

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No discussion after a statement.

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY: I want one information.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Nothing now. We go to the discussion on the Planning Commission Report.

SHRI B. GUPTA (West Bengal): I know discussions are not allowed by our Government here.

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY: Can I not have further information?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He has made a full statement.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: I have no further information to add.

SHRI B. GUPTA: The information is a false information.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY: He has made an utterly incorrect statement in order to shield his officers. Besides the Praja Socialist Party, I want to know, whether a large number of Hill People have also joined the movement.

SHRI B. GUPTA: I think it is most undesirable that on such matters, when we demand such discussions, the Government fights shy of such discussion and they never allow a just thing. They come with statements which are evidently false.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. 'False' is an unparliamentary word.

SHRI B. GUPTA: It is not.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is unparliamentary, you take it.

SHRI B. GUPTA: You give me a ruling.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is unparliamentary.

SHRI B. GUPTA: I give it a respectable name. The statement is utterly incorrect and I think such matters should be discussed here. We want to prove that the statement is incorrect.

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR (West Bengal): The statement was asked for long ago.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There cannot be any discussion on a statement.

SHRI B. GUPTA: Where can we appeal?

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY: In fact, I gave notice for a discussion and.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Government has made a detailed statement.

SHRI B. GUPTA: It is a unilateral statement to mislead the country.

MOTION RE: PROGRESS REPORT OF THE FIVE YEAR PLAN FOR THE YEAR 1953-54—continued

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Deshmukh, you have taken 29 minutes already. I have to ration your time.

SHRI H. C. MATHUR (Rajasthan): Even if you give half an hour to 3 or 4 Members, you will be able to accommodate all others by giving them 10 minutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You heard the complaint the other day. When we rationed the time later, some Members refused to speak. I don't want the same thing to happen. Some hon. Members can be allowed if the House agrees—I have no objection—but I don't want anybody to complain that in the beginning itself it was not rationed.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, there can be no complaint

against anything done by you because we all are certain that you will be actuated by justice towards everybody but it is plain that so important a subject cannot be discussed in ten minutes. If it is the ruling of the Chair that none should speak for more than 10 minutes I am afraid it will be impossible to discuss so vast a subject as the progress of planning during the last 3 years. I think—and I do not say this sarcastically and I say it in all seriousness—that in that case the discussion may well be given up because we had an opportunity of discussing this matter in connection with the budget debate in March and April last. And we shall very soon have another opportunity of discussing this very matter. Why this particular subject was chosen for discussion I do not know. But the subject having been chosen either we should have adequate time for the discussion or, I submit in all seriousness, the discussion should be abandoned, because we shall have ample opportunity of discussing this matter in connection with the Budget.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN If the House agrees I would suggest we give fifteen to twenty minutes for leaders of the parties and ten minutes for other Members. I hope that would satisfy all.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE (West Bengal) Sir I fully support what Dr. Kunzru said just now for if we want a fruitful discussion and not a mere discursive discussion, then we should be given more time. Otherwise as Dr. Kunzru was saying there is no sense in having this debate at all. One cannot speak for just ten minutes and feel that he has done justice to the subject.

That time will be quite inadequate.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN The leader of a party gets about 20 minutes.

SHRI B. GUPTA (West Bengal)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN Even twenty minutes?

SHRI B. GUPTA It will be inadequate to make our views known on such an important matter as this is. I think the Government do want that we should give expression to our views on it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN But you may speak for half an hour, it is for you to adjust yourself. Now we will go on.

श्री एन० बी० दशमुख (हैदराबाद) उप-सभापति महोदय मैं सिर्फ पांच मिनट में दो तीन बातें बतला कर खत्म कर दूंगा। मैं कल पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू के सिलसिले में इकॉनामिक पोलिसी को निस्वत अर्ज कर रहा था। हम इकॉनामिक इक्विलिटी और सोशल जस्टिस को निस्वत बहुत कुछ बोलते हैं। मगर पंचवर्षीय योजना के इन तीन सालों में हमने उसकी तरफ कोई कदम नहीं उठाया है। हमारा प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब जब चीन से वापस आये तो उस वक़्त उन्होंने सोशलाइजेशन की निस्वत कुछ हिटिदिये और एंसा मालूम हुआ कि हमारी पंच वर्षीय योजना में इस सोशलाइजेशन का एपिलमेंट आ जायगा। लेकिन उस हाउस में जो इकॉनामिक स्टेटमेंट हमारा फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर सी० डी० दशमुख साहब ने पेश किया उससे पता यह चलता है कि पब्लिक सेक्टर के मुकाबिले में प्राइवेट सेक्टर को ही ज्यादा अहमियत दी गयी है। प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब के जो स्टेटमेंट्स मुख्तलिफ आँकात में हुये हैं और उनकी वजह से सरमायंदारों में जो अख्तिलाफ पैदा हो गया है उसको दूर करने की कोशिश इस इंडस्ट्रियल पोलिसी स्टेटमेंट या इकॉनामिक पोलिसी स्टेटमेंट में पाई जाती है जिस का नतीजा यह होगा कि पंचवर्षीय योजना के जो फायदे हो सकते हैं वे जिस तरह से गँने पहले अर्ज किया सिर्फ सरमायंदार ही ले सकेंगे हम सिर्फ सोशल जस्टिस और इकॉनामिक इक्विलिटी बोलते ही बोलते रहेगे और हमारा स्टैंप फीसिज्म की तरफ यकीनन टुर्कता जायगा। मैं इस नतीजे पर पहुँचा हूँ।

इस हद तक इस मामले में बोलने के बाद मैं यह कहूँगा कि इस पंचवर्षीय योजना के

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इम्प्लीमेंटेशन के सिलसिले में खास तौर पर हमारे हैदराबाद स्टेट की गवर्नमेंट प्राविंशियल-प्लेजम की तरफ बहुत झुकी हुई है। आप जानते हैं कि हमारे हैदराबाद स्टेट में तीन भूस्वतल्लिफ जवानों बोलने वाले लोग रहते हैं। तेलगू बोलने वाले लोगों का वहां डामिनेशन होने की वजह से गवर्नमेंट में उन्हीं की मेजोरिटी ज्यादा है और वे लोग ही वहां की पालिसी को चलाते हैं। वे लोग इस तरह से समझते हैं कि हैदराबाद के दूसरे इलाके करनाटक और महाराष्ट्रवाणी सिर्फ टैक्स देने के लिये हैं और फायदा सिर्फ तिलगाना के इलाके को पहुंच सकते हैं। जो पंच वर्षीय योजना के कागजात भेजे गये हैं उनके अनुसार ४५ करोड़ रुपये इस पंच वर्षीय योजना के लिये नियत किये गये हैं। लेकिन उसमें से महाराष्ट्रवाणी में सिर्फ दो करोड़ रुपये खर्च हुये हैं। उस इलाके की तरफ वह लोग मुतलक तवज्जो नहीं करते हैं। पहले हमारे चीफ मिनिस्टर साहब हमसे यह कहते रहे कि महाराष्ट्रवाणी में कोई ऐसा मुकाम नहीं है जहां पंच वर्षीय योजना को लागू किया जा सके और कुछ हासिल किया जा सके। लेकिन हमने जब दरियाफ्त किया तो मालूम हुआ कि उन्होंने किसी इंजीनियर को इंप्यूट नहीं किया था यह पता लगाने के लिये कि बाकई इस पंच वर्षीय योजना के सिलसिले में कोई योजना वहां पर लागू की जा सकती है या नहीं। ऐसा उन्होंने नहीं किया। बाद में उनको जब पता चला कि इन लोगों को मालूम हो गया है तो उन्होंने यह कहा कि वेंलोडी गवर्नमेंट ने यह सब किया है, हमने नहीं किया है। लेकिन बाद में जो उन्होंने योजना भेजी है वह अपूर्ण योजना भेजी है जिससे कोई फायदा नहीं हो सकता है। मैं यह अर्ज करूंगा कि बाकई पंच वर्षीय योजना का पूरा पूरा फायदा सब को मिलना चाहिये और जो बातें मैंने बतलायीं उन पर खास तौर पर गौर करना जरूरी है। मैं शुक्रीय के साथ खत्म करता हूं।

SHRI C. P. PARIKH (Bombay): Mr. Deputy Chairman, the Progress Re-

port of the Five Year Plan has been laid before the House and we find from it that we have made great advance in the matter of our agricultural and industrial production. This advance may not appear adequate, but it is on the right lines. It does not appear adequate because in the initial stages the schemes have to be worked out—and that takes time—in the absence of adequate amount of finance and machinery and manpower. Even so, we have good reason to feel satisfied that in the initial stages we have made good progress and a stable footing has been laid for the advance of our country. Of course, we are not satisfied with that and we should not rest satisfied with the progress that we have made in the initial stages, because we have now gained experience and with that experience we can make our future progress much more rapidly. We have now gained confidence that we can progress and therefore our future pace will be much faster.

First of all, the Planning Commission have fixed that the *per capita* income should be doubled within 27 years. I feel that that period is much too long and the people are impatient and they want to achieve this target much earlier. They want that the *per capita* income should be doubled by 1965, that is to say, in a period of 11 years and that should be the aim of the second Plan and the remaining years of the first Plan. This can easily be achieved, because we have unlimited resources of manpower in our country and we have great scope for increasing the agricultural production in the country. Our agricultural production should be improved as the yield per acre here is only about one-sixth of what it is in other countries. Our agricultural wealth being about Rs. 5,000 crores out of the total national wealth of Rs. 9,500 crores, we can easily double the total wealth by using better methods of cultivation and thus doubling the yield per acre. The first Plan has made certain big allocations for agriculture, but these are not

sufficient. We have to see that our agricultural holdings become economic. At present most of them are uneconomic holdings and we should devise methods through the formation of co-operative societies to create economic holdings and these co-operative societies can grow up voluntarily. Efforts should be directed in that direction so that the agricultural production may be trebled in ten years.

With regard to having a State Bank, the proposal to start such a bank in a short time is a welcome feature, although it has been a belated move and the action has been taken after such a long delay.

That is the main thing to the agriculturists at present because even for short term credit, the agriculturists lose 10 per cent. while buying the raw materials and while selling also they lose a further 10 per cent. The net income of the agriculturist will rise by about 15 per cent. if proper financing on short term basis is given to him. I read in the statement made in the other House that this State Bank will be worked on banking principles. I say, Sir, that if the State Bank is worked on commercial banking principles which are existing in the country, I think we have no hope of the credit facilities being made available to the agriculturists in the manner that is desired and in the manner that is necessary. Most of the holdings are owner holdings and tenancy holdings and all the tenancy rights have been secured. In order that credit may be free, every tenant and every landholder should be given an amount equal to Rs. 500 or Rs. 750 and on that, no security should be asked for as the land and his tenancy right should be considered sufficient security for such an advance. If the man is unable to pay owing to less outturn of crop, naturally he will be asked to pay next year and the amount should be limited to 1/3rd of the expected outturn of production. In this way, Sir, credit would be available to him.

With regard to minimum prices for agricultural goods, you will see that bajra, jowar and gram have already reached the level of 200 to 210; the whole general index is 350 and the index in regard to these three commodities is very low. There are various committees for agricultural commodities and it is necessary to fix minimum prices for these commodities in order that they may not fall further by depression of prices manipulated by those who have finance. This is not a new experiment and it should not be difficult for the State to undertake this experiment because six years back the State fixed the minimum prices of raw cotton and took over 2,50,000 bales. Therefore, Sir, it is not a new experiment and the sooner that is announced and the sooner that is enforced, the better will it be for the country and for the agriculturists in order to ensure next year's crop also.

Mr. Sinha said that the private sector has not made progress. I think, Sir, it is a misnomer. What is the private sector? The private sector consists of the big industrialists who are carrying on large scale establishments; the private sector consists of small industrialists; the private sector consists of peasants and the private sector consists of also other people who are engaged in activities, non-agricultural as well as agricultural. The private sector consisting of the organised big industries is only very small; out of Rs. 1,800 crores in the Plan, only Rs. 350 crores were for the organised private sector. Out of that Rs. 350 crores, Rs. 150 crores were for rehabilitation and renovation and expansion and for new ventures only Rs. 200 crores were provided. In this, about Rs. 70 crores have been spent in the first three years and the remaining amount of Rs. 130 crores is likely to be spent in the next two years. Now, the private sector will have discharged its full responsibility but we have to consider the other aspect as to why the private sector on paper, appears not to have

[Shri C P Paikh]
discharged its obligations. Within the private sector, three industries the oil refineries, aluminium and iron and steel, were targeted for Rs 117 crores. These industries are all highly technical and the Plan contemplated certain investments during one period but that cannot be tied down to that programme because of the highly technical nature of the industries, also, these depend on so many other circumstances but progress is going on and I am sure Sir, by the end of the Plan period, the full capital investment in the three industries will be available. Therefore in the private sector whatever was sought to be invested, has been invested, whatever production was expected has been achieved and so, it is wrong to imagine that the private sector has not discharged its duty.

Now, Sir, excepting for these Rs 350 crores which were assigned to the organised private sector, the balance of Rs 1,500 crores were assigned to smaller producers. There should be no apprehension that the private capital is not forthcoming in the way in which it should come. In my opinion the Planning Commission has underestimated the requirements of investment in the private sector and fixed assets. I think Sir, more capital can still be forthcoming. Why is it not forthcoming? The Planning Commission can see that in the private sector they have kept such loopholes for making profits in easy industries, consumer industries, they have made also an allowance in the distribution rate where the profits are high. Therefore if the profits are confined only to those industries then that capital which is invested in those industries which are giving a high return will never be invested in the other industries which are required for the development of our country. For developing industries which are difficult and which are of a highly technical nature, some mopping up, by taxation, in those industries where the margin is great will have to be done.

I will come to the next point, about the public sector. It is unfortunate, Sir, that we have to admit that the public sector has not been managed in as efficient a way as the private sector because we are not following the lines of managing the public sector in a way in which we should, on commercial lines. I say, Sir, that many officials are appointed as directors or as supervisors to look into those works and I say, Sir, many officers are functioning in 30 or 40 companies and when one officer is functioning in 30 companies I am unable to understand how he can devote his attention in a way which is necessary for running that concern and for advising it for its execution in the way that should be done. All these officers, I say Sir, are highly intelligent and they are capable of the task but more work has been assigned to them than they can discharge in the period of time which is given to them. The private sector is successful on account of constant watch on the works but that is missing in the public sector and unless and until we put officers, non-official people also, in a way that they can devote more time, the public sector will not be successful in the way in which we desire.

I now come, Sir, to the next point about the jute industry. Jute has suffered in our exports, our exports are going down in jute and the consequence is that other countries have gained the market. I say, Sir, if we do not take further steps for improving the jute industry, we shall have also to repent for not doing so in time. I suggest that a technical survey should be made of the jute industry and of those units which are not functioning and which require renovation and reconditioning of machinery should be compelled to do so because this is an exporting industry and we can no longer ignore it in the way the private interests do for their own profits. We should do that. The second thing is that we should resort to State trading in the matter of jute. We should buy the jute manufactured

from the industry at the ferry-wharf price and the State should undertake to export them by giving commission to the private agencies which are working at present. Then only we shall be able to achieve our targets. There is an export duty on jute and, therefore, it is very easy for the State to sell even though the margin is less. Now the private individuals will always sell when the margin is according to their requirements. This situation has to be remedied.

There is one last problem I want to refer to and that is the great problem of unemployment. The Plan has made enough provision and there are also many recommendations but the problem has not been solved and the situation which is reported in the Progress of the Plan is not satisfactory to us. We see, Sir, that in the matter of developing small and cottage industries, only the handloom industry has been supported and the rest of the industries have been neglected, up to now and no effort has been made and no positive steps taken for supporting them on the lines laid down by the Planning Commission. The Planning Commission have laid down the lines of action and they have said that in the case of cottage industries, there should be reservation of fields of production, that there should be no extension of the existing units, that there should be a cess on the production of large scale manufacturers and so on. All these recommendations have not been implemented. If we are able to run the handloom industry efficiently in competition with the mill industry by the measures which we have adopted, we can very well run about 40 or 50 industries in the country on the same basis and provide employment to about 40 lakhs of persons. This is no exaggeration. And we have not been doing that. I do not understand why we are not doing that and why we are not adopting these measures so necessary.

Lastly, Sir, I would make one point as regards our austerity measures to

be taken in order that our savings may increase. Without our savings nothing would be possible. Therefore I say, Sir, with regard to the sales tax which is levied there should be demarcation of what are the goods which are essential for human consumption, what are the goods which are semi-luxury goods and what are the goods which are luxury goods. After making this demarcation it should be seen, Sir, that essential goods bear only a nominal sales tax, the semi-luxury goods bear sales tax to the extent of 2 to 4 annas in a rupee and the luxury goods to the extent of 8 annas in a rupee. This is the system which is prevailing in other countries, I mean, the United States and the United Kingdom. I think Sir, unless we follow these methods we will not be able to adopt austerity measures and increase our savings, and I think it is necessary, Sir.

One last point is the matter of housing, which is most important in our country, and in order that in housing greater investment can be made we have to take bold measures. First of all, as regards industries, I will say that every industrial concern which is employing more than 200 persons should be compelled to own one house for every 20 workers, should be compelled to build one house and own it for every 20 workers. Thereby the industry will be discharging its functions to a certain extent.

Then the second point I may suggest is that with regard to every capitalist who is having more than 2 lakhs of rupees he should be compelled to own a house for hiring to other people to the extent of Rs. 2,000 or one per cent of his capital. He must own this house and in this way many houses will be built and if one does not own this house a housing corporation should be started on which he must invest that sum according to the capital he is owning. In this way, Sir the housing programme will be developed.

These are the main features on which if we want to develop our pro-

[Shri C. P. Parikh.]
duction to the extent of three times, our *per capita* income will naturally be double before 1965 and the period of 27 years which is assigned by the Planning Commission is too long and I think, Sir, the patience of the country will be exhausted if we proceed in that way in which we are doing at present. We have gained experience for the first three years and now it is our duty to utilise that experience in order that the Welfare State will be established at an early date. It is no use talking of socialism, it is no use talking of other methods. All 'isms' are useless. What we want, Sir, is whether the *per capita* income increases to double within a period of ten years, that is the main criterion, and if it is increasing I think Sir, we have achieved the goal and that goal will be satisfactory to all the political parties in the country to whatever trends of opinion they may belong.

With these words, Sir, I support the motion that has been moved.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: Mr. Deputy Chairman, when we had a discussion on the execution of the Plan in April last the Finance Minister admitted that the expenditure on the Plan had fallen short of that required by the Planning Commission's Report. He hoped, however, that in future progress would be more rapid. So far as the year 1953-54 was concerned, the total expenditure on the Plan had to be reduced from the original figure of, I think, Rs. 413 crores to about Rs. 356 crores, and the Finance Minister said in his Budget Speech, "The current year's budget provided for an overall deficit of Rs. 138 crores of which Rs. 28 crores was proposed to be met from the cash balances and the balance of Rs. 110 crores by the expansion of floating debt. On the basis of the revised estimates, the overall deficit will amount to Rs. 128 crores." Now what we have to see, Sir, is whether this estimate has been realised. Before doing so, I should

like to refer to the Progress Report for 1953-54 that has been circulated to us and to the speech made by Shri Gulzarilal Nanda yesterday. The Report does not make any exaggerated claims. It admits the defects that have shown themselves and the slow progress made in the execution of the Plan. Shri Gulzarilal Nanda too made a sober speech yesterday. What he said amounted to this. Your expectations and our expectations may not have been fulfilled. Nevertheless a great deal of substantial work has been done and he confined himself in the main to giving figures in order to show to what extent agricultural and industrial production had advanced during the last three years. Sir, these admissions on the part of the Planning Commission are not of such a character as to make us feel that the defects would soon be remedied and that we shall soon be able to go forward much more rapidly than we have done hitherto. Take first the year 1953-54. Although the estimate of the expenditure on the Plan was reduced, I doubt whether even the revised estimate of expenditure will be fulfilled. I find from the figures available from this Progress Report and the Report of the Reserve Bank of India for 1953-54, that while on the 1st April 1953 the cash balance amounted to Rs. 99 crores, on the 31st March 1954 it amounted to about Rs. 42 crores only. This figure of Rs. 42 crores is not given in any report, but I have been able to obtain it from the Finance Ministry. It seems that this will be the actual closing balance in March 1954. Well, Sir, on the basis of these figures we see that the cash balances have been depleted to the extent of Rs. 57 crores. I come, Sir, to the outstanding Treasury Bills. In March 1953 these Bills amounted to Rs. 315 crores while in March 1954 they amounted to Rs. 335 crores. That is, only about Rs. 20 crores have been obtained from this source. Thus taking the cash balances and the Treasury Bills together the Central Government were able to obtain only Rs. 77 crores as against the Rs. 128 crores that they needed in order to cover the deficit. Even if the actual

expenditure has been a little more than Rs 77 crores, it still shows that the expenditure will fall substantially short of the figure of Rs 128 crores

I should like to refer also to the balances of the State Governments. I find, Sir, that in March 1953 they amounted to Rs 20 crores while in March 1954 they amounted to Rs 63 crores. I do not know how the cash balances of the State Governments have increased but my suspicion is that the increase is partly due to the inability of the State Governments to spend as much as they were expected to do. I should like the representative of the Government who replies to the debate to throw some light on this matter. If it is true that the cash balances of the State Governments have increased partly because of their financial incapacity to find the money or administrative incapacity to spend it up to the required limit, then it means that the actual expenditure has been even less than what the difference between Rs 128 crores and Rs 77 crores indicates.

Now, I come to the figures of 1954-55. The budgeted expenditure on development is Rs 572 crores. We shall know on the last day of February next what the revised estimates of expenditure are but taking the figures as they are, it appears that we are bound to be faced with disappointment this year also. Taking the Centre and the States together, the Government have to find money to meet a deficit of about Rs 298 crores on development expenditure. Let us see to what extent they have been able to go in for deficit financing in order to cover this deficit. The Finance Minister said in his Budget Speech for 1954-55 that the Treasury Bills would have to be increased to the tune of Rs 250 crores. But taking the requirements of the Central and State Governments together, I think increased resources of that order were needed but such figures as I have been able to collect show that there will be a short-fall in expenditure of about Rs 100 crores at least. Let us take first the money obtained by the Gov-

ernment by the sale of Treasury Bills. The outstanding Treasury Bills on March 1954 amounted to Rs 335 crores, as I have already stated, and in December 1954—I believe, on the 10th December 1954—they amounted to Rs 360 crores. It is thus clear that the Government were able to obtain only Rs 25 crores from this source. Now, let us take the cash balances. The opening balance on 1st April 1954 was Rs 42 crores and on the 18th December, according to the Finance Ministry, it was Rs 62 crores. The Finance Minister told us that only about Rs 12 crores would be available from this source. The minimum amount to be kept in cash balance is Rs 50 crores. So taking these two together, it comes to Rs 25 crores plus Rs 12 crores, that is, Rs 37 crores. Then take the State Governments. Their cash balances have been reduced from Rs 63 crores in March 1954 to Rs 8 crores on the 10th December 1954. That is, the balances have been reduced by about Rs 55 crores.

Then the National Plan Loan has given the Government much more than it expected. The success of the National Plan Loan is a matter of gratification to us though we are not sure whether the Government will be equally successful next year when they will have to float another loan. However, taking the States and the Centre together about Rs 93 crores had to be borrowed but the actual realisation amounted to Rs 156 crores, that is, the Government got about Rs 63 crores more than it budgeted for. We thus see taking the extra amount obtained from loans, Treasury Bill and the cash balances, the total for nine months comes to Rs 143 crores. If the progress during the remaining three months is of the same kind, the Government will have found Rs 190 crore to cover a deficit of Rs 297 crores. There will thus be a short fall of about Rs 100 crores. It is obvious, Sir, in view of this shortage, that the expenditure to be incurred in the last year of the Plan, namely, 1955-56, will be substantially greater than that in

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March last. According to my figures, the total expenditure on the Plan by the end of 1954-55 will be of the order of Rs. 1,300 crores. The total expenditure required in order to complete the Plan is now Rs. 2,285 crores.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: Rs. 2,249 crores.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: It is not Rs. 2,249 crores because I understand the expenditure on the Plan which we thought had been increased by only Rs. 180 crores in March last has been now raised further by Rs. 36 crores. The total expenditure will thus amount to Rs. 2,285 crores and consequently if the Plan is to be fully carried out, about Rs. 1,000 crores will have to be spent in the last year. I do not think judging from past experience, that it will be possible for the Government to spend a sum of this order in one year. Again, Sir, while a certain amount of expenditure has been incurred hitherto, we do not know whether the money has been spent as profitably as it should have been. I shall no doubt be confronted, again, with the figures that were quoted by Mr. Nanda yesterday. But the figures that he quoted do not show that we have got full value for the money that we have so far spent. Our administrative organisation is still, I understand, not up to the mark and, although the Planning Commission has been considering this matter for three years, I am not aware that any substantial improvement has been made in respect of this matter.

Sir, I should like to say just one or two words more before I sit down. I have, so far, referred only to the public sector, but the Planning Commission's Five Year Plan includes expenditure not merely on the public sector but also on the private sector. The total investment—rather using the word 'investment' to cover, in the main, net additions to capital equipment and complete construction—was to be of the order of Rs. 3,500 crores. And this investment was to take place almost equally in the public and pri-

rate sectors. We should, therefore like to have some information about the progress of expenditure in the private sector. Now, it is not easy, I know, to obtain those figures for the unorganised private sector. But since our progress and our hopes for the future depend not merely on the development of the organised sector, but also on the development of the unorganised sector, steps should be taken to collect such information as is possible at the present time. Taking even the organised sector, the organised private sector, we do not possess much information about it. We asked for it in April last, but the Finance Minister was unable, and he frankly admitted that he could not give us very definite information on that point. We were told by the previous speaker that this so-called expenditure on this organised sector was to be very small. I am afraid I cannot agree with him. For out of the expenditure of about 700 crores of rupees to be incurred on the organised sector, both public and private, Rs. 94 crores only was meant for the public sector. If to this is added the money required for depreciation charges and daily requirements, it will be seen that the sum required for the private sector is very substantial. It may amount to as much as Rs. 500 crores.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: Rs. 380 crores is the figure.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: Well, I think, the figure is Rs. 323 crores according to the Plan, but if you take the other things into account, namely, depreciation charges and the working expenses

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: It includes depreciation charges.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: ...then it would be much greater. I hope therefore, that the Government will be able to tell us that during the eight months that have elapsed since the Finance Bill was considered, they have been able to collect some information both with regard to the organised and the unorganised private sectors.

Sir, I have no time to deal with any other points, but I should like to say in the end, that we have really had no planning properly so-called up to the present time. I fear, and I think this was admitted by Shri Gulzarilal Nanda yesterday, that the Plan consists, in the main, of figures submitted by the different departments. I hope that this stage of things will change in the future, because if planning is to be limited to the demands made by every department, then, surely we do not require a Planning Commission. Some clerks can do the business. The Planning Commission is required to give directives on important points. It must have some objective in view and with that objective in view, it must direct the various departments to prepare plans for their development to the required extent. Unless this is done the object of planning will not be fully achieved. The Finance Minister stated in the other House the other day—notwithstanding our sad experience hitherto—that in the next Plan period the expenditure on development will be of the order of one thousand crores per year. Now, we should like to know, in so far as information is available on this point, on what basis this figure has been arrived at. What is the relative importance attached to the various requirements of the country and how Government expect to meet so large a sum, when so far as we can judge from the figures before us, they will not be able to spend even about Rs 2,300 crores by the end of the first Plan period? Indeed, so far as I can see, the expenditure will not exceed Rs 1,800 crores. My hon friend, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, said in another place, a couple of days ago, that Government expected to spend about Rs 2,000 crores. I doubt whether even that sum can be spent. Probably the expenditure will be between Rs 1,700 and Rs 1,800 crores. I should, therefore, like to have full information from Government on all these points, because if Government merely proceed with paper plans surely they cannot lead to the economic progress of the country in any important sense. What we want is that the

economic condition of the people should be improved as quickly as possible, and unless more resources are available, none of the Plans that we make can be executed. Perhaps Government expect more help from external sources. If so, we should be given full information with regard to the negotiations that have been carried on since the progress of the Plan was discussed in April last.

SHRI BISWANATH DAS (Orissa).
Sir, we are thankful to the hon Minister in charge of Planning for having given us an opportunity to discuss the progress of this Plan. Sir, my only complaint is that the time allowed for this discussion on an important and vital question is very small, and unfortunately, this resolution comes at a time when most of the Members have either gone or are packing to move from Delhi to their places, Sir, whatever that may be, we are thankful for the opportunity that is afforded to us.

The Plan concerns the spirit of the Constitution and especially of the Directive Principles that have been laid down in our Constitution. In this connection, I especially invite the attention of this House to article 37 where it has been stated that though these are not, enforceable, they shall continue to be the principal aim and achievement of the Administration of the country. Article 39(a) lays down that the State shall direct its policy to secure an adequate means of livelihood for its citizens. In this connection, we have to consider the difficulties in the way of achieving this goal. Sir, we are alive to the difficulties that are there in the way of the Government in Planning, as also, in trying to fulfil the aims of the Plan. British Government, as is well-known, left nothing but poverty, starvation, wants and control. The Administration had thus to start, the Government had to start from scratch, and had to face many a hurdles in its way. The conditions of 1954, however, are not the same as those of 1947 or 1948 or 1949. Therefore to that extent, the working

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 of the Plan has been able to effect certain changes in the economic situation of the country, and even the man in the street is able to feel that there has been a change and that change is for good. Sir, that is the general impression. But let me warn those in power and those in charge of the Administration that this is not what is expected of us, and much less of the Plan. Sir, true it is that in giving effect to the agricultural aspect of the Plan we have gone a long way. We have not only liquidated the State Rulers, but also the zamindars, the inamdars, the jagirdars and the like and we are on our way to liquidate the concentration of holdings with individual ryots. Sir, that is an achievement worth noting. This takes us to our goal. We have entirely done away with the hierarchy of the land. Need I say that? But have we? True it is that we have done away with the hierarchy of the land, but the hierarchy of administration in the villages which the British Government had built up and maintained all along has not yet been done away with. That administration has not yet been broken. Sir, we have still today in the villages village officers, not only with heredity in administration, but also with primogeniture. Take the case of police patels, the revenue patels in the State of Bombay or in the State of Madras or in the State of Andhra or Orissa where you have village karnams and Kargis under the Madras Act of 1955, who governed not only by the principle of heredity, but also by the principle of primogeniture. If you are out to break the hierarchy of land, as you have already done, the process cannot be complete without your breaking the hierarchy, the graded hierarchy, that you have in the administration of villages. Sir, you have broken, as I have stated the hierarchy of land. But have you really achieved the aim? No. What have you done? You have kept up the planters, you have kept up the mine owners. Who were these people? They were great supporters, they were the back-

bones of the British Administration. And today they have the best of both the worlds. They had all the advantages under the British Government. Now they are as they were before. Sir, look at the analysis given in the lucid speech of the hon Finance Minister, we find that the foreign investments in this country amount to about Rs 320 or Rs 325 crores. And, according to him, the amount of dividends and profits taken out of this country is to the extent of over Rs 30 crores annually. I think, Sir, I have a right to ask the Government as to why they are trying to give the best of both the worlds to these gentlemen and especially to these foreign interests, when they have broken the backs of the very people the inamdars, who were the backbone of the national movement? Inamdars had helped the nationalists and fought against the Imperialism along with us side by side. Sir, is it fair that we should leave the inamdars in the lurch, who were, till yesterday and are today, with us who were with us in the struggle and who are today with us also in the process of construction? Where are they? You have liquidated the inamdars, you have not given them compensation nor have you been able to rehabilitate them. Inamdars are very small agriculturists. Some of them were letting out lands and were living on the incomes of the land that was let out. Liquidate them by all means, they do not object to it. But I think, they have a claim either for rehabilitation or for compensation. Now, having liquidated most of the hierarchical system which the British had created on land, what is your policy? Socialistic? So far so good but we should like to have a clear picture of your policy. Any incomplete and indefinite thinking and action in the matter of land is bound to lead to disaster and confusion. Even brothers fall out on occasions with lathies and axes over a plot of land.

SHRI B GUPTA But they fall in love with the British

SHRI BISWANATH DAS: I would beg of the Government to think clearly and pursue a course of action without any hesitation or without any undue haste. Therefore, while I support the declaration of the Prime Minister that the policy of India hereafter will be socialistic and that everything else has to adjust itself to it, I would call for a clear thinking, clear and definite thinking in all its details so that we can go on without let or hindrance.

The other question which necessarily comes in along with this is the development of agriculture. How could you develop agriculture? You have no price policy. The other day the hon. the Minister for Agriculture said that he would not accept nor announce any price policy. How can you go on with a planned programme without a price policy? If a price policy is not put into operation, the result will be no planned progress. You cannot exercise any control over steep price falls. In fact, hoping that the Government would take it into their heads to have a price policy we agreed to give them the necessary powers, and without any difficulty or delay, by passing the Constitution (Amendment) Act. Therefore, I would implore the Government to come out with a price policy especially in respect of the cereals, jute, cotton, sugarcane and sugar. The cereals and sugar are primary necessities of life, and the other two—jute and cotton—are not only essential commodities but are also earners of foreign exchange. Under these circumstances, I would implore the Government to think of a price policy and announce it at the earliest possible moment, without which your planned programme is bound to suffer.

The hon. the Finance Minister has discussed the question of unemployment. In fact, this is the backbone of all planning. In the course of his lucid speech, he puts the unemployment figure at 24 millions. I do not know how he has been able to arrive at this figure. For the first time in India, the 1951 Census undertook the very difficult and arduous task of taking figures of unemployment. From the

Indian Census Report of 1951, look at the economic tables in Vol. I, Part B, you will see that the agricultural population of India is assessed at 100 millions. That means, in round figures, about 25 crores of people. Of this number, the agricultural classes have been assessed at 57 millions, and non-earning dependents have been assessed at 89 millions. That means, taking agriculture as an industry and barring other industries and avocations, the non-earning dependents are of the order of 9 crores. Taking 15 per cent. as the school-going population, you will easily come to a figure of 14 crores from the agricultural population itself being unemployed. Added to this, you have got various other industries and the unemployed there, you have the vagrants, beggars and the like. Taking all these together, I fail to see how the hon. the Finance Minister has, in his masterful analysis of the economic situation of the country, estimated the unemployed only at 24 millions forgetting absolutely the Sample Survey Returns and that the small fraction of the population is to be rehabilitated in the course of the next five years is the most unhappy feature of the Plan.

The other item about which I want to mention is this. The most important aspect of Planning is its execution. You have entrusted the execution of your plans to your Government machinery. What is the machinery? The machinery of a Government is represented by the bureaucracy. Are these people fit persons to be in charge of planning and also the execution of your plans? In these circumstances, are you sure that the money and the powers that you leave in their hands are well-utilised? I have personal knowledge of misuse, and I have also heard from other sources. That is the reason why you have no mass response to the extent to which you ought to have had in this huge task. I am afraid that much of your work and the purpose of the plan will remain unfulfilled unless and until you have got mass response. There is no use referring

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to China. Here we have accepted the democratic approach and planning. I stand by it. Popular enthusiasm will not be visible, mass action will not be available to Government, unless and until the people of the country are taken into confidence and are entrusted with the work. For myself, I am anxious to help you but I don't know where I am and who needs my co-operation and help. Therefore I would appeal to my hon. friends on the Treasury Benches to have trained popular personnel who have outlook, vision, suffering for their country and who have been anxious to help you in the shaping of the fortunes and future of the country.

SHRI B. GUPTA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, we are in the midst of a veritable Ministerial chorus in praise of the great Five Year Plan and it is gratifying to note that some hon. Members on the Congress side have not quite been able to join this chorus. But at the same time we also note that the same chorus has been joined by some financial interests both in England and in the U.S.A. They are full of praise for the great Five Year Plans and as far as our Prime Minister is concerned, he is so infatuated with his Plan and is enamoured of the achievements that he had made that he is now dreaming of socialism and talking about socialist pattern. We are quite interested to see how the hon. Prime Minister with the monopolists, both British and Indian, on the one side and the Princes and the Landlords on the other, marches to his socialist goal. We would like to watch his performance with any amount of interest and I can tell him that we are quite watching it. But turning to other men—great men—those who are dealing with this Plan and the affairs of the Planning Commission, I can tell you that the facts belie their tall claims. We heard the speech yesterday made by the Minister for Planning and we had also been apprised of the speeches made in the other House by the Finance Minister and the Minister for Industry and

Commerce. I think they did not speak the same words but between them they tried to make out a case and to tell the world as to how wonderfully we are progressing under the Five Year Plan, how soon, if we are to believe their words, the land will be flowing with milk and honey, how all our problems and worries would be solved. This is what they want to tell us. But if you look at the facts as they stand today, you find something else. Of course to the hon. Ministers speaking in this air-conditioned hall, the growing unemployment in the country, the evictions of the peasantry, the wants of the middle-class people and the loss of jobs on their part or the shrinking of education and cultural fields really do not matter at all. They are interested in certain figures and the jugglery of figures—and some of them have become inimitable past-masters but Sir, we would like to present the figures from the angle of the people, from the angle of the life and problems of the people. After all in the final analysis, it is the material and cultural well-being of the people that matters.

The national income is supposed to have increased. Mr. G. L. Mehta speaking in the U.S.A.—and he is a big chap that way—said that the national income in the plan period had gone up by 14 per cent. This claim is entirely wrong and is not borne out by facts at all. If you look at the figures of the Statistical Institute of Calcutta, you will find that in 1949-50 the *per capita* national income was Rs. 248.6. In the year just preceding the plan period i.e., 1951-52, it was Rs. 251.7 and in 1952-53 it is Rs. 261.2. These figures are taken from the Statistical Institute of Calcutta which is patronised by the Government of India and has been assigned important responsibilities. According to these figures, the increase comes to about 5 per cent. That is to say, at this rate we will take not 27 years to double the national income of our country but nearly 60 to 70 years, to reach that goal. This is what we find

from the figures given by some of their semi-official or semi-Government institutions. But yet some of them are saying, 'Oh! See, the national income has gone up!' But in a country like ours, even this national income does not give a clear idea of the picture because the inequalities here are really staggering. On the one side you have the Nizams, on the other side you have the landless labour, sunk in poverty and want. On the one hand you have the monopolists of the British brand and the Birlas, on the other hand you have the unemployed people marching in the streets in procession, demanding their right to exist as decent human beings.

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN Mr Gupta, don't mention any names

SHRI B GUPTA I find the report mentions the names. Anyway, my time will be lost. Now in such a country, to rely upon the national income figures is not enough. Because I might as well put my money in bank with Mr X, multi-millionaire and say 'Now I am also a multi-millionaire dividing it that way'. It is not like that. Not at all. My hon friend Mr Mazumdar was telling me "we go to a restaurant and you eat a chicken and I sit there and then you say on an average we have eaten half a chicken". That kind of average does not work at all. Even the hon Members would understand that. In our country—I am quoting the Government figures—the total number if you like to look into the Employment Exchange and the Labour Register, which gives only a part of the picture, not the full one, you will find that from 4,93,000 un-employed in July 1953 it has increased to 5,89,000 in July 1954. It is nearly 20 per cent increase. If you look at matriculates unemployed probably you will find in the corresponding period the number has increased from 1,50,000 to 1,98,000—an increase of 28 per cent. We should have thought that at the end of 3 years or in the middle of the 4th year of the Plan, the unemployment in the country would decline. Nothing of

the kind has happened. Now certain references had been made to the surveys that had been taken by the authorities of the Government in order to find out the employment position in the country. New Delhi survey showed 63 per cent of the men and 76 per cent of the women are employed and the remainder had already some kind of employment but registered themselves with the Exchange with a view to seeking further employment assistance. In Calcutta, the survey revealed that the working force consisted of 40.3 per cent of the population. Of the aggregate working force, roughly a fifth was found employed and half of them belong to the matriculate group, with their qualifications ranging from matriculation and upwards. Then there was some survey conducted in Travancore Cochin and there also you find the figures were roughly 16.1 per cent in the case of men and 13.2 per cent in the case of women—those who seek employment or are prepared to work. I am talking only of them. Then there was a survey in Kolhapur—in Batala village blocks—and there also you find that the persons who offered themselves for employment amounted to 39 per cent in the Kolhapur block and 41 per cent in the other. This shows that the unemployment position is something colossal. Unemployment is growing on all sides and in every sphere of life. And if you take the unemployment in our rural areas, I do not know the exact figures, and I take whatever material is available from the Government publications, it is simply staggering. I would like to refer only to the report of the Grow More Food Campaign and there you find it stated that roughly about four-fifths of the agricultural population can find work in farming operations for a third or fourth of the year and so the rest of them are unemployed. These Sir, are the views of Shri V T Krishnamachari, the Vice-Chairman of the Planning Commission. We have worked out the position and on this calculation it comes to this that for the whole year, only one-third of the agricultural population can be employed and the two-thirds that are

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left out are in the position of being unemployed. In the countryside, the unemployment is something staggering. At the Ottawa Conference held recently, the hon. Finance Minister himself admitted that about 20 millions of our people were unemployed in the countryside and he disclosed that figure in order perhaps to claim more assistance from his American friends. But that apart, the fact remains that even the Government admits that, and I say this growing unemployment is something really appalling for any economy in our country. That is so far as unemployment is concerned.

Therefore, when we talk about national income, let us not forget the fact that the vast majority of our people are unemployed, without the means of livelihood, without even avenues or openings for employment being offered to them, living in destitution, and starvation, in queues of hunger and death. These facts should be borne in mind when we speak of national income. It is no good making fantastic suggestions that because some multi-millionaires and landlords have made enormous profits, the income of the nation has gone up. That way we do not calculate the prosperity of the nation, and most certainly not, when we talk about socialism.

Next I come to that stalking-horse of the propagandists of the Plan—the food situation. They say we have increased the production here, that it has gone up by 11 million tons, in the plan period of three years. Sir, I do not deny that the food position certainly has improved as far as the production is concerned, although I do not accept the government figures. But I should like to point out that their calculation is made on the basis of the 1950-51 period which was a bad year—a scarcity year. Compared to that year, they show that we have increased production by 11 and odd million tons. That is not a proper way of making the calculation. Then

various reasons are given, I know. But the main outstanding of them, and according to me, the only reason is the favourable monsoon. And surely monsoons and good rains do not constitute planning, just as we do not have a Minister here for rains.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, all the thundering and raining is on this side.

SHRI B. GUPTA: Let me only remind you of what the *Eastern Economist* says about the increase shown in the food production. This is what it says in its issue of the 25th June:

“The recent official estimates of cereal production include an increase due to the revision of the system of estimating through crop-cutting surveys which involves an increase in the figures of output, without an actual increase in the physical quantities available.”

This is what the *Eastern Economist*, a camp follower of the Government, their mouthpiece, says. Therefore, let us not talk much about this food production. You will also see that where the money has been spent much, the production has not gone up, for instance in the Punjab and PEPSU the production has not gone up as it has in other places. The fact is that the production has gone up due to the good monsoons, as for instance in Rajasthan. That is what we actually see. Therefore let them not claim that because of the Plan the food production has gone up. Indeed, the Planning Commission does not make such a tall claim as is made in these speeches. The Planning Commission claims something like 5 to 6 million tons, more or less, will be the permanent increase which will be retained in an average year, and as the *Eastern Economist* again says, there is nothing to assume that this achievement will be so enduring as to say that agriculture will never fall below the level that it has reached.

Even if they say that there is increased food production, it does not mean that we are getting more food, just as more Ministers do not mean we are getting more welfare for the people. We may have ten Welfare Ministers, and not welfare for the people at all. Now what is the position? Before the war, the food consumption per adult was roughly in the neighbourhood of 16·3 oz. and now it is 15 oz. with all this talk of increased production. If you accept the figures of the Cereal Diet Committee and the Nutrition Committee you will find that we are still below the level, the minimum level that they have suggested. In fact Dr. Ackroyd said we should normally consume food with the necessary calorific value and for this our consumption should be at least 16·8 oz. But our adults now consume only 15 oz. So don't tell us that food consumption is good, that people are getting plenty of food, for that claim cannot stand at all. In fact, our people are consuming much less food than they used to do before the war, and if with all your planning, the people cannot reach even that minimum level, well, the less talk about the achievements of the Planning Commission, the less trumpeting about it, the better, I should imagine.

Even look at the family budgets of the people. You will find that 70 per cent. of it is spent on food items and that leads to utter detriment and ruination of our people. In fact, due to lack of purchasing power, they cannot buy the food—even that quota that is available to them in the markets. So in the case of the poor people, they consume much less than 15 oz. per day. That is what I would like to tell them.

The next point is this. The improvement of the agriculturist was supposed to be the main objective of the First Five Year Plan. What do we find? What has happened to our agriculturists? I have referred to the evictions that are taking place. At the same time I would like to draw

attention to the sharp fall in the prices of cash crops and other agricultural commodities which has meant starvation, ruination and destitution and impoverishment to the overwhelming majority of the Indian masses, and there is no gainsaying the fact, that despite the three years' planning this process has been continuing, to the utter shame of the Government that is in power today. I would content myself with giving a few figures of prices. I know the figures will all be questioned and challenged, and therefore, I have taken them from Government sources, as far as possible. You will see that in the case of rice the fall in price has been 16·8 per cent. In the case of wheat it is 17·6 per cent. and in the case of gram it is as much as 35·8 per cent. In the case of gur the fall is 13 per cent. These figures have been taken from the Reserve Bank of India's Bulletin for November 1954.

You find that other commodities, like pepper, have registered a decline in prices, a very steep and alarming decline. It is because of the fact that the exploitation of the peasantry has become the declared policy of the imperialists, who control the capitalist world market today. It is because of the fact the monopolists, the wholesalers and some big landlords are interested in exploiting the peasantry in contract with the foreign exploiter that this is happening. That is why the price is falling and this is something which has been admitted in the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee Conference and by the Government officials. I need not go into that but there is no protection whatsoever given in the Plan against the steep fall in the price of agricultural commodities. In Bengal, Sir, jute prices have fallen to such a level that the cost of production per acre is much higher than the price it fetches. To such a position we have been brought and we are told that we are progressing. If you look at agriculture as a whole, you will find a picture of agriculturists during evicted from land, being divorced from their means of

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production and you will also find unemployment growing amongst them and you also will find the price of agricultural commodities falling leading to their further impoverishment. That is the melancholy picture that you get if you look at the country-side.

Turn now to urban areas. It is said that industry has been prospering very much and claims are made, very tall claims again, in this field but let us see what the picture is. The index of production in industry stands at a level of 136 and odd per cent. They call this a great increase and the calculation is made on the basis of 1946 when production came to a very low level after the end of the war. Now, Sir, if you look at the year 1943-44, you will find that even then the production index was somewhere near 126 and then it declined and came down and we also know that it again began to rise. If we take the peak year before 1949 as the base then we find that the increase today comes to about only 4 and odd per cent. and not more than that. After all, we cannot calculate on that basis. Even in the British days, even during the war, even when the Bengal famine took place, there was very great rise in the industrial production and in the year 1944, it reached the peak. That is well-known and is given in all economic publications and materials accepted by the Government. Therefore, it is no use trying to give us that way a picture of industrial prosperity. I admit that in certain industries advances have been made, in the cement industry, in the cotton textiles industry and in certain other industries but at the same time, we must realise as to how this advance has been made. This advance has been made because of the heavy spending under the Plan. It is well-known, and Mr. Somani told us that with the Five Year Plan going, the production of cement will increase and that the cement industry will face very prosperous days. It is nothing secret; we understand as to why this is happen-

ing. At the same time, if you turn to the jute industry, you will find that there is a decline. In the steel industry the position is static, if not a decline. In the machine tool industry there is a decline. Some of the vital industries in India on which depends the industrialisation of the country are recording, despite all your tall claims, undoubted decline in production or are remaining static. Therefore, Sir, this is the position with regard to the industrial field. At the same time we find that the industrial profits are rising clearly. In 1950, the profit of a private concern was 7 per cent. of the paid-up capital and in 1953 it had risen to 18.6 per cent. of the paid-up capital. This is what we find. As far as the big concerns are concerned, the British concerns, you will find that all of them are making very high profits which they could not even imagine before the Plan. This is what they get. Those who talk about industrial prosperity would also do well to remember that in a number of industries, the installed capacity has not been fully utilised. In the engineering industry, 25 to 50 per cent. of the installed capacity is lying idle according to the Moolgaokar Committee's Report. In the chemical industry a big chunk of the installed capacity is lying idle. In the belting industry 31 per cent. of the installed capacity is working and 69 per cent. is lying idle. This is according to the memorandum recently published by the Indigenous Belting Industries Association which I have got with me. In the engineering industry, the installed capacity is not being fully utilised; in some industries, certain units are boosting up their production because of their monopoly position and that production is added up together to show that there is industrial prosperity in our country. This is a wrong way of looking at things. It is not correct to say that there is prosperity in the entire industrial sector when it is only a case of a few units of monopolists trying to expand their production. We find from the memoranda given by the smaller and the medium

industries that they are constantly complaining that they have to close down their factories for want of raw materials and financial assistance, that they cannot get on in the face of fierce foreign competition that is allowed to take place in the country even today and so on. This is something which does not show that all is well in your great industrial sector.

If you look at the private sector you will find that the investment is also very little which is yet another indication of the drawbacks in the industrial field, of the gap in the industrial field which the Government side has tried to conceal in their various statistical reports. I think the Planning Commission said that they have given some idea about their investment and the investment figures are quite interesting if you look at them. In the first two years, investment on account of expansion of private industrial capacity was estimated to be Rs. 53 crores and at the third year, it is said to be Rs. 45 crores. That is what they say. If you look at the deliberations of the meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, which was held in March this year, you will find that out of the Rs. 33 crores new capital issue sanctioned in respect of new industrial establishments, Rs. 18 crores went to the oil refinery. That was in favour of the foreigner. That is to say, roughly Rs. 15 crores of industrial investment in the private sector for new expansion had taken place in the year ending September 1953. If you take the existing industries, you will find that out of the Rs. 48 crores, the expansion in the existing undertakings is negligible. The total expansion was Rs. 48 crores but there is only one expansion for Rs. 18 crores in the iron and steel industry. If you leave out the oil refineries and iron and steel, practically no mentionable industrial investment has taken place in the important and vital private sector of our industry. This certainly is not a very encouraging picture so that we can talk about industrial prosperity and advance.

I come now to the question of finance. The hon. Shri Kunzru has spoken on this matter but I would like to say that there is a big gap in finance and the gap is growing every year, year after year of the Plan and you know how they are trying to meet it. They are trying to meet this gap by increasing the taxation on the people ...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Two minutes more.

SHRI B. GUPTA:.....by raising the tax level. I would like to bring one fact to your notice. In the year 1947-48 you will find that 47 per cent. of the total tax revenue came from direct tax and now, in the year 1953-54, that figure is 28.3 per cent.; as against that, the proportion of indirect taxation to the total revenue has gone up from 53 per cent. in 1947 to 71.7 per cent. in 1953-54. And 2 P.M. in the last two years, in the two years since 1952-53, according to our calculation, at least Rs. 50 crores have been found by way of additional taxation by the Centre and the States, Part A States only—I am not including Part B and Part C States. Therefore the more the gap increases the greater is the incidence of taxation on the people. Already we know the Planning Commission has issued a circular letter to the various State Governments telling them to explore the possibilities of increasing taxation and the betterment levies; irrigation rates and various other taxes including the sales tax are going up every day and every year in the various States. If you look at Uttar Pradesh, the great State of the great Prime Minister, you will be shocked to find that in the year 1948-49 the irrigation rates accounted for Rs. 85,41,000. In the Budget Estimates of the current year it is Rs. 5,15,12,000, this is how they are increasing the irrigation rates and other taxes, the incidence of which has to be borne by the people. In West Bengal, for instance we have to give Rs. 75 per acre as betterment levy in those areas where the Mayurakshi Project has come into operation,

[Shri B. Gupta.]
another Rs. 10 annually as irrigation rates for one crop plots and Rs. 15 for two crop plots. There is no end of this story. In all the States this taxation is being stepped up and naturally is being increased at the cost of the people.

(Time bell rings.)

Now that I have no time, I would like to conclude, I think, by saying that as far as the progress of the Plan in the Report goes, I think it is a Report made after their image, according to their thoughts, it bears no relation to the facts of life, facts of life for the peasants and the working class and the middle-class intelligentsia, and the small and medium size industries who are all in the grip of a serious and engulfing crisis. That is why I say this Report is a misleading document. The Congress propaganda is being carried on on the basis of this thing. But I can tell them. Let them go and look at the face of the people and see whether such claims as these are justified by what the people themselves are experiencing because their unemployment, want, starvation, suffering, disease, epidemics tell an entirely different story; these put before you a grim and tragic picture and this is the picture which these gentlemen who look at things with their coloured glasses, with their magnifying glasses would never see. This is why I say that the whole thing is a misleading document meant for party propaganda, this is not meant for the correct assessment of the economic situation of our country. This is not meant for trying to put the country on solid foundations. Sir, today all but the monopolists who are making enormous profits are suffering; today in the countryside all but the landlords who are making money, who are paid heavy compensation, are suffering. Therefore go to your socialism if you like with all these friends on your both sides, but for heaven's sake give up this sort of Plan, this sort of projects and ideas which hit the people. You can attack the British monopolists, you can attack the

landlords and bring out their capital for investment instead of allowing the foreigners to cart out money outside our country.

(Time bell rings.)

You can attack the rich people and find money instead of giving concessions to the landlords. That is how you can find money. You can open a new vista, new industries and establishments where you can find employment; you can by law stop eviction. You can expedite redistribution of land in a way in which the peasantry will get the land. You can find more jobs for the employable middle-class people instead of throwing your own employees of the Civil Supplies Departments in the streets unemployed and starving.

(Time bell rings.)

Mr. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You cannot take another half an hour to conclude your speech.

Shri B. GUPTA: To do all this you should leave the path you have taken and you should take to another path.

श्री श्री० नारायण (बम्बई) : उपसभापति महोदय, जब मैं भाई भूपेश गुप्ता का भाषण सुन रहा था तो कुछ ऐसा मालूम दता था कि इस हिन्दुस्तान में सारे अंधे ही अंधे बसते हैं क्योंकि डर है कि भाई भूपेश गुप्ता का भाषण सुनते रहें तो सिवाय अंधेरों के और कुछ दिखाई ही नहीं दगा, प्रकाश तो कहीं है ही नहीं। बात यह है कि मैं भाई भूपेश गुप्ता ही की बातें करता रहूँ तो मैं भी अंधा हो जाऊँ। हिन्दी में एक कहावत है कि अंधे के सामने जो रोता है वह खुद अंधा हो जाता है।

पांच वर्ष की जाँ हमने योजना बनाई, जिसको इस हाज़म ने मंज़ूर किया, उसके बाद यदि हमें कुछ देखना है तो यह देखना चाहिए कि गत तीन वर्षों में जाँ पंचवर्षीय योजना है उसके अनुसार कुछ काम हुआ है या नहीं। मेरा तो यह विश्वास है कि यह जो रिपोर्ट आपके सामने है उसको आप ऊपरी तौर से भी देखेंगे तो

आपको पता चलेगा कि काफी उन्नति और प्रगति हुई है ।

उस तरफ से कहा गया है कि रिपोर्ट में जो कुछ दिखाया गया है वह झूठा है, अनाज की पैदावार जो बतलाई जाती है वह नहीं हुई है । अचम्भा इस बात का है कि आंकड़ें सच्चे हों या न हों, परन्तु दुनिया तो सच्ची है । जिस वक्त यह पंचवर्षीय योजना बनाई गई थी उस वक्त अनाज का क्या हाल था ? इस मुल्क में बाहर से करोड़ों रुपये का अनाज लाया जाता था । १९५१ में ४७ लाख टन अनाज यहां लाया गया, जिसके लिये २१६ करोड़ रु० बाहर भेजे गये । १९५२ में २६ लाख टन अनाज लाया गया, उसके लिए २१० करोड़ रु० खर्च किया गया । और जो कुछ अनाज १९५२ के अंत तक लाया गया वह स्टॉक बनाने के लिये लाया गया । आज हिन्दुस्तान में अनाज की यह स्थिति है कि बाहर से अनाज न लाते हुए भी हर एक को अच्छी तरह से काफी खाने को मिल रहा है । कहीं से खाने पीने की या अनाज की कमी की तकरार कान पर नहीं आती है और भाव घटते जा रहे हैं । उस तरफ से हमारे भाई भूपेश गुप्ता कहते हैं कि ये अंक ठीक नहीं हैं, अनाज की पैदावार बढ़ी नहीं है और दूसरी तरफ से यह भी शिकायत करते हैं कि ये जो भाव घट रहे हैं, इससे किसानों का बहुत नुकसान हो रहा है । भाव जो घट रहे हैं, उसका मतलब तो यही निकलता है कि अनाज की पैदावार बहुत बढ़ी है, नहीं तो फिर भाव घटने का कोई सवाल ही नहीं पैदा होता है । यह सही है कि पैदायश बढ़ी है और लोगों को पहले से ज्यादा खाने को मिलने लगा है । हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना बनाने वालों ने यह अंदाज किया था कि पांच वर्ष में ७५ या ७६ लाख टन अधिक अनाज पैदा होगा, मगर तीन वर्ष में ही आज हम यह नतीजा देख रहे हैं कि ११४ लाख टन अनाज ज्यादा पैदा हो गया है, यानी अंदाज से डेढ़ गुनी पैदायश हो गई है । तो इन बातों को सामने रखते हुए भी यह कह देना कि तरक्की नहीं हो रही है, यह एक आश्चर्य की बात है । और यह तरक्की हुई कैसे ? कल भी कहा गया और आज भी कहा

गया कि साहब, मौनसून दो वर्ष से अच्छी हो रही थी । माना कि मौनसून अच्छी हो रही थी, पर मौनसून के साथ मनुष्य की भी तरक्की होती है, मनुष्य की भी तो मिहनत होती है, एक संगठित प्रयत्न होता है । और आपने देखा कि गत तीन वर्षों में जो सिंचाई के लिये अधिक पानी मिला, क्या उससे कोई अनाज की पैदायश नहीं बढ़ी ? खेती करने के लिये जो जमीन अधिक मिली, जो प्रचार हुआ, जो अच्छे से अच्छे बीज दिये गये, जो पैसे की मदद सरकार से पहुंची, क्या उससे कोई नतीजा नहीं निकला ? ७५ लाख एकड़ जमीन गत वर्ष में अधिक सिंचाई में आई है, यानी इतनी नहरें, इतने बांध बने हैं कि जिसकी वजह से इतनी अधिक जमीन—७५ लाख एकड़ जमीन—अधिक पानी के नीचे लाई गई, जिसमें से २५ लाख एकड़ तो बड़ी डैम्स की नहरों के नीचे आई और बाकी करीब ५० लाख एकड़ को छोटी छोटी जो नहरें निकली हैं, जिनको माइनर इरीगेशन कहते हैं, उनसे फायदा हुआ है । तो इसको भी आप आंखों से न देखना चाहें तो अलग बात है । अनाज में सिर्फ चावल की पैदावार में वृद्धि हुई, ऐसा नहीं है । चावल की पैदायश बढ़ी है गोहू की बढ़ी है और ज्वार की पैदायश बहुत ज्यादा बढ़ी है । यदि पैदायश में कहीं कमी हुई है तो वह सिर्फ गन्ने और जूट में हुई है । उसके कारण और है, न कि मौनसून अच्छा था या नहीं था । उसका कारण कहीं अंत ढूँढ़ना होगा, खाली कह देने से काम नहीं चलेगा कि पैदायश बढ़ी नहीं है ।

चीनी की पैदावार जरूर घटी इस वर्ष, १० लाख टन । मैं तो माननीय मंत्री जी से कहूंगा कि पैदायश घटने का कोई कारण नहीं था आपको गन्ने का भाव घटाना नहीं था । इसका कारण यह है, जैसा कि आप सब लोग जानते हैं कि आज देश में गुड़ की पैदायश बहुत बढ़ गई है किन्तु गुड़ की बिक्री कम है । मैंने सुना है कि हमारे दक्षिण भारत में करीब ६४ लाख टन गुड़ वगैर बिक्री के पड़ा हुआ है और उसकी बिक्री नहीं हो रही है । यदि वह गुड़ शक्कर बनाने के काम में लाया जाय तो बहुत

[श्री डी० नारायण]

कुछ किसानों को लाभ पहुंच सकता है और चीनी की जो कमी हमारे देश में है, वह भी दूर हो सकती है। हम बहुत सी कच्ची चीनी बाहर से मंगाने लगे हैं मगर मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि हम अपने गुड़ से क्यों नहीं काम चला सकते हैं, गुड़ से चीनी बन सकती है। मेरी माननीय मंत्री जी से यह दरखास्त है कि वे इस बात को जरूर सोचें और देश से बाहर जाने वाला पैसा रोकें।

इसके बाद आप कपड़े को ले लीजिये। शायद भूपेश गुप्ता जी इस बार में भी कह दें कि मिलों द्वारा जो कपड़ा तैयार किया गया, जो कुछ उसमें तरक्की हुई है, वह सब झूठ है, केवल प्रचार के लिए कहा जा रहा है। किन्तु सच बात देखी जाय तो पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत कपड़े का जो टार्गेट रखा गया था वह दो तीन वर्षों के अन्दर ही पूरा हो गया है उससे भी ज्यादा कपड़ा पैदा हुआ है। पंचवर्षीय योजना के अधीन सन् १९५५-५६ तक वह ४००० मिलियन यार्ड्स रखा गया था जबकि सन् १९५३-५४ में ही चार हजार नौसो छः मिलियन यार्ड्स कपड़ा पैदा हो गया है, हैंडलूम में सात सौ से बढ़कर बारह सौ मिलियन यार्ड्स हो गया है। इसी कारण आज कपड़ा अधिक मिलने लगा है और बाहर देशों को भेजा जाता है। नतीजा यह हुआ है कि मिलें सब चल रही हैं, काम तेजी से हो रहा है और जो मिलें बन्द हैं वे भी जल्दी अपना काम शुरू करने वाली हैं। काटन, जो कि कपड़े बनाने में एक बहुत ही आवश्यक चीज है, उसकी भी हमारे देश में पैदावार बढ़ गई है। सन् १९५०-५१ में हमारे देश के अन्दर २६ लाख ७० हजार बेल्स तैयार हुई थीं जबकि सन् १९५३-५४ में ३६ लाख ३० हजार बेल्स तैयार हुई, यानी १० लाख बेल्स अधिक तैयार हुई।

श्री एच० पी० सक्सेना (उत्तर प्रदेश) : १३ परसेंट अधिक काटन पैदा हुआ।

श्री डी० नारायण : इसका परिणाम यह हुआ है कि हमारे देश के अन्दर बाहर से जो १२ लाख २७ हजार बेल्स आती थीं वे इस साल सिर्फ ६

लाख ६४ हजार बेल्स ही आईं जिससे कि हमारे मुल्क को ४८ करोड़ रुपये की बचत हुई। क्या यह प्रगति नहीं है ?

तीसरी बात उद्योगों की ले लीजिये। उद्योगों में जो हवी इंडस्ट्रीज हैं, 'की' इंडस्ट्रीज हैं, जो सरकार स्वयं चला रही हैं, उनकी प्रगति को भी विरोधी पक्षवाले शक की निगाह से देखते हैं क्योंकि वे लोग सरकार का याने देश का भला नहीं चाहते, वे हर बात में सरकार की प्रगति की निंदा करते हैं। परन्तु आप देखेंगे कि सरकार ने सिन्दरी में खाद का कारखाना, चित्तरंजन में एंजिन बनाने का कारखाना और विशाखापटनम में जहाज का कारखाना खोला है। हवाई जहाज बनने लगे हैं। इनमें दिन प्रति दिन तरक्की हो रही है। इस रिपोर्ट के पढ़ने से आपको मालूम हो जायेगा कि हर जगह पर तरक्की हो रही है, हर इंडस्ट्री में तरक्की हो रही है फिर भी कुछ लोगों द्वारा यही कहा जाता है और कहा जाता ही रहेगा कि सरकार ने, पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत कुछ भी प्रगति नहीं की है।

आप प्राइवेट सेक्टर को ले लीजिये, प्राइवेट इंडस्ट्रीज में जो ४१ उद्योग लिखे गये हैं, उनमें दिन प्रति दिन तरक्की हो रही है। इतना ही नहीं बाहर से पहले जो जरूरी चीजें आती थीं, उनका आना करीब करीब बन्द हो गया है। आप साबुन को ही ले लीजिये, आज इसका उत्पादन हमारे देश में बहुत ज्यादा हो गया है। हरिकेन लालटन, बाइसीकल, माचेंस, ग्लास और चीनी मिट्टी की बनी चीजों में इतनी तरक्की हो रही है, इतनी पैदायश हो रही है, कि हमारा करोड़ों रुपया जो इन चीजों के खरीदने में बाहर जाता था वह दिन प्रति दिन कम होता जा रहा है, और हम हर एक चीज में स्वावलम्बी बनते जा रहे हैं। हां, तीसरा और एक सेक्टर है, इसे सेल्फ एम्प्लायमेंट सेक्टर कहते हैं। भाई श्री पारिख जी ने अभी कहा कि प्राइवेट सेक्टर में सिर्फ छोटें बड़े पूंजी-पतियों के छोटे मोटे कारखाने ही नहीं आते किन्तु खेती करने वाले किसान भी आते हैं। मैं इसे नहीं मानता। वे सब उस सेक्टर में हैं

जिसको सैल्फ इम्प्लायमेंट सेक्टर कहते हैं जोकि प्राइवेट सेक्टर से बिल्कुल अलग है । हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर जो १५ या १६ करोड़ आदमी प्रत्यक्ष काम करते हैं, मजदूरी करते हैं जो हाथ से मेहनत करते हैं, उनमें से तीन चौथाई आदमी ऐसे हैं, जोकि सब सैल्फ इम्प्लायमेंट सेक्टर में काम करते हैं । ये जो सैल्फ इम्प्लायमेंट सेक्टर में काम करते हैं वे दश की इन्कम का ५० टका पैदा करते हैं, लेकिन उनको ही आज ज्यादा दुख दारिद्र्य सहना पड़ता है । आज इस इम्प्लायमेंट सेक्टर की ओर बहुत ध्यान देने की जरूरत है उनको पूरा काम देने की जरूरत है । जब मैं इम्प्लायमेंट सेक्टर की बात करता हूँ तो उसमें ग्रामोद्योग आ जाते हैं, उसमें खादी आ जाती है, हैंडिक्राफ्ट आ जाते हैं । ग्रामोद्योगों का इस सेक्टर से निकट संबंध है । ये तमाम घरलू उद्योग अपनी अपनी जगह पर, अपनी अपनी ताकत से, अपनी अपनी शक्ति से, काम कर रहे हैं, उनको कोई संरक्षण नहीं दिया जा रहा है । हां, आल इंडिया खादी बोर्ड की स्थापना हो गई है और उसके माफत कुछ काम हो रहा है, किन्तु ग्रामोद्योगों के विषय में मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ रहा है कि सरकार की इस विषय में जा अनिगाह है, वह दया भावना की है । ग्रामोद्योग के बारे में सरकार की जो दृष्टि है वह 'रिलीफ' की है । ग्रामोद्योग और खादी को जिसने सांप्रत युग में जन्म दिया है, उस "महात्मा गांधी जी" के सामने खादी और ग्रामोद्योग के पीछे एक जीवन दृष्टि थी । गांधी जी खादी और ग्रामोद्योग के बीसस पर नव समाज का निर्माण करना चाहते थे, जब तक आप इस दृष्टि से इस कार्य को नहीं देखेंगे, तब तक ग्रामोद्योगों को आज की तरह चलाने से आप को कोई विशेष लाभ होने वाला नहीं है । आप भले ही दो चार लाख आदिमियों को दया दिखलाने की भावना से कुछ रिलीफ दे दें परन्तु इससे काम निकलने वाला नहीं है । जब तक आप ग्रामोद्योग और खादी द्वारा समाज की आर्थिक रचना नहीं करेंगे, समाज की

निर्मिति नहीं करेंगे, तब तक आप ग्रामोद्योग और खादी के साथ न्याय नहीं कर सकते ।

मुझे आखरी बात जो कहनी है वह यह है कि हमने पंचवर्षीय योजना जो बनाई थी वह इसीलिए बनाई थी कि इसके द्वारा करोड़ों को ज्यादा से ज्यादा काम उद्योग दिया जाय । अगर हम अब तक की, यानी तीन वर्ष की रिपोर्ट को देखें तो यह पता चलता है कि दश में दिन प्रति दिन बेकारी की समस्या बढ़ती ही चली जा रही है । अभी चार-पांच ही दिन हुए, हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने, दूसरे सदन में, कहा था कि दश में इस समय डेढ़ करोड़ लोग बेकार हैं । उनके हिसाब से १५ लाख बेकार हर साल बढ़ते जा रहे हैं और पांच साल के अन्त में उनकी संख्या दो करोड़ चालीस लाख हो जायेगी । उन्होंने यह कहा कि यदि दो वर्ष में इनको काम देना है तो हर साल एक करोड़ बीस लाख को काम देना होगा । यह नहीं बतलाया उन्होंने कि एक करोड़ बीस लाख को काम कैसे दे सकते हैं और कौन काम दे सकते हैं ।

जिस टैक्सटाइल इंडस्ट्री में सैकड़ों करोड़ रुपया लगा हुआ है वह इंडस्ट्री आज ज्यादा से ज्यादा आठ लाख आदिमियों को काम दे रही है । जहां दो करोड़ चालीस लाख को काम देना है वहां बतलाइये कि कितने करोड़ रुपयों की जरूरत होगी । मंत्री जी कहते हैं कि एक हजार करोड़ जरूर चाहिये । अब एक हजार करोड़ रुपये कहां से आवें यह भा सवाल है । और इन कारखानों को बनी चीजें बिकेंगी कहां ? ग्रामोद्योग के और ग्रामोद्योग अनुकूल समाज रचना के यह बेकारी यहां की कम होने वाली नहीं है । अभी तक तो ग्रामोद्योग की कोई नीति हमारी सरकार ने निश्चित नहीं की है । उसके निश्चित करने की आवश्यकता है उसकी व्याख्या बननी चाहिये । आज एक जगह की ग्रामोद्योग की चीज हजार मील पर बिकने जाती है । यह कोई ग्रामोद्योग नहीं है । अभी कुछ दिन पूर्व ग्रामोद्योग खादी वर्कर्स की कांफ्रेंस पूना में हुई थी जिसके अध्यक्ष हमारे राष्ट्रपति थे । उसमें जो ग्रामोद्योग की व्याख्या की गई है वह मैं आखिर में सुनाना चाहता हूँ :

[श्री डी० नारायण]

"The basis for declaring an industry a village industry should be related to the basic needs of a family and a community. It should be capable of being organised on a self-employment basis."

इस निगाह से जब आप हिन्दोस्तान के किसानों की ओर, हिन्दोस्तान के कारीगरों की ओर और हिन्दोस्तान के बंकारों की ओर देखेंगे तब आपको पता चलेंगा कि यह बंकारी किस तरह से कम हो सकती हैं।

आखिर मैं मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करूंगा कि जो द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना आप बनाने जा रहे हैं उसका बेसिस विलेज यूनिट हो और उस विलेज यूनिट का उद्देश्य यही हो कि किस तरह से विलेज सर्वांगीण तौर पर सैल्फ सफिशियंट बनाया जा सकता है। ऐसा चित्र मोडल प्लान आप विलेज का बनायें कि उसे देख कर लाखों विलेज उस तरह के बन सकें। आप प्रोजेक्ट्स चला रहे हैं। १६७ कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट्स शुरू हुए, ५२ डेवलपमेंट ब्लॉक्स चल रहे हैं, २५६ नेशनल एक्सटेंशन स्कैम्स हैं और इन तमाम चीजों ने इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि लोगों में एक तरह की चेतना पैदा की है, एक आत्म-विश्वास पैदा किया है। परन्तु गरीबों की गरीबी आपके इन तमाम प्रयत्नों से कुछ कम हुई है, ऐसा दिखाई नहीं देता। इसीलिये मेरी बारम्बार आपसे प्रार्थना है कि आगामी द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना का आधार विलेज यूनिट हो और विलेज यूनिट सैल्फ सफिशियंट इन एब्री सेंस हो।

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: Sir, it is an unsatisfactory arrangement that discussions on the Five Year Plan should go on at the same time in both the Houses, with the result that even the Planning Ministers are not here, neither of them. I should like to bring to your notice that we should like, in future, that discussions should not be arranged in this fashion, on the last day of the session, of such a very important subject.

Now, Sir, the discussion on this subject may be taken to fall into two

parts. First, there is question of the progress of the Plan. The second is the effect of this progress on the national economy. With regard to the first point, we experience certain difficulties. The first difficulty is in regard to the information made available to us. It is extremely unfortunate that the information that we get is not only not up-to-date but also unsatisfactory in many respects. The Progress Report that is placed before us is for the year ending March 1954. It was placed before us in September and the figures for 1953-54 are all revised estimates. We know that the revised estimates differ in a very appreciable manner from the actuals. And, therefore, it is really not correct to say that the amount that will be spent, as has been shown in the progress report, will in actual fact be the amount that will have been spent by March 1954. I should like to know from the hon. Minister whether more precise information cannot be supplied to Members. We should like to have first a tabular statement of expenditure that was to be incurred under the Plan up to a particular year; the amount that has actually been spent; the work that was expected to be completed under the Plan; and the work that has actually been completed for the expenditure that has been incurred. Now, in the progress report we find various statements and it is a bulky volume. It does not give an immediate idea as to how far the Plan has progressed and in what direction. The hon. Minister himself had referred to the fact that expenditure is not our only concern, that the work achieved in relation to the expenditure incurred is also very important.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. K. DHAGE) in the Chair.]

Unless we have some idea as to what have been the achievements, apart from the money that has been spent, it is very difficult to know as to what progress we really have made.

Now, the second difficulty arises from this fact. Whenever any attempt

is made at assessment, the Planning Minister and other Ministers say that we should realise the difficulties under which the Plan was evolved, that there were inflationary conditions, that there was food scarcity, etc. That is quite true. But was it not in relation to those facts which existed in the economy that this Plan was elaborated? This Plan was evolved in the knowledge of the conditions then existing. To say now that there were difficulties is certainly no explanation in case there has been any deficiency in the fulfilment of the Plan. Was it not because of those factors that the Plan itself was couched in very modest terms? The Government say, the Planning Minister and other Ministers say that it is a modest Plan. It was modest because there were difficulties. It is no explanation today to say that there were difficulties and, therefore, there has been deficiency in the Plan. How modest the Plan is will be evident from the fact that the outlay of an expenditure of about Rs. 2,000 crores represents about five per cent. of the national income, which is not much more than the rate of investment prevailing before the Plan came into effect. What was envisaged under the Plan was not something which was very much more than the rate of progress the economy was achieving even before the Plan was put into operation. It was really a very modest Plan, namely in 27 years the *per capita* income must be doubled. So, I do not think that we should attach any importance to the explanations that are offered that there were inflationary conditions, that there was food scarcity, and so forth. And if Government claim that they have overcome those difficulties as a result of the Plan, I should like to remind you, Sir, of the fact that even in countries which do not boast that they have a Plan like our Five Year Plan, say, for example, Burma, Pakistan or Ceylon, they have also curbed the inflationary tendencies; the economy there also has been progressing. As a matter of fact, it is very extraordinary that in Burma, where there

was an insurrection in 1948 and there was large-scale devastation, the rate of investment has been much more than in India. So, we should take a comprehensive view of facts and not merely try to explain away deficiencies which really exist.

I shall not, Sir, go into the question or elaborate the deficiencies either in the matter of expenditure or resources that we have been able to raise. Some of these matters have been elaborately dealt with by my hon. friend Dr. Kunzru. And I do not want to repeat those facts. There is no denying, however, that both in regard to expenditure and resources, we have a great leeway to make up that both expenditure and resources have not come up to expectations. Now, why is that so? Why have they not come up to expectations? Various explanations are put forward, for example, in regard to expenditure, to which I have already referred. But, I believe, the Government are not clear about their own ideas and policies. That is No. 1. And No. 2 is that the administrative machinery is not as yet satisfactory. The Planning Minister himself had admitted, both in this House and in the other House, that there had been many deficiencies in the Plan. For example, he said, there is a slow investment in the heavy industry, there is also unemployment because the system of education has not yet been co-ordinated. Now, Sir, the other day, while we were discussing the problem of rehabilitation, the Prime Minister intervened and stated that the situation was fluid, and therefore it was difficult to cope with the problem. I believe, that is the besetting sin of the Government that in every question of policy there is fluidity, e.g., in the question of education the Government have not as yet come to a decision as to what would be the system of education which would be in consonance with the pattern of employment that we want, or, take the question of industrial policy, or take the question of the place of small and cottage industries in our

[Shri B. C. Ghose.]

economy. If you take any of these things or even the question of the place of socialism, then in everything Government's policy is fluid, Government does not appear to come to a conclusion. Again, Sir, we find that Government takes credit for the improvement in cereal production. That is quite true, and Government is entitled to take credit for the improvement that we today find in cereal output. But Government does not say at the same time that in regard to many important agricultural commodities, say for example, jute and sugarcane, production has gone down. If Government takes credit for the achievements, it should also take discredit for its failures. But it is only the achievements that are put forward before this House, and little mention is made of the things in which there have been colossal failures. Now, Sir, it is a very important matter, the question of agricultural production. Only the other day, we had an opportunity in this House to discuss this very important problem, and Government seemed to be quite fluid in its mind as to what the situation was. We stated that unless there were schemes of agricultural price supports, agriculture of the country could not be based on a sound foundation, it could not be stabilised. And it is very extraordinary that although we have a Planning Commission, and although it is to be expected that the Ministers of the Government should accept not only the principles but findings also of the Planning Commission, here we find that the Ministers neither accept the principles, nor the findings of the Planning Commission. We have had some occasions in this House when hon. Ministers have stated that what the Planning Commission have elaborated in regard to certain principles are only what they think, but that there may be deviations, and quite large deviations, from that policy. In matter of the findings also, take for instance the question of agricultural production. The Planning Commission states, both in regard to sugarcane and jute,

that the main reason for decline in production was the fall in prices. You ask our Ministers here, Sir, and they say that they do not believe in that, it has not been due to the fall in prices, but there are other factors. And if you tell them that the Planning Commission had stated this to be the main reason, they say that different experts have different views. Now, who is the expert of the Government? Is it the Planning Commission or the Minister himself? That is a very extraordinary state of affairs. These explanations, therefore, are really of no avail and they do not give us any satisfactory indication as to why our Plan has not been progressing as anticipated. If you take, Sir, the Planning Commission's reports, e.g., if you take the last one, you will find that certain propositions are made and certain suggestions are offered. But it appears that there is no machinery to follow up those suggestions, or to implement them. For example, if you take the 1952-53 report, you will find that they have made certain suggestions. The report of 1952-53 stated that after a review of the whole position, and in order that the Plan might be implemented more effectively, the Planning Commission expressed the opinion that the budgetary resources will have to be augmented to the fullest extent possible, the increase in non-developmental expenditures or in expenditures of a developmental character, but outside the Plan, would have to be kept down to the minimum, if not vigorously avoided, and the executive machinery would have to be strengthened, so as to complete the development outlay to schedule and in furtherance of the real targets set out in the Plan. Now, Sir, if you read the 1953-54 report, almost the same observations are made. Now I ask you, Sir, have the Planning Commission seen to it, at least in so far as the States are concerned, where the deficiency is most glaring, as to whether the States follow the advice which is given by the Planning Commission, whether they are trying to bring their budgetary resources up to the maximum whether they are avoiding non-deve-

developmental expenditures or even developmental expenditures outside the Plan? There is, as you know, Sir, no machinery to make the States conform to the wishes of the Planning Commission. As a matter of fact, Sir, in one sense, in this country there is no Plan, because neither in the matter of formulation nor of execution, are there any proper machineries. If you take the formulation of the Plan, what happens? Firstly, there are no adequate statistics. I do not think any Plan can be formulated without having national income statistics. And what are the statistics today? They have been published recently, only the national income figures for 1951-52. And we are entering the year 1955. I do not think that you can evolve a Plan unless you have the data before you. And how is a Plan evolved? Various schemes are called for from the State Governments. There is a Development Department in every State and the Planning Commission at the Centre. Certain schemes are just brought together, as my hon. friend, Dr. Kunzru had stated, different schemes are strung together and published as a Plan.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA (Mysore): Even the collection of statistics takes some time.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: I quite concede. We began this Plan in 1950-51. Five years have gone. I would like to ask the hon. Minister to tell me as to what has been done within these five years. If you think that it is such a vast problem, as the hon. Minister was pleased to say only yesterday, we have been appreciating the vastness of the problem since 1950. But how long shall we continue to appreciate the vastness of the problem? There must be a finality. Does my hon. friend, Mr. Dasappa, think that even to collect statistics, five years are not enough? Of course; he is quite entitled to hold his opinion, but I am afraid; I cannot agree with him.

Then, in regard to the implementation machinery, I also said that there is no implementation machinery and,

as far as I am concerned, I do not understand a plan without an effective machinery for execution. Here, everything is left to the States. We are supposed to be a democratic State. Democracy means independence. That is true, but if you have a plan, then there must be some machinery which will not only co-ordinate the work but will also see to it that the work is being done. As I have already shown to you, the Planning Commission renders advice to the State Ministries or to the different States which are hardly taken notice of.

Then, I will come to the second part, namely, the effect of the progress achieved on the national economy. Now, what should be the criterion? Take, for instance, the national income. The national income has not as yet been increasing. Today only we saw in the papers that it is Rs. 27½ *per capita*, i.e. on current prices. If you take the 1948-49 prices, it is only 251·7. The Government should not mislead the public by not mentioning at the same time that this figure is in current prices and that in 1948-49 prices it is only 251·7. I understand that in the other House another hon. Member said that he had collected the statistics for 1953-54 from the Indian Statistical Institute and that the figures for 1953-54 was about of the order of 261. That shows a marked improvement, but the fact is that this is due primarily to the increase in agricultural production, and next year if we do not have this level of production, then the national income will come down. I hope that Government which is taking credit for this improvement will not come forward with the explanation next year; "This was due to very good monsoons. We had good agricultural production and naturally the national income showed a welcome rise." It is much better and more honest for the Government to say now that this is largely due to adventitious factors.

Then about the employment situation. I do not want to dwell upon it at all. It is known to all. The Planning Minister himself has admitted

[Shri B. C. Ghose.]

that it has deteriorated. What does the Plan mean if the employment situation itself does not improve? As a matter of fact, I do not understand how the Government states that it will be able to spend Rs. 5,500 crores in the Next Plan period. Where are the resources? The rate of investment has not increased at all. I do not think that Government will claim that the rate of investment is satisfactory. As a matter of fact, I have certain figures here. The Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East gives certain interesting details about investment in equipment, in machinery and so forth. They are related to the import of such machinery from abroad, because industrial equipment is not produced in the Asiatic countries to any appreciable extent except perhaps in India. The figures here show that since 1950-51 the export of capital equipment from the principal exporting countries to India has been showing a considerable decrease. I do not want to bother the House with the actual figures. Whereas import of such capital equipment is increasing in Burma and has not much declined in Ceylon or even in Pakistan except last year, in India there has been an alarming decrease, and that is not a very happy tendency.

Therefore, Sir, I say that, if you take the effect of the progress of the Plan on the national economy, it is certainly nothing that we can be very happy about. I do not deny and I will be the last person to say that there has not been a Sindri, there has not been a Chittaranjan, there have not been some multi-purpose projects, there has not been a Perambur factory, but it is not these that will impress the people; they want results. However many may be the schemes of the Government—and you may build national laboratories or a Perambur factory or a Chittaranjan etc.—but unless living standards are improved the people will not be satisfied. The criterion is the living standard of the common man. Unless he is better fed, better clothed, better

housed and better doctored in sickness, he will not be satisfied, and in spite of all these achievements, he will be tempted by people who have other philosophies to offer him. The position, it appears to me, is something like this 'the operation was successful but the patient died'. Here the patient is the socialist democratic structure of society and if the treatment that the Government is giving to this patient does not yield results soon, the patient, our socialist democratic society, I am afraid, may fall an easy and even willing victim into the outstretched hands of my friend, Shri B. Gupta.

سودار بدھ سنگھ (جموں ایلڈ)

کشمیر) : جناب ڈپٹی چیئرمین

صاحب، فائیو ایر پلان، کی پروگریسو

ریپورٹ کے جو فیگرس ہمارے سامنے

دیکھ گئے ہیں اس کے لئے ہم آنریبل

منسٹر صاحب کے مشکور ہیں کہ

انہوں نے اس عرصے میں ملک کے

اندر جو کچھ ترقی کے کام ہوئے ان کا

ایک ریزلٹ نکال کر بڑی محنت

سے ہمارے سامنے رکھا ہے۔ اب سوال

یہ پیدا ہوتا ہے کہ یہ فائیو ایر پلان،

پانچ سالہ سکیم کس مقصد کے لئے

بنائی جاتی ہے۔ یہ ڈیولپمنٹ جو

کیا جاتا ہے وہ کن لوگوں کے لئے

کیا جاتا ہے۔ ہمارے ملک میں بڑے

بڑے دولت مند لوگ ہیں، بڑے بڑے

زمیندار ہیں، جاگیردار ہیں، راجے ہیں،

کارخانہ دار ہیں اور بڑے بڑے منسٹر

ہیں۔ یہ سب بڑے بڑے آدمی

آسودہ ہیں۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ

ان لوگوں کے لئے تو کسی خاص سکیم

کی ضرورت نہیں ہے۔ ہاں ملک میں

ڈیولپمنٹ کی اس لئے ضرورت ہے کہ

جس سے عام لوگوں کی خوشحالی پیدا ہو - اب سوال یہ پیدا ہوتا ہے کہ دیولپمنٹ ملک میں کیسے کیا جاتا ہے - جہاں تک پیدا خیاں ہے کہ کم سے کم ۹۷ فیصدی ہمارے ملک کی جلتا میں دیہاتی ہیں، گسان ہیں، مزدور ہیں، بیکار ہیں، بے علم ہیں، مظلوم ہیں، بے بس و بے زبان ہیں - ان بےچاروں کو جو چاہے ایکسپلاٹ کرتا ہے - آپ سوچئے ایک غریب غلام جاہل بے کس کمزور بیمار کا کیا مذہب کیا دین و ایمان اور کیا کیریئر ہو سکتا ہے - اس کو تو جو روٹی کپڑے کا انتظام کر دینا اسی کی طرف مدد کرنے کے لئے جائیگا - وہ اسی کا وفادار ہے اس لئے آسانی سے وہی ایکسپلاٹ ہو سکتا ہے - جو محتاج، غریب اور دکھی ہے کوئی دنیا کی گورنمنٹ قائم نہیں رہ سکتی جب تک کہ وہ لیبرس، مزدوروں اور کسٹمرز کو اوپر نہیں اٹھائے گی اور بیکاری دور نہ کریگی - آپ دیکھ رہے ہیں کہ آج دنیا میں کتنی بڑی بڑی عالیشان عمارتیں ہماری آنکھوں کے سامنے بن رہی ہیں - یہ مزدور ان کے بنانے والے ہیں اور ان کی بنائی ہوئی عمارتوں میں جو ہم بڑے لوگ بیٹھے ہوئے ہیں ہمیں اس طرف توجہ دینی چاہئے کہ یہ غریب بے کھر آخر زندہ کس طرح ہیں - ہم کو چاہئے کہ دل و دماغ اور آنکھوں سے ان کی

غریبت اور دکھی حالت کی طرف دیکھیں - ہم اتنی بڑی بڑی سکیمیں بنا رہے ہیں اور ان پر بحث کر رہے ہیں - سائنس، فلاسفی اور نہ جانے کن کن بڑے بڑے عاموں کی بابت سوچتے ہیں - آخر ہم لوگ یہ سب باتیں کرنے کے قابل کس طرح ہوئے ہیں - یہ تمب کرتے ہیں کہ ہم اچھی اچھی خوراک کھاتے ہیں ہمیں ہر طرح کے عیش و آرام کے سامان حاصل ہیں - گرم گرم خون ہے - دماغ میں روشنی اور دل میں طاقیت ہے - مگر دوسری طرف وہ انسان ہیں جو مزدوری کرتے ہیں جن کو پیٹ بھر کھانا تک نہیں ملتا اور نہ جانے کتنے لوگ روزگار نہ ملنے سے بھوکے ہی رہتے ہیں - ان کے لئے چونکہ وہ سب سہولتیں اور آرام نصیب نہیں ہیں جو ہم سبھوں کو حاصل ہیں اس لئے وہ بڑے دکھی ہیں - میں منسٹر صاحب کا بڑا مشکور ہوں کہ انہوں نے بڑی دیانتداری سے بڑی دلچسپی سے اور بڑی کوشش سے غریب کو، بیکاری کو، مصیبت کو اور مظلومیت کو دور کرنے کی کوشش جاری کر رکھی ہے - لیکن ہمیں یہ دیکھنا ہے کہ یہ جو ریزولوشن ہم پاس کر رہے ہیں اسکا ان غریب محنت کش لوگوں پر کیا اثر پڑیگا اور اس سے وہ لوگ کب اور کتنا فائدہ اٹھا سکیں

(سرکارِ بدھہ سالکھہ)

ہم سے لوگ پوچھتے ہیں کہ بتائو۔ پانچ سالہ پلان کیا بلا ہے اس کا کیا مطلب ہے - وہ آدمی جس کو بھوک لگی ہے، جو بھوکا ہے، جو سڑے گلے مکان کے اندر رہتا ہے یا آسمان کی چھت کے نیچے بیٹھا ہوا ہے وہ جب ان ساز و سامان سے بھرے ہوئے مکانوں، محالوں اور کوٹھیوں کو دیکھتا ہے تو وہ پوچھتا ہے کب میرا اودھار ہوگا کب مجھے پورا کھانے کو ملے گا اور دھیمے کو مکان ملے گا - تو میں انریبل ممبر، پلاننگ سے صرف اتنا ہی عرض کرتا کہ ان کو سب سے اول اور شروع سے ہی یہ کام جاری کرنا چاہئے کہ کس طرح سے ان لوگوں کو پہلے سامان زندگی و راحت و آرام ملے - ملکی ترقی کا کام اوپر سے نہیں ہو سکتا اسے نیچے سے اوپر لانا چاہئے - ہر ایک قابل کار انسان کے لئے ایک ایسا لازمی قانون حکماً جبراً لایا جائے کہ جس کے ذریعے اس کو کسی بھی نیشنل کام کے لئے مجبور کیا جا سکے - ہوتا کیا ہے کہ ایک آدمی کماتا ہے اور دس کھانے والے ہوتے ہیں جو کہ بیکار رہتے ہیں - بیکار آدمی ملک کے لئے کوئی مفید کام نہیں کر سکتا - وہ کئی خطرناک بری باتیں سوچنے لگتا ہے - ان غریب دیہاتی لوگوں کے جیونہڑے آپ ذرا دیکھئے کہ جانور بھی وہاں تندرست نہیں رہ سکتے - کسی میں کسی

آرام کے لئے کوئی گنجائش نہیں ہے - نہ نہانے کی جگہ ہے نہ کوئی پختہ کمرہ ہے اور نہ ہی پاخانہ پیشاب کے لئے کوئی انتظام ہے ہوا اور روشندان تک بھی نہیں ہیں - اسی میں ہی ڈنگر بندھے ہوئے ہیں - کھر گوبر مل موتر، پیشاب اور گندگی سے بھرپور رہتا ہے - اور یہ لوگ اکثر بیمار ہو جاتے ہیں - پھر آپ کہتے ہیں کہ ہم اتنے لاکھ یا اتنے کروڑ روپیہ میڈیسن و علاج کے اوپر خرچ کر رہے ہیں - جس ملک میں لاکھوں کی تعداد میں صرف تہی - بی - کے مریض ہیں علاوہ اس کے دوسری امراض کے بھی لاکھوں مریض ہیں یہ یورپی خوراک نہ ملنے کی وجہ سے بیماری میں تپ رہے ہیں - تو ان کے لئے سب سے پہلا سوال جو ہمیں اپنے دماغ میں لانا اور سامنے رکھنا ہے وہ یہ ہے کہ ان کے لئے اچھے باصحت مکانات بنوائے جائیں - پہلے بھی میں کئی بار کہہ چکا ہوں اور اس بار بھی وہی باتیں دہراؤں گا کہ جب ہم باہر نکلتے ہیں، واشٹریتی بیون یا پرائم ممبر کی کوٹھی یا اور بڑے بڑے لوگوں کی کوٹھیاں دیکھتے ہیں تو معلوم پڑتا ہے کہ وہ ترقی اچھی طرح بلڈائی گئی ہیں - مگر وہ بیچارے جنہوں نے ان خوبصورت کوٹھوں کو بلڈایا ہے وہ ان کوٹھیوں کے نزدیک ہی خود گھاس کی جھونپڑوں میں نہایت بری طرح اپنی

زندگی بسر کرتے ہیں - آپ کا یہ بھی فرض ہے کہ اگر آپ ان سے کام لیتے ہیں تو ان کے لئے بھی کوارٹر بنانا دیں - بیشک یہ صحیح ہے کہ بنانا کام کا ختم کر کے جہاں سے وہ آئے ہیں زمین بھر واپس چلے جانے ہیں - لیکن جن جگہوں پر مستقل کام ہوتے ہیں، جہاں لاکھوں کروڑوں روپیہ خرچ ہوتے ہیں وہاں ان کی رہائش کا بھی انتظام ہونا چاہئے - آپ روزانہ دیکھتے ہیں کہ جو پرائیویٹ لیبررس ہیں وہ اپنی چھوٹی لڑکیوں اور بچوں کو بڑی دردناک حالت میں چھوڑ کر مرڈ اور عورتیں روزگار کے لئے، مزدوری کے لئے نکلتے ہیں۔ ان کے لئے پانی کا انتظام نہیں دیتا۔ بجلی کام لیٹرین کام کسی قسم کا کوئی انتظام نہیں دیتا - جو تھیکیدار اور انجینیئر ان سے کام اپنے ہاتھ میں لے لے ہیں وہ نو عیش کرتے ہیں، خوشحال ہیں، موٹروں پر سوار ہو کر سیر کرتے ہیں، مالدار ہیں۔ یہ کیوں ہو رہا ہے؟ کیوں مزدور غریب اور بے گھر ہے؟ اس لئے ہو رہا ہے کہ جو لیبرر ہیں، مزدور ہیں ان کو بمقابلہ کام تھوڑے پیسے ملتے ہیں - دیہاتوں میں کسان ہیں ان کی حالت بھی خراب ہے - اس کو سدھارنے کے لئے مہاتما گاندھی بہت کچھ کوشش کرتے رہے اور پرائم منسٹر اور ہمارے پلاننگ کے منسٹر اب زور دے رہے ہیں دیہاتوں کی ترقی کیسے

دی جائے - ہم نکتہ چینی کرنے ہیں ڈھیک ہے اس کی بشرطیکہ تعمیری ہو۔ لیکن ہم اس بات سے انکار نہیں کر سکتے کہ ایک ایسے بڑے ملک میں جو صدیوں سے غلام تھا جس میں اتنے مذہب ہیں، فرقہ پرست ہیں، ذات پات کے جھگڑے ہیں، کئی طرح کے لوگ ہیں - بیکاری و غربت دور کرنے کے لئے ہمارے لیڈروں نے ایک لائٹ دی ہے اور انہوں نے ایک پانچ سالہ یوجنا (پروگرام) بندی ہے جس کے متعلق کام ہو رہا ہے لیکن میں ادب سے کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہم جو روپیہ کسی اسکیم پر خرچ کرتے ہیں اس کے لئے یہ دیکھنا ضروری ہے کہ وہ ٹھیک ڈھنگ سے استعمال ہو رہا ہے یا نہیں - یہ تو نہیں ہو رہا ہے کہ جہاں پر سیمنٹ لگانا چاہیئے وہاں پر ریت لگائی جا رہی ہے - اور کام خراب ہو رہا ہے۔ آج ہم دیکھ رہے ہیں کہ قریباً پچاس فیصدی "خرچا ہمارا اسی طرح ضائع ہو جاتا ہے - اب تو ہمیں یہاں پر خالی نکتہ چینی نہیں کرنی چاہیئے - ہمارا سب لوگوں کا فرض تو یہ ہے کہ ہم سب لوگ میدان میں جائیں اور ہر ایک کام کو جو کہ ملک کی خوشحالی کے لئے کیا جا رہا ہے دیں - پورا تعاون کریں اور اپنا فرض انجام دیں - ہاں یہ بات

[سردار بدھ سنگھ]

درست ہے کہ جو کچھ ہم اپنی انکھوں سے دیکھتے ہیں، جو کچھ تجربات ہماروں کے ہوتے ہیں ان کی بنا پر ہمیں گورنمنٹ کو مطلع کرنا چاہیے اور وقت پر سنجیدگی دینا چاہیے۔ ہمارے پلاننگ مینسٹر صاحب کہتے ہیں کہ ہم ملک میں بڑے بڑے پروجیکٹ بنانے جا رہے ہیں جس کے ذریعے یہاں کی جفتا کو، یہاں کے عوام کو ہر طرح کی راحت پہنچے گی۔ مگر میرا کہنا یہ ہے کہ ہمارا ملک ایک غریب ملک ہے۔ دیہاتوں میں غریب لوگ ہی زیادہ بستے ہیں وہی کسان بھی ہیں اور مزدور بھی۔ اگر ان کی حالت کو جلدی تھیک نہیں کیا جاتا تو ہمارے پروجیکٹ پورے نہیں ہو سکتے اور نہ ان کے ذریعے ان کی کسی طرح کی مدد کی جا سکتی ہے۔ عملی امداد سے اور ان کی حالت سدھارنے سے انکو اس مفید کام کی سمجھ آ جائیگی اگر ہمکو مزدوروں کو یہاں کے کسانوں، بھوکوں و بیکاروں کو راحت پہنچانی اور انہیں زندہ رکھنا ہے تو انکو رہنے کے لئے باصیحت اچھے مکان، پہننے کے لئے کپڑا مناسب و پوری خوراک اور روزگار دینا ہو گا۔ بڑے بڑے مکانات بنا دیئے سے اور بڑے بڑے کارخانے بنا دیئے سے ان غریبوں کو کسی طرح کی راحت نہیں

مل سکتی ہے۔ جبکہ ان کا ان میں کوئی حق نہیں رکھا جاتا۔ غریب کو جیتک ان کی ضرورتوں کو پورا نہیں کریں گے تب تک آپکی یہ کامیں کارآمد و کامیاب نہیں ہو سکتیں ہیں۔ ان غریب لوگوں کے دکھی و ناخوش ہونے کی وجہ سے اپوزیشن والے اور دوسرے مخالف لوگ سرکار کی طرف سے ترقیوں کے کام کو کوئی اہمیت نہیں دیتے ہیں جو کہ اس نے اب تک کی ہیں اور عوام کو اندھیرے میں رکھتے ہیں۔ مگر جہاں تک مزدور اور مہاجر اور یہاں کی عام جفتا کا سوال ہے چاہے کمیونسٹ پارٹی ہو یا چاہے سوشلسٹ پارٹی ہو کوئی بھی پارٹی ہو اس کے لئے یہ ساری جفتا ایک ہی ہے۔ ملک سب کا ہے اور عوام کی بھلائی کے لئے جو کچھ ہو، روپیہ صرف کیا جاتا ہے یہ قومی دولت ہے۔ اس کے لئے ہر ایک آدمی، ہر ایک پارٹی ذمہ دار ہے کہ اس کے جائز طریق پر خرچ ہونے کی نگرانی کرے۔ لازمی بات ہے کہ جب تک آپ کسانوں کی اور مزدوروں کی درد ناک حالت کو اور جو ان کو پریشانی و تکلیف ہو رہی ہے ان کو جلدی رفع نہیں کریں گے تب تک اپوزیشن آپکا ہوتا رہیگا۔

ہمارے ملک کے اندر مہاتما گاندھی جی نے ہی ان غریب

لوگوں کے درد کو پہچانا نہا۔ اور ان کے درد کو دور کرنے کے لئے انہوں نے اپنا جیون قربان کر دیا۔ مہاتما گاندھی نے جب اس دیہی کے مزدور اور کسانوں کے پاس پورا کھانا کپڑا مناسب مکان نہیں دیکھا تو انہوں نے یہ عہد کر لیا تھا کہ جب تک ہندوستان کے عوام کو یہاں کے مزدور اور کسان کو رہنے کے لئے مکان، پہننے کے لئے کپڑا اور کھانے کے لئے مناسب اور پوری خوراک اور روزگار نہیں ملے گا تب تک میں نہ اچھا اور پورا کپڑا بدن پر پہنوں گا اور نہ مکانوں میں رہوں گا چنانچہ وہ غریب بستیوں اور جھونپڑوں میں گزر کرتے رہے۔ میں آپ کے سامنے اس بزرگ ہستی مہاتما گاندھی جی کا وہ بیان پڑھنا ہوں جو کہ انہوں نے شہید ہونے سے دو روز پہلے ۲۸ جنوری سنہ ۳۸ کو دیا۔ جب ان کے پاس کسی نے کسان کی حالت کا ذکر کیا تو مہاتما جی نے فرمایا :

”آج ایک سچن آئے تھے اور ان کا نام تو میں بھول گیا انہوں نے کسان کی بات کی۔ میں نے کہا میری چلے تو ہمارا گورنر جنرل کسان ہوگا۔ ہمارا بڑا وزیر کسان ہوگا سب کچھ کسان ہوگا۔ کیونکہ یہاں کا راجہ کسان ہے۔ مجھے بچپن سے سکھایا گیا تھا کہ اے کسان تو

بادشاہ ہے ۲۲ کسان زمین سے پیدا نہ کرے تو ہم کیا کھائیں گے۔ ہندوستان کا سچ میچ راجہ تو وہی ہے لیکن آج ہم اسے غلام بنا کر بیٹھے ہیں۔ آج کسان کیا کرے۔ ایم اے بنے۔ بی اے بنے۔ ایسا کیا تو کسان مٹ جائے گا۔ پیچھے وہ کدالی نہیں چلائے گا۔ جو آدمی اپنی زمین میں سے پیدا کرتا ہے اور کھانا ہے سو جنرل بنے، پردہان بنے تو ہندوستان کی شکل بدل جائے گی۔ اس لئے میرے کہنے کا مطلب یہ ہے کہ جب تک ہم اپنے دیہاتی عوام کی طرف مزدوروں کی طرف خصوصیت سے توجہ نہیں دیں گے تب تک ہم ترقی کے راستے پر نہیں بڑھ سکتے۔ آخر ان لوگوں کا بھی دل و دماغ ہے، آنکھیں ہیں ان کو بھی تکلیف محسوس ہوتی ہے۔ وہ لوگ دیکھتے ہیں کہ شہروں میں بڑے بڑے لوگ عالیشان مکانات میں رہتے ہیں، بڑی بڑی موٹروں میں سیر کرتے ہیں، خوب کھاتے پیتے ہیں تو ان کو جلیں ہوتی ہے حسد ہوتا ہے۔ جب ہمارے ملک کے اندر ایسا بڑا انقلاب پیدا ہوا اور ہم لوگ آزاد ہو گئے تو ان لوگوں کے لئے ان کی آباد کاری اور انکی زندگی کے لئے بھی آرام و آسائش کے لئے جلدی کچھ نہ کچھ ضرور کرنا چاہیئے انکی حالت بھی سدھرنی چاہیئے۔ ابھی کچھ ہی دن ہوئے کہ ہمارے وزیر خزانہ نے دوسرے ہاؤس میں ایک بیان دیا

[سردار بدھ سنگھ]

تھا کہ دس سال کے اندر ہم دیہی کے اندر سے بہت حد تک بیکاری کو دور کر دیں گے۔ مگر میرا کہنا یہ ہے کہ دس سال کا عرصہ تو بہت لمبا ہے اتنے عرصہ کے اندر کوئی بیکار و بھوکا آدمی، نکلا آدمی و بے گھر انتظار نہیں کر سکتا۔ دس سال کے عرصے میں تو دنیا ہی پلٹ سکتی ہے۔ اس کا نقشہ ہی ادھر سے ادھر ہو سکتا ہے۔ اس لئے ہم کو کسانوں کے درد کا اس کی تکلیف کا احساس کرنا چاہیئے اور اس کو اپنا ہی ملکی آدمی و بھائی سمجھنا چاہیئے۔ اگر ہم نے ایسا سمجھا تو ہم اپنے بڑے بڑے پروجیکٹوں کو اور ملک کے لئے ہم جو کام کرنے جا رہے ہیں اس میں کامیاب ہو سکتے ہیں۔ اگر ہمارا نظریہ اس طرح کا ہمدردانہ نہیں رہا تو یقیناً ہم کو کامیابی نہیں ہو سکتی ہے۔ ہمیں انسانی ہمدردی سے کام لیکر ہر لحاظ سے ان کی مدد کرنی چاہیئے اور ان کے دکھ درد کا احساس کرنا چاہیئے تب ہی ہمارے مسجد مندر اور گورودارے میں جانے کا بھی مطلب حل ہوتا ہے کیونکہ خدا کے نزدیک سارے بندے ایک سے ہیں۔ خدمت خلق فرض اولین ہے۔ اقبال نے کیا خوب کہا ہے کہ:—

دخدا کے عاشق تو ہیں ہزاروں بتوں میں
پھرتے ہیں مارے مارے
میں اس کا بندہ بنوں گا جس کو خدا
کے بندوں سے پیار ہوگا ۲۲

حقیقت تو یہ ہے کہ سارے دھرم اور کرم اور مذہب اس واسطے ہیں اور ہمارا فرض بھی ہے کہ ہم ایمانداری و دلچسپی سے لوگوں کی سیوا کریں۔ پانچ سالہ پلان کے تحت جو بھی سکیمیں چلائی جا رہی ہیں ان میں کسانوں کو اور مزدوروں کو اور بیکاروں کو کچھ فائدہ نہیں ہوا تو ان کے لئے یہ پانچ سالہ سکیمیں بالکل بیکار ہیں۔ ان کے اندر ایک طرح سے غم و غصہ کا غبار اٹھتا رہے گا اور زیادہ پریشاں ہونگے۔ اس طرح سے دیہی کی ترقی کے کاموں میں ان کا کوئی ہاتھ نہ ہوگا۔ کیونکہ وہ دیکھتے ہیں کہ ان کے لئے تو کچھ ہو نہیں رہا ہے۔ وہ تو جس حالت میں پہلے تھے اسی حالت میں اب بھی ہیں۔ اس لئے ہم کو ان کی طرف پہلے دیکھنا چاہیئے تاکہ ان کو جو کچھ بھی تکلیفیں ہیں وہ رفع ہو سکیں۔ پہلے ان کو زندہ رکھنے کا تو انتظام کرو۔ ترقی کا سوال تو بعد کا ہے۔

جموں اور کشمیر کے لئے اس موجودہ پلان کے تحت جو بارہ لاکھ روپیہ مکانات کے لئے اور کچھ لاکھ انڈسٹری کے لئے دیا گیا ہے اس سے کیا ہو سکتا ہے۔ کشمیر کی انڈسٹری جو کہ دنیا میں مشہور ہے جسکی کارپگری و صنعت کی شہرت آج ساری دنیا میں پھیلی ہوئی ہے۔ اتنے تھوڑے روپیوں سے وہاں کیا بن سکتا ہے۔

اس کے ساتھ ہی ساتھ آپ نے جو دوسرے کاموں کے لئے جلد لاکھ روپیہ دیا ہے اس سے بھی وہاں خاطرخواہ کام ہونے والا نہیں ہے گھریلو دستکاری و تعلیم کے لئے خاص امداد کی ضرورت ہے - گو کہ ہم آپ کے بڑے شکرگزار ہیں کہ آپ نے یعنی بھارت سرکار نے ہماری مصیبت کے وقت ہر طرح سے مدد کی اور برابر مدد دیتی چلی آ رہی ہے - مگر میرے کہنے کا مطلب یہ ہے کہ ہمارے دیس کو امداد کی بڑی ضرورت ہے - کہ کشمیر اور جموں میں کئی طرح کی کانیں ہیں - کوئلہ کی کان ہے وہاں نیلم کی کان ہے لوہے کی کان ہے المونیم کی کان ہے اور کمی طرح کی بھسیوں کانیں ہیں - انگریزوں کے زمانہ میں ان سب کانوں کا سروے کیا جا چکا ہے - وہ کفٹ سب دیے پڑے ہوئے ہیں - آپ بھی ان سب کانوں کا سروے کرائیے اور جلد سے جلد وہاں کے معدنیات کا فائدہ اٹھائیے - ان معدنیات سے نہ صرف جموں و کشمیر کی ترقی ہوگی بلکہ ہندوستان کی ترقی میں بھی بہت اضافہ ہوگا -

اب مجھے وہاں کے لئے ریل کے بارے میں بھی کچھ کہنا ہے کہ اس پانچ سالہ پلان کے تحت جہاں لاکھوں کروڑوں روپیہ خرچ کیا جا رہا ہے وہاں پر ریل کے لئے کچھ بھی نہیں کیا جا رہا ہے - وہاں پر ایک انچ جگہ پر بھی ریل نہیں ہے - جب میں ہندوستان کا نقشہ دیکھتا ہوں تو مجھے

نظر آتا ہے کہ ہندوستان کے سب حصوں میں ریلوں کا جال پھیلا ہوا ہے - مگر جموں اور کشمیر میں ایک انچ زمین پر بھی آپکو ریل نہیں ملے گی - وہاں ریل نہ ہونے کی وجہ سے دو سو میل دوری سے مزدور اور کسان لوگ کئی دنوں کی مسافت کے بعد دو من کا بوجھ لیکر ریلے اسٹیشن کے نزدیک پہنچتے ہیں اور ہندوستان و پنجاب کی گلیوں میں گھومتے پھرتے ہیں اور روزگار تلاش کرتے ہیں - وہاں ریل نہ ہونے کی وجہ سے بڑی مشکل و مصیبت سے خاصے خرچ سے غلہ و دیگر ضروریات وہاں پہنچائی جاتی ہیں - اس کے لئے امداد کے ہم مشکور ہیں - ہم ہرگز اعتراض نہیں کرتے کہ آپ نے مدد نہیں کی لیکن بہت زیادہ مدد کی ضرورت ہے - باقی دیس کے مقابلہ میں کشمیر کا بڑا نقصان ہوا ہے - کروڑوں اربوں روپیہ کا نقصان ہو گیا ہے - ہزاروں آدمی مارے گئے دھم پر حملہ ہوا ہم تباہ ہو گئے برباد ہو گئے - اس لئے ہمارے ساتھ اور زیادہ فیاض کے ساتھ سلوک ہونا چاہیئے - میں یہ دیکھتا ہوں کہ دوسری سٹیٹس کی طرح ۳۲ فیصدی ہمکے بھی مل گیا لیکن اس سے ہمارا کام نہیں چل سکتا ترقی کا کام تو ایک طرف - اس سے ہمارے پہلے کا عظیم نقصان بھی نہیں پورا ہوگا - اس لئے میں یہ عرض کروں گا کہ تمام کسان اور مزدوروں کے لئے باصحت مکانات بنانے اور انکا میار

[سرदार بدھ سنگھ]

زندگی اونچا کرنے کے لئے جلدی عملی تجاویز ہونی چاہئیں - لینڈ ریفارمز کے متعلق اس میں آپ نے بڑا اچھا چیپٹر رکھا ہے - کئی سٹیٹس نے اس سلسلہ میں قدم اٹھایا ہے - ہم نے تو اسے پہلے ہی کم کر لیا تھا - اور اس بنیاد پر ہم آج کہتے ہیں، زندہ ہیں - کمپنسیشن کے لئے آپ کروڑوں روپیہ مانگ رہے ہیں، قرض لے رہے ہیں لیکن اس قدر عظیم رقم کو آپ کہاں سے پورا کریں گے - اس کے علاوہ دیکھنا یہ ہے کہ آپ ان روپیوں کو دیں گے کن کو - آپ ان ہی راجہ مہاراجاؤں کو سرمایہ داروں کو دیں گے جو کروڑوں روپیہ یورپ میں جا کر خرچ کرتے ہیں - اگر وہ اس روپیہ کو یہیں خرچ کرتے تب بھی ہم یہ سمجھتے کہ وہ روپیہ ہمارے ملک میں رہا - جتنے بڑے بڑے لینڈ لارڈس ہیں، دولت مند ہیں، کارخانہ دار ہیں ان کا جب یورپ کا دورہ ہوتا ہے تو لاکھوں کروڑوں روپیہ خرچ ہو جاتا ہے لہذا آپ کی جو آمدنی کم ہو رہی ہے اس کے لئے آپ ان ہی سے روپیہ لیجئے - آج کروڑوں روپیہ راجاؤں کو دیا جا رہا ہے اور دوسری طرف قرضہ لیا جا رہا ہے - ہمیں خوشی ہے کہ آج پورے تجربہ کے بعد اور اپنے سلک کی ضرورت ارد گرد کے ملکوں کی پوری حالت سمجھنے اور دیکھنے کے بعد ہمارے شری جواہر لال جی اور ہمارے دوسرے منسٹر صاحبان اور ہمارے وہ دوست حضرات جن کے دل میں غریبوں کا درد ہے اس نتیجہ پر پہنچے ہیں کہ سوشلزم کے علاوہ ملک کے ترقی کرنے کا اور کوئی چارہ نہیں ہے - دولت و زمین کی تقسیم اور مساوات لانے کی اشد ضرورت ہے -

آخر میں میں یہ عرض کروں گا کہ دراصل جب کسان اور مزدور اور ہر غریب بیگار ہے اس موشن کو دل سے اپروو کریں گے کہ یہ پنچپسالہ پلان اس کے لئے اچھا ہے تب ہی کامیابی ہوگی -

[Transliteration in Devanagari script of the above.]

سرदार बुद्ध सिंह (जम्मू और कश्मीर) :
जनाब डिपुटी चेंबरमैन साहब, फाइव इयर प्लान की प्रोग्रेसिव रिपोर्ट के जो फिगरर्स हमारे सामने रखे गये हैं उसके लिये हम आनर्बुल मिनिस्टर साहब के मशकूर हैं कि उन्होंने इस अरसे में मुल्क के अंदर जो कुछ तरक्की के काम हुए, उनका एक रिजल्ट निकाल कर बड़ी मिहनत से हमारे सामने रखा हैं। अब सवाल यह पड़ा होता हैं कि यह फाइव इयर प्लान, पंच साला स्कीम, किस मकसद के लिये बनाई जाती हैं। यह डेवलपमेंट जो किया जाता हैं वह किन लोगों के लिए किया जाता हैं। हमारे मुल्क में बड़े बड़े दालतमंद लोग हैं, बड़े जमींदार हैं, बड़े जागीरदार हैं, राजे हैं, कारखानेदार हैं, और बड़े बड़े मिनिस्टर हैं। ये सब बड़े आदमी आसूदा हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि इन लोगों के लिये तो किसी खास स्कीम की जरूरत नहीं हैं। हां, मुल्क में डेवलपमेंट की इसलिये जरूरत हैं कि जिससे आम लोगों की खुशहाली पैदा हो। अब सवाल यह पड़ा होता हैं कि डेवलपमेंट मुल्क में कैसे किया जाता हैं ? जहां तक मेरा ख्याल हैं, ६७ फी सदी हमारे मुल्क की जनता में दहाती हैं। किसान हैं, मजदूर हैं, बेकार हैं, बेइल्म हैं, मजल्म हैं, बेबस व बेजुबान हैं। इन बेचारों को जो चाहे एक्सप्लॉइट करता हैं। आप सोचिए, एक गरीब गुलाम, जाहिन, बेकस, कमजोर, बीमार का क्या मजहब, क्या दीनार्ईमान और क्या कर्रक्टर हो सकता हैं। उसको तो जो रोटी कपड़े का इंतजाम कर दंगा, उसी की तरफ मदद करने के लिये जायगा। वह उसी का वफादार हैं इसलिए, आसानी से वही एक्सप्लॉइट

हो सकता है जो मुहताज, गरीब और दुखी हैं—कोई दुनिया की गवर्नमेंट कायम नहीं रह सकती जब तक कि वह लंबरस, मजदूरों, और किसानों को ऊपर नहीं उठाएगी और बेकारी को दूर न करेगी। आप देख रहे हैं कि आज दुनिया में कितनी बड़ी बड़ी आलीशान इमारतें हमारी आंखों के सामने बन रही हैं। यह मजदूर, इनके बनाने वाले हैं और इनकी बनाई हुई इमारतों में बड़े बड़े लोग बैठे हुए हैं। हम लोग जो हैं हमें इस तरफ तवज्जो देनी चाहिए कि ये गरीब, बेघर आखिर जिद्द किस तरह हैं? हमको चाहिए कि दिलो दिमाग और आंखों से उनकी गुरबत और दुखी हालत की तरफ देखें। हम इतनी बड़ी बड़ी स्कीमों बना रहे हैं और उन पर बहस कर रहे हैं। बड़े बड़े साइंस, फिलॉसफी और न जाने किन किन इल्मों की बातें सोचते हैं। आखिर हम लोग ये सब बातें करने के किस तरह काबिल हुए हैं? यह तब करते हैं कि हम अच्छी अच्छी खुराक खाते हैं, हमें हर तरह के एंशों आराम के सामान हासिल हैं। गरम गरम खून है, दिमाग में रोशनी, दिल में ताकत है। मगर, दूसरी तरफ वे इंसान हैं जो मजदूरी करते हैं, जिनको पेट भर खाना तक नहीं मिलता और न जाने कितने लोग रोजगार न मिलने से भूखे ही रहते हैं, उनके लिये चीक वे सब सहूलियतें और आराम नसीब नहीं हैं जो हम सबों को हासिल हैं इसलिये वे बड़े दुखी हैं। मैं मिनिस्टर साहब का बड़ा मशकूर हूँ कि उन्होंने बड़ी दयानतदारी से, बड़ी दिलचस्पी से और बड़ी कोशिश से गुरबत को, बेकारी को, मुसीबत को और मजलूमियत को दूर करने की कोशिश जारी रखी है। लेकिन, हमें ये देखना है कि यह जो रिजॉल्यूशन हम पास कर रहे हैं इसका उन गरीब मेहनतकाश लोगों पर क्या असर पड़ेगा और इससे वह लोग कब और कितना फायदा उठा सकेंगे।

हमसे लोग पूछते हैं कि बताइए, पांच साला प्लान क्या बला है? इसका क्या मतलब है? वह आदमी जिसको भूख लगी है, जो बेकार है, जो सड़-गले मकान के अंदर रहता है या

आसमान की छत के नीचे बैठा हुआ है वह जब इन साजोसामान से भर मकानों, महलों और कोठियों को देखता है तो वह पूछता है कि कब मेरा उद्धार होगा, कब मुझे पूरा खाने को मिलेगा और रहने को मकान मिलेगा? मैं आनरबुल मिनिस्टर प्लानिंग से सिर्फ इतना ही अर्ज करूंगा कि इनको सबसे अव्वल और शुरू से ही यह काम जारी करना चाहिए कि किस तरह से उन लोगों को पहले सामान मिलेगी व राहत व आराम मिले। मुल्की तरक्की का काम ऊपर से नहीं हो सकता, उसे नीचे से ऊपर लाना चाहिए। हर एक कारिबलेकार इंसान के लिए एक लाजमी कानून हुकमन, जबरन यह लाया जाय कि जिसके जरिये उसको किसी भी नेशनल काम के लिये काम करने पर मजबूर किया जा सके। होता क्या है, एक आदमी कमाता है और दस खाने वाले होते हैं जो कि बेकार रहते हैं। बेकार आदमी मुल्क के लिये कोई मुफ्ती काम नहीं कर सकता। वह कई खतरनाक बुरी बातों को सोचने लगता है। उन गरीब दहाती लोगों के भाँपड़े आप जरा देखिए कि जानवर भी वहां तंदुरुस्त नहीं रह सकते। किसी में किसी आराम के लिये कोई गुंजायश नहीं है। न नहाने की जगह है, न कोई पुरखा कमरा है और न ही पाखाना पेशाब के लिये कोई इंतजाम है। हवा और रोशनदान तक भी नहीं है। उसी में ही डंगर बंधे हुये हैं, घर गोबर, मलमूत्र, पेशाब और गंदगी से भरपूर रहता है और अकसर ये लोग बीमार हो जाते हैं। फिर आप कहते हैं कि हम इतने लाख या करोड़ रुपया मीडिकल व इलाज के ऊपर खर्च कर रहे हैं। जिस मुल्क में लाखों की तादाद में सिर्फ टी० बी० के मरीज हैं अलावा उन दूसरे अमराज के भी लाखों मरीज हैं यह पूरी खोराक व मकान न मिलने की वजह से बीमार हैं, तड़प रहे हैं। तो इनके लिये सबसे पहला सवाल जो हमें अपने दिमाग में लाना और सामने रखना है वह यह है कि इनके लिये अच्छे बासेहत मकानात बनवाये जायें। पहले भी मैं कई बार कह चुका हूँ और इस बार भी वही बातें दोहराऊंगा

[सरदार बुद्ध सिंह]

कि जब हम बाहर निकलते हैं, राष्ट्रपति भवन या प्राइम मिनिस्टर की कोठी या और बड़े बड़े लोगों की कोठियां देखते हैं, तो मालूम पड़ता है कि वे कितनी अच्छी तरह बनाई गई हैं, मगर वह बंचार जिन्होंने इन खूबसूरत कोठियों को बनाया है वह इन कोठियों के नजदीक ही खुद घास की झांपड़ियों में निहायत बुरी तरह अपनी जिंदगी बसर करते हैं। आपका यह भी फर्ज है कि अगर आप उनसे काम लेते हैं तो उनके भी क्वार्टर बना दें। बंशक यह सही है कि अपना काम वे खत्म करके जहां से वे आते हैं वहीं फिर वापिस चले जाते हैं। लेकिन जिन जगहों पर मुस्तकिल काम होते हैं जहां लाखों करोड़ों रुपये खर्च होते हैं वहां उनकी रिहायश का भी इंतजाम होना चाहिये। आप रोजाना देखते हैं कि जो प्राइवेट लेबरर्स हैं वे अपनी छोटी लड़कियों और बच्चों को बड़ी दर्दनाक हालत में छोड़कर मर्द और औरतें रोजगार के लिये, मजदूरी के लिये निकलते हैं। उनके लिये पानी का इंतजाम नहीं रहता, बिजली का, लैंट्रन का, किसी किस्म का कोई इंतजाम नहीं रहता। जो ठेकेदार और इंजीनियर उनसे काम अपने हाथ में लेते हैं वे तो एंश करते हैं, खुशहाल हैं, मोटरों पर सवार होकर सैर करते हैं, मालदार हैं। यह क्यों हो रहा है? क्यों मजदूर गरीब और बेघर हैं? यह इसीलिये हो रहा है कि जो लेबरर हैं, मजदूर हैं, इनको वमुकाबिले काम थोड़े पैसे मिलते हैं। दहातों में किसान हैं, उनकी हालत भी खराब है। उसको सुधारने के लिये महात्मा गान्धी बहुत कोशिश करते रहे और प्राइम मिनिस्टर और हमारे प्लानिंग मिनिस्टर अब जोर दे रहे हैं कि दहातों की तरक्की कैसे की जाय। हम नुक्ताचीनी करते हैं, ठीक है इसकी बशर्त कि तामीरी हो। लेकिन हम इस बात से इंकार नहीं कर सकते कि एक ऐसे बड़े मुल्क में जो सदियों से गुलाम था, जिसमें इतने मजहब हैं, फिरकापरस्त हैं, जातपात के झगड़े हैं, कई तरह के लोग हैं, बेकारी व गुरबत को दूर करने के लिये हमारे

लीडरों ने एक लाइट दी है और उन्होंने एक पंचसाला योजना (प्राोग्राम) बनाई है जिसके मुताल्लिक काम हो रहा है। लेकिन मैं अदब से कहना चाहता हूं कि हम जो रुपया किसी स्कीम पर खर्च करते हैं उसके लिए यह देखना जरूरी है कि वह ठीक ढंग से इस्तेमाल हो रहा है या नहीं। यह तो नहीं हो रहा है कि जहां सीमेंट करना चाहिए वहां पर रेत लगाई जा रही है और काम खराब हो रहा है। आज हम देख रहे हैं कि करीबन पचास फीसदी खर्चा हमारा इसी तरह जाया हो जाता है। अब तो हमें यहां पर खाली नुक्ताचीनी नहीं करनी चाहिए। हमारा सब लोगों का फर्ज तो यह है कि हम सब लोग मैदान में जायें और हर एक काम को जो कि मुल्क की खुशहाली के लिये किये जा रहे हैं उनको देखें और पूरा तआव्वुन करें। फर्ज अंजाम दें। हां, यह बात दुरुस्त है कि जो कुछ हम अपनी आंखों से देखते हैं, जो कुछ तजुर्बात हम लोगों को होते हैं उनकी बिना पर हमको गवर्नमेंट को मुतला करना चाहिए और वक्त पर सजेशन देना चाहिए।

हमारे प्लानिंग मिनिस्टर स्नहब कहते हैं कि हम मुल्क में बड़े बड़े प्रोजेक्ट बनाने जा रहे हैं जिसके जरिये यहां की जनता को, वहां के अवाम को हर तरह की राहत पहुंचेगी, मगर मेरा कहना यह है कि हमारा मुल्क एक गरीब मुल्क है, दहातों में गरीब लोग ही ज्यादा बसते हैं। वही किसान भी हैं और मजदूर भी, अगर उनकी हालत को जल्दी ठीक नहीं किया जायगा तो हमारे प्रोजेक्ट पर नहीं हो सकते हैं और न उनके जरिये उनकी किसी तरह की मदद की जा सकती है। अमली इमदाद और उनकी हालत सुधारने से उनको इस मुफीद काम की समझ आ जायगी। अगर हमको मजदूरों को, यहां के किसानों, भूखों, बेकारों को राहत पहुंचानी है, उनको जिंदा रखना है तो उनको रहने के लिये बासेहत अच्छे मकानात, पहनने के लिये कपड़ा, मुनासिब व पूरी खोराक और रोजगार देना होगा। बड़े बड़े मकानात बना देने से और बड़े बड़े कारखाने बना देने से उन गरीबों को किसी तरह की राहत नहीं मिल

सकती हैं जब तक उनका इसमें कोई हक नहीं स्वा जाता। गजैकी जब तक उनकी जरूरतों को पूरा नहीं करेंगे तब तक आपकी ये स्कीमें कारामद व कामयाब नहीं हो सकती हैं। उन गरीब लोगों के दुखी व नाखुश होने की वजह से अपोजीशन वाले और दूसरे मुखालिफ लोग सरकार की तरफ से तरक्कियों के काम को कोई अहमियत नहीं दते हैं जो कि उसने अब तक की हैं और अवाम को अंधरे में रखते हैं। मगर जहां तक मजदूर और लेबर और यहां की आम जनता का सवाल है, चाहे कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी हो या चाहे सोशलिस्ट पार्टी हो, कोई भी पार्टी हो, उसके लिये सारी जनता एक सी है, मुल्क सब का है और अवाम की भलाई के लिये जो कुछ भी रुपया सर्फ किया जाता है यह कॉमी डालत है। इसके लिये हर एक आदमी, हर एक पार्टी जिम्मेदार है कि उसके जायज तरीके पर खर्च होने की निगरानी करे। लाजमी बात है कि जब तक आप किसानों की और मजदूरों की दुर्दनाक हालत को और जो उनको परेशानी व तकलीफ हो रही है उनको जल्दी रफा नहीं करेंगे तब तक अपोजीशन आपका होता रहेगा।

हमारे मुल्क के अंदर महात्मा गान्धी जी ने ही इन गरीब लोगों के दुर्द को पहिचाना था और उनके दुर्द को दूर करने के लिये उन्होंने अपना जीवन कुर्बान कर दिया। महात्मा गान्धी ने जब इस दुर्द के मजदूरों और किसानों के पास पूरा खाना, कपड़ा, मुनासिब मकान नहीं दखा तो उन्होंने यह अहद कर लिया था कि जब तक हिन्दुस्तान के हर एक अवाम को, यहां के मजदूर और किसान को रहने के लिये मकान, पहिनने के लिये कपड़ा और खाने के लिये मुनासिब और पूरी खोराक और रोजगार नहीं मिलेगा तब तक मैं न अच्छा और पूरा कपड़ा बदल कर पहनूंगा और न मकानों में रहूंगा। चुनाचे वे गरीब बीस्तियां और झांपड़ों में गुजर करते रहे। मैं आपके सामने उस बुजुर्ग हस्ती महात्मा गान्धी जी का वह बयान पढ़ता हूं जो कि उन्होंने शहीद होने से दो रोज पहले २५ जनवरी, सन् १९४५ को, जब कि उनके पास किसी ने किसान की हालत का जिक्र किया है।

महात्मा जी ने फर्माया, “आज एक सज्जन आए थे और उनका नाम तो मैं भूल गया, उन्होंने किसान की बात की। मैंने कहा, मेरी चले, तो हमारा गवर्नर-जनरल किसान होगा, हमारा बड़ा वजीर किसान होगा, सब कुछ किसान होगा क्योंकि यहां का राजा किसान है। मुझे बचपन से सिखाया था ‘हे किसान, तू बादशाह है’। किसान जमीन से पैदा न करे तो हम क्या खायेंगे। हिन्दुस्तान का सचमुच राजा तो वही है, लेकिन आज हम उसे गुलाम बनाकर बैठे हैं। आज किसान क्या करे, एम० ए० बने, बी० ए० बने, ऐसा किया तो किसान मिट जायेगा। पीछे वह कुदाली नहीं चलाएगा। जो आदमी अपनी जमीन में से पैदा करता है और खाता है सो जनरल बने, प्रधान बने, तो हिन्दुस्तान की शकल बदल जायेगी।” इसलिये मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि जब तक हम अपने दुहाती अवाम की तरफ, मजदूरों की तरफ खुसीसयत से तवज्जो नहीं देंगे तब तक हम तरक्की के रास्ते नहीं बढ़ सकते। आखिर उन लोगों का भी दिलोदिमाग है, आंखें हैं, उनको भी तकलीफ महसूस होती है। वे लोग देखते हैं कि शहरों में बड़े बड़े लोग आलीशान मकानात में रहते हैं, बड़ी बड़ी मोटरों में सैर करते हैं, खूब खाते पीते हैं, तो उनको जलन होती है, हसद होता है। जब हमारे मुल्क के अंदर इतना बड़ा इंकलाब पैदा हुआ और हम लोग आजाद हो गये, तो उन लोगों के लिये उनकी आबादकारी और उनकी जिंदगी के लिये भी आराम व आसायश के लिये जल्दी कुछ न कुछ जरूर होना चाहिए। उनकी हालत भी सुधरनी चाहिए। अभी कुछ ही दिन हुए कि हमारे वजीर खजाना ने दूसरे हाउस में एक बयान दिया था कि दस साल के अंदर हम दुर्द के अंदर से बहुत हद तक बेकारी को दूर कर देंगे, मगर मेरा कहना यह है कि दस साल का अरसा तो बहुत लम्बा है। इतने अरसे के अंदर कोई बेकार और भूखा आदमी, गंगा आदमी व बेघर इन्तजार नहीं कर सकता। दस साल के अरसे में तो दुनिया ही पलट सकती है। उसका नकशा ही इधर से उगार हो सकता है। इसलिये हमको किसानों

[सरदार बुद्ध सिंह]

₹ 14 व) उसकी तकलीफ का एहसास करना चाहिए और उसको अपना ही मुल्की आदमी, भाई, समझना चाहिए। अगर हमने ऐसा समझा तो हम अपने बड़े बड़े प्राजेक्टों के लिये और मुल्क के लिये हम जो काम करने जा रहे हैं उसमें कामयाब हो सकते हैं। अगर हमारा नज़रिया इस तरह का हमदर्दानी नहीं रहा तो यकीनन हमको कामयाबी नहीं हो सकती। हमें इंसानी हमदर्दी से काम लेकर हर लिहाज से उनकी मदद करनी चाहिए और उनके दुख-दर्द का एहसास करना चाहिए। तब ही हमारे मसजिद, मंदिर और गुरुद्वारों में जाने का मतलब भी हल होता है क्योंकि खुदा के नज़दीक सारे बंदे एक से हैं, खिदमत खल्क फर्जे अब्बलीन हैं। इकबाल ने क्या खूब कहा है—

“खुदा के आशिक तो हैं हजारों,
वनों में फिरते हैं मारे मारे।
मैं उसका बंदा बनूंगा जिसको,
खुदा के बंदों से प्यार होगा ॥”

हकीकत तो यह है कि सारे धर्म और कर्म और मजहब इस वास्ते हैं और हमारा फर्ज भी है कि हम इमानदारी व दिलचस्पी से लोगों की सेवा करें। पंचसाला प्लान के तहत जो भी स्कीम चलाई जा रही है अगर उनसे किसानों को और मजदूरों को और बेकारों को कुछ फायदा नहीं हुआ तो उनके लिये यह पंचसाला स्कीम बिल्कुल बेकार है। उनके अंदर एक तरह से गम व गुस्सा का गुब्बारा उठता रहेगा और ज्यादा परेशान होंगे। इस तरह से देश की तरक्की के कामों में उनका कोई हाथ न होगा क्योंकि वह देखते हैं कि उनके लिये तो कुछ हो नहीं रहा है। वह तो जिस हालत में पहले थे उसी हालत में अब भी हैं इसलिये हमको उनकी तरफ पहले देखना चाहिए ताकि उनको जो कुछ भी तकलीफें हैं वे रफा हो सकें। पहले उनको जिंदा रखने का तो इंतजाम करो, तरक्की का सवाल तो बाद का है।

जम्मू और कश्मीर के लिये इस मौजूदा प्लान के तहत जो १२ लाख रुपया मकानात के लिये

और कुछ लाख इंडस्ट्री के लिये दिया गया है उससे क्या हो सकता है। कश्मीर की इंडस्ट्री जो कि दुनिया में मशहूर है, जिसकी कारीगरी व सिनात की शोहरत आज सारी दुनिया में फैली हुई है, इतने थोड़े रुपयों से वहां क्या बन सकता है? उसके साथ ही साथ आपने जो दूसरे कामों के लिये चंद लाख रुपया दिया है उससे भी वहां खातिरख्वाह काम होने वाला नहीं है। घरलू दस्तकारी व तालीम के लिये खास इमदाद की ज़रूरत है गोकि हम बड़े आपके शुक्रगुजार हैं कि आपने यानी भारत सरकार ने हमको मुसीबत के वक्त हर तरह से मदद की और बराबर मदद देती चली आ रही है। मगर मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि हमारे देश को इमदाद की बड़ी ज़रूरत है। कश्मीर और जम्मू में कई तरह की खानें हैं। कोयले की खान हैं, वहां नीलम की खान हैं, लोहे की खान हैं, अल्यूमिनियम खान हैं, और कई तरह की बीसियों खानें हैं। अंगरेजों के जमाने में इन सब खानों का सर्वे किया जा चुका है। वह कागज़ सब दबे पड़े हुए हैं। आप भी इन खानों का सर्वे कराइये और जल्द से जल्द वहां के मादीनियात का फायदा उठाये, उन मादीनियात से न सिर्फ जम्मू और कश्मीर की तरक्की होगी बल्कि हिन्दुस्तान की तरक्की में भी बहुत इज़ाफा होगा।

अब मुझे वहां के लिये रेल के बारे में भी कुछ कहना है कि इस पंचसाला प्लान के तहत जहां लाखों और करोड़ों रुपया खर्च किया जा रहा है वहां पर रेल के लिये कुछ भी नहीं किया जा रहा है। वहां पर एक इंच की जगह पर भी रेल नहीं है। जब मैं हिन्दुस्तान का नकशा देखता हूं तो मुझे नज़र आता है कि हिन्दुस्तान के सब हिस्सों में रेलों का जाल बिछा हुआ है; मगर जम्मू और कश्मीर में एक इंच जमीन पर भी आपको रेल नहीं मिलेगी। वहां रेल न होने की वजह से दो दो सौ मील दूरी से मजदूर और किसान लोग कई दिनों की मुसाफ़त के बाद दो मन का बोझ लेकर रेलवे स्टेशन के नज़दीक पहुंचते हैं और हिन्दुस्तान व पंजाब की गलियों में घूमते फिरते हैं और रोजगार

तलाश करते हैं। वहां रेल न होने की वजह से बड़ी मुश्किल व मुसीबत से खास खर्च से गल्ला व दीगर जरूरियात वहां पहुंचाया जाता है। इसके लिये इमदाद के हम मशकूर हैं। हम हरिगज एतराज नहीं करते कि आपने मदद नहीं की, लेकिन बहुत ज्यादा मदद की जरूरत है। बाकी देश के मुकाबिल में कश्मीर का बड़ा नुकसान हुआ है। करोड़ों-अरबों रुपये का नुकसान हो गया है। हजारों आदमी मार गए, हम पर हमला हुआ, हम तवाह हो गये, बरबाद हो गये, इसलिये हमारे साथ और ज्यादा फायदा के साथ सलूक होना चाहिए। मैं यह देखता हूं कि दूसरी स्टेट्स की तरह २२ फी-सदी हमको भी मिल गया, लेकिन इससे हमारा काम नहीं चल सकता। तरक्की का काम तो एक तरफ, इससे हमारे पहले का अजीम नुकसान भी पूरा नहीं होगा। इसलिये, मैं यह अर्ज करूंगा कि तमाम किसान और मजदूरों के लिये बासेहत मकानात बनाने और उनका मेयार ज़िदगी ऊंचा करने के लिये जल्दी अमली तजावीज होनी चाहियें। लैंड रिफार्म के मुताल्लिक इसमें आपने बड़ा अच्छा चेंप्टर रखा है। कई स्टेट्स ने इस सिलसिले में कदम उठाया है। हमने तो इसे पहले ही कर लिया था और इसी बुनियाद पर हम आज खड़े हैं, ज़िदा हैं। कंपेंसेशन के लिये आप करोड़ों रुपया मांग रहे हैं, कर्ज ले रहे हैं, लेकिन इस कदर अजीम रकम आप कहां से पूरा करेंगे। इसके अलावा देखना यह है कि आप इन रुपयों को देंगे किनको? आप उन्हीं राजा-महाराजाओं और सरमायादारों को देंगे जो करोड़ों रुपया यूरोप में जाकर खर्च करते हैं। अगर वह इस रुपये को यहीं खर्च करते तब भी हम यह समझते कि वह रुपया हमारे ही मुल्क में रहा। जितने बड़े बड़े लैंडलॉर्ड्स हैं, डॉलरमंद हैं, कारखानदार हैं, उनका जब यूरोप का दौरा होता है तो लाखों-करोड़ों रुपया खर्च हो जाता है। लिहाजा आपकी जो आमदनी कम हो रही है उसके लिये आप उन ही से रुपया लीजिए। आज करोड़ों रुपया राजाओं को दिया जा रहा है और दूसरी तरफ कर्जा लिया जा रहा है।

अपने मुल्क की जरूरत, इर्ट गिर्द के मुल्कों में खुशी है कि आज पूरे तजुर्बे के बाद और की पूरी हालत समझने और देखने के बाद हमारे श्री जवाहलाल जी और हमारे दूसरे मिनिस्टर साहबान और हमारे वे सब दोस्त हजरात, जिनके दिल में गरीबों का दर्द है, इस नतीजे पर पहुंचे हैं कि सोशलिज्म के अलावा मुल्क के तरक्की करने का और कोई चारा नहीं है। डॉलर व जमीन की तकसीम और मसावात लाने की अशद जरूरत है।

आखिर में मैं यह अर्ज करूंगा कि दरअसल किसान और मजदूर और हर गरीब बेकार ही इस मोशन को दिल से एप्रूव करेगा कि यह पंचसाला प्लान उसके लिये अच्छा है। तभी कामयाबी होगी।

3 P.M.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND (Hyderabad): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the hon. Minister in moving the consideration of this Resolution pointed out the achievements of the Government. At the very outset I would like to say that I am in agreement with him in that the country has made some progress. After all, it would not be worth being called a government if the country did not make some progress. Of course, when the Government is spending 2,200 crores of rupees on the Plan, it will certainly lead to some results, there will be some dams built, some more areas irrigated and there will be some increase in production; that is quite possible, though I suppose it is not as much as the hon. Minister tried to make out yesterday. But if we accept the figures that he gave at their full value, even then I submit it is only, if I may say so, a glorified five year budget, it can hardly be called a Plan. When discussing the Five Year Plan we have not only to go into the actual amounts spent, whether the money allotted has been spent or not, or whether the rate of spending is satisfactory and all that; but I submit that there is only one criterion for approval in this matter and that criterion is whether we have improv-

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ed the lot of the people, whether we have improved the condition of the common man in the country.

Have we, first of all increased the rate of investment under this Five Year Plan? The hon. Member who spoke before me pointed out that in Pakistan and in Burma and other countries where there is no plan, the rate of investment is higher than in our country, that they are also making progress. The hon. Minister tells us that he will double the national income in a few years; but the Plan has estimated it in 27 years, and that is the distant prospect of the Plan. What is the special feature by which the hon. Minister hopes to double this national income? It has been said that agricultural production has increased. I would submit that nearly a year and a half back, we were working on one set of statistical data and suddenly one day our statisticians found that there was some mistake and they said that production has gone up. When examining the question of production, we should go into its cause and effect. It is not merely a question of some figures being mentioned here and the jugglery of these figures. In a vast country, a variation of 4 or 5 per cent. can be brought about merely by manipulation of figures and by proper adjustments of some other figures. In this way you can show an increase of 5 per cent. I would however submit that all this due to the controls. When there were controls, every little farmer, every little merchant was a hoarder and we did not know the real stocks in the country at all. It is really due to the decontrolling of the commodities that all the hidden stocks have come out and we feel that there is no shortage of food-grains. It is also due to two good monsoons that there is greater production. That is what we find if we go into the cause and the effect of it. I would like to know from the hon. Minister if he has collected figures of the additional area which has come under irrigation and which has produced extra food grains. Has he got

the figures of additional production due to better irrigation or better manuring over and above the normal use of manuring? If he has, then, there would be some justification for his contention that due to planning our agricultural production has increased. I maintain, Sir, that it is not due to planning that our agricultural production has increased. In agriculture, as we all know, there are what are called cycles, and in these cycles, we have two or three good monsoons and good years, when we get more production, followed by two or three years, when the monsoon is bad and the production goes down. Unless and until the Minister can prove that say, 25 per cent. of the area has been brought under irrigation, that due to additional irrigation, instead of getting one crop, there are two crops, and the production has thereby increased, we cannot be sure that it is all due to the Plan.

I will draw your attention to certain statistical data. Every hon. Member has received the estimate of the national income. You will find in that estimate that Rs. 4,500 crores is more or less the income from agriculture. Now, instead of calling it as so many crores, I would refer to it as 45 *arabs* for one *arab* means 100 crores. So this figure has stood at 45 *arabs*. If you want to double the national income, then naturally this 45 *arabs* or *abjas* has to be doubled. This is the total income of nearly 75 per cent. of the people who live in the rural areas. And any plan to be successful must double this income. Unless and until the man who lives in village has his income double, he will not have the purchasing power to buy anything produced by the cottage industries, or the small-scale industries or the big-scale industries. That exactly is the place where you have got to increase the income. But I am afraid that during this year the prices of agricultural goods have gone down by nearly 25 to 30 per cent. An hon. Member has pointed out that the price of coarse grain has come down to about Rs. 6 to Rs. 8 per maund. The same coarse grain

was selling at about Rs. 15 to Rs. 16 per maund only two years back, and when you take into account the price reduction in cotton and the reduction in the price of various other articles, I am afraid that after one or two years when the National Income Committee prepares the income figures for the year 1954-55, this figure of 45 *abjas* will come down to nearly 40 *abjas*.

I am afraid, Sir, that the agricultural income is going down and if nothing is done the standard of living of the rural areas will go down further and if they do not have the money to purchase anything, the future of our industries, especially the medium scale and the small scale industries producing consumer goods is very dark. The hon. Minister was very happy about steel and he quoted figures to show that the production of steel was going up. As a new plant has gone into operation there is more production but you must make a distinction. The production by Tatas has not gone up, but as a new unit has come up, there has been some increase in the production of steel; I admit that there is some increase in the textile manufactures. There is some increase in production in the case of locomotives, in the case of coaches and in the case of wagons which started from zero.

You will see, Sir, that 'factory establishments' is item number six in the National Income Committee's Report. The total income of all big factory establishments is 6.9 *abjas*. We can consider it as 7 *abjas*. If we assume that by the effort which the hon. Minister may put in, probably production will increase from 7 to 8 *abjas* an increase of one, while in the case of agriculture, with the reduction in the price of agricultural goods, it may come down by as much as 8 *abjas*. This is the situation about factory establishments. By increasing the factory establishments, even if we double it, the national income will go up from 7 to 14 *abjas* and if we treble it, it will be 21, which proves that it is not a very big factor. That

will never double the national income. It will never be doubled until and unless we increase the income in the agricultural section; that is where maximum increase has got to take place.

The next item where increase should take place is small enterprises. The figure for small enterprises given in this report is 9½ *abjas*. That is the place where increase should take place and I should like to know from the hon. Minister for Planning what steps have been taken for increasing it? Nothing has been done except giving some sort of a subsidy to the handloom industries and as a result of that the production has gone up by about 10 per cent. Is that going to affect the situation? Does he realise and does he know that the small scale and the medium scale industries are very hard hit at the present moment, that they are feeling the strain and if proper assistance is not given to them, many will have to close down because, ultimately the purchaser, the rural population have not got the money to purchase them? I submit, Sir, that the fundamental idea of this Plan is wrong. Planning has not been done to improve the peasantry of our country. This is a plan for having big irrigation schemes; they are progressing and they will undoubtedly benefit the people, but that benefit will be microscopic and infinitesimal as compared to the other losses.

Then, Sir, I come to the matter of unemployment. This is a well-known fact. I do not want to spend my little time in discussing that problem because in the Planning the Government is thinking of a few urban citizens and is thinking of finding employment for the urban educated people in the rural areas. That is not the way of tackling it. Unless and until you develop your rural areas, where will these urban people go and find employment?

Then, Sir, I come to another item and I will finish my speech with that. That is the problem of education and

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public health. I think the Plan should have laid very great stress on educational and public health aspects. The Plan has set apart nearly Rs. 300 crores for that, but is it helping the matter? Do the planners envisage that during the next ten years, illiteracy will be a thing of the past? Have they got plans that during the next ten years they will educate the entire population of this country? Have they a plan that 10 per cent. of the people should get complete education, at least primary education, every year? If the Plan was based on that, then we could have imagined that in ten years' time everybody will be educated. What have the planners done now? In small villages of 500 people, there will be a few one-teacher schools. There will be about 50 or 60 boys and girls of various ages to be educated by one-teacher school. There will be nearly five or six age groups and one teacher will be sitting there and giving them some sort of lessons in alphabets or in numerals. The result will be that after leaving the school, after one or two years, they will forget all that they learnt. That is not the way of giving education. Unless there are proper schools, with three or four teachers and with three or four classes where the boys and girls may learn for three or four years continuously, there is no advantage.

In regard to public health, we have spent some amounts; there have been a few dispensaries opened here and there in this vast country. But do you expect, Sir, that this Plan will solve the problem of public health within ten years? Do you expect that within ten years, full medical facilities will be available to every citizen of this country?

In conclusion, I would like to say to the hon. Minister for Planning that, without belittling the efforts of the Government for what it has done, I maintain that the Plan should have been much more ambitious and should have been drawn up on a big-

ger scale than it has been done now. Then only it could have been called a Plan; otherwise, it is only a normal effort of our Government. For proper plan the method to be adopted is full co-operation of the rural population and direct contact with them so that their conditions are improved. Only then will the Plan succeed. We can go on spending Rs. 2285 crores in the first Five Year Plan and Rs. 5000 crores in the second; and it will only lead to a few more big irrigation schemes, a few more workshops and a few more factories but the lot of the common man will remain as it is or possibly be improved by 10 per cent.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI (Nominated): Sir, I think it will be agreed on all hands that the most beneficent measure that has been undertaken by the Government of free India is the regulation, direction and scientific planning of the economic development of the country which has been hitherto unorganised, and even disorganised in certain spheres. Also, I am prepared to give the Planning Commission credit for having made a very good start, especially in the matter of the order of priorities which may claim their attention as regards economic development. The Commission has rightly found out that the first priority in economic development must be given to agriculture which is the concern of the majority of India's millions. I think also that there is this general industrial policy announced by the Government, the policy which the Planning Commission is intent upon implementing and that policy clearly recognises the existence of what I may call a mixed economy, that is to say, an economic system which has a due place for all the nationalised State industries and also the industries which are in the keeping of private enterprise and, therefore, when we lay stress upon this aspect of India's industrial policy, there should not be any undue fear in the minds of those who are in charge of the private sector of industry that there has been too much of un-

certainly as regards their future. Now according to the scheme of the Planning Commission the private sector has been entrusted with as many as about 42 industries with which the State will not directly interfere. Now some of the industries are also being managed by private enterprise under due State control, but in this sphere, to take an example from the most important industry of the country, namely, the steel industry, upon which depends ultimately even the military strength of the country, I should think that in this important field of industry the progress is not adequate to the requirements of the situation. India's steel requirements have been estimated according to very low standard at 35 lakh tons of production per annum. But of this our installed steel capacity in the factories is capable of producing an output of 15 lakh tons, but the actual output as distinguished from the installed capacity hardly exceeds 10 lakh tons. No doubt we must give the Commission and the Government credit for starting other steel industries, but even with all the struggle and the strain to which our economy will be put in erecting additional steel plants, we will find that within five years it is estimated that India can add to her quota of steel production by only 5 lakh tons, and therefore on the most modest estimate our actual steel production will fall far short of our national requirements.

Now I just present before the House another picture. When Stalin came to assume the reins of Government in Soviet Russia, he found that Russia was able to produce only 4 lakh tons of steel per annum. Stalin of course had the statesmanship to understand that the whole of Russia must be steel-minded in order to be able to maintain Soviet Russia's proper position in international politics. So in 1952, after a lapse of 30 years, Stalin had the satisfaction of seeing before his very eyes the vast development of Russian steel industry, as will be noted from the fact that in 1952 the steel production of Russia

amounted to 4 crores of tons per annum as against the starting output of only 4 lakh tons. I must remind my communist friends also that U.S.A. has to its credit 12 crores of tons of steel production per annum. However, that is by the way. So my point is this that while I am prepared to give credit for all the many good things which have been begun by the Planning Commission I should like to draw their special attention to the steel industry which, in my opinion, is the most important of the national key industries.

Now I come to agriculture which is the Commission's prior concern. I am afraid that in agriculture the degree of realism which is necessary to solve the very difficult agricultural problems that face the country has not been properly attended to.

Now I had the privilege of serving on a recent agricultural Commission which worked for about a year and a half. It is not a mere roving commission. The Commission addressed itself to its duty of studying the agricultural conditions of whole India and applying proper remedies. Now we found that agriculture in India suffers from the serious handicap that it has become the concern of small farmers all over the country in under-sized and uneconomic holdings which on an average are too small in area to admit of application of latest scientific methods by which the yield of these small subsistence farms can be appreciably increased. These small farms have indeed reached the limits of intensive cultivation. Now what are you going to do when agriculture means millions of small farms which are inherently incapable of being cultivated with profit? Now over and above that these small farms are liable to further fragmentation due to the laws of inheritance, both Hindu and Muslim, and therefore this process of indefinite sub-division of land is going on unchecked. Therefore the Planning Commission must first of all solve this primary agricultural difficulty that faces the whole country. I have also a simple short remedy to

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offer and that is: Well, don't disturb the economic framework in which these small peasants are working. Don't disturb them by any slogans of collectivism or consolidation of holdings and so forth. The only way by which you can save the small subsistence farmers from starvation is to bring them together, coax them into some form of co-operation by which they may be brought under some kind of common management, by which they will be able to reap the full benefits of consolidation of holdings without talking about this in theory or speculation. We need not call this step as a reform towards consolidation or collectivism and so forth, but all the peasants in a village should be educated enough to learn the lessons of common management and the benefits of common management which will be reaped by everyone of them. Now this common management will effect great economies, which would be of great benefit to every individual farmer in the matter of supply of seeds, manures, irrigation, erosion control, bunds, tools, implements, marketing, credit and such other facilities so that if the Planning Commission quarters upon every village a trained worker, who will re-build the village, re-build agriculture of the millions on proper scientific foundations, then I think that the Planning Commission will deserve well of the country because it would be able to serve the interests of the vast masses of people.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. K. DHAGE): You have only two minutes more, Dr. Mookerji.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI:
Now what I am going to say is this that this colossal problem faces China also in the present day and you must know how China is manfully facing the same agricultural situation. Communist China today consists of about 10 crores of households of individual peasants, who own and work their land. Agricultural reform in China has for its aims the protection of a

system of private ownership by the peasants as well as the development of mutual aid and co-operation. The essence of the system is that it does not seek to deny or to limit private property, the holdings of peasants participating in the agricultural producers' co-operatives. "The peasants are allowed to retain their private land ownership and other property ownership rights." Of course I have not much time to speak on this and I am quoting from an original Chinese document on the subject, but suffice it to say that India also must carefully preserve the small farmers by showing them the path of agricultural reform by which they will be able to add to their incomes in ways that I have already referred to.

Now my second point is the river valley projects. The Planning Commission practically has taken charge of the larger projects like irrigation, dams, reservoirs and generation of electric power, but I am afraid enough attention has not been paid to what is the accompaniment of these river valley projects. I am quoting from an expert on the subject. He says, "So much silt will be impounded with the water in the reservoir that it will affect the life of the reservoir". That is to say, the problems of soil conservation and soil erosion are created by these river valley projects and it is therefore necessary that enough attention should be paid and enough money should be spent on the schemes for checking the inevitable process of soil erosion. In U.S.A. about one half of the budget for river valley projects is devoted to the ways and means by which the soil below may be conserved instead of being wasted by the inflow of silt from a higher level. Now, the river valley projects will accelerate soil erosion by increase in deposit of silt. For instance, the Jharia coal field has practically become a desert now. Now, hydel generation is opposed to flood control. The control of the river in the lower valley is essential and the revenue from electricity must be sacrificed in the interests of agri-

culture and irrigation down below. Barrage is necessary to keep the river channel in the lower valley alive as it will shrink in size by the discharge as well as by deposits of silt.

Now, in that connection I want to place before the House certain other very distressing facts. The position as it stands in India with reference to soil erosion is this. There is general sinking of sub-soil water level and springs dry up, making irrigation impossible. Reservoirs constructed for irrigation, electric power and flood control silt up and become useless. Rivers swollen with water and silt beyond measure overflow their banks and ruin the towns, villages, crops and cattle worth millions. Roads and railway lines are blocked by land slides and floods. This is but a true picture of the countries where hills have been denuded of all vegetative covering.

The population of India is increasing at a fast rate of about five millions a year, thereby increasing the nation's food requirements. To meet this increasing demand for food sub-marginal lands are being carved out of the existing forests and pastures on steep slopes for cultivation of food crops.

(Time bell rings.)

As regards erosion, it is going on all over the undulating lands in the Deccan. Frequent famines in Bijapur and Sholapur districts of Bombay compelled the Government of Bombay to take up soil and water conservation measures on a large scale. In the Nilgiris potato cultivation on steep slopes which were once well wooded, has ruined lot of land. Floods have become an annual affair in Bihar, Assam and Uttar Pradesh due to denudation of the mountains which form the river catchments of Brahmaputra, Kosi and the Ganges rivers. Chambal and Jamuna ravines are eating away good fertile land in Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat and Uttar Pradesh and Vindhya Pradesh, and millions of acres have gone out of cultivation. The Rajasthan desert is on the march. Large tracts of fertile land in the adjoining States of Delhi,

Punjab and PEPSU are being engulfed by shifting sand every year. The most spectacular erosion is that of the Siwaliks in the Punjab. Thousands of acres of these foot-hills have been ruined by gully erosion caused by overgrazing and hacking of trees. I have adopted the above from an article of Director of Soil-erosion.

My point is this. Without careful planning of anti-erosion measures it is not possible to increase the fertility and stability of our land on which depends the prosperity of our country. Soil conservation is the crying need of the day and therefore it should form an integral part of our schemes for the accomplishment of these river valley projects which are creating these new problems for the agriculturists.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. K. DHAGE): There are a number of speakers on the list here and there is hardly an hour left for the discussion because at 4-30 I wish to call the hon. Minister to reply. Unless it be the wish of the House that they will sit after 5 P.M.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI (Nominated): Sir, I had given my name the day before yesterday. I have made a study of it. I am not getting a chance. I rarely speak on subjects which.....*(Interruptions)*.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Hyderabad): We may sit till six but those who are going tonight should be given first chance.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. K. DHAGE): Let me make it clear. I am suggesting this because I do not wish to restrain Members from speaking on this important Resolution but it is not possible that all the Members who have given their names will have the chance to speak, unless the House agrees to sit after five.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI: It is an important discussion and we must get time for it. We should really get 20 minutes, not 15, but I leave it to you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. K. DHAGE): Do I take it that the House agrees to sit till six in the evening?

SHRI GULSHER AHMED (Vindhya Pradesh): Sir, today is the last day and most of the Members are leaving tonight. It will be very difficult.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA (Bihar): Those who do not want to speak, they can go.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. K. DHAGE): I suppose you do not insist on your proposition not to sit till six because the general sense of the House seems to be to continue till six in the evening.

SHRI GULSHER AHMED: All right.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. K. DHAGE): Then we will sit till six.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI: Sir, I welcome this motion and also the amendment that has been moved, because I think that the Report gives us a very good picture on the whole of the progress made in the execution of the Five Year Plan. I also thank the Minister for giving us a true report of things. It is for us to read and find out whether the progress is rapid or whether the progress is slow. It is no use my wasting the time in telling you about the several achievements. Achievements are good so far as production is concerned. Achievements are appreciable so far as food production is concerned, so far as cotton production is concerned, so far as cloth and cement production is concerned. I must point out that we have had very serious deficiencies some time back. Not only has this Plan even in the third year helped us to make up the deficiencies it is also true to say that this Plan, more than that, has rehabilitated a number of industries. I being a refugee, I know what it means. It has tried to rehabilitate the refugees, it has tried to rehabilitate the Railways, it has tried to rehabilitate the Posts and Telegraphs; it has tried to rehabilitate so many other things. We quietly forget all this, we think as if

the British when they went out gave us a running concern. It was not a running but a wasted concern. We have now made it a running concern in many ways. So the Plan must be looked at from both these points of view—making up the deficiencies which were serious and in vital matters and rehabilitating us on various fronts. Sir, from the short-term point of view we have done a great deal. I would say as regards price level the index figures show that at the start of the Plan it was 458—taking it as 100 in the base year 1939—and now it is 385. The prices have been reduced by nearly 80 points and they have been more or less stabilised there. More than that I would say that there has been an all round comprehensive progress on various other fronts. More or less this is the first time that such a comprehensive national Plan taking India as a whole has been put into execution and we have more or less succeeded about it. It is the first step to give us confidence, to give us hope for the next jump. I take it that we are now in a position to have some confidence that we can go ahead—not that we have gone ahead very much—but we have taken a step forward and we are now in a better position to make a big jump and we must be ready for it.

The last time I spoke on this matter—because I study this with a little anxiety and interest—I said that there were deficiencies and lacunæ and they still persist. In expenditure we have spent only Rs. 885 crores in three years. We have just got to spend Rs. 565 crores next year and Rs. 745 crores in the year following, that is about Rs. 1,200 crores or more in two years. Are we in a position to spend that much? Is our administrative machinery tuned to that? Is our personnel tuned to that? Is our wish, our desire, our urge sufficiently strong to be able to incur this expenditure? I have a suspicion that we are going to have a short-fall of about Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 crores. And that is all the more said because it is just the time when more expenditure can be in-

curred and should be incurred, because today there is little fall in prices. That must be arrested and in order to arrest that we can and must spend more. I have my own doubts, but I wish we could spend more. I feel if we did spend more, then the rot would be stopped and the prices would be stabilised. We want stable prices.

Worse than that, I do feel that so far as village industries are concerned, they are yet a neglected ignored sector. The figures are, to my mind, very disconcerting. The Centre has sanctioned Rs. 15 crores. We have spent only Rs. 123 lakhs in three years. The States sanctioned Rs. 12 crores and we have spent only Rs. 3·95 crores and that, too, only in seven States. We have got Rs. 18 crores from the cess, six crores per year, and we have six crores of rupees to spend each year. But we have spent only Rs. two crores and a little more in 1953-54. Taking all these together, we have nearly Rs. 50 crores to spend and I do not think that we are going to spend even one fourth of that.

Sir, I have this Report, and as my hon. friend said, they are planning for full employment. I will come to full employment later on. You will find there that the village industries are almost completely neglected and it is sad because there is no full awakening, no urge, no faith in it. We are working from the top; it must be from the bottom. It must be from the village, as a community. Unless the village as a community is organised and it has some co-operative societies, multi-purpose co-operative societies; and unless this work is entrusted to them, this thing will never come up. This requires three things. It requires a market, a local market—not a foreign market, nor any inter-State market. More than a market, it requires rural finance and today it is very limited. There is hardly any rural credit whatsoever. It is another important, very serious matter. And, thirdly we must have a co-operative organisation for reviving our village industries, in the villages themselves. I find all these three matters lacking and

seriously lacking. Sir, I beg of the hon. Minister to change the approach. It cannot be from the top; it must come from the bottom. It is time that we organised the village Panchayat as a community, and we must put our greatest emphasis not on the private sector and the public sector, but on the co-operative sector. That co-operative sector must be organised in a new way, not as in the past, from the top again. Here again, without the enthusiasm of the people themselves and without that co-operative approach, I do not think that the village industries can be revived. Without a local demand and a local supply the village industries cannot be revived. I do wish that you will pay more attention than you have been paying up till now.

So, also about education, it makes very sad reading. The figures are disappointing, especially in regard to elementary and basic education. The Centre had sanctioned Rs. 41·5 crores. It had spent hardly 7 crores. The States sanctioned Rs. 119 crores. They have spent only half of it and they have spent only Rs. 70 lakhs upon basic education. They spent Rs. 50 crores on primary and elementary education and only Rs. 70 lakhs on basic education. Though they had sanctioned Rs. 1·9 crores, they have actually spent only Rs. 70 lakhs. They have no faith in it at all. This seventy lakhs of rupees, I would like to know on what and how they have spent. They always complain that trained teachers are not there. I always complain that you do not train enough teachers. It is for you tomorrow to declare that hereafter all teachers will be trained only in the basic method. I do not know of other States but Assam has done well. They have faith in basic education. Elsewhere there is no such faith. They do not train the teachers and then they say that the teachers are not available. They do not go out for getting donations of land and then say there is no land at all. It is because they have no faith that they put up junior basic schools up to the fourth class or the fifth class. No basic education school can succeed

[Prof. N. R. Malkani.]
 unless it has the full complement of eight classes. Not even in Assam are there eight class basic school. Though you have got full basic schools, you do not give a fair trial at all. You don't have faith in it and I do challenge that the Directors and Deputy Directors have no faith in the basic education system at all. I do believe that it is a criminal thing, a waste, to send our people for training to Norway, Sweden, America and other countries. People from Norway and other countries have come here and said that basic education is good—it is perfect basically and academically. But when they come here to see the execution of the system they are hurt about it. What Mahatma Gandhi wrote about basic education and what has been proved by educationists to be the best is not being implemented by the Ministry of Education.

Sir, these are lacunæ which are very serious. They are very important because they affect the quality of the scheme, not the quantity of the scheme. And I do feel that the quality of the Plan will depend on the human element and the human element depends upon the social and educational side. The social and the educational side has been very much neglected.

(Time bell rings.)

Sir, there is no time left and I shall wind up in a few minutes. Only one and a half years are left for the completion of the Five Year Plan. Even now you can very much change and tone up the whole scheme. You have said in the other House that two years hence the land reforms will be completed. I say, go ahead with it. As it is the common man does not feel that there is a Plan. He does feel the effect of the Plan when land comes to him. I went to Bihar and this was what was said there:

“ अब हम जमीन पर ठहर सकते हैं । हमको जमीन से कोई निकाल नहीं सकता है । ”

At least he said so.

Sir, if land reforms are completely implemented, the whole tone of our rural areas will change and they can be and should be implemented within the next two or three years. That will prepare the real ground for the next Plan. If you do not have land reforms, you cannot be successful in the Second Plan. Land reforms mean that a ceiling, a limit should be put on the holding of cultivated land, with a limit upon acquiring new land. If all these ceilings are fixed and the land reforms are completed within the next two or three years, I will have then faith that the next Plan is going to be something big, something important. The common man will feel exhilarated about this Plan.

Sir, I would suggest only one or two points more. You must also prepare the proper personnel. You are hard at it and you are doing it fairly well. Also, at the lower rungs, the village level worker is being trained for about six months. May I ask, Sir, why they are not being trained properly? Sometimes they are trained for four or six months only. The village worker should be trained for one and a half years, if not for two years. I have studied the Kasturba Trust Training work. See how they train the people. They train the girls for two years there. It is a thorough training for two years. In the Plan the village level worker has been there for two years and is getting some training. But this is what I find, that the higher you go the less trained is the staff. Officers are more conceited, they are more ignorant. The project officers claim to be trained. We went to Nilokheri and we saw the staff there being trained. These people have to be trained, retrained and re-educated. They do not believe in these things at all. The man at the top is not properly trained; he has to be trained, has to be re-educated. The man at the bottom is willing to be educated. Give him a chance. The man at the top is a mis-fit. Generally he looks for transfer and promotion only. A number of project officers who are there today will not be there tomorrow. I challenge the hon. Minis-

ter to give me the figures from 1950 to 1954. Hardly five per cent have remained in their posts. All of them have gone and changed. They get their allowance, they get their jobs. In this way, there is no stability at all. Therefore, I say, look to your personnel. Without proper personnel, the next Plan cannot be implemented.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V K DHAGE): Shrimati Savitry Nigam. There has been no contribution by the ladies on the Five Year Plan.

श्रीमती सावित्री निगम (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमन्, इसमें सन्देह नहीं कि अनेक विरोधी परिस्थितियों के होते हुए भी प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना में जितनी सफलता हमें मिली है वह अत्यन्त श्लाघनीय और सराहनीय है किन्तु दश की आवश्यकताओं और उनके मुकाबिले में मिली हुई थोड़ी सफलता को देख कर हमें किसी प्रकार की बधाइयों या काग्रेसूलेंसस की चर्चा में न पड़ कर यह देखना चाहिये कि कहा कहा और क्या क्या कमजोरियाँ रह गई हैं और यह अच्छा होगा कि हम उन्हीं पर विचार करें। भारत जैसे कृषिप्रधान देश के लिये, जहाँ कि तीन चौथाई जनता गाँवों में रहती है, यह बात सब के ही द्वारा स्वीकार की जा चुकी है और मानी जा चुकी है कि हमारी उन्नति और हमारे प्रजातन्त्र का स्वस्थ विकास केवल कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज और ग्राम पंचायतों के सशक्त और संगठित होने पर ही निर्भर है। आज हम अनेक चर्चाएँ करते हैं, कभी हम पीब्लिक सेक्टर को शक्तिशाली बनाने के लिये तरह तरह के सुझाव देते हैं, कभी हम चाहते हैं कि गाँवों में एक नया जीवन आये, नई जिंदगी आये, जागृति फैले लेकिन हम यह भूल जाते हैं कि इतने बड़े देश में, जहाँ कि शिक्षा का अभी पूरा प्रचार नहीं हुआ है, ग्राम पंचायतों और कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज के हमारे पास दूसरे साधन ही क्या हैं जो कि हम गाँवों में एक नई जिंदगी, नई क्रान्ति और नया जागरण ला सकें। जब तक हम इन दोनों साधनों को नहीं अपनायेंगे, जिनके जरिये से कि हम प्रत्येक ग्रामीण, प्रत्येक ग्रामवासी भाई

का पूरा पूरा सहयोग पा सकते हैं, और उनकी शक्ति का पूरा पूरा उपयोग करने का जरिया नहीं अपनायेंगे तो मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि और कौन सा जरिया है जिनके द्वारा हम अपनी उन तमाम आवश्यकताओं को जिनमें हम आगे चल कर पूरा करना हैं, पूरी कर सकें। मैं तो नहीं समझती कि हम और कोई दूसरा रास्ता पा सकते हैं।

श्रीमन्, कोआपरेटिव मूवमेंट की ओर से हमारी सरकार काफी उदासीन है और इसका सब से बड़ा सबूत यह है कि १९५१-५२ के बाद से अब तक इस विषय में कोई रिपोर्ट ही नहीं छपी है कि इस दिशा में हमने कितना काम किया है और कितना हमें करना चाहिये था। हमारे देश की तीन चौथाई शक्ति गाँवों में है और उनको साल में छ महीने तक बेकार रहना पड़ता है। उस शक्ति के उपयोग की यदि हम पूरी पूरी व्यवस्था करना चाहते हैं तो हमारा यह प्रमुख कर्तव्य होना चाहिये कि हम अपने यहाँ की ग्राम पंचायतों को और कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज को शक्तिशाली बनायें। इस दिशा में सब से बड़ी आवश्यकता यह थी कि हम कोआपरेटिव एजुकेशन को, चाहे वह थ्योरिटिकल रूप में हो या प्रैक्टिकल रूप में, अपने स्कूलों में और सब से पहले ग्राम की पाठशालाओं में प्रारम्भ कर दें। यह तो ऐसी वस्तु है इतनी आवश्यक वस्तु है, यह इतना आवश्यक फ़ैक्टर है कि इसको तो घुट्टी के साथ पिला देने की आवश्यकता है। सब से बड़ी आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि हमारे हर स्कूल और कालेज में छोटी छोटी कोआपरेटिव बनें। यह इसका प्रैक्टिकल रूप है। जब हम कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज बनाते हैं तो अनभिज्ञता और नावाकफियत के कारण और ट्रेंड पर्सनेल न मिलने के कारण हमारी कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज फेल हो जाती हैं। अगर हम कोआपरेटिव एजुकेशन को अपनी शिक्षा का अंग मान लें तो हमें पूरा यकीन है कि अगले दस वर्षों में हमारे भावी नागरिक कोआपरेटिव मूवमेंट को अच्छी तरह से समझ सकेंगे और गाँव में वह सहयोग की भावना

[श्रीमती सावित्री निगम]

उत्पन्न हो सकेंगी जिसकी कि हमें बड़ी आवश्यकता है। आज यदि हम कोई भी कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटी फार्म करने चलते हैं तो सब से बड़ी दिक्कत इस बात की होती है कि हमें दो चार भी ऐसे आदमी नहीं मिल पाते— ट्रेंड पर्सनल का मिलना इतना मुश्किल है— जो कि हमको रंगुलरली आ कर गाइड कर सकें और हम उनकी निगरानी में कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज अच्छी प्रकार चला सकें। इसलिये, श्रीमन्, जितने भी प्रचार के माध्यम हैं चाहे वह साहित्य हो रीडियो हो या और कुछ हो, उनके द्वारा हमें चाहिये कि हम कोआपरेटिव मूवमेंट के बारे में अधिक से अधिक प्रचार करें और अधिक से अधिक लोगों को इस बारे में जानकारी दिलायें। उनमें कोआपरेटिव मूवमेंट के प्रति एक नया आकर्षण और नई इच्छा उत्पन्न करें ताकि वे लोग आगे बढ़ कर कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज फार्म कर सकें और इस कार्य को आगे बढ़ा सकें।

[MR DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

श्रीमन्, कोआपरेटिव क्रीडिट सोसाइटी को आप लीजिये। कोआपरेटिव क्रीडिट सोसाइटीयां ने पहले इस दिशा में काफी अच्छा काम किया है। आठ हजार कोआपरेटिव क्रीडिट सोसाइटीयां काम कर रही हैं लेकिन हमें बड़ा दुःख है कि इन कोआपरेटिव क्रीडिट सोसाइटीज का शहरों में ही अधिक स्थान है। जो खायें हुये हैं, जो तृप्त हैं, उन्हीं को हम और अधिक भोजन देते हैं लेकिन जो गांव हैं जिनमें ऐसी सोसाइटीज की सब से अधिक आवश्यकता है, जहां कि ग्रामीण भाइयों को महाजनों और जमींदारों के चंगुल से बचाना है, वे इससे बिल्कुल वंचित रह गये हैं। इसलिये मैं सरकार से अनुरोध करूंगी कि कोआपरेटिव क्रीडिट सोसाइटीज को शहरों के बजाय गांवों में बढ़ाये और ऐसे रूरल बैंक्स खोलें जो कि कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज को तरह तरह के लोन दे कर उनको इनकरंज कर सकें। श्रीमन् इन कोआपरेटिव क्रीडिट सोसाइटीज में शंयर कैपिटल १२२६ करोड़ रुपया है और इनके २२ लाख सदस्य भी हैं।

इनमें २७ करोड़ रुपया डिपॉजिट भी किया गया है लेकिन यह रकम इतने बड़े विशाल देश के लिये बहुत ही थोड़ी है। इसलिये हमें और सरकार को ऐसी सोसाइटीज को और अधिक हेलप कर के और ज्यादा शक्तिशाली बनाना चाहिये। जो कर्ज वगैरह के नियम हैं उनमें भी कुछ ढिलाई करनी चाहिये सूद की दर भी कम करनी चाहिये ताकि ग्रामीण जनता इससे अधिक से अधिक लाभ उठा सके। इसी प्रकार जो कज्युमर्स कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज हैं उनकी दशा तो बहुत ही खराब हो गई है क्योंकि पहले जब कंट्रोल था तब इन सोसाइटीज ने बहुत अच्छा काम किया लेकिन जब से कंट्रोल टूट गया है तब से बराबर इनकी दशा खराब होती जा रही है। पहले उनका सैल २२५५ करोड़ था लेकिन वह घट कर १६५७ करोड़ हो गया है। ये कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज बहुत ही यूजफुल बनाई जा सकती हैं यदि इनकी ओर सरकार ध्यान दे और इनके ऊपर अपना थोड़ा सा कंट्रोल भी रखे क्योंकि मैं बहुत सी ऐसी कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज को जानती हूँ जिन्होंने कि अपना हिस्सा चार चार और पांच पांच साल से नहीं भेजा है। इन सोसाइटीज ने गांवों में बड़ा अच्छा काम किया है और इन सोसाइटीज को बीज और फर्टिलाइजर्स के बेंचने के मामले में बड़ी सफलता मिली है लेकिन फिर भी इस ओर बहुत कुछ करने की आवश्यकता है और इनकी ओर बहुत ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। केवल दो प्रान्तों में यूपी० और बिहार में ही इस दिशा में सब से अधिक सहायनीय काम हुआ है। अन्य बहुत से प्रान्तों में तो इस दिशा में कोई काम नहीं हुआ है और वे इस दिशा में बिल्कुल पिछड़े हुये हैं।

इसी प्रकार आप जानते हैं कि गांवों में सिंचाई को ले कर ही सार भण्ड फसाद पैदा होते हैं। समय पर पानी न मिलने के कारण तरह तरह की कठिनाइयां किसानों को उठानी पड़ती हैं। इसमें करप्शन भी बहुत होता है इसलिये अगर लिफ्ट इरीगेशन की कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज बनाई जायें और वे

अच्छी तरह से फंक्शन करने लगें और सरकार भी इस दिशा में काफी मदद करे तो मुझे यकीन है कि हम बड़ी आसानी से इन झगड़ों को निपटा सकेंगे। इससे रिश्वत वगैरह से भी बचत होगी और लोगों को पानी भी आसानी से मिल सकेगा।

श्रीमन्, इस तरफ उत्तर प्रदेश ने जो प्रयत्न किया है वह बड़ा ही सराहनीय है। वहां ईट बनाने की जो कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज बनी हैं उन्होंने बड़ा ही सराहनीय काम किया है। जो दश में नई नई बिल्डिंग्स बन रही हैं, जो शहरों में स्कूल वगैरह बन रहे हैं और दहातों में पंचायतघर और पाठशालायें आदि बन रही हैं उनके लिये ईट बनाने वाली कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटी बनानी चाहियें और उनको इनकरंज करना चाहिये। अगर उत्तर प्रदेश के नमूने को ले कर हम अन्य प्रान्तों में भी इसी तरह की कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज बनायें तो इनको चलाने में कोई दिक्कत नहीं होगी।

दूसरी बात मुझे कोआपरेटिव ट्रेनिंग के बारे में कहनी है। रिजर्व बैंक आफ इंडिया और गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया ने मिल कर एक योजना बनाई थी और उसमें यह स्कीम थी कि जो मैनेजर वगैरह हैं, जो ऊंचे तबके के कोआपरेटिव स्टाफ के लोग हैं उनको ट्रेनिंग दे और इस दिशा में बड़ी बड़ी स्कीमें बनीं लेकिन हुआ क्या। हुआ यह कि मद्रास और पूना में इसके लिये दो कालेज खोले गये। आप ही बताइये कि इतने बड़े दश के लिये सिर्फ ये दो कालेज किस तरह से काफी हो सकते हैं? श्रीमन्, पंचवर्षीय योजना में १० लाख रुपया सबॉर्डिनेट पर्सनल की ट्रेनिंग के लिये रखा गया है। वह रुपया इतना कम है..... लेकिन अभी तक उसमें केवल स्कीमें ही बन रही हैं। मेरा सरकार से अनुरोध है कि इस दिशा में इस १० लाख की रकम को भी बढ़ाया जाय। जो सबॉर्डिनेट पर्सनल है उनको ट्रेनिंग देने के लिये ज्यादा से ज्यादा संस्थाएं खोली जायें।

4 P.M.

श्रीमन्, यहां पब्लिक सेक्टर को संरक्षण देने की मांग उठाई गई है। हम लोग चाहे कितनी

सिफारिशें करें और प्राइवेट सेक्टर को कितना बढ़ाने की कोशिश करें, जब तक हम पूरी तौर से कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटी को, कोआपरेटिव मूवमेंट के द्वारा पूरी तरह से शक्तिशाली न बना देंगे, तब तक कभी भी हमारा पब्लिक सेक्टर इतना शक्तिशाली नहीं बन सकता कि वह प्राइवेट सेक्टर के साथ कंपटीशन कर के आगे बढ़ सके और किसी इंडस्ट्री को अपने कंट्रोल में ला सके। इसीलिये मेरा सरकार से अनुरोध है कि कोआपरेटिव मूवमेंट को आगे बढ़ाने के लिये जितने भी साधन उपलब्ध हो सकते हैं और जितने भी हमारे दिमाग में आ सकते हैं उन सब को पूरी पूरी शक्ति प्रदान करें और पूरी तरह से फाइनेंशल सपोर्ट भी करें।

श्रीमन्, इसी प्रकार पंचायतों के बारे में भी मुझे कहना है। पंचायतों की दिशा में जो हमारा टारगेट पंचवर्षीय योजना में था, हमने उससे भी ज्यादा पंचायतें खोलीं। यह बड़ी सराहनीय बात है।

श्री उपसभापति : आपका दस मिनट का समय हो गया। अभी ६ आदमी बाकी हैं।

श्रीमती सावित्री निगम : हम लोगों का टारगेट वैसे तो बहुत थोड़ा था, लेकिन हमने उस टारगेट से ज्यादा यानी कि टारगेट जो कि ८३,०६३ था उसके स्थान पर ८८,२४६ पंचायतें खोली हैं। मगर पंचायतों की जो दशा है वह किसी से छिपी नहीं है। पंचायतों के ऊपर बराबर आर्थिक संकट छाया रहता है। शिमला में इस सम्बन्ध में एक कांफ्रेंस हुई थी। उसमें यह निश्चय किया गया था कि जो लैंड रवेन्यू आता है उस पर एक सरचार्ज लगा कर पंचायतों को कुछ न कुछ फाइनेंस किया जायगा। लेकिन उसमें भी कोई यूनीफार्म पालिसी नहीं बरती गई। कहीं तो पंचायतों को तीन परसेंट मिलता है और कहीं पन्द्रह या सोलह परसेंट। पंचायतों की आर्थिक दशा बहुत गिरी हुई है, इसीलिये मेरा सरकार से अनुरोध है कि वे स्टैंट पर प्रेशर डालकर इन पंचायतों को और अधिक आर्थिक सहायता दिलवाएं

[श्रीमती सावित्री निगम]
ताकि पंचायतों भी अधिक शक्तिशाली ढंग से काम कर सकें। श्रीमन्, इन पंचायतों के जरिये से इतना श्रमदान और कार्य हुआ है कि जिससे हमने लगभग ५.50 करोड़ रुपये की लागत की सड़कें, नहरें वगैरह बना ली हैं, और कई तालाब बनाये हैं। मैं कहती हूँ कि पंचायतों पर जो खर्च किया जायगा, वह एक बड़ा ही उपयोगी और महत्वपूर्ण इन्वेस्टमेंट होगा। इसलिए हमें पंचायतों को अधिक से अधिक मदद दिलानी चाहिए।

श्रीमन्, इसी प्रकार मुझे शिक्षा के विषय में भी कुछ थोड़ा सा कहना है यद्यपि समय बहुत थोड़ा है और कहना बहुत है।

श्री उपसभापति : सब कह दिया गया है।

श्रीमती सावित्री निगम : मुझे दो-तीन मिनट और दीजिए। १५ मिनट से कम किसी ने नहीं लिया।

श्री उपसभापति : नहीं, नहीं। दस मिनट से ज्यादा बोलने को नहीं दिया गया।

श्रीमती सावित्री निगम : शिक्षा के बारे में मुझे यह कहना है कि शिक्षा की जाँ पड़ती है वह अत्यन्त दोषपूर्ण है। एक ओर हम श्रेणीहीन समाज की कामना करते हैं, दूसरी ओर हम शिक्षा ऐसी दे रहे हैं जिसका उद्देश्य बड़ी बड़ी नौकरी प्राप्त करना है, जिसका एकमात्र उद्देश्य एम्पायर करना है जिससे हम शोषण का अंग बन सकें। जब हम वर्तमान परिस्थितियों को और ढाँचे को बदलने के लिए ध्यान देना चाहते हैं तो हमें पहले शिक्षा की पद्धति को तुरन्त बदलना होगा। यदि हम श्रेणी और शोषणहीन समाज चाहते हैं तो हमें बेसिक एजुकेशन की ओर झुकना होगा। श्रीमन्, मलकानी साहब ने अभी बहुत कुछ इस दिशा में कहा, लेकिन मैं सिर्फ एक बात कहूँगी। (टाइम-बैल) उन्होंने कहा कि पर्सनल को ट्रेन किया जाना चाहिए। मेरा यह कहना है कि हमारे डाइरेक्टर और इंस्पेक्टर को भी

बेसिक एजुकेशन में ट्रेनिंग लेनी चाहिए। इस दिशा में हमें.....

श्री उपसभापति : अच्छा ठीक है, वक्त हो गया। श्री महंती।

SHRI S. MAHANTY (Orissa): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I feel diffident to offer my remarks on the Progress Report of the Five Year Plan at the end of the fourth year. You have been good enough to allow ten minutes. That means, one minute is equal to Rs. 200 crores, and computed in years two minutes are equal to one year. There are 21 aspects of this planning, and so each aspect of the Plan will get about half a minute of my attention.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are quite capable of making a good speech in ten minutes.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: With all respect, I will say that a Government which cannot plan a debate is certainly not qualified to plan for the nation and for evolving a Five Year Plan at that. Sir, for a member of the Government side, the Progress Report of the Five Year Plan is just like painting the lily red. For a member of the Opposition, it is like painting a dark kettle in a darker shade. As in most cases, in this particular case the truth does not lie in the middle. I think it lies in one of the extremes.

Now, coming to the credit side of the Plan, we find that first it is the increase in food production; in the second place, increased production of consumer goods, and then a reported five per cent. increase in the *per capita* income of the country. If we come to the debit side, it is very upsetting. The shortfall in expenditure is to the extent of 50 per cent. In the public sector we find that we have only spent about 40 per cent. of our total estimated expenditure. Unemployment is on the increase. The Government cannot say in one breath that there has been increased production and at the same time there has been increased

unemployment. That leads to a blind alley of logical fallacy. No. 3, production in certain sectors of industry has fallen. No. 4, the cost of living index does not show any indication of appreciable fall. No. 5, the *per capita* income has not increased. Even this Progress Report which has been prepared with a certain objectivity of mind for which all my thanks are due to them, has admitted that the *per capita* income has not increased. Of course, there has been an increase of five per cent.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI: It is only 2 per cent.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: But the Progress Report itself points out:

"From the point of view of increasing substantially the aggregate investment in the economy, there are, however, a few pointers which pose a problem. For example, the yield from certain known forms of private savings—for example, insurance premia, increase in deposits, and in share capital of co-operative banks, small savings, etc.—has not been going up to any marked extent, and there is little evidence of an increased rate of saving in these directions. Neither in public savings as recorded in Government budgets nor in visible private savings can one see so far the impact of increased incomes consequent on higher levels of production."

Therefore, the claim of any increase in the *per capita* income is exploded.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI: It has increased by 3 per cent. There are three years more to make it five per cent.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: But the fact remains that it has not reflected itself in any increase in private savings. Therefore, it is a debatable point whether there has been any increase at all. If there has been, what are the sources from which the Government deduce this? Sir, only in the sector of food production the target

has been exceeded by 50 per cent. But this is not due to the Ministry of Irrigation and Power. It has been due entirely to the weather God, if there is one. Even in this Progress Report it is admitted that seventy per cent. of the increased food production has been due to favourable weather and 30 per cent. is due to the irrigation facilities and there too we have been spending crores and crores of rupees, infinite sums, for our river valley projects in the name of irrigation but the increased irrigation has not come from these multi-purpose river valley projects but it has come from the small irrigation projects in developing which the Government are very chary.

Sir, somewhere, I think in Calcutta, the hon. Finance Minister said about this Plan that it is a preparatory plan. I think this is the best defence of the Five Year Plan and at the same time it is its worst indictment. In a nutshell it means that it is a plan for a plan. It is a preparatory plan and when it comes from an authority like the Finance Minister of India, it only indicates how the Government are now viewing their own plan. It is a plan for a plan for which the nation will have spent Rs. 2,000 crores at the end of the year 1956. Now I am coming to one or two aspects of this Plan. I cannot possibly do justice to all its aspects. I come to education. Plan does not mean increasing more buildings or more river valley projects or setting up more new industries and factories. Plan, in its essence, must mean building of men—building a nation. Now we all know and we are all agreed on this point that the percentage of literacy in India is the lowest in the world. Therefore in the fitness of things, the Five Year Plan made an elaborate estimate for the spread of education. Now in the sphere of education, only 43 per cent. of the total estimated expenditure has been spent. Even though in season and out of season this Government sheds crocodile tears over the illiteracy that abounds this country or in which this country is steeped, only 43 per cent. of the estimated expenditure on Education has been spent at the end

[Shri S. Mahanty.]
of the fourth year period. I don't think if there can be any worse impeachment of the Education Ministry than this.

Then again, what was the educational policy of the framers of the Five Year Plan? They professed that the education of our country must get a new orientation, that more emphasis should be laid on vocational training, on technical education than on liberal University education. Yet if you analyse the expenditure on the educational plan you will find that in University and pre-University education a total amount of Rs. 22·89 crores have been invested while on technical and vocational education Rs. 16·94 crores have been spent. That explains why the Government has failed to solve the educational problem of the country. We don't make any investment and we don't plan out for spread of technical education in this country. As a result, I was pointing out the other day, we are going on bringing welders and concrete mixers from abroad in the name of experts by paying them fabulous salaries—that too income-tax free and with all privileges attached to that. Here in the country we fail to produce the welders and concrete mixers who are in great demand in the river valley projects. That is the Education Ministry!

Now, coming to another aspect—a most important aspect of the Five Year Plan—it is the local development work. That means evoking popular support for the successful execution and implementation of the Plan. This House will remember that some time back the Government of India sent a team of Engineers to China to study the execution of the Husi project in China. They came back and submitted a report. That report made a clear recommendation for enlisting popular support in the execution of the big river valley projects. Last session we had a big debate as to how to enlist the popular support. The hon. Ministers who are present on this occasion were also present on

that occasion and we heard many a sermon from them on popular support and co-operation. What happened in Kosi? I charge the Government that while thousands of men were coming and offering their co-operation to the Government, there was no machinery which could utilize their co-operation in building the Kosi project as a result of which the Kosi project has been much delayed. The starting of the project has been much delayed. The Government's excuse is that they had not yet formed the Kosi Control Board. Therefore they were not able to utilize that popular co-operation in the execution of the Kosi project? And why was there delay in the setting up of the Kosi Control Board? Because a suitable Chief Engineer could not be available and therefore that Board could not be set up. If you go to the Damodar, the same excuse was offered there too. "We could not get a suitable engineer and therefore we could not form the D.V.C. earlier on a much better, basis". If we go to Hirakud, we also find the same thing there. In Bhakara also similar excuse is being trotted out. But recently, I think last week, Mr. Visweswarayya, one of the most noted engineers that India has produced, an engineer whose talents have been recognized by not only the Government of India but by foreign Governments as well, an engineer whose experience is a real asset to this country and who has also been responsible for many river valley projects in the South—in connection with the Convocation address of the Poona Engineering College said that it is a pity that the Government of India have been recruiting engineers from abroad and not relying on their own engineers who could have done that work probably with as much better efficiency as the foreigners—may be with much better efficiency.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is time.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: I am finishing in two minutes. Therefore this local

development work everywhere has resulted in frustration and everywhere it has brought home to the people the truth once again that this Government does not mean business though it means words

Then another big achievement which is being claimed on the part of Government is the Community Projects. One does not know really after going through all the bulk of literature that is being supplied to us on these Community Projects as to where propaganda ends and truth begins. I have been to one or two Community Projects areas. The basic fact remains that unless you increase the income of the people, unless you increase their earning capacity, merely by providing them with good roads or by providing them with a dispensary here or a school there you are not going to solve the perennial problem—the problem of poverty. It might be very good from a strategic point of view from a political point of view but certainly these Community Projects are not going to solve the problem—the basic problem of poverty in India that is there.

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken 15 minutes Dr Dutt

DR N DUTT (West Bengal): Sir, I have listened to the various speeches that have been made on this Resolution on the Progress of the Five Year Plan. Some have appreciated the progress and others have not. As a matter of fact, in such a huge scheme as is envisaged in the Plan, it is not possible to expect 100 per cent success in every sector and naturally it has not given full satisfaction to all. The Report itself has taken note of this and it has pointed out the deficiencies. We should, however, be proud of what has already been achieved, specially in the river valley projects and the hydro-electric schemes. The hon Minister in his speech pointed out that the Plan was drawn up at a time when there was shortage of food, and therefore the whole approach of the Plan was towards increasing agricultural pro-

duction, and its attention was riveted on that problem, how to overcome that acute shortage in food, how to increase the agricultural production of the country. Food production has been increased and in the process the Government have tried to reclaim waste-land by starting irrigation schemes. These huge irrigation schemes naturally take a long time to be completed and to yield results and some of them have not yet been completed. But many have been partially completed and already they have benefited certain areas in the land. The present position as regards food crops is a very happy one. It is rather incidental, I should say, on account of the good monsoons. The Minister also has not taken credit for this happy position as regards the food grains are concerned. But it must be admitted that irrigation projects which have been partially completed have also added about 30 million acres to the area under cultivation. Apart from that all the State Governments are engaged in this work and their efforts are being directed towards giving better seeds to the farmers, distribution of fertilizers, sludge, compost, etc and they are also closely observing all the activities of the various cultivators. This has gone a great way in increasing the production of food grains in the States. Therefore, I should like to submit that the Government can claim some credit for this increase in the food grains and it is not wholly due to the monsoons. The Government of West Bengal, I should say, in the Department of Food and Agriculture have taken great care in this direction. They have awarded prizes for the production of good crops and they have given financial assistance to the agriculturists. The money that the Pakistani agriculturists have got they have utilised in agriculture and naturally this has helped them to get more production. They have cleared all the land which was infested by malaria and they have improved it and this is partly the reason for the extraordinary increase in the case of Bengal.

[Dr. N. Dutt.]

The increase for the whole of India is no doubt about 11·4 per cent. quantitatively and that is a happy position from the point of view of the consumers. I would like to add that this is a rather unhappy position from the point of view of the cultivator. The index price of cereals have come down from 493 to 403 that of pulses from 505 to 253. This has serious repercussions on the cultivator and I feel that the Planning Commission has got a duty not only to increase the production of food grains, not only to see that the consumer gets adequate quantity of food, to see that the controls are lifted, but has also got to see how the cultivators can be saved from a fall in prices, how the energy and the industry of the cultivator can be maintained. Sir, it is well-known to Government that when the sugarcane price stood at Rs. 1/12 per maund, there was ample production of sugarcane and there was surplus of sugar in the land and even the Government imposed an excise duty on it. Similar was the case of jute. When the price of jute was good, there was ample jute produced. But as soon as the price of sugarcane was brought down to Rs. 1/5 or Rs. 1/7 the production also went down. Similarly when jute was taken from Pakistan, the production of jute also went down in the Indian Union. So practically the price factor is a very important one which the Planning Commission should bear in mind. They have already tried it in the case of cotton and there in the case of cotton, on account of the increase in the minimum price the production has been maintained. Of course, it should be said to the credit of the Indian Central Cotton Committee and the Government that long staple cotton has been produced in larger quantities in the Punjab and other places. I would say that it is necessary now to plan our agricultural production. We should allow to sugarcane better prices and see that sugarcane is produced along with food grains. We should not be afraid of more sugarcane production at the cost of food crops, be-

cause now the position is clear what we can have ample sugarcane. we can have ample jute and we can also have ample food grains. In that way, if the cultivators can produce cash crops as well as food crops, the cultivators will be placed in a better position and they will be able to maintain a balance. A scientific examination of the soil is necessary and also better and scientific utilisation of fertilizers and the work has to be planned out for the country as a whole. In this way we should be able to strike a balance between the money and food crops and the cultivator's position will be bettered.

Sir, we have been hearing much about rural banking. Theoretically it is very good and it sounds well. But those who have read the reports of the Reserve Bank and Davies report will realise that our cultivators are not like the cultivators of the western countries. Our cultivators are very poor and have small holdings. Therefore any loans advanced against their standing crop or their holdings will be practically negligible. Therefore, the loan has got to be given in some other way. Under the present system of giving *taccavi* loans we know how few cultivators take advantage of them. Very few of them come in for these loans. From my experience in West Bengal I have found that when the Government announced that they would advance money to those who would grow cotton, and that they would realise the money only from the sale proceeds of the cotton, and not from the cultivators' holdings, even then the cultivators did not come forward to take such loans. They cultivated the cotton themselves, produced the cotton and sold it to the Government nominated buyers. Therefore, I feel that this rural banking is not an easy matter and it will be difficult to achieve success in it. We can immediately start a price-support policy. The Government can come out with a plan to fix the prices of some of the commodities like cereals and pulses, put up warehouses where necessary and advance loans against the warehoused

goods, like what is done in America in the case of cotton. In this way we can start a rural banking system of advancing money against warehouse accommodation. This, Sir, is an important point and I think the Planning Commission should announce something early in this direction so that the cultivator may be encouraged to carry on his production.

As regards the question of wages, it is admitted that the rural worker does not get more than Rs. 35/- as against Rs. 75 or 100 earned by the factory worker in the urban areas. This disparity has got to be lessened and this should also be the business of the Planning Commission. This can be done only by intensive cultivation and mixed crops. There should be a proper soil examination and more scientific application of fertilizers. All this will tend to establish parity between the wages of the cultivator and those of the factory hands, otherwise there will be the rush from the field to the town for factory work and there will be more unemployment.

The time available to us is short to discuss the big question of unemployment in all its aspects. It is evident that the Government and the Planning Commission have realised that at present this problem is more important than the problem of food production. We have to tackle this problem of growing unemployment. I think the hon. Finance Minister is optimistic when he said that within ten years, he would absorb 12 million young men. We will, of course, hope for the best. It is an admitted fact that to absorb these millions of young men we require huge development programmes and our progress has been rather slow. We can expect greater progress hereafter, with more expenditure on such developments. It is a fact that the first three years were preparatory and so in the next few years there will be good development and those will be the spending years. Sir, we are going in for large-scale industries in the public sector.

These large-scale industries are no doubt needed to raise the standard

of living and to make the country self-sufficient and without large scale industries no other industry can grow; no small-scale industry can grow. If we want to have more employment, we need more small-scale industries and these small-scale industries have got to depend on the large-scale ones. At present, there are about 7000 factories, large and medium, employing about 16½ lakhs of people of which cotton and jute alone engage, 9½, sugarcane and general engineering three lakhs and only 4 lakhs of people are employed in the remaining six thousand factories. Thus we see that the medium-scale factories do not give much employment and hence, we have got to go in for small-scale and cottage industries. The difficulty in the case of the small scale and cottage industries is that we have got to see that the industries stand on their own legs, that they are not squeezed out by the capitalists or by the large-scale industries. Therefore, the Planning Commission should come out with a list of the goods which they consider to be manufactured by small-scale and cottage industries. They should also fix a maximum and a minimum limit of capital to be invested in each industrial unit. My experience shows that there are many small industries in which many middle-class men are working and eking out a living and then suddenly a capitalist comes, puts in huge money, buys labour saving machineries, imports raw material from Europe and starts business and thereby he squeezes out all the middle-class people owning small-scale industrial units. Unless and until we can save them from the hands of the capitalists, or from the application of big capital, it is very difficult to see small-scale industries flourish or give employment to people. Hence, we should devise means to save them. For instance, take the leather and footwear industry. There are big industrialists who have come into this field and it is idle to expect that the footwear industry will succeed in the face of competition. The Government is also squeezing out the small-scale industries. In West

[Dr. N. Dutt.]

Bengal, we had a milk colony started. This was originally started by the Australian Governor of West Bengal, Mr. Casey, and the object was to produce good bulls and cows for distribution among the cultivators but now the whole thing has been changed and that colony has been converted into a milk processing and a milk selling centre. This centre purchases milk from the villagers and sells it in the city, and has practically taken away the bread of hundreds of milkmen, of small young middle-class people who were doing business, by carrying milk on their cycles. Again, take the case of the railway workshops. They used to buy spare parts in the Howrah and nearby small engineering shops but now the capacity of the railway workshops has been increased and they produce their own spare parts. This has led to the closure of the engineering industry, I mean small-scale engineering industries, which were producing the spare parts. Similar is the case with the textile machinery manufacturers, with the motor car manufacturers, and with the cycle manufacturers. They are all producing their own spare parts now. The textile machinery makers are now making not only their own spare parts but also accessories like bobbins, spindles and shuttles. Previously the cotton mills used to buy these stores from small-scale manufacturers who used to make them. Unless and until a line is drawn and some protection is given to the bobbin factories, to the shuttle factories and to the spindle factories, it is idle to hope that they will be able to give employment. The only remedy which I can suggest is that there should be a dovetailing of small-scale and large-scale industries. This can be done by asking some of the large-scale factories to confine themselves to assembling and to purchase their parts from various small-scale firms. In this way alone, the Government will be able to help the small-scale industries. Again, take the case of the cotton textile mills. We have been spending crores of rupees to aid and give subsidies to the

khadi and handloom industries but is that the way of real economic development? I don't think so. I think we should ask the cotton mills to purchase the handloom products; they should process them, bleach them, print them and then sell them in the market. In this way, if the cotton mills are linked up with the handlooms, both handlooms and mill industry will succeed. In this way the small-scale industries have got to be dovetailed with the large-scale industries to see that they stand on their own legs. At the same time, a line should be drawn, whereby the capitalists should not put in their money or their influence. In the case of the hosiery industry, you will find that there is some co-operation of this type. There is one unit which produces the cloth; another unit does the bleaching; another firm does the tailoring; it is this way the small-scale industries can be saved. If a cotton mill were to take up the production of hosiery articles from knitting to finished products, how can the small industries stand up? Similarly, in the garment making industry, if the cotton mills were to take up making garments, how can the small-scale garment makers stand up? Government takes its requirements from large firms, not from the small tailoring establishments. It is time that the Planning Commission drew the attention of the Government Departments to take their requirements from the small tailoring establishments.

Lastly, Sir, I want to touch another point and that is that our expenditure has not been very good on the educational side. That means that in our development schemes, the scope of employment of the white collared middle-class men remains very limited. It is necessary that we should now give some attention to that aspect of the problem. In West Bengal we have a very large number of middle-class unemployed men seeking white-collared jobs. The only way out is to produce mechanical appliances by which they can be diverted to non-clerical works. They are not used to

heavy manual labour but you will find that many middle-class people, who would not take to tonga driving, have taken to motor driving. They should be given machineries like the earth moving machineries, tractors, fork-lifts and such other things and thereby they can be diverted from their clerical jobs to mechanical works.

I do not find anything done in the Planning Commission Report for the production of printing machinery. We have been talking about food and textiles and all that but there is no mention of production of printing machinery. This is an item which expands culture and which can produce cheap literature. In all the advanced countries we find that there is development of the manufacture of printing machinery, composing machines, and all that but in our Report no mention has been made about efforts at producing printing or composing machinery. There is also no provision for the production of printing machinery and there is talk only of producing printing ink.

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVAR-GIYA (Madhya Bharat): Some machines are being produced, I think.

DR. N. DUTT: If this is done, I hope then some employment can be given to the middle-class people who are seeking white-collared jobs.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I should join a large number of my hon. friends in saying that the Plan has been conceived in the right spirit. A great deal of knowledge and experience and wisdom has gone into the making of it and I believe there has been a very honest endeavour to implement the Plan. Sir, one has got only to read the Plan and the more one reads, the more one finds enough material to appreciate and admire. We succeeded to a number of legacies and we were not writing on a clean slate. In addition to that, there were the colossal problems of the displaced persons, food scarcity, a large number of trained civilian hands leaving the

country, partition and so on. When my hon. friend Mr. Bimal Coomar Ghose was saying that after all the Plan is not conceived in the right manner because they had not taken resort to surveys, to collection of data and sufficient statistics to plan, I just intervened by saying that when there is nothing else, even to have a machinery for collection of statistics itself requires a big enough plan. It cannot be done easily in a vast country like this where we have got thousand and one problems, and where we have absolutely no machinery worth the name for collection of statistics, to straightaway launch on this tremendous task of gathering statistics and then plan, that I think is an absolutely unprofitable proposition. We had enough of material to go by and I know it for a fact because I also appeared to give evidence before the Planning Commission. Before they drafted the Plan they went thoroughly into the questions. They had very capable hands, who digested this vast volume of material in a surprising manner, and I think, Sir, nobody could have improved on the Plan that they have brought out in the circumstances. I wish anybody could suggest something which is not there, which could be an improvement. Therefore, Sir, let us not try to be critical with regard to that. Now, Sir, the task is a very big one; it is a colossal task; it is a task for giants. Let us not minimise these things, as though if anyone of us were there we could have worked a miracle. It is impossible.

SHRI S. BANERJEE (West Bengal):and that task has been left to pigmies.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: If my hon. friend had a little patience, I was just going to the subject. Thank God, this country is still producing giants. That is the one hope of ours.

AN HON. MEMBER: They are on the other side.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: Whether the tiny opposition.....(Interruption). Sir, you have been pleased to give

[Shri H. C. Dasappa.]
hardly 10 or 15 minutes; there will be enough time for them to speak.

SHRI B. GUPTA: Many of the giants started in 1946.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: Thank God that even if the microscopic Minority does not choose to appreciate the giants in the land, the world at any rate acknowledges them and therefore that is our hope. And with that hope, Sir, and with confidence in ourselves and with the confidence that the generality of the people have the wisdom to select the right sort of men, let us go forward. If there is anything wrong in the selection of leadership, don't blame the leader; blame yourselves in the land that you have not quite enough, greater following to select a better leadership. Therefore, Sir, let them not try to meddle with me.

Sir, I am glad to find that there has been a lot of reasonable criticism and a lot of constructive suggestions also. After all, this big Plan and its implementation have got to be measured by what it brings to the doors of the common man. There is no doubt about it. Does he feel enthused by the working of this Plan is the one measuring rod, the one criterion by which we should judge plans. Now, Sir, on that there is likely to be some differences of opinion; I am not going to say that there won't be room for opinions. I myself am anxious that there should be a great deal more of tempo added to this Plan, a great deal more of sympathy being brought to bear upon the working of the Plan and measures improved to secure the wholehearted co-operation of enthusiastic men in the land. Sir, there I agree there is room for improvement, and therefore, however good a measure may be, however good a scheme or a project may be, it depends upon those who work the scheme and who implement the projects, and therefore a great deal more of the importance has got to be

placed on the question of the selection of personnel. On that I think some hon. friends have also suggested and I want to emphasise this fact that when we select the men to implement this Plan, it should not be merely the question of, as I said in another case, an intelligence test and so on, but his whole approach and attitude and frame of mind as to whether he is prepared to throw his whole heart and soul into the working of this grand scheme of projects. That should be one of the main qualifications of a man in the matter of selection of personnel.

Sir, I agree with many of my hon. friends who said that there are some primary needs which have got to be met. I am not going into the whole range of the Plan and all that, but there are some primary needs which are necessary. Food luckily has been solved. It has ceased to be a big problem though I understand very well that the quality of food leaves a great deal for improvement. Sir, we have seen in the western countries what kind of good food with vitamins and calories they take and what is it that we are giving to our people, especially the children for instance? They have hardly enough milk to go by for themselves. So if you take that one little need of our growing children, the question of supply of milk, I think there is a lot to be done, a great leeway to be made up before we can reach anywhere near the ordinary standards prescribed for feeding children. But even so, Sir, there has been a giant stride made in the matter of solving this food problem.

What I would next go to is the question of how the villages react to this Plan. Now, Sir, I would suggest that one of the first things is an approach road to a village. If civilisation, light, learning, development, rural reconstruction, village industries and so on are to reach the village, there must be at least a road. May I know, Sir, how many villages in India today have not even an approach road.

The next basic thing is a drinking-water-well. Let us have education, colleges, universities and all these things a little later, but we should have at least an adequate and protected good drinking water supply for every village. May I know, Sir, how many thousands of villages or lakhs of villages are still in India without protected water-supply.

Then, Sir, we are talking of eradicating illiteracy in the land. Now, for instance, as I said, I returned from Turkey only the other day, they had formerly about 8 to 10 per cent. of literacy. Today they have already reached the figure of 50 per cent. and they have gone ahead. Kamal Atatürk who introduced the Latin script, he himself, whenever there was time, used to teach alphabets to the people. Almost every Minister, every Deputy. Member of Parliament, everybody was enthused to do this, and today everywhere there is this Latin script. The other Arabic script is gone and 50 per cent. literacy has been obtained. Can't we with the vast number of literate people and the intelligentsia among us mobilise them to eradicate illiteracy much sooner than what they have done?

Then the next question, Sir, is, as I said after schools, a bit of a hospital or a dispensary. How many villages have got or are served—I do not want to say a dispensary for every village but for a group of villages—how many groups of villages have got dispensaries. Of course I know for a fact that in certain States they have tackled the problem fairly successfully.

So these are some of the primary requirements which we have not yet given everywhere and we should plan to give them before we think of the other bigger things.

Anyway, let me pass on because I have got to hurry through. I do not know whether anyone has referred to it already because I have not been

here throughout. It does not matter how many plans we prepare and implement; along with the progress of the Plan you have got the progress of the population also going far ahead of the Plan and however vast the plans may be, we can never catch up with the population that is growing. Therefore, whatever my other hon. Members may feel, I personally feel that some large measure of importance must be given to family planning. Otherwise all the increase in food production, all these things will mean nothing except that the same measure of poverty will continue to prevail in the years to come. Unless we cut down the rapid growth of population that is there in the land, we won't be able to increase the standard of living by any means.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are still some more speakers.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: May I know how many minutes more I have?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have already taken ten minutes.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: I will finish.

Sir, I want to deal with one more aspect. We are talking of public sector and private sector. When we talk of private sector I would like my hon. friends to turn to page 170. Though the Resolution of 6th April, 1948 referred not only to the Union but also to other States in India, you will find there on page 170 that there are only 11 industries in all the States, Part A and Part B taken together. I want to say that this is wholly unsatisfactory. Let the Central Government take up the bigger industries but the State Governments must have their own industries in order to see that there is rapid industrialisation at the State level and so that they may be able to earn money and reduce the burden on the general tax-payers. That is the only way I think in which it would be possible to lessen the burden of taxation on the masses.

[Shri H. C. Dasappa]

After all we want revenue. Unless we develop productive assets, how is it possible to get more money for these welfare schemes. If you tax people who cannot afford to pay, that will be an unprofitable and ineffective way of solving the problem. So the only way is to develop these productive assets and I wish that the State Governments should take to starting more and more industries. And how is this to be done? Sir, individuals or rather small entrepreneurs cannot sponsor industries because that means collaboration with various other people and so on. If they cannot do it, who are the other people to do it? It is only the big houses, maybe the Birlas, the Tatas and others who will have to start them because they are the only people who can do that. Therefore I suggest that it should be the duty of the Central Government as well as of the State Governments to promote these industries and launch them, either as wholly State-owned or as partly State-owned and partly subscribed by private capital. Where the Government takes there is a great deal of confidence and they will more readily come forward to subscribe. Therefore I feel that it is one of the lines of development which will be very useful.

There is only one more thing which I want to refer to before I sit down. Reference was made here to the help that is to be rendered to the backward classes like Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and others. Let us understand the significance of this. We have now adult franchise and the masses ask us, 'What is it you have secured for us? What does this freedom, this change over from slavery to independence mean to us?' Unless we try to do something for these masses, my fear is that we cannot justify the securing of independence and freedom. When my hon. friend Mr. Saksena was referring to them, I wanted him to be a little more cautious. After all, if we have these vast masses, more than 80 to 90 per

cent of people still grovelling in ignorance, illiteracy, poverty, squalor and misery, we cannot justify to them the freedom that we have got. So theirs must be our main concern and it is the path of wisdom to see that there will be no more backward classes at all and it is only by that way that we can justify the freedom and I think any Plan worth the name ought to see that this distinction between backward and forward classes, between the rich and the poor, is eliminated. Sir, I do not want to say anything more. I only want to say ..

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are five more speakers. You must finish. I am sorry.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: It is about the Malnad area. There we need not start these big irrigation schemes. Nature gives copious rainfall. If you just give them communication, a bit of a help in that matter you will see that millions and millions of acres could be brought under cultivation. It is a simple thing. I wonder why it has not struck our planners. I wish that they would take note of it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, Mr. Sinha. Only five minutes. I am very sorry. There are still five more speakers.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I do not know what I could say within five minutes. This is a big problem. I would only say, Sir, that it was very unfortunate that this House was given this opportunity only at this late stage to debate this very important matter.

Sir, as you are aware of late both the Government and the private sector have given their attention to the problem of expanding the industrial potential of the country. Sir, it is more or less the consensus of opinion that in our present plan industry was not given that place of importance that it ought to have been given and therefore they want to give a greater prominence and importance to industry.

in the next Five Year Plan in order to improve the standard of living of the people. Therefore you will find that they have started offering all kinds of incentives to the private industrialists to take a more vigorous part in the industrial expansion of the country. Sir, you are aware of the Shroff Committee's Report which has dealt with the problem of finance of the private sector. The Ministry of Commerce and Industry has put up an Industrial Development Corporation and now there are negotiations going on for setting up an Industrial Credit Corporation as well. But the basic point that has to be answered is this; whether the industrial progress can be brought about merely by increasing the supply of finance for industrial development schemes. The other question which arises and which needs an answer is this, whether our industrial structure which is emerging is evenly balanced both in relation to each of the industries included within the structure and in relation to other sectors of the economy. Was it right for our planners to assume that the problem of adequate gains and effective utilisation of capacities will be *ipso facto* solved by merely putting up more industries? Sir, our resources are limited and therefore we had to embark upon a planned economy, so that our limited resources might be utilised to the maximum and to the best of our advantage. Therefore you will find that the Planning Commission placed first priority for the utilisation of the existing capacities. That was priority No. 1 for the private sector. Nor, Sir, the Planning Commission in their Report have said that despite the general rise, production in most industries was still much below capacity, due in most cases, to lack of demand at current prices in the domestic and external markets.

5 P.M.

Sir, I would like to examine this question in a little detail and if you will permit me, I will quote to you from an eminent professor, Prof. C. N. Vakil, of the School of Economics and

Sociology, University of Bombay. He has analysed the figures as provided in the "Monthly Statistics of Production of Selected Industries in India" and says "In both 1952 and 1953, nearly half the number of industries worked at a level of utilisation which was less than 50 per cent of their capacity. Thus, in all 40 industries, out of a total of 78, were working at less than 60 per cent. of capacity for a period of three years or more. In other words, about 57 per cent of the industries worked for a period of three years or more at less than 60 per cent of capacity. This requires careful consideration." He has, therefore, concluded: "Not always do industrial plants work to full capacity. Most of the industrial firms would like to have some reserve capacity to meet sudden demands. This would explain some under-utilisation, but the extent of under-utilisation that is observable in the case of a number of Indian industries is definitely above that which can be explained on the above basis". Sir, yesterday our Planning Minister was waxing eloquent on the achievement of individual industries. We are glad that we have achieved the target of production or we have exceeded them in most of the individual industries. But I would beg of him to take the picture as a whole, of the entire industrial sector. And what is the result? We have seen that the very eminent professor has calculated from the Government publications, that less than sixty per cent. of the capacity is being utilised. What is the result? Even the first priority which was laid down for the private sector has not yet been fulfilled, that is to say, the utilisation of the capacity. Why has this happened? The planners have failed to give adequate attention to the vital aspect of consumer's expenditure. What is the good of having increased production, if we cannot increase our purchasing capacity? They have failed to realise this position. They have failed to see the coming of a further crash in this direction. We have seen, our friends

[Shri Rajendra Pratap Sinha.]
on this side of the House have explained, that the prices of the agricultural products have been falling on the one hand, and the taxes have been increasing on the agriculturists, on the other. It is the agriculturist population who consume the bulk of the industrial products and unless we improve the purchasing power of this mass of agriculturists, we do not think that we can sustain, not only the expansion but also the existing capacity to be fully utilised.

As you have given me only five minutes, Sir, I cannot say more.

سید مظہر امام : (بہار) -

جذاب ڈپٹی چیئرمین صاحب :
جہاں تک فائیو ایر پلان کا سوال ہے اس میں شک نہیں کہ یہ چیز ایسی ہے جس پر حکومت کو مبارکباد دیا جا سکتا ہے۔ اس دفعہ بھی فائیو ایر پلان میں جو کام ہوئے ہیں بہت کچھ کسی حد تک بہتر ہے۔ اور آئندہ بھی حکومت جو دوسرے کام کرنے جا رہی ہے ان کے ائیمے بھی میں اُمید ہے کہ وہ بہت بہتر کام ہوں گے۔

ہمارے دوستوں نے بہت اعتراضات کئے ہیں کہ جہاں تک اس ملک کی ضروریات ہیں ان کے مطابق کام نہیں ہوا ہے۔ یہ حقیقت ہے کہ دنیا کا وہ ملک جو آج ترقی یافتہ ہے اس کے لئے ایسے پلان کی ضرورت ہے اور وہ روز بروز ایسے پلان بنا کر کام کر رہا ہے۔ جہاں تک ہمارے ملک کا سوال ہے ہمارا ملک سینکڑوں سال کی فلاحی

کے بعد آزاد ہوا ہے۔ یہ ایک نئی چیز اس کی ترقی کے لئے لائی گئی ہے۔ اس لئے یقیناً اس تھوڑے عرصے میں جو ہمارے دوستوں کی ضرورت ہے یا خواہش ہے وہ کیسے پوری ہو سکتی ہے۔ اس لئے ہم کو اس نظر سے نہیں دیکھنا ہے کہ ہمارے تمام ضروریات اس پلان سے پوری ہوتی جاتی ہیں یا نہیں بلکہ یہ دیکھنا ہے کہ ہم لوگ - و کچھ کرنے جا رہے ہیں وہ بہتر ہے یا صحیح ہے یا نہیں۔

اس سلسلہ میں میں صرف ایک بات اپنے ڈپٹی منسٹر صاحب سے عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس پلان میں تمام لوگوں کے لئے چیزیں مہیا کی گئی ہیں تاکہ ہر شخص کو فائدہ ہو لیکن ہمارے ملک میں ایک ایسا طبقہ ہے جسکو دیکھنے والا کوئی نہیں ہے۔ یعنی ہمارے ملک میں ایسے مرد ہیں، ایسی عورتیں ہیں جو بیماری کی وجہ سے دوسروں کے سامنے ایذا ہاتھ پھیلاتے ہیں۔ ایسے بچے بھی ہیں جو اپنے ماں باپ کے نہ ہونے کی وجہ سے بھیک مانگتے پھرتے ہیں۔ ایسے لوگوں کے لئے اس فائیو ایر پلان میں کوئی پروویژن نہیں کیا گیا ہے۔ میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جہاں ہم تاجروں کے لئے کاشتکاروں کے لئے اور مزدوروں کے لئے تمام امپروومنٹ کرنے جا رہے ہیں اور ان کی پرچیزنگ پاور کو بڑھانے جا رہے ہیں

تمام انڈسٹریز کو ترقی دے رہے ہیں۔
ایگریکلچر کو ترقی دے رہے ہیں وہاں
ان لوگوں کے لئے جو نہ ایگریکلچر سٹ
ہیں نہ کام کرتے ہیں نہ کام کر سکتے
ہیں، نہ مزدوری کر سکتے ہیں اور
نہ جن کے پاس کوئی ایسا ذریعہ
معاش ہے جس سے وہ ایذا گذر کر
سکیں ہم کیا کرے جا رہے ہیں۔ وہ
لوگ آج بھوک مانگ مانگ کر در بدر
مارے مارے پھرتے ہیں اور دوسروں کے
سامنے ہاتھ پھیلاتے ہیں۔ ہمارا اس
آزاد ملک میں اس چیز کو مٹانا سب
سے پہلا کام ہے۔ اس لئے میں آئو بیل
منسٹر صاحب کی توجہ اس طرف
مہذول کرانا چاہتا ہوں کہ وہ ایسا
پلان بنائیں جس کے ذریعے تمام ملک
کے اندر جو ایسے لوگ ہوں ان کی
مدد کی جائے۔ اس میں ایسے
لوگ جو پروفیشنل ہیں جو کام کر
سکتے ہیں، مزدوری کر سکتے ہیں ان
کے لئے میں کچھ نہیں کہتا۔ لیکن
وہ لوگ جو بیماری کی وجہ سے بھیک
مانگتے پر مجبور ہیں ان کے لئے ضرور
کھانے پینے اور رہنے کا انتظام ہونا
چاہئے۔ اس طرح وہ بچے جو مارے
مارے پھرتے ہیں اور بری
سوسائٹی میں پڑ جاتے ہیں ان کے
لئے تعلیم کا انتظام ہونا چاہئے۔ اور
حکومت کو ان کی سیکوریٹی لینے
چاہئے۔ اس لئے ہم کو اس چیز کو
فائیو ایر پلان میں ضرور رکھنا
چاہئے۔

لیڈ ریفارمز کے متعلق مجھے یہ
عرض کرنا ہے کہ حکومت نے زمینداری
کو ختم کر دیا ہے اس لئے حکومت
مبارکباد کے لائق ہے۔ لیکن میں
حکومت سے یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں
کہ اگر ہمیں ملک کا پروڈکشن بڑھانا
ہے تو ہمیں ایسے طبقے کو قائم رکھنا
چاہئے جس کے پاس لیڈ زیادہ ہو
تاکہ وہ میکائنری طریقے سے ایگریکلچر
میں کام کر سکے۔ اگر آپ نے تمام
لیڈ کو ایک دو ایکڑ میں ڈسٹری
بیوٹ کر دیا تو ہمارے ملک کا
پروڈکشن نہیں بڑھ سکتا۔ یہ سلوگن بڑا
اچھا معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ تمام زمین کا
لوگوں میں ایکویل ڈسٹری بیوٹن
کر دیا جائے۔ اس کے واسطے میں
یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہلدوستان
ایک ایسا ملک ہے جس کے اندر
پاپولیشن زیادہ ہے اور زمین کم ہے۔
دوسرا کوئی ملک آپ کو ایسا نہیں
ملے گا جسکے اندر زمین کم ہو اور
پاپولیشن زیادہ ہو۔ میں یہ دیکھتا
ہوں کہ اگر آپ نے ایک ایکڑ یا دو
ایکڑ زمین تمام لوگوں میں ڈسٹری-
بیوٹ کی تو اس کا ریزلٹ یہ ہوگا
کہ یہاں پر پروڈکشن کم ہو جائے گا۔
میں یہ پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ کیا
کوئی شخص ایک ایکڑ یا دو ایکڑ
زمین پر ایک جوڑی بیل رکھ سکتا
ہے۔ اس لئے اگر آپ اس طرح کا ڈسٹری
بیوٹ کریں گے تو حکومت کی طرف
سے جب ان کو تمام سامان پرووائیڈ

[سید مظہر امام]

کیا جائے گا تب ہی یہ چیز کامیاب ہو سکے گی - اور اسوقت یہ سب ٹریکٹر اور مشینیں وغیرہ ملک سے ہٹا دینا پڑیں گی - اس کے علاوہ یہ سسٹم تب کامیاب ہو سکے گا جب تمام اسٹیٹ کی لینڈ ہو اور اسٹیٹ کے ذریعہ ہی کام کیا جائے اور اچھے چ ٹریکٹر استعمال کئے جائیں یا پھر کوآپریٹو بیسس پر کام کیا جائے - اسطرح بھی دو طریقے ہو سکتے ہیں - اگر آپ پرائیویٹ لوگوں کو لینڈ رکھنے کا حق دیتے ہیں تو آپ کو ایسی ایکٹامک ہولڈنگ بنانی چاہئے جس سے ایک شخص اس پر کام کر کے اپنے بال بچوں کے ساتھ گزر کر سکے - اور اس کو دوسرے شعبہ کی ضرورت نہ ہو -

آخر میں میں حکومت سے یہ کموں کا کہ وہ ان سب باتوں کے متعلق ایک ایسی کمیٹی بنائے جو تمام اس طرح کی چھڑیں پیش کرے کہ کس طرح کی سیلنگ ملے گی جاری ہونی چاہئے - اور کتنا لینڈ کم سے کم ایک شخص کو دینا چاہئے - تب حکومت اس پر سوچے سمجھے اور کام کرے -

(Transliteration in Devanagari script of the above.)

سید مظہر امام (بہار) : جناب ڈپٹی چیئرمین ساہب، جہاں تک فاڈر-ڈیئر پلان کا سوال ہے اس میں شک نہیں کہ یہ چیز ایسی

ہے جس پر حکومت کو مبارک باد دیا جاسکتا ہے۔ اس پلان میں فاڈر-ڈیئر پلان میں جہاں کام ہو رہا ہے وہاں کسی حد تک بہتر ہو رہا ہے اور آئندہ بھی حکومت کو دوسرے کام کرنے سے روکا ہے ان کے لیے بھی ہمیں اُمید ہے کہ وہ بہتر کام ہوں گے۔

ہمارے دوستوں نے بہت اترجاء کیا ہے کہ جہاں تک اس ملک کی ضروریات ہیں ان کے مطابق کام نہیں ہوا ہے۔ یہ حقیقت ہے کہ دنیا کا وہ ملک جو آج تک کیافتا ہے اس کے لیے اس پلان کی ضرورت ہے اور وہ راج براج اس پلان بنا کر کام کر رہا ہے۔ جہاں تک ہمارے ملک کا سوال ہے ہمارا ملک ستر سال کی غلامی کے بعد آزاد ہوا ہے۔ یہ ایک نئی چیز اس کی طرف سے کیافتا ہے اس کے لیے اس پلان کی ضرورت ہے اور اس لیے اس پلان سے پوری جاتی ہے یا نہیں۔ بلکہ یہ دیکھنا ہے کہ ہم لوگ جہاں کچھ کرنے جا رہے ہیں وہ بہتر ہے یا سہی ہے یا نہیں۔

اس سلسلے میں میں صرف ایک بات اپنے ڈپٹی مینسٹر ساہب سے ارج کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس پلان میں تمام لوگوں کے لیے چیزیں ملنے کی گئی ہے تاکہ ہر شخص کو فائدہ ہو۔ لیکن ہمارے ملک میں ایک ایسا کلاس ہے جس کو دیکھنے والا نہیں ہے۔ یعنی ہمارے ملک میں اسے مدد ہے، اسی اور ہے جہاں بیماری کی وجہ سے دوسروں کے سامنے اپنا ہاتھ پھیلاتے ہیں۔ اسے بچے بھی ہیں جو اپنے ماں باپ کے نہ ہونے کی وجہ سے بھیس مانگتے پھرتے ہیں۔ اسے لوگوں کے لیے اس فاڈر-ڈیئر پلان میں کوئی فراہم نہیں کی جاتی ہے۔ میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جہاں ہم تاجروں کے لیے، کاشتکاروں کے لیے اور مزدوروں کے لیے تمام انٹرمنٹ کرنے جا رہے ہیں اور ان کی پرفیکشن کو بڑھانے جا رہے ہیں۔ تمام انڈسٹریز کو ترقی دے رہے ہیں۔ انڈسٹریز کو ترقی دے رہے ہیں۔ انڈسٹریز کو ترقی دے رہے ہیں۔

कोई तरक्की द रहे हैं। वहां उन लोगों के लिये जो न एग्रीकलचरिस्ट हैं न काम करते हैं न काम कर सकते हैं न मजदूरी कर सकते हैं और न जिनके पास कोई ऐसा जरीया मआश है जिससे वह अपना गुजर कर सकें हम क्या करने जा रहे हैं। वह लोग आज भीख मांग मांग कर दर दर मार मार फिरते हैं और दूसरों के सामने हाथ फैलाते हैं। हमारा इस आजाद मुल्क में इस चीज को मिटाना सब से पहला काम है। इस लिये मैं आनरीबल मिनिस्टर साहब की तबज्जह इस तरफ मबजूल कराना चाहता हूं कि वह ऐसा प्लान बनायें जिसके जरीये तमाम मुल्क के अन्दर जो ऐसे लोग हैं उनकी मदद की जाये। इस में ऐसे लोग जो प्रोफेशनल हैं जो काम कर सकते हैं मजदूरी कर सकते हैं उनके लिये मैं कुछ नहीं कहता। लेकिन वह लोग जो बीमारी की वजह से भीख मांगने पर मजबूर हैं उनके लिये जरूर स्थान पीने और रहने का इन्तजाम होना चाहिये। इसी तरह वह बच्चे जो मार मार फिरते हैं और जो खराब सुसाइटी में पड़े जाते हैं उनके लिये तालीम का इन्तजाम होना चाहिये। और हुकूमत को उनकी सिक्योरिटी लेनी चाहिये। इस लिये हमको इस चीज को फाइव-ईयर प्लान में जरूर रखना चाहिये।

लैन्ड रिफारमर्ज के मुतालिक मुझे यह अर्ज करना है कि हुकूमत ने जमींदारी खत्म कर दी है इसलिये हुकूमत मुबारिकबाद के लायक है। लेकिन मैं हुकूमत से यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि अगर हमें मुल्क का प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाना है तो हमें ऐसे बलास को कायम रखना चाहिये जिसके पास लैन्ड ज्यादा हो ताकि वह मैकनाइज्ड तराक से एग्रीकलचर में काम कर सकें। अगर आप ने तमाम लैन्ड को एक दो एक में डिस्ट्रीब्यूट कर दिया तो हमारे मुल्क का प्रोडक्शन नहीं बढ़ सकता। यह स्लोगन बड़ा अच्छा मालूम होता है कि तमाम जमीन का लोगों में इक्वल डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन कर दिया जाये। इस के वास्ते मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान एक ऐसा मुल्क है जिसके अन्दर प्रापुलेशन ज्यादा है और जमीन कम है। दूसरा

कोई मुल्क आप को ऐसा नहीं मिलेगा जिसके अन्दर जमीन कम हो और प्रापुलेशन ज्यादा हो। मैं यह देखता हूं कि अगर आप ने एक एकड़ या दो एकड़ जमीन तमाम लोगों में डिस्ट्रीब्यूट की तो इसका रिजल्ट यह होगा कि यहां पर प्रोडक्शन कम हो जायेगा। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या कोई शख्स एक एकड़ या दो एकड़ जमीन पर एक जाड़ी बैल रख सकता है। इसलिये अगर आप इस तरह का डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन करेंगे तो हुकूमत की तरफ से जब उनको तमाम सामान प्रावाइड किया जायेगा तब ही यह चीज कामयाब हो सकेगी और उस वक्त यह सब ट्रैक्टर और मशीनें वगैरह मुल्क से हटा देना पड़ेंगे।

इसके अलावा यह सिस्टम तब कामयाब हो सकेगा जब तमाम स्टेट की लैन्ड हो और स्टेट के जरीये ही काम किया जाये और अच्छे अच्छे ट्रैक्टर इस्तेमाल किये जायें या फिर कोऑपरेटिव बीसिस पर काम किया जाये। इस तरह यही दो तरीके हो सकते हैं। अगर आप प्राइवेट लोगों को लैन्ड रखने का हक देते हैं तो आप को ऐसी एकनामिक होर्लिंग बनानी चाहिये जिस से एक शख्स उस पर काम करके अपने बाल बच्चों के साथ गुजर कर सके। और उसको दूसरे धंदे की जरूरत न हो।

आखिर मैं मैं हुकूमत से यह कहूंगा कि वह इन सब बातों के मुतालिक एक ऐसी कमेटी बनाये जो तमाम इस तरह की चीजें पेश करे कि किस तरह की सोलिंग मुल्क में जारी होनी चाहिये और कितना लैन्ड कम से कम एक शख्स को देना चाहिये तब हुकूमत इस पर सोचे समझे और काम करे।

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, a great national temple, an ideal temple, for the removal of poverty, need and starvation is being constructed, both on wet and dry lands, stretched all over the country. It is up to us to extend our helping hand in order that that temple may, in due time, be raised beautifully and it should present to the world

[Shri H. P. Saksena.]
a very magnificent structure. He will be a very stupid man indeed, who is now displeased with the Five Year Plan, and who comes forward and says that there was this thing wrong when the foundation of the Plan was laid, and there was that thing wrong when the foundation was laid, because he must know, and he must see that the whole and entire Plan was not going to be pulled down because of its imaginary weaknesses here, there or anywhere. Sir, it is so easy to criticise. It is easier still to destroy, but it is very very difficult to construct. And, therefore, at this stage of the Plan, which I called, at the time when it was first debated in this House, as a national Plan, and failing it, I said that it should be treated as the rational Plan, I say and submit that during the three years of its being worked out, it has proved both its national as well as its rational character. It only requires unjaundiced eyes to see the improvements that have been made. In the sphere of railways, industries, food production, irrigation projects and so many other things, there is rise all round. Even the national income is rising, though not very rapidly.

Now, Sir, these are the points which go to the credit of the planners. And, Sir, these very planners are the Government of India, the people of India rather who under the supervision and the guidance of the Government of India, are building this magnificent temple for the removal of poverty, and we should all help in its full attainment. Sir, I know that there are undeveloped areas still, and I know that this can be mended only by our adopting the socialistic pattern of our society, which we are very soon going to adopt.

SHRI B. GUPTA: When?

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Our friends laugh. Yes, it is so easy to laugh, but it is very difficult to work. And I

would appeal to them to give up this obstructionist tendency, and come forward and help, and be a co-partner in the creation of this great temple. And I hope and wish and pray that this Plan will succeed, in spite of the obstructions that these friends are placing in its way.

श्री कन्हैयालाल ह्री० बच्च (मध्य भारत) :
उपसभापति महोदय, मैं इस प्रस्ताव का और जो अमेंडमेंट है उसका समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हूँ। बहुत थोड़ा समय है इसलिये प्लानिंग के विषय में जो सुझाव देना चाहता था वह मैं न दे सकूँगा लेकिन संक्षेप में दो चार बातें कहूँगा।

इस हिन्दुस्तान में जो जो पिछड़े क्षेत्र हैं और जहाँ राजाओं का राज्य रहा है और जिनको आज पार्ट "बी" राज्य कहा जाता है उनको उत्थान के लिये भी इस प्लान में बड़ी योजनाएँ हैं लेकिन जो प्रोग्रेस रिपोर्ट प्लान की मिली है उससे मालूम होता है कि जिस तरह की स्थिति हम वहाँ देखते हैं उसमें वहाँ जितना पैसा खर्च होना चाहिये था और जो कि प्लान में रखा गया था वह खर्च नहीं हुआ है। रकम के खर्च न होने का मूल कारण यह है कि कुल रकम की पचास प्रतिशत धनराशि राज्यों की जनता द्वारा अर्थात् वहाँ के राज्यकोष से खर्च होनी है और जो शेष ५० प्रतिशत रहती है वह केन्द्रीय कोष से खर्च होनी है। यह मानी हुई बात है कि वे क्षेत्र बहुत ही पिछड़े हुए हैं और उनकी आर्थिक परिस्थिति इस लायक नहीं है कि वहाँ की सरकारें जनता से अधिक टैक्स वगैरह वसूल कर के, जनता की आमदनी पर नये नये कर लगाकर अपनी आमदनी बढ़ा सकें और इस काम के लिये धन इकट्ठा कर सकें। वहाँ के लोगों की ऐसी स्थिति नहीं है कि वे इस आमदनी को पूरा कर सकें। मेरा निवेदन है कि प्लानिंग कमिशन को यह सारी स्थिति देखनी चाहिये और उस पर विचार करना चाहिये। विधान में संशोधन करने के लिये सारा देश की जो भावना है, जो हमारा क्लासलेस सोसाइटी का सिद्धांत है और जो पार्ट "बी" "सी" और

“ए” की भेदभाव की नीति है और जो भिन्न भिन्न राज्यों का पिछड़ापन है जिसकी वजह से वे बराबरी में नहीं आ पाये हैं, उसके अन्त करने के बारे में भी प्लान में विचार करना है। प्लानिंग को करने वाले जो सज्जन हैं उन्हें यह बात ठीक तरह से सोचनी चाहिये।

अपांजीशन की तरफ से और इस तरफ से बहुत से सुझाव दिये गये हैं और जो सुझाव सब लोगों ने किये हैं वे खास कर जनता के हित में किये हैं और जो किसानों की उत्पादित वस्तुओं के दाम बहुत गिर रहे हैं उसके लिये किये हैं। वास्तव में नाज की तरह कपड़े आदि के दाम भी कम होने चाहिये। वास्तव में अब जो देश की स्थिति है उसकी तरफ प्लानिंग कमीशन को सोचना चाहिये। प्लानिंग कमीशन ने एक सिद्धांत सोशल सुधार के बारे में इसमें रखा है और बड़े ही आशाजनक शब्दों में उसकी व्याख्या की गई है। यह भी कहा गया है कि जब सरकार समाज सुधारक और क्रान्तिकारी काम करना चाहती है तब उसकी शासकीय व्यवस्था भी उस योग्य होनी चाहिये और पब्लिक लाइफ में और शासकीय स्तर पर जो भ्रष्टाचार होता है उसके रोकने के लिये भी प्लानिंग कमीशन ने बहुत सारे सुझाव दिये हैं। बरन्तु आज देश के चरित्र का जो पतन हुआ है वह हमारे सामने है, जिस चीज को भी हम देखते हैं, हमारी योजना के शीघ्र और ठीक तरह पर पूरा होने में जो खासियां और जो कमी नजर आती है उसका एक मूल कारण भ्रष्टाचार है। आपको ध्यान होगा कि इस देश में सन् १९४२ में क्रान्ति के समय एक प्रसिद्ध राष्ट्रीय गीत लेखक ने एक सिनेमा का गीत लिखा था, उसका शीर्षक था, “दूर हटो, दूर हटो, ए दुनियां वालों, यह हिन्दुस्तान हमारा है”। उसी गीत लेखक को स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद खुशी भी हुई लेकिन देश की आज की गिरावट पर निराशा हुई और उसी लेखक ने फिर “नारीस्तक” फिल्म में यह गाना लिखा “देख तैरे संसार की हालत क्या हो गई भगवान, कितना बदल गया इंसान छल और कपट के

हाथों अपना बेच रहा इंसान”। तो इस तरह की सोशल स्थिति इस देश के अन्दर पैदा हो गई है। बहुत से सदस्यों ने कहा है कि इस योजना से देश की जनता के अन्दर कोई उत्साह पैदा नहीं हो रहा है। इन योजनाओं के लिये लोगों में जो उत्साह नहीं पैदा हो रहा है उसका कारण यह है कि हमारे चरित्र में सुधार करने की तरफ प्लानिंग कमीशन ने कोई विशेष ध्यान नहीं दिया है। मेरा निवेदन है कि इस तरफ प्लानिंग कमीशन को विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिये। प्लानिंग कमीशन की रिपोर्टों में “आदर्श” की जो परिभाषा है उसकी पूर्ति के लिये सरकारी मशीनरी से काम लेने के लिये सख्ती से व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये।

मुझे एक सुझाव और देना है। इंडस्ट्रीज के बारे में आपकी जो पालिसी है, छोटी छोटी इंडस्ट्रीज के बारे में आप जिस नीति के ऊपर चल रहे हैं उस नीति का बहुत कुछ निर्णय टैरिफ कमीशन द्वारा किया जाता है और इम्पोर्ट और एक्सपोर्ट के बारे में टैरिफ कमीशन जो सुझाव देती है उसके ऊपर यहां की इंडस्ट्रीज का भविष्य निर्भर होता है। पिछली दफा बजट सेशन में मैंने पंजाब की इंडस्ट्रीज के बारे में कुछ सुझाव दिये थे। मैं फिर उन सुझावों को आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। पंजाब एक ऐसा एरिया है जिसके अन्दर काफी छोटी मोटी इंडस्ट्रीज पनप रही हैं किन्तु दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि टैरिफ कमीशनों की रिपोर्टों में उनके बारे में कोई वास्तविक और ठीक जिक्र नहीं रहता है। मैं उस एरिया में गया था और मुझे ऐसा लगा कि वहां की जो हालत है, जो डंटा है, उसकी पूरी जानकारी प्रान्तीय सरकार को भी नहीं है और इसी वजह से शायद प्लानिंग कमीशन के सामने सारी जानकारी नहीं आ पाई है। समय बहुत कम है इसीलिये मैं सिर्फ एक ही उदाहरण दूंगा। सीने की मशीन इस देश के लिए एक बहुत ही आवश्यक चीज है और वह एक बहुत नाजुक मशीनरी है उस मशीन को बनाने के लिये वहां पर यह समीक्षाएं कि करीब छः या सात हजार आदमी दिन रात

[श्री कन्हैयालाल डी० बेंचा]

काम कर रहे हैं और आपको जानकर खुशी होगी कि लगभग आठ हजार मशीनें एक महीने में वहां बनने लगी हैं और इसमें २५ लाख की पूंजी लगी है। उस मशीन के करीब ६० प्रतिशत पुर्जे वहां ही बनते हैं और सिर्फ १० प्रतिशत पुर्जे बाहर से आते हैं, जापान से आते हैं। लेकिन उसमें भी परेशानी है। इसके लिये काफी परेशानी वहां के लोगों को इसलिए होती है कि जापान से पुर्जे मंगाने वाले जो मिछिलमैन हैं, जो व्यापारी हैं, और जो शोषण करने वाले हैं व उन पुर्जों को मंगा कर पांच सौ और छः सौ फीसदी मुनाफे पर ब्लैकमार्केट के भाव से देते हैं इस ब्लैकमार्केट को खत्म करने और इस मशीन के बनाने वालों को उचित रक्षण देने की जब जरूरत है तब आपको यह जान कर आश्चर्य होगा कि आज टॉरिफ कमिशन न इस मामले में जो नीति निर्धारित की है उसके अनुसार इस इंडस्ट्री को जो प्रोटेक्शन मिला हुआ था वह खत्म कर दिया है। जिस दिन टॉरिफ कमिशन की रिपोर्ट सामने आई, मैं तो उसको देखकर दंग हो गया। टॉरिफ कमिशन ने इस प्रकार का प्रोटेक्शन जो खत्म कर दिया है उससे तो मशीन के छोट-छोट सार धंधे नष्ट हो जायेंगे। हम जहां इस प्रकार की नीति को अपनाना चाहते हैं कि देश में प्रगति हो, देश में ऐसे छोट-छोट गृह उद्योग धंधों और कारखानों को पनपाएं वहां प्लानिंग कमिशन को इस बात की बड़ी गम्भीरतापूर्वक सोचना चाहिए कि ऐसी छोटी छोटी इंडस्ट्रीज का वास्तव में पनप रही हैं, उनके रास्ते में किसी प्रकार की रुकावट न खड़ी की जाय और जिस तरह से भी हो टॉरिफ कमिशन को इस दिशा में अपनी नीति को ठीक से स्थिर करना चाहिए। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूं।

श्री गोपीकृष्ण विजयवर्गीय (मध्य भारत) : उपसभापति महोदय, हिंदी में बोलने वालों को आप आखिर में बोलने का अवसर देते हैं। आज आखिरी दिन है और आखिरी घंटे में मैं बोल रहा हूं।

श्री कन्हैयालाल डी० बेंचा : आखिरी वक्ता भी हैं आप।

श्री गोपीकृष्ण विजयवर्गीय : मालूम नहीं, मैं ही आखिरी वक्ता हूं या और कोई साहब भी बोलने वाले हैं।

मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है कि प्लानिंग के विषय में बार बार यह कही गई—यह एक साइकॉलॉजिकल बात भी है—कि यदि जनता का सहयोग और उत्साह इसमें मिलेगा तो यह प्लानिंग बहुत अच्छी तरह से सफल हो सकती है। जहां तक प्लानिंग कमिशन की रिपोर्ट से हमको मालूम हुआ, तीन साल के अंदर काफी प्रगति हुई है। मैं काफी इलाकों में घूमा भी हूं। मैं ५० पी० में इटावा के इलाके में जहां कि यह पाईलट प्रोजेक्ट शुरू हुआ था, गया। मैंने कानपुर के आस पास ग्राम पंचायतों और कोआपरेटिव सांसाइटीज को भी देखा। फाजाबाद का कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट मैंने देखा। बिहार में भी बिहार शरीफ का एक कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट और बंगाल में बर्दवान और पुलिया में उसी तरह के प्रोजेक्ट्स मैंने देखे हैं। मेरा हृदय इस ओर काफी ध्यान गया है।

प्लानिंग की कल्पना तो बहुत अच्छी है और काम भी बहुत अच्छा सोचा गया है जहां तक कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट्स का ताल्लुक है। लेकिन जो अमला है वह उतना संतोषजनक नहीं है। जैसा कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री, श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी अक्सर कहते हैं कि कम से कम एक वातावरण, एक मनःस्थिति ऐसी पैदा हो गई है कि जिससे आगे उन्नति की आशा है। इसलिए हम भी आशा करते हैं कि इस दिशा में कुछ न कुछ तरक्की होगी और अच्छी तरक्की होगी। बहरहाल, कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट के सम्बन्ध में यह आइडिया, यह कल्पना कि सौ या पचास गांवों को ले कर उस पर एक कार्य जो शुरू किया जाता है यह चीज बहुत अच्छी है। कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट २०० गांवों का होता है, लेकिन सहूलियत के लिए एक ब्लॉक १०० गांवों का ले लिया जाता है। इसके अच्छे नतीजे भी हमारे सामने आ रहे हैं, लेकिन वृष्टियां कई सदस्यों ने यहां बताया कि इसमें कॉर्टेज

इंडस्ट्रीज और ग्रामीण उद्योग धन्य नहीं पनप रहे। मैंने इटावा में देखा कि तेल धानी का काम वहाँ बंद पड़ा था चमड़े का भी बन्द था, क्योंकि चमड़े के उद्योग में कानपुर के साथ कम्पिटिशन करना बहुत मुश्किल था। इटावा में हाथ करघों का काम भी बंद हो गया था यद्यपि उसमें लोगों का काफी इम्दाद मिली थी। कुछ काम वहाँ जरूर हुए हैं, जैसे बेसिक इन्फ्रक्शन हैं, सोशल एक्शन हैं, कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटीयों का काम हैं। वहाँ पशुओं के इनसेमीनेशन का एक सेंटर है। कुछ काम हुआ है, मैं इसका इतना आलोचक नहीं हूँ कि कहूँ कि कुछ भी काम नहीं हो रहा है। बहरहाल, काम होने की बहुत बड़ी आवश्यकता है।

वक्ताओं ने बहुत सी बातें बताईं। लेकिन एक खास बात मैं बतला देना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक सर्विस के स्ट्रक्चर पर ही हम सार्वजनिक को जमाने की कोशिश करेंगे तब तक यह प्लानिंग सबसेसफुल नहीं होने वाला है। सर्विस के स्ट्रक्चर जरूर बदलना चाहिए और उसके लिये कोई कमीशन कायम किया जाना चाहिए ताकि सर्विस वाले कुछ जनता में मिल जुल कर काम करना सीख सकें। मैं काफी एक्सपर्ट्सवली घूमा हूँ और जहाँ जहाँ मैंने कम्प्यूमिटी प्रोजेक्ट्स को देखा है वहाँ वह पाया कि जहाँ कोई अच्छा उत्साही प्रोजेक्ट ऑफिसर होते हैं वहाँ काम अच्छा होता है। अच्छे ऑफिसरों की संख्या बहुत कम है, बाकी तो ज्यादातर अपने समय की पूर्ति करने, तन्ख्वाहें लेने और अपना टी० ए० बनाने की फिक्र में रहते हैं। जहाँ भी मैं गया मैंने शहरी जनता की अपेक्षा देशाती जनता को काफी एक्विव पाया है। देशातों में श्रमदान का काम ५० पी० में और दूसरे प्रान्तों में काफी हुआ है।

यह सवाल बहुत कुछ पॉलीटिकल भी है। इकोनॉमिक सवाल तो यह है ही : जैसा कि नेहरू जी ने अपने दो चार भाषणों में कहा है, हमें पब्लिक सेक्टर को बढ़ाना है, "की इंडस्ट्रीज" को नेशनलाइज और सोशलाइज करना है। इस तरह का रिजोल्यूशन दूसरे हाउस में पास भी हुआ है। श्रीक नेहरू जी

ने इस पर जोर दिया है इसलिए सब लोगों का ध्यान भी उधर जाने लगा है। मेरा ख्याल है कि अगर हम गरीब आदमी, किसान और मजदूर में उत्साह पैदा नहीं कर सकते तो फिर हमारा यह काम ऑफिसरों के भरोसे नहीं होने वाला है। सरकारी मशीनरी इस काम को कामयाबी के साथ पूरा नहीं कर सकती। इसलिए सरकारी मशीनरी के ढांचे को ही बिलकुल बदलना पड़ेगा। इसके लिए हमें अपने कॉन्स्ट्रक्शन में भी थोड़ा चेंज करना पड़ेगा। उसमें सर्विस के विषय में जो चेंजर हैं, उसमें मैं समझता हूँ कि जरूरत से ज्यादा सिक्वॉरिटी सर्विस को दी गई है। सर्विस के लिये रूल्स में जुड़ीशरी और सेमी जुड़ीशरी के तरीके रखे गये हैं वे ऐसे हैं कि आप कोई एक्शन नहीं ले सकते। मैं अपने प्रान्त मध्य भारत में कुछ समय के लिये एडीमिनिस्ट्रेशन में रहा, वीक मिनिस्टर रहा। मेरा ख्याल है कि ये सर्विस कांग्रेस को भी डुबाने वाली है और देश को भी डुबाने वाली है और उससे फाइव ईयर प्लान भी छूब जाने वाला है। सर्विस के स्ट्रक्चर को सुधारने के लिये हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी बहुत जोर देते रहे हैं। मैं उनका बहुत आदर करता हूँ, जिदगी भर हमने उनके आदर्शों पर चलने की कोशिश की है, उन्होंने हमको बहुत सी आइडियाज दी हैं। तो मैं कह रहा था कि अपने प्लानिंग की स्कीमों को चलाने के लिये हमें कोई न कोई इंडस्ट्रिमेंट ऐसा रखना चाहिए जो कि उनमें दिलचस्पी ले, और उसके लिये सरकारी मशीनरी में सुधार होना चाहिए।

मेरे पास और कोई खास सजेशन नहीं है सिवाय इसके कि सर्विस में काफी करप्शन है। पॉलीटिकल स्ट्रक्चर पर भी मुझे थोड़ा बह कहना है कि जब हम लोग देश की प्लानिंग करने के इस स्टैंज से गुजर रहे हैं तो मेरे ख्याल में पॉलीटिकल पार्टीज में आपस में कुछ ऐसा "जेंटलमैन एग्रीमेंट" होना चाहिए कि कम से कम देश की उन्नति के मामले में भी हम कोई पॉलीटिकल टॉपिक निकाल कर के उसको एक पॉलीटिकल इश्यू न बनावें। हम सब लोग इस देश को ऊपर बढ़ाने में आगे बढ़ें। इसका भी

[श्री गोपीकृष्ण विजयवर्गीय]

लीड कांग्रेस संगठन को देना पड़ेगा। मैं यहां कोई पॉलीटिकल भाषण नहीं देना चाहता हूँ। मेरा कहने का मतलब यह है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी अगर देश की उन्नति की योजनाओं में दिलचस्पी लेती है तो उसके लिये उसे कुछ संक्रीफाइस भी करना पड़ेगा और दूसरी पार्टी का सहयोग प्राप्त करना होगा। जैसा कि विनोदा जी कह चुके हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में पार्टियों की लड़ाई है। अगर सब पार्टियाँ सरकार को सहयोग देंगी तो कांग्रेस भी उनको सहयोग दे सकती है। इसलिए पीसफुल मेथड्स से कांग्रेस को इस देश में सोशलिज्म लाना है। इसके लिये कांग्रेस को भी सोचना चाहिए कि हम दूसरी पार्टियों का सहयोग लें या उनके कुछ लोगों को सहयोग दें। तो एक जेंटलमैन एग्रीमेंट कर के हम अपने प्लानिंग के काम को कामयाब बना सकते हैं।

THE DEPUTY MINISTER FOR PLANNING (SHRI S. N. MISRA): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am really very glad to get this opportunity to speak to this House on a matter of such vital importance which has engaged the attention of this House and the other House. Sir, we in the Planning Commission and the Government have always been very particular about eliciting the advice of hon. Members both in regard to the implementation of the present Plan as well as their ideas and suggestions, in the light of the experiences gained for the Second Five Year Plan. So, this opportunity has been particularly welcome from both points of view. And when I consider the points that have been raised during the course of the debate, I find that most of them are extremely helpful and useful. Some of the opinions expressed by hon. Members, although not so much related to the facts—and facts are as have been placed in the Progress Report—will go to enrich the perspective of planning for the country as a whole. Sir, the points raised have been too many and I am feeling a little bit afraid that it would be difficult for me to cover all of

them unless I proceed almost at a supersonic speed. But to be rather selective, I would be taking up only a few points that seem to have engaged the attention of most of the hon. Members. In doing so, I would not be entering into any spirit of defence for those points or for those defects and deficiencies which have already been confessed in the Progress Report and I would like to remind the House that when the motion was made for the consideration of the Progress Report by my senior colleague, it was done in no spirit of placid self-congratulation. We placed it saying that the country had done well—perhaps pretty well—in regard to the present Five Year Plan. But we felt at the same time that we could have done better had all the factors in the economic situation of the country co-operated. By that I mean also all elements in the national life. Sir, I should like to ask hon. Members here in a spirit of humility whether we all, who claim to represent the people of India, have fulfilled our role in regard to the national development, whether we have discharged our responsibilities in regard to the First Five Year Plan? When I come to speak now, I don't come to speak on mere statistical figures because I have not got long innings in the present post. I speak as a man who has worked among the people and who has done something in regard to some of the programmes that have been envisaged in the Plan. I would like to ask how many of us have really taken advantage of many of the provisions in the First Five Year Plan and, as representatives of the people, given lead to the people to take advantage of them? How many schools are there standing erect on the ditches that we have filled with our hands? How many roads have been opened up for which we have been responsible? These are the questions that I would like to ask my hon. friends in a spirit of intimacy. So I was saying that we could have—there is no doubt—derived much greater advantage out of the First

Five Year Plan than we have been able to do. I am reminded of that line in one of Shakespeare's dramas:

"The fault, Dear Brutus, is not in our Stars but in ourselves."

For that, we have been responsible because I am reminded also of that Chinese saying:

"When the whole nation sighs, there is a storm and when the whole nation bangs its feet, there is an earthquake."

I submit, in all humility, Sir, that a great revolution could have been generated in the country even on the basis of the present Plan had only all the elements in the national life co-operated, and not viewed it in the spirit in which we generally look upon it—from the point of view of party considerations which have also certainly weighed in regard to the present Five Year Plan. Some hon. Members have very pertinently pointed out that the main sinews for the implementation of any Plan consisted in the enthusiasm and the spirit of the people. There is no doubt about it—let us by all means measure what has been achieved during the course of the present Five Year Plan period even by that standard. The working of the Plan in the first three years may have revealed many defects and gaps but it has shown beyond any shadow of doubt that the public contribution—the contribution of the people—in labour, money, materials etc., have far out-weighed the expenditure incurred by the Government in the Community Projects areas, in the National Extension Service Blocks, in the local development works. I don't know in fact but if these things are not the indicators of the great amount of public enthusiasm or spirit, then, what else are. Only recently, one of my friends who happens to be a man of different political persuasion and party—of Socialist sympathies—when he came to see me, he seemed to me a changed man and he was talking in a strain in which I had never heard him before. He

told me that he was absolutely convinced that during the next 10 years or so, the face of India was going to be changed. I was looking askance at him. What had happened during the interval of a few months? Sir, that friend of mine had happened to visit the Damodar Valley Corporation area and he came back a completely changed man. He had seen the prospect of irrigation water flowing in certain areas, the electricity coming in, the lands being levelled with bulldozers and he had felt that all those tracts of land were leaping into a new life. This is how the transformation in the country is taking place and it was therefore very apt that the Prime Minister reminded the other House the other day that he felt that the atmosphere in the country was invigorating. There was some vitality in the atmosphere. Sir, as one of the humble workers among the people, I have felt that vitality myself. Not having come to this House and not having occupied the present post but only as a humble worker, I have felt that radiance in the atmosphere, a new constructive spirit having been abroad. Sir, I don't know whether in regard to many of the points that have been made in regard to the formulation—the basic aspect of how the First Five Year Plan was formulated—it would be in the fitness of things for me to refer to them now. The Nation's Parliament had set its seal of approval to that and I don't want to enter into those points over again. But if some defects have shown themselves during the course of implementation, I don't think that any of them have not been pointed out in the progress report itself. So it is not to our edification that some of the defects and deficiencies have been pointed out by hon. Members during the course of the debate. They were not unknown either to the framers of the Plan or to the implementors of it. They are already placed in the Progress Report in all their clarity.

Sir, an important point was made about the food production. It was

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emphasised almost *ad nauseam*—I would not use that word *ad nauseam* if it is jarring to some of my hon. friends—but it was mentioned so many times by so many hon. Members. They said that it was mainly due to the benevolence of nature and not because of any efforts on the part of the Government. I don't hope that hon. Members are angry with nature on that account but I would like to point out what are our increases and where they occurred, and whether we have not made all the allowances about the goodness of nature, about the climatic factors ourselves. The increases which have occurred in Rajasthan, Hyderabad, Madhya Pradesh, and West Bengal are said to be mainly due to climatic factors! And this increase amounts to 6.3 million tons. It would perhaps be reasonable to attribute 75 per cent. to the weather and only 25 per cent. or 1.6 million tons to the programme of production initiated by the Plan. I do not think hon. Members would grudge even this 25 per cent. increase as being due to the programme of greater agricultural production.

SHRI B. GUPTA: We have to make some reduction because of the sample survey based on crop cutting.

SHRI S. N. MISRA: I would also like to add that it would betray a little lack of science or rather the appreciation of science if we say that, all the fertilizer has gone in vain. We are going to have two fertilizer factories like the one at Sindri, or may be three of them. For, though initially we were confronted with a lack of demand for these fertilizers, now we are confronted with the problem of having too much demand and too little supply. We are not able to cope with the present demand. Is it really suggested by the hon. Members that all this fertilizer has gone in vain, that all the irrigational facilities which have been brought to the peasants have gone in vain, that the distribution of better seeds and so

many other facilities that have been given to the agriculturist have all gone in vain? If really all these things have gone in vain, ought we not to reconsider our views about the established way in which agricultural production is being sought to be raised? Should we then require to have some other peculiar way of increasing our agricultural production than that adopted by other countries, other than even that which has been very much justified by the peasants themselves? So, I submit, we have already made all these considerations and allowances for climatic factors and the net result is quite satisfactory.

SHRI B. GUPTA: Proper distribution of the land is an effective way.

SHRI S. N. MISRA: I am coming to that. I am also particular about land given to the tillers and I shall presently come to that point. I only want to make this point that in those States where the increase has occurred, we have already made that allowance for all the benevolence of nature. After making all these considerations, the total increase comes to 5.6 million tons due to our production programme and I would like this figure to be rebutted, but not by way of wishful thinking.

Then I would like to deal with some of the questions that were raised in regard to the increase in the national income. An important point was made regarding the reality of the rise in the national income, whether all that has been claimed is real or it is merely something fanciful. It was said that at constant prices, it would have been less than what is claimed. First I would like to give the figures. What are the figures of the increase in the income that has taken place? In 1948-49 it was—and I am mentioning the figures at the constant prices—for 1948-49 it was 246.9, for 1949-50 it was 248.6 and in the same way, for 1951-52 it was 251.7 and for 1952-53 the figure is 261.4 and we hope the figure for 1953-54 which would be available later would be greater still. It has been suggested

that much of this increase in income is due to agriculture. But before that, it was firstly said that there has not been so much of increase. Secondly it is being emphasised, as I said, that it was entirely due to agricultural production. It was no doubt largely due to the increased agricultural production, because that is the reality of the present economic situation in India that about 50 per cent. of our national income is being generated in the agricultural sector. And all this increase that has occurred in agricultural production must have contributed to the increase in the national income. But it is not entirely due to that cause. If it is said that even this increase is small, I would admit that from our standard also it is a small increase and we are not going to be complacent about it. We want to increase it as rapidly as possible. Hon. Members will doubtless realise that it is the first five points which are difficult to achieve and if we achieve the first five points, if we succeed in increasing the level now, then the next increase in the income will come almost with a snow-balling effect. That is the reality of economic thinking in this regard. And this shows definitely beyond any manner of doubt that we have broken the first crust and the progressive trend in our economy has already set in. Our economy was first a static economy. It might even be called regressive economy. But now this trend of progress has already set in and we hope the increase in the national income would continue hereafter at a much faster rate.

Then, Sir, the question of the stabilisation of the agricultural prices was raised.

This question is certainly of great importance to the farmer. I am a farmer myself, and a petty farmer at that, and I know to my cost what it has meant to my family and to the other villagers among whom I live. I am indeed very anxious along with my other colleagues in the Govern-

ment that something should be done with regard to this matter. Our Government share the anxiety to a great extent of the hon. Members who have expressed their views in this regard, and we feel that agricultural prices must not be allowed to fall below a certain minimum. There was an index of the fact of anxiety on the part of the Government only the other day—about a couple of days back, when Government announced its policy of purchasing coarse grains at reasonable prices. I would not like to take up the time of the House now because the House knows all about that. Suffice it to say, it would thus be found that in this respect Government has not been complacent and the Government wants to do something positive about it and in fact it has already done something.

I would like however, to go quickly to another point about which my hon. friend opposite was asking me, namely, whether Government was going to do anything about this matter of fixing ceiling on land holdings. Sir, this question of land policy is indeed, a very vital one and with it is linked up in a sense the fate of about 29 to 30 crores of the population of this country who live in the villages. Even the whole country in a sense might be said to be concerned with it.

The Planning Commission is rather determined in a way that the problem enunciated by it should be acted up to. The House knows that a Central Committee on Land Reforms is functioning. It is constantly seized of the problem and is constantly reviewing the progress that is being made. There are difficulties that are being encountered. Sir, recently, a decision had been arrived at in regard to the census of land holdings and cultivation and it was decided that by the end of April 1955, the land census should be complete. Now, no one in this House, I think, would suggest that without this census of land holdings and without adequate information, we can come into grips with the

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realities of this ceiling on land. When we are going to have facts and figures based on this census by the end of April 1955, I think something concrete would emerge. But even at the present moment, I would like to tell the House that all the States are working out a phased programme of land reforms and some of the States have already worked out necessary for ceiling on holdings. I do not think time would permit me to go into all these details.

SHRI B. GUPTA: We would like to hear something about evictions. What are you thinking about evictions?

SHRI S. N. MISRA: Yes, but let me finish this first. I do not think time would permit me to go into all the details about preventing evictions etc., but I would only like to mention the names of a few States that have taken up the work of fixing a ceiling on land holdings. In Hyderabad, for instance, a ceiling has already been fixed on all ryotwari holdings at 4½ family holdings. In Himachal Pradesh, the ceiling is 30 acres in one district and in Jammu and Kashmir the absolute limit on ownership is 22½ acres. In West Bengal also the Government has been empowered to put a ceiling at 33 acres on khas land of persons who do not cultivate land themselves. I would not like to go into all the details about Assam, Travancore-Cochin, Vindhya Pradesh and other States who have partially undertaken this question of fixation of ceilings. This problem has not been left untouched but a good deal of progress has been made.

Now, I come to another problem. Probably, I would not be able to oblige my hon. friends on the other side by going into the details about the steps taken to prevent evictions of tenants but I can only say in a general way that very effective steps have been taken in most of the States to prevent the eviction of tenants. I

would not go further due to lack of time.

SHRI B. GUPTA: Certainly not in West Bengal.

SHRI S. N. MISRA: I would now come to another problem. I think hon. Members are themselves responsible for not allowing me to concentrate my attention on a few important points because they have raised so many important points. I would, as I said, come to another important point raised in regard to the improvement of the administrative set up, particularly in relation to the implementation of the Plan. Sir, no one would doubt that this is a problem of paramount importance. For any effective implementation of the Plan, the administrative machinery must be geared to the task of implementation and hon. Members should realise that a number of steps have been taken in this direction. First, I would like to ask hon. Members themselves as to whether they have not seen, at their district headquarters—in almost all the 328 districts of India—the District Development Committees functioning of which we here happen to be members? 328 District Development Committees are functioning throughout India and I would make bold to say, Sir, that this is a big step forward and that gives an opportunity, together with the organisation of National Extension Service and Community Projects for transforming the entire administrative set up. There the public representatives and the officials work shoulder to shoulder in the field, in the National Extension Service Blocks and in the Community Project areas. The distinction between the officials and the non-officials made out by certain hon. Members seems to be at the vanishing point. We should also realise that all these 328 District Development Committees have got the potentiality of functioning like the nuclei for planning from below about which certain hon. Members also talked. They said that planning must be from below. I submit these District

Development Committees can function as the bodies for planning from below. This is the place where all of us are represented and can do something about planning from below. Then again the officials and non-officials work together in the National Extension Service Blocks and in the Community Project areas. I would now like to point out about the steps at the State level.

I am also looking at the watch, Sir, and I hope that I would be finishing in the next seven or eight minutes.

At the State level, steps have been taken to co-ordinate the developmental activities of all the departments and a Committee of State officials and a Committee of the Cabinet function everywhere. In the same way here the National Development Council functions and now a Standing Committee of the National Development Council has been constituted. Sir, these are all steps to gear up the machinery of administration to the task of planning.

Then, Sir, some hon' Members mentioned about corruption and the necessity for eradicating it. Sir, there is no doubt that unless corruption is eradicated we cannot make much headway in the implementation of any Plan but it would be found that even in this direction, for the mobilisation of public opinion against corruption, which is perhaps the only effective means for eradicating it, the Plan has made some recommendations. It was also the suggestion of the planners that the Bharat Sevak Samaj should be functioning throughout India. We do hope and believe that with increased planning consciousness in the people and also the new sense of responsibility amongst the officials and the watchful eye of all the elements represented in the Bharat Sevak Samaj, the problem of eradicating corruption would be easier.

Sir, another point was raised which, I think, is allied with it. The hon. Member Mr B C Ghose referred to it and said that it seemed that the Planning Commission, in certain cases, had not been able to take steps to make the States act up to its advice. Sir, we have absolutely no complaint to make against the States, we have worked so far, both the States and the Centre, in perfect unison in regard to the implementation of the Plan. I can only say that there is always room for more co-operation but so far, we have not had any complaint to make in regard to co-operation from the States. A moment ago I referred to the fact that we have set up a Standing Committee which would be meeting now more often to ensure more effective co-operation on all questions of major policies and programmes.

Then Sir, about the rate of investment also certain points were raised. This is indeed a very important point, as to whether the rate of investment has been of the order which we had claimed in our Progress Report. 6 P.M. Sir, it is true that the rate of investment has been modest, but that was what we contemplated even at the time of the formulation of the Plan. This could not be helped in the initial stages. But the tempo of investment is progressively rising, and both in the public and the private sectors we find that we have absolutely no cause for disappointment, although we have no exact figures to adduce. My hon friend Pandit Kunzru mentioned that he would like to have more information in regard to investment both in the organised sector and in the unorganised sector of the private enterprise. Sir, we do not have much information. I confess, in this regard but we are constantly trying to collect more information, and as the House knows it is the function of the National Sample Survey Organisation to make enquiries in this direction and also our Research Programme Committee, which is now functioning, would be

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able to collect more valuable information in regard to many of these points

Sir, then there is another point which Pandit Kunzru raised. He expressed doubts if the defects and the deficiencies which have been confessed to in the Progress Report would be remedied or made up in the near future. He seemed to be a little bit pessimistic about it. I can only say that things have been improving from year to year as is evidenced in the Progress Report itself if the hon. Member would only take more care to read the Progress Report over again. As the House knows, the Planning Commission is now going to publish two Progress Reports during the course of a year. One Progress Report would be published six months which would come out in January, by the end of January I hope. And I do believe that the next Progress Report would show sufficient signs of improvement and that would not warrant any pessimism on the part of hon. Members that defects are not being remedied. So I can say only that much in that connection.

Then Sir, something about the question of unemployment. I will have said and done. This question of unemployment, I cannot again refer to in details. It relates to the whole gamut of economy and I would not go into it but only refer to what the Finance Minister said in the other House about the ten year programme for the Second Five Year Plan and the next for providing employment.

SHRI B GUPTA: Meanwhile what will they do?

SHRI S N MISRA: To answer this it calls for and I will have to go into many details which time does not permit me to place before the House just now. But I would again request hon. Members to go through the relevant chapter in the Progress Report itself and find out how many steps have been taken in this direction for meet-

ing the situation as it has been arising from time to time and we think that we have done something although we have not done much to our satisfaction and we want to do more. That all depends upon accelerating the tempo of development in the country in all possible ways and I think the Second Five Year Plan would express the determination of Government in unmistakable terms that the tempo of development in the country would be raised and the unemployment situation in the country also tackled effectively.

Sir, I have nothing more to say but only to thank the House for all the useful and helpful criticisms made, and I can only say that, taking into account the difficulties in which the First Five Year Plan functioned and also the social and institutional obstacles, the patterns of behaviour, the attitudes of mind and all that it encountered in the initial stages, it would be recognised that it has been able to usher in the country a new climate of hope, faith and confidence about the future.

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will put the amendment to the vote.

The question is:

'That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely—

'and having considered the same the House approves of it''

The motion was adopted.

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now I will put the Resolution as amended.

The question is:

"That the Progress Report of the Five Year Plan for the year 1953-54 be taken into consideration, and having considered the same the House approves of it"

The motion was adopted.

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned *sine die*.

The House then adjourned *sine die* at eight minutes past six of the clock.