimates for investigations are almost complete.

SHRI N. C. SEKHAR: It is the paper prepared by the association of engineers of Ernakulam. They had discussed it and there is the tentative estimate that they had prepared.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is possibly before the Planning Commission.

SHRI N. C. SEKHAR: I am prepared to place that paper on the Table. But I hope it is in the Ministry's possession, yet that has not been taken up. My point is that that single scheme should have been taken up. You have taken up the Changulam and Peringalkuthu hydro-electric schemes. The Pallivasal scheme was of course finished during the time of Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar. Beyond all that the Idikki scheme would have done great benefit to at least Kerala as a whole. Here, you know that the Malabar part of our new Kerala State is suffering from heavy shortage of electricity. Even the industries in Calicut, Cannanore and several other parts have been complaining for the last several years that the electricity available to run their industries is very meagre. The voltage of the electricity so far supplied to this part from the Madras State is very very inadequate. Of the villages only 30-40 villages are electrified in the Malabar side, while almost all the villages in Tamil Nad have been electrified. Even irrigation is being done by using power there. This same electric power can be generated on a big scale in Travancore-Cochin where the water fall facility is so wide and so great, greater than in any other part of India. We have got the Hirakud scheme worth about Rs. 100 crores, which produces something like two and a half lakhs of kilowatts, and then there is the Bhakra-Nangal, and these are huge schemes. But here, if this Idikki scheme is taken up, according to the provisional estimate, it comes to an expenditure of Rs. 24.65 crores and the Central Government, I may say so, refused to take up that scheme during the Second Five Year Plan period. Sir, since the paper concerned is with the Ministry I need not dilate on it in order to bring out several facts, to show how a reservoir could be formed, how these dams could be constructed and what is the amount of labour that is available there, but you see, I repeat, that the Central Government, rather the Planning Commission, has refused to look into this matter,

rather they have postponed it to the third or fourth Five Year Plan. But here the demand is that it should be taken up immediately. Even the Prime Minister and several other Ministers, who have been speaking on this Plan, have been repeating that this is a flexible Plan, which could be adjusted from year to year according to the needs of each and every region. In accordance with the requirements of our region this flexible Plan should be adjusted in such a way as to take up this scheme in the first year of the Second Plan itself so that the Idikki plan is developed as soon as possible. It can produce three lakhs of kilowatts of electricity, which can be used in Kerala, in the interests of developing industries there and also for doing irrigation work very easily at a cheaper cost. Secondly the cottage industries which now take to an advanced stage of development can benefit by such cheap power. Thirdly most of our village-cum-towns and big towns also can be electrified. Now in our part there are even several railway stations which remain to be electrified yet while the possibility of producing power to meet the requirement is immense and within the reach of the Government. Therefore it is very necessary, very urgent to take the scheme up.

Then, Sir, with regard to shipping, the Minister who had intervened in the discussion wanted to speak something, but he did not speak a word about that. Recently Mr. M. M. Shah the Minister for Heavy Industries, visited our State and toured throughout the length and breadth of our State. He studied the facilities and requirements of our State in relation to industrialisation. He also examined the question of opening up a shipyard in Ernakulam, and after having gone throughout the length and breadth of our State and after having discussed with our industrialists and Government officials he released to the press a statement in which he said: First of all you start building up canoes, steam boats, and steam launches from which you can produce technicians. After providing all these facilities, the consideration of opening a second shipyard can be taken up. Sir, in this country, in India, after Vishakapatnam, if anywhere more convenience is provided by nature as well as by other means for opening up a shipyard, it is in Ernakulam. Even the Central Government has been convinced of this fact. Yet the Government is still hesitating to take a

decision on Ernakulam being the site for opening a second shipyard. So with regard to the shipyard also the Government should decide in this Second Plan period itself. So, open this shipyard in Ernakulam which has greater facilities in several other respects.

Secondly, it was also suggested by the then Congress Ministry of the Travancore-Cochin Government, that is, the Ministry which has just gone out, that a coach factory could be opened in Travancore-Cochin. Now, we have a coach factory called the Integral Coach Factory in Perambur. That is for broad gauge railways. According to the Second Five Year Plan, the Government has a scheme to open a metre gauge coach factory. This needs a large quantity of timber which is largely available in West Coast. In our great country, India, the biggest timber yard available is in the West Coast, not anywhere else. There you get the necessary quality timber for building coaches. And also you get skilled labour, rather cheap labour is available. Even certain Assistant Directors of small and medium scale industry working in the West Coast to study facilities for opening small-scale and medium-scale industries, I am told, are of opinion that Travancore-Cochin as well as Malabar in Kerala is provided with greater facilities to start a coach factory. Provided the Central Government is willing to open such a factory there, there are several places. I need not mention the names of those places. But the Government should consider this question and take an immediate decision and in case they are going to open a metre gauge coach factory that should be in West Coast. Why this is being emphasised by almost all M.Ps. coming from Travancore-Cochin and Malabar irrespective of political opinion, is mainly on two considerations. One is, as I said, availability of timber. Secondly, our area is thickly populated. Somebody said that in Bihar the density of population is somewhere about 1,400 per square mile or....

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: 1,400.

SHRI N. C. SEKHAR : I think it is quite exaggerated. According to the census report the West Coast is the thickly populated area, where the population is 1,015 per square mile. Anyway,

[Shri N. C. Sekhar.]

the land problem is very much pressing. When compared with the land available, that is, within the frontier of Kerala and the number of population, also in the light of literacy and education and availability of skilled labour it is highly necessary that Government should give special consideration to open not only small-scale or medium-scale industries but also certain heavy industries as I suggested above.

The other day the Prime Minister in the course of his speech while moving the Resolution said that certain areas like Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa were selected to erect the basic industries like iron and steel in the light of the availability of iron ore mines and other raw materials which are necessary for such industries. Correct. Wherever such raw materials are available, it is correct to have such industries established. In the light of what he said, here in Kerala certain raw materials are available for starting certain industries which the Government have not yet taken up. For example, take rubber. Rubber is largely available in the West Coast. West Coast is the only rubber producing area. If at all it is produced in any other part, it is produced only in meagre quantity. It is also a timber producing area. For the manufacture of paper, wood pulp and other raw materials are largely available in the West Coast forests. When these things are available, why not the Government decide to open a tyre factory in the public sector in Travancore-Cochin? Rather, they have left this question to private hands, to be discussed with other firms and decided.

Then, for establishing a paper industry in the public sector, all the facilities are available in our part. So, also, with regard to the coach factory which I have already made mention of. While these facilities are there, if the principle that the Prime Minister has mentioned in the course of his speech the other day is adopted for the time being as correct, then why not—based on that principle—start these heavy industries in Kerala itself? It is said that for fear of earning the ill-will or displeasure of the British concerns which have developed Rubber industry here, the Government wanted to avoid this question. They do not want to earn the displeasure of the British concerns. So, they do not want to take it up in their own hands. Rather they consider it feasible

to leave it in the private hands to decide the matter. But that won't do. It is desirable, as also advisable, to open such a factory in the rubber producing area of Travancore-Cochin and Malabar.

(Time bell rings.)

These are some of the points that I have to make here. Particularly I am still emphatic with regard to the Idikki scheme which the Ministry for Irrigation and Power should look into and decide in favour of opening the Idikki hydro-electric project for the benefit of not only Kerala but of the country as a whole. It can be utilised in other parts of South India also. Such vast voltage of power can be generated in Travancore-Cochin. We have got such natural facilities and rivers. With these words I conclude.

SHRI B. P. AGARWAL (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am thankful to so many hon. Members who are sitting so late, although the Minister for Planning and his Deputy are no more here. Although I would not like to say much at the fag end of the day, still I may place a few of my view-points for the consideration of the Ministry which is concerned with planning. I would not go into much details and I would take only a few points. The first thing which has struck my mind is that there has been a good deal said by so many hon. Members about the regional disparity in the planning. I think there are so many Members who have spoken on it in great detail that I would not go much into it. It is generally felt that the planning is not all round, as it should be, on a uniform basis and this is a complaint. Now, what is to be done in this respect? My suggestion is that there should be an industrial survey of the country carried out to find out the potentialities of the different regions. We have fixed targets for different industries and for different achievements, but what is needed to my mind is that these targets should be broken up for different regions and different States. Now, to do that we want to know what is possible in which area. I do not think that any such intensive and extensive survey has been carried out to find out the potentialities of various areas. Now, what is happening is this. Those States and areas which are already advanced and where certain facilities exist, take advantage of those targets and others' claims are

ignored. This can only be rectified, to my mind, when an intensive survey in full detail is carried out of all the areas to find out in which area, what industry will suit. This will depend upon the natural facilities which are available and so many other factors. It is not possible that in a dry area you may have industries which will suit an area where there is enough rainfall. What has to be done is to find this out from an intensive survey, and such a survey has not been organised. This is not only in the field or industry. In mining, I understand, some survey is being carried out by the Ministry of Natural Resources. Similarly in the field of agriculture also certain irrigation schemes have been provided in many areas. That is good. There are other areas where the land is quite suitable, but for want of water nothing can be done. I remember, Sir, the hon. Prime Minister making some observations while on a visit to Pilani that this area was quite suitable for the raising of fine crops but for want of water nothing was possible. Such areas are not receiving attention. My suggestion to the Planning Commission is that they should organise such a survey to find out the potentialities, industrial, mineral and agricultural. This may be the right step which may go to help the underdeveloped areas. Just now Shri Mishra observed that people who are complaining about disparity forget the fact that if there is an industry in some area, it is going to benefit the country as a whole and some advantage of it will be available to the backward areas also. That may be true, Sir, but this is like saying that if there is a rich man in the country and also a poor man, the poor man may have the consolation that there is a rich man and by his riches he will also be benefited. In that case, where is the socialist pattern of society? If you want a socialist pattern of society, then there must be equality in all spheres of life. If that is what we desire, not only in the matter of wealth but also in the development of wealth, if certain areas are benefited and if others are left to remain backward, is that the socialist pattern which we are building up now? I think these backward areas need a good deal of attention.

There is another matter to which I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister. There is a good deal of wastage occurring in the execution of the various Plans. My friend Shri B. B.

Sharma gave a story regarding the building of a canal in his area. I think there is a good deal of truth in such statements. We have a Plan now of the magnitude of Rs. 4,800 crores, and if we take a certain percentage of that figure as wastage, that will be a colossal amount. I think, Sir, in our enthusiasm for the execution of the Plan we are not paying the same serious attention to this aspect of the problem as we should. I think, Sir, we have no proper agency for looking after this affair. I would make a humble suggestion that there may be about a dozen teams created for going round the country to look after the different kinds of execution of the Plan in the country. My suggestion is that these teams should be organised in such a way that they comprise some experts in the line and some Members of Parliament—may be, about a dozen people or so in each team. They should go round the country. There may be one team for the river valley schemes. That team should go round to see all the river valley schemes, to see how they are working, to see their efficiency as well as their economy.

DR. W. S. BARLINGAY: Like the Estimates Committee.

SHRI B. P. AGARWAL: But they look only at the papers. They have not got a first-hand idea of the actual work that is going on. The teams which I suggest should go round the country to see the various prospects and get first hand information about them and have some on-the-spot experience of them. Then they can place their report before Parliament, and that will be to the great advantage of the country. That is my humble suggestion.

Sir, I have another suggestion to make. In all our plans we must curtail all expenses which are not very essential at the moment. We must take the Plan as a war effort. Our energies should be directed first to build the foundations rather than to build the superstructure with all its furnishings. When we have the structure ready, we can furnish it later on in a proper way, but at present we should concentrate only on building the basic things. My suggestion is that we should first build those activities which go to create the wealth of the nation. Other things can come later. In war time we forget all other things, we concentrate only on the basic things, first. It is not possible for us to do everything at a time. Of course it would be

[Shri B. P. Agarwal.]
desirable if we could, but that is not possible. We have to make the best use of our resources to the best advantage, and with that end in view we should concentrate at present only on the basic things. All items which can be left over for the time being should be left over for a later period, to be taken up after five or ten years. At present all our energies should be directed towards the basic requirements.

There is one suggestion with regard to agriculture. Now we are concerned with agricultural production. We are apprehensive that with the progress of the Plan there will be more money with the people and naturally they will demand more consumer goods, more food articles, and things of that sort. How can we meet that position? Certain decisions have been taken at some conference of Agriculture Ministers recently. That is well and good. But my idea is—if I am not mistaken—I have read that about 10 per cent of our foodgrains is wasted by pests in godowns. We have decided very recently in our Warehousing Corporation Bill that we shall be building warehouses throughout the country for the storage of foodgrains. I think if this could be expedited and if we could have a chain of godowns throughout the country, a good deal of wastage which is occurring during storage will be avoided. That will be a substantial figure. It was estimated that the wastage is 10 per cent, the shortage was also estimated to be to the extent of 10 per cent. I think that needs the immediate attention of the Ministry.

Another aspect of this question is that we lose a good deal of our crops in the field itself. The loss which is occurring is due to pests and diseases. The loss on this account is so heavy that we cannot even think of it. I have some personal experience of the sugarcane crop on some farms and I can tell you that the loss is as much as one hundred per cent. due to pests and diseases. If that could be remedied, we could without putting more acreage under the crops have enough of foodgrains and other crops. But that requires an intensive drive by the Ministry of Agriculture. Up till now our methods of pest and disease control are all, I think, not up to the mark, and we need a special intensive drive in this respect.

There is one more aspect on which I would like to say a few word. So many

speakers nowadays want to do away with middlemen. There is a tendency for eliminating them. If we look at the position, we will find that about 75 per cent. of our population comprises cultivators. The rest of the population is, I think, made up of the middle classes.

SHRI VIJAY SINGH: Middle classes, or middlemen?

SHRI B. P. AGARWAL.: There is hardly any difference between the two. If at all there is any difference between the two, it is a very little difference. There are some people engaged in factories and other professions. If you take that number into consideration, then also a very large number of people are middlemen.

Now, Sir, we are having co-operative societies. Let us by all means have them. I do not say that we should not have them. But I submit that on the one hand we are faced with the problem of unemployment. Now are we going to increase the number of the unemployed people by driving all the people away from their traditional trade and making them unemployed? So, Sir, when we say that the middlemen are not wanted we are in fact aggravating the problem of unemployment. Quite true, Sir, that the middlemen may be taking some extra advantage of their position from the producers and consumers. In that case, the situation can be reformed. But to do away with the middlemen altogether is to create more and more unemployment which is already acute.

DR. W. S. BARNINGAY: You can utilise their services in co-operative societies.

SHRI B. P. AGARWAL.: That is right. But is it intended that we should change all of them into service people? Now they are self-dependent, and they are earning their own livelihood independently. Therefore, Sir, if we want that all these people should be changed into service people, then, I think, we are not serving the best interests of the country.

SHRI KAILASH BIHARI LALL (Bihar): Will you agree if one set of middlemen replaces the other?

SHRI B. P. AGARWAL.: That does not improve the situation.

Then, Sir, I would like to say something with regard to the health services. Some of the speakers have said some

thing about the role of Ayurvedic system of medicine. I think we have had several discussions in regard to this matter on the previous occasions. At the time when the Medical Council Bill was being discussed, some hon. Members gave expression to their views. I think this matter has been discussed in the other House also. But it is very sad to find that our Health Ministry, I do not know for what reasons, takes no notice of the feelings of the Members of this House, as also of the feelings of the entire country in general. I do not know why they think that the people are so much wedded to the allopathic system of medicine. No doubt there are some advantages in that system, but at the same time, nobody can deny the fact that the Ayurvedic system is an indigenous system, as also cheap and economical. We have to realise, Sir, that we are importing medicines from foreign countries and we are spending so much money every year. I therefore think that it is very unfortunate that our Government up till now have not been able to realise the importance of the Ayurvedic system of medicine. And I hope that all these things will be seriously taken into consideration by the Government. Thank you.

DR. ANUP SINGH: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am very happy to have the distinction of perhaps being the last speaker, but I do hope that what I have to say is not the least important.

I think, Sir, that this elaborate Plan that has been carefully conceived, discussed and elaborated upon, is very sound from various points of view. But, Sir, unless we can sell this Plan to the people, we shall not be able to achieve the objective that we have in mind. In one of the Committees I heard the hon. Minister saying that our country has become Plan-conscious. Our Prime Minister has also repeated the same thing on many occasions. But I, Sir, have been always very sceptical about this claim. Sir, It will be a very revealing experience for the hon. Minister and for the Members to go round the country and particularly meet the people in the villages, in the streets, in the buses and in the trains, in order to find out how many people have actually become conscious of the Plan. It will be worth-while for them to go round the villages at a distance of even ten miles from Delhi and ask the people whether they know anything about the Plan, and I am

sure, Sir, they will be very much disillusioned. We find, Sir, that the Plan-consciousness is confined to only a handful of people, even after so much discussion and all that. A very small minority of the educated people has become conscious of the Plan.

Therefore, Sir, the suggestion that I would like to make to the Ministry is that there should be more and more publicity of the Plan. At present, the publicity side, both in the Centre and in the States, is hopelessly inadequate. We have these very forbidding documents, but I think that all possible efforts should be made to publish the Plan in a very simple and presentable form in the various languages of the States. That is one suggestion.

Secondly, Sir, I would just refer here to the article written recently by Dr. Rao, one of our leading economists, in which he points out the responsibility of the individual. All the efforts by our experts are very thorough, but if the average worker, the teacher, the housewife and even a Member of Parliament is made aware of the fact that he has to do a little more than what he has been doing, and he should look upon this Plan as his Plan and therefore he should extend his full co-operation, then, I think we will be able to achieve our object much quicker than what otherwise we can do. Therefore, Sir, I specifically say that we should concentrate on advertising this Plan and selling it to the people, and each one of us should look upon his individual responsibility with more seriousness than heretofore.

ORDER OF BUSINESS FOR FRIDAY

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Before we adjourn, the following will be the order of business for tomorrow.

After the conclusion of the debate on the Motion relating to the Second Five Year Plan, we shall take up the Resolution on Proclamation relating to Travancore-Cochin, the Indian Post Office (Amendment) Bill, and the Public Debt (Amendment) Bill.

The House now stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at fifty-five minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 7th September 1956.