

(iv) Report of the Advisory Committee on the Kosi Project, 1952. [Placed in Library. See Index No. IV M. 4. (27).]

PROF. G. RANGA : Sir, I hope you have taken note that I used the wrong word. I withdraw that word to "a peaceful frame of mind".

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am glad about it.

RESOLUTION RE FIVE YEAR PLAN—*continued*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Further discussion of the Resolution moved by the Prime Minister on the Planning Commission.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI (Nominated): Sir, I rise to support the resolution moved by the Prime Minister. Sir, some efforts have been made in this House as well as in the other House to belittle the importance and significance of the Resolution. It therefore bears repetition to say that the Plan is a national plan—national in the sense that it is the first plan of its kind. It is also an important plan. It is national because it is the first plan of its kind produced by the Indian Government, by the independent Indian Government, by a democratic independent Indian Government. It is a plan which is comprehensive. It deals with all aspects of Indian production and consumption and distribution. It deals with all the available Indian resources, human, animal, water and mineral. The survey made of these resources may be inadequate. But it is adequate for the framing of the Plan under the present circumstances. Finally it is a plan which also lays down certain priorities. I have not come across a single voice to controvert the priorities that have been accorded by the Plan.

As I have said, Sir, it is also an important plan, for it aims at raising the

national income by 11 per cent. It aims at doubling the income *per capita* by 1977, that is, 25 years hence. Sir, such a plan cannot but be called a national plan and also an important national plan. I go further, and say that it is also a progressive plan. I cannot say that it is a revolutionary plan. Sir, this plan does not have any colour and in a sense, it is a colourless plan. It is not red for it is not Communistic. It is not yellow for you cannot say that it is a Socialist plan. Nor is it a black plan for I do not think there is much room for capitalism in it.

AN HON. MEMBER : It is a white plan.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI : No, not even white. It is not a white plan, because it does not embody within it the principle of Sarvodaya Samaj.

No, not even a white plan of the Sarvodaya Samaj, but there are patches of each in it. More or less, it may be called a multicolour plan, for it has no definite colour at all. In a sense this is a natural limitation of the plan that it is not a Socialist or a Communist or a Capitalist or a Sarvodaya plan. Sir, you ask what colour it should have? Can't it have this colour or that colour? Now, we are all discussing the Plan here. But have we got within ourselves, within our hearts within our minds, the necessary colour? There were two Members here who wanted it to be red. But two do not make the 36 crores of India, nor even the 216 in this House. Nor can we make it white because we are not ourselves white, pure milk white or any other shade of white. We have ourselves not yet received the proper colour, are not in the proper condition, have not yet accepted the proper ideology. Now, such an ideological plan wants public opinion—its education, its mobilisation, its activation. Have we started doing that? It is true. Our people feel frustrated. Here and there they are agitated. But unless there is strong aroused public behind it, the plan can have no particular colour. I am however satisfied that it is a progressive plan. I am also satisfied that during the next

[Prof. N. R. Malkani.]
 five years it will exercise public opinion to such an extent that there may be some colour in the second plan. I am convinced that unless there is some ideology in the Plan, India will not be a great nation, a self-sufficient nation. Unless, I say, we ourselves develop during the next five years some conviction, some faith, some idealism, there is no rescue for India, there is no real advance. There is, however, sufficient jumping ground in the Plan for the next great advance in the second Plan.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I think the time limit for Members is ten minutes. I have a large number of Members, whose names have been given to me. I hope those who speak hereafter will limit themselves to ten minutes.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI : This plan can also be a practical plan provided it becomes a people's plan. But is it a people's plan? A few days back, I think last week, there was a cartoon in Shanker's Weekly—a man, perhaps a common peasant lying on the ground on his stomach under the weight of huge, bulky volumes of the Planning Commission Report. I thought it was a Member of the Parliament, who may find no time to read the fat report. But that man was, the Indian peasant pinned to the ground with the plan sitting on him. Sir, the plan can be successful only when the peasant and the worker take up the plan, sit by it and understand it.

There is a friend of mine who is a Project Officer in Alwar, an important social worker, a life member of the People's Society. He tells me : If you go to the village with the plan nobody comes for nobody understands the plan. So one day, he said, an idea struck him. "I will go to them and say I want to bore a tube well in a particular village for irrigating your lands." Accordingly the news went round that a tube well was being bored in a particular village and that as a result the village would become prosperous. Soon the

Sarpanch and then the Panchayat came and began to discuss the matter with him, and they said, "Please come to our village". He agreed and replied, "I will come to your village on a particular day provided on that day all the villagers cleansed the village with their own hands". So the village was swept by the people themselves, and then they sat down to discuss the question of laying a tubewell. Now, how many of our Project Officers do this? When the plan goes down to the villages, and the officers sit down with the peasants and discuss the plan with them, how it affects them, what the villagers want, what the villagers do not want, then and only then, has the Plan some possible chance of success, but not otherwise.

(Time bell rings.)

Sir, we want officers of that kind, officers who work on the land, on the soil, on the ground with their own hands. As far as I know we do not have officers of that type, with that enthusiasm. The officers now recruited are all of the old type, with old traditions, with many limitations. Such officers are not the officers to make the plan a success. I suggest that we should have a different kind, a different sort of recruitment of officers who may have ample powers to recruit workers of their own kind, with ample money to spend without complicated official sanctions, with procedure cut down to the bone. Therefore Sir, only when you have a new type of village workers, a new service of village workers, taken from the very soil, they belong to, and get them trained by well known organisations like, the Sarva Sewa Sangh, you can be sure that beginnings have been made for a national plan. I again repeat Sir, unless you have got this kind of worker the plan will not succeed. The plan now is no more a technical document. It is a human document. Unless the human resources for working it are properly recruited this national and progressive plan, even though it may be a possible plan, it will not be a practicable plan.

(MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR (West Bengal) : Sir, within the short time at my disposal, I shall not be able to touch on all aspects of this plan which I would have very much liked to have done. I can, however, only simply mention a few of the more important ones. Sir, I have gone through the summary of the Plan and also observed the plan in action, and after that I have come to the conclusion that this is not a national plan, and not even a plan at all. One hon. Member from this side of the House characterised the plan as a statement of expenditure. To that I may add that it is a statement of expenditure which holds out no hope for the nation as a whole or for the toiling millions of our people. I would further add that it is not a plan but a monument of political bankruptcy. This is the impression that was rather strongly conveyed to me while I sat listening to the introductory speech of the Prime Minister. In his introductory speech, I thought the Prime Minister would draw attention to some concrete aspect of the plan ; but he contented himself with treating the House to a dissertation on the philosophy of planning. That is the impression that was strongly conveyed to me while listening to his speech.

Referring to a few aspects of this plan, I may say that on the whole this plan has refused to face realities of the Indian situation ; they claim to do that, but actually they have refused to face the realities of the situation.

Let me give a few instances. The dominating influence of foreign capital in vital sectors of our industrial life is still there and it is working to the detriment of our national interests. Take the tea industry for instance. The domination of British capital is there in every aspect of this industry. It has brought about by its manipulation the present crisis in the tea industry leading to closure gardens and labourers being thrown into unemployment. With this view every

one agrees, also the Minister for Commerce and Industry seemed inclined to agree with this view on the floor of the House. But no steps have been taken to control or remove this state of affairs.

Government speak in this plan and also everywhere of social security for workers, and of assuring a fair wage to them, seeing to their health, etc., etc. They have passed the Plantation Labour Act of 1951. But what has actually happened? In the tea gardens they are throwing out of employment hundreds of workers, into the jaws of death by starvation. What to talk of social security for them! With them the question is not of getting health facilities or more education. It is just a question of where they are to get a morsel of food from.

There are the questions connected with trade union rights and all that. I cannot deal with them adequately for want of time. These British interests, and under their influence, the Indian planters are also putting pressure on Government to put the Act into suspension. I do not know what steps Government will take to eradicate this state of affairs. My hon. friend will, I know, say that he cannot confiscate the foreign capital, that it is not allowed by the Constitution. We may not quarrel about that. But even within the four corners of the Constitution, Government can control this industry, control the foreign interests and compel them to contribute towards the rehabilitation of the tea industry. But Government is not doing even that.

To take another example. There is a British concern, Messrs. Steel Brothers, which supplies food and stores to the tea gardens. Before the Puja holidays that company sent notice of discharge to several employees and the district authorities were helpless. They could do nothing. That is what is happening. This plan is completely blind to these things.

Then I come to agriculture. My leader—Shri Sundarayya—has dealt

[Shri S. N. Mazumdar.]
with that subject and I shall not elaborate on that. But taking the question of rehabilitation of the refugees, the question of helping village and cottage industries, they are all linked with the question of land. If you do not give land free to the peasantry, if the purchasing power of the peasant is not increased, all your schemes for the rehabilitation of refugees, for the development of cottage and small industries will not succeed. Apart from the question of giving land free to the peasants, even some immediate measures which can be taken within the four corners of the Constitution, are not being taken. Take the question of reduction of rent. The plan claims that rents have been reduced. But in many places even that reduction has not produced any beneficent effect on the peasants. Nothing is being done to cancel the debt of the peasants or to stop their eviction from land. They are actually being evicted. Sir, I come from an area in North Bengal where I know in the two districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, the Government is the landlord. The major portion of these districts is *khas mahal* and even there the cultivators do not even enjoy any security of tenure. Eviction is going on. That being the case, what progress can be achieved in our country?

And as regards the hilly areas also, there is not only no security of tenure there, but what is worse, there are various sorts of forced labour existing there. On paper the whole thing looks innocent; but in actual reality things are not so. If there is a landslide on the border, say of Sikkim or some other region, the cultivators are made to repair the roads without any payment in return and for months this sort of thing goes on. Of these things the plan does not take any cognisance.

So also about education, about housing and all these things, the plan is actually lacking in perspective. What about the education of the children of those who are working in the tea gar-

dens? These children have to go to work in the gardens or in the factory, because, if they do not work there, they will have to starve. The same is the case of the farmers' children. They too have to go for their work. What is the provision that is made for these children and their education in this Plan? In order to provide education for these children, you have to provide at least two meals and some security of livelihood.

Another aspect I would like to touch on is the provision made, or, the little provision made in the Plan for scheduled tribes and scheduled castes. But actually there also the real facts have not been taken into consideration. In those districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri the majority of the cultivators are members of the scheduled caste and if you do not take that fact into consideration and simply draw up paper schemes for the elevation of these castes and tribes, they will remain on paper only. These cultivators in these districts are being evicted and there is no security of livelihood for them and they die of hunger and starvation. When that is the case, your paper schemes also become a mockery. These tribes in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri are mostly the Oraons, the Mundas, Santals and others. They are mostly tea garden labourers. They are also cultivators. Therefore if the Government is really serious about doing anything for these scheduled tribes, they should take into consideration the question of giving them economic security which they do not have.

Then there are the Nepalese speaking people. I do not know why they are not included in the scheduled tribes. They are also backward and should have been taken into consideration.

There is this provision in the Plan for getting contribution in the form of labour from these people, voluntary contribution as it is called. But my apprehension is that this may result in forced labour being extracted from these poor people.

In order to develop these scheduled classes and other backward tribes, particularly those speaking the Nepalese language, they should be given an effective voice in the administration of the regions where they live. This fact also should be considered. That is why I say that the Plan really lacks any perspective.

Sir, my time is short and my throat too is bad. So I shall not speak much. But there is another underdeveloped area, that is, North Bengal, which is even forsaken by the Government of West Bengal. That area has also not received any attention. For example, the question of railway bridge over the Ganga does not find any place in the Plan and my hon. friends, the Ministers, when they travel from here to North Bengal or Assam, even the Ministers of West Bengal, they travel by air; if they travel by train they would realise the necessity of constructing a bridge over the Ganga in West Bengal.

Then, comes the Tista River, whose floods every year cause damage to North Bengal and that has not even been mentioned in the Plan.

I wanted to quote only these two examples.

DR. RAGHUBIR SINH (Madhya Bharat) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, one thing this Plan has done is to make every man plan minded. For once, I felt happy that my hon. friends opposite would think of this Plan in better terms, for, at least they will feel flattered and like it as an imitation of their plan; but, I find that my hon. friends opposite do not take it that way. They think that it is on different lines and I feel that that very fact, that is its being on different lines, makes it all the more acceptable and makes it all the more peculiar for us.

The chief features of the Plan, as I see them, are that an effort has been made to bring this Plan to suit the needs and requirements of our country. More so, it is going to be a flexible plan and the Prime Minister has assured us that it is not final by any means.

This has been said by many speakers on either side that the Plan does not fully envisage or does not comply with all the requirements of the country. This is true and the main reason for this thing is, Sir, that upto now we were never plan minded and so, it was not possible for us very easily to put down all our requirements in the right way. I am sure, Sir, that once a good beginning is made, we are going to do a good deal in future. For, it is obvious, that this Plan is only the beginning of many more to come.

One thing, Sir, that has been agreed to and which is a matter of great pleasure to me personally, is that the Planning Commission has been able to accept the Chambal scheme. I find that it has been taken up among the new projects that it is going to include and, as such, full details of the scheme and the way in which it is going to be worked had not been included; nor could they be supplied as they are still to be worked out. I find that this scheme is likely to get first priority because it is one of those schemes which have been going on for quite a long time. I would, therefore, once again request the Finance Minister to give this scheme first priority as he is aware that a crore and a half has already been spent on it; the overhead charges for this scheme are very high and it is already pretty well advanced. Moreover, this scheme is one which is going to give easy return and that too soon. As is well known, it has also been promised and decided upon to raise a public loan to further this scheme. I can assure you, Sir, that that can be done provided we do get a guarantee and an assurance that the scheme is going to be completed in due time.

As you know, Sir, no scheme can easily work or can prove productive on the first day; but, if it is going to be made productive, it is very necessary that full details of works which are going to be taken up after the scheme is completed, are taken up in hand alongside. It is well known, Sir, that the scheme, when completed will irrigate 12 lakh acres of land and will produce 60,000 k.w. of electric power. Now, it

[Dr. Raghbir Singh.]
is very necessary, Sir, that the full details of how this power is going to be utilised and where it is going to be taken and worked, and the details of the way in which the canals will take water are laid down from the beginning. It is very necessary, Sir, that the grid lines, the canals and the electric lines should be laid out early. In this connection, Sir, I would beg to suggest one simple point and I do hope that the Planning Ministry will take note of it. My submission, Sir, is that in the case of the electric power, every effort be made to give a certain definite proportion of the power to the rural areas also and the power be made available there for use by cottage industries as well ; for, the future of the cottage industries mainly lies in as much of possible help as can be thus given to reduce the labour charges.

Finally, in this connection, I would also like to suggest, Sir, that in such a great scheme, where more than one State is involved, it is very necessary that there should be greater control and closer direction from the Central Government. Unless and until that is done, Sir, it is not likely that the scheme could be worked out to the schedule and according to the fixed programme.

This has been pointed out, Sir, by a few speakers and, I am sure, this is going to be raised by some speakers in future also that this scheme has got a big gap. I know that that gap is a very big one and that is that this scheme does not make any mention of the Defence plans. I know, Sir, full well that the question of Defence cannot be discussed on the floor of this House; it will not be in the interests of our security also. But, I would like to bring to the notice of the Finance Minister one point which can indirectly help the cause of our Defence and that is, Sir, that special attention should be paid to our Merchant Navy. I find, Sir, that the Shipping Policy Committee, which made its report in 1947 had recommended that the total tonnage of shipping should be raised to 20 lakh tons in the next 7 years, that is, it

had recommended that by 1954, the shipping tonnage should go up to 20 lakh tons. But according to this Plan, Sir, the tonnage that will rise by the time this Plan ends in 1956, will be only 6 lakhs. I am sure, Sir, that if special effort is made to increase the tonnage of shipping, it would be a great help to our Defence purposes, because, it is well known that in times of war the Merchant Navy can be duly utilised for war purposes and, in times of peace also, Sir, it would be a great help in reducing the heavy cost of freight that we have got to pay to the foreign shipping companies. In addition, Sir, I would like to say that there are certain special requirements of the country which must be looked into. It was only the other day, in the other House, that the Prime Minister had to accept that we have been unable to get oil and petrol from Iran merely for the reason that we have got no tankers of our own.

(Time bell rings.)

I do hope that this special requirement which is essential for our defence purposes and other needs also, will be taken note of by the Foreign Minister—excuse me, I mean the Finance Minister.

Finally, Sir, I would like to say, that I am rather disappointed in this Plan for one thing. Every effort has been made by the planners to meet the material requirements of the country. But, Sir, while we are talking of increasing the thirst for knowledge among the masses by giving them more and more education, nothing has been done to plan the other part of the subject, namely, literature. I earnestly hope, that the Government will take the initiative and make it possible for our literature to develop. They have not done that in the Plan. I know that the Plan is a flexible one and something more can be done, and I hope Government will take note of it.

SHRIMATI ANGELINA TIGA (Bihar) : Sir, many Members of this House of vast knowledge and vast experience have spoken about this Plan. I was greatly consoled to hear

from the Prime Minister that the Plan is not a rigid one, and that it can be changed if it is necessary. I would like to submit some elementary facts so that they will be of help to the Commission in executing the Plan.

I take first the forests in my State. I come from Jharkand in Bihar. The tribal folk preserved the forests. They cleared them according to their needs, and whenever they saw that the forests were thinning, they collected leaves and sticks and burnt them so as to make the soil more fertile. The forests gave them leaves and enough fuel. But what has happened now? The tribal folk are not even permitted to take fuel, but other people can take any amount of fuel and wood to build houses. The tribal people are punished and fined if they take fuel. Is this justice; in this free country of ours? I go further. They are the producers of rice. Only this year, in the months of June and July, due to hunger, in several villages people suffered because there was not enough food. They produce abundant rice. What has happened to that rice? What have we done with that rice? In one village, Ghagra, many people died. In one or two villages, because they were hungry, they ate up whatever they found in the forests, and so there was an epidemic of cholera and many people died. Our State Government does not heed us. These are facts. The other day, while we were having discussion about food, one hon. Member said that the rice in the Government godowns was rotten. Yes, Sir, it is a fact. Better rice was supplied to the public, and when we tried to husk it so as to make it edible, half of it turned into powder, and even after husking it we found that it was not fit to eat. In August, during my speech in the last session, I said that people who came from Jharkand said that this rotten rice was sold at one rupee per seer. These tribal people are peasants, and they produce the rice and that is taken away. We saw the Government officials and we found that there was not enough rice in the Government godowns. What happened to it?

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MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : All this would be relevant in a food debate. The hon. Member should speak on the Plan.

SHRIMATI ANGELINA TIGA : So, I ask the Government to pay heed to these tribal people when they approach them, if they desire that this Five Year Plan should be successful.

As regards education, the grants were stopped because they were mission schools, whether primary or higher schools. Whom did it harm? Did it harm the missions? Did it harm the whites? It affected our own people.

This Plan has started its work through community projects. In Jharkand it is doing its work. But there is not a single member from our tribe in it. How can the members of the community project realise our difficulties and our wants? They will not realise our difficulties and our wants unless they take advice, unless they consult the experience of elders from our tribes. It would be better if in such projects members from the tribes also are taken. We do not beg for this, but it should be done.

Next I come to the companies which they have started. There the labourers are mostly from these tribes. They render honest service. It is true they are given a bonus, but still they are ill-fed. What happens to the money and the projects of the companies?

Then I come to the heads of the educational institutions. There are so many primary schools, so many secondary schools, but who are the heads of these institutions? Are we not fit yet? There are so many graduates, so many matriculates among our tribal people, but very few of us are given a chance. How are we going to improve the condition of these people?

(Time bell rings.)

One more point is about the Damodar Valley Scheme. There are so many workers in the scheme, but very

[Shrimati Angelina Tiga.]
few are from among the tribes. There are so many labourers, but few of our people are employed. I ask the Government to take note of this fact.

I fully realise that our glorious country, Mother India, is blowing her trumpet and calling forth all the heroes of honest deeds, and she wants to do away with all the wolves in the garb of sheep so that she will be successful in executing the Five Year Plan.

MAJ.-GENERAL S. S. SOKHEY (Nominated) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, when the Prime Minister presented the Plan to us, he himself stated that the Plan might be condemned for the reasons that it does not make sufficient provision for industries. He also said that industry was essential for improving the living and cultural standards of the people. But he said the difficulty arose because we had a still more important problem that is the problem of food in our hands. Now, Sir, I would like to point out that really speaking there is no contradiction between the two. Both are interdependent on each other and provided for in the Plan. The basic idea of a plan essentially is to use the human and material resources of the country in order to create wealth to raise the living and cultural standards of our people and this can only be done by providing basic industry to produce machines for production. It is more economical to make machinery for production in the country itself and for this purpose we must provide the country with basic industries—heavy basic metallurgical and chemical industries. It is not necessary for me to illustrate the point. It is perfectly clear that if we continue to import the machinery for producing goods, we indulge in a very wasteful economic process. Every pound of metal which is bought as production machinery costs from ten to hundred times or more the cost of metal or chemicals for which it is made. Therefore intelligence demands that we do produce our own machinery for production of goods in our country

itself. The standing of a country today is judged by the development of its basic industries—metallurgical and chemical industries. From the point of view of necessity, there can be no doubt. But the Prime Minister said that in our present status, we lack funds and so on and so forth. He also said that any funds that are invested in basic industries do not produce goods for use for long time. That is perfectly true. But I want the House to appreciate that basic industry is in the nature of foundation of a house. The foundation has got to be there before the house can be built. The foundation does not make any returns. But still the house that we desire cannot be built unless the foundation is there. What we have got to remember is—and the experience of U.S.S.R. has also shown—that a country of the standing of India, with its huge resources both material and human, can provide itself with a complete basic industry in no more than five to seven years. In order to make the basic industry possible, we have got to have a fairly good supply of both, ferrous and non-ferrous metals. In the Plan itself, we are providing for an increase in the production of steel from 0.9 million tons to 1.34 million tons. I believe, Sir, that this is far too little to give the country any basis of development later on. We must have something of the nature of 6.0 million tons during the present five year period and possibly twice that amount of pig iron. We are investing somewhere about 94 crores of rupees in the public sector of the industry and about 230 crores of rupees in the private sector. I think this sum should be re-apportioned to give India that basic industry that it needs today.

Now, coming to agriculture, there is no contradiction between the production of food and providing the country with basic industries. The present Plan, Sir, with so much expenditure on agriculture, would increase production only by 15 per cent. The country at present lacks something of the nature of 7 to 10 per cent. of the amount of food needed and it has to be imported. But even with that imported food, two thirds of the population of India is

malnourished and even if we had a few more million tons of it in five years, the increase of population will be there and I think the food position would not be very much better than it is today. Therefore we have got to learn by world experience. And that is that if you want to increase food production, you must industrialise agriculture and you cannot industrialise agriculture unless you develop the basic industry and produce machinery yourself. So it is a matter of vital importance and abounding necessity, that we must industrialise the country.

Another point that I would like to stress is that we have got to remember that we cannot develop if we follow the path followed by the developed countries when they started developing. When they started developing, there was no technical knowledge available. It was created slowly and it took three hundred years for these countries to reach their present state. Today the world is very different. Now technical knowledge is available to produce sufficiently for all and but for its application to get anything like its potentiality, we require a very different atmosphere. To create this in an underdeveloped country like our own, we must make fundamental political, economic, social and administrative changes in our set up.

Sir, when the Prime Minister presented the Plan, he himself admitted that a proper implementation may require amendment of the Constitution. I think that point should not merely be left at 'may require' but some changes are urgently required and they should be undertaken. The first essential necessity is that for the execution of the Plan there shall be a central body with the power of finalising and supervising the execution of the Plan, though the execution itself may be carried out by decentralisation, and that demands that the Constitution be changed to give the Centre more power.

And the second point which is equally necessary is the question of adminis-

tration. I was pained to hear the other day, when a Member asked about the progress of the Plan after it had been in operation for one year and seven months, the Minister had no information. I was really surprised to hear that. It shows that there is something radically wrong with the administration. And I think the administration of the Government of India at present is faulty. Today we want a different sort of administration, which should be dynamic, which can really do a tremendous amount of things. And for that purpose, Sir I would suggest that a great deal of attention should be paid to creating suitable administrative machinery for the execution of this Plan.

So, therefore, Sir, I repeat that I would like the Government to reconsider the Plan, make adequate provisions for giving this country the basic industries, both metallurgical and chemical, within a reasonably short time and make suitable changes in the Constitution in order to make the execution of the Plan possible.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :
Time is over.

12 NOON.

SHRI A. S. KHAN (Uttar Pradesh):
Sir, this Plan has been framed in a very realistic manner for our economic progress. This is the first time that a picture has been painted of our future economic progress. Of course, planning is a continuous process and we may have to make changes in it in the light of our experience as well as in the light of the resources that would become available to us in the future. Having given my general support to the Resolution before the House, I would like to express some doubts which I have in my mind. My first doubt is about the assessment of resources. Government is expecting in this Plan a sum of Rs. 738 crores as saving from Central and State Governments. As far as the Central Government is concerned, so long as an able person like our present Finance Minister is presiding over the Finance Ministry, I think he will be able to obtain

[Shri A. S. Khan.]

the amount mentioned in the Plan, but I would like to know whether he is certain that the States will be able to save the amounts expected of them in the Plan. Sir, there are clear indications that a depression is setting in. The finances of some of the States are not particularly good. Apart from this, many of the State Governments have taken on their shoulders very heavy burdens in the form of land reforms. I should, therefore, doubt whether they will be in a position to fulfil the targets that the Plan has set for them.

Again we have estimated about Rs. 520 crores from private savings through loans from the public etc. As far as the loans are concerned, I have a question to ask and the reply to that question will show whether we can expect any help from this source. The question is whether the Government thinks that the saving capacity for capital formation in the private sector is increasing or decreasing. If they are sure that it is increasing, then I think that they will be able to raise sufficient loans. If it is not increasing, then I entertain my own doubts about this source. As for the small savings, I would like to say that they can be had either from the peasants and labourers or from the middle classes. As far as the peasants and labourers are concerned, I would like to assure the Government that they are not at all bank-minded, and it will need a good deal of propaganda to enthruse these people and get their savings. They are not easily willing to part with their money. Also during the planning period, the old loans will mature and there will be need for consequential conversion. This will affect the resources also. As to the middle classes, I am certain that on account of the increase in the inflationary pressure as well as the prevailing high prices in the country, the condition of the middle classes is pitiable, and they will not be able to contribute much in this direction.

Now, after taking into account all these resources, there is still a gap of

Rs. 655 crores to be made up by external help and deficit financing. I do not feel shy of external help. I do not know why some of my friends here do not like external help. Are they not sure of themselves? Are they not sure of their own strength? Why do they think that external help will interfere with our political freedom? After all, our leaders are not the kind of people who would yield to any pressure. Moreover, there is no Parliament in any country which will be willing to sell away its freedom for the sake of any external help. Therefore, I do not feel shy of external help. After availing of external help, the Plan says that we will have deficit financing. I respectfully submit, Sir, that this is a very slippery slope. If the Government enters the field of deficit financing once and gets into the habit of printing notes through the help of the Nasik Press, they will only make things worse. I am glad that they have put a limit of Rs. 290 crores for this deficit financing, which they say they will be able to draw from the Sterling Balances. I do hope that they will not pursue this policy further. If they do so, it will certainly create inflation in the country.

I am glad that Government is going to give first priority to agriculture. I agree with this, because it is the basic necessity of the country which has 36 crores of mouths to feed. Therefore, I hope they will try to put all their finances into that and make it a success.

The only other thing I would like to mention, before I finish, is the question of labour. In the Plan, they say—they hope—that there will be co-operation between capital and labour. Unless we create a spirit in the labour that they are supplementary and complementary to capital, we will not be able to achieve our aim, and that can be done only if the labourers feel that they are also a part and parcel of the whole machinery of production, that they will get more if there is more production and less if there is less production. In my mind I had a definite proposal but for want of time, I will not enter into it. I will leave it at that.

There is one other point which I would like to lay stress on before I finish. The Plan says :

“Failure to ensure integrity in every branch of public activity tends to undermine the structure of administration and the confidence of the public in the administration. There has, therefore, to be a continuous war against every species of corruption within the Administration as well as in public life.

Some measures to ensure standards in public life when these are grossly abused are necessary in the interest of democratic government itself. Some machinery for this purpose should be devised in order to enquire into cases of alleged misconduct on the part of persons who hold any office political or other. Where there is a *prima facie* case for enquiry, such an enquiry should be held in order to find out and establish facts. It may be necessary to have special legislation for this purpose under which action could be taken at the instance of the Central Government or a State Government.”

On page 34 they have laid great stress about the integrity of the services as well as integrity in public life and I think for that they should do everything possible. They should devote all their resources and energies to get that done. If there is no integrity in our services or in our public life, then I am sure this Plan will not succeed. They have expressed very good ideas here, I hope they will put them into practice and create the machinery to get it done.

SHRI P. C. BHANJ DEO (Orissa): Mr. Deputy Chairman, time is fleeting and art is long and although I submitted at the beginning a very long amendment to this Plan, I don't think in the short time at my disposal I shall have time enough to deal fully with all the points that have been raised there. But in any case most of the points that have been raised have been fairly and fully discussed by most of the other Members and I shall not waste the time of the House by repeating them in view of the shortness of the time for this work. I will only say one word about the subsidiary points that I had mentioned in my amendment, namely that on the whole, the Plan gives me the idea of a perpetual 'Sirsasan' for the entire Indian nation. 'Sirsasan' means a position in which the head is pointed downwards

and the feet are upwards, similarly the Plan from the very outset seems to be pointing its head towards chaos down below while its feet are merrily balanced in the air because it is admittedly based on scanty statistics which is the groundwork of all constructive planning. Not only this. It is perched very riskily on a system of financing, views on which I have fairly often expressed to this House, and this House knows so well by now my views on the policy of indebtedness, deficit finance and taxation of an already tax-ridden people etc. I need not repeat those arguments here as far as the financing and financial implementation of the Five Year Plan is concerned. I leave the House to judge my views on that point.

The only point that I would like to deal with a little more in detail in the short time at my disposal is on what seems to me the whole approach to this Plan and the fumbling tactics of the planners. It seems to me that while they search for a proper machinery to carry out their propositions into action, in this fumbling manner they seem to have chosen the Bharat Sewak Samaj, which is but a replica of the uninspiring Bhoomisena, as the medium or machinery for implementing the whole programme of development in this country. But what really surprises me according to all modern tenets of planning is after all if we have not been excessively bright in originality we are known to be good imitators—why in this respect we cannot even imitate other nations properly, nations like Japan, China and the European nations, by utilising or by harmonising our defence machinery with the development programme that we have in view. In my opinion that is a very vital thing and it we could integrate our defence programme with our development programme, not only would we be able to help in the economy drive that is being sought to be effected in the Defence Ministry and in the Defence Departments but we shall be able to carry out our programme more efficiently amongst the people and instil that human touch and inspiration which is otherwise lacking in this programme to enthuse the masses of India. It is

[Shri P. C. Bhanj Deo.]
 a commonplace of all modern economic development and development programmes that basic industries and all other means of production etc. must be located in places which should be well immune from attack from outside in the case of a war, which God forbid; no one wants a war of course and we, least of all. We have had the tradition of peace from pre-historic times but whether we want it or not, the international situation is such, the problems created for us by partition are such, our boundaries today are such, our neighbours today are such that we cannot possibly obviate a distant possibility even of war and according to that we should harmonise any plan of development that we undertake with our defence programmes. Unless we integrate these two, not only are these development programmes doomed to failure but our defence itself which is one of the major concerns of the Government, as it should be, is likely to be undermined in the long run. In this respect perhaps one of the greatest lacuna in the Five Year Plan is the lack of proper provision for making this nation self-sufficient in defence stores and equipment. We still depend on foreign powers and foreign countries for most of our defence material and we shall continue to do so for some time. In case of war, if our communications are interfered with, if we have unfriendly relations with the powers which are supplying our defence organisations today, then we have no means whereby we can be self-sufficient in this respect and that is a very dangerous thing in the present circumstances. Not only is it a dangerous thing, a greater emphasis on the co-ordination of defence with the development programme would cause us greater benefit and it could affect a great saving for us as far as foreign exchange is concerned. As far as the location of favourable sites for development in conjunction with defence development programmes, I had in view here a good deal of facts about the East Coast of India and its vulnerability as well as its capacity for development in the industrial field.

(Time bell rings.)

Chiefly I had many facts here to deal with with respect to the area extending from Chilka Coast to the port of Gopalpur and also the area which is very well known to all people, the Hirakud area, but as the Deputy Chairman has rung the bell I have no time to deal with the various details in that respect but if I had had the time to deal with it, Members would have realized how vital it is to co-ordinate these two spheres of our action viz., defence and production and how far we could have advanced in this way instead of this very imperfect programme which the Government has put before the House and on which it wants our approval today. Sir, my reactions to this proposal are these: through you and through the House, I would like to say that instead of proceeding on a plan which is haphazard, which is premature and which has not proceeded on proper statistics, we should have waited and proceeded on a plan which is based on a much better and sounder footing and on a more suitable state of affairs, which would be beneficial to all. I would end my speech with the immortal words:

“उत्तिष्ठत जाग्रत प्राप्य वरान्निबोधत ।

क्षुरस्य धारा निशिता दुरत्यया दुर्गा पथस्त-
 त्कवयो वदन्ति ॥”

which may be freely rendered as—
 “Awake, arise and approach the knowing, for the path we have to tread is sharp and risky as a razor blade.” I thank you, Sir.

SHRIMATI SHARDA BHARGAVA
 (Rajasthan):

श्रीमती शारदा भार्गव (राजस्थान) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, स्वतंत्र भारत की पंचवर्षीय योजना के विषय में माननीय सदस्यों ने यहाँ पर काफी कहा है । मुझे इस पंचवर्षीय योजना में जो कुछ पढ़ने को मिला है उससे यह मालूम होता है कि यह योजना बहुत सोच विचार कर

बनाई गई है और भारतीय आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति के योग्य है। अतः मैं पंचवर्षीय योजना बनाने वाले लोगों को बधाई का पात्र मानती हूँ।

इसमें जो सब से ऊंची चीज मुझे मालूम हुई है वह भारत सेवक समाज का निर्माण है। भारत सेवक समाज से हमारे भारत की जो अविकसित मानव शक्ति बेकार पड़ी हुई है, उसको नेतृत्व देकर काम में लाने का प्रयत्न किया गया है। जिस उद्देश्य से यह योजना बनाई गई है उसको यदि सही तरह से काम में लाया गया तो यह देश की समृद्धि के लिए बहुत ही सहायक सिद्ध होगी। पर मुझे इसमें एक डर यह मालूम होता है कि जो हमारे सरकारी डिपार्टमेंटों (departments) में रैड टेपिज्म (red tapism) आ गया है उसी प्रकार भारत सेवक समाज भी एक सरकारी महकमा न बन जाय। यदि ऐसा हो गया तो इसमें जो अच्छाइयाँ हैं वह केवल एक स्वप्न बन कर ही रह जायेंगी। अतः मेरी सरकार से यह प्रार्थना है कि वह जिस तरह से भारत सेवक समाज से काम लेना चाहती है उसको शीघ्रता-शीघ्र और सक्रियता के साथ सब राज्यों में प्रारम्भ करदे जिससे कि उसका ठीक अर्थ निकले।

पंचवर्षीय योजना से हमारे सारे देश को एक सूत्र में बाँधने का प्रयत्न किया गया है। हमारे देश के उत्थान के लिए चार चीजों की बहुत आवश्यकता है जिनको मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहती हूँ।

खाद्य समस्या, स्वास्थ्य, शिक्षा तथा सामाजिक उत्थान। समय कम होने से मैं इस समय तीन विषयों के बारे में थोड़ी सी बातें कहूँगी।

इन में से मैं शिक्षा के विषय में अधिक विस्तार से कहना चाहूँगी। पहिली चीज जो मुझे कहनी है वह स्वास्थ्य के विषय में है। स्वास्थ्य के बारे में मुझे यह कहना है कि हमारे देश में प्रति व्यक्ति की औसतन आयु ३० वर्ष है, जहाँ कि और देशों में यह आयु और अधिक होती है। जब यहाँ कोई व्यक्ति अधिक वर्ष जीता है तो उसको अक्सर बीमारियों का शिकार रहना पड़ता है। स्त्रियाँ तो इससे भी ज्यादा कमजोर अवस्था में रहती हैं। उनके स्वास्थ्य की हालत तो इस देश में बहुत ही ज्यादा गिरी हुई है और मैं समझती हूँ उनकी औसतन आयु तो ३० वर्ष भी न होगी। इसका मुख्य कारण यह है कि हमारे देश में, ज्यादातर हमारे गाँवों में स्त्रियों की बीमारी के इलाज के लिए कोई विशेष प्रबन्ध नहीं है। इस विषय में यह कहा जाता है कि हमारे देश में डाक्टरों और लेडी डाक्टरों (lady doctors) की बहुत कमी है। मगर इसके कारणों के बारे में किसी ने भी अच्छी तरह से ख्याल नहीं किया कि इस कमी का क्या कारण है। इसका एक कारण यह है कि हमारे यहाँ महिलाओं को डाक्टरी शिक्षा प्राप्त करने के लिए सुविधाएँ नहीं हैं। मेडिकल कॉलेजों (medical colleges) में को-एजुकेशन (co-education) है। हमारे समाज में अब भी लोगों की विचारधारा यह है कि मेडिकल कॉलेजों में लड़कों के साथ लड़कियाँ न पढ़ें। अतः अधिकतर लोग अपनी लड़कियों को इस कारण ही डाक्टरी पढ़ने नहीं भेजते। अब यदि हम कहें कि साथ पढ़ने में क्या हर्ज है तो इसको समझाने में समय लगेगा, पर महिला डाक्टर तो हमें अभी चाहिये। अतः हमको प्रत्येक प्रान्त में महिलाओं के लिए

[Shrimati Sharda Bhargava.]

कम से कम एक अलग मेडिकल कालेज खोलना चाहिये ताकि अधिक से अधिक लेडी डाक्टरों और नर्सों हमें मिल सकें जिससे महिला वर्ग को भी फायदा पहुंच सके।

दूसरी बात मुझे खाद्य समस्या के बारे में कहनी है। इस प्लान (Plan) में खाद्य समस्या के बारे में बहुत कुछ कहा गया है। मैं इस बारे में यह ही आपके सामने कहना चाहती हूँ। हमारे यहां राजस्थान में सिंचाई के लिए प्रबन्ध किये जा रहे हैं और उसके लिये इस प्लान में सिंचाई की रकम में केवल २ प्रतिशत रुपया रखा गया है और चम्बल योजना को महत्व दिया है। इसके लिए मैं धन्यवाद देना चाहती हूँ। मगर साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहती हूँ कि राजस्थान एक पिछड़ा हुआ एवं गरीब राज्य है। २ प्रतिशत रुपया इस प्रकार पिछड़े हुए देश के लिए बहुत ही कम है। अगर सरकार इस ओर कुछ और ज्यादा मदद दे देगी तो यह पिछड़ा हुआ देश तरक्की कर लेगा अन्यथा पिछड़ा ही रहेगा।

मुझे सामाजिक उत्थान के विषय में यह कहना है कि सरकार को इस विषय में बहुत ही अधिक काम करना है और इस पर विशेष ध्यान देना होगा। इसके लिए मेरा सुझाव यह है कि सामाजिक उत्थान के लिए एक अलग डिपार्टमेंट खोल दिया जाये। इसके लिये केन्द्र में अलग मिनिस्टर (Minister) तथा सेक्रेटैरियट (Secretariat) रहे तथा राज्यों में भी पृथक् मिनिस्टर हों। अगर सरकार ने इस तरह की व्यवस्था कर दी तो यह अलग डिपार्टमेंट इस और ज्यादा ध्यान दे सकेगा और जिस

क्षेत्र में समाजिक उत्थान की अधिक जरूरत होगी उसकी ओर विशेष ध्यान दे सकेगा। मेरा सुझाव यह है कि अगर इस काम के लिए महिला वर्ग का अधिक सहयोग लिया जायेगा तो मेरी धारणा है कि इसमें हमको काफी सफलता मिलेगी।

इसके बाद मैं शिक्षा के विषय में आपके सामने कुछ कहना चाहती हूँ। शिक्षा हमारे देश के लिये बड़ी उपयोगी है। हमें खाने के साथ ही साथ शिक्षा की ओर भी विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिये। खाना जिस प्रकार हमारे शरीर को बनाता है शिक्षा हमारे मन की उन्नति करती है। यदि किसी व्यक्ति को ऐसी शिक्षा दी गई है कि जो वह घृणित कार्य करता है उसके लिये उसको खाना देकर जिन्दा रखा जाता है तो इससे अच्छा उसका संसार में न रहना है। मैं समझती हूँ कि शरीर के पनपने से ज्यादा आवश्यक मस्तिष्क का पनपना है।

आज हमारी शिक्षा को तीन हिस्सों में बांटा है। प्राइमरी (Primary) शिक्षा, सेकन्डरी (Secondary) शिक्षा और उच्च शिक्षा। मैं इन में से उच्च शिक्षा के बारे में सब से पहले कहूंगी। फिर यदि समय रहेगा तो सेकन्डरी और प्राथमिक शिक्षा पर भी। आज हमारी उच्च शिक्षा क्या है? हमारे विद्यालयों से जो लड़के एम० ए० और बी० ए० की डिग्रियां लेकर निकलते हैं वह उसी प्रकार कालेज से निकलते हैं जैसे कि कारखानों में सामान तैयार होकर निकलता है। जरा आप कालेज की तस्वीर देखिये। एक कालेज में तीन चार हजार के लगभग विद्यार्थी रहते हैं। प्रति वर्ष एक नियमित संख्या में विद्यार्थी भरती करने का आदेश होता है, विद्यार्थी उससे अधिक आते हैं। जब भरती करने को मना कर दिया जाता है तो वे शिक्षा मंत्री

को रिप्रेजेंटेशन (representation) भेजते हैं। फल यह होता है कि सरकार की ओर से कालेज में एक सेक्शन (section) और खोलने का हुकम आ जाता है और साथ ही एक अध्यापक और बढ़ाने की स्वीकृति। यदि स्थान की कमी पड़ी तो कई शिफ्ट (shifts) करके दिन भर कालेज चलता है। प्रबन्ध वही रहता है और प्रिन्सिपल (Principal) वही। एक प्रिन्सिपल दिन भर तो रह नहीं सकता, पूरा प्रबन्ध भी नहीं देख सकता तो फिर उसकी मर्जी है कि वह कभी भी आवे या नहीं। अतः लड़कों पर कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया जा सकता।

अब आप लड़कों की पढ़ाई की ओर ध्यान दीजिये। पूरे साल लड़के कालेज भी नहीं जाते, कभी कभी शकल दिखा आते हैं ताकि हाजिरी हो जाय। साल के अन्त में जब हाजिरी कम हुई तो इधर उधर भाग दौड़ कर के हाजिरी पूरी करवाई। हाजिरी पूरी होने पर हिन्ट्स (hints) की तलाश में दौड़े कि मिल जाय तो उतना पढ़कर परीक्षा दे दें। फिर हिन्ट से भी काम न चला तो परीक्षा देकर परीक्षकों की तलाश की कि यदि मिल जायें तो हाथ पैर जोड़ कर या किसी की सिफारिश पहुंचाकर पास हो जायें। इस पर यदि पूरी कोशिश न हो सकी और एक आध विषय में रह गये तो सप्लीमेंटरी (Supplementary) सही। यह है हमारी उच्च शिक्षा और हमारे उच्च शिक्षित जन। न तो उनका ज्ञान वृद्धि का उद्देश्य होता है और न कोई और। बस जैसे तैसे बी० ए०, एम० ए० हो जाय तो शायद नौकरी मिल जाये। यही उद्देश्य सब से बड़ा होता है। पर फिर भी प्रायः बेकार।

अतः ऐसी उच्च शिक्षा देना हमारे देश के लिए लाभदायक नहीं है। सेकेन्डरी एजुकेशन के बाद एक विस्तृत टेस्ट (test) होना चाहिये कि विद्यार्थी आगे पढ़ सकता है या नहीं। और यदि पढ़ सकता है तो क्या पढ़ सकता है। बी० ए०, एम० ए० की पढ़ाई तो कुछ चुने हुये विद्यार्थियों को ही देनी चाहिये जिससे उस शिक्षा का पूर्ण उपयोग हो सके और विद्यार्थी पूर्ण शिक्षित हो सकें।

श्रीमन्, मुझे कहना तो बहुत कुछ था, शिक्षा के तीनों स्टेज (stages) पर सुझाव देना चाहती थी कि किस प्रकार की शिक्षा होनी चाहिये पर समय न होने से एक मिनट में समाप्त करती हूँ।

स्त्रियों के लिये भी आज की शिक्षा उपयोगी नहीं है। एक बात से मुझे बड़ा दुःख हुआ, वह कहना चाहती हूँ। अभी कुछ दिन पहिले सेकेन्डरी एजुकेशन कमीशन (Secondary Education Commission) पर एक प्रश्न पर मैंने एक सप्लीमेंटरी प्रश्न पूछा था कि इस कमीशन में कितनी स्त्रियां सदस्य हैं। शिक्षा मंत्री महोदय ने उत्तर दिया कि "एक"। फिर मैंने पूछा कि "क्या एक पर्याप्त है?" उन्होंने कहा कि "एक स्त्री पूरा प्रतिनिधित्व कर सकती है"। यदि शिक्षा मंत्री महोदय सब जगह यहीं सोचेंगे तो स्त्रियों की तो शिक्षा समाप्त हो जायेगी। यदि "एक स्त्री काफी है" का ही सिद्धान्त रहा तो स्त्रियों को क्या लाभ हो सकता है। मुझे कहना तो बहुत था मगर घंटी बज रही है और समय कम है, अतः मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करती हूँ।

[For English translation, see Appendix III, Annexure No. 93.]

SHRI RAJAGOPAL NAIDU (Madras) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, this Five Year Plan envisages a substantial increase in agricultural production of foodgrains as well as commercial crops. This increase is said to be realised through certain development programmes relating to certain major and minor irrigation works, extensive cultivation, reclamation of land—waste land—intensive farming etc., etc. Sir, this Plan is certainly an improvement so far as agricultural production is concerned, over the Draft Plan, for the reason, Sir, that this Plan has provided 90 crores of rupees for community development projects, 30 crores for additional minor irrigation works programmes, and provision of certain natural extension organisations. Sir, when I just took note of the broad allocation of resources in the Five Year Plan, as regards the extension of agriculture, I find that for Agriculture, Community Development Irrigation Power, etc., Rs. 921 crores have been set apart, which works out to 44.6 per cent. of the total capital outlay. It is certainly gratifying. But my only grievance, Sir, is that when such an allotment is made for the development of agriculture in our country, the financial resources to relieve the indebtedness of the agriculturists and to provide for agricultural operations, Sir, is very, very meagre. I find Sir, that only short-term credit of 100 crores of rupees alone has been allotted through co-operatives and through Government, and I find only medium-term accommodation of only 25 crores of rupees has been provided for ; and a long term credit of .5 crores of rupees spread over for a period of 3 years. Sir, I went through the G. M. F. Committee Report, the Krishnamachari Report. I find, Sir, that the Committee says that in the year 1951, the Reserve Bank has estimated that the total short-term and medium-term capital required to finance agriculture, will be 500 crores of rupees taking into account that in Bombay, the average short-term loan issued by the co-operative bank to an agricultural family is Rs. 100. They had given also another figure of Rs. 800 crores per annum. That is based, Sir, on the assumption that the

agriculturists need, to raise wet crop, at least Rs. 60 per acre, and to raise dry crop, Rs. 20 per acre—if it comes to Rs. 800 crores per annum. Well, Sir, when that is the finding of the Reserve Bank of India, when that is the finding of eminent co-operators in this country, is this provision of Rs. 100 crores towards short-term credit, Rs. 25 crores towards medium-credit and Rs. 5 crores towards long-term credit, enough for the development of agriculture in this country ? If I may say so, Sir, it will be nothing but building castles in the air, if so much amount is spent towards agricultural development, towards the various river valley projects in this country, and, at the same time, no provision for adequate finance, no provision for adequate credit, is made for agriculture. Well, Sir, we find that co-operation is very well advanced in States like Madras and Bombay. We find, Sir, that in Madras there is such a great demand for medium-term credit and long-term credit but the State co-operative bank is not able to provide the medium and long-term credit. I may say, in the district, to which I belong, we had advanced as much as 65 lakhs of rupees by way of long-term, short-term and medium-term credit, to the 600—700 credit societies in the district, not to speak of the money which the bank had advanced for the consumers' co-operative movement and also the producers' co-operative movement. I speak only of the advances made to the credit societies in the district. Well, Sir, medium credit is absolutely essential for certain development projects, for digging wells, for installing oil engines, reclamation of land etc., etc. ; but short-term credit will be utilised for certain manure purposes and for certain other urgent purposes which the agriculturists need to raise crops, but it is only the agriculturist who is indebted, who needs the credit, medium-term and long-term credit.

Then, Sir, with regard to co-operation, I would like to mention a few points on development of co-operation in our country. I would say, Sir, that I find that so much mention is made of the

development of the co-operative movement in our country. We find, however, to our utter distress that we do not have any banks, State banks, any district co-operative banks in certain States in our country, and I would like to see that in the different parts of our states, the newly integrated Part B States, co-operatives, apex banks at district levels, are started. Then, I would like to mention, Sir, that, so long as the Government is the competitor to the co-operative department, there will be absolutely no use, absolutely no hope that the co-operative movement would be developed in our country. For instance, the co-operative banks are not able to draw any deposits. That is because, Sir, the Government floats loans, at exorbitant rates, I think 3 1/2 or 4 per cent. When that is the case how can Government expect the co-operative banks to draw any deposits? Sir, the Government is a serious hindrance to the co-operative movement, to the advancement of the movement in this country. I find, Sir, that there is so much talk in the Five Year Plan, of development of the co-operative movement in this country. But we find that there is absolutely no Ministry provided for the subject of co-operation. Sir, co-operation should also be a centralised subject.

SHRI GOVIND REDDY (Mysore) : The other side would take to non-co-operation.

THE MINISTER FOR FINANCE (SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH) : Well, you have Mr. Kidwai here.]

SHRI RAJAGOPAL NAIDU : Well, Sir, he is only a Minister for Food and Agriculture, but I want one for Co-operation. There should be a special Ministry of Co-operation. Sir, you talk of co-operative farming. Every thing of co-operation should be handled by the Ministry of Co-operation in the Central Government. There should also be a Central Act, but we

find that there is no Act, nor absolutely a Ministry, at the Centre.

(Time bell rings.)

I should like to mention a few more points and sit down, Sir. I would like to say that with regard to multi-purpose co-operative societies—I have got my own doubts whether these multi-purpose societies would.....

AN HON. MEMBER : The Cabinet is co-operative.

SHRI RAJAGOPAL NAIDU :..... ever thrive, because any society with a single purpose, single objective, is itself not thriving. But if a society is burdened with multi-purposes, with a number of purposes, I do not think that such a movement will develop in this country. Then with regard to housing, there has been an amendment tabled by me.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : There are four more speakers.

SHRI RAJAGOPAL NAIDU : Sir, with regard to agricultural income tax, I would submit Sir, that we should not seek to impose an agricultural income tax. Then there is some provision made for the urban housing but no provision has been made for rural housing.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That has already been mentioned.

SARDAR BUDH SINGH (Jammu & Kashmir) :

سردار بدھ سنگھ (جموں اینڈ کشمیر) :

ذہنی چیئرمین صاحب - تھوڑے وقت میں اتنے بڑے پانچ سالہ پلان پر کچھ کہنا بہت مشکل ہے سوائے اس کے کہ یہ کہا جائے کہ پلان بڑی محنت اور لیاقت سے تیار کیا گیا ہے -

آج تک باہر دہلے والے لوگ خاص کر منڈور اور کسان و محنت کش غرضیکہ

[Sardar Budh Singh.]

تمام چلتا یہ سوال پوچھتی ہے کہ ان کے لئے کیا کیا گیا ہے - انہیں روٹی، کھانا، چھونہرا اور ضروریات زندگی کب ملیں گی - شکر کا مقام ہے کہ ان کے سوالات و اعتراضات کے جواب میں ایک جامع اسکیم یعنی پانچ سالہ سکیم پیش کی گئی ہے - اس وقت اپوزیشن بیڈچوں سے یا عام چلتا سے جن امور کے لئے مانگ ہرتی رہی ہے اور اعتراضات ہوتے رہے ہیں اور جو عام چلتا کی بھلائی و بہتری کے لئے ہے ان سب کا ذکر پلان میں آیا ہے اور گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا اور ہر بھی خواہ ملک و قوم نے اس بات کو محسوس کیا ہے کہ عوام کی حالت درست ہونی چاہیئے اور ان کو ضروریات زندگی ملنی چاہئیں -

اس وقت سوال صرف ترقی کی سکیموں کا ہی نہیں بلکہ سب سے اول غریب دنیا کو زندہ رکھنے کا فکر کرنا ہے اس کے بعد کہیں ان کی ترقی کا سوال آئے گا - یہ وقت امتحان کا ہے - دیکھا جائیگا کہ یہ انٹی بڑی سکیم کس طرح کامیاب ہوتی ہے - گورنمنٹ و کانگریس پارٹی اور دوسری پولیٹیکل پارٹیوں کا امتحان ہے دوست دشمن کا پتہ لگ جائیگا - اس اسکیم میں ہماری جموں اور کشمیر ریاست کو 13 کروڑ روپیہ دیا گیا ہے - اس کا شکریہ - مگر یہ بہت تھوڑا ہے - آپ جانتے ہیں کہ

پانچ سالہ پلان تو دراصل پسماندہ غریب حاجت مند علاقوں و سٹیٹوں کے لئے ہی تو ہونا چاہیئے - آپ کو معلوم ہے کہ ہماری ریاست پر زبردست حملہ ہوا، جنگ ہوئی اور کروڑوں روپیہ کا نقصان ہوا - ہزاروں مکانات جلانے گئے، فصلات پیداوار برباد کی گئیں - کروڑوں روپیہ کا مالی پھر جانی نقصان ہوا ہزاروں ایکڑ رقبہ جات کے خالی رہنے سے فصل کی پیداوار کا نقصان ہوا - غرضیکہ ریاست ہر طرح سے تباہ و برباد کی گئی - ایسی حالت میں سب سے بڑھ کر اس ریاست کی امداد ہونی چاہیئے -

آپ نے 12 لاکھ روپیہ ہاؤسنگ کے لئے دیا ہے - اس سے کیا بنے گا جبکہ ہزاروں گھر بنانے ہیں - یہاں اور وہاں لاکھوں فریو جیز کو پھر بسانے کا کام ہو رہا ہے اور سب سے پہلے ان کے لئے گھر بنانے ہیں - آپ جانتے ہیں کہ کتنا روپیہ گھر کے بنانے پر خرچ ہوتا ہے - اس کے علاوہ غریبوں کی تعلیم کے لئے بہت تھوڑی امداد ہے - بمشکل 8 فیصدی تعلیم ہے - حالانکہ بمقابلہ سابق کئی گنا اس کام کے لئے روپیہ ہماری گورنمنٹ نے رکھا مگر ماڈر اور واقعی ضرورت بہت زیادہ ہے جسے جلد پورا کرنا ہے - جہاں آپ نے مزدوروں کے گھر بنانے کا ذکر پلان میں کیا ہے وہاں کارخانہ جات کے مزدوروں کا ذکر آیا ہے - مگر جو پیچھے باہر آسمان کی چھت کے نیچے پڑے ہوئے ہیں ان کا بھی فکر کرنا ہے اور ان کے بھی گھر بنانے ہیں - نہ معلوم مزدور و کسان غریب کی دنیا کب روشن ہوگی -

وہ بھجوارے نہیں جانتے کہ کون کانگریسی ہے یا موہاسست ہے یا کمہونسٹ ہے یا فرق پرست ہے وغیرہ۔ وہ تو اسے جانتے ہیں اور پہچانتے ہیں جو ان کو روٹے، کھڑا اور جھونپڑی مہیا کرے اور بحیثیت آزاد انسان عزت و آسودگی سے زندگی بسر کرنے کے قابل انسان بنائے۔ مزدور بیچارہ کارخانہ دار اور ٹھیکیدار کے قبضہ میں ہے اور کسان بڑے بڑے جاگیردار اور زمیندار کے پنجہ میں ان کی خلاصی لوت مار کرنے والوں سے کرانی چاہیئے۔ آپ جانتے ہیں کہ دنیا کے بڑے بڑے ممالک، ایوان، عمارات، محلات کے تیار کرنے والے مزدور اور پھر گدا سے شاہ تک ہر ادنیٰ و اعلیٰ کو خوراک مہیا کرنے، روزی دینے والا کسان خود غریب لاچار و دکھی ہے۔ وہ دیکھ رہا ہے کہ کب اس کی طرف شفقت اور ہمدردی کا ہاتھ پھیلا جاتا ہے۔

اپوزیشن (opposition) والے دوست۔

آخر کیا چاہتے ہیں۔ یہ ایک مفصل سکیم آپ کے سامنے ہے۔ کروڑوں روپیہ خرچ ہوگا۔ جس غریب مزدور کسان اور محنت کش کے لئے آپ ہر وقت، مانگ پھس کرتے اور اعتراض کرتے ہیں اور ان محنت کشوں کے ہمدرد اور مہربی بدلتے ہیں تو پھر کوئی وجہ نہیں کہ اتنا روپیہ جو ملک کی ترقی بہتری کے لئے تجویز کیا گیا ہے اس میں سے زیادہ سے زیادہ محنت کش طبقہ کے معیار زندگی بلند کرنے اور ان کے دکھ درد کو دور کرنے

کے لئے اگر آپ پورا تعاون کریں۔ تو ان پر خرچ نہ کیا جائے۔ اگر آپ اس سکیم پر اعتراض کرنا چاہتے ہیں تو اس کا کیا فائدہ۔ آپ اپنی طرف سے کوئی سکیم ہمارے سامنے رکھئے کوئی دروازہ تو بند نہیں ہے جب آپ خود کوئی مکمل چہرہ اس سکیم کے مقابلہ میں نہیں پیش کرتے اور اس کے ساتھ متفق بھی نہ ہوں تو جس غریب محنت کش جلتا کے آپ نمائندہ بن کر آئے ہیں اس کا بھلا کیسے ہوگا۔ یہ تو ان کے حق میں بے انصافی ہے۔ آئیے جس حد تک آپ کے اس مشن کو کہ واقعی اس ملک کے غریب محنت کشوں کا معیار زندگی اونچا کیا جائے اور مزدور اور کسان کو اربہ اٹھایا جائے مدد ملتی ہے اور یقیناً سب سے زیادہ مدد اس سکیم سے مل سکے گی اسے حاصل کرنے کیلئے مکمل تعاون و امداد دیجئے۔ سکیم کامیاب ہوئی بشرطیکہ ہم سب ہندوستانوں کا مکمل تعاون اور امداد اس کے ساتھ رہے۔

یاد رکھئے خواہ آپ کتنی سکیمیں بنائیں خواہ اعتراض کریں چہرے بلیا کو درست نہ کریں یعنی محنت کش طبقہ مزدور کسان اور بیکاروں کی خبر نہ لینگے ان کو مطمئن نہ کریں گے تب تک کوئی منصوبہ و سکیم کامیاب نہیں ہو سکتی۔ اس کے لئے ضروری ہے کہ ہم سب کو ہندوستانی ہونے کے ناطے سے اپنے دیس و قوم کی بھلائی و بہتری کی خاطر ملکر اتفاق رائے سے اس بڑے کام میں ہاتھ بٹانا چاہئے۔

[Sardar Budh Singh.]

مہن کورنمنٹ آف انڈیا اور کونسل
ہاؤس کے معزز ممبروں سے عرض کروں گا
کہ اب موجودہ کورنمنٹ اور کانگریس کا
امتصان ہے۔ ہم سب کو بلکہ کورنمنٹ کے
تمام ملازمین کو بڑے چھوٹے لوگوں، تمام
ممبران پارلیمنٹ کو دیہات کی طرف رش
کرنا چاہیئے جانا چاہیئے اور ہر ایک مصلحت
کے و دیہاتی کو سمجھانا چاہیئے کہ آپ
نے اس کی زندگی بہتر بنانے بلکہ اس کو
زندہ رکھنے اور اس کی موجودہ مشکلات و
مصائب کو دور کرنے کے لئے کیا منصوبہ سکیم
بنایا ہے۔ ان کے لئے کیا لائے ہیں۔ اور کس
طرح اور کب ان کی دکھ بھری حالت
دور ہوگی پھر وہ آپ سے تعاون کریں گے
اور آپ کے نزدیک آ جائیں گے۔

آج اگر مختلف پارٹیاں کورنمنٹ کی
مخالفت کرتی ہیں یا اعتراض کرتی ہیں
تو وہ ان دکھی پسماندہ لوگوں کو ساتھ بلا
لیتی ہیں۔ اس لئے جو بھی کورنمنٹ
یا پارٹی یا شخص غریب مصلحت کشوں
مزدوروں کسانوں کا بہلا چاہے گا ان کو زندہ
رکھئے انہیں آرام دینے کام دینے کی کوشش
کریگا وہی مقبول ہوگا اور اسی کی بات
یہ لوگ مانیں گے۔ اور ہمیں یہ نہیں
بھولنا چاہیئے کہ اگر آج کسان کا ہل اور
مزدور کا ہتھوڑا توت جائے یعنی یہ مصلحت
کش طبقہ جس پر ہم سب کی زندگی
کا دارومدار ہے اور جس کی مصلحت و
مشقت پر یہ سب تھاتھ باتھ اور حکومتیں
چل رہی ہیں کمزور اور دکھی رہے تو ہم

سب ختم ہو جائیں گے پھر امن و چین
مشکل ہے۔

ہم سب کو اس بات کا ثبوت دینا ہے
کہ ہم ہندوستانی ہیں۔ چین سے ریشیا
(روس) سے امریکہ سے کہیں سے کسی ملک
سے جو اچھی چیز ملے جو اچھی تجویز
ہمارے ملک کے لئے فائدہ مند ہو اور
ہماری ترقی اور آزادی و اقتصادی حالت
کو مضبوط کرنے والی ہو وہ لینے میں ہرج
نہیں۔ مگر ہم اول اور آخر ہندوستانی
ہیں۔ اگر اس ملک میں رہنا ہے اور
اس دیہی اور اپنی ہندوستانی قوم کو
آگے لیجانا ہے اور اس کی ترقی کرنا ہے تو
ہمیں صرف ہندوستانی بن کر۔ ہم سب
کو ہر قیمت پر ہندوستان کی آزادی کو
قائم رکھنا ہے اور اقتصادی ترقی کے کام
کرنے ہیں۔

یہ دیش مہانسا گاندھی کا ہے۔ لہذا
ایسے مہان پرش اور دنیا میں ایک بہت
بڑے مہاتما کے اصولوں اور آدرش کو ہرگز
نہیں بھولنا چاہیئے۔ ترقی ہو یا نہ ہو۔
ہندوستان کا کیا بنے یا کیا نہ بنے۔ مگر
کسی طرح مہاتما جی کے نام اور کام اور
آدرش میں فرق نہیں آنے دینا چاہیئے
اور اسے ہرگز بدنام نہیں کرنا چاہیئے۔
مہاتما جی کے آدرش پر چلکر ہی ہم
کامیاب ہو سکتے ہیں اور آزادی قائم رکھ
سکتے ہیں۔ یہاں مساوات، بھائی چارہ
اتحاد و اتفاق سے رہنا ہے اور ہم سب کو
بطریق مساوی ترقی کرنے زندہ رکھنے کا حق
ہے جو بھی اس ہندوستان میں بستا اور

رہتا ہے۔ آج ہر مخالف پولیٹیکل پارٹی سے ہم اس پہلو میں اتفاق کر سکتے ہیں کہ ہمارے دیش کے غریب لوگوں، محنت کش، مزدوروں اور کسانوں کی خیر لیلیٰ چاہیئے اور ان کو ہر قسم کی سہولیت اور ضروریات زندگی بہم پہنچانی چاہیئے اور زمینیں و کام دینا چاہیئے۔ مگر فرقہ پرستوں سے کبھی سمجھوتہ نہیں ہو سکتا نہ اتفاق ہو سکتا ہے کیونکہ ان کی آنکھوں پر تعصب و تلگ خیالی کی پتی بندھی ہوئی ہے۔ وہ اپنے اپنے فرقہ کے لئے سب کچھ چاہتے ہیں۔ دوسروں سے نفرت و دشمنی کرتے ہیں۔ مگر مہاتما گاندھی کے ہندوستان میں ایسا نہیں ہو سکتا۔ یہاں بلالکاظ مذہب و ملت، رنگ و نسل ہر انسان ہندو ہو، مسلم ہو، سکھ ہو یا عیسائی جو بھی اس دیش کا باشی ہے اسے مساوی حقوق ہر قسم کی ترقی کرتے آگے بڑھنے اور ملک کی دولت سے فائدہ اٹھانے کے حاصل ہونے چاہیئے۔

گورنمنٹ اور کانگریس کو خیردار رہنا چاہیئے کہ اس سکیم پر عملدرآمد کرنے کے وقت کئی مخالف پارٹیوں کی طرف سے مخالفت ہوگی، کئی ہمارا راستہ روکیں گے اور خاص کر فرقہ پرست جماعتیں تو پسند نہیں کریں گی کہ ایسی سکیم جو سب ہندوستانیوں کے لئے ایک سا فائدہ پہنچانے والی ہے سرے چڑھے۔ ہم نے انتہائی کوشش کی اور اس بات کا احساس کیا اور تھوڑا بہت عمل کیا کہ محنت کشوں کی خبر لی جائے مگر جہاں بھی

ہم عام جلنا کے لئے مفید اور ترقی پرور سکیم یا کام شروع کریں گے، اپنی پارٹی کو مضبوط کرنے اور موجودہ جمہوری نظام کو ختم کرنے کے لئے فرقہ پرست سب سے زیادہ خطرناک ثابت ہوں گے۔ اس لئے ہمیں فیصلہ کرنا چاہیئے کہ جس طرح بھی ممکن ہو سکے فرقہ وارانہ جماعتوں کی وطن دشمن سرگرمیوں کو ختم کیا جائے۔

ہماری ریاست کشمیر میں کیسے ترقی ہو سکتی ہے، کس طرح اقتصادی حالت درست ہو سکتی ہے جبکہ روپیہ ہی نہیں ہے۔ اسلئے ہمیں کافی مدد کی ضرورت ہے۔ دیکھئے ہمارے یہاں فرقہ پرستوں کی طرف سے کیا ہو رہا ہے۔ دراصل ترقی پرور سکیموں اور اصلاحی کاموں کی مخالفت کرنے اور غریب دنیا کو آسودہ و خوشحال بنانے کے سلسلہ میں رکاوٹیں پیدا کی جا رہی ہیں۔ آپ کروڑوں روپیہ شفاخانوں اور دوائیوں پر کیوں نہ خرچ کریں مگر جب تک بیماری کی اصل وجہ نہ معلوم کریں اور اسے دور کرنے کا جتن نہ کریں تب تک اب پبلک ہیلتھ کے کام میں کامیاب نہیں ہو سکتے۔ جن گندے نمدار اور تپکنے والے اور سال مویشی کے ساتھ توتے پھوٹے گھروں میں لوگ رہتے ہیں وہاں ملیریا نہ ہو پلہگ نہ ہو، تب ہی (تی - ہی) نہ ہو تو اور کیا ہو۔

جس دیش میں سخت سردی اور اور برفباری میں غریب لوگوں کو پھت گرم کرنے کے لئے سردی سے اپنے آپ کو بچانے کے لئے پاؤ بھر گرم راکھ و کونلہ میسر نہ ہو

[Sardar Budh Singh.]

اور پھر جو بے گھر بار پڑے ہیں وہ تندرست کیسے رہیں اور جسے خوراک پوری نہ ملے بھوگا رہے اور ناقص و ادنیٰ و بہت کم کھانے کو ملے وہ کیسے تندرست رہ سکتا ہے۔ اس لئے سب سے پہلے اس غریب چنتا کو اچھا مکان، کپڑا اور روٹی خوراک مناسب دینی چاہیئے پھر ہسپتالوں اور شفاخانوں پر زیادہ خرچ کرنا نہیں پڑیگا۔

جس بھی ملک میں یا ستیت میں جہاں غریب لوگوں کو شانتی اطمینان ملنا نصیب نہ ہوگا بیکاری ہوگی غربت اور دکھ ہوگا وہاں ہی ہر وقت ایچی تھشن کا خطرہ ہے۔ جو علاقے یا ستیتس غریب ہیں ان کے پاس روپیہ نہیں ہے جیسا کہ ہماری حالت ہے وہاں کیسے عام لوگوں اور پھر غریبوں کو مطمئن کیا جا سکتا ہے۔ اس لئے ضروری ہے کہ وہی روپیہ ملے تاکہ ہم سب لوگوں کی جائز مانگ پوری کر سکیں۔ ہم نے تو پہلے ہی سے اقتصادی ترقی کے سوال کو سامنے رکھا ہوا ہے۔ آپ کو معلوم ہونا چاہیئے کہ ہمارا ملک ۸۲ ہزار مربع میل ہے اور چھ سو میل لمبا اور پانچ سو میل چوڑا ملک ہے جہاں کہیں ریل نہیں ہے سوکات سوئے ایک کے باقی پختہ نہیں۔ دریاؤں پر اکثر پل نہیں ہیں اور سوئے ایک لائن کے ٹیلیفون نہیں سب جگہ تار نہیں۔ کئی جگہ ایسی ہیں کہ جہاں پچاس میل سے ایک آدمی چلکے کہیں کسی تار کو نہیں پہنچ سکتا ہے اور یہ اطلاع دے سکتا ہے کہ فلاں قتل ہوا یا واردات ہوئی۔

سوئے کچھ حصہ کے ہمارا سارا ملک قریباً خشک بارانی ہے۔ بمشکل دو فیصدی بھی آبپاشی نہیں ہے۔ ہم خدا کے رحم پر ہیں۔ اگر بارش ہوئی اور موسم تھیک ہوا تو فصل ہو سکتی ہے۔ غرضیکہ اندستری، تعلیم، زراعت، آبپاشی، سوکات، پلوں کے بنانے، ہر کام میں ہمیں امداد کی ضرورت ہے۔ اب گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا اور ہندوستانی بھائیوں کو اپنے دیس کی حد ہمالیہ کی چوٹیوں تک سمجھنی چاہیئے۔ نیچے ماونٹ ایورسٹ تک انکا ملک ہے اس لئے بھی آپ کی بڑی ذمہ داری ہے کہ چھ سو میل بارڈر ہے جہاں دشمن کی فوج معہ گولہ بارود موجود ہے۔ ہمیں مشکلات کا سامنا ہے۔ امید ہے کہ اگر ہم سب نے ملکر ہندوستانی کے ناطہ سے مل جل کر کام کیا اور تن دہی و دیانتداری سے کام کیا تو ہم ضرور کامیاب ہونگے۔ اور جو بھی اس کام میں مخالفت کریگا اور ترقی پرور سکیموں کا راستہ روکے گا یہ یقیناً ملک کا دشمن ہوگا۔ اسے راستہ سے ہٹانا پڑیگا اور کسی صورت میں بھی فوقہ وارانہ زہر کو پھیلنے نہیں دیا جائے گا۔ تب ہی ملک آگے بڑھ سکتا ہے۔ اور آزادی قائم رکھ سکتا ہے۔

[For English translation, see Appendix III, Annexure No. 94.]

SHRI S. GURUSWAMI (Madras) : Sir, yesterday, the Finance Minister, in the other House, described critics of the Plan under four categories : he said that, some are conditional supporters, some are helpful doubters, some are cynics and others are incorrigible obstructionists, if the press report is correct. I do not know under what category I will come ; but I can say this much that I am both an idealist

and a practical man. As an idealist I believe that no Plan in a capitalistic form of society can succeed and, therefore, I may be an obstructionist from the point of view of the Finance Minister. If I oppose in principle all plans which are made on the recognition that capitalistic form of society should continue ; but, as a trade-unionist, I have been trained to be a practical man. Any plan is better than no plan and, from that point of view, I welcome any effort on the part of the Government to improve the standard of living of this country.

The time given to me is too short to direct my criticisms on different aspects of the Plan. I propose to deal with only two parts of the Plan, namely, the Transport part of it and the Labour part of it. In regard to the Transport part of it also, I propose to deal with the Railway part of it only.

It is proposed to spend nearly 400 crores of rupees on Railways in the 5-year period. Sir, this Plan is called a 5-year plan ; we were told by the Prime Minister that it is actually a 3-year plan, but, the Report says somewhere that it is a 27-year plan. Whatever it is, these 400 crores of rupees are going to be spent on rehabilitation of the railways and only 20 crores are earmarked for development of new lines. That is a very meagre provision.

Secondly, the railways are expected to spend about 64 crores of rupees both from its surpluses and also from the Reserve Fund every year during the 5-year period. At this rate, we are told that we will be able to clear up a good lot of arrears in regard to replacement of the rolling stock. According to the estimates furnished in the Plan itself, it is stated that nearly 2092 locomotives will become over-aged, 8,535 coaching vehicles will become over-aged, and about 47,000 wagons will become over-aged by the end of 1956, and for all this a sum of Rs. 320 crores, consisting of Rs. 170 crores taken out of the current revenues and Rs. 150 crores from the Depreciation Fund Reserves will be spent for replacement. This is a very poor satisfaction. If there is an increase in the turn round, there will not be

necessity for replacement of so many rolling stock. I must express my dissatisfaction at the way in which rolling stock has been purchased these years. Monies have been spent like water in purchasing these locomotives from foreign countries whereas with some more drive in our own country we could have utilised our own workshops for manufacturing and reconditioning some of these locomotives. As it is, the locomotives that have been purchased cost 5 times their pre-war rates and those which are manufactured in Chittaranjan cost something more than that. If labour is taken into confidence, if proper utilisation of technical talent of this country is made, I submit, Sir, it would be possible to save a good lot out of the rolling stock that is proposed to be purchased from other countries.

Apart from that, we spend nearly Rs. 30 crores on the fuel bill of the Railways. I should like to draw the attention of the House to the recent statement made by Dr. Whittaker, the Director of the Fuel Research Institute, Dhanbad, in which he has suggested that by electrification of the Railways we can save Rs. 15 crores per annum in the fuel bill of the Railways. That is a suggestion worth consideration and examination by the Planning Commission. Instead of spending all the money in the so-called rehabilitation of the rolling stock, they would be well advised in spending on electrification schemes and on really developmental schemes on the Railways.

Apart from that, we are told that about Rs. 12 crores are going to be spent on development of Ports. That is not an amount which will be sufficient for meeting the requirements of the different Ports in this country. When you think of development of Ports, you must think not only of the Ports which are called major Ports, but, also the minor Ports. I see no indication, in the schemes they have got, for the development of the minor Ports.

I welcome the money that they are going to spend on the Kandla scheme.

[Shri S. Guruswami.]

Any money that is spent on the development of it, to replace the loss of Karachi Port is worth spending.

Having said this much, I now deal with the labour policy which is going to be the Achilles' tendon of the Planning Commission's Report. I say that because, after using very good words that there should be avoidance of disputes, there should be no strikes, there should be co-operation between labour and capital, the Planning Commission suggest measures which will elicit nothing but opposition. They had no business to make such suggestions that money wages should not be increased, that the bonus should be decreased and that it should not be in cash, that there should be retrenchment, that the work load should be increased, that there should be this and that and suggestions which will result in rationalisation. In theory, labour cannot oppose rationalisation; but, the position in other countries where rationalisation measures are introduced is that there is provision for social security, unemployment insurance. If similar provision is made here, labour will co-operate with the Administration to secure reduction of manpower and for rationalisation. Until that is secured, if you ask labour to agree to co-operate for retrenchment of more staff, to agree to work for getting no more wages than what they have been getting, then, there cannot be that enthusiasm from labour which you are expecting, in working out any plan. Therefore, I strongly condemn the observations which are contained in that portion of the Plan; labour will not accept that part of the Plan.

On the other hand, I am in agreement with the Industrial Truce Policy which was adumbrated in 1947. If there is real give and take on the part of both employers and labour, whether in the private sector or in the public sector, if there is placing of all the cards on the table, if there is real desire to get the enthusiasm of labour, I assure the Government that there will be a

responsive co-operation on the part of labour. Instead of that, all that they are told is that there is a prospect of more retrenchment, no increase of wages for 27 years to come and, that, after 27 years the average *per capita* income may be doubled. This calculation about the averages is like the calculation of the man who wanted to cross the river by finding out the average depth of the river. The whole Government will be drowned if they want to implement such a policy on such premises.

Housing is a very important problem which has been ignored. The meagre provision of 25,000 units per annum will not meet the requirements of the situation. Sir, in 1946, the Railway Board appointed a Committee known as the Mitra Committee which had submitted a ten year plan and which, if it had been accepted by the Government, would have completed all the housing requirements of the Railways concerned by 1956. We see no evidence of such a policy at all. The proposed programme would require 100 years to meet the Railway situation. On the other hand, there are threats and the only way that the labour policy can be implemented is by strengthening the Preventive Detention Act and by putting people like us, who are in the Opposition, in prison camps. They will not get their co-operation otherwise—unless they seek greater co-operation from organised labour, without adumbrating wretched principles which no self-respecting labour organisation in any part of the world can accept. Therefore, I repeat this warning very seriously, that the details contained in the Labour part of the Plan are reactionary, if I may say so. I can give you another example. The Government enacted legislation about provident fund this year, after enacting an ordinance. It proceeds on the principle that full dearness allowance should be merged with pay for the purpose of retirement benefit. Now, the Plan says, "We accept the report of the Committee which has recommended 50 per cent. merger and we comment that to the private employers." The

Sir, is not a progressive step. It is a retrograde step, and it is a step which enlightened labour cannot accept.

I cannot say much more within the time limit imposed, except that unless the Labour part of the Plan is drastically revised, you will not get that enthusiasm which is necessary for the success of this Plan or any other plan.

With these words, I thank you for giving me at least 10 minutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The Council stands adjourned till half past two.

The Council adjourned for lunch till half past two of the clock.

The Council re-assembled after lunch at half past two of the clock, Mr. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

SHRI D. D. ITALIA (Hyderabad) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, the Planning Commission after careful study and greatest consideration, has prepared the first Five Year Plan. The revised Plan is no doubt a considerable improvement over the former Plan. I am sure that it is no doubt a single indivisible national Plan that could be evolved and every well-wisher of this country will no doubt whole-heartedly welcome it. From the Plan I understand that it is a masterpiece of work and a very comprehensive one and I am sure everyone of us here who has any interest of his country at heart will approve of the Plan in general. I do not say that the Plan is cent. per cent. complete. No doubt there might be some deficit here and there, some shortcomings and there might be room for improvement. But for this purpose we should not say that the Plan is not good. To my mind in this world nothing is perfect.

Some of my friends on the opposite benches have criticised this Plan. They simply try to find fault with this Plan but I think that is a short-sighted policy. To my mind, the Plan is an

idealistic and practical one. I think, Sir, that planning is required not merely for the future improvement of a country, but it is required in every walk of life. Every person must have a plan. We know for ourselves how difficult it is for a single man to prepare his ordinary plan, keeping in view what the income will be and how it is to be adjusted with the various expenditure. And I can appreciate the difficulties that might have been undertaken by the Planning Commission to prepare this huge Plan for such a vast country like India. They have taken into consideration the various demands of the States. In fact every State has demanded so much that it is difficult for the Planning Commission to provide so much for their requirements. They have done their best with the resources that are available to us today. I am glad that we are laying a foundation for future wealth and for a happy and prosperous India. After five years, when all the schemes in the Plan are completed, I think, the standard of life of the masses of our people will no doubt be improved and raised. What India requires today is to develop its economic and social structure.

As we know, India is an agricultural country and so the Planning Commission has given topmost priority to agriculture and rural development. They have provided, as we understand from the Plan, that 45 per cent. of the expected expenditure will be spent for the agricultural and rural development and after this scheme is completed, we are informed that 18 per cent. of the production of foodgrains will increase. Over and above that, there will be an increase in the production of cotton, jute, oilseeds and sugarcane.

Next comes industry. Industry is always considered in almost all the advanced countries as the back-bone of a country. Unfortunately, the Planning Commission has provided only 8 per cent. of the expected expenditure to be spent for industrial development. I think, they could have easily provided at least 15 per cent.

[Shri D. D. Italia.]

of the expected expenditure to be spent on such an important item. According to the Plan, only 40 large and medium-sized industries will be established during these five years and I am sure, even after this scheme is completed, India will be benefited mostly.

Then come communications and transport. No doubt nearly 25 per cent. has been provided for these schemes, yet very little has been provided for new railway lines, which are very essential in these days. And, as far as other things are concerned, like education, medical relief, social service, etc., they have provided amply. I must say that the best thing they have provided is the Bharat Sewak Samaj which is very essential in these days. Every individual must understand that he has certain duties to perform for the betterment of his country.

Lastly, I will say that the entire success of the Plan depends on its execution and the machinery that is provided for its implementation. In this respect I wish that adequate measures should be taken to ensure that the funds which are provided for the various schemes in the Plan are properly spent. Some measures should also be taken for securing effective parliamentary check on the progress of the Plan and a brief review of the projects of the Plan at the Centre as well as in the States be made available either before or at the Budget Session.

Finally, I whole-heartedly congratulate the Members of the Planning Commission for the excellent work that they have done in preparing this Plan. I am sure that after this Plan is completed, the country will have benefited to a very great extent. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI B. GUPTA (West Bengal) :
Mr. Deputy Chairman, we heard the hon. Prime Minister speaking in this House. We wanted to give us a

glimpse of the Plan, but in doing so, he himself disappeared in the clouds of his own. It is good now that we have here the *prima donna* of the Plan, who is going through the debates after his adventures in the Court of St. James. Sir, various speeches have been made about the Plan in this House. If you ask me what the Plan is like, I would say that this Plan is an unsurpassable compilation of platitudes, false pretences and bureaucratic projects. Sir, the words flow through this Plan like the Niagara Falls, but the extravagance of these words is not in the least justified either by its approach, which is cowardly in the extreme, or by its promises, which are undoubtedly full of danger.

Sir, if I may say a word or two about the approach of the Plan, I think I will do well to refer to the Plan itself.

"The success of such planning no doubt depends on the classes in positions of power and privilege respecting the democratic system and appreciating the radical change it calls for."

Mark the words "The success of such planning no doubt depends on the classes in positions of power and privilege." This is fawning on the very vested interests of the country who have brought about so much misery, so much poverty and so much privation to our people. Now, Sir, those people who do not know how to settle account with the past can hardly be expected to know how to build for the future. Therefore, I would not dilate upon the approach. The approach is there.

Now, coming to the premises of the Plan—because plentiful promises are there—let us see what they amount to. It has been claimed in the Plan by the mighty planners that within the planning period, the national income of the country will have gone up by a thousand crores, that is to say, by 11 per cent. This, I consider, is an illusory figure, for, during this period, the population, too, will have gone up from 36·18 crores to 38·44 crores, if it grows at the rate of 1·25 per cent.—

the figure given in the Plan itself. Divide Rs. 10,000 crores by 38.44 lakhs. You will come to the figure of roughly 260. That is to say, Rs. 260 would be the *per capita* income per annum at the end of the Plan period. Even now, according to the National Income Committee, the *per capita* income is Rs. 255. That is to say, after all this show you will have gained at the end of the five year period Rs. 5 in your *per capita* income. In other words, it would be about less than 7 annas per month and less than one pice per day. That is to say, the Plan promises that the increase in the national income will be less than a pice per day per head. Therefore, Sir, the Plan speaks for itself. This Plan is worth half a pice as far as the people of the country are concerned. The hon. the Finance Minister who, I do not know whether it is because of the contagion of his Plan or because of his adventure in the Court of St. James, has developed a bellicose mentality and had indulged in threats in the other House saying that those who obstructed the Plan would be doing so at their own peril. I was at once reminded of Goering. I would not call him a Georing—he looks so nice and so pleasant. Sir, as I have said, less than one pice per day per head at the end of the planning period would be the net result of all these things. They say that within 27 years the national income will have been doubled provided from 1956-57 onwards 50 per cent. of the additional income is invested. Now, Sir, at this rate, we arrive at a certain other figure. It will take 50 years at this rate to double the family income of a family of a husband and wife and two children. If we take the recommendations of the Nutrition Committee and take into consideration the requirements of education, health, etc., we would be requiring Rs. 250 per month per head. If we, however, progress at the rate envisaged in the Plan, it will take three centuries to arrive at this figure. If we progress by geometric progression, then even we will have taken one century. That is the perspective unfolded by the Plan itself. Therefore, there is no cause for rejoicing. A chorus of

praise may be tuned, but I know this will melt away in the background of the realities of the situation today.

Let me now come to the agrarian part of the Plan about which so much has been said. The Plan itself says that 68 per cent. of the population is agrarian. Again the Plan says that of this 18 per cent. is comprised of agricultural labourers and in individual States the percentage is even much higher. For instance in Travancore-Cochin, the agricultural labour constitutes about 37 per cent. of the total agricultural population, in Madras 28 per cent. in Madhya Bharat 27 per cent., in Hyderabad 25 per cent., in West Bengal 21 per cent. If you consider the statement of the West Bengal Chief Minister made in November last year, you will find that according to him 75 per cent. of agrarian families hold less than 4 acres of land. That is to say, the overwhelming majority of our peasantry is either landless or extremely poor. They cannot buy land at all, which is supposed to be distributed by the Zamindari Abolition Acts. Look at U. P. where *bhoomidari* rights are supposed to be distributed. Out of 180 crores of rupees estimated, only about 35 crores of rupees have been subscribed. That is to say, 81 per cent. of the people who were supposed to buy land are not in a position to buy it because they have not got the money. When such is the case let us not talk about Zamindari Abolition Acts. The peasantry cannot buy land at the rates at which land is being distributed. You are going to give compensation to the landlords to the tune of Rs. 600-700 crores. I should have thought that the hon. Members opposite would realise that the chivalry of such measures cannot possibly rouse the peasantry at all. It may rouse some beauty queens of New Delhi. Therefore, let us not talk of chivalry in relation to your Zamindari Abolition Acts. We know that these Acts are meant for the zamindari classes; these Acts will not give any relief to the peasantry,

[Shri B. Gupta.]

will not give any succour to the peasantry, without mobilising whom you cannot change the picture of the countryside at all. I would not dilate upon it, but yet I would stress the fact that until and unless the peasantry is given land, you cannot possibly rouse them into that dimension of national activity which alone can drag our country out of this boundless misery on to the road of prosperity. The hon. the Finance Minister, intelligent as he is, should have more intelligence to realise this.

Much is being said about the industry and other things. I would only touch a few points. The industry is left to the industrialists. They clearly save here that "the industrial expansion in this five year period will rest largely on private initiative and sources". In this Plan—there are two bulky volumes that we have got—it is said that they can only influence but not determine industrial employment. I think not even that is true. All that I would like to add is that they cannot even influence because once it is left in private hands in this manner in which Government's interest is almost negligible, you cannot possibly even influence the course of industrial development. In modern economy, in the present day world economy, unless and until you develop the public sector and you occupy a strategic position in the economic life of the country—and they are interested in occupying a strategic position when it comes to turning their guns against the people—you cannot possibly command the change of events—I mean the economic developments that will follow. It is all moonshine talk that they are going to determine the private industry. We know 173 crores of rupees have been set apart for the industry and out of that 94 crores of rupees will be spent for the Government projects under the Central and State Governments. But look at the projects appended to Chapter XXIX. That will tell you that Government will not have developed the heavy

chemical industries, the machine-tool industries and other heavy industries that we need today. Undoubtedly a steel plant will have been started here and certain other concerns will have been started there and some companies will have been given some help but that will only mean certain quantitative changes but the quality of the structure will not have changed. Therefore the industrialisation of this country which we so vitally need has been given a go-by in this particular Plan. After these things to talk about control and other things is a useless talk. We are told that 233 crores of rupees will have been invested in the private sector for expansion. At the same time we are told in the Plan that our industrialists and businessmen have become speculative. Anybody knows today that the investment in the companies takes place not on the basis of industrial expansion but for speculative reasons. The Plan itself says that after the Korean boom there was a tendency of passing from money hoarding to commodity hoarding. That shows how this is all tied to speculation. Where can you get it and how can you hold out any promise of investment and initiative by this? Therefore we know it will not take place what you can expect is only a quantitative addition. After all during the last 4 or 5 years the total investment that had taken place even without any plan is of the order of 400 crores of rupees. I have the figures but due to shortness of time, I will not read them. We do not say that all this money has been invested for expansion but that these normal things take place without your planning. Why do you come with all these proposals and tell us that we have provided it there and they will do so? Probably the hon. Finance Minister has discovered suddenly that these people, these monopolists and profiteers at the top who took advantage of decontrol in 1947 to make about 100 crores of rupees of extra profits in the cotton industry have suddenly become patriotic and will rush their money for the industrial expansion of the country. I should have thought that the hon. Finance Minister would be a little

more intelligent not to take that sort of thing for granted. I am talking about him because whoever may be the philosopher of this Plan, he is its financial pillar. He is calling the tune and therefore I would not deal with the pipers. I would deal with the person who calls the tune.

Therefore it is clear that the industrial sector is neglected. It is not a question of preference or priorities.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have two minutes more.

SHRI B. GUPTA : There are many more important points to deal with.

In the other House Mr. Purshottam Das Tandon was.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : There are a large number of speakers.

SHRI B. GUPTA : Therefore the industrial sector is neglected. The foundation is not proposed to be laid at all here in the Plan.

About the financing of the Plan this is a subject which nobody has dealt with sufficiently, and therefore I should like to say a few things about it. We find the savings from the current accounts will be, according to the Plan 738 crores of rupees and capital receipts—public savings 520 crores of rupees, totalling Rs. 1258 crores. Then there is already external assistance to the extent of 156 crores of rupees and we are left with a gap of 655 crores of rupees. They propose meeting this through external assistance, internal taxation and deficit financing. For this 655 crores of rupees they are depending mostly on foreign assistance. To the extent of 30 per cent. of the Plan we are depending on foreigners. If the foreigners do not oblige us, they will go in for internal taxation or deficit financing. Deficit financing will lead to inflation and that is dangerous. When the deficit financing will not have succeeded, what will happen? This will happen—I will read out from the Report on Currency and Finance, 1950-51.

“Additional taxation by the Central Government in 1951-52 amounts to Rs. 50.74 crores, including Rs. 19.1 crores from the enhancement of railway fares. This was deemed necessary to avoid large-scale deficit financing and to maintain a safe cash balance position.”

Therefore if the foreigners do not oblige us and if deficit finance has to be avoided—as it should be avoided—then taxation will be there and the people will be still more fleeced. We are told about the savings. Now what are the expectations based on? The revenue savings given here are not at all borne out by the realities of the financial situation of the country. The figures for 1951 budget have been taken to show that it is quite possible to get that amount from the budgets, but that was the boom year and because of the Korean war there were certain additional export duties and other things. If you look at the figures of the last 5 years, the annual savings on the Central account has been to the extent of Rs. 47.94 crores, that is Rs. 14 crores less than what we got in 1950-51 which was the Korean boom year. The next year—that is the current year and the first year of the Plan—has not been taken into account. Now the States are the sources of revenues. The revenue for the Part A States during the 5 year period vary from a surplus of rupees 7.39 crores to a deficit of Rs. 8.50 crores. As regards Part B States the variation is between a surplus of Rs. 2.4 crores and a deficit of Rs. 2.74 crores. In the current year we have a meagre revenue surplus of Rs. 3.73 crores on the Government of India's account and a deficit of Rs. 10.74 crores on the States' account. This shows how the State budgets and the Central Budget are unsteady, unstable and full of deficits. On these if you are basing your plans for financing, you cannot possibly get the money because the budgets will be more and more deficit. Likewise you can't get from private savings because the savings cannot be expected from the people when the standard of living is falling, when the purchasing power is also falling when food items are exorbitant. According to the report of the

[Shri B. Gupta.]
National Enquiry Committee 53 % of our national income goes in for purchase of food items. How on earth can you imagine that the people will have found sufficient money to put in your savings fund so that you can draw upon them?

3 P.M.

Therefore, the thing that remains for you is taxation. I know that Government have stated that taxation will be required to the extent of 70 to 80 crores of rupees. Here is the thing. You know that taxation will be required. And therefore more burden will fall upon the people. Of course, some moneys will be coming from the Americans at whose shrine our Finance Minister is worshipping. But the Plan itself admits that 90 per cent. of the American investments outside have gone to ~~enter~~ active industries. They are not meant for industrial development. I would in this connection, like to read out to you a report from the Economist of London where they say how very, very happy they feel about this kind of thing. One thing I would like to draw the hon. Finance Minister's attention to is this. The Journal of Economics published from the United States of America, acrually published from New York, states that India is "willing to try to create conditions conducive to the American investments.....Government also has allowed a number of American Companies to make substantial investments"..... This is what is said in the Journal of Commerce published from New York. Now, they are very happy with the state of affairs here. I mean, they like this Plan.

And I would like the Finance Minister not to put threats. He has put indirect threats in the other House. If he thinks he can intimidate the Communist Party, he may try that.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have finished your time.

SHRI B. GUPTA : But, if you think that you can go ahead with your Plan, at any cost and if you want to

achieve success that way, in that way, why not add the Preventive Detention Act as the fortieth Chapter to the Planning Commission's Report and tell the people that they must accept the Plan or get ready for being detained without trial. That is not the way of popularising it. That is not the way to deal with a democratic country. You cannot make it compulsory. This is not the way of democracy ; this is the way of Mussolini and Hitler. This is the way in which they had spoken about plans and I do not want that there should be any repetition of the experiences of that ghastly history on the soil of India.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : What threats ?

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY (Mysore) : At their own peril.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : Oh, that is what he means.

SHRI RAMA RAO (Madras) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, we have had an amazing exhibition of Communistic hysteria—I hope it is not an unparliamentary word—from my hon. friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, with whom I exchange courtesies in the lobby. My friend does not, I hope, misunderstand me if I completely differ from him. He will not charge me, I trust, with being a regular or even an occasional visitor to the Court of St. James, although I have visited Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's.

He has been saying that this Plan does not provide for industrialization. Everyone has got vested interests, and the Communists have their own. They want to make trouble in this country and their chief instrument for the purpose is the industrial proletariat ; therefore, they lay emphasis on industry rather than on agriculture. They know the *kisan* is now with the Congress and he has put the Congress in office everywhere.

Some people are saying that our Plan will not get through unless there is

foreign aid ; according to the Communists foreign aid will mean political domination. We do not think so. What is the alternative they propose to make up the total we want ? Let them give us one—something new, something fresh, something sweet, instead of stale and unprofitable criticism. A volume of destructive criticism has been poured upon the Plan. Nothing constructive has come from that very, very hostile quarter. Mr. Gupta has been saying a lot about figures. I leave figures to the Finance Minister. But so far as this business of figures, from the point of view of the Plan, is concerned it would be dangerous to make an approach that way. The Prime Minister put it in the highest key, when he said that this is an attempt to achieve our national destinies. In such a text mere figures hold no meaning. It does not matter if this Plan fails. If it fails, another will succeed. When Bernard Shaw came to Bombay, a group of journalists put him a question about the success of the Russian First Five Year Plan. He said, "Do not discuss the first or the second or the third plan. No plan is final. Human effort must go on till the end of time. If one plan does not succeed, another will follow after some time." Sir, in this connection, I am reminded of a story concerning Marshal Foch in the middle of the first World War. He wrote in effect to his chief : "My left is sinking ; my right is cracking up and my centre is giving up, and therefore I attack". That is the right spirit of warfare and that is the proper way in which we should rise to the occasion before us. The Communists are defeatists. They fear the Plan because the Congress having got the vote of the people and having come into power, has now come forward with a plan, a philosophy, an ideology, a frame-work, a programme of action, a chart and compass.

Sir, we have made a plan of priorities. We have made it flexible. I would say that this Plan is a historical necessity, a moral responsibility, a political duty,

an economic inevitability, above all, a constitutional obligation. Having proceeded from colonialism to independence, we now proceed from political democracy to economic democracy and egalitarian society.

Look at the views expressed in the speeches of the Opposition. They are full of the fear and suspicion complexes. It says : "If the expected revenue surpluses are not forthcoming, if borrowing is not fruitful, if taxation does not yield results, if deficit financing leads to increase of prices, if the right type of worker is not obtained, if the State Governments do not make the expected contribution of Rs. 532 crores, if crisis in the food position again arises, if foreign aid is not forthcoming, if war comes, if..... if..... if.....and but..... but.....but....." a chain of 'ifs' and a concatenation of 'buts'. I do not think that this is the way to approach a national plan or any plan at all.

Sir, Prof. Ranga and Mr. Gupta have said that this is no plan at all, but only a compilation, a pale reflection of the Russian plans. I am reminded in this connection of a Sanskrit phrase :

“वागोच्छिष्टं जगत्सर्वम्”

Every plan today must be the result of piracy and paraphrase. Every plan today is indebted to a previous plan somewhere. Even if the Communist Party of India is to create a plan it can only make a compilation and a dictionary or an encyclopaedia which do not demand originality.

We have had the criticism that it is not adequate. In this connection, I am tempted to quote the Sanskrit lines :

“यदि हास्ति तदन्यत्रयज्ञेहास्ति न तत्कञ्चित् ।”

The meaning is : What is here may be elsewhere, but what is not here is nowhere. The Plan is a synopsis of our hopes and aspirations. It is embryonic. From this will develop everything hereafter.

[Shri B. Rama Rao.]

The charge has been levelled against the Congress that the Plan is a political and not an economic weapon. What is wrong with it? What is wrong with a political party making and wielding a political weapon to secure political ends and for national service?

We have heard our friends say that this is not a national plan, but only a party plan. I do not concede it. I am sure it will become a national plan the moment my friend Prof. Ranga, walks back into the Congress. I want him in fact to come back. The Andhras want him very badly. I find Mr. Sanjiva Reddy and Prof. Ranga making love to each other in the lobby. I like to see it because Andhra wants unity. We shall then get a Province and I shall be able to shout: "Jai Hind, Jai Andhra".

Sir, much of the criticism is irrelevant if we note the cardinal fact that we are attempting to achieve a series of priorities. Great achievements do not come in a single day. Everyone knows that it is not possible for a cricket player to hit up a century in a test match at the very first appearance. Everyone is not a Dipak Shodhan, everyone is not an Amarnath. We are perhaps pedestrian, as the Prime Minister has already remarked. Much has been said about the incidence of suffering and the great burdens that will be thrown by the Plan on the common man and particularly on the *kisan*. But you should produce first and the question of distribution arises only next. And then, people forget that this is not a final plan. It is only a preliminary plan, and to that extent therefore, the criticism that it is not a complete plan, is irrelevant. Some of our friends on the other side are rather gloomily premature. They have prophesied failure. I would tell them not to make political prophecies, much less economic predictions. It is a very futile game, a very dangerous oastime.

Mr. Gupta has talked about vested interests having their way hereafter, I see a lot of capitalist friends here but I notice they have been lying low these days. I do not think they are so arrogant, so self-assertive as they were, because of the emergence of men like me on the Congress side and Mr. Bhupesh Gupta on the other side of the House.

Sir, some friends on my side of the House have been saying that it would be impossible to achieve the targets fixed. They say that they are too many and their achievement, even if ever possible, will take a long time. They say on the other side, that they are too few and rather unsoundly conceived and will not be achieved at any time. Both are contradicting each other. Well, I should like to witness a wrestling match between the two opposing sections. Let me turn to another controversial topic. If we want immediate nationalisation of industries, we shall have to pay heavy compensation. Are we ready for it? We are not going to indulge in downright expropriation for we are a constitutional democracy. We have to respect the rights of citizens with regard to property, within limits. Nationalisation will therefore have to wait.

AN HON. MEMBER: I think Mr. Nehru said that once.

SHRI RAMA RAO: Yes, but it was about key industries. Yes, the Prime Minister has repeatedly said and it is an absolute fact. We will not pay the Tatas, the Birlas and the Dalmias lot of money for buying up their old rotten stuff. We will build up our own new industries, state-owned, nationalised industries. The private sector in the country will do its part of the work in the key industry line meanwhile and if it cannot, the public sector will do it. And if the State too cannot, it will go as scrap, and our friend Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, will buy it. About foreign aid, the Opposition benches vehemently object to it. But remember, there is the Korean war on. If it is renewed, it will shatter all our expectations of

foreign aid. I do not think much of Eisenhower and the new set up in the States. After all, the foreign aid for which we have budgetted in the Plan, is very little compared to the vast volume of funds we have to invest, and we are going to raise in the country. Prof. Ranga has talked about the land problem. I consider him a dangerous person so far as the land problem is concerned. I come from the same district as his. His village being only 13 miles from mine. He has done splendid work for the *kisans*, but the time has come when the *kisans* have to give their loyalty to a new India, a new Constitution, a new democracy, will they do it? The Congress is organising an agrarian revolution and the *kisans* will have to co-operate enthusiastically. Now I have a great fear that his suggestion of not touching the small landholder is quite dangerous. We have got to touch him in our scheme of co-operative efforts, collective farming, fixation of ceilings, etc. etc. What is the co-operation we are going to get from the *kisan*? I know the worries, the anxieties, the agonies, the Congress is facing in the matter of planning agrarian reform. The planning Commission and the Congress Working Committee have been deliberating on this question. But from the other side, I find no constructive help has come. The patriotism of all of us will be challenged when the agrarian revolution is undertaken in the right earnest manner.

Sir, the Prime Minister has stated, in both the Houses, that if we do not act up to the country's needs, we would be failing in our duty, and our Constitution and our democracy would be failures. This is the challenge of our time. Years ago, Gopala Krishna Gokhale said that he would set no limits to the ambitions of his countrymen. That was spoken when the country was under foreign domination. Today we are a free people, when every Indian could say that he is master of his fate, captain of his soul. Let every Indian say, in the spirit of Themistocles, one of the

great architects of the Athenian democracy of old: "I cannot play upon an instrument, but I can make my State great".

(SHRI KISORI RAM (Bihar):

श्री किशोरी राम (बिहार) : उप सभापति मंडोदय, योजना कमिशन (Planning Commission) को रिपोर्ट (Report) पर बहुत से सदस्यों ने धर्षा पर आने ख्यालत बात की है। यह पंच वर्षीय योजना त्रिकोण अनुसार कार्य किया जाने वाला है उससे भारत का भविष्य उज्ज्वल होने वाला है ऐसा अनुमान किया जा सकता है। योजना कमिशन ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में जो भूमि नीति पर विचार किया है और केन्द्रीय तथा राज्य सरकारों ने इस सम्बन्ध में जो अपने सुझाव पेश किये हैं उन के सम्बन्ध में मैं कुछ आपके सम्मुख कहना चाहता हूँ।

जैसा कि हम चाहते हैं, कि देश की भूमि-व्यवस्था में परिवर्तन की दिशा में एक जबर्दस्त कदम उठाया गया है। राज्यों में जमींदारी और जागीरदारी प्रथा को समाप्त करने के लिए कानून बनाये गये हैं और उन पर अमल भी शुरू हो गया है और कुछ राज्यों में इस तरह के कानून बनाये जा रहे हैं। मगर मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि जहाँ तक जमीन में भूमिहीन खेतीहर मजदूरों का सम्बन्ध है योजना कमिशन ने कोई आशाजनक आश्वासन नहीं दिया है। यदि खेतीहर मजदूरों के साथ जो जेठ की दुपहरी और सावन भादो की मुसलाधार वर्षा में अपना खून, पानी सींचकर अन्न तथा और जहरत की चीतों को पैदा करता है अगर उसके साथ अच्छा व्यवहार नहीं किया गया तो देश की प्रगति नहीं हो सकती है। जो लोग विश्वास करते हैं कि राष्ट्र को शक्तिशाली होना चाहिये उन्हें सच्चाई के साथ इन खेतीहर मजदूरों की ओर ध्यान देना चाहिये। क्योंकि स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद इन खेतीहर

[Shri Kishori Ram.]

मजदूरों ने भी तो अपनी अवस्था में उन्नति का आशा लगा रखी है ।

श्रीमन् मन्त्र अधिक कुछ नहीं कहना है और इन विचारों के साथ मैं इस योजना का समर्थन करता हूँ ।

[For English translation, see Appendix III, Annexure No. 95.]

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY (Orissa) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, within the limited time at my disposal, I would like to make some general observations from the common man's point of view on this Plan, without going into the details. I was, Sir, very carefully listening to the speech of the Prime Minister when he was explaining to us the background of this Plan and emphasised that this Plan would ultimately lead the country to economic democracy, a classless society and progressive socialism. I however, feel, Sir, that this is a very tall claim that the Prime Minister has made for this Plan.

This Five Year Plan that has been placed before this House suffers, from certain grave initial defects. Firstly this Plan is one which has been vitiated by the policy and programme of the Congress party which is a party of the *status quo*. Secondly this is a Plan which has been framed within the four corners of the Constitution, a Constitution which does not provide, which does not give us the right to work or employment. Therefore, I feel that this Plan would not take the country forward. I also feel that this Plan is more or less meant for maintaining and for giving a lease of life to the present order of society.

Sir, if you look at the portions of the Plan dealing with the industrial development of our country, you will find that the private sector has been given almost the sole right to decide the future of our country. It is nowhere stated in this Report in definite categorical terms what spheres of industrial activity will be limited to the private sector and what fields would be taken over by the public

sector. It has only been stated here that "the public sector will take up all those spheres of industrial activity in which private enterprise is unwilling or unable to put up the resources required and to undertake the necessary risks." Further it is stated that "the initiation and responsibility for securing the necessary expansion over the bulk of the field of industry rests with the private sector." So, Sir, my reasonable suspicion is that a premium has been granted to the private enterprises to have a determining voice in the future economic life of our country because we have to entirely depend on them so far as the industrial development of this country is concerned.

No doubt, this Plan is a little improvement upon the Draft Plan, so far as the agricultural sector is concerned. But although it now feels the necessity of admitting that a ceiling regarding holdings must be fixed, it leaves this matter there. It leaves the matter in the hands of the States. You know, Sir, that the demand for the abolition of zamindaris has been made for many years; but till today the abolition of zamindaris has not been taken up in West Bengal. So also in the other States, the reform in the agricultural sphere has been halty and hesitant. Therefore, although this small improvement in the agricultural sector would have given some little hope to the masses nothing is actually going to happen as in the industrial sphere the private sector is being given the upper hand. It will continue to determine the price structure and other allied matters and therefore, I am afraid even the little benefit that the agriculturists would have got would not be there. You can find today that the zamindars, the big landowners are selling away their lands and they want to invest their money in the industrial sector so that they would be able to become the capitalists in this country. So this economic equality or economic democracy is nowhere to be found in this Plan and we are not going to have it. I believe it is not an integrated approach, as the Prime Minister likes to

believe. On the other hand I feel that it is a one-sided approach, giving the entire field of activity into the hands of the private sector.

Lastly I would say that much of the success of this Plan depends on the co-operation and enthusiasm of the people ; but you have not tapped new resources such as capital levy or ceiling on incomes etc. You do not put a ceiling on income either of the industrialists or of the services. How can you expect the people, the teeming millions, the masses to be enthusiastic and help you in making this Plan a success, unless they feel really that after these five years, they are going to get something ?

Before I close, I would like to know from the hon. Finance Minister, how is he going to get the necessary finance for these proposals. A substantial part of the amount is expected to come from the States. My hon. friends on this side have ably put forward the utter neglect that has been shown in this Plan to the under-developed parts of our country. As regards the State of Orissa, from the statement of the Finance Minister of Orissa, you will find—"the budgetary gap for the next five years on our existing level of revenue and expenditure would be about Rs. 7 crores annually and since this will be the normal deficit, Orissa's progress and development appears to be dim."

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : This has been read at least three times in this House.

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY : Pardon ?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have read this for at least three times.

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY : No, Sir. I have not.....

AN. HON. MEMBER : Not this one.

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY : I have not read this one at all and I am surprised as to how you could have come

to the conclusion that I have read it before. It is not this portion that I have read.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : May be.

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY : Orissa has a deficit of Rs. 7 crores for five years. So how do you expect this State to give you money for the general or common pool ? They have stated here.

(Time bell rings.)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : One minute more.

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY : I have almost finished, Sir. I never take more time than is allowed to me. Here they made a demand on the Finance Commission and on the Planning Commission that if the Plan and the schemes initiated in the Plan are to be worked out in the State of Orissa, at least Rs. 38 crores in the coming five years must be provided in the scheme. But I find only Rs. 17 crores have been provided. I do not know whether even the Rs. 4 crores that the Centre would get annually from the State of Orissa as interest for the blessed Hirakud dam would also be forthcoming. Therefore this Rs. 17 crores that would be given for the development of the State, would be quite inadequate. This being the position I feel that finance from the State would not be forthcoming as contemplated, and ultimately taxation measures would have to be undertaken and that would be to the detriment of the country as a whole. Therefore, Sir, I believe this Planning Commission's Report, although much labour has been put forward in bringing out these volumes, does not indicate a solution to the basic problems of our country.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI T. R. DEOGIRIKAR (Bombay) : Mr. Deputy Chairman,

[Shri T. R. Deogirikar.]
 during a short period of 5 years, our Government brought out two important documents ; our Constitution was one and the Report of the Planning Commission is another. We are proud of it.

The present Plan is not entirely for the future. Out of Rs. 2069 crores, Rs. 425 crores have already been spent by the Centre and Rs. 429 crores by the States. Rs. 815 crores and Rs. 399 crores have yet to be spent. That means, that this is not a plan for Rs. 2069 crores but it is a plan for Rs. 1214 crores. The States have spent 50 per cent. for the development programme and the centre has spent 36 per cent. for the same.

There are three dangers to the land of India. One is flood; the other is desert and the third is famine. The Planning Commission has undertaken to train the rivers in the North East of India and some of the floods will be checked ; but, as regards the deserts and the famines, the Planning Commission has not seriously taken into consideration the danger arising from them. They have no doubt provided a certain sum but, it is not enough to relieve the distress of those areas.

Coming to Bombay State, on the Arabian coast, there is the Western Ghat. The Sahyadri mountains get about 150" to 200" of rain but, that rain goes on diminishing till it drops down to 10" or 15" in Sholapur, Bijapur, Ahmednagar, Satara, Poona and Nasik Districts. The slopes of the Sahyadri mountains are without any forests and the rain water rushes headlong eroding the land. Those Districts get the North East Monsoon rains no doubt, but if they fail, as they usually do in three years out of five, famine sets in. Fortunately, we have got 3 big rivers, Krishna, Bhima and Godavari. There are minor rivers also, Girna, Kukdi and Mula. Had the Planning Commission provided for minor irrigation on these three rivers and for Khadakvasla

and Vir dam, about half a crore of the population would have been relieved from their age long hardships, from their starvation and from their poverty. Unfortunately, that has not been done.

Then, coming to the Community Projects, these Community Projects are started, according to the policy of the Planning Commission, in irrigated areas and not in famine stricken areas. I fail to understand how production can increase and how inequalities will be diminished. Fortunately, the Planning Commission have sanctioned the Koyna Power scheme ; but, the area which I have just mentioned has neither capital nor raw material to take advantage of this power. Almost all the power will go to Bombay. The effect will be more centralisation of industry, capital and labour. I do not think that it is desirable.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : And politics.

SHRI T. R. DEOGIRIKAR : So, my request is that the Koyna Power scheme, after the completion of the first stage, should be converted into a multi-purpose scheme. I know the needs of Bombay State. They want 1 lakh K.W. till the end of March 1953 ; but, they have got the Chola Power House scheme ; then, there is the Trombay scheme which is going to give an additional 1 lakh K.W. and this Koyna scheme will give them 2,40,000 K.W. So, according to me, after 2 or 3 years, Bombay will get surplus power. It is better, therefore, to convert, Koyna scheme, into a multi-purpose scheme so that the agriculturists and the poorer people will get some relief. We know that Bombay State has got 4 Divisions. We have quarrel with none ; let all Divisions develop, but, justice must be given to all. Bombay State is going to spend Rs. 46 crores for education out of Rs. 146 crores. Within a year or two, all school going children from Bombay State will be literate. We are all proud that illiteracy will be abolished from Bombay State within a short

period but, that will not solve our food problem. Out of Rs. 25 crores—it was Rs. 42 crores, but yesterday the mistake was corrected—Maharashtra is going to get only Rs. 3 1/2 crores, though Maharashtra has more than 50 per cent. population, and, though, good many minor river schemes are already there.

So, my request to the Planning Commission is that out of Rs. 30 crores that are reserved for minor irrigation, Maharashtra should get 33 per cent. and we guarantee the deficit which they have got to make up.

My second request is this : Rs. 15 crores have been set apart for relieving distress of famine. Personally, I think you will not be able to relieve famine unless you take up minor irrigation works. So, out of those Rs. 15 crores, a substantial sum should be given for relieving the distress in this famine area.

My third request to the Planning Commission is that the Koyna Power scheme should be converted into a multi-purpose scheme for the completion of the first stage.

And, my fourth submission is, at least 5 Community centres should be started in this area.

If, none of these requests is granted, I am afraid, so far as Maharashtra is concerned, Maharashtra will be sorely disappointed and will have no heart in the planning. In the larger interest, I hope and trust that this planning will be successful. My only difficulty is that people have no enthusiasm for it. Materially, we are going to advance ; but, let us awaken the spirit of advancement amongst the people so that our planning will be successful. There will be waste, no doubt; there will be over-expenditure and there will be delays ; but, I am going to read, just now, some extracts from the speech of Comrade Malenkov, Secretary of the Communist Party in a report which he submitted to the Communist Party in October last, which will show what is happening there.

He says : “Certain workers in Party, Soviet and agricultural bodies instead of guarding the interests of the collective farm’s common enterprise, themselves engage in pilfering collective farm property ; they flagrantly violate Soviet laws and engage in arbitrary practices and breaches of the law in their dealings with collective farms. These workers take advantage of their official position to occupy collective farm land, make collective farm boards and chairmen supply them with grain, meat, milk and other commodities free of charge or at a low price, they exchange their own low-productive stock for high-productive and more valuable cattle belonging to the collective farm, and so on.”

Then, there is another quotation : “During 1951, . . .”

(Time bell rings.)

“— for example, the losses and unproductive expenditures in the establishments of countrywide significance totalled 4,900 million roubles, of which 3,000 million accounted for spoilage”. This is regarding the industrial enterprises.

Now, let us see what he says with regard to construction.

“ In 1951, for example, the overhead expenses in construction above estimates amounted to more than one thousand million roubles and instead of a planned profit of 2,900 million roubles, the construction organizations incurred in that year a loss of 2,500 million roubles.”

If pilferage, mismanagement and spoliation is going on today after 33 years, in Russia, we are not much to blame. That of course will not justify us here or in any other country. But those who swear by Russia and say that planning has succeeded in Russia will understand from the quotations of Malenkov what is happening in Russia. So, let us not blame India every now and then. You must see what is going on outside. These are all experiments, and by experiment we will grow wise.

SHRI ABDUL RAZAK (Travancore-Cochin) : Mr. Deputy Chairman,

(Shri Abdul Razak.)
 the hon. Prime Minister has categorically asserted in both Houses that this Plan of his own making would ultimately lead to the establishment of a classless society in India. But, Sir, as far as I can comprehend the Plan as embodied in the two rough volumes, it is a complete code of pious intentions defeted by its own flagrant violations. Let me quote only two illustrations. It is said in the Plan that the effects of nationalization of industries are sought to be secured through the pet *mantram* of the State venturing into only industries where private enterprise is unwilling to enter. Let me not dilate on this point, as it has been sufficiently dealt with by very many hon. Members. Then, agricultural output is sought to be accelerated far beyond the limit of self-sufficiency. For that purpose, however, land policy has not been taken into consideration at all. Land policy, if I may say so, is left to be determined by a pyramid of contingencies. In the first place, a census of landholdings and cultivation is to be commenced in 1953. Then, after the completion of the census and in the light of the data that may be furnished by this census individual States will be free to determine a land policy of their own. Even then States should implement their land policy through what is called land management legislation with due loopholes for resumption of land for self cultivation and with fixing the maximum limit of ownership at three times the "family holding." Of course the term "family holding" is well defined in the Plan to vary from place to place for historical reasons or local considerations. Thus are the effects of the most popular maxim, "land for the tiller" sought to be secured. When the census of landholdings and cultivation will be completed or within what time-limit individual States should decide upon a land policy of their own, are questions with which the Planning Commission have not bothered to concern themselves. Therefore, if we are to judge the future in terms of the present, I am afraid by the time the census of landholdings and cultivation is completed, the year of all promises, 1956, will be out ; and by the

time individual States decide upon a land policy of their own suited to their own peculiar circumstances, I am afraid again most of the tillers of today will be out of this world.

Yet, in spite of those snags I think that some precious little could be drawn out of this mighty Aramada of wishful planning provided there was some effective machinery contemplated in the Plan. The one contemplated in the Plan is hopelessly inadequate and notoriously inefficient. I will deal with this aspect of the Plan only with particular reference to community development and rural extension. On this point, language actually has a triumphant march in the Plan. It is said that community development is the method and rural extension is the agency through which the Five year Plan seeks to initiate a process of transformation of the social and economic life of the villages. Good. It is also good that agriculture is assigned the topmost priority and the lion's share in the Plan. But on a careful consideration we see that this blueprint of multi-headed programmes is to proceed from the village level under the management of the State Governments and without the immediate presence of any Central agency. Fortunately a clue is given in the Plan as to the nature of the approach that has got to be made. Let me remind the House of that portion of the Plan which deals with this approach.

"The approach to the villager has to be a co-ordinated one and has to comprehend his whole life. Such an approach has to be made through an agent common at least to the principal departments engaged in rural development, namely, the village-level worker. There has to be a dominant purpose round which the enthusiasm of the people can be aroused and sustained, a purpose which can draw forth from the people and those who assist them on behalf of the Government, the will to work as well as a sense of urgency."

Now, let me ask whether the machinery available in the various States today is capable of making the approach that is contemplated in the Plan. Speaking for my own State, Travancore-Cochin, I say it simply cannot. The Government there is lost in its

own internal struggles for power and for security of office. In this connection, let me cite one notorious example. In August last, in Nanjinad, the granary of Travancore-Cochin, more than 12,000 acres of paddy land was scorched as a result of an unprecedented drought that set in. The loss was so heavy that there were persistent demands from all quarters for relief measures of an elementary nature, namely, remission of tax, short-term loans, fair price shops, and supply of seed, and manure. The attitude of the Government there was one of callous indifference. Then finally, as a result of a resolution on the subject that was discussed in the Assembly in last November, the Government of Travancore-Cochin came out with a press communique announcing very flimsy relief measures. Even those relief measures still remain on paper, and what I deplore most in this connection is that the fact of that unprecedented seasonal failure of immense magnitude was not brought to the notice of the Government at the Centre. If it did bring to the notice of the Central Government, I think the Government of India was sleeping over its responsibility to run to the rescue of the area under the provision of Rs. 15 crores specially earmarked in the Plan by way of safeguard against seasonal failures. If it is so, I venture to say that the oft-repeated declaration of the hon. Prime Minister that the Plan is being acted upon amounts only to mere tall talk. /

(Time bell rings.)

One more point, and I will finish in two minutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Only one minute.

SHRI ABDUL RAZAK : Then let me conclude with a reference to the actual working of the community project plan in Travancore-Cochin, based on experiences gained in a project area nearest to my place of living viz, Vilavancode-Neyyattinkara. Sir, no doubt it is made clear in the Plan

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that for the success of these various projects a qualifying scale of contribution in the form of money or of labour will be required. And as far as things have moved on in 'Travancore-Cochin' particularly in the area that I referred to, the only thing asked for is contribution of free labour. Sir, when they ask for contribution of free labour, it only sounds forced labour for the people in that area, the vast masses of them being palm-tappers thrown out of their normal work with the introduction of the ill-fated Prohibition Scheme in 1948 with effect only in 5 or 6 Taluks. Then high hopes were given to them of the development of a palm-gur industry and of additional irrigation facilities, chiefly minor irrigation canals. Five years have gone by and the Government have not moved one inch in the matter and the Rural Extension Scheme now launched there busies itself with only 2-furlong and 3-furlong pathways. Pathways are good, but they by themselves cannot solve the immediate needs of the multitude of thrown-out workers who are in the strong pursuit of employment. It is sedulously preached that the project requires only the Conversion of leisure into work. The labour available in the area is not the "idle labour" contemplated in the Plan. They are dispossessed of their work, now with the devil of hunger rioting in their stomachs. Sir, leisure follows work, and the leisure with work not having preceded it is all fury.

(Time bell rings.)

Therefore, Sir, what is required in that area is very strong incentives— incentives in the form of agronomical industries and irrigation facilities, mostly minor irrigation canals.

(Time bell rings.)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Time is up.

SHRI BARKATULLAH KHAN (Rajasthan) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, when I first saw this Plan, believe me, I was very much impressed and a

[Shri Barkatullah Khan.]

idea came to my mind that we were going to get something very big. But as I started reading the Plan, somehow I had the feeling that it was not so big as it appeared, but still a feeling got over me that here at least an honest attempt had been made to do something for the country. One question arose again and again in my mind whether the amount of work which we wanted to do, which we wanted to put in, was enough to raise the standard of living of our people or not. And believe me, Sir, I came to only one conclusion that the attempt was very modest and it was going to help the country in some measures. But when I went a little further, I was rather shocked and more than shocked, I was pained to see that some of the most undeveloped parts of our country had been ignored and ignored completely. When I went round and saw the figures of Part B States and Part C States, I could not understand how it had been planned! It has been planned in such a way that the so-called backward States should always remain backward and they should never come to the level of the rest of the country. I could understand and appreciate these charges when they were levelled against the Britishers that they did not give any opportunities to these backward areas to progress so that there may not be a balance in the country. But now when this Planning Commission in a free country were going to do something, we find that the major portion of the country which had been neglected so far, has once again been neglected. If the policy is like a *bania* to have quick returns, then definitely go to those provinces which are very well developed, put your money and get returns for all that matter. But if you really want to plan for the country as a whole, then see to it that the neglected parts do not remain neglected. Other wise you are going to have trouble in the future. In some parts of the country, you find better education, better amenities and all sorts of progress and on the other hand you come across other places which are very backward and where there are no facilities of any kind—even water has to be fetched

from 20 to 25 miles. If that is the way to plan, if that is the way to do things, then I am rather disappointed. But I am sure the Planning Commission will do well to consider this aspect of the question from the country's unity point of view, also from the political point of view and also from the defence point of view. For example, take the two States of Rajasthan and PEPSU. Both have got their problems. Perhaps Rajasthan has more of problems because it is a deficit State. At the same time it is a border State. We have got a border of 700 miles. We have got hardly few roads. God forbid, if there is an emergency tomorrow, you will find it very difficult to send your forces on the border. I do not understand how a country which has got a border is ignored and is not being given facilities enough to develop. I cannot understand how you will be able to maintain your position in case of emergency.

Furthermore, we have been talking about industries. All round we have talked a great deal about them. In Rajasthan there is the biggest salt lake—Sambhar lake—and at least I could not find any other place for such an industry so far as salt is concerned. Probably so many industries could be developed on that line. That is not enough, Sir. In PEPSU also the same thing has happened. So my point is that if you really want that the entire country should progress and that there should be no disparity between the Part A and Part B States if you want that sort of a thing, then please revise your decision and see that you give a little more attention to those under-developed areas.

Sir, the point which struck me the most and which I will put before the House in all humility is that some of my friends on the Opposition side have always challenged that it is not a National Plan. Of course, they have not been able to produce anything against it.....

AN HON. MEMBER : They have, You do not see.

SHRI BARKATULLAH KHAN : But seeing is living. Anyway, they want to create an impression that so far as these friends are concerned or the representative parties are concerned, they have nothing to do with this Plan. And perhaps a remark which was made in the Lower House "at your own peril" was misconstrued here in this House and my friend Mr. Bhupesh Gupta came out and said, "Probably you may couple the Preventive Detention Act with it." My friends perhaps have not understood it. It was never meant that way. If you do not accept this Plan, do not accept it. But if this Plan succeeds, we want to give you your due share—may be out of charity or may be out of friendship. We want you to share with us and come out before the country and say, "Look here, this was a National Plan, we had as much to do with it as the Congress had to do." If this Plan fails, well, probably the Congress will go, probably there may be anarchy. And when the country is not in a mood to produce anything, I do not think anybody can make capital out of it. If it fails, then do not let the people feel that you were an instrument in trying to make it a failure. I hope my friend will understand it.

Now, as you proceed with this Plan, we find that again and again my friends here and particularly from the Opposition side have said, "What machinery have you got with you to implement this Plan? What type of people will you have to work this machinery?" Sir, it is a very simple thing. And I can only remind my friends of one thing. There were a number of people in the country, just before independence, who said that if the Britishers go away, there will be no body to take their place in the services. But still today we find that we are able to carry on our work.

(MR. CHAIRMAN in the Chair.)

(Time bell rings.)

So, Sir, just as we have been able to get good administrators after the Britishers left us, we shall certainly be able to find suitable people who will be

able to work this Plan satisfactorily. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI K. C. GEORGE (Travancore-Cochin) : Mr. Chairman, the hon. Prime Minister in his speech, while moving this Resolution, asked us to confine ourselves in our discussion to only practical things and not to any theoretical things. I would, therefore, try to confine myself to only practical things inasmuch as I will base myself on things which I have actually seen and things which I have actually heard myself.

4 P.M.

The hon. Member from Travancore-Cochin who spoke before me was telling the House how the Community Project which is the most important part of this Plan is being worked out in Travancore-Cochin. He referred to Neyyattinkara taluk. I had an occasion to pay a visit to this place just before this session. Neyyattinkara is a taluk where 90% of the people depend for their livelihood on the handloom industry. But this industry has completely collapsed. The scene there is a horrible one. The handloom industry has collapsed, the looms and the sheds are dilapidated and the people as a consequence are collapsing. It is there that the Community Project is being worked. What is it that I saw there? It so happened that on the day I visited the place, Mr. S. K. Dey had also happened to be there. So, I had an opportunity of meeting him and discussing matters with him. At the end of the discussion he asked me to attend a meeting that was going to be addressed by him. I agreed and went to that meeting. A group of one hundred people, chosen people, not the ordinary people, people who knew English very well, had come there. Nobody else was invited it appeared. When Mr. Dey was speaking, he asked the officer in charge of the Project whether his speech should be translated to the audience. He was told that there was no need to translate it. This shows how the people are being taken into confidence in working out the Project. The speech was not translated at all. Mr. Dey said in his speech that, the three most important

[Shri K. C. George.] aspects of the Project were construction of roads, education and reclamation of land. He confessed that when he came to Travancore, he realised that education was well advanced in the State and so there was no need to work that part of the Project. Regarding construction of roads, there are good roads in Travancore-Cochin and so there is no scope for further construction of roads also. Regarding the reclamation of land, the land is so thickly populated there that there is no land to be reclaimed. Mr. Dey was in a fix. All the same, I found that they started the construction of a small road, and that road, according to me—and that is the opinion of the people at large—is not a road which is necessary. It is only a road of two furlongs or so connecting a church from the main road. This road that was being constructed by this officer who draws Rs. 750 per month and the other officers drawing between Rs. 100 and 750. These people are doing manual labour every day for 2 hours early in the morning from 7 o'clock to 9 o'clock and they tell the people that the work is being done without the people paying anything for it. I claim that the amount that is being paid is a huge amount. He is paid Rs. 750 and the least that is paid is Rs. 100. The situation there is that people there want some work in order to get some wages. As I told you, the handloom industry has entirely collapsed and that the people are starving, but the Community Project people tell them that they want to teach them dignity of labour. Where is the question of teaching the people dignity of labour, when the people are prepared to do any work? Now, the people demand that a particular canal should be constructed as part of the minor irrigation schemes, a canal which will yield nearly 1 lakh maunds of paddy. It is an old canal not more than eight or nine rides in length and needs only repairs.

SHRI ABDUL RAZAK : To which canal is my hon. friend referring?

SHRI K. C. GEORGE : I am referring to the Kottugal Canal.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Confine yourself to the Plan and not talk about the Community Project.

SHRI K. C. GEORGE : My point is that the Community Project is part of the Plan.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Communist Project ?

SHRI K. C. GEORGE : Community Project. The Communists have no project.

SHRI J. R. KAPOOR (Uttar Pradesh): He is giving the Communist way of looking at the Community Project.

SHRI K. C. GEORGE : I am referring to the Kottugal Canal which the people demand should be taken up under the Community Project, but they are not prepared to do it. This is the way things are being done. This shows how the co-operation of the people is being sought. Sir, on page 42 of this publication "Five Year Plan—A Summary" where the development expenditure under the Plan is given, you find that under item 7 no amount has been put for rural development against Travancore-Cochin. Under item 5 also, "Labour and Labour welfare" nothing is given. This merely underlines my own experience that this Plan is not going to take the people into their confidence. It has been said that the people should support the Plan and work it. How can you get the support of the people? How can they be enthused? The situation there is such that factories are being closed one by one in the coir industry and thousands of the people are unemployed. How can you get their support, when you don't do anything for labour welfare there? Ten lakhs of people are unemployed in the coir industry today. Now, here I am reminded of the statement of the Finance Minister that those who do not co-operate in the implementation of the Plan will do so at their own peril. I did not know that all Acts were going to be exercised against them, but now I understand the significance of that

statement. My point is that this Plan is going to remain merely a paper Plan with all this waste of money and burden on the people.

DR. ANUP SINGH (Punjab) : Sir, I rise to commend the Plan. I think, considering the background of our economy, considering the nature of our economic, political and social institutions, the planners have acquitted themselves creditably. The very nature of the speeches made in this House indicate the difficulties that the planners had to encounter. A Member from this side was complaining a short while ago that the industry has not been given its proper share. Simultaneously one of my friends—my colleague from Punjab—turned to me and said, 'If you get an opportunity, please remind the Commission that agriculture has not received adequate help'. I mention this to indicate that the task that the Commission was confronted with was to reconcile the irreconcilable claims; sectional claims, claims from various sections. As for myself, as I read the summary report, I felt that it is an attempt to lay down the foundations of a planned economy. They have not raised any great hopes that within a very short period the standard of living will be raised. I am personally glad that such false hopes have not been held. I am rather in favour of a modest beginning than raising hopes which cannot be realised.

As for the critics, I am sure the Finance Minister, with his usual competence, will take care of all points but I would just like to mention one or two in passing. One of the Members said that this is not a Plan. I think that is reminiscent of the attitude of the lady who saw a huge giraffe for the first time in a zoo. She looked at it and then said, "I don't believe it". Here are two fat volumes which deal with almost every aspect of our national life and still some people feel that it is not a Plan. Another Member said that as he read the Plan, he felt that it was topsy turvy—its head upside down. I would like to

remind him that our Prime Minister who has presented the Plan, tells us in his autobiography that one of his favourite pastimes is to stand on his head. I would request the Member to read the Plan with his head upside down. I think he will then get a better perspective.

Much has been said about the human element which is necessary—the enthusiasm among the people, the unity and integrity of the officials—but I think there are one or two points which have not been mentioned, at least to my mind. One is the general indifference or rather aversion to manual work among the educated and semi-educated people, the white-collared people. I find that most of the educated people would rather have somebody else do the work for them. I don't find the habit of rolling up the sleeves and getting down to work. Everyone wants to pass the work on. I recently had a very amusing experience in Jullundur where I was staying. One day I carried two buckets of water from a pump near-by and after that my daughter told me that there was gossip among my neighbours who said that it was not dignified for a Member of Parliament to be carrying two buckets in his hand. Well, to annoy my neighbours, I persisted in my undignified behaviour and the result was that a graduate boy of one of my neighbours came to me and said 'Dr. Saheb, you have set a very bad example. Now my mother wants me to go and get water from the pump'. This will indicate that this has become almost a trait with us. The educated people particularly, or the semi-educated people, look down upon manual work. As for the officials, much has been said in the report about corruption, competence and integrity but I find that is not enough. There is another aspect to which we will have to pay some attention. An officer may be honest, may be competent and may have plenty of vigour and integrity but unless he can identify himself with the people, unless he can make them realise that he is one of them, that he is their servant or comrade, the projects

[Dr. Anup Singh.]

will not have the enthusiasm which they should have. Most of these officers, I am sure the Members of the House will agree with me, that their mentality and their behaviour are exactly the same as it was during the time of the British. They don't realize that they are in a free Republic, they are servants of the people and not their masters. Unfortunately that attitude prevails. I have personally come in contact with quite a number of officers and I can say their attitude is not very conducive.

Finally I want to touch upon a very controversial and perhaps a very provocative subject. A Member from this side lamented the fact that the Government had not touched upon the problem of prohibition. I judge from his attitude that he is in favour of it. Speaking quite objectively and having watched the operation of prohibition in America for about 7 years, I am perfectly satisfied that the Commission was wise in not advocating this. Even in those areas where it has been tried, there are Members who tell us that it is not a success. I fully agree with the sentiments that drinking does involve moral, financial and physical degradation. There is no doubt about it and I think we all agree with it but it is one thing to hold that view and it is another thing to push through a legislation and try to force people and try to reform them from certain habits to which they have been addicted for a long time. I would therefore suggest that even though Members who feel on moral grounds that prohibition is a worthwhile thing, they should think twice before advocating it as a measure. Thank you.

SHRI B. N. DUBE (Vindhya Pradesh) :

श्री बी० एन० दुबे (विन्ध्य प्रदेश) :
अध्यक्ष महोदय, पंचवर्षीय योजना के अधीन जितनी बड़ी धनराशि एक ऐसी पार्टी (Party) की सरकार द्वारा खर्च होगी, जिसे पार्टी के सम्बन्ध में जनता का विश्वास नहीं है, वह बहुत ही हानिकारक बात है। इसके लिए मैं एक उदाहरण इस पार्टी की सरकार

के सामने रख रहा हूँ जिसमें जनता का विश्वास बिल्कुल खत्म हो चुका है। विन्ध्य प्रदेश के एजुकेशन मिनिस्टर (Education Minister) साहब ने एक किताब हिन्दी में लिखी है जिसका नाम "हिन्दी निकुंज" है। इस किताब को शिक्षा बोर्ड (Board) के सामने पाम कराने के लिए भेजा गया और शिक्षा बोर्ड ने इस किताब को रिजक्ट (reject) कर दिया है। फिर मिनिस्टर साहब ने अपने विशेष अधिकार से इस किताब का नाम बदल कर शिक्षा बोर्ड के पास भेजा ताकि वह दूसरे नाम से वहां पास हो जाय। इस किताब का रूप और जो उमके भीतर नामग्री लिखी हुई थी उसको बिल्कुल वैसी ही, रहने दिया और बोर्ड के पास न करने पर अपने अधिकार से पास कर लिया और उसका नाम साहित्य सरिता रख दिया। इस उदाहरण के लिए मैं इस पुस्तक को हाउस (House) के सामने पेश करता हूँ। मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी के सामने यह बात रख रहा हूँ और उनमें कहता हूँ कि यह जो उदाहरण मैंने पेश किया है वह बिल्कुल सत्य है। प्रधान मंत्री जी ने अपने पिछले भाषणों में कहा था कि भ्रष्टाचारियों को फांसी के तख्ते में लटका देना चाहिये। अगर यह बात सही है तो उस मिनिस्टर की बोगस (bogus) कार्यवाही की जांच की जाय और देखा जाय कि बात सत्य है या नहीं।

मैंने यह उदाहरण इसलिये पेश किया कि जो पंचवर्षीय योजना देश में चलाई जायगी वह इसी तरह के मिनिस्टरों के हाथों से ही चलाई जायेगी। जिस तरह से उन्होंने इस पुस्तक के बारे में पन्ने फाड़ कर बोगसबाजी की है उसी तरह से पंचवर्षीय योजना में लाखों रुपयों की बोगसबाजी करेंगे।

दूसरा उदाहरण मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। हमारे विन्ध्य प्रदेश में गांधी

ग्राम का निर्माण हुआ, जिसमें ६ घरों के किमान परिवारों को बसाया गया। उन किमानों को ५०० रुपया मकान बनाने के लिए दिया गया। इस तरह से करीब तीन हजार रुपया उनको मकान बनाने के लिये दिया गया। सबसे आश्चर्य की बात यह है कि इस कार्य के लिए डिप्टी कमिश्नर (Deputy Commissioner) माह्व व मंत्रियों का ७ हजार का टी० ए० बिल (T.A. Bill) बनाया गया। इसके अलावा और भी इसी तरह से करीब चार पांच हजार रुपया जंका मंका में खर्च होगा। इस तरह से करीब १५ और १६ हजार रुपया इस कार्य में खर्च होगा। मगर उन लोगों की हालत में कोई सुधार नहीं हुआ। वह लोग जिस तरह से थे उसी तरह से आज भी हैं। न तो उनकी बेकारी दूर हुई है न दरिद्रता एवं मूर्खता ही दूर हुई।

इस पंचवर्षीय योजना में करीब २० अरब रुपया खर्च किया जायेगा। मगर मैं दावे के साथ कहता हूँ कि इस काम के लिए सिर्फ ४ अरब रुपया ही खर्च होगा और बाकी रुपया भ्रष्टाचार और चोरबाजारी करने वालों के पेट में चला जायेगा। हमारे प्रोफेसर रंगा माह्व ने जो बात कही थी कि अगर पंचवर्षीय योजना को इस सरकार को सफल बनाना है तो उसको सब पार्टियों की सरकार प्रान्तों और केन्द्र में बनानी चाहिये। मैं उनकी बात का समर्थन करता हूँ। अगर यह एक पार्टी की सरकार पंचवर्षीय योजना में इतना रुपया खर्च करेगी तो हम इसका विश्वास नहीं कर सकते हैं। अगर वह अपने ही तरीके से काम करेगी तो इस देश में शान्ति के बजाय अशान्ति ही जायेगी। इसलिये जरूरत इस बात की है कि इस पंचवर्षीय योजना में जो खर्च किया जायेगा उसके लिए एक अर्थ कमेटी बनाई जानी चाहिये। जो भी खर्च योजना में किया जाय वह सब

इस कमेटी ही मंत्रियों से ही किया जाना चाहिये। अगर सरकार ऐसा नहीं करती है तो हमें इस बात का विश्वास नहीं है कि इस पंचवर्षीय योजना में वह अच्छी तरह से धन का प्रयोग करेगी। मैं विरोधी पक्ष की सभी आलोचनाओं का समर्थन करने हुए इतना कह कर भाग्य समाप्त करना हूँ।

[For English translation, see Appendix III, Annexure No. 96.]

SHRIMATI SAVITRY NIGAM
(Uttar Pradesh) :

श्रीमती सावित्री निगम (उत्तर प्रदेश):
अध्यक्ष महोदय, पंचवर्षीय योजना की विचित्र आलोचनाएं विभिन्न दृष्टिकोणों द्वारा आपने सुनी। उनमें से बहुत सी योजनायें बिना समझे-बूझे अथवा बहुत सोच समझकर पढ़कर अथवा बिना पढ़े हुए की गईं। किसी ने कहा यह योजना बाइबिल के समान पवित्र है, किसी ने इसे बेकार निराशाजनक, फिजूल और हानिप्रद बनाया है। सबने अपने अपने निजी दृष्टिकोण से इसे देखा और अपनी सामर्थ्य और योग्यतानुसार अपना मत दिया।

श्रीमन, मेरे विचार से इस योजना पर उन लोगों का मत सब से पहिले लेना चाहिये जिनका इस योजना से सब से अधिक सम्बन्ध है। इस योजना को उन गांव, बाजार और झोपड़ियों में रहने वाले लोगों की दृष्टि से क्यों न देखा जाय, उस किसान से क्यों न यह पूछा जाय कि उसको यह योजना कैसी लगेगी, जिसने प्रयत्नों से सदियों से सूखे खेत की धरती नहरों के पानी से तृप्त होकर सोना उगलने लगेगी, उस किमान मजदूर से क्यों न पूछा जाय कि उसके लिए यह योजना कैसी साबित होगी जिसके गांव में नये नये उद्योग खुल जायेंगे, जिनके द्वारा उसकी आमदनी ८ पैसे से १॥ रुपया तक हो जायेगी और जिसके लिए यह योजना दिन में होनी और रात में दिवाली मनाने वाली होगी ?

[Shrimati Savitry Nigam.]

श्रीमन्, इस योजना के द्वारा हम एक नये युग को आरम्भ करने जा रहे हैं। यह योजना भारतीय राष्ट्र के पुनर्निर्माण का सबसे महत्वपूर्ण और प्रभावशाली कदम है। श्रीमन्, सदियों में जर्जर दाम्बल कुंठित भारत को उन्नति पथ पर बढ़ते हुये देखकर जो उर्मगित नहीं होता, जो अपनी पार्टी और व्यक्तिगत स्वार्थ से इस योजना को बेकार बताता है और इसका विरोध करता है, वह भारतीय नहीं है। जो अपनी पार्टी के स्वार्थ में या अपने निजी स्वार्थ में इसका विरोध करता है वह देशद्रोही के समान है और विवेकहीन हो गया है। मैं यह नहीं कहती कि यह योजना सर्वांग पूर्ण है, इस योजना में कुछ त्रुटियां नहीं हैं। सम्भव है कि इसमें कुछ त्रुटियां भले ही हों पर यह योजना देश की परिस्थितियों के अनुकूल है। इस योजना में अपने सुझाव देने में कोई हानि नहीं है। सुधार और परिवर्तन के लिये हमेशा इसके द्वार खुले हैं। फिर भी, श्रीमन्, खेद है कि विरोधी दल के कुछ लोग ऐसे नाजुक मौके में फायदा उठाना चाहते हैं। व्यक्तिगत, पार्टीगत और निजी स्वार्थों ने उनका विवेक समाप्त कर दिया है। अगर इस प्लान (Plan) में ३६ करोड़ जनता के सुझाव माने जाते तो यह योजना एक भानमती का पिटाग बन कर रह जाती। अगर इन सुझावों को नहीं माना गया तो यह भगवान् की एक बड़ी ही कृपा हुई। हमारे प्लानिंग कमीशन (Planning Commission) के अधिकारियों ने अगर इन सुझावों को मान लिया होता तो हमारा नारा प्लान चौपट हो गया होता। हां मैं यह अवश्य कहूंगी कि इसमें कुछ त्रुटियां अवश्य रह गई हैं लेकिन उनके संशोधन की पूरी पूरी व्यवस्था कर दी गई है। श्रीमन्, आदर्शों की ऊंची उड़ान करना जितना आसान है उतना ही किसी कल्पना को व्यावहारिक रूप में ढालना कठिन है।

ऐसे नाजुक समय में जबकि देश में गरीबी, भुखमरी और बेकारी फ़ैली हुई है, बहुत सी कुरीतियां देश को बर्बाद कर रही हैं, विरोधी दल असहयोग की धमकी दे रहा है, जनता को भड़काने की कोशिश कर रहा है, तमाम असामाजिक तत्व उत्पन्न हो गये हैं, रिश्वतखोरी और चोरबाजारी ने देश के अन्दर असामाजिक तत्व की वृद्धि कर दी है, ऐसे समय में हम सब लोगों का यह परम कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि हम इस योजना को सफल बनाने में पूर्ण सहयोग दें। इस समय देश को जयचन्दों की नहीं पृथ्वीराजों की आवश्यकता है। इस समय अपने स्वार्थ की नहीं परमार्थ की आवश्यकता है।

अभी एक मध्यम ने कोलिशन मिनिस्ट्री (Coalition Ministry) बनाने की बात कही। वह यह नहीं समझते हैं कि यहां पर और देश के अन्य भागों में इन पार्टियों की क्या स्थिति है। ये पार्टियां आज छोटे छोटे ग्रुपों (groups) में बटी हुई है, उनका इस देश में कोई भी अस्तित्व नहीं है। कोलिशन मिनिस्ट्री मांगने से, धमकी से नहीं मिलती है। श्रीमन्, आपकी मुठ्ठी या सदन की दीवारें मिनिस्ट्री नहीं देती नहीं तो मैं भी मिफ़ारिश कर देती। मिनिस्ट्री जनता देती है और मिनिस्ट्री पाने वालों को त्याग, सेवा, तपस्या और बलिदान देना होता है। फिर यहां पर कोई विरोधी दल संयुक्त दल नहीं है। मेरी विरोधी दल से प्रार्थना है कि वह भेदभाव, मन-मुटाव, कहा-सुनी छोड़ दें और इस योजना को कार्यान्वित करने में अपनी पूरी शक्ति लगा दें और हृदय से इसका समर्थन करें, तब ही आप इस तरह की मांग कर सकते हैं। प्लानिंग कमीशन को इसे बनाने की कीर्ति मिलेगी तो आगे आने वाली पीढ़ियां आपको इसे पूरा करने का श्रेय और गौरव देंगी। जन्म देने वाले को लोग भूल जाते हैं लेकिन पालन करने वाले को मां बाप मानते

हैं। मैं आप से कहती हूँ कि यदि आप राष्ट्र-पिता बापू के राम राज्य के अधूरे स्वप्न को इस योजना द्वारा पूरा करने की ठान लें और उमी लगन, त्याग, तपस्या और निस्वार्थ भाव से सेवा करना प्रारम्भ कर दें तो 'मिनिस्ट्रियां आपके चरणों पर अपने आप लोटने लगेंगी।

श्रीमन्, मुझे दो तीन मुझाव देने हैं। मेरा विश्वास है कि माननीय फ़ाइनेंस मिनिस्टर (Finance Minister) इन बातों को नोट कर लेंगे और यदि सम्भव हो सका तो उन्हें स्पष्ट कर देंगे। सबसे पहिले मुझे सोशल सर्विस (social service) के सम्बन्ध में कहना है। समाज ही देश की संस्कृति और उन्नति का दर्पण होता है। समाज की उन्नति ही देश की उन्नति है फिर भी सामाजिक कल्याण के लिये इतनी छोटी रकम देखकर मुझे दुःख हुआ। देश में तमाम कुरीतियां फैली हुई हैं। भ्रष्टाचार, रिश्वत, वेश्यावृत्ति, धार्मिक अन्धविश्वास तथा असामाजिक तत्व फैले हुए हैं। इन सबका प्रभाव स्त्री और बच्चों पर सबसे अधिक पड़ता है। इसलिए मेरी योजना मंत्री जी से यह प्रार्थना है कि योजना के इस अंश में धन और जन शक्ति अधिक लगाना उचित है। मेरा पूर्ण विश्वास है कि इस भयानक खाई को दूर करने के लिए इस रकम में से बड़ा अंश अवश्य दिया जायेगा। श्रीमती दुर्गाबाई ने इस दिशा में काफी प्रबन्ध किया है मगर इसमें जो धनराशि रकवी गई है वह बहुत ही कम है।

श्रीमन्, मेरी यह प्रार्थना है कि एक शक्तिशाली नेतृत्व के द्वारा, एक आन्दोलन के द्वारा इस बुरी प्रथा का अन्त किया जाय। इस प्रथा के द्वारा माये विश्व में जिनका नारी जाति का शोषण किया गया है उनका अन्य किसी का नहीं किया गया है। सामाजिक

विषयमा, नैतिक विमत्ता आदि ही इसके जन्म का कारण है। यह बात निर्विवाद मत्य है मगर कोशिश की जाय तो भारत का और मानवता का बहू सबसे पड़ा अभिशाप, सबसे बड़ा कलंक समाप्त हो सकना है। इसलिये इस सम्बन्ध में मैं आपके सामने एक छोटा सा मुझाव देना चाहती हूँ जिनके द्वारा स्त्रियों की बेरोजगारी और गरीबी दूर हो सकती है। इस काम के लिये हर जगह विमन इन्डस्ट्रीयल होम्स (Women Industrial Homes) खोले जाने चाहियें जिसमें विषवा होने पर, अनाथ होने पर, पति के द्वारा छोड़े जाने पर और गुंडों द्वारा सताई जाने पर आश्रय पा सकें। इस तरह के होम्स ग्राम ग्राम और शहर शहर में खोले जाने चाहियें, जहां पर ग्राम और शहर की स्त्रियों का आश्रय मिल सके। इसके साथ ही साथ ऐसी स्त्रियों की सूची जिला अधिकारियों के पास रहे जो असहाय हों और सरकार उनको रोजगार दिलाने का सब से पहिले प्रयत्न करे। बेरोजगारी तथा सामाजिक कुरीतियों के कारण ही बहिनें गुंडों के चंगुल में फंसती हैं। इसलिये मेरी सरकार से प्रार्थना है कि वह इस ओर शोध से शोध ध्यान दे जिससे कि यह बुरी प्रथा बिल्कुल नष्ट हो जाय।

दूसरी बात मुझे भारत सेवक समाज के विषय में कहनी है। मचमुच देश के लिये ऐसी संस्था को बड़ी आवश्यकता थी जो राजनीति से अलग रहे और जनता का सेवा करे। इस विषय में योजना कमिशन को बधाई देनी चाहिये। पर एक बड़ी चिन्ता-जनक बात है कि सरकार भारत सेवक समाज को उचित सहयोग नहीं दे रही है। मैं आपके द्वारा माननीय नन्दा जी से तथा प्रधान मंत्री जी से प्रार्थना करूंगी कि भारत सेवक समाज को भ्रष्टाचार, रिश्वत, चोरबाजारी और

[Shrimati Savitry Nigam.]

भिलावट दूर करने में पूरी पूरी सुविधायें दे। जब भारत सेवक समाज की जनता में प्रतिष्ठा और श्रद्धा बढ़ेगी तभी वह लोगों को आकर्षित करेगा।

तीसरी बात जो मुझे कहनी है वह मैं आपके सम्मुख बहुत ही संक्षेप में कहूंगी और वह लैंड पालिसी (land policy) के सम्बन्ध में है। श्रीमन्, आपको विदित ही होगा कि इस विषय में काफी प्रबन्ध इस दिशा में किया जा चुका है और हो रहा है। फिर भी मुझे इस विषय में केवल एक दो ही बातें कहनी हैं। सबसे पहली बात यह है कि हमको लैंड पालिसी के बारे में एक क्लियर कट (clear cut) पालिसी का शीघ्र से ऐलान कर देना चाहिये। इसका यह कारण है कि अगर कोई भी व्यक्ति किसी गांव में हजार एकड़ भूमि पर खेती करता है तो उसको यह विश्वास नहीं होता है कि इस योजना के द्वारा उसके वह खेत उसके पास रहेंगे या छीन लिये जायेंगे। इससे देश के उत्पादन में धक्का लगेगा। इसीलिये सरकार को लैंड पालिसी के बारे में शीघ्र से शीघ्र कोई निर्णय अवश्य कर देना चाहिये। पिछले कुछ दिनों से देश के ^{अर्थ} ~~अर्थ~~ इस बात के एक्सपैरीमेंट (experiment) किये गये हैं कि जिस खेत में थोड़ा चावल होता था उसमें बहुत अधिक उपजाया गया है। उपज बढ़ाने के लिये सरकार को अविलम्ब एक क्लियर कट पालिसी ग्रहण करनी चाहिये।

मैं भवन का अब ज्यादा समय नहीं लूगी खत्म करते करते एक बात और कहूंगी, वह एक्सपोर्ट और इम्पोर्ट (Export Import) के विषय में है। एक्सपोर्ट और इम्पोर्ट से जो रेवेन्यूज (Revenues) आती है उन्हें और बढ़ाया जा सकता है। हालांकि बहुत सावधानी की आवश्यकता है फिर

अपना एक्सपोर्ट बढ़ाकर हम कंज्यूमरों (consumers) के ऊपर प्रभाव डाले बिना रेवेन्यूज और इकट्टा करके योजना का खर्च चला सकते हैं। यह बात योजना में साफ साफ नहीं है, इसे स्पष्ट किया जाय। इसमें हमको जो धनराशि मिलेगी उससे हम अपनी पंचवर्षीय योजना में मदद पहुंचा सकते हैं।

[For English translation, see Appendix III, Annexure No. 97.]

SHRI M. S. RANAWAT (Rajasthan): Sir, I am perhaps at the last fag end of the debate.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Last? You are at the fag end of the debate and you must be as brief as possible.

SHRI M. S. RANAWAT: Sir, rationing should be brought in the earlier stages and not in the later stages. If this rationing were there from the very beginning, then we would have had some chance.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Come to the Plan.

SHRI M. S. RANAWAT: Sir, I would not go into the general question of the Plan because so many friends had spoken about its merits and demerits. But I wish it all success, because, after all, if you are going to spend money, somebody will gain. It is not a question as to who gains by it. The whole difficulty will be whether you can really enthuse the people to that extent. Now, so far as we, the backward States, are concerned, I felt that Assam and Orissa are not put on the same level with the other advanced States. In the case of Orissa, we had our good friends who spoke and argued for the State. In the case of Assam, we have got probably only the Brahmaputra scheme which gives us floods every year. Similarly, to my mind, Bengal and Travancore are awfully over-populated and the Plan has failed to deal with the question. And how are you going to solve it? After some time, the problem will be more acute. It is not known

how you will be able to solve it later on. Compared to the area and resources of these States, I feel that the population has already gone too much, and unless you pray to God for some Bengal famine or plague or cholera, the problem will be there.

Now, I come to my own Province of Rajasthan. I feel that the Part B States have not received the same treatment as Part A States. Probably, it is because, it was thought, like some good speculators, "Wherever we could get good returns, we must invest." Now, Sir, we believe we are able to give a more proper return than you expect. The Rajasthan Government have asked for about 36 crores of rupees and the Planning Commission have given only 16 crores of rupees. The Finance Minister has already sent the Commission there and in five year's time the result will be that Rajasthan will be deficit by a little over 10 crores of rupees and if they are going to be dependent for everyday expenditure on the centre, how is it that they are going to find money for anything? From the area point of view, Rajasthan is almost the biggest in India. Here, you can just see, Sir, C. P. 1,30,000 sq. miles, Madras 1,27,000 sq. miles Rajasthan, including Ajmer 1,32,000 sq. miles, and if you exclude Ajmer, 1,28,000 sq. miles, which means that according to area this is as big as any of the big States, and therefore, the *per capita* money required will have to be larger. Our another problem is that we have a land border with Pakistan. We had our armies there, they were federal subjects, and we had our programmes. We adopted integration enthusiastically, we thought that our people will be benefited. Of course we have perhaps benefited morally, that we feel we are now part of a big unit, but then we remain at the lowest level, and our people are completely handicapped. Even our hospitals in big States like Jodhpur, Bikaner etc., are simply suffering for want of medicines. Roads are not properly repaired, and whatever funds you have provided are so little. The Rajasthan

people were expecting that by the disappearance of the princely States, they will get something better than they were already getting as subject people of the States, but actually you will find there is a feeling of disappointment. Unemployment has been on the increase, and there is dependence on the Centre. The army and the police previously were being maintained by the princes and the jagirdars. The Rajasthan people are very likely to reach the starvation point. They are muscular. They are strong. They will not sit idle. You talk of law and order, but then you do not let them have food for their minds, for their eating, and provide money for good roads, for their railway programmes. If the States had continued, we would be having our railways between the various States, Bikaner, Jodhpur, Udaipur, etc. etc. For the schemes in the Plan, it will take twenty years, and the Rajasthan people must wait. Then there is one happy side. After all, between Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan you have accepted the Chambal valley scheme in this Plan. In the Draft Plan this also was not accepted, and I have to congratulate the framers for now having accepted it. I should thank them for having accepted, but that is also a scheme, which, if you do not complete in five years, the people will not be satisfied. Because, Kotah had already got a programme for the State, and we could have finished something like it this year. The ruler of Kotah left some 2-3 crores of rupees simply for this work. But in the course of integration, we have lost all our savings. We have lost that money. Now, Sir, . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, Sir, it is time !

SHRI M. S. RANAWAT : All right, Sir. Thank you.

SHRI T. S. PATTABIRAMAN (Madras) : Mr. Chairman, it is with great pleasure and pride that I rise to support the Resolution that has been ably moved

[Shri T. S. Pattabiraman.]
 by our beloved Prime Minister. I am proud of the fact that within such a short time after attaining political independence and in spite of grave calamities like partition, famine and political disturbances, this Government has lunched on a national Plan which is the first step towards achieving economic independence. Nowhere in the world throughout its ages has such an achievement been made in such a short time. Even in Soviet Russia where schemes and plans have become the order of the day, they took more than eleven years for formulating a Plan, and they are still continuing their plans there. So it is a matter of gratification that this plan has come before us and it is a greater assurance that this Government has been fully alive to the needs of the country and that economic independence will also immediately follow political independence.

Sir, I will only touch on a few aspects of this Plan. The industrial aspect of the Plan has been ably dealt with by many hon. Members. Very desirable targets have been fixed for industrial production. But I would like to point out in this connection that for the industrial progress of the country, for realisation of these targets that we have fixed, the power, the motive power behind, must also be properly developed. In this country electrification has been in a very backward state. The production or generation of electrical energy has reached the limit that is required for the proper development of our industries. The hon. Prime Minister also referred to this aspect of the question in his opening speech. But in this respect I would like to warn the Government about one matter and that is that they should not develop hydro-electric power alone. These schemes are all very good and important. But however good they may be, in times of failure of the monsoons, they do not serve our purpose. We have had the experience of the last five years when, due to the failure of the monsoons, Madras and Bombay suffered and we know how the whole industrial production of Bombay and Madras

suffered. The textile industry was very badly affected and on the fourth day there was acute unemployment. Therefore I request the Planning Commission to bear this in mind, to be fully aware and alive to this, that we should have not only hydro-electric schemes, but also thermal stations so that there may be balanced development and industry may not suffer for want of power even if there is failure of the monsoons.

Another aspect that I would like to touch on is the handloom industry. Coming from the South where the handloom industry is one of the biggest industries—next only to agriculture—it is a matter of some sorrow to me that the Planning Commission has not, in spite of repeated requests made on the floor of this House and also in the public, taken into consideration fully the place that the handloom industry occupies in the economy of our country. More than one million people are dependent on this industry and it is very important in the States of Madras, Mysore and Hyderabad in particular. There has been a vague reference to the help to be given to the handloom industry. But I would like to inform the House and to assure it that this will not solve the problems of the handloom industry, nor the unemployment problem facing the handloom industry in Madras and the Southern States. The Planning Commission must decide to give this industry a better place and it must be given concrete help. We are only told that certain reservations will be made for this industry, that certain sums of money will be available. But whether this industry will be flourishing, whether the handloom weavers will have an adequate supply of the raw materials that they need, whether the handloom industry will have a future, these have not been made clear; they have been left as vague as possible. May I request the Planning Commission to consider the modest demand of the Chief Minister and the Legislative Assembly of Madras in respect of the handloom industry, and help the industry to survive and keep it up. Let them concede certain minimum demands made by the Chief

Minister and the Legislature of Madras. I would beg of the Planning Commission, if they are really interested in having a mixed economy, if they want to have heavy industries, the big industries as well as the small industries in our country, if the rural population is to be benefited by this mixed economy, they should see that this handloom industry is protected and the workers in this industry guaranteed a minimum wage. They must accept the demand made by the Government of Madras and the Chief Minister of Madras.

In the production of goods, may I also point out that in our anxiety to reach the target, we should not sacrifice quality for quantity. That was the great defect in the Russian first Five Year Plan. There they sacrificed quality in order to reach the target in terms of quantity. I want to lay emphasis on another factor also, namely, the power needed for production. For this power coal is most essential. Great difficulties are experienced by industries if there is shortage of coal or if coal is not available. I would like to point out that we have got in South Arcot a lot of lignite deposits and if the Government, if the Planning Commission pays attention to this and develops these lignite deposits, then the industrial production, the cost of production in Madras will be reduced by about 50 per cent. That will be a great help.

Finally, I would like to make a request. We are grateful and thankful to the Government of India and to the Planning Commission for all that they have done for the refugees, these political refugees, who have come from Pakistan. But there are other political refugees also in our country. Due to the unrest in Malaya, in South Africa and in Burma, a large number of families who have been living in those countries for years, have had to come away to our country. They are in Tamil Nad and other places in Madras and they deserve sympathy and generosity just as the refugees

from Pakistan. It is absolutely necessary that these political refugees come from these far off countries who have been forced to come here, leaving their homes where they had been living for many years, should receive fair treatment. I request the Planning Commission to draw up the same sort of schemes and apply the same sort of rehabilitation programmes to these political refugees also and give them the same benefit.

And then.....

MR. CHAIRMAN : That is final ?

SHRI T. S. PATTABIRAMAN : Just one last sentence. If the Planning Commission wants the genuine enthusiasm of the masses let them give something concrete to each village. Let it be a road, a school or drinking water. Let it be something concrete ; that will certainly make your plan more mass-conscious and the people will be grateful for ever.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : Mr. Chairman, I shall not tax the hon. Finance Minister any further than he has been for the last one and a half days.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : I will tax you !

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : But unfortunately there is nothing to be taxed at all on this side of the House.

Sir, there is one very important point that has been raised by hon. Members on that side of the House especially, regarding the co-operation that they have been asking, either by threat as it was alluded to by the Finance Minister, or by the sweet persuasion as in the case of the lady Member who sat down just now. I shall say, so far as my party is concerned, why we have received this Plan with some indifference. But I am sure—and the Government is also aware of it, we have also stated it—we will give our co-operation wherever that is feasible, so far

[Shri C. G. K. Reddy.]
 as we are concerned. I want the Government to understand that the attitude of our party is not to break this Plan, but if possible, to better it. I should also like them to understand, if through our efforts it is possible for us to out-step the target, if it is possible for us to go beyond the rather—shall I say—the very low targets that the Commission has put before this House, then it shall be given and there will be no bargaining. But so far as the Plan itself is concerned, we do definitely believe that in so far as we conceive of plans, this is not a plan. Sir, before I come to give my reasons, the reasons that my party has advanced for saying that this is no plan at all, I hope the House will give me some indulgence.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh) : No indulgence here.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY :
 if I were to pass some remarks on the speech the hon. Prime Minister made when he initiated the debate. I was extremely disappointed at the halting and very hesitant manner in which he initiated the debate. We have been told, Sir, that this is only the first plan, that it is a plan for prosperity, a plan for plenty, that it is a plan which is to be followed by many other plans. But listening to the hon. Prime Minister I wonder why he was so apologetic. Was it because he himself was not satisfied? Perhaps it was so. Or perhaps he and the Government which he heads and the Planning Commission themselves were not satisfied with the present that they were making to the nation. Sir, he also took a long time in explaining to us and in tracing to us the history, the development and the progress of political economy, and the manner in which the idea of democracy has changed during the last century and a half, and the idea of economic democracy, as he would call it, had changed during the last few years. But the manner in which he presented it, I thought represented a great deal of confused thinking and I am sure that this confused thinking is general so far as that part of the House is concerned.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Clarity this side, confusion this side.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : Anyway, Sir, there was one thing I was surprised about. He said something about democracy. We believe in democratic planning; yet, I do not find, in his speech, a conviction that the nation should believe in democratic planning and that democratic planning is the only thing in which we can believe, because, when talking about democratic planning, he also put another alternative. He said that if this fails, something else may come and that is by force, by dictatorial planning. I wish very much, Sir, that those words were not uttered by the Prime Minister of this country because, I believe and my Party believes that there is no alternative; there can be no question of our even considering anything other than democratic planning and, to me, democratic planning has the same meaning as democracy which has also the same meaning as socialism. There can be no democracy without socialism and there cannot be socialism without democracy.

Having said this much, Sir, I should like to say what my picture of the Plan is. It is not the picture of a plan as one of my old comrades, Mr. Masani of hallowed memory, put before us some years ago; but, my picture of the Plan is a picture which contains certain aspirations. It may be an individual plan, a plan for your own house, a plan for ourselves or a plan for the country. It cannot be a collection of targets and means to attain the targets. One of the essential constituents of a plan must be the aspiration of the nation. It should not be always dictated and determined essentially by the resources that you think that you have; but, it must also put before ourselves the aspirations that we hope to achieve. Unless that is there, I think that no plan can exist, because, otherwise it is merely an adjustment between the means and the ends. We must hitch our aspirations as high as we can and we must find all the

means that are available to see that those aspirations are attained. In this regard, I am convinced that the Plan has signally failed because the Plan has not put any aspirations before the people of this country. If the targets that have been put in this Plan, not for the first 5 years but even the tentative figures that have been put before us for the next 27 years represent the aspirations of the people of this country, I am extremely sorry that our people should be inflicted with such a plan.

Sir, there was also an argument and a criticism and a contention that the Plan is not a Socialist Plan, it is not a capitalist Plan, it is not any other 'ist' Plan; it is a national Plan. I do not know what the meaning of that word is; but, I hope that, so far as the Opposition Benches are concerned, we have convinced those who are responsible for this Plan that except for one single party and the Government in power, no one else has had a hand in it. I am aware that 2 or 3 months ago, representatives of political parties, representatives of other sections of the nation were invited by the Planning Commission and they had, what I would call a very pleasant *tete-a-tete*; beyond that, I don't think there was anything more. It does not have any impress of any other hand other than that of the Congress Party or the Congress Government, or the Planning Commission. If it was a national Plan, then, it was necessary that the representatives of all shades of opinion in this country should have been taken into confidence and their opinions, and their views should have found some impression on this Plan. We do not find it. Therefore, let us not talk anymore of a national plan; let us call it simply a 5-Year Budget and be done with it.

More than that, Sir, there is one very fantastic thing about a plan which is supposed to have started in 1951, to have been published at the end of 1952 and, perhaps, could be put into effect in 1953. I do not know, Sir, how a plan which is supposed to have been

put into effect 2 years ago could be published only now. This reminds me of a limeric, Sir, which.....

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, no. Proceed.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : I do not know, Sir, whether this has got something to do with the theory of relativity...

MR. CHAIRMAN : Get along.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : whether we can start on one day and arrive the previous day. Well, I am sure, the hon. the Finance Minister who is smiling perhaps also knows the limeric. It is for his benefit and, so, I need not say it.

There is another thing about priorities. I am aware that this question of priorities is a very complicated and difficult question. Those who believe in planning must accept, even if they think that they are arbitrary, some set of priorities; but, the manner in which priorities have been fixed in the Planning Commission cannot be accepted by most parties and most shades of opinion even in the benches which are so strongly backing the hon. the Finance Minister because the priorities have not been fixed in the manner that they ought to have been fixed. Sir, when you want priorities fixed for a nation, then, the entire nation should have had a hand in the fixation of priorities. Four or six or ten or even hundred men or women, sitting in Delhi cannot fix the priorities for the nation. Those priorities should have travelled from our lowest political units or our units of existence, that is, from the villages, from the districts, from the regions, right upto the nation. Here, priorities have been fixed, perhaps, after great examination and investigation of everything that may be available by way of statistical data; but, still, I would say that priorities cannot be fixed by those who sit here unaided by the lowest units in our country. Therefore, Sir, even in the question of priorities, the Plan has signally failed. It is not as if that those who come from Madras feel that Madras has been neglected or, as my hon. friends have stated, Rajasthan has been sorely

[Shri C. G. K. Reddy.] neglected; but you will find that, even on the question of sectors and on the question of fixation of priorities between industry and agriculture or any other, you will find that it does not satisfy because, the whole nation has not been enthused, has not been consulted and has not had a say in the fixation of these priorities.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Hurry up.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : Sir, I am sure the hon. the Finance Minister can accommodate me for a few minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : He nods his head ; he says yes.

MR. CHAIRMAN : 'He says yes'? I am the Chairman.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : The hon. the Finance Minister and I are great friends.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The point, Mr. Reddy, is that they have an important engagement at 6 o'clock. So,.....

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : I will finish, Sir. I wanted to say many things, but I would only say where the defect of the Plan is. I would not like to go through the whole volume. In fact, I did not have the time to go through the whole but, I would like to make a case study of the Plan by taking the example of a subject in which I am greatly interested and have been. I am glad that the hon. the Minister for Transport is here.

Sir, so far as shipping is concerned, I should like to make a case. I shall base my case on the section that has been devoted for shipping. Now, Sir, when you come to Chapter XXI regarding shipping—there are about 4 or 5 pages that have been devoted to shipping. Sir, I would not like to repeat the trite sentence with which this Chapter begins that is "the importance of shipping in a country

with a long coast line" of so many thousand miles, but, I should like the House to take into consideration the great and important part that shipping plays in any country. Even 5 P. M. in our country—subject to correction : I was not able to get the latest figures—we are paying Rs. 80 to 90 crores to foreign shipping companies every year. If anything it would be, much more than that, I should think. The Planning Commission should have given much more attention than it has given to this particular aspect of our national activity. The hon. Finance Minister and also the Minister for Transport are aware that in 1947 we did produce a report putting our target at 2 million tons within 5 to 7 years. It may be that with the resources available with us it is not possible to achieve that target, but the manner in which even the 6 lakh tons are expected to be achieved is so shaky, if I may say so, that I doubt very much if in 1956 we would be in a position to achieve the target of 6 lakh tons, which by itself is a very small figure. So far as the Hindustan Shipyard Limited is concerned, the Planning Commission has depended on it for producing 1 lakh tons. At the rate of progress that has been maintained during the last two or three years and also at the rate of progress that has been foreseen by the Government itself, through the answers given in this House, we know that it will not be possible for the Hindustan Shipyard to build 12 ships of 8000 tons average in order to come into line with this Plan.

There are also other aspects in this chapter which have not been put in after a great deal of thought. As the hon. Minister for Transport and the Government ought to know, in all countries where this important aspect of national economy has to be developed, there is a separate organisation for that—a shipping commission, a maritime board, or a maritime commission—which not only has the functions of devising means of reaching the target but assumes other functions such as operatory, investigatory, etc. which help to develop this important sector,

because this sector particularly is extremely complicated. But we find that apart from putting down figures and the possible means of achieving those targets, the Planning Commission has not given any thought to this problem at all. I can quote several other chapters where also very little attention has been paid.

Therefore, I say that in every aspect the Planning Commission has not gone into the problem very deeply. It may be that they were fighting for time. It may be that they did not have enough resources.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The hon. Member should finish now.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : There is only one point and I will finish, although there are so many to be dealt with.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Of course there are so many. If they had given you these volumes a few days earlier, our discussion would have gone on for a few days longer.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : Probably that is the reason why they gave us only a week to study it.

There is another important aspect. So far as the financing of the Plan is concerned—I am not going into deficit financing or anything like that—we find that we are already in difficulties. I am sure the hon. Minister, with his optimism, which is at its very zenith at the moment, will also agree with me that there are tremendous difficulties in the way of our raising this finance, and his reason for not hitching the targets higher would be that we have no more money. The Planning Commission, he will agree with me, should have gone into the question of exploiting existing resources without spending any money. I will again give an example.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He understands.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : No, Sir. He does not understand. Nor will he admit it until I tell him what exactly I mean. In 1839 or thereabouts a gentleman called General Cotton designed and executed a very extensive and very effective canal system which goes from Rajahmundry right down to Madras. The Minister will also agree with me when I say that this particular section on the railways of India is perhaps the biggest headache to the Minister of Transport. If it was possible for us to see that this canal system, which can carry goods from Rajahmundry right down to Madras, is so developed that it would almost be equivalent to another track, then to a very great extent our transport problem in that section would have been solved.

(Time bell rings.)

Just two minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Does not the hon. Member want the Finance Minister to give a satisfactory reply ?

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : He will give a satisfactory reply. He is extremely capable.

Sir, when I went down to these places about two or three months ago, the reasons that they gave for not putting power launches on this canal was that old-fashioned 1850 reason that the banks would be eroded, not knowing that the development in ship construction and design has advanced to such an extent that not a ripple need be caused in a canal. Has the Planning Commission gone into this question ? How many crores in transport could we have put in, indirectly by making it possible for these canals to be used by power launches ?

There are several other aspects where also the same—may I say—inattention has been paid to existing resources. There are resources which do not need any money to be put in, for their full exploitation. There are several other resources, but time is short, and I will finish in one sentence.

MR. CHAIRMAN : One sentence ? I will watch.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : It will have to be a compound, complicated sentence.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Better give it in writing.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : It is true I can give it in writing, but there is just one thing I have to say so far as the implementation of the Plan is concerned. It can either be through creating enthusiasm—enthusiasm which is not there, according to us at least, in spite of all the hopes that are supposed to be held out—or it can be by associating as many people as possible with the implementation of the Plan which would make it possible for the people out of sheer pleasure to take part in the implementation of the Plan. If these two are not there, the only alternative is force, which I hope the hon. Minister is not going to tell us that he is going to employ.

Therefore, Sir, on all these counts we find it extremely unsatisfactory and we will have the painful duty of opposing the main Resolution, with this reservation, that wherever it is feasible for us to co-operate, we will give that co-operation, whether the Government likes it or not.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Saksena has handed to me a note saying that he made a gift of 30 seconds out of the time allotted to him.

“If people do not wish to call it a National Plan, let them call it a Rational Plan.”

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : Sir, it is very difficult to wind up a debate in the course of which half a century of speakers have spoken. I have been indulging in a bout of self-introspection in the light of the mild or ruthless castigation which the Plan has been receiving at the hands of the Members on the Opposition benches, and I have tried honestly to consider if it would have been possible at all for us to do anything else than what we claim to have

achieved by means of this Plan. The first charge is about the period taken for bringing out this Plan. After a little bit of research I discovered that the nth plan of the U. S. S. R. was brought out about 20 months after its inception, which is almost exactly the period after which we are bringing out this final version of our first Five Year Plan. I would also remind the House, Sir, that within four months of the appointment of the Planning Commission we brought out a rough Draft for the purposes of the Colombo Conference, and within one year of that we brought out the Draft Outline of the first Five Year Plan. So, relatively I do not think we have done so badly.

Then, Sir, I have considered whether we could have made it more of a plan. We may at once confess the charge that it is not really a plan in the sense in which perhaps economists understand a plan, that is to say, a plan, the details of which could be displayed in tables and in horizontal and vertical columns, giving resources on the one side and expenses on the other side and so on and so forth. Now, certainly it is not true that it is a comprehensive plan of that kind, but anyone who has devoted some attention to the problems of planning, would find out that in this first experiment, in the absence of supporting statistics and data, that kind of a plan would have been completely impossible and if we had brought out such a plan, I think the Opposition Members would have been justified in calling it just moonshine.

Now, Sir, much has been made that this is really a series of the annual Budgets. In the course of my speech in the House of the People yesterday, I pointed out that it is really not a financial plan, that is to say, the limitations of the Plan are not just finance and I do not wish, for lack of time, to repeat what I said in the House of the People. But since we have made allowance for addition to the Plan or supplementing the Plan, it certainly could not be regarded as a series of Budgets.

Then, another charge that was levelled at the Plan was that no assessment of resources has been made.

Well now, we have, it is true again, not given tables of resources, but in preparing the Plan we have given special attention to this subject and there are several Chapters—III, IX, XXI, XXIII, XXVI and XXVII—where we have made some reference to some of these resources and the limitations on our capacity to give a complete picture. Now, as regards our human resources, the information at present available is particularly inadequate. The data which the 1951-Census has produced, might make a further analysis of such resources possible. We have made some attempt to deal with the problem of unemployment and there again, in that connection, I said in the House of the People yesterday that far deeper study of this problem is required before you could even start getting an idea of the size or dimensions of the problem. It will be noticed that the Plan contains provision for national sample survey and also provision of Rs. 50 lakhs for research and investigation relating to special problems of national development. Therefore, Sir, our defence in this matter is that within the information at present available, the best assessment possible of the country's resources has been made in the Plan. I would also urge that the study of resources is a continuous process and there will be various places in the Plan where we have pointed out in which direction further studies could be made.

Well, Sir, I have tried to profit by the stream of suggestions that have been drawn out in the course of this three-day debate and I will try to reconstruct the Plan. I have made additions in my mind for heavy industries, chemical industries, engineering industries, railway development, education, health, shipping, Rajahmundry canal, underdeveloped areas, lignite, etc. And I find that the total size of the Plan now comes to nearly three thousands crores. Well, Sir, I have also made recalculations of resources in view of the grim prognostications of some of the Members including Members from Rajasthan, who said that there was going to be a deficit of Rs. 10 crores on that side alone. Our resources are one thou-

sand crores and the size of the Plan is three thousand crores.

SHRI H. C. MATHUR (Rajasthan) : The Member from Rajasthan gave a very good item for resources also. Do not forget that.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : Well, I have come to the conclusion that again that kind of a plan would be a fraud on the country.

AN HON. MEMBER : Why?

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : Because it will be impracticable. The answer is quite obvious, because no one would be in a position to carry it out or implement it. It would remain a plan on paper.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI : (Nominated) : There are certain points of priorities, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He is coming to that.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : Yes, I am coming to that.

I have taken note of the complaint made by the hon. Member who preceded me, who said that the Plan does not take any notice of the aspirations of the nation. Well, we were under the blissful impression that the aspirations of the nation were contained in the Constitution and it is with reference to those aspirations that the planners were asked to plan. And indeed the purpose of a plan is not to state aspirations but to state the ways in which those aspirations could, if at all possible, be carried out or translated into practice.

Then, Sir, he complained that this was the first time in the last three or four days that Members of the Opposition Party were consulted. Now, the Planning Commission has a National Advisory Board on which the Members of almost every Party are represented. Certainly I remember that a very distinguished Member of the Party—the hon. Member opposite—is a Member of the National Advisory Board and he has to my knowledge been attending

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh.]
the meetings of that Board. So I do not think they can complain justly that they have not been taken into confidence before.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : I said, the Plan does not carry any impress.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : I am coming to that. Now, the draft of the Final Five Year Plan was discussed during October 1952 separately with representatives of the Praja Socialist Party who were in a somewhat divided frame of mind, having amalgamated very recently and they gave us no guidance at all on the vital subject of controls; then it was discussed with a group of independent Members of Parliament and after that with the representatives of the Communist Party and then in early November 1952, discussions also took place with leading women workers. Now, the principal points made by representatives of the Communist Party related to taking all land without compensation.

SHRI P. SUNDARAYYA (Madras) : Not all land. Land of the landlords only.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : I accept that and I am glad to see a sign of moderation. They wanted distribution of land and confiscation of foreign capital in India—again I think without compensation, but I am open to correction. Now, we felt honestly that there could not be very much meeting ground in these proposals and I think that was a fact which was recognised by the representatives of the Communist Party themselves.

Now, in the discussions with the other groups, the points made were in the main points of emphasis rather than differences in principle, and these concern the following principal aspects of the Plan, the need to ensure that the Plan would be fully implemented without too much red-tape—we agree, Sir, that too much red-tape would be a nuisance, although if we avoid it too much, the country will be entirely red—

absence of interference from political parties and at the same time co-operation to be sought on a national rather than on a Party basis, the need to give greater emphasis to cottage and small-scale industries, the fullest possible utilisation of the manpower resources, discussion in the Plan regarding the problems of employment, the importance of rural electrification, the need to ensure that the Plan did not result in strengthening and entrenching private interests and the general problem of financial resources for the Plan. Well, Sir, we did revise the draft extensively in regard to most of these points in order to take some notice, to find some room, for the suggestions received by the Planning Commission from these Parties, principally the Praja Socialist Party.

SHRI B. GUPTA : Not one of our suggestions has been accepted.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He was not referring to the Communist Party. He was referring to the Praja Socialist Party.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : I thought that the hon. Member belonged to the Communist Party. A comparison between the Draft Report discussed with the various political parties and the Final Plan presented to Parliament will bring this out. I am anxious that the hon. Member who is the Leader of the Praja Socialist Party should adhere to the statesmanlike attitude with which he opened his speech. We are very anxious that we should have their co-operation in implementing the Plan.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : I said we would give our co-operation wherever feasible; but will it be made possible for us to give that co-operation?

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : I have very high hopes, and after I have finished, I should have almost converted them.

Now, in regard to resources, I have answered various questions in regard

to the resources in the House of the People. Some people doubt whether the States would be able to raise the resources necessary. Maybe they would find it difficult. Now, a reduction in taxation revenues might possibly be an indication of a certain state of economic affairs, and I said yesterday that if those trends were found to be established, then it might be necessary to resort to deficit finance to an extent which we did not contemplate. In other words, the Plan will be flexible in that respect and I myself have a streak of optimism in the matter. Therefore, after balancing all possible considerations within the limits of immediate feasibility, we think that the size of the Plan cannot be appreciably enlarged. Therefore, Sir, that leaves us with the question of priorities to which Dr. Mookerji made a reference. The complaint in one of the speeches from the other side, I think from the hon. Member opposite, was that even the priorities were not very satisfactory. I do not think he had time to develop his point, but as far as we can see, we are right in laying emphasis on agricultural production, and we feel that that can be the only sound basis for, shall I say, proper planning in the next five year period. On that basis, we could construct the next Five Year Plan which would have a far higher priority for the various basic industries, and yet if you consider that the Plan covers only the public sector, you would probably find that the private sector has not been entirely neglected. About 40 to 45% of the total resources available would be utilised for the private sector and the rest for the public sector.

Now, there was some reference made to the increase in the national income. We have pointed out that although theoretically it will take 27 years to double the national income *per capita*, yet, if we were to mobilise all our dormant productive capacity or all our un-utilised man-power—and that is where the co-operation of all parties is so very necessary—then it should be possible for us to contract that period to about 20 years which certainly is not

so bad as 27 years, certainly not so bad as 50 years or 100 years which were mentioned by some hon. Members.

SHRI B. GUPTA : Your Plan itself has said it.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : I did not catch what he said.

Now, Sir, fault has been found with the targets of the Plan. So far as food production and food consumption targets are concerned, I must confess that we are not on very firm ground in the sense that agricultural statistics are not comprehensive enough and are not really precise enough. Hon. Members have not had the advantage of seeing the report of the National Random Samples Committee which is in my hands now and which might be released in a few days' time. This seems to show that both production and consumption are about 25% higher than we have been habituated to think.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU (Uttar Pradesh) : May I ask a question? Are Government concerned with the actual amounts of foodgrains produced and the actual amounts consumed or are they concerned with the amount that has to be obtained year after year? The accuracy of that amount has not been questioned so far, nor is it denied that during the last three years India was importing.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : That is right. Food has been imported and that is the only certain feasible figure that we have. What it does mean is that though a target of 14 ounces was placed before the country in the Plan, we find that the country is already consuming about 16 ounces.

SHRI B. GUPTA : It is not true.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : That is the latest statistics that we have, and as I said, hon. Members will have an opportunity of scrutinising the statistics themselves in a few days' time.

Now, in regard to cloth, the difference is, I think, both in taste as well as in the requirements of foreign exchange

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh.]
 In 1955-56 cloth is to be exported to the extent of 1000 million yards at a time when the *per capita* domestic availability may be less than pre-war, but the interpretation put on this by hon. Members opposite was that this was designed to give increased profits to mill-owners. I suggest, Sir, that this is entirely a perverse view of things. The export of cloth was fixed at 1,000 million yards because Indian textiles have a ready market abroad and because we wanted to cover the balance of payments deficit that would otherwise arise. Now, I would ask him to consider what would happen if we did not export cloth. If we did not export cloth, the foreign exchange deficit may be Rs. 100 crores more and this would result in greater dependence either on deficit finance or external assistance which is only something which we have to buy from abroad. I think it is common ground that we should try to minimise the extent of external assistance ; that is to say, we are anxious to carry out our Plan on the strength of our own resources as much as possible. The extent to which we shall be able to do so will ultimately depend on the discipline to which the country will be prepared to subject itself, and again this is a matter in which the co-operation of almost every party would have been very welcome.

Now, Sir, the House might be interested in what happens to the targets in all kinds of planning. I have here some information about the Five Year Plan of the United States of Soviet Russia. It was preceded by a 4 or 5 years period of what they called 'A New Economic Policy', which was a period of preparation and consolidation and at the end of that period, the Russian economy was more or less in the same position as in 1913. Similarly, this five year period is really a period of preparation and of making good the damage that has been done to economy by two factors—both very serious—war and partition.

SHRI B. GUPTA : It is a strange statement to have been made. The

Russian economy after the war was entirely different. There was no capitalist, no landlord.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He is talking about targets. He is not talking about anything else. (*Interruption.*)

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : You say Japanese war ? The hon. Member probably was not born then. The Russian plan envisaged that there would be 50% increase in the national income after the five year period. I am comparing the first five Year Plan of Russia with our first Five Year Plan. It is no use comparing their last Five Year Plan with our First Five Year Plan. That would hardly be fair. The Russian Plan envisaged a 50 per cent increase in national income over the five year period. By how much national income actually increased, it is not easy to say, as available estimates differ. We have the testimony of a sympathetic economist like Professor Bobb, that so far as consumption was concerned, things did not work out according to the estimates made in the Plan. Various unfavourable factors were :

- (a) large scale slaughter of livestock as a reaction of the peasant to the collectivisation campaign ;
- (b) unfavourable movements in the terms of trade, which sharply reduced U. S. S. R.'s capacity to import ;
- (c) rise in defence expenditures instead of a fall as visualised in the Plan.

All these factors, instead of doubling labour productivity, which had been envisaged produced an actual increase of 41 per cent. The point is, agricultural yields were estimated to rise by 35 per cent. Actually, the average yield for 1929-32 was slightly lower than the average for 1925-28. This was partly due to the two bad harvests of 1931 and 1932.

SHRI B. GUPTA : Price should be taken into account, and the distribution of the national income is a very vital factor.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : When there is no grain, it cannot be distributed. That is why a lot of people die.

The most remarkable achievement of course, of the Plan—and everyone admits that—was that in respect of heavy industries, they achieved targets ahead of the schedule. Now the effect on consumption of some of these short-falls was this. The prices of consumer goods rose rapidly during the Plan period. This, I think, will be of some great interest to the House. Between 1928 and 1936, the price of bread rose over 10 times, of flour about 12 times, of milled grain 13 times, of beef 10 times, of milk 6 times and of calico about 8 times.

SHRI P. SUNDARAYYA : That is all due to capitalists' blockade.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He is stating facts.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : I am stating that there are many difficulties all of which cannot be foreseen in the Plan. One should not delude oneself that a particular system is very much better than the systems which are actually in reasonably good operation.

Planning in agriculture presents special difficulties. This has been the experience of the U. S. S. R. also in spite of its highly centralised planning. Russia's agricultural production in 1950 was only 7 per cent. higher than in 1940, actual production in 1950 being—I shall not give the actual figure. I have got them with me.

There this led to the adoption of a new agricultural policy in 1951 of amalgamation of collective farms.

So that is what is apt to happen to targets.

Therefore I think, Sir, if one considers this dispassionately one would find that the Plan was produced in a reasonably good time, that the size of it is also adequate considering all the circumstances and that there is nothing

very much wrong with the priorities again considering the further objectives of the projection, shall I say of the Plan.

Now, there have been certain solutions which have been suggested by hon. Members but I myself think that this problem will not yield either to the Communist phobias or to the arid clarity of the Socialist Doctors.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE (West Bengal) : What doctors have you ? (*Interruption.*)

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : So far as the Communist remedy is concerned, because we feel that certain fundamental values, to which we attach very great importance, will be destroyed in the process, (*Interruption*) it is not possible for us to adopt their suggestions. That leaves the Socialist doctrines. We have really no great quarrel with them. The progress of the country must be towards increased socialisation and I believe that has been recognized somewhere in the Plan. It is a question of considering what would be practical in the light of actual administrative experience and in that, in spite of the confusion of our thought, we claim a far greater advantage than Members on the opposite side. We have handled the affairs. We also find how very difficult it is to man key jobs, whether it is in the administrative line or whether it is in industry or in expanding industries and unless we are able to train up a corps of trusted and well-trained workers, I think myself that we should be doing an injury to our cause in trying to accelerate the process of socialisation. So we have to steer away clear through the doctrine on the one side and through feasibility on the other, and in the light of that, take decisions as we go along. That I think is the only difference between the Socialist Party and the Congress Party.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : No.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : In the meanwhile we are prepared to do justice and to treat fairly everyone—I mean industrialists or workers or anyone—who is prepared to co-operate with us.

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh.]

Now, Sir, reference has been made to various problems of land distribution and general improvement in agriculture through that means. Here again we have had to avoid the Scylla of under-production on the one side and the Charybdis of compensation on the other, and we gave a great deal of thought to this problem and came to the conclusion that either for social justice or for production and for reconciling these somewhat conflicting objectives, it was not necessary to aim at either a very low holding or a mechanical uniform distribution or doing away with the landlords. I don't mean the zamindar but the landlord. There is an immense possibility of increased production in agriculture as anyone knows who is familiar with that subject. I was myself connected with a very great deal of agricultural matters and I claim to have seen perhaps many more villages—about 3,000—than almost any Member in the House in the course of five-year settlement. I have inspected them and I am quite convinced that the policy which has been selected by the Planning Commission is the right one at least for the next few years till we see how that works out.

Now, Sir, there are various stray matters to which reference has been made by hon. Members. I think Shri Guruswami said something about the electrification of railways. Now, actually, the Railway Ministry has several schemes, the total cost of which might be—that is not for the electrification of all the railways, but there are some schemes—about Rs. 70 to 80 crores, and if you have all these in a complete list, the cost will be Rs. 80 crores. The problem, first of all is to find the necessary money. Secondly, what I meant was the proposition that you will save some money is equally true in regard to any other kind of capital expenditure. The trouble is to find the capital. Until the heavy electrical industry has been developed, we feel that the expenditure by way of foreign exchange would be very large if electrification is taken in hand thirdly, the necessary power

is not yet available for the purpose. Fourthly, new developments are taking place in electrical traction and we feel that in one or two years, new forms of electrical traction may appear on the horizon. And, considering all these, we have decided to wait a little. We, in this, I speak on behalf of the Railway Ministry, decided to wait a little in this matter. Then there was a question about not utilising railway workshops and allowing the turn round of the wagons to be unsatisfactory. Now, I have made enquiries from the Railway Ministry and I find that the existing railway workshops are working to full capacity, and the railways are also making use of private workshops to the fullest extent. The Railway Ministry has also placed certain educational orders, i.e., trial orders, on new firms, for the manufacture of rolling stock in the country, in order to save foreign exchange in due course. Then, as regards the turn-round of wagons, I am told that this has improved greatly in recent years, and this has made it possible for the railways to carry 15—17 per cent. more traffic on various sections with the same rolling stock capacity as before.

Then there is the question of rural credit which was raised by another hon. Member. All I can say in reply is that there is now a rural credit survey the results of which are due by the Reserve Bank, and I think that will throw considerable light on the latest position regarding rural credit and the facilities available. It is recognised that the needs are very large although they may not be in the same term—Rs. 800 crores, I mean that was mentioned by the hon. Member. But the real problem is to build up an appropriate machinery for the purpose of disbursing any credit that may be available from the Reserve Bank of India down to the cultivator, and any one who has handled credit problems realises that it is not a mechanical job. It is not a job which you can do with slate and pencil, and satisfy yourself that because Rs. 800 crores is the requirement, therefore the Reserve Bank should print Rs. 800 crores worth of

notes. That is why, Sir, the Commission has made it tentative—they have not said so in so many words—but a tentative measure. In this what I mean is that as we find the actual mechanism working, it should be possible for the Reserve Bank to revise these figures. We shall see what response there is to rural credit that is put out by the Reserve Bank, and if we are encouraged by our experience, then I should say that it should be possible for the Reserve Bank to improve on these figures.

Now, Sir, there was some reference to betterment levy by Prof. Ranga. He is not here and I do not know whether I should refer to it, but the point is that the various methods of collecting the levy or assessing the levy have been indicated in the relevant chapters by the Planning Commission, and it is not correct that only one method has been suggested; and that is representative of the difference between the new sale value and the old sale value. The three methods are : The total amount of rupees that may be recovered in one lump sum. It is not a question of assessment recovery. Then, secondly, a share of the produce annually, in cash. Possibly, that may be most equitable from the point of view of the agriculturist. Thirdly, in the case of the large landholders, a part of the land may be surrendered to Government at pre-project rates. It seems to me, Sir, that Prof. Ranga got scared at this third alternative, which is intended only for large landholders.

Then, lastly, there is the question of underdeveloped areas. The first thing to remember is that so much of the area in this country is undeveloped, because the country is itself undeveloped.

AN HON. MEMBER : But it is a question of degree.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : Yes. That is precisely what I was going to say. The question is one of degree. But, here again, we had to select from among competing objectives. For instance, we had to apply all our resources to develop the relatively undeveloped

areas. Then, the total increase in the national income or agricultural production or various other targets might have been very very unsatisfactory. On the other hand, it cannot be said that we have altogether ignored these specially underdeveloped or rather relatively undeveloped areas.

SHRI B. RATH (Orissa) : Not even a parity of treatment.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : I am sorry there is some kind of Oliver Twist tendency on the part of the States and the difficulties of these areas. There was a time, when, I am quite certain, the people of Rajasthan would have been very very happy over the inclusion of the Chambal project, but today, they just give me bare thanks, or the Planning Commission, bare thanks for the inclusion of the Chambal Project, and complain that adequate provision has not been made for the development of the area.

SHRI M. S. RANAWAT : The Finance Minister may not know that we had started the project and perhaps, would have completed it two years ago. Now it is still there.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : What I meant, Sir, was that the inclusion of the major schemes was effected by us after a certain degree of effort—and I do not wish to be unsympathetic especially in regard to Rajasthan, because its problem is the Luni river, which is in the habit of going underground. But, the trouble about some of these areas is that—I say, Rajasthan again; they have not yet developed; probably they have not had the time—their administrative and financial machinery, and unless they get a reasonably satisfactory financial and administrative machinery, I suggest that perhaps they will find that they will not be able to handle very much larger sums of money. I do think it will be worth their while, therefore, to wait a little. It is only 3½ years now, and if in the meanwhile they had achieved progress in the direction I have indicated, there is nothing to prevent, say, the next Planning Commission from taking note of the fact that these areas are still backward.

SHRI S. MAHANTY (Orissa) : What about Orissa ?

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : About Orissa, I pointed out in a speech some time ago that Orissa really is receiving by way of assistance, about as much as its annual revenue, for the completion of a very important project. I do think that Orissa ought to concentrate on that project instead of raising a lot of doubts about its efficacy, or about the way in which it is handled or about the manner in which repayment will be made. I am quite certain that far greater attention will be paid to the subsequent needs in the Hirakud area, regarding the starting of factories and so on, if Orissa were to stand united behind Hirakud Project and not drag other red herrings across the path.

SHRI S. MAHANTY : That is due to mismanagement of the Central Government.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU : What about the report of the Estimates Committee ?

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : That has been enquired into and reports have been placed on the Table of the House this morning.

I was going to say that just at this juncture, the Centre found itself in a very difficult position to promise any larger assistance for the development of areas, for the simple reason that the award of the Finance Commission is not yet in our hands. We rather suspect that it will mean a transfer of resources—direct transfer of resources—from the Centre to the States. How much it will be I am not in a position to say. I shall have to find the money not only for the current year but also for the next year. That is to say, the award will be retrospective from the beginning of this financial year. After the results of the award have been assessed, then it should be possible for the Centre to make that special investigation to which a reference was made by one of the hon. Members who read out from one of the financial integration

agreements. It is not our desire to shirk any enquiry. An enquiry will be made, and I have no doubt that a clear picture will emerge out as a result.

SHRI S. MAHANTY : We have sent a memorandum to the Finance Commission to send to the Planning Commission.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : I am sorry, Sir, under the Constitution it is not permissible for the Commission to take notice of the particular provision in the agreement. That matter was specifically considered by them and they found themselves unable to proceed in the direction indicated by the hon. Member.

Well, Sir, Now I have finished dealing with most of the important points. I must now deal with only one point. The hon. the Leader of the Communist Party said that he was not going to be extravagant in his phraseology. I believe he succeeded, relatively speaking, that is to say.

MR. CHAIRMAN : To a degree.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : Yes, comparing with his speeches in the past. But, I do not think that he showed an equal restraint when he was speaking, or understanding, of what I said in the House of the People just towards the end of my speech. What I said was that, if any political party decided not to co-operate with the Plan, the implementation of the Plan, then they will do so at their own peril. What I meant was that the Congress Government was making a very generous present of the Plan to all parties. We were giving all parties an opportunity of helping themselves, but if they do not want to do so, the Plan will go on, and the Plan will be implemented, and the credit for implementing it will belong entirely to the Congress Party.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : Let them take it with our compliments.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : Therefore, I should be very sorry, if it really

does turn out that it is not a national Five Year Plan because, by the action of the Communist Party it will cease to be a national Plan, and because 1½ years have passed already, it is not a Five Year Plan. The Socialists, and the Praja Socialist Member have already stated that it is not a Plan. It is like the Grand Trunk Express, which is neither Grand, nor Trunk, nor is it an Express.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : Quite right.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH : I can quite see the dilemma of the Communist Party. But, I am very sorry that they have chosen the longer of the horns of the dilemma. I once said that if they went on in this fashion, they will probably be in the wilderness for a long time.

Now I begin to feel that I am mistaken, and that they will be in the wilderness for ever.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : Sir, may I correct a misconception? About the Rajahmundry canal, what I stated was that the canal is there and it is not being used for transport purposes. I did not say that the canal should be another project.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I will now put the amendments.

Amendment No. 1—Mr. Rajah is not here. I will therefore put it.

The question is :

That at the end of the Resolution the following be added, namely :

“ but considers that the report must be so modified as to carry out the Five Year Plan without waiting for any external borrowing or aid of a nature which will infringe upon the independent status of our country.”

The motion was negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Amendment No. 2—by Shri H. C. Mathur. Is the hon. Member withdrawing ?

SHRI H. C. MATHUR : I am not prepared to withdraw my amendment unless an assurance is given to me that the Planning Commission is prepared to reconsider the provisions and allotments in respect of Rajasthan.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The question is :

That at the end of the Resolution the following be added, namely :

“ but this Council regrets to note that the Plan has neglected the development of underdeveloped areas and has ignored sound and accepted principles in this respect.”

The motion was negatived.

*Amendment No. 3 (by Shri Kishen Chand) was, by leave, withdrawn.

*Amendment No. 4 (by Shri P. Sundarayya) was, by leave, withdrawn.

*Amendment No. 5 (by Shri B. V. Kakkilaya) was, by leave, withdrawn.

*Amendment No. 6 (by Shri B. V. Kakkilaya) was, by leave, withdrawn.

*Amendment No. 7 (by Shri K. L. Narasimham) was, by leave, withdrawn.

*Amendment No. 8 (by Shri S. N. Mazumdar) was, by leave, withdrawn.

*Amendment No. 9 (by Shri B. Gupta) was, by leave, withdrawn.

*Amendment No. 10 (by Shri B. Rath) was, by leave, withdrawn.

*Amendment No. 11 (by Shri B. V. Kakkilaya) was, by leave, withdrawn.

*Amendment No. 12 (by Shri K. C. George) was, by leave, withdrawn.

*Amendment No. 13 (by Shri K. C. George) was, by leave, withdrawn.

*Amendment No. 14 (by Shri S. Mahanty) was, by leave, withdrawn.

*Amendment No. 15 (by Shri B. C. Ghose) was, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. CHAIRMAN : Amendment No. 16—by Shri Bhanj Deo. The hon.

*For text of amendment *vide* cols. 1981-1986 of the Debates dated 16th December 1952.

[Mr. Chairman.]
Member is not withdrawing. I will put the amendment.

The question is :

That at the end of the Resolution the following be added, namely :

“ but regrets—

- (a) that the Plan does not provide for adequate machinery for its implementation ;
- (b) that the Plan does not indicate the administrative and financial control over the proposed expenditure ;
- (c) that the Plan does not envisage the integration of Defence with socio-economic planning, which is the essence of man-power mobilization in modern times ;
- (d) that the Plan has nothing to enthuse the masses of our countrymen ;
- (e) that the Plan gives no indication of training the Defence personnel and rehabilitating ex-servicemen in the proposed socio-economic drive ;
- (f) that the Plan discloses no programme for manufacturing stores, equipment and other defence requirements in this country ;
- (g) that the Plan has not considered the vast possibility of utilizing the Chilka-Gopalpur area not only as a defence base to protect the East Coast but also for coastal industries and the development of agriculture ;
- (h) that the Plan gives no indication of utilizing the Hirakud area with its vast mineral and hydro-electrical possibilities, along with the protection it affords from possible enemy attack for locating Defence industries ;
- (i) that the Plan does not take proper account of the dangers besetting our social life and stability through the repercussions of the policy and means whereby it is expected to be carried into effect.”

The motion was negatived.

*Amendment No. 18 (by Shri Rajagopal Naidu) was, by leave, withdrawn.

*Amendment No. 19 (by Shri, Rajagopal Naidu) was, by leave, withdrawn.

*Amendment No. 20 (by Shri Rajagopal Naidu) was, by leave, withdrawn.

*Amendment No. 21 (by Shri Rajagopal Naidu) was, by leave, withdrawn.

*Amendment No. 22 (by Shri M. Manjuran) was, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. CHAIRMAN : So now, the main motion is before the Council.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU : Before you put the motion to the House, I would like to point out one fact to you. When the Prime Minister placed the Report of the Planning Commission on the Table, I suggested to him that we should have more time than he was disposed to give, and he said that it was quite possible to discuss the principles and objectives of the Plan in about a week. He thought only the first 3 or 4 chapters had to be read. Now, the Resolution refers to the programme, that is contrary to the view expressed by the Prime Minister some time ago. Is it fair to this House that it should be asked to express an opinion on the programme contained in two bulky volumes in the course of 8-9 days ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : All that I would like to say is that the Prime Minister when he made his speech, made it quite clear that there was no finality about it, and this Resolution says “Records its general approval”. It does not say “approval of every detail in the Plan”. Subject to that explanation, they have given a motion that the Resolution to be put to you is “This Council records its general approval of the principles, objectives and programme of development contained in the Five Year Plan, as prepared by the Planning Commission”. Well gentlemen, you want to have a division ? Well, let them have the pleasure of having it.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The question is :

That this Council records its general approval of the principles, objective and programme of development contained in the Five Year Plan as prepared by the Planning Commission.

The Council divided :

* For text of amendment *vide* cols. 1981-1986 of the Debates dated 16th December 1952.

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Abdul Razak, Shri.
 Abid Ali, Shri.
 Agarwal, Shri B. P.
 Agrawal, Shri A. N.
 Agrawal, Shri J. P.
 Aizaz Rasul, Begam.
 Akhtar Husain, Shri.
 Amolakh Chand, Shri.
 Anant Ram, Pandit.
 Barlingay, Dr. W. S.
 Bisht, Shri J. S.
 Biswas, Shri C. C.
 Budh Singh, Sardar.
 Chandravati Lakhnupal, Shrimati.
 Das, Shri Jagannath.
 Dave, Shri S. P.
 Deogirikar, Shri T. R.
 Deshmukh, Shri R. M.
 Dharam Das, Shri.
 Dinkar, Prof. R. D. Sinha.
 Doogar, Shri R. S.
 Doshi, Shri L. H.
 Dube, Pandit S.
 Gupta, Shri R. C.
 Gupte, Shri B. M.
 Hardiker, Shri N. S.
 Hathi, Shri J. S. L.
 Hensman, Shrimati Mona.
 Itali, Shri D. D.
 Jain, Shri Shriyans Prasad.
 Jalali, Aga S. M.
 Kapoor, Shri J. R.
 Kaushal, Shri J. N.
 Khan, Shri P. M.
 Khan, Shri Samiullah.
 Kishori Ram, Shri.
 Lakhamshi, Shri Lavji.
 Lakshmi Menon, Shrimati.
 Lal Bahadur, Shri.
 Lall, Shri K. B.
 Leuva, Shri P. T.
 Madhavan Nair, Shri K. P.
 Mahtha, Shri S. N.
 Majumdar, Shri S. C.
 Misra, Shri S. D.
 Mitra, Dr. P. C.
 Mookerji, Dr. Radha Kumud.
 Mujumdar, Shri M. R.
 Narayan, Shri D.
 Narayanappa, Shri K.

Nihal, Singh, Shri.
 Onkar Nath, Shri.
 Pande, Shri T.
 Parikh, Shri C. P.
 Pattabiraman, Shri T. S.
 Pawar, Shri D. Y.
 Pheruman, Sardar D. S.
 Pushpalata Das, Shrimati.
 Pustake, Shri T. D.
 Raghbir Singh, Dr.
 Rahmath-Ullah, Shri.
 Rajagopalan, Shri G.
 Rao, Shri Krishna Moorthy.
 Rao, Shri Rama.
 Ray, Shri S. P.
 Reddy, Shri Channa.
 Reddy, Shri Govinda.
 Reddy, Shri K. C.
 Reddy, Shri N. Sanjiva.
 Saksena, Shri H. P.
 Seeta Parmanand, Dr. Shrimat
 Shah, Shri M. C.
 Sharda Bhargava, Shrimati.
 Shetty, Shri Basappa.
 Singh, Shri R. K.
 Singh, Shri Sardar.
 Sinha, Shri Rajendra Pratap.
 Sobhani, Shri O.
 Sumat Prasad, Shri.
 Surendra Ram, Shri V. M.
 Tamta, Shri R. P.
 Tankha, Pandit S. S. N.
 Tayyebulla, Maulana M.
 Thakur Das, Shri.
 Thanhkira, Shri R.
 Vaidya, Shri Kanhaiyalal D.
 Varma, Shri C. L.

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Dwivedy, Shri S. N.
 George, Shri K. C.
 Ghose, Shri B. C.
 Gupta, Shri B.
 Guruswami, Shri S.
 Imbichibava, Shri E. K.
 Kakkilaya, Shri B. V.
 Kishen Chand, Shri.
 Mahanty, Shri S.
 Manjuran, Shri M.
 Mathur, Shri H. C.
 Mazumdar, Shri S. N.
 Misra, Shri C. G.
 Naidu, Shri Rajagopal.