

MR. CHAIRMAN : The question is :

"This House is of opinion that Government should immediately appoint a Wage Commission to enquire into the wage structure of industrial and agricultural workers in the country and to recommend adequate wages for them."

The motion was negatived.

#### RESOLUTION RE ENLISTMENT OF PUBLIC COOPERATION IN SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMA-NAND (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, I move the Resolution standing in my name, but at the outset, with your permission I would like to add a few words at the end and make a very minor change, namely, in clause (Hi) remove 'and' and after clause (iv), add 'and' and add a new clause 'further intensify and coordinate their present efforts'.

MR. CHAIRMAN : She wants to add "further intensify and coordinate their present efforts". Is that permitted?

(No hon. Member dissented.)

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMA-NAND : Sir, I move the following Resolution :

"This House is of opinion that with a view to enlisting the maximum cooperation of the public for the successful implementation of the Second Five Year Plan Government should—

- (i) publicise the plan programme and targets through propaganda films and plays ;
- (ii) organise Youth Clubs for making the youth of the country Plan-minded ;
- (iii) launch austerity drives and ban all luxuries ;
- (iv) take effective steps for rooting out corruption in whatever form it may exist in the country ; and
- (v) further intensify and co-ordinate their present efforts."

Mr. Chairman, it is indeed fortunate that through this Resolution I, and the House also, would be able to focus attention on many of the important points on which we usually like to speak in the House but for want of time, we cannot do so. Sir, there is no doubt that the First Five Year Plan has been a success and has been assessed as such ; but with all deference to that, I would like to point out that the success is mainly to be seen in the public sector and particularly with regard to the river valley projects and other Governmental schemes where money on such a large scale is being spent. If you were to go into the interior and see the various Community Projects where public cooperation is required, I do not think that it can be said in every place that the success is of any measureable magnitude. As a matter of fact, public cooperation is expected to be gradually secured after the end of the First Five Year Plan and that itself would show that in the First Five Year Plan in the public sector where public cooperation was required, success is not of any measurable magnitude. But this cannot be permitted to continue if the Second Plan, on which we are going to spend twice the money that we originally contemplated, is to succeed. The reasons for the public not coming forward according to the expectations of the Government are many and those are the reasons which are sought to be considered in the five items that I have given.

Sir, planned economy and progress of the country according to the Plan is a foreign idea and the world has taken it from Russia to begin with, where they made it a success. In a country where there is totalitarian rule or where there is Fascism or where anything can be done just by the command of the Government, the success of a Plan is not a very difficult thing. But here we have taken an idea from a country which is not a democratic country and yet we have to make it a success in a democratic country with the goodwill of our people and understanding of our people. But for that we have to employ special means and we have to see which of the foreign methods we can adopt. We will have to adopt some of the foreign methods and with those I will deal subsequently.

There is one more feature to which I should like to refer in a general way and that is, the prosperity of the country that we see round about. I would

like to bring to the notice of the House that at least half the prosperity or the increased income of the country is due to the foreign capital that is invested in our country. The foreign industry in our country has gone up by leaps and bounds and if we were to make a close survey, it would be seen that the increased income in the country is not coming from our own money and our unguided effort or with our skill and we should, in making an assessment of the Plan, if we want to benefit by some of the difficulties, take a real picture of the thing and thus make an assessment of the Plan entirely on the basis of what is being done by our people with our capital without any aid from foreigners. Sir, to begin with, I would say that there are certainly many other methods in which the Plan could be implemented more successfully but I have taken these five and the first is publicity. We find that though the Government are making every effort to give publicity to their Plans throughout the villages etc. still what is being done is hardly a patch on what should be done. Those of us here or those who have gone abroad to countries where the Russian method of Plans is adopted, would at once notice the difference about this propaganda of Government's plans. There every film would be dealing with the Government ideology and the targets laid before the people. It would not be, as a matter of fact, possible to see anything else. I would not suggest that we should adopt this *in toto*, but I would suggest that it is necessary that at least 50 per cent, of our films should deal with the Government's plans and Government's efforts, the laws enacted by the Government, the way in which the Government wants to build our society in Free India—all this should be put before the people through the films. Films are the best way of educating our illiterate people because it is a visual aid.

Unfortunately, in a country which cannot have the methods obtaining in Communist countries—the illiteracy in the country is so great that there is no other way—there is no other way of putting before the people all the targets that Government wants to put before them, that is, that Government wants to achieve this and that objective, that Government wants to double the national income within twenty-five years and all that, except through films. Very few people can read books and still fewer

can buy them. Here, we have not been in the habit of even reading newspapers. People who can read, who are graduates but who do not have to have any job or are not forced to read the papers, do not read them often for eight days at a stretch. It is a very sad commentary on the way we have taken to these modern ways. Reading of papers every day is as essential in the West as food almost!

With regard to the plays, I have to say that though recently, through the cultural academies and other means, Government has recently started giving publicity to cultural activities—Government has started staging plays also departmentally—they are only a fraction of what should be done. These are staged mostly in Hindi in Delhi and places round about. These plays are required all over the country. It may be pointed out, I know, that through social education and other cultural squads in States some plays are shown, but I have seen how crude they are; they are not clear to the illiterate people and they do not appeal to the literate people. I think this is just a waste of money, it is a case of money not being put to the best use. For that reason, rather than give publicity to the Plan through plays, it would be better to do it through films because, you can have one standard of acting, one idea and the idea could spread to all nooks and corners of the country through mobile cinema vans. There are, however difficulties in having such films and the reason is that the film companies today will not produce films of this type because they are afraid that these films would not give box-office returns. Unless Government creates a film finance corporation or is prepared to finance the companies up to 50 per cent., and take a major portion of the losses as part of the publicity programme, it would not be possible for these film producers to give their cooperation. If Government were to start producing such type of films, it would not be possible for them to do so in an economical manner; they would not be in a position to get the film personnel and all the other technique required. The only way in which Government can use the present film producers for propaganda on a wider scale would through a film finance corporation and through the existing film producers. It should be made compulsory on the producers that they should produce 50 per cent, of the films

[Dr. Shrimati Seeta Parmanand.] which would explain the various economic and other development plans of Government thus enlisting the co-operation of the people.

There is another method by which, in foreign countries publicity is given to Government's plans and that is through photographs which are exhibited in places where people would have occasion to stay for a while or, if they go for a walk, at the termini of their walk, at bus-stands and railway stations. In these places, big photographs will be kept in a well lit place to enable people to see what is being done by Government. It is rather unfortunate, Sir, that in the villages most of the people do not even know what is happening and I am rather sorry to say, Sir, that amongst an audience of 1,500 in a colliery area where people are richer and can buy newspapers only four or five knew that there was such a thing as States reorganisation on in the country ; they did not know what *Raiya punarsanga-than* was, where Vindhya Pradesh was and so on. If this is the state of affairs with regard to such important questions, one could understand what would be the position with regard to knowledge of Governmental plans for the development and improvement of their country, what Government is spending and what co-operation they have to give. The colliery workers, Sir, are expected to produce more and increase the target but unless we see that they are told as to what is at stake, how are they going to be better off by producing more : they will not co-operate. In this manner, it is not possible that they would make every effort to put every ounce of their energy in increasing the target.

I do not "know how many minutes I have because I have got to apportion the time.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Another fifteen minutes.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND : I think I have made this point clear that rather than laying emphasis on plays which it is not possible to produce in farther parts of the country, plays of a uniform standards which would fit in, it is better that Government lays emphasis on films and produce them a hundred times or a thousand times more that what they may have done so far—they may have two

or three or four films on First Five Year Plan—to give publicity to actual targets in the second Five Year Plan and their achievements in the first.

The next important thing is with regard youth clubs and the object of this is that the youth of this country has to be harnessed for the achievement of the Plan in various ways.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SHAR-DA BHARGAVA) in the Chair.]

Apart from anything else, when Government has not been able to give education according to the directive principles of the Constitution to all persons up to the age of fourteen, the only way in which the spirit of nationalism could be inculcated in the youth of the country would be through some organised efforts and that would be through the medium of plays. Children who are not going to schools should be taken in hand. As a matter of fact, Shri Aurobindo, when he had devoted even all his *tapasya* for the liberation of the country, himself stated that nationalism will have to be made a *dharma* in the country. In these days of internationalism, it might sound somewhat backward to say that such emphasis should be put on nationalism but we have to say, charity begins at home and, for that reason, unless we inculcate the spirit of nationalism in our youth, we will not be able to make them appreciate internationalism. We have to tell the youth of the country that every effort of theirs, every breath of theirs is for the promotion of the interests of the country and for their own prosperity. Even Swami Vivekananda has devoted the whole of his teaching in this respect, to the importance of inculcating the spirit of nationalism. Madam, the problem is very vast because if we have to do something even for school going children, we have necessarily to do this work through extra-curricular activities, as far as the schools are concerned and, in other places, we would have to take care of children who are not in any way near any schools or who are expected to work, for example, look after perhaps sheep or cattle or Serve in hotels—it is a pity that there are children under even fourteen who are serving in hotels to supplement the income of their parents—and we would have to have separate clubs for such children.

To get the right kind of teachers to do this work is a problem, especially a teacher with the proper spirit. Teachers who are not paid properly, teachers who are half-starved cannot be expected to be enthusiastic over this extra work. They themselves during the last twenty or fifteen years have not been taught the duties expected of them in a free country, a country that has so many problems before it, particularly after the second World War. As such, we will have to harness voluntary energy by giving them some honoraria because the economic standards are such that it is almost impossible for so many people, men and particularly women, who are competent to do this work, who, by nature, are trained to have a special faculty for doing this kind of work and who are already looking after their own children, to come forward and do this work because they today are not able to get any help for their own domestic work. And if they have to be requested, they have to be given some sort of manual help for their work at home. Here also I would like to point out that in countries where the plans have been successful and from whom we have borrowed these ideas—yesterday somebody was speaking in the Parliament House, and officer who had gone out—there, at every street, there is what is called a street committee for implementation of Government's plans. That means in every street, every gully, and if the street is bigger there would be two or three committees. There would be so many people who would be coming to voluntarily work and implement Government's plans. These may smack of some totalitarian ideas which are not in keeping with democratic ideas and democracy, but we have to take recourse to some such plan if we have to make our plan work. The spirit of indiscipline that is spreading amongst the youth of the country, particularly amongst the people who have never been to school, who have not a proper home environment, whose parents are not educated, or, being educated, are too busy to give them proper attention, has to be checked, and the only way through which it can be checked will be through youth clubs. The hon. Minister might say that they are already doing something in this direction and have started some youth clubs and are taking children out for excursions. I would like to point out there again it is not even one thousandth of what is required that is being done. What is being done, I may point

out to him. To-day the students who do not require this kind of help in the way of inculcating any spirit of discipline are taken on excursions, for instance in trains to see the country. Naturally such students as can give at least a hundred rupees for the excursion are asked to join. That means children from poorer homes are not catered for, and children from poorer homes are mostly in need of this new spirit and also in need of seeing things because they have not the other opportunities which the children of the rich have either through literature or through talking to their parents and their parents' friends or through films and through books and going to better schools. So for that reason whatever is being done is not either of the magnitude or of the type that should be done, and that requires complete revision. Something is certainly being done also through the N.C.C.; something is being done through Girl Guide and Boy Scout movements, but all these are stray efforts. Lastly I may say that a lot is sought to be done through the Bharat Sevak Samaj, but the trouble over the implementations of this plan is the difficulty in getting through the various formalities for help in time and the result has been—I can speak for one or two districts—that after giving great publicity to the forthcoming campaign of students, at the eleventh hour it had to be given up. There is not enough publicity in time about the targets to be achieved, the people that will be put in charge and ultimately the places from which money could be taken in time and, therefore, if these camps are to succeed, Government should come forth by putting some funds at the disposal of the State people instead of making them come all the way to Delhi for help and later on make somebody responsible to see that the formalities are complied with. The youth clubs also will create a spirit of national unity because the children from different provinces would be meeting and they would be taken together, but there also, what is being done at present is very defective because children from usually one district or the same place are being in one train and what do they get? They see some things, but the main thing of bringing together people from different States and different religions, people with different languages, that is not achieved. Two birds can be killed by one stone by doing this in a different manner. That great advantage is lost.

[Dr. Shrimati Seeta Parmanand.] I would like to say something now with regard to austerity drive. These are such vast subjects that I am sure other Members will fill in the gaps which I have to leave for want of time as it is not possible for one person in the time given to deal with them exhaustively. With regard to the austerity drive I am glad the Planning Minister is here and we know how keen he himself is on this because I feel one of the objects for which he has asked the Sadhus to come and join in implementing the Bharat Sevak Samaj work is that through their example of piety and simple living an impetus would be given to austerity and for that reason I would like to deal with this a little more elaborately so that he takes it up with the other Ministries concerned how to implement this particular idea for implementing the Plan in a more successful manner. To begin with I would like to refer to the various contradictory policies followed by the Government because of the nature of administration, that every Ministry is independent and is to work in an independent manner to achieve a certain object. I would like to refer to the subsidy given to Khadi in order to relieve unemployment and there the Labour Ministry may be concerned. Then the Khadi Board will say that they would like to have so many Ambar Charkhas, but at the same time the Finance Ministry would say that they would require so much money through excise and import duties and so they would say that more power looms, more spinning mills and more weaving mills should be set up and to begin with, this quota, they would say they would like for export. Now it is known very well how when once this kind of promise is given to fix the quota entirely for export "it is not easy for them to execute this. They would also say that, when they are setting up factories of nylon and artificial silk, which create a craze for cheap quality luxury and finery, they want to really indulge the people with a low income and let them enjoy some luxuries, but they do not see how they are killing their indigenous silk industry. There are various things of this type that could be mentioned. We have so many, not only contradictions in our policies, but we have also gap between promises and performance, between profession and performance.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

I would mention here, for instance, the advice given to people about restricting expenditure on marriages and yet, at the same time, we would see people in high places incurring expenditure within a fortnight of this advice coming from the President of the Congress, incurring expenditure of Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 15,000 openly on the marriages of their children. We would also find, when we are preaching simplicity, simple living, socialistic pattern of society, that the expenditure of Ministers in the States would vary from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 10,000 a month in the various amenities that have to be provided for them, exodus to hill stations large motor-cars and so on.

Similarly, Sir, I would like to refer to motor-cars. Now again in the country from which we have taken this planned economy idea, in order to save the exchange from other countries, they would see to it that no motor cars are to be owned privately, even by Ministers. There are only State motor-cars. The Ministers would be using one motorcar to-day and another motor-car the next day depending on what "motor-car is available in the garage. No motor-cars have to be used even as taxis, but they have increased their public conveyances ! to such an extent that practically every citizen in a big city is able to get a ride in a bus. But, Sir, we are not worried. We want more foreign exchange to buy machinery and so we are asked to produce more cloth, to sell it out so that we can get the necessary foreign exchange but have not taken care to see that some of the luxury items—I can mention thousands of such items but there is no time—are prohibited from being imported. Whether it is necessary for exchange with other countries to whom we want to export certain things or not, it is desirable that there should not be any gap between what we preach and what we do.

Lastly, I would like to say a few words with regard to corruption. I can mention several things but I am sure I need not mention them because the hon. Minister is more aware of them than I am. I would only like to remind the House that we have passed legislation out of very high motives that not only the bribe-giver but also the bribe-taker could be apprehended but as far as the actual implementation of this anti-corruption drive is concerned, they have not made much progress, because we find that corruption is there not only

amongst officials, but also in the business world and even in the student world there is corruption in some form or other—copying, etc. Holding up of persons to ransom, locking up people, banditry, goondaism, all these things are there. *(Time bell rings.)* What we should do is when we get one or two people we should make an example by giving wide publicity as to what has been done so that the people in the lower rungs of the ladder will know that Government are serious about this. Lastly, I would like particularly to emphasize this point that though we are a secular State we have to do something about giving moral education and putting high ethical standards before our younger generation ; otherwise there is no knowing where this landslide will take us. It is because of this outlook on life, by our declaring that we are a secular State, that people. ...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN ; Half an hour is over.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND :..... are taking to corrupt ways and this itself is acting as a sort of a sponge which is taking away the effect of the implementation of the Plan, in which we are sinking so much money. We have been told that if that goes, there will be a sort of do or die with it. When so much money is to be spent on it, it is necessary that all these factors should be taken care of by our Government on a very much more increasing scale, a thousand times more than what is being done. I therefore hope that the hon. Minister will accept this Resolution with the small amendment that I have made and I can assure him \* that it would not mean any aspersion on the present policy of the Government. All that is asked to be done is that the Government should not only intensify its efforts but should coordinate and pool its resources together so that better results could be achieved with the money that we are spending.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Motion moved :

"This House is of opinion that with a view to enlisting the maximum cooperation of the public for the successful implementation of the Second Five Year Plan Government should—

- (i) publicise the plan programme and targets through propaganda films and plays ;

- (ii) organise Youth Clubs for making the youth of the country Plan-minded ;
- (iii) launch austerity drives and ban all luxuries ;
- (iv) take effective steps for rooting out corruption in whatever form it may exist in the country ; and
- (v) further intensify and co-ordinate their present efforts."

**श्री ज० रा० कपूर (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** उप-सभापति महोदय, बहन श्रीमती सीता परमानन्द जी का जो प्रस्ताव है इसके बारे में कोई दो रायें हो ही नहीं सकती हैं और मैं समझता हूँ कि जहाँ तक सरकार का सम्बन्ध है उसकी भी यही राय ही नहीं है बल्कि इसी के अनुसार यथाशक्ति वह काम भी कर रही है। यह दूसरी बात है कि उससे यह प्रार्थना की जाय और उसे यह सुझाव दिया जाय कि जो काम सरकार कर रही है उसकी प्रगति कुछ बढ़नी चाहिये, गो मैं समझता हूँ कि बिना यह बताये हुए स्वयं ही सरकार यह महसूस कर रही होगी।

उपसभापति महोदय, जहाँ तक जनता का सम्बन्ध है मेरी यह निश्चित राय है कि पहली पंच-वर्षीय योजना में जो सफलता मिली है और दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में जो आशाएँ उसके सामने रखी जा रही हैं उनसे वह उत्साहित हो रही है लेकिन उसके सहयोग को और भी अधिक प्राप्त करने के लिये एक बात बहुत जरूरी है कि उसके मन में यह भावना बैठा दी जाय कि उसके पास से जो रुपया लिया जा रहा है या जो उससे सह-योग मांगा जा रहा है, उसके सहयोग द्वारा जो रुपया प्राप्त हो रहा है या भ्रमदान द्वारा जो उससे भ्रम लिया जा रहा है उनका यथार्थ में सदुपयोग किया जा रहा है और किया जायगा। इस वक्त यह दुर्भाग्य की बात है और कटु सत्य है कि जिधर भी आप निकल जाइये लोगों को यह कहते हुए सुनेंगे कि फ़ज़ूलखर्ची बहुत हो रही है और दूसरे यह कि काफ़ी, बहुत बड़ी मात्रा में, भ्रष्टाचार है। ये दोनों ही बातें माननी पड़ेंगी, भले ही आप यह कहें और यह कहना कुछ ठीक भी हो कि इस तरह से आलोचना करने में कुछ एग्ज़ेजरेशन (अत्यक्ति) जरूर है, उस एग्ज़ेजरेशन को छोड़ दीजिये, लेकिन यह कटु सत्य है कि फ़ज़ूलखर्ची काफ़ी है और भ्रष्टाचार भी काफ़ी है और भ्रष्टाचार की बात कहने वाले केवल सड़क पर

[श्री ज० रा० कपूर]

चलने वाले आदमी ही नहीं हैं बल्कि काफी पढ़े लिखे और समझदार जिम्मेदार लोग हैं, यहां तक कि हमारी सुप्रीम कोर्ट के भूतपूर्व चीफ जस्टिस श्री मेहरजन्द महाजन ने भी अभी थोड़े दिन ही हुए हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स या सम्भवतः और पत्रों में भी एक लेख लिखा था जिसमें उन्होंने अपनी यह राय प्रकट की थी कि भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ता जा रहा है। भले ही बढ़ता न जा रहा हो क्योंकि इसका पता लगाने के लिये कोई मापदंड नहीं है कि वह बढ़ता जा रहा है या नहीं लेकिन इससे यह नतीजा जरूर निकलता है कि भ्रष्टाचार इतनी बड़ी मात्रा में है कि उसके लिये एक सड़क पर चलने वाला आदमी भी कहता है और सुप्रीम कोर्ट के हमारे भूतपूर्व चीफ जस्टिस भी कहते हैं। जब ऐसी बात है तो हमें थोड़ा एक करके गम्भीरता से सोचना चाहिये कि क्या किया जाय ?

उपन्यासित महोदय, भ्रष्टाचार के सम्बन्ध में अभी थोड़े ही दिन हुए एक उच्च कोटि के रेलवे कर्मचारी से जो मेरी बातें हुईं उनको मैं यहां आपके सामने कहूँ तो कुछ हंसी की बात और कुछ ताज्जुब की सी बात आपको मालूम होगी। मैंने उनसे कहा था कि अब तो बिना टिकट के जाने वाले यात्रियों की संख्या शायद बहुत कम हो गई होगी क्योंकि रेलवे मंत्रालय ने इस संबंध में काफी कदम उठाये हैं और टिकट चेकरों की भी गिनती बढ़ा दी है। वह हंसे और उन्होंने कहा कि इसी कारण से तो बिना टिकट जाने वालों की संख्या बढ़ गई है। मैंने ताज्जुब में आकर उनसे पूछा कि यह कैसे ? उस पर उन्होंने कहा कि एक टिकट चेकर साधारणतः ५ या ६ आदमी को बिना टिकट के अपने साथ ले जाता है तो जब पहले १० टिकट चेकर थे तब ५० या ६० लोग बिना टिकट के जाते थे लेकिन अब १० की जगह १५ टिकट चेकर हो गये हैं इसलिये १५ × ५, ७५ या १५ × ६, ९० लोग बिना टिकट के जाते हैं। मैं सिर खुलाने लगा कि आखिर क्या किया जाय ? सरकार भी क्या करे जब कि भ्रष्टाचार इतना बढ़ गया है कि उसके रोकने के लिये जो प्रयत्न किये जाय उनका भी फल यह होता है कि भ्रष्टाचार और बढ़ता है ? तो यह नतीजा निकलता है कि हमारे समाज में भ्रष्टाचार इतना बढ़ गया है कि हम कहीं भी देखें, जो कोई भी काम करने वाले हों, वह भ्रष्टाचार से ऊंचे नहीं उठते हैं। मैं तो एक ही नतीजे पर पहुँचा हूँ कि हमारा समाज अच्छा नहीं है, उसी से सरकारी और भीतर के, उसी से सरकारी कर्मचारी आते हैं, उसी से पब्लिकमेन भी आते

हैं और उसी से व्यापारी भी आते हैं, जिन लोगों की उम्र बढ़ गई है उनके चरित्र को सुधारना यदि असम्भव नहीं तो बहुत कठिन अवश्य हो गया है जैसा कि कहते हैं कि बूढ़े तोते को .....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You can continue in the afternoon. The House stands adjourned till 2-30 P.M.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at half past two of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

श्री ज० रा० कपूर (क्रमागत) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, भोजनार्थ उठने से पहले मैं चर्चा कर रहा था भ्रष्टाचार की, और यह कह रहा था कि जब समाज के प्रत्येक अंग में आचारहीनता घुस गई है तो फिर उसके लिये यह कहना कि सरकारी अफसरों में अथवा दुकानदारों में अथवा अध्यापकों में या आचार्यों में आचारहीनता है, कुछ व्यर्थ सा ही होता है। जब मर्ज इतना बढ़ गया तब उसका इलाज एक व्यापक इलाज होना चाहिये, और मेरी समझ में उसका इलाज न तो कानून है और न बहुत कुछ ऊपरी उपदेश है, बल्कि जैसा कहते हैं कि बूढ़ा तोता कुरान नहीं पढ़ता, तो बहुत कुछ यह आशा करना कि जिनकी अवस्था बड़ गई है उनमें बहुत कुछ सुधार हो जाय, व्यर्थ की आशा करना है। ध्यान हमें देना चाहिये उठते हुए पीढ़ की तरफ। जो छोटे बच्चे हैं उनके ऊपर जितना अधिक से अधिक व्यय किया जाय उतना अच्छा है। तीन, चार, पांच, छः या सात साल के बच्चों का आचार ठीक श्रान्त के लिये भरपूर प्रयत्न होना चाहिये। जितना रुपया भी उनके ऊपर हम इस समय खर्च कर लेंगे वह आगे चल कर मुफ़ीद ही होगा क्योंकि आगे चल कर वे बच्चे जब बड़े होंगे और ईमानदारी से रहेंगे, सरकारी नौकर होकर भी ईमानदारी से काम करेंगे, तो भ्रष्टाचार में जिस तरह से व्यर्थ खर्च हो जाता है और जिससे कुछ लाभ नहीं होता, वह सब वृत्त हो जायेगी। हाँ, इसमें कुछ समय अवश्य लगेगा, १०, १५ या २० साल का। लेकिन हमें शान्ति के साथ इस काम को करना चाहिये और बहुत चक्कराहट नहीं करनी चाहिये कि हमारे चारों तरफ भ्रष्टाचार ही भ्रष्टाचार है। उसे हम ध्यान में रखें लेकिन बहुत ज्यादा उस पर रोयें नहीं क्योंकि बहुत ज्यादा उस पर रोने से कि हम बहुत बुरे, हम बहुत बुरे, बानावरण और भी खराब

ही होता है। हम जो हैं सो हैं। अब छोटे छोटे बच्चे जो हैं इन्हें हम धीरे धीरे बचपन से ही चरित्रान बनायें और व्यक्तिगत रूप से हर एक आदमी यह प्रयत्न करे कि आज उसके चारों तरफ जो भ्रष्टाचार है उसमें वह मदद न दे और अपना आचरण सुधारे। इस तरह एक एक का आचरण सुधरने से सारे समाज का आचरण भी सुधर सकता है।

इसके ऊपर, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कुछ और ज्यादा न कह कर मैं दूसरी बात पर आता हूँ जिसके ऊपर विशेष ध्यान सरकार दे सकती है और जिसमें सफलता भी जल्दी मिल सकती है। वह यह है कि फजूलखर्ची इस वक़्त बहुत हो रही है और उसकी मितव्ययता के द्वारा रोक जा सकता है। अभी तक फजूलखर्ची को रोकने के लिये बहुत हद तक कोई विशेष प्रयत्न किये गये हैं, ऐसा मुझे प्रतीत नहीं होता। कहां कहां फजूलखर्ची हो रही है यह दोहराने की बात नहीं, वीसियों बार अनेक लोगों ने उसकी चर्चा की है और दूसरे सदन के एक माननीय सदस्य श्री मोहनलाल सक्सेना तो समय समय पर बहुत ही जोर इस विषय पर देते रहते हैं। उनकी बातों को यह कह कर न टाल देना चाहिये या कम ध्यान न देना चाहिये कि कोई आदमी निराश है अथवा हतोत्साह है, इसलिये वह ऐसी बातें कहता है। बात वे यथार्थ कहते हैं और उस ओर ध्यान अवश्य देना चाहिये। उन बातों को गिना कर मैं यहां अपना समय नहीं खर्च करना चाहता हूँ, लेकिन यह जरूर कहना चाहता हूँ कि जितना भी ध्यान इस ओर आप देंगे उससे न केवल आप रुपये की बचत ही करेंगे बल्कि कम से कम यह जो भावना लोगों में पैदा हो गई है कि उनकी माँही कमाई का रुपया टैक्स बहा कर, नये टैक्स लगा कर सरकार लेती है और उसे उचित प्रकार से खर्च नहीं करती है, तो उनकी यह भावना दूर हो जायेगी, और यदि यह भावना दूर हो जाये तो वह राया जो आप टैक्स के रूप में लेते हैं वह अधिक आसानी के साथ ले सकेंगे, और जो बचत की योजनायें आप उनके सामने रखते हैं उनमें भी आपको अधिक सफलता मिलेगी। मैं तो यहां तक भी समझता हूँ कि कर देने के बारे में जो ठीक ही बात कही जाती है कि बहुत से लोग उसमें बेईमानी करते हैं, ठीक तरह से हिसाब किताब नहीं रखते, यदि कर देने वालों में यह विश्वास हो जाय कि उनसे कर के रूप में जो रुपया आप लेते हैं वह ठीक से आप खर्च करेंगे तो फिर वह चीज भी कम हो जायेगी।

उसके बाद मैं माननीय मंत्री को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने यह बात बड़ी दूर की मोर्ची कि जन सहयोग प्राप्त करने के लिये साधुओं की सहायता ली जाय। लाखों साधु जो हमारे यहां पंड मुपंड से होकर फिरते रहते हैं, यदि आप उनको समाज सेवा के काम में लगा सकें तो बहुत बहुत बड़ा काम हो जायेगा और इस ओर जितना आपने ध्यान दिया है उसमें भी ज्यादा ध्यान जितना ही आप देंगे उतना अच्छा है और उसमें आपको सफलता मिलेगी।

इसके अलावा जन सहयोग प्राप्त करने के लिये मैं बहुत गम्भीरता से यह कहता हूँ कि आपको केन्द्र में एक मंत्री अलग से रखना चाहिये और हर एक प्रान्त में, हर एक प्रदेश में भी आपको एक एक मंत्री रखना चाहिये जिसका केवल कार्य यह हो कि जन सम्पर्क स्थापित करे और लोगों को सेवा के काम में लगाये और विशेष रूप से अवकाश प्राप्त लोगों को, पेंशनर्स को, सेवा के काम में लगावे। इसके लिये यह आवश्यक है कि मंत्री अलग हो, केन्द्र में भी और प्रान्त में भी, और वह मंत्री केवल एक डिप्टी मिनिस्टर ही न हो या छोट्टी स्थिति का मिनिस्टर न हो बल्कि कंविनट रेक का मिनिस्टर होना चाहिये क्योंकि यह एक मनोवृत्ति की बात है कि यदि नन्दा साहब किसी आदमी को अपने हाथ से, अपने दस्तखत से चिट्ठी भेजें, और सारी चिट्ठी अपने हाथ से लिखें तो क्या ही अच्छी बात है, और कहें कि भाई, अब तुमने अवकाश प्राप्त कर लिया, कुछ समाज सेवा का भी काम करो, ५५, ६० साल तक आपने खून के कमाया, अब समाज सेवा का काम करो, तो इस तरह की चिट्ठी उस के पास जाय और मंत्री जी उस आदमी को बुला कर कहें कि भाई, अब तुम इस काम को कर लो, तब वह अपने को बहुत सम्मानित समझेगा, और फौरन ही उनके कहने के अनुसार काम करने को तैयार हो जायेगा। केन्द्र में एक मिनिस्टर के ऊपर तीन, चार हजार प्रति मास और प्रान्त में दो हजार के करीब प्रति मास भले ही आप खर्च करें, लेकिन उससे यह भी होगा कि सैकड़ों आदमी, जिनको आप हजार हजार या दो दो हजार ६० मासिक तनखाह देते थे जब कि वे सरकारी कर्मचारी थे, उनका सहयोग प्राप्त हो जायेगा और लाखों रुपये की बचत इस तरह से आपको हो सकती है। यह मुझाब मने पहले भी एक दो बार दिया था और मैं आशा और प्रार्थना करूंगा कि इस बार विशेष रूप से इस पर आप ध्यान दें तो आपको बहुत सफलता मिलेगी।



[श्री ज० रा० कपूर]

दो, तीन बातें और कह कर और गिना के, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं खत्म कहूंगा। मेरा ध्यान भी घड़ी के ऊपर है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि जो अवकाश प्राप्त लोग हैं उनकी एक संस्था हर शहर में बना दी जाय। समाज सेवा के लिये जो आपने यह भारत सेवा समाज कायम किया है, ठीक है, उसमें भी वे आ जायें तो अच्छा है, लेकिन यदि पेंशनर्स अर्थात् अवकाश प्राप्त लोगों की आप अलग संस्था बना दें तो उससे उनको यह अनुभव होगा कि हमारी अपनी यह एक संस्था और है। इस प्रकार वे समाज सेवा का काम करने के लिये प्रोत्साहित होंगे। उस संस्था का एक सेक्रेटरी आप नियुक्त करें और उसको ट्रेवलिंग अलाउंस आदि के नाम पर दो सौ, ढाई सौ रुपया दे दें और वह उन सबों को इकट्ठा करे। बहुत से पेंशनर लोगों को यदि आप केवल ट्रेवलिंग अलाउंस के नाम से या कंवेन्स अलाउंस के नाम से सौ या डेढ़ सौ रु० महीना दे देंगे तो आपको बहुत से लोग जिनको दो, दो, तीन, तीन हजार रु० सरकारी नौकरी में मिलते थे, आसानी से काम करने के लिये मिल जायेंगे।

तीसरी बात उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, फ़िल्म्स के बारे में है। इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं, जैसा कि बहन सीता परमानंद ने कहा, और जैसा कि हम स्वयं अनुभव कर रहे हैं, उनके द्वारा बहुत प्रचार होता है। मेरा निजी अनुभव है कि जो थोड़ा अच्छे फ़िल्म्स फ़िल्म्स डिबीजन ने बनाये हैं वे जहाँ भी दिखाये जाते हैं, लोगों पर उनका बहुत अच्छा प्रभाव पड़ता है। लेकिन जिन लोगों के सुपुर्द इनको दिखाने का काम होता है उनमें से कुछ ही लोग ऐसे हैं जो मन लगा कर और उत्साह से काम करते हैं। लगन जिन लोगों में हो ऐसे लोग बहुत कम हैं। एक दो आदमी मैंने देखे कि वे जिस काम में लगते हैं उसे बहुत अच्छी तरह करते हैं, लेकिन औरों को देखा कि टिकटिक करके हाँकने से भी वे ठीक काम नहीं करते, इसलिए इसके ऊपर कुछ ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है कि यथार्थ में जिनमें उत्साह हो उनको यह फ़िल्म दिखाने का काम सुपुर्द किया जाय तो आपका बहुत बड़ा काम हो सकता है।

इसके अलावा आप लोगों को जगह जगह पर जो हमारे बड़े बड़े काम हो रहे हैं, उनको देखने के लिए भेजें। उसके लिये रेलवे ने सुविधा दे रखी है, आप भी सुविधा दे रहे हैं, लेकिन वह सुविधा पर्याप्त नहीं है। रेलवे सुविधा दे रही है एक ओर का किया देकर। लेकिन आप समाज

कल्याण बोर्ड की ओर से या किसी अलग मद में रुपया दे कर उसमें से सब्सिडी के तौर पर लोगों को यह सुविधा दें कि अगर वे खुद अपने पैसे से खर्च नहीं कर सकते तो आप उन्हें आर्थिक सहायता देकर उन जगहों को देखने के लिये भेजें। इससे आपका बहुत बड़ा प्रचार हो जाता है। जहाँ कहीं भी लोग भाखड़ा नंगल, डी० बी० सी०, चितरंजन जैसी चीजें देखकर लौटें तो उन्होंने उनका इतना प्रचार किया और उनमें इतने प्रभावित हुए कि मैं क्या बताऊँ, आपके फ़िल्म्स, भाषणों इत्यादि से भी वह काम नहीं हो सकता। उनको देखकर जब वे लौट कर आते हैं तो उनकी छाती फूली रहती है और भले ही कहीं भ्रष्टाचार हो या कोई और बात हो, लेकिन वे समझते हैं कि हमारा देश बहुत आगे बढ़ रहा है। इसलिये मेरा आपसे निवेदन है कि आप रिक्रानाइज्ड इस्टीमेट्स की ओर जिन पर आपको भरोसा हो उनको कुछ थोड़ी सी सब्सिडी दीजिए और जब भी पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर पाटियाँ बना कर उन स्थानों पर जाना चाहें तो आप उन पर भरोसा करके उनको कुछ रुपया दीजिये ताकि वे पाटियाँ बना कर ले जा सकें।

—(समय की घंटी)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Your time is up.

श्री ज० रा० कपूर : बहुत अच्छा। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका और समय न लेकर ये चन्द मुझाव और बातें आपके सामने रख रहा हूँ। जहाँ तक इस प्रस्ताव का सम्बन्ध है, उसमें दो रायें नहीं हो सकती हैं, यह तो आपको थोड़ी सी चेतावनी दी जा रही है, जिस चेतावनी की भले ही आपको कोई जरूरत नहीं है।

श्रीमती सावित्री निगम (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, श्रीमती सीता परमानन्द द्वारा रखा हुआ जो प्रस्ताव है और उसके साथ जो अमेंडमेंट है, उसका मैं हार्दिक समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ी हुई हूँ। श्रीमन्, देश के सामने नव निर्माण का जो पंचवर्षीय योजना रूपी नक्शा है, उसमें रंग भरने के लिये उसे सजीव बनाने के लिये अतुल धन शक्ति और जन शक्ति की आवश्यकता है। जहाँ तक जन शक्ति का प्रश्न है देश के पास ७४ करोड़ हाथ उपलब्ध हैं लेकिन प्रश्न यह है कि उनका उपयोग किस प्रकार किया जाय।

श्रीमन्, इस देश में अधिकांश लोग अशिक्षित हैं। प्रश्न यह है कि लोगों को अच्छा नागरिक बनाकर उन्हें देश के प्रति, देश की प्रगति के प्रति

तथा अपने कर्तव्य के प्रति जागरूक बनाने और उनका सहयोग पंचवर्षीय योजना में प्राप्त करने के लिए कौनसा माध्यम अपनाया जाना चाहिये ? आज हमारे देश के लोग इतने अशिक्षित हैं और उनको शीघ्र इस योग्य बनाना है कि जिससे वे अपने कर्तव्य को समझ सकें। यह एक कठिन चीज है, नामुम्किन सी चीज है और उसमें काफी समय लगेगा। हमें इस समय प्रचार की बड़ी आवश्यकता है। इसलिये श्रीमन्, आडियो विजुअल पब्लिसिटी जो प्रचार के लिये सब से उत्तम और उच्चकोटि का साधन माना गया है—हमारी सरकार को शीघ्रातिशीघ्र उसको बढ़ाने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिये। मेरा यह अनुमान है और यह विश्वास है कि हमारे देश की पब्लिसिटी बहुत ही कमजोर है। होना यह चाहिये कि बड़े बड़े शहरों में जो रोलस वगैरा दिखलाई जाती हैं और संसद सदस्यों को भी दिखलाई जाती हैं वे बहुत ही इनफार्मेटिव होती हैं, इसलिये उन रोलस की हजारों कापियां करवा ली जायें और उनको गांवों की जनता को दिखलाया जाये क्योंकि भारतमाता ग्रामवासी है।

श्रीमान्, इसमें संदेह नहीं कि बहुत कुछ साहित्य हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना के विषय में छपता है, लेकिन मैं वित्तप्रतापूर्वक आप से कहना चाहती हूं कि उस साहित्य की भाषा और उसको प्रकट करने का ढंग ऐसा है कि अर्बन एरिया के (शहर के) थोड़े से लोग ही उससे लाभ उठा सकते हैं और रूरल एरिया के जो अशिक्षित लोग हैं वे उससे पूरी तरह से लाभ नहीं उठा सकते। जब तक गांव के लोगों तक उपयोगी और संक्षिप्त साहित्य नहीं पहुंचाया जायगा तब तक पंचवर्षीय योजना के बारे में वे कभी भी प्रभावित नहीं हो सकेंगे और न अपने कर्तव्य को ही पहिचान सकेंगे। इसलिये मेरा सुझाव यह है कि पंचायतों की सर्वसिद्धी रेट पर सस्ता साहित्य दिया जाना चाहिये और गांवों में इस तरह की फ़िल्में मैजिक-लैन्टर्न्स द्वारा दिखलाई जानी चाहिये जिससे कि वहां के लोगों की जानकारी बढ़े और वे अपने कर्तव्यों को समझ सकें।

श्रीमन्, कल्चरल प्रोग्राम को इस तरह से आर्गेनाइज करना चाहिये जिससे कि विलेज लैवल पर ऐसे वर्क्स रखे जा सकें, जो गांवों में जाकर अच्छे नाटकों का वहां के लोगों में प्रचार करा सकें और उन नाटकों को दिखला कर पंचवर्षीय योजना का प्रचार पूरी तरह से किया जाना चाहिये। उनको इन नाटकों द्वारा अच्छे

नागरिक बनने के साथ साथ सामाजिक शिक्षा का ज्ञान भी होना चाहिये और देश के प्रति उनके कर्तव्य के बारे में भी काफी प्रचार किया जाना चाहिये। यह काम छोटे छोटे नाटकों द्वारा बहुत अच्छी तरह से किया जा सकता है और जहां पर किसी अन्य साधन से यह कार्य नहीं हो सकता है वहां पर मैजिक लैन्टर्न्स द्वारा यह कार्य किया जा सकता है। इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं कि इस काम के लिए कल्चरल प्रोग्राम के आर्गेनाइजर्स को इस तरह की शिक्षा दी जा सकती है या विलेज लैवल वर्कर्स को इस तरह की ट्रेनिंग दी जा सकती है। अगर हमने इस तरह कार्य किया तो हम ग्रामीण जनता को काफी जागरूक कर सकेंगे और उनको सिविक सेन्स के बारे में काफी जानकारी हासिल करा लेंगे।

श्रीमन्, इसी प्रकार कम्युनिटी सिंगर्स के बारे में मेरा नम्र निवेदन है कि उनकी ट्रेनिंग का भी प्रोग्राम शुरू कर देना चाहिये। अगर आप गांवों में जायेंगे तो आपको मालूम होगा कि वहां अब भी कई किस्म के फोक सांग्स गाये जाते हैं। यदि उन लोगों को ट्रेनिंग दिला कर जो अच्छे राष्ट्रीय गाने हैं, कंस्ट्रक्टिव व्यूज रखने वाले गाने हैं, वह सिखलाये जायें, तो वे लोग अशिक्षित जनता को आसानी के साथ अपनी ओर इस प्रकार खींच लेंगे कि जिसका हम अनुमान भी नहीं लगा सकते हैं। आप जानते हैं कि नये कानून आ रहे हैं और नई नई तरह की संस्थाएं खोली जा रही हैं, जैसे रूरल क्रेडिट की शाखाएं खोली जायेंगी, सहकारी समितियों की कई हजार शाखाएं खोली जायेंगी और उनका सारे देश में जाल बिछ जायेगा। इसी तरह से आप भविष्य में सारे देश में गोदाम बनाने जा रहे हैं जहां पर अन्न का भंडार जमा किया जायेगा। लेकिन किसानों को बिल्कुल पता नहीं कि उनके लिए क्या होने जा रहा है। नतीजा वही होगा, जैसा कि अभी तक हुआ है, कि बीस पच्चीस वर्षों से हमारे देश में गांव वालों के लाभ के लिये कोऑपरेटिव बैंक्स तो बने हुए हैं लेकिन गांव वालों को उनसे बहुत कम फायदा हुआ है। इसका प्रमाण यह है कि रूरल क्रेडिट सर्वे रिपोर्ट में यह बात साफ लिखी हुई है कि गांव वालों ने इस संस्था से ५ प्रतिशत भी लाभ नहीं उठाया। इसका लाभ ज्यादातर अर्बन एरिया वालों ने उठाया। इसका कारण यह था कि इस चीज का प्रचार रूरल एरिया में बहुत कम हुआ। हमारा देश एक विशाल देश है और इसमें प्रचार की बहुत आवश्यकता है। अगर हमने प्रचार की ओर विशेष ध्यान न दिया

## [श्रीमती सावित्री निगम.]

तो हम जो कुछ भी कार्यवाही करेंगे उसमें जनता का सहयोग अधिक से अधिक नहीं प्राप्त कर सकेंगे और न जनता ही सरकार द्वारा दिये गये लाभों का उपयोग कर सकेगी। हमारे देश में अज्ञानता बहुत फैली हुई है और उसमें भी पंचवर्षीय योजना को चलाने के लिये हमारा प्रचार बहुत कमजोर रहा है और अब भी बहुत कमजोर है। तो मैं आग्रह कर देना चाहती हूँ कि सरकार को प्रचार की ओर अधिक से अधिक ध्यान देना चाहिये।

श्रीमन्, इसी प्रकार रेडियो सेट्स जो गांवों में और पंचायतों को दिये जाते हैं उनसे भी वहां की जनता पूरी तरह से लाभ नहीं उठा रही है। इसका मुख्य कारण यह है कि गांव वालों को रेडियो तो दे दिया जाता है मगर उसको उपयोग में लाना नहीं बतलाया जाता है। अक्सर यह देखने में आया है कि जब कोई रेडियो सेट मिला तो दो तीन महीने के बाद वह बिगड़ जाता है। उसकी मरम्मत के लिये पंचायतों को अलग से रुपया नहीं दिया जाता है। पंचायतों की आर्थिक स्थिति ऐसी नहीं होती है कि वे अपनी ओर से उसकी मरम्मत करवा लें। इस तरह से उनका रेडियो सेट बेकार पड़ा रहता है। इस सम्बन्ध में मेरा सुझाव यह है कि जब कभी भी आप किसी गांव या पंचायत को रेडियो सेट देते हैं तो इस बात पर दिया जाना चाहिये कि वहां के लोग, जो भी उसको चलायें, वे उसका उपयोग करने के बारे में पूरी तरह से ट्रेनिंग ले लें। सरकार को इस तरह के कैंप लगाने चाहिये जहां पर लोग रेडियो सेटों को चलाने और उनका उपयोग करने की ट्रेनिंग हासिल कर सकें।

श्रीमन्, एक बात जिसकी ओर मैं सरकार का ध्यान विशेष रूप से दिलाना चाहती हूँ वह है हमारे देश में बड़े बड़े शहरों में इन्फ्लेमेशन आफिसों का खोला जाना। ये आफिस एक महान् उद्देश्य के लिये खोले गये हैं और बड़े उपयोगी और महत्व के केन्द्र हैं। लेकिन मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि वे इस उद्देश्य की पूर्ति नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। इसका मुख्य कारण यह है कि इनमें जो इन्फ्लेमेशन आफिसर १०० या १५० रुपया मासिक में रखे हुए हैं वे निकम्मे और अधकचरे हैं और उनमें इस तरह की योग्यता और जानकारी नहीं होती कि वे लोगों की जानकारी को ज्यादा बढ़ा सकें। अतः मेरा आपसे

नम्र निवेदन है कि इन आफिसरों की ट्रेनिंग के लिये आपको शीघ्रता से एक ट्रेनिंग कोर्स शुरू करना चाहिये।

श्रीमन्, यूथ क्लब आर्गनाइज करने की बात भी बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है। इस तरह का महत्वपूर्ण काम हमारे देशों में कुछ हो भी रहा है, जैसे कि भारत सेवक समाज और कुछ दूसरी संस्थाएं और क्लबों का भी निर्माण हुआ है जो कि बहुत ही सराहनीय है और उसके लिये मैं मंत्री महोदय को मृदारक-बाद देना चाहती हूँ। लेकिन इसके साथ ही साथ यदि यूथ क्लबों को विलेज लैबल वर्कर्स के रूप में आर्गनाइज कर दिया जाय तो इसमें कोई दिक्कत नहीं होगी। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि इक्विपमेंट और साहित्य दो ही ऐसी चीजें हैं जिनको देकर सरकार हजारों नवयुवकों को अपने साथ बांध सकती है और उनकी जानकारी बढ़ा सकती है।

लोगों को राष्ट्र धर्म सिखाने के लिये यह आवश्यक है कि “launch austerity drives and ban all luxuries” के प्रस्ताव को सरकार पूरी तौर से माने और इसको कार्यान्वित करे, इम्प्लीमेंट करे। श्रीमन्, आप यह जानते ही हैं कि लोगों को राष्ट्र धर्म की शिक्षा देने के लिये यह बहुत आवश्यक है कि उनसे कुछ त्याग कराया जाय और उनसे कह दिया जाय कि इस प्रकार लक्जरी गुड्स इस्तेमाल करने के योग्य हम अभी नहीं हुए हैं। जिस देश में हमारे भाई बहुत एक वस्त्र खाना न जुटा पायें, उस देश के लिए यह एक बड़ी शर्मनाक बात है कि लोग हजारों, लाखों और करोड़ों रुपये की लक्जरी गुड्स इस्तेमाल करें। थोड़े दिन पहले मैंने एक उद्योग पत्रिका में देखा था कि हमारे देश में हजारों रुपये के क्रोम, पाउडर, खुशबू और तेल विदेशों से इम्पोर्ट किये जाते हैं। इससे मेरा मन क्षोभ से भर उठा। आप यह जानते हैं कि जहां इन्सान के लिये दोनों वस्त्र रोटी जुटाना मुश्किल है, जहां तन ढकने के लिये कपड़ा मिलना मुश्किल है, उस देश में करोड़ों रुपये की शृंगार सामग्री विदेशों से मंगाई जाये और उसके द्वारा लोगों में वासना और फ्रिजूलसर्ची की आदतें बढ़ाई जायें और उसमें सरकार स्वयं एक पार्ट-नर बने, यह गांधी के देश की परम्परा के बिल्कुल विपरीत है। मैं यह बताना चाहती हूँ कि आज चार करोड़ रुपया सिगरेटों को इम्पोर्ट करने पर बरबाद किया जाता है और इस प्रकार यह धनराशि केवल कुछ मनचले लोगों

की इच्छा पूरी करने के लिये फूंक दी जाती है। सिग्रेट एक लकड़ी गुड़ है और इसका इम्पोर्ट तुरन्त बन्द होना चाहिये। जो लोग सिग्रेट पीने के आदी हैं उनको चाहिये कि वे देश में बनी हुई सिग्रेट पीयें ताकि यहां के लोगों को लाभ हो। इसी प्रकार श्रीम, पाउडर आदि जो लकड़ी गुड़ हैं उनका भी इम्पोर्ट तुरन्त बन्द होना चाहिये। हमने अपनी इम्पोर्ट और एक्सपोर्ट पालिसी में सुधार नहीं किया है, उसमें हमने देश की आवश्यकता के अनुसार आमूल परिवर्तन नहीं किया है, इसलिए हमारा करोड़ों रुपया लकड़ी गुड़ पर विदेशों में जा रहा है। इसको तुरन्त रोका जाना चाहिये।

श्रीमन्, इसके अतिरिक्त आप विदेशी शराब ही ले लीजिये। आज हमारे देश में करोड़ों रुपये की शराब विदेशों से मंगाई जाती है। यह हमारे लिये बहुत ही खेद की बात है। मैं चाहती हूं कि हमारे योजना मंत्री इस ओर ध्यान दें ताकि विदेशी शराब के इम्पोर्ट को तुरन्त रोका जा सके। यदि मेडिकल परपज के लिए स्ट्रिट की आवश्यकता हो तो हमारे देश में काफी ऐसी डिस्टिलरीज हैं जहां वह स्ट्रिट बनाई जा सकती है।

एक मेरा निवेदन यह है कि इस समय होना यह चाहिये था कि जितनी सरकारी दावतें होती हैं उनमें मितव्ययता दिखाई जाय ताकि जन साधारण को भी उससे प्रेरणा मिले और वे भी बलगर डिस्प्ले आफ वैल्यू को रोकें। लेकिन आज होता क्या है? अभी कुछ दिन पहले एक स्टेशन का उद्घाटन हुआ। उस दावत को देख कर मुझे ऐसा लगा कि महाराजा ग्वालियर की शादी हो रही है और वह सारे का सारा रुपया खर्च हुआ पब्लिक एक्सचेंजर से। इसी प्रकार की तमाम दावतें सरकार की ओर से होती हैं जिनमें हजारों लाखों रुपया उड़ जाता है। हमारे जो मेहमान बाहर से आते हैं वे हमारे वैभव और हमारी विलासिता का दर्शन करने नहीं आते हैं। हम आतिशबाजी पर हजारों रुपया फूंक देते हैं। लेकिन हमारे देश में, गांधी के देश में, जवाहर के देश में जो मेहमान आते हैं, वे कुछ नई चीजें देखने की आशा से आते हैं। वे हमारी सादगी, हमारी सात्विकता देखने आते हैं। यदि हम आतिशबाजी का प्रवन्ध न करके नृत्य और कला का प्रदर्शन करें और गुड़ और चने के समान कोई साधारण सी चीज रखें, तो वे ज्यादा खुश होंगे। इसलिए इस तरह की फूजूलखर्ची सरकारी तौर पर तुरन्त बन्द होनी चाहिये तब

हम देश के सामने एक आदर्श रख सकेंगे और तभी जनता के लोग इस प्रकार की फूजूलखर्ची रोकेंगे।

श्रीमन्, मुझे भय है कि कहीं समय न चला जाय, इसलिये मोटे तौर से मैं कुछ चीजों पर ही प्रकाश डालूंगी। मैं आपसे यह निवेदन करना चाहती हूं कि एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव सेट अप में भी एक रेवोल्यूशनरी चेंज लाने की आवश्यकता है। फूजूलखर्ची का जहां तक प्रश्न है, इस प्रश्न को लेकर आप यह देखें कि जिन दिनों ब्रिटिश पीरियड में बार चल रही थी तो एक एक कागज के टुकड़े की मितव्ययता होती थी और एक एक कागज का टुकड़ा बचाया जाता था। चार चार और पांच पांच डिपार्टमेंट्स एक साथ मिला दिये गये थे, और कहीं काम की एफिशिएंसी में कमी नहीं आई थी। इसलिए, श्रीमन्, तुरन्त एक कमेटी बनाई जानी चाहिये जो कि इस बात पर गौर करे और गौर कर के ये रिक्मेंडेंस करे कि किस प्रकार दफ्तरों में मितव्ययता की जा सकती है और आफिसर्स के काम के घंटे बढ़ाये जा सकते हैं।

दूसरे एक डिपार्टमेंट ऐसा खोला जाय जो सरप्राइज विजिट्स करके यह देखे कि किस प्रकार दफ्तरों में बैठकर नावेल्स पढ़ी जाती हैं, गप्पें लड़ाई जाती हैं और टेलीफोन पर मित्रों से घंटों बातें की जाती हैं। इस प्रकार दफ्तरों में जो ये सारी चीजें चल रही हैं, इनको रोका जाय।

#### (समय की घंटों)

अभी मुझे कहना बहुत था, लेकिन चूंकि समय समाप्त हो गया है, इसलिये यदि आपकी आज्ञा हो तो करप्शन के बारे में दो शब्द कह कर मैं समाप्त करूं। जहां तक करप्शन रोकने की बात है, सबसे पहले यह होना चाहिये कि बड़े से लेकर छोटे तक जितने भी आफिस हैं उनमें हर आफिसर को खुले तौर पर यह बतला देना चाहिये कि स्पेशल पुलिस या सी० आई० डी० के लोग किसी समय उनकी असेट्स और उनकी प्रापर्टी को चेक कर सकते हैं। इस प्रकार हर आफिस में जहां दो तीन आफिसर्स की असेट्स को चेक किया गया, आप देखेंगे कि हजारों करप्शन केसेज अपने आप एक्सपोज हो जायेंगे, लोग डरने लगेंगे और लोगों के दिलों में दहशत पैदा हो जायगी।

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR (West Bengal) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, this\* Resolution has focussed attention on the importance of public co-operation in the

[Shri S. N. Mazumdar.]

matter of the implementation of the Plan. Now, Sir, as you know, though we criticise some of the drawbacks of the Second Five Year Plan, particularly with regard to the labour policy and the method of finding resources, still we have welcomed some of the good and progressive aspects of the Second Five Year Plan, and we want that these things should be successfully implemented. But with regard to public co-operation, which plays an important part, there are some other matters which require the attention of the Government.

First of all, Sir, I would like to say that there must be a thorough change in the outlook of the Administration and of the official. Sir, in my capacity representative of the people, I had occasion to meet several officials and on several occasions, and I have met two types of officials. Some of the officials have no doubt a wide outlook and a progressive outlook, but there are others who still suffer from the old prejudices and the old bureaucratic attitude, and perhaps they are in the majority. And the result is, Sir, that on many occasions when cooperation is forthcoming from the people, it is really turned down. This is not confined to the officials only. I shall tell you what experience I myself have faced in my own State.

Here in Parliament, Sir, we heard from the hon. Minister in charge of Planning that they had advised the State Governments to associate elected representatives of the people with the Development Councils and with the machinery of planning at all levels. But my experience in West Bengal is this. Only very recently, perhaps six months back, a Development Council has been formed for the district of Darjeeling, and as a Member of Parliament, I have been included in it, but as regards the other members, they have been nominated, and there was absolutely no attempt to have a wider representation. The other parties, who are certainly prepared to co-operate in certain matters and to offer their concrete and constructive suggestions, were not even consulted, and they were completely left out. I leave out the question of parties. Even organisations like the Kisan Sabha, which very often is faced with the problem of constructing bunds or dams and which associates itself with the flood control projects, were completely neglected and not included in it.

Secondly, Sir, apart from the question of including them, my experience on several occasions is this. Sir, it is the declared policy of the Government that if people contribute to the extent of one-third, either in cash or in kind—voluntary contribution—schemes like minor irrigation etc., can be taken up. But when organisations like the Kisan Sabha have offered their co-operation and suggestions in the matter of constructing bunds etc., they have been completely neglected and not acted upon. So, if this is the attitude, then public co-operation would not be forthcoming. About the general public also, it is a fact that enthusiasm from the public is not forthcoming. What is the reason? It should be thoroughly and dispassionately examined by the hon. Ministers who are sitting opposite. I have heard from a journalist friend of mine that the people near about the D.V.C. area have no enthusiasm for the D.V.C. Why? Their land was acquired and they were to be rehabilitated, but they have not been rehabilitated as yet. Now, in any planning the human element is very important and planning should be such that while for the purpose of constructing these projects, people have to be displaced, arrangements should be made so as to give them the least possible discomfort. Similarly, the same journalist friend of mine said that the Bhakra-Nangal project is no doubt doing good work, but the people near about it—the people in Btaspur—have no enthusiasm for it, because\* their land will be submerged. It will be submerged and they will have to suffer, but then they should be assured that they will be resettled, without protracted negotiations without protracted deliberations and the protracted process of the whole thing going through the bureaucratic machinery. They would certainly be willing and prepared to do it, but what happens? They are given certain assurances, but when the question of implementing them comes, the whole machinery functions in such a way that it produces exactly the opposite effect on the people. That is why I feel very strongly that the whole outlook should be changed.

Secondly, while implementing the local plants—such plants may be minor or may be major—the people should be taken into confidence. The whole intention of all this propaganda is to give them advice and to make them understand certain things, and there is no

attempt to have or take advice from them. We should not take up the attitude that the people in our country are just dumb millions and that they are there only to receive advice and not to give it. That is a thoroughly wrong attitude. If they are consulted, if they are properly taken into confidence and their cooperation is sought in the proper manner, then it will be possible to get their co-operation.

Then, I do not like to sound a jarring note, but I must say that in many cases I have found that when the administrative machinery tries to implement certain policies of the Government or implement certain plans, it tries to do it in such a way that it helps only the party in power. From my own experience I have found that even in the matter of the distribution of agricultural loans or of constructing dams or of taking some flood control measures, while the attitude from our side is that we have gone to local officials to offer our co-operation, that is met with sweet words and pious wishes no doubt but in practice nothing is done so far as the constructive side of the work is concerned. Government should follow what it professes, and such things should not be treated on a party basis but from the point of view of benefiting the people. If that is done, if all these relief schemes and beneficial measures which are undertaken are tried to be implemented in such a way as not to help only the party in power—particularly when the elections are coming—then it will create proper enthusiasm.

Now, I come to some other aspect, the question of austerity. It is a fact that an austerity drive is necessary, but what I find is that, when the employees demand a rise in wages or in their pay scales or demand the appointment of a Pay Commission, that is turned down on the ground that it will not be possible to implement it. When there is a proposal, however, for putting a ceiling on profits, that also is turned down. But then the common people see that wealth is concentrating in the hands of a particular section and there are high salaries on the other end of the scale. It may be that by scaling down salaries, the amount which will be available may not be very much, but then it will produce a psychological effect on the people that this austerity is being shared by all. I

think it will not be amiss if I quote certain remarks from Rabindranath Tagore from his letters from Russia when he went there in 1930. He went there with an open mind, with a critical outlook. He did not like everything that went on there, but he wrote in his first letter that what struck him most was that everyone was sharing the austerity in the same manner. Wherever he went in the streets he did not see people very well dressed ; everyone was shabbily dressed but there was a feeling that everyone was sharing in that austerity. There was no feeling of injustice among any people. That is what struck him from the very beginning. How far it will be possible, how far and to what extent it can be carried out here is a different thing, but then that attitude should be there. When we ask the people to tighten their belts of, when we ask the employees to forego a rise in their salaries, there should not be high salaries including in the case of Ministers and Members of Parliament. We should also be prepared to undergo that austerity.

In this connection a fact that strikes me very much is that in Calcutta and Maithon the D. V. C. employees are on fast, because they are going to be retrenched. I do not know what the hon. Ministers will be able to do for them. Now, they might be making some efforts ; there might be certain difficulties. But what the people feel is that, when you speak of the employment opportunities offered by the D.V.C., the employees there are undergoing fast. They are being arrested. In this matter an influential daily in Calcutta which supports the Congress Party has come out sharply in an editorial that, if this policy continues then the Government cannot hope for public enthusiasm or co-operation for the implementation of the Five Year Plan.

Then, coming to the question of corruption, many suggestions have been put forward as regards the checking of corruption in Government Departments. It is a very vital question. I would also like to submit a suggestion. My experience and my firm belief is that among the lower grade employees, a large majority of them are quite honest, quite patriotic and they take the professions and declarations of the Government about the rooting out of corruption very seriously, but there have been cases in which when they tried to point out corruption, in the name of indiscipline and

[Shri S. N. Mazumdar.]

insubordination and in the name of divulging departmental secrets, they were afraid and held back. I think the co-operation and the association of such employees in the various departments should be encouraged and should be taken.

These are the few points which I wanted to submit to the House.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON (Bihar) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, although I cannot support the Resolution as it is, I must say that I appreciate the motive of the hon. Member who moved it and also the spirit in which it is framed. We are all a little anxious about the very slow way in which our plans are implemented, more anxious still to see that implementation goes along the right lines and that the results produced are satisfactory for the future. The working of the First Five Year Plan had convinced us that it is not possible to attain the targets in all the different fields unless we intensified our work both in the sphere of propaganda as well as in the sphere of securing personnel for the attainment of these targets. It is with this intention that I support the Resolution.

To begin with, I support and I agree with what the previous speaker has said about the need for propaganda for changing the attitudes of people towards both the Government as well as the Plan. There is a good deal of scepticism, especially among the educated classes and that is one of the reasons why the participation of the section of society which is so necessary is found lacking in our country. Wherever we go, you find people, rightly or wrongly, criticising the Government and this criticism is found not only among the public but even among the officers of the Government itself. This is bad.

SHRI J. S. BISHT (Uttar Pradesh) : Is that not a privilege of democracy ?

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON : It is ; but you go to any decent democracy and you don't find officers of the Government criticising the Government in the way that it is done in our country. It shows a lack of morale and how our own loyalty to our administration is found lacking and that is one of the reasons why public support is not adequately forthcoming. Another thing is, we do a certain amount of propaganda

and I am not denying that the Planning-Commission and the Government are doing propaganda and doing their best to publicise the Plan, but somehow it has not reached the people in all parts of India. I say all parts of India, because in some parts of India people are so plan-minded that even the little children in their own homes when they are denied something, ask "When the Plan fulfilled, shall we get it?" I have been recently in the South and I was very much surprised that everybody seems to be talking about the Plan, may be disparagingly, maybe with appreciation but they are all plan-minded. They know that there is something like a plan but they I don't know what exactly it is, and how much their co-operation is needed to attain the targets. For this we must have the lines of propaganda indicated by all the speakers before me to bring the patriotic motive into the Plan. That is, the people must be convinced that we are launching a plan or a project or some great national venture, the like of which has never been launched in this country or any country for that matter, where the co-operation of every individual, man, woman and child, is needed to have the targets attained. Sir, the principle of participation is acknowledged in democracy. But the feeling that the people are participating can be brought about only by a certain amount of compulsion. We hear—people who have returned from China and Russia and other totalitarian States, telling us how they have eradicated poverty...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : (West Bengal) : Do I understand the hon. Parliamentary Secretary of the External Affairs Ministry to say that these States are totalitarian States ? Is it the Government's view ?...

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON : Yes. I will explain. It is not the Government's view. I say they are totalitarian in the sense that in those states the Government can compel people to do things without raising a revolt or a riot, whereas recent events have shown, and! I the hon. Member knows more than I do how, in the name of democracy, disorder and chaos spread in this country and I say that it is because of democracy. I should like to know whether these things are possible or permitted by the Governments of those totalitarian States or what are called People's-Democracies ? There you find compulsion is exercised by the Government and\* labour can be mobilized.



SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR: Here people are detained under the Preventive Detention Act and people are shot down....

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON : I am surprised to find such innocence in the Hon. Member. He knows how these things are done in other countries, whether people are not kept in prisons, whether they are not shot dead and I would like him to read or re-read Mr. Kruschew's statement in Moscow the other day to find out exactly how things are done in those countries which seem to fascinate him.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR : Don't put them to inconvenience. (*Interruptions.*)

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR : She is doing a lot of research.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON : I have not got to do any research. Every newspaper reader knows it perhaps better because I don't read these things in full.

I was trying to say how it is very necessary to get the participation of the people in a democracy and it is so much more difficult in a democracy because the amount of compulsion that the Government could use in order to mobilize personnel or mobilize the people's enthusiasm is very much limited by the nature of our administration and the kind of Constitution that we have. Therefore it is necessary that we should have an adequate and properly planned system of propaganda so that the people could be persuaded into these schemes, made to feel that they are participating as a result of their own inner compulsion and not because of kind of external force. This continued reminder to the people can be done under clause fi) of Dr. Parmanand's Resolution, that is, by publicising the plan programme and targets through propaganda films and plays. Sir, the most tragic thing in this country is that even the achievements of the Government are not properly communicated to the people. Wherever I have taken people around whether in the D.V.C. project or in any other great project. I have seen that they have great admiration for what is being done in the country, but very few people get a chance to know the extent of our achievement.

With regard to organising clubs etc. I would like to extend it to organisations of not only youth clubs but clubs of adults as well, because no section of the population can be excluded from an understanding or appreciation of the Plan or the targets to be aimed at.

Now we come to the third question, namely, to launch austerity drives.

The reason why we want austerity drive is to make the people think all the time that there is something much greater than their own personal needs which is needed for the country. Every time we give up something, we are made to think of the other things for which it is given up. When we have everything around us, and we go on in the same way without having to think from where we get our meals or how we spend our money, naturally we don't think of the great projects that are ahead of us. On the other hand if find that a cannot have coffee because Government has to export coffee outside and earn dollars or cannot have cashewnuts because they are exported in order to earn dollars, which will buy machiner for us, which will enable us to produce goods or which will raise the standard of living, then it will have a psychological advantage which is a great asset to any country. In those countries where they have planned programmes and where people are put through austerity programmes, it is not because they do not produce those things but psychologically it is necessary for the people to feel that they are giving up something which they are used to in order to produce greater good for the common people.

Another thing is—and it was pointed out by the previous speaker and I would like to repeal it again—about the banning of extravagance. I would not say luxuries because there are certain luxuries which we will have to import as a result of trade policies because we cannot export things without importing something in return but even so, the emphasis on primary necessities to the exclusion of luxuries can be effective only when we have a better distribution of wealth.

The reason why we have such vast quantities of imported materials is because we have a lot of people who have got a lot of money to spend on these luxuries and the only way to eliminate it is what is called the vulgar display



[Shrimati Lakshmi Menon.]

of wealth as against the utter poverty in which the majority of our people live, is to have these austerity drives and a Government policy which will exclude as many luxuries as possible from the market. I have one grievance against previous speaker, Shrimati Savitry Devi and that is about banning fire-works. The best way that gun powder can be used is to manufacture fire-works. It gives so much delight to all the people, young and old and I do not mind our banning other luxuries but let us not ban such a small enjoyment like fireworks. In a democracy, naturally we cannot have such austerity ; we cannot have as austere living as such would mean also drab living. India is a land of colour, I should say colours and wherever we go, what strikes us most is that everybody is happy ; even the poor we find smiling. People everywhere love colours and they love to have a Utile enjoyment some times and once in a way, especially on festival days, have fire-works, it is not something to be grugged and I personally think that we should not give up any of these things which add colour to our life.

SHRI J. S. BISHT : But Puritans always say that people have no right to enjoy themselves.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: Wh., said that ? We do not want any. Puritans.

Now, Sir, I come to the last part of my little intervention and that is, one of the reasons why all our plans, all those extension schemes have not produced the maximum result is the exclusion of women from these things. I have been to many of these places and I am sure the Minister will also agree with me that we have got huge schools wherein extension workers are trained. Recently, I have been to visit three extension centres in Bihar and I found about 100 men in each centre receiving training. They were told about nutritive value of food and all that all the things that would be required in a village but there was not a single woman. I asked them, "Who cooks your food ?" They are taught about nutrition and all that, but we do not have men cooking in the villages ; it is always the women who cook. We should teach the women how to cook, so that the nutritive contents are not destroyed. If we have more than 50 per

I cent, women in all these projects, I can tell you that we would reach the targets not in five years but in three years. j In other countries where the targets ; have been attained—in China, the seven year plan targets were achieved in five years ; in Russia we are told that the five year plan targets were achieved in three or four years—is so because women have come into their own. So, let us not ignore the women.

SHRI J AS PAT ROY KAPOOR . Possibly women are more dictatorial.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON : Maybe. In some of the grants and in some of the schemes, we have what is known as the matching grant, the Government contributing half and the villagers the other half; this happens in j social welfare projects and other sche-I mes. Well, this is no good at all. All sorts of wrong methods are pursued in our projects to get the matching grant on the side of the people with the result that instead of really helping people to stand upon their own, we really make them a little more dependent on the Government. Recently, I visited one of the projects in your State and this is what I found. The woman Gram Sevika helps the mother to look after the children and the result is, the mother says, "Why should I look after the child ? The Government is paying woman to come in the villages and comb the hair of the children and keep them amused. So, I will not look after them." The same thing happens in the case of distribution of milk. The villagers-sell milk but do not give it to the children at all. They say the Government brings milk powder and gives it to the children, and why should they give ? That is why I said in the very beginning, we should change the attitude of the people towards these things. The people must feel that the Government is only helping them and not replacing them and taking over the responsibility of the mother or the village people in these things.

These were some of the points that I wished to stress. Sir.

SHRIMATI NALLAMUTHU RAMAMURTI (Madras) : Sir, I fully support the points stressed by my sister, Shrimati Seeta Parmanand. Shrimati Lakshmi Menon has taken away one of my points by stressing that the Plan would take five years to be realised in all its details merely because women have not been taken into confidence in the running of the Plan.

Having said that, I feel that one essential thing in the carrying out of this gigantic scheme unheard of in the annals of our history and which has so much to give us in future, is that the people must be made to realise that it is their Plan and not only that of the Government and hence public co-operation in all its aspects is very essential. People of all grades should get that consciousness. You will be amazed to know that in some of the schools and colleges, even though text books have been released and teaching has gone on and years have passed since we won our independence, still children are not conscious that this land is theirs, that the governance is ours, that the map that hangs there is not only the map of India bounded on the North by the Himalaya, etc., but is a part and parcel of them. That sort of intimate relationship between what appears in print and what they are themselves, is not being focussed in the educational system of our country. It is no criticism of our educational system but the thing has gone on for years now and, as an educationist, I wish to say here, having seen many schools, many colleges, many educational institutions, that this focus that everything that is around us is ours is not there. I do not want patriotism to be exaggerated into jingoism but that our country is ours and every bit of the soil is ours and this Plan that is being released is ours—that focussing, in all young and old, in grandmothers, grand-fathers and parents, in wives and husbands and children and grandchildren, all along the way, from the highest to the lowest in the land is not there. We have demolished the classification of the lowliest and the highest because we are all one in this ideal democracy of ours but still this consciousness has yet to come and if any Plan is going to move slowly, it is because of this lack that there is in ourselves. Thunder, storm and lightning we have had. When our elders mooted the question of Reorganisation of States, I do not want to go back into all that, over the discussion over the various frontiers. It reminded me of a play by a Western author wherein the brown ants fought with the white ants over territory covering a space of the width of "a blade of grass". That was brought to my mind that all this commotion was going on in the face of all that we stood for—peace and harmony in the world—which earned us their respect. That commotion is over happily for us and I hope peace and

harmony will go on when pushing, through this Plan in all the various States and in the whole of India, and into the practice of all the people in all the channels it is bound to go through. Why I am saying this is this. I know my sister Seeta Parmanand once pointed out: 'Why not hold up the States-Reorganisation scheme that was to come for some time and put this Plan through first? Let us work it out'. But now that the political scheme of Reorganisation of States has come to be, we must remember that we are all one united whole and there is no question of frontier or area or location or geography or geology or language and that the whole thing, whether it is industry or railways or education or anything that comes in this Plan concerns the whole country and in that spirit—the spirit is very very important—we should work out this Plan. You may say and my sister Mrs. Lakshmi Menon said that whenever she went she heard young people talk about the Plan, but it is only on the lips. They have not understood it, and there the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and other agencies have to come forward—this comes under propaganda which is item (i) of the Resolution—to release small, little pamphlets, very attractive ones, and in fact the "bible of the Plan" must be in the pocket of every one. not only in the pocket, they should make it a point, to study it and should consider that it is part and parcel of their well-being, of the well-being of this great State. The Constitution of our country is not being taught to our children in the schools and colleges. In fact we have to train many of the teachers themselves in this idea, in order to propagate all that is involved in this Plan and our leaders' pictures, of all that is our own should be there. In fact the civic sense, the civic responsibility of the students and children and citizens should be stressed and on the cultural side through songs. I do not know now but there used to be a variety of ways in which an idea used to be given out to the people at large, not only to the urban population but to the rural population in a very taking manner. I do say many methods have been evolved in order to carry out the ideas in the Plan through cultural programmes. But the usual thing that used to be before in our locality, in our village, was that when an idea came up immediately some older women who could compose verses used to come out and sing that idea in the form of a song^ It became a balad ; it became a folk-

[Shrimati Nallamuthu Ramamurti.] song and everybody sang that song and it was in the mouth of very child. Supposing a ship was launched, the ship song was there. Suppose a railway train came newly to a place, the railway song was there. Supposing a park caught fire, they said, "Pathikiduchan, Pathikiduchan Park Fair Pathikiduchan" putting it in the form of a song. That way it ought to be popularised, this Five Year Plan. This is only one way of doing it. There are many other ways of doing it, through Bhajans, through Kaunas and all those other ways in the rural areas, in those ways in which the thing will take root and form and will become saturated as part and parcel of the whole nation.

Then I should mention here how very important I felt it was—the National highways map that was released along with the highways-planning that was given to us yesterday. I think that map should find its place everywhere, in the various institutions, and in fact even private households must learn to get about their way without asking at every turn, "Which way I am to go ? Where do I find here ? That sort of ignorance must be demolished. I find a number of pamphlets, tourist books. They are giving the descriptions of our country, the beauty spots. AH that is essential, and the political map,\* as it is going to be shaped, also must find a place and education must be based on that.

Having said these things I want to stress one other factor and that is character-building, which comes under item (ii) "Organise Youth Clubs for making the youth of the country Plan-minded". Now discipline is the most important feature that should be stressed here and under discipline not only the youth as such in various institutions and in families and in various avocations of life through their clubs but also adults alongside of them should be made to realise the A. B. C of things that would make the national life go in way; and that is the ordinary road sense. This morning questions were asked : Why did not the busman drive in a proper way ? But partly it is also the responsibility of the pedestrians and the cyclists, I mean, those who are the citizens, who have to be made conscious of and practice the rules of the road, road sense, crowd. Control, queueing up and even voice

control. By voice control I mean they shout where they have not to in ordinary conversation. The art of listening, the art of answering, the art of playing the game, the maintenance of a standard of performance in them, even when you answer questions and take answers, the standard of behaviour is part and parcel of youth-building in this country and attention should be focussed on them and in that way the Five Year Plan also will prosper. Also you must see the other person's point of view, I mean, all these little things count in making the Plan a success as many drops make the ocean and in the ocean of youth, of youth's well-being and their co-operation lies the success of this Plan. These may appear as little points but they go to build the character in the youth. Of course the Boy Scouts, the Girl Guides, the National Cadet Corps and the other various voluntary organisations are a great asset to the country and the Government has taken note of all these, and the Bharat Scouts, etc., they will become soldiers and crusaders to carry out the scheme to a success. In all the ways it should be carried out.

Now the other thing is austerity. It kind of a self-denying ordinance that is required and as such it may be pointed out that once education has been given in the proper manner, when the consciousness that the Plan is part and parcel of our life is made to be realised by our citizens, I am sure this austerity will follow as night the day, and attention on it need not be separately focussed. The knowing person is that person who will realise the need for things and will not require to be directed or dictated by any external authority as regards how he should walk, as regards how he should move. After all this is external, If he has the right attitude to life and to his responsibility to his country they will all come in naturally and without any kind of direction or dictation from outside. I should not countenance any kind of direction or dictation in any sphere of life. In our ideal democracy, it is one of the fundamental rights of individuals to become educated and to fully develop themselves in mental, moral and physical stature to the utmost extent possible in a State like ours and then to choose their way, this or that.

*(Time bell rings.)*

And finally I want to stress the importance of the part that is to be played by

women in this scheme. There was not a thing that our women lacked, old and young, in far off ages. When it came to service at the crucial hour there was not a single woman whom you could point out as had not come to the fore and acquitted herself ably and creditably, as was in keeping with a daughter of this land, and therefore -all women—in fact we have knowledge of villagers as such; coming from a village I know the village women—once they are awakened, there is nothing that they would stop short at, especially when they know that I is there and the goal is worth while to be attained, and therefore I would request that this Second Five Year Plan takes into its focus larger cooperation from women, both of urban and rural areas, the educated and the te. In fact illiteracy must go because we have put in a section of the plan for a drive to adult education and adult literature and with the knowledge and experience that even the illiterate women will have, if the women are also taken in I am sure we are going to release a dynamic force that would make our Plan a great success and enable us to realise our dream of this gigantic scheme that is going to give us the many things that we want and enable us to go ahead with further schemes for the fulfilment of our ideals in the future.

Thank you very much, Sir.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh) : Sir, I support the Resolution moved by my hon. friend, Dr. Shrimati Seeta Parmanand and also cogratulate her for placing before the House a thought-provoking Resolution. My congratulations are also due to the very excellent five speeches that have been delivered on this Resolution up till now. They were very instructive ; they gave us new ideas, and listening as the hon. Minister for Planning does, most attentively to all these speeches, I am sure he will profit by them. Today at least I found that the mould of the speeches—all of them without any exception—was exceptionally high and superior.

Sir, the usual practice is that one tries to wake up those who are napping but you will never have heard of any person being asked to wake up\* when he is already wide awake. So far as the Plannnig Commission and the planners are concerned, I thought that they were very vigilant and very watchful and 4—23 Rajya Sabha/56

that they were carrying on their work in a splendid and excellent manner. They did not need a whip on the part of the Parliament to bring them up to the required level....

DR. W. S. BARLING AY (Madhya Pradesh) : In a planned manner.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA : In a planned manner as my hon. friend, Dr. Barlin-gay, correctly puts it.

Sir, in one of the speeches there was a mention about luxury. The two are in my estimation quite contradictory. In a country which is devoid of even the bare necessities of life, to say that it is indulging in luxury is nothing but contradiction in terms. Some people there will always be, who will take intoxicants, who will steal, who will tell lies and who will be doing all sorts of such things. But the country as a whole knows nothing about luxury. It has no money to spend even on the necessities of life, not to speak of indulging in luxury. So there are no luxuries ; and if there are some they are indulged in by those who can afford to pay and there is no reason why a democratic country should prevent those persons from using their wealth in the manner they like, if they could afford to use it in that fashion. So I was not at all convinced by the argument regarding import of luxuries, as if they are beyond the means of the country as a whole and as if it is sin to be importing some of these. If any economy can be effected in that direction, none shall be happier than myself.

Sir, one expression of my friend, Shrimati Lakshmi Menon, I very much disliked and that was with regard to the advice given by her for compulsion to be used for making people more Plan-minder or for expediting or accelerating the speed of the Plan. She said that compulsion should be used ; if compulsion is to be used, who will use it ? The Government will have to use it. Sir, I humbly and respectfully suggest that in no case whatsoever will I see this sacred democracy of ours to be accused of using even the smallest bit of compulsion just as totalitarian Governments do. Nothing like that should be done. The Plan will succeed. The proof of it lies in the fact that our First Plan has sue- • ceeded and there is not even an iota of doubt about the success of the Second!

[Shri H. P. Saksena.] Five Year Plan. But compulsion should at no stage, neither today, nor tomorrow nor during the next year nor during the succeeding years, be brought to bear on the people. Compulsion and democracy do not go together.

Sir, one thing that has always been paining me is this that Government and the people are unfortunately even today stationed in different camps. The people do not realise that now they are free and the Government that is running the administration is their own ; that it is they themselves who are carrying on the administration and all that is done is being done for their welfare. That is an idea which is still generally absent from the minds of the people and I do not know of any machinery by which that idea can be inculcated in the minds of the people. But it is there and the general expression is :  $q^{\wedge} jft q (W < ^T VUm | I ff ^ W T^{\wedge} |$  The matter applies only to the Government; we are not concerned with it, as if the Government and the people are two different entities. That is a matter which is sorrowful and at the same time it retards, it impedes the pace of progress and I would beg of the Planning Minister as well as his able lieutenants to try to find out some way, some method by which this wide gulf between the people and the Government may be removed .

Then I would revert to my old theme of the dearness and costliness of life. By 'life' I mean the necessities of life. Unless and until you succeed in bringing the bare necessities of life, food and clothing, within the means of a poor person and help him lead a comfortable life, no Plan can be characterised as having succeeded because it is the people for whom the Plan is being prepared ; it is the people for whose progress and prosperity the Plan has been undertaken. I may so sorrowfully relate that I saw with my own eyes a person praying to God Almighty that this Government which was making wheat to be sold at 2 seers 2 chhataks per rupee should be turned out because a Government which makes wheat to be sold at two seers a rupee is not worthy to be retained. And the poor person was a very poor person. He was a scavenger, but he was giving expression to his inner feeling when he was praying to the Almighty that a Government which \

is committing the sin of making wheat sell at two seers per rupee is not worth retaining and the sooner it goes the better. Now, I beg of my friends here in this House to consider whether it is not a fact that the high wage policy and high price policy of economy has failed and has failed completely ? Is it not time now for us to revert to the old economy of low prices and low wages ? And that, I guarantee, will succeed. But then our Government is wedded to this modern economy and no manner of arguments ; no manner of criticism will convince them. I am sure with my very esteemed friend, Prof. Ranga as one of the advisers of the Government it is very difficult to bring back the old state. Nobody believes that we can ever go back to pre-war prices. But at any rate, I hold a promise from my hon. friend, the late Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, that wheat and rice and these staple foodgrains will be sold at four seers a rupee at the minimum and coarse grain at five or six seers a rupee. Now, where is that promise ? The poor Minister is dead. Now, two seers for a rupee has become our way of life and that is unbearable, intolerable. It is upsetting the family monthly budgets not only of the middle class people, but also of the higher middle class people and it is upsetting all arrangements and it is making the average people of this country unhappy. No matter what their income is, it is difficult to make both ends meet. And so this is my old theme and I thought that this was an occasion to revert to it.

Sir, we talk of the success of the Plan. The Plan does not succeed in a vacuum. There ought to be an urge for the success of the Plan in the minds of the people. If the people do not have that urge, if the people do not have that intense desire to make the Plan a success, how can the Plan succeed ? And they will have that urge only when they are themselves fairly satisfied. By satisfied I mean they are provided with the necessities of life. (*Time belt rings*). Sir, it is only ten minutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You began at 3.40. You have to close now.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA : I will. Now, when I was talking about luxuries I said that a puritanic sort of life is not a characteristic, is not a feature of Indian life and we will do well to throw

away all wasteful expenditure of wealth. But at the same time—as my hon. friend, Shrimati Lakshmi Menon, pleaded for fireworks, of which perhaps she is very fond,—fireworks should not be excluded from the list of luxuries.

Now, as I said, the one imperative necessity is for the people to have somehow or other a conception of nationality and to believe that now at any rate the Government and themselves are one and the same and the slavery of a thousand years is ended. With these words I support the Resolution moved by my hon. friend, Shrimati Seeta Parmanand, which seems to serve a very useful purpose.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, this Resolution gives us an opportunity to discuss some of the problems or practical issues connected with the implementation of the Second Five Year Plan. There are four complete suggestions in this Resolution and I think they deserve serious examination by this House. Now, it is stated right at the beginning that in order to secure the maximum co-operation of the public certain things are necessary. They are enumerated here one after another. At the very outset, I wish to make it clear that the cooperation of the people is something which cannot be won the screen or on the stage. Let us be clear about it. Not that I deny the importance of propaganda, either visual or otherwise. But at the same time I wish to make it clear that the co-operation of the people is something which has to be won primarily by some other methods and through a different policy. Now, Sir, I do not wish to go into this question of films and plays. Only I would like to say that the Government is putting out some films and I am sure they are also arranging for plays on the Second Five Year Plan. All that I wish to say about the films, some of which I have seen, is that once you see at least some of them you do not feel enthused ; but on the contrary you feel demoralised. This is the feeling that sometimes I get and I am told that others also get, the reason being in these films what is shown is not the people re-making their country, building up projects, carrying on their activities and making sacrifices. Very often you come across the happy officials, the Ministers and the rest shown prominently and much of the time of the film—and people do not go there for sitting ten hours or so—is taken

by this kind of show of the officials and the big ones in the administration. People become secondary features and unimportant factors in the films and naturally such a thing does not appeal to the masses. At the same time, in the matter of selection also, the Government very often makes the wrong rather than the right selection. I suppose the officials are entrusted with the task of selecting as to what should be the theme of the film and naturally having had very little touch with the people, they do not know exactly what should be put up. Then, of course it is very difficult sometimes to present a film on the Second Five Year Plan, at least on some aspects of the Second Five Year Plan, which would rouse the people. There are certain welcome features of the Plan and these naturally are encouraging, but at the same time there are certain other features, which are thoroughly unwelcome and which cannot at all appeal to the masses. Sometimes even these are depicted there. Naturally you do not find much enthusiasm among the people. Now, it is not for me to act on behalf of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and work for them a scheme of how to get the people to co-operate. All that I wish to say in this connection is that for winning the cooperation—and that, I believe, is the intention of the Mover of the Resolution—it has to be achieved through other important and vital means. Questions of policy and practice are involved in this matter. I am not talking about the plays because scarcely I go to other films. Sometimes I do go and see some of the information films in order to find out how things are going on, not by way of picking some holes, but in order to understand the position of the Government and the country in certain respects. As far as plays are

4 P.M. concerned, I do not know how things are happening there, but I suppose they suffer from the same errors and deficiencies which I have mentioned.

Now, Mr. Deputy Chairman, what I would like to state here is that it is necessary to bring out in all the propaganda themes—and I concede that a certain measure of propaganda is necessary for carrying out the good features of the Plan—the part which is being played by the people in the remaking of the country. You should create self-confidence in the people. This is very

[Shri Bupesh Gupta.]

important.. But that you can never do until the pictures or the plays tell the people, the audience, that the Second Five Year Plan does not mean misery to them, that the Second Five Year Plan is intended to elevate their living conditions and their cultural life as the Plan progresses. The people should be told such things. Only when people see that here is the Second Five Year Plan the progress of which in certain fields promises a better future for them, only then will they be enthused and inspired to extend their co-operation to you as you desire. Here you require a correct policy and approach and also imagination for presenting things to the masses

Mr. Deputy Chairman, as you know, some of the things are utterly discouraging as far as the Second Five Year Plan is concerned. I need not go into those things because it is for those people who are interested in the propaganda of it to find out exactly what is good and what is bad. But the idea, I would like to tell the mover of this resolution, of getting popular co-operation through films and plays is not a correct one. Not that they are not important, not that they are not necessary but she seems to have attached to them much more importance than they deserve. This is my complaint to the mover of the resolution.

Then about the other steps for making the youth of the country plan-minded\* this is another suggestion and I can quite understand the concern of the mover of the resolution to enlist the services of the youth. Without getting the youth into these activities of nation making you cannot remake the country. I concede that point. But how can you organise the youth to co-operate until and unless the youth sees in it the promise of a better future? Will unemployment among the youth grow every day, with already 5+ lakhs of educated youth above the matriculation standard seeking jobs and getting none? You cannot expect the young men of our country to be roused to activity under the Second Five Year Plan just because you put up certain shows here and certain other shows there. That is not the correct approach. The youth should be approached with the promise of a better joyful life. That is the most important consideration that should engage the attention of the House, and you must tell the youth about your activities, by word

performance, that here is a plan which promises them education and employment which promises them a better and a happier life. Only then will you find the young men of our country turning to productive activities of the land in the remaking of the country. Otherwise you can never get the youth by merely beating the propaganda drum. It is not a matter for the hon. Dr. Keskar to formulate policies as to how to inspire the youth. You may try that method but you will not succeed. You should create things, live things, and then tell the youth about what you are doing, so that they really can inspire them.

Then, Sir, about austerity and banning of luxuries, I fully support this, but austerity for whom? Some time ago I read in a publication by the Punjab Government entitled "Advance" an article written by the Planning Minister in which he wanted the common people to practise austerity. Well, they are already living an austere life all through. You need not tell them to practise austerity. What is the dispensation they have got, it is the life to which they for generations have been condemned, it is an insult to the people to make such harangues and lectures and tell them to practise austerity. Now, Sir, we are not having the Plan for this and it is unfair to ask the poor and down-trodden people, denied all the amenities of life and living in sub-human conditions, to practise austerity. Our plan should be such that it should tell the people not merely in words but in practice that the more the Plan advances, the more it succeeds, the greater will be the fullness of their life. That is how we should approach the people. They should be approached with the promise of material advancement in their condition of life. It is no use telling the agricultural labourers who starved half the year who live in perpetual poverty and want that they should practise austerity. It is no use telling the working class who do not have two square meals a day, who live in fear of unemployment and agony that they should practice austerity. It is no use telling the middle class youth and the middle class employees in the Government and other services, who are denied the modern amenities of life and who live on the border line of poverty that they should practice austerity. Certainly there are other people to whom such an appeal should be addressed. Some hon. Members referred to the Maharajas practising luxuries and that. Well, I do not know much of it.

Maharajas, but I do not know that this kind of appeal does not make any sense to them. Gentlemen of the race horses and other elements do not believe in such kind of moral appeals. That is not their way of life. Here you have to adopt a policy to promote austerity in the country. It is not a question of passing a resolution, it is not a question of expressing sentiments, it is not a question of making appeals to them. We know that the hon. Prime Minister of this Government made a number of appeals calling upon the Rajpramukhs and the Indian Princes to forego their privy purse. I think the time has come to ask ourselves how many of them have foregone their privy purse, how many of them have surrendered a part of it. Appeals in such cases do not count. Similarly, about the top officials, we find that even today when you are talking about austerity—and Mrs. Lakshmi Menon after having made a speech of a totalitarian nature totally disappeared from the House—I would ask her why her Government does not reduce the salaries of the high officials. Why on earth, under this Government, when we are talking about austerity, and sometimes justifiedly, should be officials and directors in the public sector who should be given Rs. 4000 or Rs. 5000 or Rs. 6000 ? It is a fantastic thing to imagine that we pass a resolution here and then give so much money to the high officials. The people will laugh at us.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMA-NAND : What salaries do the officials get in Russia ? So, we should not go into that here.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The hon. mover may not like to go into that. May be, she may be in the realm of 5000 or 6000. But I should go into that. She is perfectly welcome to Russia.

(Time bell rings'.)

Therefore, I should go into that. If you think that your resolution should ignore that factor, then it is time we do not think much of this resolution. Not that I want to oppose it. But I do not think much of it. It is a mere piece of paper.

Sir, we are importing cosmetics and other luxury articles to the extent of about Rs. 60 crores or Rs. 70 crores every year. We are importing these things from the foreign countries, but we do not need these things for our

people here. All these things go to meet the luxurious needs of the upper classes in our society. All that money can easily be saved by stopping such imports totally. In this connection, Sir, I should also suggest that in this country if you want real austerity, tax the rich and curtail their power of being extra-it and wasting money like this. Get that money for your developmental activities. At the same time, Sir, it is very important to consider the proposal for introducing the expenditure tax. Prof. Kaldor, I think, has suggested this tax being imposed. Sir, the expenditure tax is something which should be immediately imposed on the richer classes in this country with a view to restraining them from going in for such extravagant expenditure. Such measures are absolutely necessary. Unless you adopt such measures, you can never stop extravagance or curtail the expenditure on luxuries. It is no use being sentimental. We have got the real power in our hand. We are here in Parliament, which is a sovereign body. We should not merely have good sentiments, fine ideas and noble feelings. What is of importance to us is to translate such feelings into action and to see that the laws of the land are implemented with the help of the powers vested in the Government. Only then will you be able to achieve some of the objectives that you have in your mind.

سیدار بدد سنگھ : (جموں اینڈ کشمیر)

جناب دہتی جیومین صاحب - اس ریوایوشن کے متعلق کافی اسیسپن ہو چکی ہیں - پہلے تو ہمیں یہ سمجھنا چاہئے کہ پنڈجسائیہ سکیم فائو ایر پلان کیوں بنایا جاتا ہے اور سیکنڈ فائو ایر پلان میں کیا کیا پروگرام رکھے گئے ہیں - جن لوگوں نے اس کو پڑھنے کی کچھ تکلیف کی ہے انہیں معلوم ہونا چاہئے کہ ملک کو ترقی دینے کے لئے ملک کو بہتر بنانے کے لئے اور ملک کو دیوالیہ کرنے کے لئے جو انکم بھی ممکن ہو سکتے تھے وہ باقی نہیں رہے ہیں اور وہ اس میں درج ہیں - اب یہ کوشش ہو رہی ہے کہ کس طرح سے اس پر تمارا آمد ہو - یہ ریوایوشن صرف دو تین چیزوں کے لئے پیش کیا



[سردار بدھ سنگھ]

گیا ہے - اس میں صرف فضول خرچی فلم پراپیگنڈا بوتے کلب وغیرہ چند باتوں کا ذکر ہے - لیکن ان ہی سے فائیو ایر پلان کا کام مکمل نہیں ہو سکتا - فائیو ایر پلان میں بیسیوں چیزیں ایسی ہیں جنکے لئے علیحدہ علیحدہ تجویزیں پیش کرنی پڑیں گی - یہ پلان تمام ملک کی ترقی اور بہتری کے لئے ہے - کھاتے پیتے دولت مند خوشحال اور اسودہ لوگوں کے لئے یہ فائیو ایر پلان نہیں ہے - یہ اس ملک میں بنایا جا رہا ہے جہاں اکثر لوگوں میں غربت ہے چہانت ہے بیکاری ہے مصیبت ہے باصحت مکان نہیں ہے پورا کپانا نہیں ہے تعلیم نہیں ہے کم نہیں ہے - کچھ نوجوانوں کے لئے آپ کلب بنا سکتے ہیں ان کو اکٹھا کر سکتے ہیں لیکن وہ عام طور پر اسکول اور کالجوں کے لڑکے ہوں گے جو کہ کدال چلا نہیں سکتے پھاوڑا نہیں چلا سکتے ہل نہیں چلا سکتے - ہاں جیسا ابھی میرے ایک دوست نے کہا اب آپ ان کا دل بھلانے کے لئے ان کو فلم دکھا سکتے ہیں - ایک دفعہ میں نے ایک فلم دیکھی - مجھے فلم دیکھنے کا بہت کم شوق ہے لیکن یہ کہا گیا کہ یہ فلم مزدوروں کے لئے ہے اس لئے میں نے اس فلم کو دیکھا - جب اس میں میں نے یہ دیکھا کہ مزدور پہاڑ کاٹ رہے ہیں مٹی ڈھو رہے ہیں کیچڑ میں کام کر رہے ہیں ندیوں میں کام کر رہے ہیں تو ایک انسان جو کسانوں میں کام کرتا ہے اس کو یہ چیزیں دیکھ کر بجائے انجوائے کرنے کے صحنے کے پسیدہ آ جانا ہے وہ کانپنے لگتا ہے چلانچ نہ مجھے بھی پسینہ آ گیا - میں نے کہا ہائے کیوں نہ ہم بھی اپنے آپ کو اس کھپسٹی میں اس حالت میں رکھ دیں جس میں وہ کام کرتے ہیں - اگر کسی فلم سے ہمیں یہ احساس نہیں ہوتا ہے کہ ہمیں بھی

وہی مصیبت و مشقت کا کام کرنا ہے تو وہ فلم فلم نہیں دھڑی تماشہ بن جاتی ہے - میں یہ کہتا ہوں کہ یہ سارا دھن پیدا کرنے والا کون ہے - میں اکثر کسانوں و مزدوروں میں دھڑا اور ان کو کام کرتے دیکھتا آیا ہوں اور میں یہ سمجھتا ہوں کہ دنیا کا نقشہ انہوں نے ہی بنایا ہے - سنہ ۱۹۱۲ میں جب یہاں کنگ آئے تھے اور کاروتیشن ہوا تھا تو میں ریاست کی طرف سے ایک ملازم کی حیثیت سے آیا تھا - ۳۵ سال پہلے یہاں جنگل ہی جنگل تھا - اور اب نئی دھلی میں جو کچھ نظر آ رہا ہے اس کو دیکھ کر میں حیران ہو جاتا ہوں - یہ سب کس نے بنایا ہے یہاں جو ۶۰ لاکھ کا ہوٹل بن رہا ہے اور جو ایمپیسٹرس کے بیس بیس بائیس بائیس لاکھ کے مکانات و کوارٹرس بن رہے ہیں مزدور بنا رہے ہیں - اس کے مقابلے میں جو مزدوروں کی ہزاروں جھونپڑیاں ہیں ان میں ان کو پینے کے لئے پانی بھی مشکل سے ملتا ہے ان کو نہانے کے لئے پانی ملنا بہت مشکل ہو گیا ہے - ایک نل پر سینکڑوں کی بھیڑ دھڑی ہے - وہ لوگ وہ پانی بھی پیتے ہیں جو گندا ہوتا ہے اور گھاس لگانے کے لئے ہوتا ہے - دراصل ان کی کوئی لائف نہیں ہے ان کی کوئی انسانی زندگی نہیں ہے - ان کے لئے تعلیم نہیں ہے بیماروں کے لئے علاج نہیں ہے - کچرا ڈھونے کے لئے صابن نہیں ہے حالانکہ ملک میں مزدور اور کسان ہی جو پیداوار و دھن دولت پیدا کرتا ہے اس پر فائیو ایر پلان کا سارا دار و مدار ہے جب تک ہمارے پلاننگ منسٹر صاحب اور ہماری گورنمنٹ کسانوں و مزدوروں میں اس بات کا احساس نہ کرائیں گے کہ یہ پلان تمہارے لئے بنایا جا رہا ہے تم اس میں حصہ دار ہو گے اس سے تمہاری زندگی خوشحال ہو جائیگی -

تمہارے کپڑے صاف ہو جائیں گے تمہارے لئے ممکن تیار ہو جائیں گے تمہاری صحت اچھی ہو جائیگی - تمہارے لڑکے پڑھ جائیں گے - تمہیں اچھی دوتی کپڑا اور جھونپڑی حاصل ہو جائے گی تمہیں کوئی تکلیف نہیں دھینگے وغیرہ تب تک کوئی اسکیم کامیاب نہیں ہو سکتی - آج ایک مزدور مرد یا عورت صبح سات بجے اپنی جھونپڑی سے چلتا ہے وقت پر کام پر پہنچتا ہے - پھر شام کو ۷ بجے واپس جاتا ہے اور اس کے بعد چولہا جلاتا ہے اور پھر کہیں ۱۱ بجے جاکر فارغ ہوتا ہے - اور پھر صبح ۵ بجے اٹھ جاتا ہے اور روز مرہ کا کام شروع کر دیتا ہے - وہ غریب تمام مصیبتوں کا مارا ہوا ہے اس لئے اس کو اطمینان دلانے کی بہت ضرورت ہے - دوسرا نمبر ہے کسان کا جو ایک شاہ سے لیکر گدا تک ایک چھوٹی سی لیکر ایک ہاتھی تک کو خوراک پہنچاتا ہے - وہ اپنی جان کو اپنے مال کو اپنے دل و دماغ کو اپنے جسم کے خون کے ایک ایک قطرہ کو لگا کر غلہ وغیرہ پیدا کرتا ہے اور اسی پر ساری دنیا کا دارومدار ہے - ایک ممبر صاحب نے کہا کہ لگژری و فضول خرچی کو ختم کیا جائے - میں کہتا ہوں کہ یہ لگژری کھانا پینا اٹھنا بیٹھنا کس طرح چل رہا ہے - ان ہی کسانوں اور مزدوروں کی محنت و کمائی کو لوٹ لوٹ کر یہ ساری چیزیں ہو رہی ہیں - جتنے بھی شہر ہیں جتنی بھی بستیاں ہیں جتنی بھی آبادی ہے جتنی تجارت ہے جتنی دوکانداری ہے جتنے سروسز ہیں جتنے ملازم ہیں ان سب کی آمدنی تنخواہ کہاں سے آتی ہے - وہ اس غریب مزدور کی کمائی سے آتی ہے وہ اس غریب کسان کی کمائی سے آتی ہے جو ۴۰۰ درجہ کے بخار میں مبتلا ہو جاتا ہے جب مٹی جون کی گرمی میں کام کرنے

جاتا ہے اور جو آج لاکھوں کی تعداد میں نہیں کہوں رہا ہے پہاڑ کہوں رہا ہے پل بنا رہا ہے سڑکیں بنا رہا ہے عمارت بنا رہا ہے - اب دیکھنا یہ ہے کہ یہ سارا کام کرنے پر بھی وہ روز بروز غریب کیوں ہوتا جا رہا ہے اور جو انجینیر ہیں افسر ہیں ملازم ہیں ٹھیکیدار ہیں خوش حال ہیں ان کی کوٹھیاں بن رہی ہیں غریب میسر و غریب دونوں میں زمین آسمان کا فرق ہے ایک زمین پر ہے اور دوسرا آسمان پر ہے - ایک کے پاس اتنا دھن دولت ہے کہ اس کا خرچ کرنے والا کوئی نہیں ہے اتنے مکان ہیں کمزے ہیں کہ ان میں رہنے والا کوئی نہیں ہے اتنا کھانا ہے کہ وہ ہضم نہیں ہوتا ہے اتنا کپڑا ہے کہ وہ پورا پورا سو رہا ہے اور ایک ایسا محنت کش ہے جس کے تن پر شکنے کے لئے پورا کپڑا نہیں ہے رہنے کے لئے با صحت اچھی جھونپڑی نہیں ہے کھانے کے لئے پوری دوتی نہیں ہے کام نہیں ہے - میں یہ عرض کروں گا کہ آپ یاد رکھئے کہ آپ چاہے جتنا دنیا کا زور لگا دیں چاہے جتنی فلمیں بنا دیں چاہے جتنی کوشش کریں لیکن کوئی فائدہ نہیں ہوگا جیتک کہ یہ جو دو الگ الگ طبقوں میں پاتا رہیں فرق ہے ان کو آہستہ آہستہ ملانے کی آپ کوشش نہ کریں گے - بڑے بڑے با کمال سائنسدان بڑے بڑے ویل ویشر اور ملک کے سیوک اس نتیجے پر پہنچے ہیں کہ اس بات کا حل تلاش کرو کہ کس طرح مزدور اور کسان کو یہ تسلی ہو سکتی ہے یہ اطمینان ہو سکتا ہے کہ در اصل ہماری غربت دور کرنے کے لئے ہم کو یہ حیثیت ایک انسان زندہ رہنے کے لئے یہ سب کچھ کیا جا رہا ہے پلان بنایا جا رہا ہے - آج ایک حل چلانے والے کو یہ یقین نہیں ہے کہ اس کی ساری کمائی اس کو ملیگی اس لئے وہ دل لگا کر کام نہیں کرتا ہے لیند

[سردار بدھ سنگھ]

دیغارم چاند ہونی چاہیے۔ یہی حالت ایک مزدور کی ہے۔ آپ چائنا و ریشیا کے مزدوروں کی مثال دیتے ہیں کہ وہاں کے مزدور ایک ایک سال میں ایک ایک ہزار میل سوکھیں بنا دیتے ہیں اور وہاں پچاس پچاس ہزار مزدور خود ہی جمع ہو جاتے ہیں سب مزدور جمع ہو کر کام کے لئے تیار ہو جاتے ہیں۔ بات یہ ہے کہ وہ یہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ وہ راستہ ہمارا ہے۔ وہ سوک ہمارا ہے۔ وہ نہر ہمارا ہے۔ اس کے مقابلہ میں آپ یہاں کے اس مزدور سے پوچھئے کہ جو جو کام وہ کر رہا ہے اور جو ہوٹل بنا رہا ہے کیا وہ ابھی اس کو اپنا سمجھتا ہے۔ حالانکہ اس کو بنا رہی مزدور رہا ہے۔ اسی نے پتھر کاٹے ہیں۔ اسی نے ہماری آنکھوں کے سامنے پہاڑ کاٹے ہیں۔ لیکن جب وہ ہوٹل بن جائے گا اور اس میں بجلی آجائیگی۔ پانی آجائیگا تو اس میں راجہ نواب منسٹر پارلیمنٹ کے ممبر وغیرہ کھسٹ بنیں گے لیکن اسوقت اس بھپچارے مزدور کو اس میں داخل ہونا مشکل ہو جائیگا۔

وہ یہ سب چیزیں و فرق سامنے دیکھتا ہے تو اس کی حسد کی انتہا نہیں رہتی۔ اس کے غم اور رنج کی انتہا نہیں رہتی۔ اس کے دکھ و پریشانی کی انتہا نہیں رہتی۔ سوکوں پر ہزاروں ملازمین کلرک نامتے ہیں جن میں سے کچھ بھپچارے غریب ہیں اور کچھ امیر بھی ہیں کچھ فضول خرچ بھی ہیں اور کچھ معذور ہیں کہ دفاتروں میں سفید کپڑے پہنیں۔ جب یہ سفید پوش نکلتے ہیں تو وہ مزدوران بھی سوک پر نکلتے ہیں اور وہ طبقہ سب کچھ دیکھتا ہے۔ ایک طرف تو کارکوں کی جماعت جا رہی ہے اور ایک طرف مزدوروں کی

جماعت جا رہی ہے جو کہ کپڑوں سے لٹ پٹ ہیں۔ جن کے پسینوں سے بدبو آرہی ہے۔ جن میں سے کئی ایک کے پاؤں میں زخم ہیں لیکن دوا کچھ نہیں ہے۔ بچوں کو اٹھائے ہوئے ہیں جو کہ بھوک سے توپ رہے ہیں۔ ایک ہی دھوئی ہوئی دھوتی ہے اور وہی پہنے ہیں۔ تذکے تذکے کو اکٹھا کر لیتا رہے ہیں جس سے کہ روٹی بنائیں گے۔ تو یہ دردناک نظارہ ہے۔ میں کہتا ہوں کہ یہ سمجھ لیتے کہ یہی غریب لوگ آپ کی پلاننگ کو کامیاب بنانے کی ذمہ داری بے سکتے ہیں اور یہی ملک کی کیا پامٹ سکتے ہیں۔ یہ جو دولت مند ہیں جنکے خزانے دولتوں سے بھرے ہوئے ہیں وہ محنت مشقت کے کام کچھ نہیں کر سکتے ہیں۔ میں نے پچھلی مرتبہ بھی ایک تقریر میں جواہر لال جی سے کہا تھا اور اب اس مرتبہ منسٹر صاحب سے کہتا ہوں کہ ان دولت مندوں کو بتا دیں کہ ہم تو زبردستی روپیہ لینا نہیں چاہتے ہیں لیکن وقت آجائے گا کہ زبردستی دیڈا پڑیگا۔ اس لئے بہتر ہے کہ وہ لوگ آج اس روپیہ کو ملک کے کام میں لگائیں قرض دیں تاکہ جو غریب جنتا ہے جو ہمارے بھائی ہیں وہ زندہ رہیں اور خوش رہیں۔ ان کو حسد و دشمن نہ بنائیں بلکہ اپنا دوست اور مٹر بنائیں۔ ان میں قوم اور ملک کا پیار ہونا چاہئے۔ روپیہ تو خرچ کرنے کی چیز ہے اور میں کہتا ہوں کہ ہندوستان میں سب کچھ ہے۔ اس لئے میں پاور کو مزدوروں اور کسانوں کو بیکار نوجوانوں کو احساس کرا دو اور انکو درا و علاج سے خوراک و گھر سے مکان سے تعلیم سے سب ضروریات کے فکر سے فارغ کر دو۔ اس کو انسان بناو اس کو صاف ستھرا دکھو اور اس کے دل میں خوشی پیدا کرو۔ اسکے لئے دوا دار انتظام کرو اس کے لئے مکان بناو اور

کسانوں کو زمینیں دیدو مالک بنا دو - ان دولت مندوں سے روپیہ لیلو اور بڑے بڑے دیانتدار افسر رکھو - میں کہتا ہوں کہ اگر کوئی انجینیر کسی انسان کا قتل بھی کر دے تو وہ کوئی اتنا جرم و نقصان نہیں ہے لیکن اگر ایک انجینیر ایک پل کے بنانے یا باندھ بنانے میں بجائے سیمنٹ کے ریت لگا دیتا ہے تو اس سے ہزاروں جانوں کا نقصان ہو جائے گا اور لاکھوں کروڑوں کا جان و مال اس سے تباہ ہو جائے گا - جتنی بلڈنگیں عمارتیں بنائی جائیں جو قدیم اور باندھ بنائے جائیں جو گارخانے بنائے جائیں جو امپرومینٹ کے کام ہوں ان کے لئے ایک لاکھ پاس کیجئے کہ ان کاموں میں جو رشوت خوری بے ایمانی کریگا اس کو پھانسی پر لٹکا دیا جائے گا -

جن ملکوں نے غریب قوموں کو اٹھایا ہے وہ صرف پروپیگنڈا کر کر کے فلمیں دکھا دکھا کر کے یا ہاتھ جوڑ جوڑ کر کے نہیں اٹھایا ہے - اس طرح سے کوئی چیز ہونی ناممکن بات ہے - اس میں کوئی شک نہیں کہ انسان زندہ دھونکا نہیں رہ سکتا - لیکن جام پوشی کی بھی ایک انتہا ہے - یہ جو ہمارے درمیان ملازمان ہیں یہ بیچارے سب لٹافہ بنے ہوئے ہیں ان کے اخراجات بہت ہیں جتنا کماتے ہیں وہ سب خرچ ہو جاتا ہے - جو مخالف پارٹیاں ہیں ان ہی پر برستی ہیں - وہ یہ نہیں کہتیں وہ یہ پروپیگنڈا نہیں کرتیں کہ جو لاکھوں مکان شہروں میں بن رہے ہیں ان کے لئے سرمایہ کہاں سے آتا ہے -

میں زندہ صاحب سے کہوں گا اور بڑے ادب سے کہوں گا کہ جب وہ کام پر جاتے ہیں جہاں اور چیزوں کو دیکھنے جاتے ہیں وہاں کبھی کبھی ان غریبوں کی چیزوں کا چکر بھی لگا لیا کریں - جہاں اور سب

چیزیں دیکھتے ہیں وہاں ان کی چیزیں کو بھی کبھی دیکھ لیا کریں - میں امید کرتا ہوں کہ منسٹر صاحب ان کے دہشتی منسٹر صاحب اور ان کے نیچے جتنے لوگ کام کر رہے ہیں وہ سب اس پر دھیان دینگے - میں کہتا ہوں کہ وہ بڑی دیانتداری سے اور ایمانداری سے کام کر رہے ہیں اور انہوں نے جتنی سے ہمیں بنائی ہیں ان کو دنیا والے دیکھنا چاہتے ہیں - میں بھی ان کو دیکھ کر خوش ہو جاتا ہوں لیکن جہاں کسانوں کا مسئلہ آتا ہے غریبوں کا مسئلہ آتا ہے تو میں ٹھہر جاتا ہوں - جب مزدوروں کی چیزیں کو دیکھتا ہوں اور ہمارے لئے جو فائٹس ہیں ان کو دیکھتا ہوں تو میں ٹھہر جاتا ہوں - اس وقت مجھے ہوا دکھ ہوتا ہے ہوا خیال آتا ہے - جس طرح سے بھی ہو سکے چیسے بھی ممکن ہو اس فرق کو کم کیا جائے -

### Time bell rings

ظاہر ہے کہ اس ریزولیشن سے کوئی فائدہ نہیں ہوگا - اس وقت میں اتنا ہی سنجیدگی سے دے سکتا ہوں جب فائٹس ابھر پلان آئے گا تو اس وقت اور جو کچھ بولنا ہوگا وہ بولونگا - میرے خیال سے اس ریزولیشن کی ضرورت نہیں ہے - یہ تو ایک چھوٹی سی بات ہے - یہ تو ایک تشبیہ سی بات ہے - جو بڑی بڑی باتیں ہیں جو کہ میں نے عرض کی ہیں ان کو لینا چاہئے اور ان کو کرنا چاہئے -

†[सरदार बुधसिंह(जम्मू एंड काश्मीर): जनाव डिप्टी चैयरमैन साहिब इस रेजलेशन के मुताबिक काफ़ी स्पेस हो चुकी है पहले तो हमें यह समझना चाहिये कि पंचसाला स्कीम, फ़ाइव ईयर प्लान, क्यों बनाया जाता है। फिर सैकंड फ़ाइव ईयर प्लान में क्या क्या प्रोग्राम रखे गये हैं। जिन लोगों ने इसको पढ़ने की कुदृष्ट तकलीफ की है उन्हें मालूम

[सरदार बुध सिंह]

होना चाहिये कि मुल्क को तरक्की देने के लिए, मुल्क को बेहतर बनाने के लिये और मुल्क को डेवलप करने के लिये जो आइटम भी मुमकिन हो सकते थे वह बाकी नहीं रहे हैं और वह इसमें दर्ज हैं। अब यह कोशिश हो रही है कि किस तरह से इस पर अमल दरासद हो। यह रेजूलेशन सिर्फ दो तीन चीजों के लिये पेश किया गया है। इसमें सिर्फ फजूलखर्ची, फिल्म प्रोपेगंडा, यूथ क्लब वगैरह चन्द बातों का जिक्र है लेकिन इन ही से फाइव ईयर प्लान का काम मुकम्मिल नहीं हो सकता। फाइव ईयर प्लान में बीसों चीजें ऐसी हैं जिनके लिये अलहदा-अलहदा तजवीजें पेश करनी पड़ेंगी। यह प्लान तमाम मुल्क की तरक्की और बेहतरी के लिये है। खाले-पीते, दौलतमन्द, खुशहाल और आसूदा लोगों के लिये यह फाइव ईयर प्लान नहीं है, यह इस मुल्क में बनाया जा रहा है जहां अक्सर लोगों में गुरबत है, जहालत है, बेकारी है, मसीबत है, बासेहत मकान नहीं हैं, पूरा खाना नहीं है, तालीम नहीं है, काम नहीं है। कुछ नौजवानों के लिये आप क्लब बना सकते हैं, इनको इकट्ठा कर सकते हैं, लेकिन वह आम तौर पर स्कूल और कालेजों के लड़के होंगे जो कि कुदाल नहीं चला सकते, फावड़ा नहीं चला सकते, हल नहीं चला सकते। हां, जैसा अभी मेरे एक दोस्त ने कहा आप इनका दिल बहलाने के लिये इनको फिल्म दिखा सकते हैं। एक दफा मैंने एक फिल्म देखी। मुझे फिल्म देखने का बहुत कम शौक है लेकिन यह कहा गया कि यह फिल्म मजदूरों के लिये है इसलिये मैंने इसको देखा। जब मैंने इसमें यह देखा कि मजदूर पहाड़ काट रहे हैं, मिट्टी ढो रहे हैं, कीचड़ में काम कर रहे हैं, नदियों में काम कर रहे हैं, तो एक इंसान जो किसानों में काम करता है, उसको यह चीजें देखकर बजाय एन्जोय करने के, हंसने के, पसीना आ जाता है, वह कांपने लगता है। चुनावों मुझे भी पसीना आ गया। मैंने कहा, हाय! क्यों न हम भी अपने आपको इस कैपेसिटी में, इस हालत में रख दें जिसमें वह काम करते हैं। अगर किसी फिल्म से हमें यह अहसास नहीं होता है कि हमें भी वही मेहनत व मुशक्कत का काम करना है तो वह फिल्म फ़िल्म नहीं रहती, तमाशा बन जाती है। मैं यह कहता हूँ कि यह सारा धन पैदा करने वाला कौन है? मैं अक्सर किसानों व मजदूरों में रहता और उनको काम करते देखता आया हूँ और मैं यह समझता हूँ कि दुनिया का नक्शा इन्होंने ही बनाया है। सन् १९१२ में जब यहां किंग आये थे और कोरोनेशन हुआ था तो मैं रियासत की तरफ से एक मुलाजिम की हैसि-

यत से आया था। ४५ साल पहले यहां जंगल ही जंगल था। और अब नई दिल्ली में जो कुछ नज़र आ रहा है इसको देखकर मैं हैरान हो जाता हूँ। यह सब किसने बनाया है? यहां जो साठ लाख का होटल बन रहा है और जो एम्बेसडर्स के बीस-बीस, बाईस-बाईस लाख के मकानात व क्वार्टर्स बन रहे हैं, मजदूर बना रहे हैं। इसके मुकाबले में जो मजदूरों की हड्डियों ऑपेडियां हैं इनमें इनको पीने के लिये पानी भी मुश्किल से मिलता है। इनको नहाने के लिये पानी मिलना बहुत मुश्किल हो गया है। एक नल पर सैंकड़ों की भीड़ रहती है। वह लोग वह पानी भी पीते हैं जो गन्दा होता है और घास लगाने के लिये होता है। दरअसल इनकी कोई लाइफ नहीं है, इनकी कोई इन्सानी जिन्दगी नहीं है। इनके लिए तालीम नहीं है, बीमारों के लिये इलाज नहीं है, कपड़ा धोने के लिये साबुन नहीं है, हालांकि मुल्क में मजदूर और किसान ही जो पैदावार व धनदौलत पैदा करता है इस पर फाइव ईयर प्लान का सारा दारोमदार है। जब तक हमारे प्लानिंग मिनिस्टर साहब और हमारी गवर्नमेंट किसानों और मजदूरों में इस बात का अहसास न करावेंगे कि यह प्लान तुम्हारे लिये बनाया जा रहा है, तुम इसमें हिस्सेदार होगे, इससे तुम्हारी जिन्दगी खुशहाल हो जायेगी, तुम्हारे कपड़े साफ हो जायेंगे, तुम्हारे लिये मकान तैयार हो जायेंगे, तुम्हारी सेहत अच्छी हो जायेगी, तुम्हारे लड़के पढ़ जायेंगे, तुम्हें अच्छी रोटी, कपड़ा और ऑपड़ी हासिल हो जायेगी। तुम्हें कोई तकलीफ नहीं रहेगी, बगैरा, तब तक कोई स्कीम कामयाब नहीं हो सकती। आज एक मजदूर मर्द या औरत सुबह सात बजे अपनी ऑपड़ी से चलता है, वक्त पर काम पर पहुंचता है। फिर शाम को सात बजे वापिस जाता है और उसके बाद चूल्हा जलाता है और फिर कहीं ग्यारह बजे जाकर फारिश होता है। और फिर सुबह पांच बजे उठ जाता है और रोजमर्रा का काम शुरू कर देता है। वह सरीब तमाम मुसीबतों का सारा हुआ है इसलिये, उसको इत्मीनान दिलाने की बहुत जरूरत है। दूसरा नम्बर है किसान का जो एक शाह से लेकर गदा तक, एक चींटी से लेकर एक हाथी तक, को खुराक पहुंचाता है। वह अपनी जान को, अपने माल को, अपने दिल व दिमाग को, अपने जिस्म के खून के एक एक क़तरे को लगा कर गल्ला वगैरा पैदा करता है और इसी पर सारी दुनिया का दारोमदार है। एक मेम्बर साहब ने कहा कि लखरी व फजूलखर्ची को खत्म किया जाय। मैं कहता हूँ कि यह लखरी, खाना-पीना, उठना-बैठना, किस तरह

चल रहा है। इन्हीं किसानों और मजदूरों की मेहनत व कमाई को लूट-लूट कर यह सारी चीजें हो रही हैं। जितने भी शहर हैं, जितनी भी बस्तियां हैं, जितनी भी आबादी है, जितनी तिजारत है, जितनी दुकानदारी है, जितने सर्वेन्ट्स हैं, जितने मुलाजिम हैं, इन सबकी आमदनी व तनखाह कहां से आती है? वह इस गरीब मजदूर की कमाई से आती है, वह इस गरीब किसान की कमाई से आती है, जो १०६ दर्जा के बुखार में मुब्तला हो जाता है, जब मई जून की गर्मी में काम करने जाता है और जो आज लाखों की तादाद में नहरें खोद रहा है, पहाड़ खोद रहा है, पुल बना रहा है, सड़कें बना रहा है, इमारत बना रहा है। अब देखना यह है कि यह सारा काम करने पर भी वह रोज व रोज गरीब क्यों होता जा रहा है और जो इंजीनियर्स हैं, अफसर हैं, मुलाजिम हैं, ठेकेदार हैं, खुशहाल हैं। उनकी कोठियां बन रही हैं गर्ज कि अमीर व गरीब दोनों में जमीन व आसमान का फर्क है। एक जमीन पर है और दूसरा आसमान पर। एक के पास इतनी धन दौलत है कि इसका खर्च करने वाला कोई नहीं है। इतने मकान हैं, कमरे हैं कि इनमें रहने वाला कोई नहीं है, इतना खाना है कि वह हज्म नहीं होता है, इतना कपड़ा है कि वह पड़ा-पड़ा सड़ा रहा है और एक ऐसा मेहनतकश है जिसके तन पर ढकने के लिये पूरा कपड़ा नहीं है, रहने के लिये बासेहत अच्छी शोपड़ी नहीं है, खाने के लिये पूरी रोटी नहीं है, काम नहीं है। मैं यह अर्ज करूंगा कि आप याद रखिये कि आप चाहे जितना दुनिया का जोर लगा दें, चाहे जितनी फ़िल्में बना दें, चाहे जितनी कोशिश करें, लेकिन कोई फायदा नहीं होगा जब तक कि यह जो दो अलग अलग तबकों में पाट है, फर्क है इनको आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता आप मिलाने की कोशिश न करेंगे। बड़े बड़े बाकमाल साइन्सदान, बड़े बड़े वेल विशर और मुल्क के सेवक इस नतीजा पर पहुंचे हैं कि इस बात का हल तलाश करो कि किस तरह मजदूर और किसान को यह तसल्ली हो सकती है, यह इत्मीनान हो सकता है कि दरअसल हमारी गुरवत दूर करने के लिए, हमको बर्हसियत एक इन्सान जिन्दा रहने के लिये, यह सब कुछ किया जा रहा है, प्लान बनाया जा रहा है। आज एक हल चलाने वाले को यह यकीन नहीं है कि इसकी सारी कमाई इसको मिलेगी इसलिये वह दिल लगा कर काम नहीं करता है। लैंड रिफ़ार्म्स जल्द होनी चाहिए। यही हालत एक मजदूर की है। आप चाइना व रशिया के मजदूरों की मिसाल देते हैं कि वहां के मजदूर एक एक साल में एक एक हजार मील सड़कें बना लेते हैं और वहां पचास-पचास हजार मजदूर

खुद ही जमा हो जाते हैं, सब मजदूर जमा हाकर काम के लिये तैयार हो जाते हैं। बात यह है कि वह यह समझते हैं कि वह रास्ता हमारा है, वह सड़क हमारी है, वह नहर हमारी है। इसके मुकाबले में यहां के इस मजदूर से पूछिये कि जो काम वह कर रहा है और जो होटल बना रहा है क्या वह भी इसको अपना समझता है। हालांकि इसको बना वह ही मजदूर रहा है, इसने पत्थर काटे हैं, इसने हमारी आंखों के सामने पहाड़ काटे हैं, लेकिन जब वह होटल बन जायगा और इसमें बिजली आ जायगी, पानी आ जायगा तो इसमें राजा, नवाब, मिनिस्टर, पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर वगैरा गैस्ट बनेंगे। लेकिन उस वक्त इस बेचारे मजदूर को इसमें दाखिल होना मुश्किल हो जायगा। वह यह सब चीजें व फ़रक सामने देखता है तो इसकी हसद की इन्तहा नहीं रहती। इसके गम व रंज की इतिहा नहीं रहती। इसके दुःख व परेशानी की इन्तहा नहीं रहती। सड़कों पर हजारों क्लर्क मुलाजमान निकलते हैं जिनमें से कुछ बेचारे गरीब हैं और कुछ अमीर भी हैं, कुछ फ़जूलखर्च भी हैं और कुछ मजदूर हैं कि दफ़तरों में सफेद कपड़े पहनें। जब यह सफेद-पोश निकलते हैं तो वे मजदूरान भी सड़क पर निकलते हैं और वह तबका सब कुछ देखता है। एक तरफ तो क्लर्कों की जमायत जा रही है और एक तरफ मजदूरों की जमायत जा रही है जो कि कीचड़ से लथपथ है, जिनके पसीनों से बदबू आ रही है, जिनमें कई एक के पांवों में जख्म हैं लेकिन दवा कुछ नहीं है, बच्चों को उठाये हुए हैं, जो कि भूख से तड़प रहे हैं। एक ही धोई हुई धोती है और वही पहने हुए हैं। तिनके-तिनके को उठा कर ले जा रहे हैं जिससे कि रोटी बायेंगे। तो यह दर्दनाक नजारा है। मैं कहता हूं कि यह समझ लीजिये कि यही गरीब लोग आपकी प्लानिंग को कामयाब बनाने की जिम्मेदारी ले सकते हैं और यही मुल्क की काया पलट सकते हैं। यह जो दौलतमंद हैं, जिनके खजाने दौलतों से भरे हुए हैं वे मेहनत व मुशक्कत के काम कुछ नहीं कर सकते हैं। मैंने पिछली मर्तबा भी एक तक्रीर में जवाहरलाल जी से कहा था और अब इस मर्तबा मिनिस्टर साहब से कहता हूं कि इन दौलतमन्दों को बता दें कि हम तो जबर-दस्ती रुपया लेना नहीं चाहते हैं लेकिन वक्त आ जायगा कि जबरदस्ती देना पड़ेगा। इसलिये बेहतर है कि वे लोग आज ईस रुपये को मुल्क के काम में लगायें, कर्ज दें ताकि जो गरीब जनता है, जो हमारे भाई हैं वह जिन्दा रहें और खुश रहें। इनको हासद व दुश्मन न बनाइये बल्कि अपना दोस्त और मित्र बनाइये। इसमें कौम

[सरदार वृध सिंह]

और मुल्क का प्यार होना चाहिये। रुपया तो खर्च करने की चीज है और मैं कहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान में सब कुछ है, इसलिए मेन पावर को, मजदूरों और किसानों को, अहसास करा दो और उनको दवा व इलाज से खुराक व धर से, मकान से, तालीम से, सब जरूरियात के फिक्र से फारिग कर दो, इसको इंसान बनाओ, इसको साफ सुथरा रखो और इसके दिल में खुशी पैदा करो। इसके लिये दवा दारू का इन्तजाम करो, इसके लिये मकान बनाओ और किसानों को जमीन दे दो। मालिक बना दो। इन दौलतमंदों से रुपया ले लो और बड़े-बड़े दयानतदार अफसर रखो। मैं कहता हूँ कि अगर कोई इंजीनियर किसी इंसान का कल्ल भी कर दे तो वह कोई इतना जुर्म व नुकसान नहीं है लेकिन अगर एक इंजीनियर एक पुल के बनाने या बांध बनाने में बजाय सीमेंट के रेत लगा देता है तो इससे हजारों जानों का नुकसान हो जायेगा और लाखों करोड़ों जानों का माल इससे तबाह हो जायेगा। जितनी बिल्डिंगें इमारतें बनाई जायें, जो डैम और बांध बनाये जायें, जो कारखाने बनाये जायें, जो इम्प्रूवमेंट के काम हों, इनके लिए एक लॉ पास कीजिये कि इन कामों में जो रिश्वत-खोरी, बेईमानी करेगा उसको फांसी पर लटका दिया जायेगा।

जिन मुल्कों ने गरीब कौमों को उठाया है वह सिर्फ प्रोपेगंडा कर करके, फिल्में दिखा दिखा करके या हाथ जोड़-जोड़ करके नहीं उठाया है। इस तरह से कोई चीज होनी नामुमकिन बात है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि इन्सान नंगा-धड़ंगा नहीं रह सकता। लेकिन जामापोशी की भी एक इन्तहा है। यह जो हमारे दरम्याना मुलाज्मान हैं, यह तो बेचारे सब लिफाफा बने हुए हैं, इनके अखराजात बहुत हैं, जितना कमाते हैं वह सब खर्च हो जाता है। जो मुखालिफ पार्टियां हैं वह इन ही पर बरसती हैं। वे यह नहीं कहतीं, वे यह प्रोपेगंडा नहीं करतीं कि जो लाखों मकान शहर में बन रहे हैं उनके लिये सरमाया कहां से आता है।

मैं नन्दा साहब से कहूंगा और बड़े अदब से कहूंगा कि वह जब काम पर जाते हैं, जहां और चीजों को देखने जाते हैं वहां कभी कभी इन गरीबों की झोंपड़ियों का चक्कर भी लगा लिया करें। जहाँ और सब चीजें देखते हैं वहाँ इनकी झोंपड़ियों को भी कभी कभी देख लिया करें। मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि मिनिस्टर साहब, इनके डिप्टी मिनिस्टर साहब और इनके नीचे जितने लोग काम कर रहे हैं वे सब इस पर ध्यान

देंगे। मैं कहता हूँ कि वे बड़ी दयानतदारी से और ईमानदारी से काम कर रहे हैं और इन्होंने जितनी स्कीमें बनाई हैं इनकी दुनिया वाले देखना चाहते हैं। मैं भी इनको देखकर खुश हो जाता हूँ लेकिन जहाँ किसानों का मनसा आता है तो मैं ठहर जाता हूँ। जब मजदूरों की झोंपड़ियों को देखता हूँ और हमारे लिये जो फ्लैट्स हैं उनको देखता हूँ तो मैं ठहर जाता हूँ। इस वक्त मुझे बड़ा दुःख होता है, बड़ा ख्याल आता है। जिस तरह से भी हो सके, जैसे भी मुमकिन हो इस फर्क को कम किया जाय।

(Time bell)

जाहिर है कि इस रेजलूशन से कोई फायदा नहीं होगा। इस वक्त मैं इतना ही सजेशन दे सकता हूँ। जब फाइव ईयर प्लान आयेगा तो उस वक्त और जो कुछ बोलना होगा वह बोलूंगा। मेरे ख्याल में इस रेजलूशन की जरूरत नहीं है। यह तो एक छोटी सी बात है, यह तो एक नुच्छ सी बात है। जो बड़ी-बड़ी बातें हैं, जो कि मैंने अर्ज की हैं उनको लेना चाहिए और उनको करना चाहिए।

SHAH MOHAMMAD U M A I R (Bihar)  
: May I have a few minutes, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : After the Minister's reply.

THE MINISTER FOR PLANNING AND IRRIGATION AND POWER (SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA) Mr. Deputy Chairman, I have listened with great interest and with great pleasure to the speeches that have been made during the course of the discussion on this resolution. I am exceedingly grateful to hon. Members for the very useful and for the very valuable ( suggestions made in the course of their speeches. I am particularly thankful to our sisters in the House who have made a magnificent contribution, constructive contribution, to this subject.

Sir, I agree wholeheartedly with the J sentiments expressed in favour of public co-operation, in favour of the importance of public co-operation. Only I would like to place this question of public co-operation much higher than they have done in relation to the success of our Five Year Plans. It is indispensable for the success of the Five Year Plans. Not only for the Five Year Plans but for the progress of the country in every direction, public co-operation is of supreme importance. When we think



of a plan usually it occurs to us that the requisites for the successful implementation of it are materials, machines, financial resources and personnel. Of course, personnel is very important, trained personnel of all categories, but I personally feel that there are those other things less tangible which are even of greater importance. When these have been secured adequately, those other things will follow. They are a sense of unity in the country, a sense of discipline in the country, enlightened and enthusiastic co-operation of the people in all the various development programmes and the various schemes for the building up of the country. Therefore I think that a discussion of this question in this House has been of very great assistance, think of the people merely as the beneficiaries of the plans. They are much more than that. They are of course the collaborators, and makers of the plans, and it is only when we succeed in securing that realisation on the part of the people and that effective contribution from the people on that basis, that things really will start moving very much more quickly than they do now. Our whole concept of public co-operation is very limited. We think of only people attending our meetings and of a little *shramdhan* here and there. The idea of public co-operation is very much deeper than that; it is much more fundamental. There are millions of people in the country who are in the fields, factories and offices. The moment they begin to see that it is on a little better work, harder work, on their part that the progress of this country depends, that realisation itself will make for greater, quicker and accelerated progress. As was pointed out by one hon. Member, it is a question of attitudes, it is a question of a certain perception, a certain understanding. There has to be an understanding of what is going on in the country, what the prospects are before us, how they are related to our welfare as individuals and as families and also to the welfare of posterity. There is also something more than this: intellectual appreciation; it is an emotional link with all that is happening. Public co-operation therefore has to be understood in that sense. It is the atmosphere which is created in the country in which all these schemes and all these developmental programmes are going to function that is important for their success! That atmosphere depends on the people, their minds and their attitudes.

There is also the question of resources. People help not only by their work. The resources also are drawn from them. They pay in various ways, taxes, loans, etc. If we want to step up our development, investment has to be increased. The resources for the public sector and the private sector come from the savings of the community. This means economy and avoidance of wasteful expenditure—marriages and other expenses were mentioned. One hon. Member said that austerity should not be restricted to the workers only. I never said that austerity should be practised by the poor workers. I have always fought for higher wages for them. Certainly if we see that there is a small number of people who are rich, well that small number also has to be called upon to avoid ostentatious expenditure and avoid wasteful consumption and wasteful expenditure. When we are thinking of a more equitable distribution and putting more money in the hands of a larger number of people, it is not only the savings of a few that are going to push up the resources needed for the Plan. Let it be very clear. It will have to be the savings of large numbers of the community, that will make the plan a success. Of course it is always understood that those who are at the lowest rung of the ladder certainly have nothing to spare but at various levels beneath that of the people who may have crores and many lakhs, there are various groups whose savings are required and if we are to go away with the impression that it is only the income-tax payer and the very rich whose savings and whose austerity are going to be sufficient, then it is not going to be so. The question of harder work, more honest work, economy, austerity in various degrees—all these are important for the Plan. There is the question of the sense of discipline, of how we behave towards each other, and how we provoke each other. The occasion may be very small but it may appear at the time to be something of a crisis but when it is considered in relation to the vast question of development of the country, the future of the country, that small trouble which arises out of one thing or the other, pales into insignificance, even from the point of view of the larger interest of those very large groups. If they create disturbances, if they create commotion, if they create a sense of insecurity, that is bound to hamper the progress of the Plan and they will suffer among others, perhaps much more than by anything that they



[Shri Gulzarilal Nanda.]

may gain by the things which provoke them into those things. It is just incidentally that I have mentioned this.

There is a vast field in which the people have to co-operate but there is that other aspect. Of course, they have to bear the burnt of it. The initiative for public co-operation has to be theirs. The number of voluntary workers and their efforts alone can make our whole programme of development of co-operation successful. They alone can make the programme of publicity successful. It is not the money that will be put into these programmes, it is not the officials whom we will employ to look after them but it is what we get out of the people, what they are prepared to give, that is going to determine the success or failure of these programmes. So we expect so much from them but then there is the other aspect of it which is very intimately concerned with this Resolution.

The aspect which I am referring to is that conditions have to be created which will facilitate this public co-operation, which will make it easy for people to come forward out of fulness of their hearts and give of their best, their time, their energy and whatever they can contribute. To create those conditions the administration should do what is possible to be done. This is what the hon. Mover of the Resolution has in mind in the four things which she has mentioned. I agree that they are important. If we want the people to come forward and give of their spare time and help in various ways, they must be assured, in the first place, of a number of things. They must know what they are being asked to do and what is happening in the country. Therefore, this question of films and various other methods of dissemination of information about the present and the future, and about what is happening in the other places all these come in. There is also the necessity of creating this assurance in the minds of the people that the resources for which they are being called upon to make all the sacrifices which are being asked of them, the austerity and the taxes and various other things, the resources which are being channelled from the people to the administration for the purpose of various projects—that those resources are\* being very properly used. At any rate, when we ask the people not to indulge in wasteful expenditure, let the I

administration itself take care that every pie of the people's contribution to their exchequer is being used to the fullest advantage. They are quite entitled to ask for that and to get it. Also if they find, in their contact with the administration, in their relations with the Government, that it is the same old order that prevails and that nothing can be done without giving something for it—that is, I am referring to the various malpractices and various forms of corruption that may prevail—then certainly they will not be enthused and they will be depressed and they will say that it is the same old order. So the administration has to be more responsive. It has to be more efficient. There should not be delays. There should prevail an atmosphere of a sense of urgency as well as a sense of importance of economy in administration. These are the conditions necessary for creating that enthusiasm and enlisting the co-operation of the people.

So it should be easy to agree with the propositions which are set out in the Resolution that we have to enlighten the people, we have to see that the savings of the community increase and that there is no display of luxuries etc. in order that the other people may not feel dissatisfied. They will not be enthused unless there is a sense of justice and they feel that justice is being done. Therefore a sense of equality of opportunity, equality of treatment—all that is very very essential. Therefore on those who are better privileged there is a social obligation, there is a national obligation to restrain themselves, even if there is no compulsion. I agree that compulsion will not succeed very much. Even if it succeeds in limited ways, it cannot endure. Therefore it is that inner urge has to be roused in the people to do their part. That has to be done. Before that, these conditions have to be secured, that there is no wasteful expenditure generally or in the administration.

About rooting out corruption, I have said that I agree with it. There are certain other things which I have referred to incidentally in order that conditions are created for people's whole-hearted co-operation in the Plan.

Incidentally it was mentioned that in the D.V.C. people are on hunger-strike and are rotting in jail. I don't see the relevance. The administration is not going to be paralysed. They have to function and of course anything that is rea-

sonable has to be done. I am not here now to explain and justify what is being done in the D.V.C.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : When the administration is not paralysed by a Chief Minister's hunger, why should it be paralysed by the hunger strike of petty employees ?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That has nothing to do with it.

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA : So far as that is concerned, I may tell the hon. Member that the workers themselves and their leaders know what has been done, how much has been done for them and with what success. Even regarding the hunger strike, we have tried to help them, to get them out of it and just a while ago, I received a telegram from Dr. B. C. Roy at 4 p.m. This is an immediate telegram received from Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, addressed to the Minister for Planning and Irrigation and Power. The original has been passed on to the Secretariat but this is what it says :

"Your telegram Stop DVC staff have withdrawn the hunger strike Stop Have released the men who are in Jail Stop Have asked Mr. Varma to arrange with Bihar Government to allow workers to hold meeting by temporarily withdrawing section 144 from Mython area Stop Varma is now discussing question of appointment of retrenched workers either under DVC or in other organisation".

This gave me an opportunity to give the latest information on the subject.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Very good.

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA : I have explained that there is a duty on the part of others to teach the workers to play their role effectively and therefore these things should be attended to as fully as possible. We expect this co-operation not from a section of the community, not from one political party but from all the people of our country. To make that possible, it is necessary that all the people of the country, by and large—one cannot exclude one per cent, to be here and there—should be in a position to accept both the direction of progress that is being laid down and the approach to the problems of development, that is, generally the Plan that is

before the country. Only then we can ask them to co-operate with us and we are in a very nappy position in this country that the Plans which have been framed, and especially the Second Five Year Plan, have evoked widespread support. The approach has been accepted practically by all the people. That lays the foundation, that paves the way for widespread general co-operation from all sections of the community.

In this connection, I might refer to some observations made here in regard to the role of women. I do not say that women are not doing enough but they could certainly do very much more and when they come much more into this field. I think the results will be very good ; much more could come from them and what we can achieve in the next few years will certainly be very much more. Both young and old play a part. The hon. Member, Mr. Kapoor, was probably making an excuse for himself ; he said, "we old people". He said that only the young people could do it. We want everyone play his part, young and old alike, Members of Parliament, Members of the Rajya Sabha, every body has to make his own contribution. Now, the question is, what is being done now ? This Resolution here says, "Do this, do that and that". Quite possibly, enough has not been done in the past; enough is not proposed to be done in the course of the next five year. There can be difference of opinion over this ou' / am also among those who feel that what was done is not adequate and also, what is proposed to be done in the Plan through the administrative agency is not enough. For example, regarding provision for publicity in the Plan, much more was asked for by the Ministry concerned but the Commission could not accommodate that demand but, compared to what was there before, this Plan provides about seven crores of rupees whereas in the first Plan, we spent one crore and three lakhs of rupees and this is a very big stepping up. This is the sum provided [ by the Centre in addition to which the States are also going to spend. I would not like to take up much time of the House in giving the details that I have got—all details have been furnished to me about what is being done through the Ministry regarding this particular item—there are films, documentaries and newsreels. In fact, every method is being adopted, the audiovisual method and so on, to create an

[Shri Gulzarilal Nanda.] impact on the mind of the people. There are also the film strips ; all things are Deing done ; they were done last year and much more is being done this year and there is a programme for the period oi the Plan. May be it is not enough but I do not know what a few more films of the Ministry are going to achieve. It is really a people's job.

The idea of youth clubs, etc., is very important. The hon. Mover of the Resolution knows that we have these youth camps, the students' camps and also a programme for youth clubs. A good deal of enlightenment has been | created regarding the Plan through these means. This programme is developing and is catching up but there are limitations of resources for these several programmes which are quite important. We were just this morning considering whether we have given enough for coal, whether we have given enough for oil, ther we have given enough for the Railways, etc. We felt that not up to the requirements had been given in the case of the Railways but that cannot be helped because we are stepping up the rate of development and we are straining our resources and ourselves and this strain has to be felt all over but the capacity of the people is unlimited. It is their contribution that counts. It is not that the pensioners should join together and help themselves. How will they serve each other ? They should join together and serve the bigger cause, I am glad to report that a fairly large number of pensioners have come in and have placed their services at our disposal. People who were drawing Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 3,000 a month -have come in and are serving for nothing. I think this is a big reserve which we will have to tap and we can tap more of it. Therefore, I am very happy that it is there.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : May we have some idea as to the number ot people who were drawing Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 3,000 a month and who are serving for nothing today ?

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA : lean tell the hon. Member that at the Central organisation of the Bharat Sevak Samaj, we may have about a dozen or somewhere about that. There are some Sessions Judges, some engineers at a very high level and if they have to be paid salaries, it will come to about Rs. 20,000 or Rs. 25,000.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But that i is not a Government organisation; it is voluntary organisation.

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA : We are not talking of the Government; we | are talking of people organising them-| selves for helping each other mutually and that is why that organisation is being developed where everyone could go and make his or her contribution. So, it is with this idea that the question ot bridging the gulf between the people and the administration has to be approached. Moral and social standards have to be improved. The hon. Member mentioned about the Sadhu Samaj. I hat has great potentialities ; it is just beginning but has made a very strong impression both in raising the level ot those people themselves and in enabling them, by proper training and by giving proper facilities, to render large-scale service to the community. These things are going to be possible.

I was explaining as to what has been done in the direction in which the suggestion of the Resolution proceeds and that is this; enough, not necessarily enough but a great deal more than that in the past is being done about films. So far as corruption is concerned, I have got here details of the information. The hon. Member must have seen that Report, laid on the Table of the House, of the Home Ministry (Vigilance Division) in which are explained the various measures that are being taken to check malpractices, to see that prompt action is taken regarding any cases that arise, to see that the whole administration is so improved and streamlined that occasions for such malpractices diminish. These things are being done not necessarily enough though, and so in this matter of vigilance, all these efforts to combat corruption are there in progress. I am absolutely sure that much more-remains to be done. Also in this matter of corruption it is the people who should come forward, the people concerned and when they are disposed to co-operate with the administration, well I think much better results pan be achieved. T may incidentally inform hon. Members that in Bihar—I have got papers before me—there was an anti-corruption day organised by the Bharat Sevak Samaj and large numbers of people are working .for it and here is a letter from the Chief Secretary of that Government written to the Bharat

Sevnik Samaj accepting the suggestions and expressing appreciation of the work that has been done. I believe this work can be greatly strengthened and it will lead to immense results, much more than could ever be possible by administration alone.

I am referring to one other point made by the hon. Mover of this Resolution, that there are so many Ministries concerned with various aspects of public co-operation and there is no co-ordination. I concede this point, that this element of co-ordination was somewhat weak and therefore now a decision has been taken to set up a co-ordination committee with which the various representatives of the various Ministries will be associated and in administering the amount available for public co-operation there will be all those who are concerned because in the matter of public co-operation something is being done in the Community Project areas, something is being done through the Health Ministry, something is being done through the work that we have carried out for the backward classes in the Home Ministry. So a co-ordination committee is being set up. The decision has been taken and the committee will start functioning very soon. The main question was whether in these things which have been suggested enough has been done. My answer is that all these things, which have been indicated here, are being attended to. Efforts are being made to give much greater attention to these various aspects and also to think of all other ways that are open to us realise the objective of this Resolution. I do not think, Sir, in view of that fact it would be really very necessary for me to make a formal acceptance of this Resolution. I would request the hon. Mover to consider the facts that I have given and there is a complete acceptance of the aim and the intentions of it, and the various suggestions that have been made in the House in order to make this work more effective will receive full consideration and we will benefit by them.

SHRI J. S. BISHT : Sir, I move closure of the debate in that there are only five minutes left and if Mrs. Parmanand can give her reply within that five minutes we can close at 5 o'clock.

I move :

"That the question be now put."

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The

I question is :

"That the question be now put." The motion was adopted.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am thankful to the House for taking such keen interest in this very important subject, specially to those Members who have participated in the debate. There were others, a few Members who wanted to speak but unfortunately, the Question Hour having encroached today on Non-Official Business because of the holiday in the week, I am sorry that was not possible.

Sir, there are only two points after the elaborate reply and the satisfactory promises given by the Minister, to which I would like to refer and those are, if I might have the attention of the hon. Minister that the object in bringing this Resolution before the House was that in spite of the question of the Five Year Plan coming up for discussion before the House for three days, there were some aspects, particularly of public co-operation, which not only required urgent attention as far as revising the present policy by Government was concerned but urgent attention by Members also and if I may, I would give one instance of how targets can easily slip from our hands in spite of definite planning and I would like to refer to our food situation. There was a time two years ago, when we were very happy that we were not only a self-sufficient country with regard food but we were able to export also, but it was only referred to yesterday on the floor of the House by the hon. Minister for Food and Agriculture that because of the anti-social elements in the country and the hoarding, etc. and some urgent problems like transport there has been shortage of food and Government is now thinking of importing sufficient quantities of food in order to meet the situation, to avoid a repetition of that situation. But what does this mean ? We who expected to save so much of foreign exchange by not having to purchase from foreign markets and use that currency for our development plans would again now be forced to spend money on that, and it is these anti-social elements that we have to think about. It is for this reason, Sir, that I was not, in the words

[Dr. Shrinuti Seeta Parmanand.]

of Mr. Saksena "trying to awaken the awakened" nor trying to awaken the sleepy. I never thought that the Government were sleepy but I only wanted that Government should see that when the Planning Ministry sets down certain definite targets for certain Ministry like Information, Education, Food and Agriculture or Commerce and Industry, it should see from time to time—I am glad the hon. Minister said they have set up a co-ordination committee—it should see and check up from time to time whether the plans that they have before them in order to have the successful implementation of the Plan are likely to be achieved or not, and this is necessary to be done, if I may say so, every three months or oftener. Sir, We have been told that on the Second Five Year Plan Government is going to spend so much money and so much of it is going to be borrowed from other countries. If by any such mistake as over the food situation through anti-social elements being allowed to operate we are reduced to a situation when the Plan is not much of a success economically, as it is possible, the country will be in such a position that inflation and other dire consequences would follow. I am glad, Sir, the Resolution has served to focus the attention of the House on this fact and I once again thank the House for the way in which it has considered the question.

One word, Sir, with regard to women's co-operation Mr. Lakshmi Menon was right in pointing out that Government should invite the co-operation of women. I thought from the reply of the hon. Minister that that point was not exactly appreciated, and so I would like to emphasise here that it is

not women coming forward to co-operate that would lead to the success of the Plan but it is the Government and the other agencies making it possible for women to gain the knowledge and general competence to come forward to co-operate in the Plan that is to be thought of, and it is for this reason that, as Mrs. Lakshmi Menon pointed out, when the nutrition and other questions of the villages are to be considered, the present policy of giving that information to men and men instructors and through literature to the literate men should be replaced by making it a point that this information is made available to women, particularly in rural areas and backward homes, so that those who are home-makers are able to see that the future of the country from every aspect of home-making is bright. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : What about your Resolution ?

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND : I am sorry. In view of the assurance given by the hon. Minister I withdraw it because the object in moving a Resolution is not only to see whether it is technically accepted or not but in making Government appreciate the views and the apprehensions that the Members have in their minds and give an assurance that there would be no room left for such apprehensions.

The Resolution was, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

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

The House then adjourned at five of the clock till eleven of the clock Saturday, the September 1956.