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No. 1 - 13



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# PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

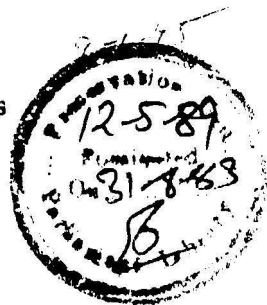
OFFICIAL REPORT

Part I—Questions and Answers

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**THE**  
**PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES**  
**(Part I—Questions and Answers)**  
**OFFICIAL REPORT**

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**PARLIAMENT OF INDIA**

Tuesday, 16<sup>th</sup> October, 1951

*The House met at Nine of the Clock.*

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

**ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS**

**Short Notice Questions and Answers**

**COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER ORDERS PASSED  
BY CUSTODIAN AND CUSTODIAN-  
GENERAL OF EVACUEE PROPERTY.**

**Shri Kamath** Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state:

(a) whether is a fact that a Committee has been recently appointed to consider the orders passed by the Custodian and the Custodian-General of Evacuee Property with regard to evacuees and their property in India;

(b) if so, what is the personnel of the Committee

(c) its terms of reference; and

(d) the reasons for appointing such a Committee at this stage?

**The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain):** (a) No.

(b) to (d) Do not arise.

**Shri Kamath:** Is it not a fact that a Committee consisting of the Joint Secretary the Rehabilitation Ministry, Mr. Antyagi, Mr. Kaul, the Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister and Maulana Hifzur Rahman has been appointed recently in connection with the consideration of the evacuee property problem in India?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** That is certainly not so.

**Shri Kamath:** Am I to understand that the press report in this connection is not correct?

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**Shri A. P. Jain:** The hon. Member should have seen the press note which was issued by the Ministry. If he has not seen it, for his enlightenment I will read it:

"The Government of India have appointed no Committee as has been reported by the press."

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** There is another short notice question, by Mr. Chattopadhyay. He is not in his seat.

Then there is an adjournment motion. Has the hon. Minister been given notice of this?

**Shri Kamath:** Yes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Which Minister?

**Shri Kamath:** The Labour Minister.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Sir, there is the short notice question, of Mr. Chattopadhyay. Mr. Jhunjunwala has been authorised to put it.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Very well. He can put the short notice question. I will come to the adjournment motion later.

**SUPPLY OF RICE TO WEST BENGAL**

**Shri Jhunjunwala** (on behalf of **Shri Chattopadhyay**): Will the Minister of Food and Agriculture be pleased to state:

(a) whether the quality of rice supplied recently to West Bengal from the stock held by the Government of Punjab (India) is not good;

(b) if so, whether the stocks were examined before being despatched to West Bengal;

(c) the percentage of foreign matters detected in such consignments;

(d) what is the opinion of the Punjab Government (India) regarding the complaint; and

(e) whether this rice is being issued through ration-shops in West Bengal?

**The Deputy Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Thirumala Rao):** (a) to (e). The 6,000 tons of rice recently allotted to West Bengal from the Punjab included 800 tons of Santhi rice. On seeing a sample of this Santhi rice, the West Bengal Government objected on the ground that the rice was inedible. The matter was immediately taken up by the Government of India who asked the Punjab Government to suspend the despatch of this consignment. An officer of the Ministry was sent to the Punjab and he has since examined the rice. It is found that the sample on which the West Bengal Government based their objection related to a small lot of 100 bags only of Santhi rice; the rest of these stocks is of fair average quality. So far, no Santhi rice has been despatched to West Bengal. The question of West Bengal accepting the lots which are of acceptable quality is now being taken up with them.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** May I know whether that Santhi rice was despatched from Punjab?

**Shri Thirumala Rao:** I told you it was a small consignment of 100 bags only, and it was stopped with that.

**Shri Jnani Ram:** May I know whether the Punjab Government has enquired into the matter in order to fix the responsibility for purchasing that quality of rice?

**Shri Thirumala Rao:** It is for the Punjab Government. We have drawn their attention to it and they have stopped further despatches.

**Shri B. K. Das:** May I know whether the rest of the 800 bags of this quality of rice will be lying with the Punjab Government or will be sent to some other areas?

**Shri Thirumala Rao:** The allotment of medium Santhi variety of rice to West Bengal was 800 tons. Of this in the first consignment only 100 bags proved to be of a very inferior quality, and the rest has not been despatched.

**Shri B. K. Das:** Has the rest been examined?

**Shri Thirumala Rao:** Yes, the quality is being examined before it is despatched. We have got an Examining Department in the Punjab Government.

**Shri S. C. Samanta:** May I know whether complaints have been received from other places also about this quality of Punjab rice?

**Shri Thirumala Rao:** We are not aware of it.

**Shri Shiv Charan Lal:** Is it a fact that the Bengal Government has raised objection against the bags other than those one hundred bags also and said that those other bags of rice are also not fit for human consumption?

**Shri Thirumala Rao:** No.

#### ARREST OF A KHALSI OF PARLIAMENT HOUSE

**Shri Kamath:** Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that Shri Kartar Singh, Khalsi of Parliament House, was recently arrested by the Station House Officer, Paharganj Police Station;

(b) whether he did so on or about the 9th October, 1951, while in police custody; and

(c) whether an enquiry has been held into the matter and if so, with what result?

**The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Rajagopalachari):** Sir, I have got fairly full information and I would like to read it to the House.

(a) Mr. Kartar Singh was not arrested by Paharganj Police. One Bhagat Singh of Mutani Dhandha made a report at the Police Station Paharganj on 7th October, 1951 at 2-10 P.M. under section 66 I.P.C. relating to the abduction of his niece Jit Kaur, aged about 16 years. In the first information report Bhagat Singh named as a suspect one Jogendra Singh. The case was entrusted for investigation to Assistant Sub-Inspector Narendra Nath. Narendra Nath on coming to know that Jogendra Singh and Kartar Singh were friends called Kartar Singh for interrogation on 8th October, 1951. Narendra Nath is at Ludhiana in connection with the investigation of the case, it cannot be stated accurately how long Kartar Singh was kept for interrogation. But papers relating to Inquest Report on Kartar Singh show that Kartar Singh returned home about midnight on 8th October, 1951.

(b) Kartar Singh lived in Rouse Avenue which is in the Bazar Police Station. On 9th October, 1951 the Faiz Bazar Police Station received a message at 6-15 A.M. that two cases of poisoning, one from Har Sita Ram and the other from Rouse Avenue had been admitted into Hospital. Tara Singh, Assistant

Sub Inspector of Faiz Bazar Police Station went for enquiry to Irwin Hospital. One of these two cases was Kartar Singh. Kartar Singh had died soon after his admission in the Hospital. Post Mortem report on Kartar Singh revealed no injuries and cause of death is supposed to be opium poisoning. Viscera has been sent for chemical analysis. The Inquest held by A.S.I. Tara Singh of Faiz Bazar Police Station has established the fact that Kartar Singh slept at his House from midnight of 8th October 1951 until the morning of October 9, when his wife found him unwell after which he was removed to Hospital. Before removal to Hospital, one Dr. Mahendra Saroop of Nur Jehan Road attended Kartar Singh at his house.

(c) Inquest Enquiry was held by A.S.I. Tara Singh into the cause of death of Kartar Singh. Kartar Singh's wife stated that her husband took opium and committed suicide, feeling humiliation at being called by Police for interrogation. No one has made any insinuation or suggestion during inquest enquiry that Police administered opium to Kartar Singh.

Kartar Singh's father Bela Singh is Jamadar in Parliament House. Jogendra Singh abductor was employed in Parliament House and had been dismissed from service. Jogendra Singh and Kartar Singh were thus friendly. Yesterday evening, police have received a telegram that the abducted girl Jit Kaur and the abductor Jogendra Singh have been arrested in Kapurthala. The motive for suicide was probably the consciousness on the part of Kartar Singh that he had had some hand in the abduction and that revelation might follow in the arrest of Jogendra Singh and Jit Kaur.

**Shri Kamath:** Did I hear the hon. Minister to say that the report which he has with him does not show as for what length of time this Kartar Singh was detained by the police for interrogation?

**Shri Rajagopalachari:** I read out that as the Assistant Sub Inspector Narendra Nath is at Ludhiana in connection with the case, we could not get sufficient accurate information exactly to say how long he was kept for interrogation. The papers relating to the Inquest report show that Kartar Singh returned home about midnight on the 8th October. He had been called for interrogation on the 8th October. From that we can guess the time approximately.

**Shri Kamath:** Did he return home straight from the police custody or from somewhere else?

**Shri Rajagopalachari:** As far as I can say, he returned from the police station; but it must be subject to further enquiry. He had returned home and we may infer that he returned from the police station. As I said the case is one where a man in Kartar Singh's position might have felt the urge to do away with himself.

**Shri Kamath:** What was the time lag between his return home and admission into hospital?

**Shri Rajagopalachari:** No lag. He returned at midnight. I would not call it any lag. We do not know when he came back. On the 9th morning he had already been taken to the hospital and had died there. I have already said that he returned home at about midnight on the 8th October. On the 9th, he was in the hospital at 6-15 so that the possibility is that he was admitted in the morning in the hospital.

**Sardar Hukam Singh:** Was he given anything to eat at the police station?

**Shri Rajagopalachari:** These are interesting questions which may be put offhand; but there is no great object to be gained by going into that kind of detail merely by conjecture. The facts established from the papers, and from the information are that he returned home about midnight on the 8th October, probably from the police station and then he slept there. As to when he took the opium, we cannot guess. By 6-15, he was in the hospital.

**Sardar Hukam Singh:** Is it a fact that when he was allowed to return from the police station, he could not walk and he was carried to his house by a constable and some friends?

**Shri Rajagopalachari:** That is a fact which is not obvious from the information I have received. It may or may not be true. But we must remember the main feature in the case that there had been a complaint about the abduction of a girl of 16 and there was necessity for the police to enquire and they made the enquiry. It is not as if it was a fancied thing; it has resulted in the capture of the abductor and the recovery of the girl at Kapurthala. With this background we must look into the case. Many conjectures can be made.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** May I know how long Kartar Singh was interrogated by the police in the police station?

**Shri Rajagopalachari:** I have already tried to answer that question. He was taken for interrogation on the 8th October. He returned at night. He was found next morning in the hospital. These are the basic facts. We may also take note of the fact that at the Inquest report, there were no injuries. His viscera have been sent for examination because it was thought to be opium poisoning. Further details will be found on the examination of the viscera. I am sure it will be found by the viscera examiners as to what the poison was, how long it was there, etc. That may be guess perhaps. There were no injuries. Whatever we may conjecture, we may take a more proper line, namely that the accusation operated on the man's mind.

**Sardar Hukam Singh:** Has it been discovered or disclosed so far where from he got this opium?

**Shri Rajagopalachari:** Opium is not very difficult to be found in Delhi. I take it that many people do take it. An over-dose kills.

**Khwaja Inait Ullah:** As he left the police station at 12 o'clock as you say, after 12 o'clock it will be very difficult to get opium in the bazar.

**Shri Rajagopalachari:** The case has to be investigated. It is difficult to get at the truth even in an investigation in a court. Much more difficult would it be here. I am not the man who had any knowledge of the matter. By cross-examining me nothing much can be discovered. We can build a whole story, an interesting story. As to how the man could have got opium in a quantity sufficient to kill him is a question which could be only answered by conjecture. Who knows what the man's habits were, whether the opium was there and what were the reasons that led him to use opium as the poisoning agent? It must probably have been in his own house.

**Shri B. Das:** Did the Home Ministry or the Chief Commissioner of Delhi keep informed the hon. Deputy-Speaker or the Parliament Secretariat of this case about the staff of Parliament Secretariat?

**Shri Rajagopalachari:** It is quite true that he has some intimate contact, as it turns out, with Parliament and with us. But, when a case of abduction of a girl is taken up, we cannot expect the police officers to

contact the Parliament officers and others in a case of that kind.

**Shri B. Das:** I say the Chief Commissioner.

**Shri Rajagopalachari:** If that course had been followed, probably Jit Kaur would not have been recovered.

**Shri Dwivedi:** May I know if any other case of death has occurred in Delhi recently after the police interrogation?

**Shri Rajagopalachari:** I do not think so.

**Shri Kamath:** Does the hon. Minister think that the charge of abduction or abetment in abduction operated upon Kartar Singh's mind and does he rule out the possibility of Kartar Singh having committed suicide owing to the unfair treatment accorded to him and a sense of humiliation engendered thereby?

**Shri Rajagopalachari:** I do not rule out any possibility. I wish to give out my own feeling in the matter that a man who has been ill treated in the police station would rather complain than commit suicide. But a man who feels that he has been suspected of something dishonourable or dangerously bad is more likely to think of suicide. A man who has a grievance against the police would be quick to place it before some Parliament Member.

**Khwaja Inait Ullah:** Has Government given clear orders to the police not to question a man using physical force and torture?

**Shri Rajagopalachari:** No special orders are necessary to ban physical torture. Questioning cannot be banned because no investigation is possible without interrogation. Physical torture has been ruled out by law and I do not think it is practised now even by crude investigators without incurring grave risks.

**Shri Kamath:** Has the investigation which has finally led to the arrest of the offender shown that this Kartar Singh had any hand in the commission of the offence at all?

**Shri Rajagopalachari:** On these points I would like hon. Members to postpone judgment. The case is now under enquiry and I do not think it will be useful to prejudge the case or discuss the case.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I will now proceed to another question. Mr. Gangadhara Siva. He may read his question.

**CROP SITUATION IN RAYALASEEMA**

**Dr. M. V. Gangadhara Siva:** Will the Minister of Food and Agriculture be pleased to State:

(a) whether the attention of the Government has been drawn to a summary of the official season report for Madras State for the week ended 8th October, 1951, as published in the *Madras Mail*, page 1 col. 2, dated 12th October, 1951;

(b) whether the report about standing crops in Anantapur, Cuddappah and Chittoor as published in the summary is correct; and if so what measures do Government propose to take to meet the difficult situation in Rayalaseema?

**The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri K. M. Munshi):** (a) and (b). At the special request of the hon. Member I agreed to answer the question; but I got a copy of the question only just now. I do not know much about the correctness of the official season report; but I did read the summary of the official

season report referred to in the question. But without making enquiries I cannot say whether the summary is correct or not and what measures the Madras Government propose to take with regard to the situation. I will have to make enquiries about it.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I think the hon. Minister may gather sufficient information about this matter and pass it on to the hon. Member. That will be all right. Whatever information the hon. Minister can gather later may be passed on to the hon. Member.

**Shri K. M. Munshi:** I will pass on to the hon. Member whatever information I am able to gather.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** That may be done as early as possible.

**Thakur Lal Singh:** Sir, I had tabled a short notice question about Bhopal and I don't know what has happened to it.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Whatever is not called to-day has been disallowed.

Tuesday, 16th October, 1951



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# PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

OFFICIAL REPORT

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VOLUME XVI, 1951

(24th September, 1951 to 16th October, 1951)

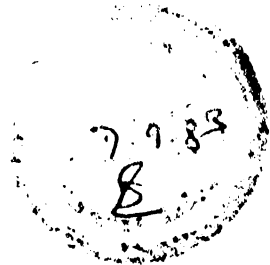
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Fourth Session

of the

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

1951



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TUESDAY, 16TH OCTOBER, 1951—

Columns

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## CORRIGENDA

to

the Parliamentary Debates (Part II—Other than Questions and Answers),  
Fourth Session 1951.

Volume XVI,—

1. No. 1, dated the 24th September, 1951,—

(i) Col. 3193, line 10 for "Act, 1151" read "Act, 1951"

2. No. 2, dated the 25th September, 1951,—

(i) Col. 3260, line 18 for "set" read "sat".

3. No. 3, dated the 26th September, 1951,—

(i) صفحہ ۳۳۱۵ پہلی لائن میں "دے مونا آزاد" کی جگہ "دے مولانا آزاد" لکھی جائیں

(ii) भाग ३४१६, पंक्ति १३ में "सायलें" के स्थान पर "आगत" पढ़ें ।

4. No. 4, dated the 27th September, 1951,—

(i) Col. 3902, line 19 from bottom for "rent for occupation of houses" read  
SHORT NOTICE QUESTION".

(ii) भाग ३४९०, पंक्ति १३ में "ट्रस प्रांक्मेटी" के स्थान पर "ग्रान्ट्स कमेटी" पढ़ें

5. No. 6, dated the 29th September, 1951,—

(i) Col. 3902, line 19 from bottom for "rent for occupation of houses" read  
"damages for the occupation".

No. 7, dated the 1st October, 1951,—

(i) Col. 3952, line 16 omit "a".

7. No. 8, dated the 3rd October, 1951,—

(i) Col. 4074, for existing line 19 read "it has been made out that pre-censor-";  
after existing line 40 insert "permanent period to the hands of the"  
and delete line 43.

8. No. 9, dated the 4th October, 1951,—

(i) Col. 4153 last line, for "L.P.C." read "I.P.C."

(ii) Col. 4188, for existing line 18 from bottom read "cular case by that  
experience and I".

9. No. 10, dated the 5th October, 1951,—

(i) भाग ४२८७, अन्तिम पंक्ति में "बेस्त्रियम" को "बेस्त्रियम" पढ़ें ।

(ii) Col. 4346, line 4 from bottom after "years" insert "ago".

10. No. 11, dated the 6th October, 1951,—

(i) Col. 4418, line 26 for "stituted" read "substituted".

(ii) Col. 4460 after line 27 insert "ages etc."

(iii) Col. 4523, line 19 from bottom for "Cognizillibity" read "Cognizability"

(iv) Col. 4524, line 11 for "Cognizillibity" read "Cognizability".

No. 12, dated the 11th October, 1951,—

(i) Col. 4694, for existing lines 7-9 read "given to Shri Achru Ram's case...  
Shri Kamath: I am sorry it is a very ignorant imputation....."

(ii) Col. 4721 for existing line 35 read "number of tractors to be produced"

12. No. 13, dated the 12th October, 1951,—

(i) Col. 4743 after line 5 insert "(No Questions—Part I not Published)" as 1 line.

(ii) Col. 4844 in line 32 for "Khwaja Inait Ullah: May I point" read "Shri Jhumjhumwala. I just want".

13. No. 14, dated the 15th October, 1951,—

(i) Col. 4913, line 13 from bottom for "(Sidhva)" read "(Shri Sidhva)".

(ii) भाग ४९५६, पंक्ति १२ में "पीछे" के स्थान पर "पीते" पढ़ें।

(iii) Col. 4984 for existing lines 10 and 11 from bottom read "A person shall be disqualified for being chosen as and for being".

14. No. 15, dated the 16th October, 1951,—

(i) Col. 5093, for existing line 34 read "for the industrial development of our country".

(ii) Col. 5128 in line 5 from bottom after "to" insert "give to".

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**THE**  
**PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES**  
**(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)**  
**OFFICIAL REPORT**

5087

**PARLIAMENT OF INDIA**

*Tuesday, 16th October, 1951*

*The House met at Nine of the Clock.*

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

**QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS**

*(See Part I)*

9-15 A.M.

**MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT**

**DISSOLUTION OF THE ALL-INDIA INDUSTRIAL (BANK DISPUTES) TRIBUNAL.**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** There is an adjournment motion given notice of by Shri Kamath to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely:

"The virtual dissolution of the All-India Industrial (Bank Disputes) Tribunal by order of Government, and the imperative need for early action with regard to this vital matter."

May I know what this virtual dissolution is—wherefrom has he got it?

**Shri Kamath (Madhya Pradesh):** It is a P.T.I. report from Bombay which appeared in this morning's papers saying that Government has informed the Secretary of the All-India Industrial (Bank Disputes) Tribunal that the proceedings before the Tribunal have been concluded consequent on the resignation of all the members of the Tribunal. Since the resignation of all the members of the Tribunal, there has been speculation whether the Government of India would fill the vacancies in the existing Tribunal or whether they would constitute a fresh tribunal in this matter. It is an important matter. The House is interested, I am sure,

390 P. S. D.

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to know what steps are proposed to be taken by Government in this matter which is so vital for the functioning of the banking industry in India. The House will remember that the former Tribunal was...

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** All right, I do not think an adjournment motion is the proper method of getting this matter elucidated on the floor of the House, because an adjournment motion is for the purposes of censure of Government either with respect to its action or inaction. A short notice question might have been put on this matter. (*Shri Kamath:* There is no time for that.) If, however, the hon. Minister wants to say something I would allow him.

**The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh):** I am not in direct charge of this but I have been very intimately associated on account of my being the Finance Minister and responsible for the health of the banking system, so to speak with these discussions. The House will remember that they passed a Bill containing certain terms of remuneration and so on because the Court pronounced that the award was invalid. After that we tried to separate the disputes into two, some of which could be settled by conciliation and others which could be referred to a Tribunal and the idea was to save time in case of the minor disputes. There was a conference held here at which the employers and employees as well as the representatives of the Reserve Bank, besides Government representatives were present and at one time we thought that the conciliation proceedings could be taken but there were some unforeseen difficulties and I think the employees themselves felt doubtful of the likelihood of benefit to them. So we thought in order to save time, it would be best to proceed to appoint a Tribunal and to refer all the disputes to the Tribunal. We selected as a Chairman, a judge who

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh]

has a very great deal of experience in this matter, Mr. Justice Divatia—there were three members—and the other person chosen was Mr. Mehkri, who was the Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank and who had been in charge of banking. We thought that these two were very good names and the third name was some other person. Then, I believe, on behalf of the employees, an objection was taken that these two men were not independent, in the sense intended by the law on the subject. There is a wording: "they shall be independent members" and it was stated that one of them had some shares in some bank and the other one had a son employed in another bank. Well, it was doubtful whether the Court would uphold it or not, but we did not want to risk and waste time. I think that Members will realize that that was the right course to take and they resigned. I know that during the last month, the Labour Ministry have been making attempts to secure proper personnel but the House would realize that in view of what has happened, it is most difficult to make sure that there is complete independence so to speak in the legal sense. It takes a little more screening than we were wont to give to the process of selection of Members. I think now they have got the time it may probably pass the test of legislation and I believe that the new Tribunal would be appointed soon. So my point is that we are not losing any time and all the measures that we have been taking have been taken indeed with the intention of saving time and in view of that, I do not think the adjournment motion is necessary.

**Shri B. Das (Orissa):** Has not the Labour Ministry learnt a lesson that by creating out of way and in organizing hastily Trade Unions of bank employees, these employees themselves repudiate this kind of Tribunals?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member is making a speech.

**Shri Kamath:** On a point of clarification, may I ask the hon. Minister whether the new Tribunal will be appointed in the very near future?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** I think so, Sir. I know that the personnel has been selected in consultation with the Finance Ministry.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** In view of the statement of the hon. Minister.....

**Shri Shankaraiya (Mysore):** May I know whether the Tribunal that is to be appointed will go into the question of Part B States employees also?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** Yes. That matter also will be referred to the Tribunal.

**Prof. S. L. Saksena (Uttar Pradesh):** I had given an adjournment motion before time to the Notice office today.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** In view of the statement of the hon. Finance Minister, I do not think that it is necessary to pursue this matter.

I received notice of an adjournment motion from Prof. S. L. Saksena. I only had it at 9-5 A.M. I have therefore disallowed it.

**Prof. S. L. Saksena:** I have given to the Notice Office at 9 A.M. I have marked the time therein.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** A copy is to be given to me under the rules independently and I received that copy at 9-5 A.M.

**Prof. S. L. Saksena:** I had given it in the Notice Office at the proper time.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Three copies have to be given, one to the Speaker, one to the Member concerned and the third to the Secretary. It was given to me at 9-5 A.M. I am sorry. All the three have to be given in advance.

**The Minister of State for Home Affairs (Shri Sidhva):** Apart from that the motion is not in the prescribed form. It is argued that a copy of it has been given in time. The prescribed form is necessary for a general motion.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** It is unnecessary to pursue the matter.

#### PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

APPROPRIATION ACCOUNTS (CIVIL) FOR 1949-50 AND AUDIT REPORT, 1951 AND COMMERCIAL APPENDIX THERETO.

**The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh):** I beg to lay on the Table a copy of each of the following papers, in accordance with the provisions of article 151 of the Constitution:

(i) Appropriation Accounts (Civil) for 1949-50 and the Audit Report, 1951. [Placed in the Library. See No. IV.O. I (1).]

(ii) Commercial Appendix to the Appropriation Accounts (Civil) for 1949-50 and the Audit Report thereon. [Placed in the Library. See No. IV.O. I (50).]



**DESECRATION OF TEMPLES ETC. OF THE HINDUS IN EAST BENGAL AND ACQUISITION BY THE GOVERNMENT OF EAST BENGAL OF LANDS BELONGING TO TEMPLES ETC. IN CHITTAGONG DISTRICT.**

**The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Keskar):** I beg to lay on the Table the following two statements promised in reply to supplementaries to Starred Question No. 4981 on the 7th June, 1951:

(i) Statement showing cases of desecration of temples and other places of public worship of the Hindus in East Bengal; and

(ii) Statement showing particulars of cases of acquisition by the Government of East Bengal of lands belonging to temples and other places of public worship in Chittagong District. [See Appendix X, annexure No. 7.]

**Shri A. C. Guha (West Bengal):** May I get a copy of the statement, apart from the copy placed on the Table of the House?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member wants a copy from the office?

**Shri A. C. Guha:** From the Ministry or from the office.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I have no objection to the hon. Minister giving it to the hon. Member.

**MOTION RE: FIVE YEAR PLAN—**  
*Conclud.*

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Now we go on with the further consideration of the motion moved by the hon. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru on the 15th October, 1951—

“That the draft outline of the First Five Year Plan prepared by the Planning Commission, be taken into consideration.”

**Shri Kamath (Madhya Pradesh):** Sir, before we actually commence that, may I know what fate has overtaken or is going to overtake the Bill which stands in the name of, or rather which stood till yesterday in the name of the hon. Shri Santhanam. I mean the “Indian Railways Act (Amendment) Bill”?

**The Minister of States, Transport and Railways (Shri Gopaldaswami):** I suppose, Sir, it has been squeezed out.

**Shri Kamath:** Does it mean that the *status-quo* continues with regard to the Railway Act?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** What else could be done? There is no good hon. Members asking questions of which they themselves know the answers.

**Shri Harihar Nath Shastri (Uttar Pradesh):** Sir, I should like to thank the hon. the Prime Minister for the opportunity that he gave to the House to express its opinion on the Five Year Plan. Moreover, the Prime Minister deserves our thanks for the most illuminating commentary that he offered on this plan. There were, no doubt, many misapprehensions that arose after the publication of the report, on various points, but they are very much removed after the speech that the Prime Minister has made.

Now, so far as the Plan itself is concerned, one may or may not agree with the various recommendations that have been made, but it goes without saying that the Planning Commission after strenuous work and careful study and investigation, has produced material of great magnitude and importance on which conclusions can be based. Now, I am in substantial agreement with many of the conclusions arrived at by the Commission, particularly those relating to the planning of our rural economy, control of population and the continuance of stricter and more effective economic control. All the same, Sir, I have my own doubt in regard to some basic recommendations of the Commission and I desire to state them briefly here.

The Planning Commission has laid great emphasis on agriculture, and admittedly ours is essentially an agricultural country and its rural economy for years to come is bound to influence our national policy, and I do not grudge if a partiality in favour of agriculture is shown by the Planning Commission. But, let us not ignore the fact that while there is immense scope for increase in our agricultural production, the scope as far as the absorption of surplus man-power is concerned is limited. Yesterday the Prime Minister in his speech made a reference to unemployment in our country which is one of the biggest problems that confronts us now. But I regret having to say that due regard has not been paid in the report of the Planning Commission to this important question. Now the stage has come in our country when the question of unemployment has to be judged not as a theoretical question, but from a practical and realistic point of view. It is quite all right, as I have said just now, that agriculture should be given the priority that has been given to it. But all the same, it is quite clear that the scope for absorption of the surplus man-power in agriculture is limited. According to the Planning Commission

[Shri Harihar Nath Shastri]

itself, by the year 1956, our population is likely to rise by 28 millions. Now, to provide employment to the surplus rural population and to ensure the same to the urban masses, there is no other course except to regard the industrial progress of our country as a matter of vital importance. I find a lack of appreciation of this basic fact on the part of the Planning Commission. They propose to devote to industry one sixth of the money assigned for agriculture. In other words it is about seven per cent of the total expenditure proposed for the plan as a whole. (Now this allocation in my view is not proportionate to the proper and effective role that industry should play in the life of our country. The objective of attaining full employment for the masses cannot be attained unless this attitude is revised and the development of industry is given a proper place in planning.)

The Commission has conceded the continuance of the private sector of economy. In my view the reason flows from the very report of the Commission. I am convinced that the Planning Commission does not think that the private sector of our economy is necessary as a matter of principle. The bulk of the resources of the country but the reason why they have laid so much stress on private economy is simply that according to the plan the bulk of the resources of the country are to be utilised in agriculture and it is not possible for them to make large investments in industry. Thus it is clear that by their disproportionate allocation they have had no other course than to foist private enterprise on this country for the future. The planners seem to believe that private enterprise under State control and discipline can be made to serve the interests of the country and its people. I am not so optimistic in that respect. With my own experience of the way in which private enterprise has functioned in the past and continues to function now there are grave doubts if in the long range plan it can fit in. Let me be clear that I did not expect that the Commission should have proposed outright liquidation of private enterprise. It was not possible but at least the country did hope that the Commission would have put before the country the goal of the elimination of private enterprise and it could have indicated the lines and stages by which this could have been achieved and this the Planning Commission has failed to do. It so strikes me that the position that the Commission has taken up

is more out of helplessness rather than any realisation of the usefulness of private enterprise in the future set-up of our country.

I agree with the Commission's view that the way for the betterment of the standard of living of the worker lies only through a fall in prices or an increase in productivity. But I have serious doubt in the wisdom of its view that an upward movement in wages should be avoided.

I regret to say that even the Prime Minister yesterday consciously made a reference to the question of wage freeze. I would like to say that when the question of wage freeze was raised on one occasion some years ago in U. K. it was proposed by the Trade Union. But the question may arise in a country like the U.K. but not in a country like India where in most of the industries the wages are below the living standard and in some sweated industries it is not even on par with subsistence level also. The question of wage freeze could not therefore arise, for the conditions in our country are such that they constitute a constant threat to the health and efficiency of the workers. The situation has further deteriorated during the post-war period when workers have been subjected to increasing physical strain due to unabating rise in prices. As long as these prices do not go down and as long as the upward tendency persists, a demand for wage increase is bound to be irresistible and the question of wage freeze cannot be accepted or countenanced by the working classes of this country. May I submit that the question of wage freeze is neither justified on social nor moral grounds. Although in defining its objective of price policy the Commission has stressed on the desirability of preventing further rise and also bringing prices down it has produced no concrete plan by which this could be done. On the contrary, the Commission has stated that for sometime to come inflationary tendency will continue to operate in this country. I fail to understand how under these circumstances any policy of wage freeze could be justified.

There are other aspects of the report too that call for comments. For instance, due attention is not paid to welfare amenities for labour for which only 18 crores out of 1493 crores are proposed to be spent. That constitutes hardly about one per cent of the total expenditure. Dealing with inequality in incomes while the Commission regards economic equality and social justice as conditions indispensable for the survival of democracy, it has betrayed its nervousness in im-

plementation of this ideal on the assumption that a hasty step in this direction may affect saving and the level of production adversely. In the same way, the Commission has warned against material increase in direct taxation under the apprehension that such increase may affect the capital market adversely. I fail to agree with these conclusions, which in my opinion are the outcome of nervousness and hesitancy on the part of the planners rather than any correct appraisal of the real situation and I do hope the planners will revise these conclusions before they pronounce their final verdict.

**Shri Krishnanand Rai** (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I have a feeling that this outline report of the Planning Commission has not received that reception in the country which it deserved. The two most vocal sections of our community have rejected and condemned the report outright. The first group representing the capitalists has called it whimsical and fantastic. But we should not pay much consideration to their views, because any sort of planning, good or bad, is against their interest, because in planning there is an element of control and discipline enforced by the State. The second voice is the voice of the representatives of the have-nots and I have some respect for them. In their opinion this whole Plan is a reactionary one. But I feel that they measure every economic development in the country by one touchstone, namely whether there is complete nationalisation of every resource of the country or not. I want to ask them a simple question. Even the home of nationalisation, the U.S.S.R. could not nationalise all its plants and factories in 30 years after the revolution and such being the case how a democratic country like India can do this in the five years as proposed? In China too, the second great country that is following that path, a new principle or a newer democracy is being evolved. In this principle of new democracy it has been proposed that private sectors and public sectors can work harmoniously, and about 70 per cent. of the Communist nationals of Eastern Europe are today following that middle path.

So, in my opinion there is nothing wrong in the pattern of economic development that has been proposed by the Planning Commission, the pattern of mixed economy. However, I have got my own fear with regard to this Plan. If this Plan fails, it will fail not because it has got no inherent system of planning or has got no philosophy or pattern of economic development, but because the planners and the Govern-

ment are weak, that they will not follow their conclusions and principles to their logical conclusions, and will submit to outside pressure here and there. And, Sir, I have got reasons for that fear. We had felt that due to the unavoidable circumstances and also due to the present complicated system of economy there should be control, but that control has failed, not because there was something inherently wrong in control as such but because the administrative machinery that was responsible for implementing that control was corrupt and inefficient. We have passed many laws in this House controlling industry, we have passed one very recently, but our experience so far has been that Government has totally failed in regulating private industries and these big industrialists. We have seen the misbehaviour of the cotton textile, sugar and some other industries who have openly flouted Government rules and regulations, but somehow the Government has failed to control them. Therefore, if this Plan fails it will be due to the inherent weakness of the Government.

Take the case of the price policy. All the Ministers dealing with the economic life of our country, whether he be a Finance Minister or a Commerce Minister, have been talking of the Korean war, other external circumstances, the inflation, and a lot of other things and making them scapegoats on the price front. But I think they should clearly admit that though the Korean war and external circumstances are responsible for the high prices, yet their own inefficiency and corrupt administrative machinery, their own lack of control over the huge profiteering and blackmarketing in the country, are responsible very much for the high prices. All the rules and regulations of Government so far as the price policy or the controls were concerned have failed more than once, and so it is no use talking simply of the Korean war or of any other war. Sir, the Planning Commission ought to have said in an unequivocal voice that they were not going to allow any rise in prices, because if prices are allowed to rise we will remain in the middle of our Plan without reaching the goal.

I have a very serious objection to the talk of foreign help in the report of the Planning Commission. I am conscious that the Prime Minister said yesterday that Government are not going to rely upon foreign help very much, that they have got an independent Plan, but the very words that there cannot be much economic development in our country without foreign help, as has been said in the report, will have a demoralising effect

[Shri Krishnanand Rai]

in the country and will place those foreign countries which are likely to help us in a superior position so that even if they help us they will do so with a lot of conditions. The Commission have said that about two to three hundred crores of rupees will be required in the first stage of the Plan as help from foreign countries, or otherwise they will have to resort to deficit financing. They have said that if they do not get foreign help then a lot of the productive machinery created under the first phase of the Plan will remain useless. Sir, I am not opposed to foreign help, but my point is that we should not place very much reliance on it and it should not have a demoralising effect on our nation that we cannot do without foreign help.

The third point I would like to impress upon Government is that the Commission has not been able to suggest a scientific policy for the financing of the Plan. They have said that they will get some foreign help, that they will get something from the State revenues and something from here and there. If you go through the whole report you find there are a dozen of ifs and buts. I think any Plan based on ifs and buts will remain ifs and buts. Our plans should be more coherent and there should be no presumptions or assumptions of this sort. If the hon. Finance Minister analyses the problem of capital formation in our country he will admit that there are a lot of weaknesses in the whole taxation system which is impeding capital formation. For example during the last three or four years every Finance Minister who has come to us has just gone on removing all sorts of taxation from the higher income groups in our country. If they withdraw all sorts of taxation from the higher groups, from where will capital formation come? A new theory has been propounded—and I am sorry that the Government is propounding it—that during the last few years the income in our country has been shifting from the higher groups to the lower groups. I do not know whether the proponents of this idea have any basis for that theory or whether it is just to save their face from the inefficient and corrupt taxation department they have got. They have failed even to analyse the present rate of taxation in the country and have evolved such fantastic theories as voluntary disclosures and a lot of other things which is a clear proof that they are not meeting the whole situation.

Then there are a lot of idealistic policies followed by the Government which are draining away our revenues. When the question of the very life of the nation was at stake, I think the Planning Commission ought to have clearly stated that we are not going to have any idealistic policies which will drain away our revenues. During the Budget speeches over the last two or three years, there has been talk of economy but instead of economy we have been seeing that the administration has been growing top-heavy with more and more of expenditure. If only they concentrate upon our own resources, have an efficient taxation department and have progressive policies of taxation, and reduce the extravagant expenditure, then they can have some capital formation in the country.

The hon. Prime Minister yesterday talked of a huge surplus man-power in the country which due to psychological and other reasons is not able to be employed. I am very sorry that the Planning Commission has not really studied the goal of full employment in the country. They think that by the goal of full employment they will have to abolish large-scale industry and will have to return to the economy of the eighteenth century or the seventeenth century. I am not going to believe that. In our country there is a lot of work which has yet to be done: digging of canals, building of roads and reclamation of land. For that we require a huge man-power, and we should not talk lightly of this capital which is inherent in human power. In our country, capital is taken to be only currency that is released from time to time by the Finance Minister. But capital also includes the human element. In China, huge dams and irrigation projects are being constructed by human hands and they are simply being given food, clothing and other things. Yesterday, it was pointed out that sometimes unemployed labourers when asked to go to distant places do not go there and they prefer semi-starvation. I know that people from many regions in my part of the country go not merely to Assam and Calcutta, but even to distant islands in the Pacific and the Atlantic in order to solve their bread problem. Therefore, to advance the psychological and traditional reasons is not much good. The Planning Commission should concentrate on the inner resources of the country. They have been very honest and bold in their pattern of economics. They have chosen the middle path, which we can utilise in an idealistic way.

With these words, I wish God-speed to this Plan.

**Shri B. R. Bhagat (Bihar):** The Five Year Plan is a great and bold experiment in democratic planning. It is going to usher in a new era not only in India but in the whole of Asia. We have seen plans in the U.S.A., in the Fascist Germany and Italy and other places, but the world is going to see a new experiment on a big canvas. Although it is beset with very great difficulties, it has also an inspiration and an enthusiasm backed by enlightened public co-operation. The basic factor in the success of this Plan is the public co-operation and mass enthusiasm that it can create. India being a democracy, we cannot have compulsion that you find in Fascist or Communist countries. We have several limitations. First, the Constitution; then the heterogeneous elements in the economic and political fields; then the limited resources and our industrial and agricultural backwardness. All these must be borne in mind by critics who call this a *status quo* plan or a plan that does not mean to bring about social and economic changes.

On examining this Plan, I find that it constitutes a most realistic approach from the social and economic points of view. India had other plans: the Departmental Plan, the Bombay Plan, etc. But those were merely paper plans. They were unrealistic in regard to financial resources, although they also had greater emphasis on social and economic needs. But this Five Year Plan is definitely more moderate. It is designed primarily to bring about an increase in national wealth. It is divided into four parts. The introduction leads to the approach to planning and here we are given an excellent picture of the economic structure of the country. Both the immediate and the long term problems are analysed. The immediate problem is rising prices, shortage of raw materials and consumer goods, housing shortage and the question of relief and rehabilitation. The long term problem is also explained, and it is very intricate and variegated. The basic problem is one of a low level of production and a low level of consumption. This has created a vicious circle. The low level of production has led to a low level of consumption and a low level of consumption has led to a low margin of saving and this in turn has led to lack of capital formation. This Plan has for the first time set out the real economic picture—both long term and short term. I shall confine myself, however, to two points: the problem of increasing population and the problem of high and increasing prices.

The Plan has laid down that a population policy is essential for planning, and it has given a positive population policy. Although it is very difficult to check the rise in population in existing circumstances, we are merely experiencing the difficulties which the countries of Europe and America experienced fifty years ago, when they found that their industrial and agricultural production was not keeping pace with the increase in population. Due to technological backwardness, we are in the same position today. The question is not only of a rapid increase in production but also a rapid increase backed by a rapid increase in both the agricultural and industrial sectors at the same time. The question is essentially one of the rate of economic progress. The question of population is only a negative one in the sense that our consumption should not be as large as it is, because it is said that if a country is socially in a level of backwardness the increase in the rate of progeny is higher when from the point of view of psychology and physiology the standard of life is low. The point therefore is one of keeping pace with the increase of the population in the industrial and agricultural production. The Plan has given a very clear picture in regard to a real population policy.

Coming to the most naughty problem of increasing prices, our experience since 1947 has been that Government through its financial and budgetary policy has not been oblivious to this problem. This has two aspects. One is the international aspect. In one sense, the higher prices are an imported thing and in another they are just an internal question. In this respect also, the Plan gives an excellent picture of the price policy. It clearly lays down that no plan at this time can awaken the enthusiasm of the Indian people, particularly of India's middle classes, unless it contains a clear doctrine on prices. The reduction of prices of those articles which enter into the cost of living must be the first element in the Plan.

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This is not merely a political necessity; it is an economic imperative. In a country where the bulk of the saving takes place in the middle classes the rate of capital formation depends a great deal on the cost of living of what are sometimes, though not quite accurately, described as the fixed income groups.

There are other factors than imported inflation which have operated

[Shri B. R. Bhagat]

to keep prices high. It may be stated that increased money supply is one of these, but there are indications, since at least tightness continued right through the slack season, that existing money supply was more an effect than a cause of high prices. Austere monetary doctors would like a restriction in money supply with a higher rate of interest. It is probable that they exaggerate greatly the effect in the Indian economy of higher interest rates on prices. The rate of interest is not specifically discussed in this Plan; it would be well for the planning authorities to have on monetary policy an open mind.

But there must not be, on any account, new monetary inflation. The Central Budgets have for each of the five years of the Plan, therefore, been constructed so that there is no deficit financing over the five years; it may be inevitable that there should be deficit financing on revenue account over the first two. As the Plan is now constructed, it is believed that a deficit, possibly Rs. 30 crores on revenue account in the first two years, may be inevitable. A surplus of Rs. 40 crores on revenue account is provided in the next three. The effect of the deficit on revenue account is offset in the first year by a surplus of Rs. 102 crores on capital account which absorbs most, though not all, of the capital deficit of about Rs. 90 crores in the second year of the Plan. There is a small deficit on combined accounts in the third year of the Plan but the fourth and fifth years provide for surpluses on combined accounts making the operations over the five years strictly non-inflationary on public account.

On private account the plan has been so constructed that the march of income with investment ensures that no new inflation is generated in the process. The structure of investment and output year-wise is explained in the tables in the appendix. A serious defect in the Draft Outline Plan produced by the Planning Commission has thus been removed.

The total monetary investment shown over five years at Rs. 1,486 crores but investment from non-monetary sources valued at Rs. 260 crores is also assumed. Some measure of external aid outside these figures is certain because of the release of Rs. 233 crores of our sterling balances over the next five years. The condition that every stage of the plan should be non-inflationary is that investment and output should march together. The

table shows that if the sterling releases are counted in and further external aid of only Rs. 100 is assumed, the plan can be phased so that it is at all stages non-inflationary.

The condition for success is that there should be no failure in the raising of a sum of Rs. 1,108 crores. If these sums are not raised, the difference will be inflationary unless external aid more than covers the gap. In all circumstances which now seem likely to arise this condition may be assumed.

The revaluation of the rupee and the phasing of the Plan so as to avoid net new inflation at all stages represent the first steps in a price policy. The major step thereafter is an improvement in production. Details of the structure of new production already given will indicate that prices particularly of food, cotton, jute and cloth and building materials will come under increasing pressure as the Plan proceeds. The emphasis on consumer imports will add to this salutary pressure, and, if this Plan is implemented as is assumed in the tables attached, a drop of another ten per cent in the cost of living could also be ensured. The overall effect of the measures suggested may, therefore, involve a reduction of between seventeen to twenty per cent in the cost of living. The drop in the General Index of Wholesale Prices may, under favourable circumstances, at the end of five years be thirty per cent.

The essence of this policy is to be found in a firm will not to allow expenditure to march ahead of output. This is primarily a responsibility of the Central and State Governments, but it may imply a wider degree of co-operation in the private sector than at present obtains. The voluntary curtailment of dividends and the ploughing back of company profits are obvious methods of assisting in a price policy; there is no reason why, where this can profitably be done, a policy of this kind should not be immediately encouraged.

So, if we see the price policy which the plan clearly lays down for the first time, it will be found to be disinflationary at all stages—on the investment, on output, on the industrial and on the agricultural sector. They are so based as to give plenty of balance to each other and as far as possible they offset each other.

Whether it is the population policy, or whether it is the price policy, the

Plan for the first time in the history of India has cleared much of the muddled thinking. Given public co-operation and mass enthusiasm and backed by the leadership in the country, the Plan is bound to succeed. With these few words I wish the Plan God-speed.

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह: उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप को बहुत बहुत धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आप ने मुझे इस विषय पर बोलने का अवसर दिया।

अभी राष्ट्रीय पंच वर्षीय योजना पर विचार हो रहा है। यह विषय तो बहुत उत्तम और बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है, लेकिन इस सम्बन्ध में एक जो सब से बड़ी बात है वह तो योजना में नहीं है। योजना पर विस्तारपूर्वक विचार करने से तो यही होगा कि देश में जितनी तरह की शक्तियाँ, जितनी सम्पत्ति, देश में है और जो जो कुछ मनुष्य के लाभ के लिए हो सकता है सब का संग्रह हो, सब का सुन्दर व्यवहार हो जिस से समाज का कल्याण हो। लेकिन इसमें यह देखना होगा कि यह योजना चलाने वाले कौन होंगे। इस पर भी विचार करना होगा। तो सरकार की ओर से यह योजना लाई गई है और सरकार ही इस योजना को कार्यान्वित करेगी।

तो मैं समझता हूँ और संसद् के सदस्य भी इस सम्बन्ध में विचार करेंगे तो मुझ से सहमत होंगे कि इस योजना में सब से पहले तो यह होना चाहिये था कि हमारे देश की जो आमदनी है और इस आमदनी का जो लोग प्रबन्ध करने वाले हैं वह किस ढंग से काम कर रहे हैं, इस का प्रबन्ध सब से पहले होना चाहिये था। यदि आप इस पर विचार करेंगे तो मालूम होगा कि हमारी जितनी आमदनी होती है उस सब को सरकार जमा करती है और सरकार ही उस को खा जाती

है। तो आप को यह तो देखना होगा कि हमारे देश में जो अभी संगठन है, राजनैतिक संगठन है, सरकारी संगठन है, उस का क्या अर्थ है? यदि सरकार सरकार के लिये ही है तब तो दूसरी बात है। यदि इस प्रकार का सिद्धान्त मान लिया जाय तब तो दूसरी बात है। नहीं तो यदि यह कहा जाय कि नहीं सरकार देश के लिए है, तब तो देखना होगा कि जितनी आमदनी हमारी सरकार की है, देश की है, वह कितनी सरकार के प्रबन्ध में खर्च होती है और कितनी देश के लिए सीधी सीधी खर्च होती है। तो इस तरह से हम इस को देखें तो जैसा मैं ने कहा यह सामलूम होता है कि सरकार वसूल करती है और सरकार खा जाती है। दुनिया का सारे समय से यह सिद्धान्त था कि देश में जितनी आमदनी होती है, जितने रुपये सरकार वसूल करती है वह रुपये जनता के पास वापस होने चाहियें, अनेक प्रकार से उस के लाभ के रूप में, लेकिन वह बात अभी नहीं हो रही है। अभी जो रुपये वसूल होते हैं वह सब सरकार के अन्दर ही खर्च होते हैं। तो सब से पहली बात यह होनी चाहिये कि सरकार में कितना खर्च हो। इस की योजना पहले बननी चाहिये थी। फिर उस के साथ साथ जो प्रबन्ध करने वाले हों, जो सरकार हो, कितनी उन की संख्या रहने से, कितनी उन की शक्ति रहने से काम चल सकेगा, इस की भी जांच की जाय। यदि यह जांच की जाय तो पता लगेगा कि बहुत जगह तो सरकार के जितने आदमी काम करने वाले हैं उन में बहुत से बेकार हैं। किसी ने कहा है कि सरकार क्या है, मानो पिंजरापोल है। अभी तो यह हो रहा है कि डिपार्टमेंट बढ़ाये जाओ, पदों की सृष्टि किये जाओ, लोगों को भरती किये जाओ, उन की चरुरत है या नहीं, इस पर विचार नहीं किया जाता और सब को बढ़ाते जाते हैं। तो सब से पहले,

[ बाबू रामनारायण सिंह ]

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस बात का विचार होना चाहिये था यह सब से पहले करने की बात थी। यदि इस पर विचार किया जाय और सुन्दर रूप से प्रबन्ध किया जाय तो जितने लोग सरकारी काम कर रहे हैं, उतने लोगों की अभी कोई जरूरत नहीं है। अभी कम से कम ५० सैकड़ा आदमी वहां से हटाये जा सकते हैं। इतने महकमों की भी जरूरत नहीं है। यदि ईमानदारी से खर्च किया जाय, यदि देश भक्ति को ध्यान में रख कर खर्च किया जाय, तो यह सब आदमी हटाये जा सकते हैं। आज हालत क्या है? आज लगभग चार अरब देश की आमदनी है और चारों अरब सरकार हजम कर जाती है। लेकिन मैं चाहता हूं और जो न्याय का सक्काजा है, उस के अनुसार हिसाब किया जाये तो जो खर्च होता है उस की कम से कम ५० सैकड़ा आमदनी सीधे सीधे अनेक तरह के लाभ के रूप में, जनता के पास पहुंचे। लेकिन वह बात अभी नहीं हो रही है।

हमारे लोगों ने, जिन में बहुत से लोग अभी यहाँ पर इस संसद् भवन में हैं, कराची कांग्रेस में एक प्रस्ताव पास किया था कि देश का सब से बड़ा वेतन ५०० रुपये होगा। लेकिन आज कितने दुःख के साथ, लज्जा के साथ, और शोक के साथ भी कहना पड़ता है कि यही लोग आज शासन का भार उठाये हुए हैं, उन्हीं लोगों के हाथ में शासन है, और आज कोई ५ हजार लेता है, कोई १० हजार भी लेता है, और कोई २२ हजार भी लेते थे।

شہری توں - حسین : ۲۲ ہزار کوئی نہیں لیتا -

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह: मैं तो कहता हूँ कि लेते थे। तो यह तो आप को रोकना होगा, इस तरह खर्च नहीं करना होगा।

सभापति महोदय, मैं तो कहता हूँ कि इस तरह की संस्था कायम हो जहाँ सार्वजनिक रूप से आदमी काम करें।

श्री हिम्मतसिंहका: मिलते नहीं हैं।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह: खोजने से मिलेंगे। सरकारी काम, राष्ट्रीय काम, वही करें, जिनमें सेवा करने की प्रवृत्ति हो, देश भक्ति की प्रवृत्ति हो। लेकिन हम आज क्या देखते हैं कि करोड़ों व्यक्ति राष्ट्र के काम में लगे हुए हैं। किन्तु शायद उन में एक भी आदमी ऐसा नहीं होगा जो देश की सेवा के लिए काम कर रहा हो। वहां वह सब के सब अपने पेट के लिए काम कर रहे हैं। रोजगार के लिए काम कर रहे हैं, या किसी किसी के बारे में कहा जा सकता है कि वह अपने यश के लिए कर रहे हैं। लेकिन सब के सब अपने हित, अपने रोजगार के लिए लगे हुए हैं। तो जब तक इस तरह का प्रबन्ध चल रहा है तब तक आप कोई भी योजना बनायें, वह सफलीभूत होने की नहीं है। तो राष्ट्रीय योजना को चलाने के लिए ऐसे व्यक्ति होने चाहियें जो देश भक्ति से सदा ओतप्रोत रहते हों।

सभापति महोदय, इस तरह से राष्ट्रीय योजना में जो सरकारी संगठन है, इस का विचार सब से पहले होना चाहिये और जब तक यह नहीं होगा तब तक कोई काम होने वाला नहीं है। मैं आप से कहता हूँ कि आप कोई भी योजना निकालें, या कोई भी कानून बनायें, और कानून तो बहुत बहुत बन रहे हैं, कोई भी कानून बने, उसे तो एक तरह से आप तलवार समझ सकते हैं। जिस तरह से तलवार एक ही चीज है। भले आदमी के हाथ में वह पड़ती है तो उस व्यक्तियों की रक्षा होती है, अगर वही तलवार बुरे के हाथ



पड़ती है तो बहुतों की घातक होती है। इसलिए तलवार तो जो है वह एक ही है। लेकिन उस के प्रयोग करने वाले के ऊपर उस का फल निर्भर करता है। इस वास्ते सब से पहले तो जो यह राष्ट्रीय योजना चलाने वाले व्यक्ति होंगे उन के सम्बन्ध में विचार होना चाहिये था कि कैसे आदमी होने चाहिये, कौन आदमी होने चाहिये, जो इस राष्ट्रीय योजना को कार्यान्वित करेंगे। सब से पहले तो यह होना चाहिये।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह तो ठीक है कि जो राष्ट्र के सेवक होंगे उन का भरण पोषण तो राष्ट्र को करना होगा। यह तो बिल्कुल सही बात है। लेकिन भरण पोषण किस तरह से होगा। उन का भरण पोषण उसी तरह से होगा जिस तरह से कि जनता का भरण पोषण होता है। जो स्टैंडर्ड ऑफ लिविंग (Standard of Living), जो जीवन का तर तरीका, जनता का है उसी तरह से उन का भी होना चाहिये। लेकिन आज जो सरकार के, राष्ट्र के नौकर हैं, उन का भरण पोषण किस तरह होता है। उन के रहन सहन से तो मालूम होता है कि उन का देश से कोई सम्बन्ध ही नहीं है कि जनता जनार्दन तो भूखों मरे, और यहां जो जनता के सेवक कहलाते हैं, एक तो उन को सेवक ही नहीं कहना चाहिये, वह गुलछरें उड़ावें। और मुझे तो खबर लगी है कि आज कल मंत्री लोग रसगुल्ले भी छील छील कर खाते हैं। जनता का जो रहन सहन है और जो सरकार कहलाने वाली संस्था है, उस का जो रहन सहन है, उस में तो जमीन आसमान का अन्तर है, इन दोनों में कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है।

डा० राम सुभाष सिंह: पहले के मंत्री क्या करते थे ?

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह: पहले के मंत्री जिस तरह से जनता खाती थी उस तरह से खाते थे। पहले हमारे देश में एक एक गांव संसार था। गांव में यश होता था और गांव का मालिक जब तक यह खबर नहीं पाता था कि सारे गांव के लोग खा गये तब तक वह नहीं खाता था। आज तो यहां पर हर तरह का दुःख हो रहा है, तकलीफ हो रही है, और जनता क्या खा रही है इस की खबर कौन लेता है। मैं इस सम्बन्ध में आप से कहता हूं कि आप भाई कभी कभी हंसते हों, लेकिन मैं दुःख के साथ कहता हूं और आप से निवेदन करता हूं कि इस तरह का संगठन नहीं चल सकता है, यह तो बिल्कुल अस्वाभाविक है कि जनता की आमदनी देखी जाय तो १०० रुपये सालाना ही है, लेकिन जो जनता के सेवक कहलाने वाले सरकारी नौकर हैं, उन की लाखों रुपये सालाना आमदनी होती है। यह तो बिल्कुल अस्वाभाविक बात है, यह नहीं होनी चाहिये।

घंटी बज चुकी है, और, मैं अब दूसरी बात कहता हूं, वैसे कहना तो इस सम्बन्ध में बहुत कुछ था। कल प्रधान मंत्री ने शुरू में कहा था कि ऐसा प्रबन्ध किया जाना चाहिये जिस से सारे देश में बहुत से लोगों को सैनिक शिक्षा दी जाय, यह ठीक बात है और मैं भी चाहता हूं कि लोगों को अनिवार्य सैनिक शिक्षा दिलाने का प्रबन्ध अवश्य किया जाये। जितने हमारे देश में नवयुवक हैं और योग्य शरीर वाले हैं सब को अनिवार्य सैनिक शिक्षा देनी चाहिये और अगर ऐसा हुआ तो फिर सेना पर, इतना क्या बड़ा डेढ़ अरब रुपया खर्च करने की जरूरत नहीं होगी और जिस वक्त युद्ध होगा हम उन को बुला लेंगे। यह आज की अवस्था में बहुत जरूरी है कि यह विचार किया जाय कि किस तरह से देश का खर्चा कम करें। आप जानते हैं कि सन् १९२०-२१ में जब कांग्रेस का

[ बाबू रायनारायण सिंह ]

काम गांधी जी ने शुरू किया था तो सब कोई खादी पहनता था, खादी का प्रचार घर घर होता था और घर घर चरखा चलता था, गांधी जी ने साफ़ कहा था कि जो अधिक रुपया कमाते हैं, वह भले ही अधिक रुपया कमाते रहें, लेकिन यह ध्यान रखना चाहिये कि जो लोग बेकार बैठे हुए हैं, इस देश में करीब ८५ फ्री सदी किसान बसते हैं, जिन की सालों भर काम नहीं मिलता है, ऐसे लोग चरखा बलायें अथवा जो फिजूल देश में शक्ति है, उस का व्यवहार करें, तो बड़ी बड़ी मिल बरौंद की भी जरूरत नहीं होगी। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह मामूली बात नहीं थी, जो गांधी जी ने हमें बतलाई। और मैं तो कहता हूँ कि आज इन को इतने दिन सरकार में आये हुए हो गये, अगर यह खादी का प्रचार करते रहते तो खादी भी काफी चलती होती और वह सस्ती होती और सब जगह खादी पर्याप्त मात्रा में मिलने लग जाती और रुपड़े का प्रश्न जो आज हमारे सामने है, वह भी हल हो जाता और मैं तो समझता हूँ कि और भी व्यापार पर और यह जो चीजों के दाम के बारे में बातचीत चल रही है, उस पर भी इस का असर पड़ता। लेकिन यह सरकार, कांग्रेस सरकार और अपने को गांधी जी के उत्तराधिकारी कहलाने वाले लोग दो, दो घंटा यहां और बाहर स्पीच दे देंगे, लेकिन खादी की बात उनके मुँह से एक बार भी नहीं निकलती। होना तो यह चाहिये था कि कोई वास्तविक राष्ट्रीय योजना तैयार करके हम उसके मुताबिक काम करते, और देश को ख़ुश पहुँचाते।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं जल्दी ही ख़त्म करूंगा। वैसे इस योजना कमीशन में बहुत सी बातें हैं लेकिन इस वक़्त खादी की बात

सब से महत्वपूर्ण है और उस की तरफ़ हमारा विशेष ध्यान जानना चाहिये। खादी के बाद सब से महत्वपूर्ण बात खेती की खादी है। मैं खुद एक किसान हूँ और खेती के सम्बन्ध में किसानों को क्या क्या कठिनाइयाँ होती हैं, मैं जानता हूँ। मैं आप को बतलाऊँ कि मेरे इलाके छोटा नागपुर में वृष्टि बहुत होती है और खेती बहुत भर जाती है और चार साल से वहां बहुत ही कम अन्न पैदा हो रहा है और वहां कृषि की जो दशा है उस का वर्णन करना मुश्किल है।

अब इस सम्बन्ध में सरकार का यह काम है कि परमात्मा की तरफ़ से जितना जल हम को मिलता है, जितनी वृष्टि होती है, उस के संग्रह करने के लिए उचित प्रबन्ध करे, यह सरकार का और हम लोगों का कर्तव्य होता चाहिये और इतनी हम लोगों में सामर्थ्य होनी चाहिये कि हम लोग उस सारे वर्षा के जल को संग्रह कर सकें, तो मैं कहता हूँ कि हमारे इलाके में जिस तरह से पानी बरसता है, और बारिश होती है और सारा पानी बह जाता है, अगर वह पानी बचाया जा सके तो बिना वर्षा के जो खेती सूख जाती है और बरबाद हो जाती है, वह नष्ट न हो पायेगी और दूसरे जो अत्याधिक वर्षा होने के कारण बाढ़ इत्यादि के कारण फ़सल नष्ट हो जाती है और इतनी बर्बादी होती है, वह भी रोक सकती है अगर हम वर्षा के पानी का उचित संग्रह कर सकें। इसलिए मैं तो चाहूंगा कि जो योजना को तैयार करने वाले हैं वह उस में संशोधन कर के उत्पादन के सम्बन्ध में जितनी बातें हैं, उस में पानी को सब से पहला स्थान दे सकते हैं।

एक बात और है उपाध्यक्ष महोदय जिस की ओर मैं हाउस का ध्यान दिलाना चाहूंगा। आज हमारे देश में खुली भाई बहुत

मिलेंगे। खाने वाले तो बहुत आप को मिलेंगे, लेकिन कमाने वाले बहुत कम हैं। कमाने वालों की संख्या अगर आम निकालेंगे तो उस का हिसाब करने पर आप को मालूम होगा कि हमारे देश की जितनी आबादी है उस में पन्द्रह, बीस सैकड़ों से ज्यादा लोग कमाने वाले नहीं हैं और बाकी सारे खाने वाले लोग हैं और उन खाने वालों में सब से बड़ी खाने वाली यह हमारी सरकार है। यह जो बैठे बैठे कहते हैं कि हम लोग बड़ा काम करते हैं, तो वास्तव में वह कोई काम अपने हाथ से नहीं करते हैं, वह उत्पादन बढ़ाने का कोई काम स्वयं नहीं करते हैं, और इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि हम सब लोग खाने वाले हैं, कमाने वाले तो वह लोग हैं जो खुद अपने हाथ से काम करते हैं और जिस काम के फलस्वरूप हम देश में अनाज पैदा होता है, या कपड़ा तैयार होता है और मैं तो आप से कहता हूँ कि यह बात योजना में आ जानी चाहिये कि जो अपने हाथ से काम नहीं करते हैं, उत्पादन नहीं करते हैं उन को खाने का हक नहीं होना चाहिये और न उन को राशन कार्ड मिलना चाहिये।

अन्त में मैं एक बात कह कर खतम करता हूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारे जितने सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं अफसर हैं, मंत्री लोग हैं और हमारे राष्ट्रपति तक जो होते हैं, उन सब को आम लोगों की तरह आम लोगों के बीच में अगर बड़े घंटा दो घंटा हल और कुदाल चलाने को तैयार नहीं होते हैं, तो उन लोगों को भी आने को नहीं मिलना चाहिये। सब को कमाने का प्रवृत्ति होनी चाहिये और मैं तो चाहूँगा कि कोई ऐसा कानून बनाया जाय जिस से हर आदमी को काम करना पड़े, तब जा कर उस को खाना मिले। बातें तो मुझे बहुत सी कहनी थीं, लेकिन चूँकि अब समय नहीं है इसलिए मैं बैठ जाता हूँ। लेकिन इतना

मैं अवश्य कहूँगा कि जितनी बातें मैं ने बतलाई हैं, उन्हे कं वारे में जो योजना के बनाने वाले हैं और वह ला। जिन के हाथ में उस को कार्यान्वित करने का अधिकार है वह उन पर ध्यान पूर्वक विचार करेंगे ताकि देश का कल्याण हो और जनता को जिन का वह पैसा खाते हैं, उस को पहले सुखी करें और जनता की सेवा करें, पहले जनता को खाना पहुँचायें तब बाद में खुद खायें। ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये जैसा कि कहावत महशदुर है कि भडकन को टागकिय अपना डब्बर भर, ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये, पहले जनता का पेट भरना चाहिये, तब अपना।

(English translation of the above speech)

**Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Bihar):** Sir, I am grateful to you for the opportunity you have given me to speak on this subject.

The topic under discussion is the Five Year Plan for our country. The subject is no doubt of great importance and value but all the same the plan lacks in one most important respect. The main purpose of discussing the Plan is that all the natural and other resources of the country are best exploited so that the people may prosper. But what is to be seen and considered is the fact as to who would be in charge of executing the Plan. As it is, the Government have prepared the Plan and they themselves will be responsible for its implementation. I think and believe the House too agrees with me that the Plan should have ample provision to see that a proper watch is kept over those who would be responsible for spending all the revenue that would be earned through various sources. It will be seen that the Government collect the entire income and they themselves spend it. Let us consider what is meant by governmental or political organisation in the country. If the Government stands for Government alone, then it is all right, but if the things are otherwise and the Government is for the good of the country as a whole, it is necessary to see how and in what manner the Government spend the entire national income—how much is really spent on national welfare and how much otherwise. As I have said it is clear that it is the Government and the Government alone that receives the revenues and

[Babu Ramnarayan Singh]

also spends it. In all countries of the world it has been the practice since times immemorial that whatever be the Government revenue it is returned to the public in the shape of various national welfare schemes. But the things are quite different here. What we find here is that the Government spends the entire income on its own items. So all these aspects should be taken into consideration. We should also examine the question as to what should be the proper strength of the Government staff. On such an examination it will be seen that many posts are superfluous. Some people have rightly described the Government as a *pinjrapole*. Daily new departments are being opened, new posts are being created and new recruitment is being made without examining the pros and cons of the things. So what I feel is that this question should have been given top priority while taking up this Plan. If the duties are discharged properly the present strength of the staff will not justify itself. The staff can be safely reduced by 50 per cent. at least. So many departments are not required either. If the expenditure is made sincerely and honestly taking into consideration the country as a whole, this superfluous staff can easily be dispensed with. How does the position stand today? Nearly four thousand million rupees, which is the approximate income of the country, are spent by the Government. What I want is—and it is justifiable also—that at least 50 per cent. of the total revenue must be utilised for the benefit of the people. But things are otherwise.

It was we, including many who are sitting in the House, who had passed a resolution in the Karachi Congress to the effect that the highest salary to be paid to any employee would be Rs. 500. But it is with a great sense of regret and shame that one has to complain that those very persons, who were party to that resolution, have been drawing fat salaries—some of them draw five thousand while others ten thousand, and some even used to draw as much as twenty-two thousand rupees.

**Shri T. Husain (Bihar):** Nobody is drawing twenty-two thousand rupees.

**Babu Ramnarayan Singh:** I said 'used to.' So this extraordinary expenditure must be checked. I for one would like some organisation to be set up in which service may be rendered by way of public duty.

**Shri Himatsingka (West Bengal):** But such persons are not available.

**Babu Ramnarayan Singh:** They will be available if searched for. Let only those persons work in the Government who have an inherent desire for public service. What we see today is that of the millions of persons employed in the Government hardly one is rendering any service to the motherland in the real sense of the term. The fact is that nearly all of them are working only to earn a livelihood; maybe that some of them may be serving for the sake of gaining reputation. But none is doing any real service to the country. No plan can possibly succeed unless the present state of affairs is well improved. Only true patriots can successfully work out any National Plan.

The National Plan should first deal with the administrative machinery of the country. Unless this question is properly dealt with there cannot be any hope for any success being achieved in that field. To explain the things further we can compare such plans and laws with a sword. A sword when it is handled by a good person defends the lives of many but the same sword in the hand of some bad person threatens the lives of still more innocent souls. The sword is the same but its benefit or otherwise solely depends on him who handles it. That is why it is essential that thorough consideration must govern the choice of the persons who would be responsible for the implementation of this Plan. It should have been done first.

There cannot be any denying the fact that the country should maintain those who serve it. But the question is as to how they shall be maintained. They would be maintained in the same manner in which the rest of the people are maintained. Their standard of living should be at par with that of the masses. But at present those who are in the Government—and are servants of the country—are maintaining such a high standard of living that there seems to be no parity between their standard of living and that of the people at large. It cannot be that these so called servants of the people—as a matter of fact they ought not to be called as such—enjoy at time when the masses are suffering hunger and starvation. I am told that even the Ministers have fallen prey to luxury and comfort. There is a vast difference between the standard of living of the people at large and that of those who form what is called the Government. There is no parity whatsoever between the two.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh (Bihar):** What the former Ministers used to do?

**Babu Ramnarayan Singh:** The former Ministers used to eat what the people ate. In the past they considered their village as their world. Whenever a *Yagna* was performed in the village the Zamindar did not take food until all the villagers had taken their meals. Nowadays there is quite a different story and none is anxious to know whether people are getting food or not and what their miseries are. You laugh at these things but these are the facts. I have to submit very painfully that such a state of affairs is very undesirable and it should not be allowed to last any longer. It really looks very odd that in a country where the average income is hardly a hundred rupees per year, the so-called servants of the people—I mean Government servants—are earning lacs of rupees every year. This thing should not be allowed to happen.

Although I should have liked to deal with this point at greater length, I would now leave it and take up another point as the bell has already rung. Yesterday the hon. Prime Minister had stressed the need of making suitable arrangements for imparting military training on a universal scale. I see eye to eye with him on this particular issue and would even go so far as to suggest that military training should be made compulsory for all youths with sound health. Under such a scheme the huge expenditure on defence which amounts to nearly one thousand and five hundred million rupees at present is likely to be reduced to a great extent, for at the time of war those trained youths could be sent for. The present circumstances call for some early solution being found for reducing the country's overall expenditure. You are aware that in 1920-21, when Gandhiji started the Congress movement, most of the people wore *khadi*. *Khadi* at that time was so popular among the masses that *charkha* spinning became a daily routine in every household. Gandhiji had made it quite clear that those persons whose income was large might confine themselves to earning money but those who were unemployed—it will be recalled that nearly 85 per cent. of the country's total population consists of peasants who are not employed throughout the year—had no way out of spinning *charkha* and thereby exploiting the national resources which would otherwise go waste. If they did so, Gandhiji said, the big mills would not be required either. It was not an ordinary thing that the Mahatma told us. Had the present Government, who have been here for a considerably long period, paid their attention to *khadi*, it would

have certainly become most popular and within easy reach of all and sundry by now. Thus the difficult problem of cloth would also have been solved. I for one believe that it would also have reflected favourably on other trades as also on the prices of various commodities. But it is a pity that the Congress Government, which consists of those who are called successors to Gandhiji, pay no heed to this important aspect of the question. These people speak for hours and hours together—either here in the House or outside—but alas the word *khadi* does not even once leave their lips. What was needed was that some National Plan worth the name would have been prepared and steps taken accordingly with a view to do some good to the country as a whole.

Sir, I am going to finish soon. Although there are many points with regard to the Planning Commission which call for our early attention, the question of *khadi* is the most important. Next to *khadi* comes agriculture. I myself being a cultivator am well aware of the various difficulties that a cultivator has to face. In Chhota Nagpur, which is my place, heavy rains destroy the crops. For the last four years the yield has been very little. The miserable condition of the agriculturists of that place can hardly be described. Now it is our duty as also of the Government to make suitable arrangements for the storage of that rain water. In this way, rain water, which is otherwise wasted, can be utilised for cultivation purposes where it is needed and the vast damage caused to agriculture by excessive rains and floods etc. can also be averted. I would, therefore, suggest that the makers of the Plan amend it and give top priority to the question of water among other factors of production.

Sir, I would like the House to take one more thing into consideration. As it is the number of those who earn something is far less than those who themselves do not earn anything and live on the incomes of others. By a close scrutiny it will be seen that not more than fifteen to twenty per cent. of the country's total population are wage earners: the rest are parasites doing nothing and living on others. Our Government also comes under the latter category. All those who claim that they do much work are doing nothing. Since they are doing nothing towards the increase of production, I would say that they do nothing and earn nothing. Only they earn something who produce food or cloth with their own labour. So the Plan

[Babu Ramnarayan Singh]

ought to have provided that those who do not do manual labour have no right to feed themselves or have ration cards issued to them.

One thing more and I have finished. I want that all the public servants—right from the President and the hon. Ministers down to the lowest rank—should snatch an hour or so from their daily programme and devote it to some sort of manual labour, as for example ploughing etc. If they do not do so, they should be denied food. I for one would like some law to be enacted making it compulsory for every citizen to do some work or the other. Only then he should be served with food. Although I had much to say I close here for lack of time. I would, however, express the hope that those who have prepared the Plan and also those who would implement it, would give due consideration to all that I have submitted and do the needful to enable the country to prosper. Let them first provide amenities to the masses and feed them. It is the people on whose money the Government is running and, therefore, the people have a right to be served first. It should not be that the Government enjoy and people suffer from hunger and starvation.

**Pandit Kunzru** (Uttar Pradesh): Everyone who reads the report of the Planning Commission must pay a tribute to the thought and labour devoted by it to the preparation of this Plan. Every chapter and every page of the report show how considerable and conscientious has been the effort that has gone into the production of the Plan. Whatever may be said about the different parts of the Plan, the labours of the Commission will enable us to think of the most important problems affecting our economic and social progress as parts of a well-co-ordinated programme. Hitherto we have considered each problem by itself and have as a rule adopted solutions which have not always been conducive to the attainment of our objectives. The Plan will be an education to us. It will make us think of our various problems as parts of a whole.

It is not possible for me within the limited time at my disposal to deal with more than two or three features of the Plan. The points that I shall confine myself to are increased agricultural production, programme of industrial expansion, the price policy and the cost of the programme. The agricultural plan shows that the Commission aims at increasing food production by 7.2 million tons. I spoke

earlier on agricultural production which includes in addition to food, commercial crops like jute, cotton, sugarcane and oilseeds. I cannot at length deal with them now. In the few minutes that I have, I should like to discuss the question of food production because of the emphasis laid on it by the Government of India and by the Prime Minister. This is due to many factors. I believe that one of these is our own policy in respect of external affairs. In any case, it is obviously necessary that we should develop increased production of food with all possible speed in the circumstances in which we find ourselves. The Plan is a comprehensive one and is simple and it can be easily grasped. But, the very comprehensiveness and simplicity of the Plan will make its realisation difficult. The Commission, apart from advising that the greatest effort should be made in areas where water is already available, has made three important suggestions for the re-organisation of agriculture and bringing about a change in the attitude and spirit of the people towards not merely agricultural problems, but all problems affecting the country and some affecting their own future welfare. The Commission had to do this because it looked at planning not merely as an economic device, but also as a means of social education of the people, without which the purpose of any plan cannot be fully realised.

The suggestions made by the Commission for the social education of the people in the agricultural field and increasing food production are three: the establishment of village production councils, registration of big farms and co-operative farming. I take it that it will not be left to the village production councils to decide how much they can produce in a village. If planning from below recommended by the Commission means that the village production council is itself to set the target of production, there may be found to be a wide discrepancy between what is practicable on this basis and the target put forward by the Commission. I take it that for this reason there will be a certain amount of direction given to the village production councils in respect of the total increased production that they should aim at. Given this, we have to see whether the purpose for which the three devices have been recommended by the Planning Commission will be fulfilled.

The village production councils have to be established all over the country and social education of the village people has to proceed *pari passu* with

the establishment of the councils. It seems to me that the Commission is attempting to do for the whole country, where both general and social education are limited what the Tennessee Valley Authority did in a small area and in a country where both general and social education are highly advanced. It can therefore be seen how difficult of realisation the simple Plan put forward by the Commission will be. I am not against the Plan for this reason. I do not in the least deprecate any of the suggestions that have been made by the Commission. What I want to say is that if the full success of our Plan is to depend on the proper working and the proper carrying out of the three suggestions made by the Commission, then we must be prepared for unlimited disappointment.

There is another difficulty also to be considered in this connection. The Village production councils will have to be educated in the programme that they will be called upon to undertake. The education that they will receive will be valuable; but the villagers will take some time to assimilate. As regards registered farms, the suggestions seem to be very interesting. I eagerly read the paragraph relating to it in the report of the Commission. But, all that I found was that a certain responsibility would be laid on the owners of the registered farms. There is no indication of any help that they may receive from the Government or any facilities that may be given to them in order to enable them to fulfil the responsibility that Government want to impose on them. It is true that in the last resort, we can, in the general good, introduce compulsion. But, it is obvious that if we can link individual good with general good, our purpose will be achieved more easily.

There is another aspect of this question that requires careful consideration. The Commission is obviously in favour of large-scale farming and it seems to me, reading its report, that it will be happy if the number of small farms becomes appreciably less. It seems to me to be in favour of farms of so large a size as to make cultivation by mechanical means a possibility. Whether agriculture should be made an industry at the present time is a large question. But I feel that there is some want of coordination here between the plan of the Commission and the announced purposes of the Government with respect to the abolition of zamindari. The land taken from the zamindars is to be used for the purpose of mainly making the uneconomic holdings economic ones and giving land, if possible, to the agri-

cultural labourers who are unable to make both ends meet in the present state of our agricultural economy. If this is the end that Government have set before themselves, how are they going to carry out the Plan, and with what consistency can they carry out the Plan recommended by the Commission which aims at the creation of large farms?

Now, a word about co-operative farms. No one can say a word against them. They are most desirable. But success in this field will be very difficult and problematic. The problem is to be tackled, but time will be required to produce results. In the short space of five years we may not be able to advance co-operative farms to such an extent as to derive much help in the execution of our Plan from this source.

Have I any time left, Sir?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Two more minutes.

**Pandit Kunzru:** Well, I will then be very brief. I shall pass on to the industrial plan and say that its realisation depends entirely on private effort. I have no doubt that the Government has consulted private industrialists. But even so, changes may take place in the course of the next few years that make industrialists unwilling to invest their money in the industries recommended by the Commission. But the most striking deficiency in this Plan seems to me to be the failure of the Commission to recommend the establishment of a large steel factory. The Commission has given reasons for it, and cogent reasons too. But considering the dependence of our industrial advancement on steel, I attach so much importance to it as to be prepared even to cut down our agricultural plan, notwithstanding its necessity, in order to increase steel production substantially.

Now, with regard to the third point, namely, finance and price policy, I will deal with them both together. It is obvious that for the full execution of the Commission's Plan about Rs. 600 crores will have to be borrowed. It is true that the Commission says that the deficiency to the extent of Rs. 290 crores might be made up by the method of deficit financing. Now, this is a somewhat difficult matter. But let us first consider whether the deficiency will be of the order of Rs. 290 crores only. The Commission has proceeded on the assumption that the resources of the Central and the Provincial Governments as tabulated by it in one of the appendices—to Chapter 2, will be available during the next

[Pandit Kunzru]

five years. Among these resources which it has counted on, are Rs. 130 crores in five years of the Central Government and Rs. 81 crores of the Provincial Government. It is true that the Finance Minister said during the Budget discussion that additional taxation was being imposed to provide a surplus of Rs. 26 crores for the execution of the Colombo Plan. But I am very doubtful whether that surplus will be realised. And this suggests caution in assuming the realisation of the surplus in subsequent years. Then the realisation of the State surplus seems to me to be even more problematic. I shall not be surprised if the total surplus of Rs. 211 crores which the Commission has referred to falls short of this sum by about Rs. 100 crores, and in that case the deficit financing will have to be resorted to the tune of about Rs. 400 crores. Now, some of this money will be available from the sterling balance. The British Government, I believe, have agreed to release about Rs. 35 millions every year for the next five to six years from our sterling balance. So £175 millions or about Rs. 230 crores will be available from this source, and we shall have to find something between Rs. 150 to Rs. 170 crores to carry out our Plan.

Now, we know what the price situation is, and therefore we know how great inflationary pressure will be if we manufacture currency notes worth Rs. 170 crores. To the extent that production increases every year this can be done safely and it appears from one of the appendices given at the end of the Commission's Report, that the irrigation plan has been so phased as to increase the irrigated area every year by a substantial amount. This feature of the Commission's report undoubtedly deserves commendation and I personally found that section relating to power and irrigation is much more satisfying than the other parts of the Plan, and I hope success in it will be achieved according to plan. Nevertheless, even in spite of the great care taken by the Commission, the danger of artificially increasing our currency is obvious and this has an obvious bearing on the question of having integrated prices.

11 A.M.

I am glad that the Commission has recommended the establishment of an expert Advisory Council to make suggestions for the enforcement of a co-ordinated price policy. It has virtually suggested the re-establishment of the Commodities Board on a larger scale and with more comprehensive terms of reference. I hope that this

Council will contain not merely official experts but also some economists and administrators who will be able to be of great use to the Government experts.

Here, if a co-ordinated price policy is to be followed it must have the co-operation of the Government as well as of the people. But in this field of a co-ordinated price policy the Government themselves have been the greatest sinners. Even after the resolution on the policy of control they fought shy of retaining the Commodities Board and the result of it we see in respect of cotton and sugarcane. Because of the creation of a free sector in the sugar industry the area under sugarcane, I understand, has increased by 21 per cent. I take it that if this plan is to be carried out Government will shoulder their responsibility to the fullest extent and not deal with different proposals piecemeal.

The most important question in this connection that they will have to consider will be that of oilseeds. The Commodities Prices Board, I believe, recommended that their price should be controlled but the Government expert said that this was impossible. The Commission too says that a co-ordinated price policy means that the relative prices of sugarcane, oilseeds, etc. should be fixed. This is another matter to which the Government will have to devote their attention afresh.

But how is this expert Price Advisory Council to achieve its task in the face of the inflationary pressure that will be exerted by the artificial expansion of the currency? The controls will have to be much more rigid than they are now and they will have to be worked much more efficiently than they are now worked. My fear is that if there is the slightest relaxation of effort in this field and even in spite of a sustained and vigorous effort a push may be given to the upward tendency of prices, which it might be difficult to counteract afterwards. I am not saying this in order to criticise the policy laid down by the Commission in respect of price. I am wholeheartedly in favour of it but I am pointing out the circumstances that will militate against its full success.

For this and other reasons which I have given while I welcome the Commission's Plan my expectations from it are not as optimistic as those of the Commission or the Government may be. Perhaps I am doing an injustice to the Commission in calling it optimistic, for the Commission has been very cautious in framing its estimates, because at every step it has said what



factors should be taken into account in order to achieve success in every region or field covered by it. Nevertheless what we have to think of is the ultimate execution or its final success. We all wish it well: nevertheless we approach the Plan with a certain amount of trepidation and the feeling that in view of the obstacles in our way, it might not be possible for us to realise it to the fullest extent. To the extent, however, it succeeds it will be a valuable education both in economic and social planning and I think therefore it is the duty of everyone of us to put his shoulder to the wheel or if I may change the metaphor, to stand behind the Commission in its determination to see that the Plan that it has placed before the country does not fail for want of human effort.

**Shri T. N. Singh** (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I am very thankful to you for having given me an opportunity to participate in this very important debate.

I listened with great attention to the remarkable speech made by our Prime Minister for nearly 80 minutes and I was just thinking of the days when our Prime Minister toured round the country spreading his message to the people of living dangerously. Looking at the report on which the Commission has taken great care and out in great labour I find that large details have been worked out and many more details are yet to be worked out. But I felt that probably what is most lacking in the report and in its approach—I am saying it in all humbleness—is the spirit which induced our Prime Minister to call our people to live dangerously. I very well remember the graphic phrase which he used in those days between 1930 and 1934 when there was an atmosphere of pessimism, after we had failed in the *Satyagraha* movement. He then came out with his stirring call and appealed to us to live dangerously. There is no doubt that this report has been very meticulously prepared. They have worked out a whole series of steps to be taken with great care. But I want to know whether they have provided that basis, that urge which will induce us to go ahead with it. For that reason I feel that there is a certain amount of cautiousness, a certain amount of hesitation, a certain amount of over-calculation in everything that has been planned here. I would therefore pointedly ask, if we have faith in our country, if we have faith in our destiny, if we have faith in the idealism which made the Congress and the country what it is today, where is the harm if we draw upon the idea-

ism which has made this country what it is today—the idealism that imbued us, the idealism that propelled us to the historic actions of the great movement that this country has seen. After all, our national movement was also a sort of planning, planning in a certain direction. Mahatma Gandhi in his characteristic way used to pick out one thing or other and say, "This will be the basis of our movement"; it may be salt, *khadi* or *charkha*; something which looked very insignificant ostensibly was taken up by him and he went among the people and asked them to take it up. He was not deterred by all sorts of scientific aspects and criticism that modern times have changed, that we need not take up these things now; he persisted, and the result was that round the *charkha*, or round the salt *satyagraha* things crystallised, whole masses of people moved and they worked wonders.

Therefore, my first suggestion in regard to the Planning Commission's report is that apart from the general idea that you have produced, let us concentrate on one definite programme, one definite item of our programme; I am sure if we do that then all the other things will *ipso facto* crystallise themselves around it. That is my humble suggestion. And for that purpose, the item of the programme that you will have to select will have to be so broadbased as Gandhiji himself thought it should: "Everyone utilises salt, everyone uses cloth, so these are the items which touch every man's pockets, ideas, minds." Similarly we will have to pick out of these several programmes some one programme, some one item which will be broadbased, and on that we may build up anything we want. That is my suggestion.

When this country became free, when we were able to shake off the British yoke, we had many desires and ambitions. We thought that overnight there will be prosperity, that milk and honey will flow in this land. Sir, this is not the first time hard facts and hard realities have faced us and we have felt pessimistic. In the long history of this nation we had repeated national vicissitudes, all the same faith has sustained us. I want that despite these hard realities facing us today we should make up our minds on what to concentrate: that we shall concentrate on this, and we shall do it, not merely think of it or philosophise on it. Therefore, let our desires and ambitions aroused on our having attained freedom not die or wither away. Let us do something which will make us really great.

[Shri T. N. Singh]

Therefore, let us concentrate on one thing specifically. With such concentration alone shall we proceed further.

With this preface I shall now pass on to the general plan contained in the report. The report says that our planning has been divided into two sectors, public and private, and we have tried to set apart certain activities to be undertaken by the public sector, including hydro-electric and irrigation projects and such other things, and we have tried to leave a number of things to the private sector though we will help them and co-ordinate their efforts. That I believe is the basic structure of the whole report—if I am wrong I hope the Minister of Planning will correct me. Taking that as the basis, I want to know whether it will not be desirable for us to once for all decide to what extent we are going to plan. Democratic planning is to my mind a rather vague and general term. In democratic planning you will have to depend on the urges that may of themselves arise in the people from time to time as a result of the co-ordinated efforts of the Government, and there you stay. What is really essential is to create the necessary urge from below, from the people themselves: co-ordination is the least part of it, because once it is done then everything will follow, everything will fall into line automatically. I want to go deeper into what has been said in the report. It says:

"Planning in a democratic set-up implies the minimum use of compulsion or coercion for bringing about a realignment of productive forces."

Then it goes on to say that there will be a private sector and a public sector of this planning:

"The private sector has, however, to continue to play an important part in production as well as in distribution. Planning under present conditions does mean, in practice, an economy guided and directed by the State and operated partly through directed State action and partly through private initiative only."

But in the earlier paragraphs it has been stated:

"The objective of economic and social planning today is to canalise the idealism and the constructive urges of the community into new lines of activity."

Sir, we are not here just to try to canalise the urges. We are here to create the urges. That is where I

think the whole approach has to be considered afresh. I would urge on the persons who are put in charge of the planning to consider whether it will be worthwhile for us only to try to canalise and co-ordinate whatever we already find existing, or whether it is necessary that we must create something fresh. Planning, after all, should not be only a co-ordinating effort—it should be creative, and if it is to be creative we have got to create the urges and impetus necessary so that the people may imbibe them and create a momentum which will help planning go on and on in a democratic set-up. Otherwise, you have to nationalise completely. The creation of those urges alone will meet your needs and demands; merely leaving things to the people, merely allowing a private and a public sector dependent on the bureaucracy to be implemented, will not help you. Since it is not considered possible to work on the basis of national compulsion we have to allow private enterprise and *laissez-faire* and all those concomitants to continue, it is therefore very necessary that we must create what is called "compulsion by the people"; and to create this is to tell them that this is what is to be done. That is where, I think, the difference in approach lies.

I stated at the very outset that our planning has to be broadbased. I have had certain discussions on this subject but I thought it will not be proper then to make any concrete suggestions. I would like to do so now. I would like to suggest to Government that the only thing that can be planned on a broad-base, the only work or plan or programme or action that can be taken initially is something which relates to agriculture. Even though Gandhiji's philosophy may not look very modern today, yet will it not be proper to take up some village industry? I can name many village industries around which agriculture as well as industry crystallise, or with which they are so connected that we can take them as the basis. Or even, provincially or zonally, a particular village industry which is correlated or interrelated and mixed up with agriculture as well as industry may have to be taken for each zone according to the prevalence of that type of industry or economic activity in that area. For instance, take U.P. There, in the eastern and western parts there are some activities. In the western part, there is great activity so far as the sugar industry is concerned. Without our saying anything, there are small village sugar manufacturing units. Here is a national process which has been going on, and they are

manufacturing their own sugar. In the eastern parts, there is growing up the jute or sun hemp industry. We can take that as a basis and make it broad-based and concentrate on that and create the necessary enthusiasm in the people for carrying on both agriculture and industry locally on cottage industry lines, and I am sure that whatever help you can give in course of time by way of electricity can come later on, and you need not wait for the completion of your water or irrigation or hydel projects. With this economic activity which is so much intertwined and mixed up with industry and agriculture as the basis, you can enthuse people and get the work done through them. That is the method through which I think the Plan can best succeed.

In conclusion, I would say that our Prime Minister commands great public support and enthusiasm and it is worth his considering whether we should not for a time throw away our caution and try to have what may be called a little adventure. Where is the harm in having a little adventure? We have been so stale. After all, have we not got our own idealism? Has not Indian culture contributed something to world culture and civilisation? With that urge, with that idealism which we have inherited from Mahatmaji, can we not beat the unbeaten track? If we take up a new path and undergo the risk involved, perhaps we might contribute something not only to the welfare of our people, but we may even show the way to the world as to how we can attain both peace and prosperity. After all, we need not have all the luxury manufactures of the west. We can probably do with less and that energy may be utilised in a better manner. If we do that, we might contribute not only to world culture but also to our own economic and cultural regeneration. This is what I would suggest, and I believe it is in keeping with our traditions and the teachings we have imbibed from our great leaders and sages.

**Shri Venkataraman (Madras):** I am unable to share the enthusiasm which has been expressed in this House for the Plan which has been placed before the House. I propose to look at it from the point of view of the toiler, the worker in the field and in the factories, and to find out how far this Plan would enthuse him and how far it would bring out the best in the worker in the field and in the factories. We all pay lip sympathy to the great part that labour has to play in production of national wealth. Whenever an occasion arises, we al-

ways ennoble the great sacrifices made by the man in the street, the poor man, the common man, the worker and so on, but when it comes to giving something in terms of money, something in terms of amenities, something in a concrete shape, all our enthusiasm vanishes and we try to find some excuse for not giving him even the barest requirements of his life.

First, I shall take the case of the agricultural worker. In page 107 dealing with the agricultural worker, the Planning Commission has said that the Minimum Wages Act need not be implemented in respect of agricultural workers and that it need be implemented only in selected areas and for selected occupations. The Planning Commission has actually reversed the previous policy of this Government which enacted the Minimum Wages Act of 1948. When that Act was discussed in this House, Government as well as the Members in this House were very enthusiastic about giving the worker in the field his due share of the product. They were all anxious to see that he got a square deal and so on. But actually when the Planning Commission started planning for better and higher production of agricultural products, they have come to the conclusion that it is not possible—fortunately they do not say it is not desirable—to fix minimum wages for agricultural labour in all places and in all occupations. I ask you, Sir, if you want to increase production in any particular field whether it would be possible to do so without enthusing the person who actually does the work. The Planning Commission itself has accepted that in the ultimate analysis it is the man behind the plough on whom the hopes of increasing production have to be based, and yet how do they base them? They say that it is not necessary to give him or fix for him a minimum wage. I am very sorry that if this plan of increasing agricultural production is explained to the workers, to the landless agricultural labourers and so on, with this explanation that it would not be possible to fix minimum wages, it will produce indeed very little enthusiasm for higher production. In fact, they would ask “We are willing to produce more, but for whom?” The agricultural worker wants to produce more, so that he may share in the product. He does not want to produce more when he is denied even the minimum standards of life which we all want to everybody in the country. Therefore, unless the Planning Commission revises its view with regard to fixation of minimum wages for agricultural labour, this Plan is bound

[Shri Venkataraman]

to fail. Unless the Planning Commission says in ever so small a measure that minimum wages will be paid to every agricultural labourer, I am quite positive that this Plan cannot release the enthusiasm so necessary in the worker for increasing production.

I shall now take the case of the industrial worker. He has also got a very bad treatment at the hands of the Planning Commission. The Commission say in page 186 that any upward movement in the wages of the industrial worker at this stage would necessarily result in increasing prices. I am unable to understand this logic. It is a simple rule of three: if you hold prices and increase wages, profits will go down; if you hold profits and increase wages, prices will go up; if you hold profits and prices, wages will go down. What the Commission suggest in a disguised manner is that you must hold the profit at its level and you must also hold the price at its level and inevitably lead to the lowering of the wages. The Commission itself has accepted that the wages of industrial labour have gone down in terms of real wages as compared with 1936 and 1939. It is the object of the plan itself to increase wages to the 1939 level. When that is the object I wonder how the Planning Commission could say that any increase in wages at this stage to industrial labour would result in increasing prices and therefore it should not be thought of. Sir, I am willing to make this offer. Labour in this country is perfectly willing for a wage freeze, provided the industrialists will assure us that they will charge to the people of this country only cost plus ten per cent. and nothing more. Why should the Planning Commission not tell the industrialists of this country that they must charge only cost plus ten per cent. and nothing more and that sacrifice is called for from the industrialists, of the country.

**Shri Kamath:** A sporting offer.

**Shri Goenka (Madras):** That will come next.

**Shri Venkataraman:** I can tell you, Sir, that when this offer is made they will find so many subterfuges to get over it by inflating cost. I know the way in which some of the companies' balance sheets are prepared. We know how the costs are really exaggerated and at top levels phenomenally high salaries are paid with the result that in calculating the cost, the real cost is not brought forth, but an inflated cost is brought forth. If they would

charge cost plus ten per cent. labour in this country will be quite prepared to have a wage freeze. As long as you cannot pin down the industrialist to this, it is wrong, it is immoral, it is unjust for the Planning Commission to say that there should be a wage freeze in this country.

Another suggestion which is very often made is: you produce more and you will get more. Production must come before distribution. This is a fallacious argument, except in textbooks on Economics where the chapter on production comes before the chapter on distribution. Production and distribution are simultaneous processes. Ultimate distribution does not take place after the product is manufactured, sold and the money is distributed. In the very process of production distribution takes place. In the very process of producing commodities, wages have to be paid, interests are paid and several factors of production are given their due remuneration. In order to increase that very production, Sir, wages should be paid at the very stage at which production takes place, so that there may be increased production and increased activity. To say that you produce more and then ask for more is just to hood-wink the people.

Now I want to confine the rest of my remarks to agriculture. Unless there is a radical change in the holdings and tenure, you are not likely to increase production in agriculture. The first step has been taken and it has been welcomed all over the country—that is the abolition of the zamindari. But after having abolished zamindari we have created another class of zamindars of the same kind as we have had in the past. I know of several tenants who hold 2,000 and 3,000 acres and who on the abolition of zamindaris have become much bigger zamindars whom you have abolished. My point is this. In order to increase production you must first of all define what an economic land-holding is. That economic holding should not be partible. People say that under the system of Hindu Law it will not be possible to fix an economic holding, because the sons can go to a court and ask for partition. Sir, it is an incorrect appreciation of the law. There is an understanding that a house cannot be broken into several parts; according to the law of partition the house will have to be sold and the money distributed among the people. Likewise an economic holding may be determined by the Government and the Planning Commission and it may be made impartible. If

there is a dispute among the several shareholders, they may go to a court and have the economic holding sold and the money distributed among them. Unless you determine an economic holding and see that no holding in the country goes below that standard, you are not likely to increase production.

The second thing is that you must have a ceiling on land-holding. The Madras Committee which went into the land revenue and other allied problems recently reported that the maximum area of land that can be held by a person should be something in the nature of 50 acres. They say that the land revenue payable on that should not exceed Rs. 250 which works out roughly to 50 acres. My suggestion is this. (Unless you fix a ceiling on land-holding, and unless the excess holding of those persons is transferred to permanent tenants, you are not likely to create an enthusiasm among the cultivators to improve the land. What now happens is that tenants are holding land at will and they have no inclination to improve the holdings, or increase production. That can only be done if you give security of tenure to the tenant.)

The third and the most important suggestion I want to make is this. Unless we tackle the problem of under-employment in agriculture the standard of life cannot be improved. The agricultural labour as well as the agriculturist has work throughout the year, but by fits and starts. It is not as if that he works for four months continuously in a year and then for the eight months he is unemployed. If it were so, it would be possible for him to go to some other place and try to eke out a living. On the contrary what happens is that he has to stay in his village; he has to work off and on by fits and starts and it is spread all over the year. There may be one or two months after the harvest when he has no work. But even during that time he has to attend to reclamation work in his field, do the fencing and other things necessary for the next agricultural season. It is, therefore, not possible to transplant that labourer to some other place. The best way to improve his standard of life is to find him some subsidiary occupation. The Planning Commission report says that rural cottage industries and subsidiary occupations like *khadi*, palm cur making, blanket making etc., should be introduced and that the second report would give more details about it.

Sir, I want to lay greater emphasis on this and suggest that non-compet-

ing industries like poultry farming, wool making, buffon manufacture and industries like that which can be started without the aid of power and machinery should form the most important items of the Plan. I would have much desired that the First Five Year Plan had laid greater emphasis on this; but I am sorry to find that they have been relegated to the next report.

I think, Sir, on the whole, the Planning Commission have approached this problem with a very wrong bias towards labour. They have not adequately understood the enormous energy that could be released by a proper handling of the masses. I feel therefore that in the final report which they bring out they will try to give labour a square deal and see that it is assured of the elementary rights for which we are all fighting.

**Shrimati Durgabai (Madras):** Sir, I rise to welcome the Draft Plan as it has been before the House. I welcome it because I know that this Draft Plan is the result of a genuine effort on the part of the members of the Planning Commission in the direction of reconstruction of the State. I also congratulate the members of the Commission who have spared no pains in producing this report which would form the basis for the future development plans of this country. While doing so I would like to stress upon one or two aspects which I feel should be given emphasis. One thing is yesterday when I was listening to the hon. the Prime Minister I was very much disappointed when he expressed regret that full recognition or full effect could not be given to the matter of planning education in this country. I am sure that this report is sought to be made in the light of giving effect to certain directive principles of State policy which have been laid down in the Constitution. It is rightly done so. I remember the days when the Constitution was in the making when the directive principles of State policy were incorporated in the Constitution. More than one Member asked whether it would only be a pious declaration, because everybody knew that the directive principles of State policy have no justiciability about them. It was, however, stressed that even though they have not got any sanction behind them in that they could not be enforced through the force of law recognition should be given to them and there should be a genuine effort on the part of the Government of the day to give full recognition to these principles. It was also suggested that once in two or three years, if not at the end of every

[Shrimati Durgabai]

year, there should be a full report as to how the principles could be worked and with what results. But this amendment could not be accepted then because it was thought that certainly in practice it would be done.

The Planning Commission has been set about to work out those directive principles of State policy. And one of the directive principles of State policy is education—free and compulsory education at least for children up to some age. I want to know what has been done in that direction, apart from giving full recognition to this principle. But as the Prime Minister himself has admitted, for any kind of development, intellectual or otherwise, the education in this country has to be fully brought into recognition and efforts should be made in that direction. The Prime Minister yesterday asked in his speech, "How could it be done? What is it that you want us to do? Are we to give up some of the river valley schemes which are meant to give us immediately food and other things?" I do not think that to be able to find the necessary funds for education it will be necessary to give up some of the river valley projects or any other development schemes. But I feel that much of the money is going to be wasted. And waste could be eliminated. Funds should be properly and evenly distributed. Without having the necessity of giving up any of those other things certainly money could be found in the cause of the elementary right of the children and the women of this country both in the matter of education and health.

Having said that I would like to draw the attention of the members of the Planning Commission particularly to this aspect. I find an omission in the report. The present sketch of the Planning Commission does not make it clear whether the Plan is based on a family unit or an individual unit. The hon. Member who has just spoken before me has voiced forth the feelings of labour. But I stand here to voice forth the feelings of women also particularly—because I do not claim to be only a worker in the feminine cause in this country. But I will certainly have to draw attention to this aspect, to what has been done and what has not been done. My feeling is that the point is not made clear whether the plan is based on a family unit or an individual unit. The hon. the Prime Minister's address yesterday gave the feeling that it takes note of every working hand in the country, irrespective of sex. But there appears to be some

difference of opinion among the Members—I do not know, among even the members of the Planning Commission—about this particular matter. Perhaps there is a feeling among the Members that in the agricultural economy it is not possible to plan on the basis of an individual unit.

In this background I would like to urge before the House that the status of women in the present economic set-up of India is chaotic due to the period of transition from agricultural economy to industrialisation. The Indian system of life is based on the family unit, resulting in no recognition of the work done by the woman. She is not considered as a productive unit at all. So her contribution to the society is not taken account of or recognized by the State. Women of this country would appreciate the removal of this kind of ambiguous position with regard to their status. They would appreciate a definite declaration here and now on the basic policies of this Plan about this question as it vitally affects their status in the country. The National Planning Committee of the Indian National Congress in 1937 recommended that the future plan should be based on individual unit and if that is done her work in the home will also be considered as productive unit of the economic order and she will get the necessary protection, amenities etc. Our Constitution provides equal status for all and no discrimination. If in the economic plan the family unit is taken note of it goes against the spirit and the letter of the Constitution, because it limits the responsibility of the Government to provide work for men only. Naturally the others are considered as dependents. The woman's status will continue to be like chattel as long as she is not recognized as an economic unit of society. We realize that the present economic conditions of this country will not permit us to give full implementation of the Plan on the basis of individual unit. But the principle that every able-bodied person should work, irrespective of sex should be given full recognition now. For the recognition of the principle here and now and its acceptance would mean giving her the status of a productive worker and she will no longer be considered as unproductive labour. This change in the basic economic policy will effectively influence the social structure of the present day society. One of the chief causes for polygamy among the masses today in this country is its economic value, because the wives provide cheap and free labour. Similarly, the tendency today of fixing the wages of a woman

less than those of a man for similar type of work, for a similar period will also have to be checked, and that should also be considered as important. Let it not be mistaken that this is the demand of the educated women only or the women of the higher classes. The report of the National Planning Committee stated that about 75 per cent. of the woman population is active participant in the economy of this country and she is an important contributor in rural economy, in cottage industries etc. But her share is as supplementary labour, not recognized by the society, much less by the State. We therefore ask that in the final report this question may be clarified and accepted as one of the basic principles on which the Plan will develop. If that is done we will not mind the delay in realizing this goal. With these few observations I welcome the report.

**Shri Kamath:** The House, Sir, is debating what may be briefly described as 'Man and Plan in India' today. The Prime Minister speaking a few days ago at Lucknow or Kanpur or somewhere in Uttar Pradesh related the story of a wise man of China who after providing jobs and occupation to all his sons, made his good-for-nothing son a Minister. I do not know whether this observation of his applies to all Ministers including the Prime Minister himself. I am sure he was speaking more in jest than in earnest, but the translation of the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, who was doing very good work as Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission and who was discharging his duties splendidly, his translation to Ministership has brought the story again to my mind: why when he found that he was doing very good work, he has been made a Minister in this House. Dr. Ambedkar's statement the other day referred to this point also. I do not know how far he was stating the exact truth, but he said that when he was appointed a Minister five years ago, the Prime Minister promised to put him in charge of planning. But later on when the Planning Commission actually came into being, he was left out. Now today, we have a new Minister of Planning and Dr. Ambedkar who might have been a Minister is out of the picture. I am not quarrelling with the personnel of the Planning Commission but this story related by the Prime Minister in U.P. that only good-for-nothing people should be Ministers makes me wonder as to why so many members of the Planning Commission are our Ministers. The Finance Minister was a member first of the Planning Commission and then became

the Finance Minister, but Dr. John Matthai was Minister here first and then he was made a member of the Planning Commission. Dr. John Matthai in a statement—not made here in the House, but made somewhere outside—did point out the differences that he had with the Prime Minister on the question of planning. He said.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Would it not be more profitable to go into the details?

**Shri Kamath:** Into the Plan itself? I am giving the background of the Planning Commission and if time permits, I will certainly speak about it.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** It might become the Spanish building.

**Sardar Sochet Singh (P.E.P.S.U.):** We are discussing planners and not planning.

**Shri Kamath:** If you so desire, Sir, I shall come straight to the Planning Commission and the plan itself. The Prime Minister yesterday told us that he has been associated with this planning business in several ways and for a long time. I too, in my humble capacity was associated with the Planning Committee of which he was the Chairman and I, for a brief period of six months was the Secretary of the Planning Committee. Later on due to unfortunate differences between myself and the Prime Minister on political issues, especially the desirability of my taking part in active politics while being a Secretary of the Planning Committee,—on that issue I differed from him, I was made to resign. That was in June, 1939 and afterwards Prof. K. T. Shah did splendid work and rendered yeoman service as honorary Secretary of the Planning Committee. It pained me therefore to see that an economist and a man of no mean parts in other respects also, who had worked at planning for over ten years was completely left out of the picture when the Planning Commission came into being. (*Interruption.*) I am very positive on that point and at no stage of the labours of the Planning Commission was he even consulted by the Planning Commission, but only lately when I raised the question at a meeting of the Planning Forum as to why Prof. K. T. Shah had not been consulted, an approach was made to him and I do not know what the result has been ultimately. Perhaps the hon. Shri Nanda will throw some light on this later on. I was also pained to find that a man of the stature of Mr. J. C. Kumarappa who was associated with the Planning Committee and the Gandhian view of planning, who holds very strong views on this matter of

[Shri Kamath]

planning—they might be radically different from those of the planners themselves, of the Planning Commission itself—why he too was not invited to play an active part in the formulation of the Plan.....(Interruption.) I know that he was consulted later on and his views were obtained, but when I spoke to him some time ago, he thought that he might have contributed more if he had been consulted at the outset and had taken an active part in the formulation of the Plan.

In any case, I am happy that this move which was initiated by Netaji Subhas Bose in 1938—he set up the Planning Committee in September, 1938 with a conference of Industrial Ministers of the various State Governments at that time and offered the Chairmanship to our present Prime Minister, who very graciously accepted it—I am glad that this move, this idea has borne fruit and though the Plan may not be wholly satisfactory and may not be quite acceptable to all, yet it has produced something which is capable of improvement and I hope the planners themselves are keeping their minds open for the improvement of the Plan if Parliament and the nation deem it necessary.

To my mind, Sir, the vital problems of India today are the solution of hunger of the masses and the provision of work for the teeming millions. That to my mind comprises in a nut-shell the variegated kaleidoscopic picture which confronts us today in India. How will you feed the hungry and how will you provide work for the unemployed and the unemployable? Though the Prime Minister said that there is a tendency in us—almost all of us—towards physical and mental inertia, I think personally that the people cannot be held wholly responsible for displaying such a mentality. The Draft Plan placed before Parliament does not deal adequately with the problem of creating the necessary psychological atmosphere for working out the Plan. That is to my mind the basis on which any plan can fructify. Without creating the psychological atmosphere and without providing the psychological motives or incentives to the plan, no Plan or planners can enlist the co-operation of the people in India. What is it that makes the people—I would not say 'withhold' but not offer their whole-hearted co-operation to the Government of the present day? I know that Government is battling, has battled and still battling against heavy odds in our country, odds that have

resulted or have flown from war and from partition. We are not yet out of the wood; we are still struggling with a number of problems. But, I am constrained to say that the confidence of people in the Government has been shaken, I will not say very badly shaken, but it has been shaken owing to a series of events and developments in the last two or three years. I will only refer to a few.

12 Noon

The Government made a number of promises on very vital issues. One such issue is the self-sufficiency in food. I remember the Prime Minister telling this House 18 months ago or two years ago that whatever happens, famine, drought, excessive rain or any other factor, whatever it may be, we shall be self-sufficient in food by March, 1952. Now, the Planning Commission has come forward and laid the ghost of self-sufficiency. They say that it is not practicable and we shall have to import at least for five years if not longer. That certainly made the people wonder what Government means by their solemn promises. Then, Sir, coming to a very different matter, the Hindu Code Bill, what did the Prime Minister say? He said, we stand or fall by the Hindu Code Bill.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhuri (Assam):** What has Hindu Code to do with planning?

**Shri Kamath:** Whatever may be the views of us Members about it, "we stand or fall by it" said the Prime Minister. Nothing has happened. The Government still stands all right.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Is that part of this Plan?

**Shri Kamath:** I am dealing with the psychological approach to planning and why the confidence of the people in the Government has been shaken. It is difficult to change the psychology of the people without outstanding achievements.

Then, Sir, take the matter of elections. Elections were promised in 1950, but.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I am afraid, this may be very good. Otherwise, are we going into all that so far as this planning is concerned? I am not able to follow the relevancy of elections with respect to this planning.

**Sardar Sochet Singh:** The Hindu Code Bill is concerned with social planning and elections with political



planning of the country. It is planning all the same.

**Shri Kamath:** I am sorry I have not been able to make myself understood by you. I am not going into the details of the economies, the facts and figures of the Plan about which my colleagues have spoken. I am confining myself to two or three salient features. The first essential to my mind is there must be the necessary psychological atmosphere in the country. Without that, people will not co-operate. Why do the people not co-operate? These are the reasons, I feel. The people's confidence in the Government has been shaken. The Prime Minister said yesterday, 'We want public co-operation'. Why is public co-operation not forthcoming? These are the reasons why public co-operation is not forthcoming. What happened to the promises held out by the hon. Minister Shri Hare Krishna Mahtab? The ever-receding *dhoti* and *sari* were dangled before the eyes of the people but no *dhotis* or *saris* are sufficiently available. It was said that *dhotis* and *saris* would flood the market; but every day the position is receding. These are a few instances. I do not want to multiply them. The House was promised houses by the Health Minister; I do not want to refer to that.

The Prime Minister referred to the money part of this Planning business.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member has two minutes more.

**Shri Kamath:** I started at 11-52.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member started at 11-50.

**Shri Kamath:** 11-52, I am sure.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I have noted it as 11-50. Anyway, he may have two more minutes.

**Shri Kamath:** The Prime Minister said that money is an essential factor. I agree entirely. But, the other aspect of the picture with regard to the agrarian problem in the country has not been very well or completely visualised by the Planning Commission. The report on agrarian policy is, to my mind, confusing and contradictory. Laying emphasis on the un-economic holdings as the root of the agrarian problems here, the Commission recommends that a substantial increase in the size of a unit of production can be brought about by (i) nationalising the land and making it available for collective cultivation, (ii)

placing a ceiling on existing holdings and distributing all the surplus land for individual or co-operative cultivation, and (iii) inducing small farmers to form co-operative farming societies and (iv) taking the village as a whole as the unit of co-operative management. Assuming all this, the Commission however rejects the nationalisation of land as an impracticable proposition. It is true that the Constitution stands in the way. As the Prime Minister said, we have to work within the four corners of the Constitution. But, the Planning Commission, consisting as it does, of wise and experienced men could have pointed out how the Constitution stands in the way, what are the constitutional hurdles and they could have made suggestions in their report as to what amendments of the Constitution would be necessary to get over the hurdles. Certainly, the Prime Minister, who, I am sure, is anxious to solve the agrarian problem in this country, would have taken steps to implement the suggestions of the Planning Commission in this regard.

**Shri B. Das (Orissa):** Will you give us your solution to it?

**Shri Kamath:** If the Planning Commission accepts their own premises, they must follow it up by nationalisation of land. Otherwise they cannot solve the agrarian problem as they visualize it.

**Shri B. Das:** What is your plan?

**Shri Kamath:** The Planning Commission has to produce the plan. Then, my hon. friend Mrs. Durgabai referred to the unproductive character of women. I think she has stated anything but the truth. Every one well knows that woman has produced as much as man, if not more, in our country. She need not be under any apprehension that the co-operation of women will not be enlisted for the fulfilment of the Plan in our country.

Then the Prime Minister made a distinction between money and wealth. That was very necessary because, wealth, as he said, is the fruit of labour, and money is after all something ephemeral, flimsy which can be created and destroyed by man. The *Isopanishad* refers to this and says:

हिरण्मयेन पात्रेण सत्यस्यापिहितं मुक्तम् ।

[*Hiranmayena patreṇa satyasya-pihitam mukham*]

Even truth is hidden, suppressed by gold. That is one interpretation put upon that.

**Shri A. C. Guha (West Bengal):** That is not correct.

**Shri Kamath:** Hiranya is gold. Anyway, that is my interpretation.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** Even if we accept Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's interpretation, that is far from correct.

**Shri Kamath:** Rabindra Nath Tagore's is not the last word in the interpretation of the *Upanishads*.

A modern poet has said:

सर्वगुणाः कान्चनमाश्रयन्ते

[*Sarve gunah Kanchanam  
asrayanthe*]

Even our plan will have to take the *asraya* of *kanchana*. But it is very necessary before you proceed further with the implementation of the Plan, that you should discard the idea that money is the first thing. Though the Prime Minister made it clear yesterday that he has respect for money and philosophy, I think he has more respect for philosophy than for money. That is quite clear from his speech yesterday. We must lay emphasis on the works, the labour of men and women, and we must enlist their co-operation by creating the necessary psychological atmosphere which is lacking today.

It is unfortunate that the Planning Commission has made no reference to one of our great productive sources of revenue, that is, foreign trade. The State Trading Committee of which my hon. friend Dr. Deshmukh was the Chairman and of which I had the honour to be a Member, went deep into this matter and made concrete suggestions about foreign trade. That has been lost sight of by the Planning Commission.

**Shri Goenka:** They have not lost sight of it.

**Shri Kamath:** They may have glanced at it, cast a side glance. They have not dealt with as adequately as they should have done.

One last word, Sir, and I have done. But before I pass on to that, the State Trading Committee had also made a concrete suggestion about the building up of a cadre of industrial and economic service. The Planning Commission should have examined this matter and said how far it is necessary and desirable or essential to build up, just like the All India Administrative Service and the All India Police Service, an All India Industrial Service and All

India Economic Service. That would have been a very interesting point to go into. But the Planning Commission, in spite of the fact that it contained one or two industrial and economic experts did not deal with that matter at all.

Before I sit down, I want to refer to one more point. The Prime Minister observed that it is difficult to introduce an element of compulsion in democratic planning. That is true as far as it goes. But who dare say that today, at any rate in the transitional period, we here in this country are observing cent. per cent. the tenets and the principles of democracy? I for one will not say that, and if to implement this Plan or any other plan of national welfare, to increase the standard of living of the people and to advance the country as a whole, and to make it happy and prosperous, the Prime Minister wants more power, I am sure the nation will not grudge to confer more power on Government, provided the nation is convinced that this power is going to be utilised to the best advantage of the people. I for one am not opposed to what is commonly or sometimes lightly called democratic dictatorship, but.....

**The Minister of State for Finance (Shri Tyagi):** I am glad.

**Shri Kamath:** There is a big "But" though Mr. Tyagi may be glad; and there is this snag about it, that the dictator must know where he is going. He must know his own mind and not be misled or led by others. He must be able to make up his mind and not vacillate. That is essential for all good dictators. He should be able to think and plan and make up his mind, and then stick to his plan and not make pronouncements from time to time which are not later on fulfilled or implemented, for thereby the people's confidence is shaken. I would only say that it is wrong and.....

**Shri J. R. Kapoor (Uttar Pradesh):** A democratic mind is receptive also.

**Shri Kamath:** It may be receptive all right; but once you have made up your mind, you must stick to that and not go on changing it every other day.

One last point and it is this. Sir, hunger is the biggest problem and as the old Sanskrit saying puts it:

बुभुक्षितः करोति किं न पापम्

[*Bubhukshitah karoti kim na  
papam.*]

It is wrong to divert the people's attention from this main problem—the hunger problem. That is the crux of all problems in India today. It is no

use diverting the mind of the people from that by saying that we have got some other and bigger problems or dangers, that communalism is there which is a greater problem. That, to my mind seems to be wrong. Communalism also may at times result from hunger of the people. When hungry the people may do anything. It is wrong to say that today India's problem is communal. This communal problem has been solved long ago in our country. There is no communal problem now. Nobody dare raise the communal cry in India now, it is only the manufacture of some people's minds. But unless and until this problem of hunger is solved, no other problem will be solved. It is no use telling the people that your enemy is the communal devil or bogey. That is totally wrong and misleading, and it is a dangerous thing. Government must apply itself first to solving the agrarian and food problem. India is an agricultural country and the agrarian problem must be solved, and if more power is wanted to solve this problem, if the people are convinced about it, they will not refuse it. If the people are convinced that Government have a mind and a will to solve this problem, they will not refuse to give Government more power, if more power be necessary for the task. But if there is not this will, and if the power is given it is of no avail, because the holder of the power is impotent. Therefore, I say it is no use saying that the Constitution stands in our way. You can amend the Constitution if it stands in the way of your solving this problem. You can amend the article concerned. Here is the Parliament which would give you ample power to solve this vital agrarian problem. But the will is lacking in you, and you do not want to do certain things and take certain steps.

Therefore I would say that while the plan has been drawn up by some wise men of India, though there could have been a few more wise men added to them,—I feel that, while the Plan has been the honest product of their untiring efforts, the planners in the Commission, have not given adequate thought to the needs and conditions of our country, and to that extent it is unsuited to India of today.

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister (Prof. S. N. Mishra):** Sir, I am afraid there are certain unsettling factors which came in the way of expression of my planned ideas now, particularly the speech of my hon. friend Shri Kamath. It seems that Mr. Kamath in his usual way, has a queer conception of

a planned economy covering everything under the sun, from the Hindu Code Bill to any remark made by the Prime Minister in any one of the meetings in Uttar Pradesh.....

**Shri Kamath:** No, you have misunderstood me.

**Prof. S. N. Mishra:** Apart from the reflections of Shri Kamath, there is another unsettling factor and that is the time factor that is always there because of your ringing the bell to conform to the time-limit.

When I was thinking of speaking on the report of the Planning Commission yesterday I was told by one of my friends that my position was a peculiar one, that it was like the library at Alexandria about which it was said, "If it agrees with the Holy Koran, it is superfluous; if it does not, it deserves to be burnt". Anyway, I do not accept that position and I do not think anything binds me from making any reflections that I think necessary for contributing to the discussion this afternoon.

I am glad that the present Parliament is now breaking after the Planning Commission's report has been presented to it. Now this report is being presented to the nation. I am sure this will represent the crowning and the consummation of the achievements of this Government which are not a few. I would like to recall in this connection—and probably you, Sir, will remember it more vividly than many persons here—how in the teeth of the opposition, not only of vested interests, but also of one of the members of the Government particularly of the ex-Finance Minister, the Planning Commission continued to function and it has, after a short period of one and a half years been able to give not only this Plan, but also the Colombo Plan of cooperative development of South-East Asia. In this view of the matter, I think, we are parting today for some time, leaving a great legacy to the nation. And I think, from now, a clear lead has been given to the country that economic decisions would not be made in the separate autonomous cells of different individuals, but they will be made on the scale of the nation and for the service of the community. So it is in that respect that I look upon this Plan as a great herald for the future. It is not an end in itself but it will certainly set up trends which will augur well for the country. In my opinion, when hon. Members were speaking on this Plan, they were generally oblivious of the background in which this Plan has

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been conceived. Probably they were over-enthusiastic and so they lost sight of the socio-political background in which the Plan has taken shape. Most of us, who are here as a result of a political struggle, are ourselves ignorant of the socio-economic possibilities of the political struggle which we had in this country. Although, I am one of the members of that party, which was mainly responsible for bringing independence to this country, I am not one of those who will forget for a moment that our great organisation was economically speaking, of a very heterogenous character and, therefore, I do suggest that we had no clear-cut economic or social ideology. But it goes to the credit of our hon. Prime Minister, that he had been the progenitor of the idea of a planned economy in this country and in a way he has been the man who has furthered the cause of socialism in this country more than anybody else has done. In spite of it we will have to reckon with this fact that the limited socio-economic possibilities of our political struggle were there and when this Plan comes, it comes not on the crest of a great socio-economic idea but to some extent, in the trough of the socio-economic ideas. It is in that background that we have to look upon the report of the Commission. Therefore, if any hon. Members ever think, that this Commission's report is the final thing, the best that could have been given to the country by the Government of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, then that is an incorrect impression. It is for us to go ahead and forge the conditions in which a better plan could be presented to the country. And if we do forge those conditions, I think we can take it for granted, that a better plan would be forthcoming.

In this connection, I would also like to refer to what some hon. Members have said about the constitutional limitations under which the Planning Commission had to work. I think probably those Members did not remember that it is they who are the masters of the Commission. The Commission is not the master over our Parliament. If there are constitutional limitations our Parliament can legislate the amendments to the Constitution and it will be for the Commission as an instrument of this Parliament to carry them out. (*Interruption.*) Are we going to take it that the recommendations even in regard to legislative enactments should come from the Planning Commission? I have the greatest respect for the members of the Commission, but I do not know

whether for their legislative skill or acumen we need give them any credit. It is for us to do it. So the constitutional limitations are there and as our Planning Minister has always been saying, it is not the Constitution but the conditions that shape the Constitution that matter. Those conditions which went into the making of that Constitution still persist and so there can be no wishful get-away from those conditions. Sir, if I can concretise the points placed before the Parliament in regard to the Commission, they are firstly, whether we approve of the democratic approach of the Planning Commission, secondly, whether we approve of the co-existence of the private and public enterprise fitting into the total picture of the equalitarian society which we have in view and, thirdly, whether we approve of the co-operative village management in regard to land policy. These are the three points on which in the limited time, the House should concentrate and give its verdict.

In regard to the democratic approach, I think it is a very fascinating subject, whether in an under-developed country like India, a totalitarian approach or a democratic approach is necessary. It is a very pertinent discussion that could have been raised. But that discussion apart, in view of the democratic character of the Constitution we have framed for the country we could not have adopted any approach but a democratic one. It is one of the limitations which have been imposed upon the Commission by the Constitution. But that fact notwithstanding, there is another factor. Our whole history and traditions are such that we could not adopt any approach other than a democratic one.

In this connection I would submit, with all respect to the Commission, that a democratic approach does not mean waiting upon developments without any initiative. It does not mean acceptance of the limitations with a certain sense of helplessness. It also does not mean that people themselves will work out their salvation in an under-developed country. They cannot be expected to raise themselves by their boot-straps. After all in the given conditions it is only a section of the people who will have to do it. Even in Russia, Lenin always used to say that it is the middle class intelligentsia who will have to carry the message of the revolution to the rank and file of labour. It is in that manner that I would like to submit to the Commission to give due thought to this aspect of the larger question of approach.

When I come to the co-existence of the public and private enterprise in a total picture of our national economy I am reminded of the remarks of some of my over-enthusiastic friends, who time and again remind our Prime Minister and our Planning Minister about their ideas on nationalisation which they used to express in the past. They think that we have gone back on our own words in regard to nationalisation and that we are catering in some way to the vested interests. I do not think they are very practical or realistic in their approach in this regard. It is not a question of going back upon our conception of nationalisation but it is a matter of reckoning with the hard realities that face us. You, Sir, are aware as the Chairman of the Estimates Committee and of the other important Committees how some of the public enterprises have not been working to our satisfaction and it is, therefore, no use asking us to take more on our shoulders. Let us manage the affairs of our own home well and then we shall interfere in the homes of others. But let me not be misunderstood. I do not consider them as homes of others: all are homes of the community. So far as present circumstances go, we will have to manage our own affairs well and only then we shall set an example to others.

That apart, this approach that the Commission has placed before us, the approach of a mixed economy, is not a new approach. It is quite a realistic approach and I think it is going to add to our wealth and to our production. I do not imagine for a moment that any hon. Member in the House would seriously suggest that the private sector in this country can be scrapped altogether. Apart from its utility in the present set-up, there is also the same question of constitutional limitation. For that we will have to look not to the Planning Commission but again to ourselves and there is evidence that when circumstances have compelled us we have resorted to constitutional amendments. But I think it is no use doing that at the present moment. Even in Communist China, I do not know whether my hon. friends here are aware that, they have not bidden goodbye to this mixed economy. They are also working out a sort of mixed economy in that country. But as I have been saying there are mixed economies and mixed economies in the world. There is one sort of mixed economy operating in the U.K. which is under a capitalistic atmosphere. There is another sort of mixed economy working in China which is under a

socialistic atmosphere. We also in this country have to determine whether our mixed economy is going to work in an atmosphere of socialism or in the old traditional way.

Now, I come to another question which is generally being raised, that this Plan is based upon *status quo*, that it sanctions the *status quo*. I do not subscribe to that idea. I am definitely of opinion that this Plan rejects the *status quo*, that it does not sanction the *status quo*. It tries to set up trends in the society so that economic disparity may be reduced. We have sufficient proofs of that. The Commission has made definite recommendations for legislative enactments, for fiscal policy, for public investment policy, so that economic disparities may be removed in this country. What are the recommendations in regard to the abolition of *zamindari*, in regard to the fixation of fair rent, in regard to the substitution of usurious money-lending by organised credit to the people? Then, the progressive taxation, the death duties,—all these point to the direction that economic disparities in the country are going to be reduced from now onwards. So I think it is not true to say that this Plan sanctions the *status quo*—it definitely rejects the *status quo*. It does not only attempt to correct the inequalities of income as they arise, but also to correct inequalities of wealth as they exist, and for that, I think, we should be very thankful to the Planning Commission.

Sir, as the first bell has rung I am hurrying to my conclusion. I would like to say something in regard to the land policy on which, as one who is concerned with land, I feel I must make a few observations. In regard to the land policy it has been said that nothing has been done towards putting a ceiling over agricultural holdings. I quite agree with the view that not only in India but in the whole of Asia, the crux of the problem lies in the solution of the land problem in a satisfactory manner, and for that something definite, and revolutionary should be done. Otherwise, we run the risk of going against the spirit of the times and being swept away. But the point is whether this question of redistribution of land or of putting a ceiling on land has been examined in its fullest implications. On the question of redistribution of land I am one of those who feel that it should be taken up in right earnest. But what do people mean by redistribution? Do they mean the equal distribution of land which exists in the country? If

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that is their opinion, I do not know, what will be the availability of land per capita in this country. As you know, Sir, the total acreage of land in this country is about 810 million acres out of which only 240 million acres are cultivable. We are 35 crores in this country; if we divide 240 million acres amongst the population we know what would come to per capita. If I reject that idea and take the suggestion that distribution should be per family, then what does it come to? If we divide our entire population into units of families of five, there would be seven crores of families in this country and even then we do not find that we shall be conforming to the slogans that are being repeated by some of our socialist friends, of twenty acres and a cow per head; will it come to that? I am simply staggered by the fantastic ideas that some people are accustomed to having in this country. If we go and approach the people we must give them the facts too, and not our whims and caprices. As regards the question of ceiling, there is a demand that thirty acres must be fixed as the maximum. I am one of those who will have no hesitation in expressing the completest unanimity of opinion in this regard. But how are we going to do that? A clear case for putting a ceiling at this level must be established by facts, figures and statistics. But whenever we want to bring about a solution we are handicapped by the lack of facts, figures and statistics. We will have to calculate how many holdings there are in this country which are over thirty acres, per family, so that the surplus land available to the community for distribution to landless labourers may be calculated in advance. But we do not have the figures in that regard. And if you are going to fix any ceiling over agricultural holdings, you will have to fix a corresponding ceiling in the industrial sphere. It is not a question of viewing the whole thing in isolation—there must be a corresponding ceiling over all incomes including industrial. If you have not the courage to do that, and if you do not voice that opinion, it is no use saying that there should be a ceiling over agricultural holdings.

In the end, I should only say that when people think of the Plan as not enthusing the masses, I do really not know in what sense they are talking. Whether they think in terms of adjectival or ideological superlatives. In my opinion if there is going to be any enthusiasm in the country it will come from the sight of accomplishment that

this Plan would be placing before the country.

**The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh):** I intervene in this debate with the purpose of making some objective observations on the few points that have been raised. I shall not deal with philosophies or ideologies or any other 'logies'. The first point which I wish to make is a general one and that is that this draft Plan has been evolved at very great pressure, and it is an outline, and therefore Members who expected to find everything spelt out there in full are bound to be disappointed.

**Shri M. P. Mishra (Bihar):** On a point of information. In the Plan itself it has been mentioned that the Chairman and the Finance Minister had not enough time to take regular part in the preparation of the report or in its deliberations. I would like the Finance Minister to keep this in mind and give his opinion or reply to the points.

**Shri Tyagi:** That he knows.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member need not interrupt like this.

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** I do not know what the implications of those observations are. It simply meant that there is a residual discretion to examine the Plan in conjunction with the rest of our colleagues in the Cabinet. That does not mean that at least so far as the Finance Minister is concerned he is not responsible for these provisional conclusions; in the earlier stages when the economic background was being examined the Finance Minister was very closely associated with the deliberations.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Insinuations may be avoided as far as possible.

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** And indeed a Plan of this kind and character could not have been drawn up without active consultation with the Finance Minister. That would be obvious to anyone who has studied the Plan. As I was saying, this is only a draft Plan evolved at very great pressure. Also, we recognise that it is not a completely integrated Plan in the sense in which such plans are understood in countries (*Interruption*).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I am not going to allow any interruption.

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:**.....which are blessed with a good statistical equip-

ment. For the purpose of an integrated plan you require statistics of various kinds—national income and its distribution and all connected statistics—and some of the deficiencies from which we suffer could be gathered from paragraphs 38 and 39 of the National Income Committee's First Report to which I shall merely refer and which I shall not read out.

In regard to the general economic background of the Plan, I am entirely at one with hon. Members who regard black-marketing as one of the cankers in our present society. (*Interruption*). I think hon. Members would not be impatient. At least they might hear of our plans for dealing with it. The first observation I would like to make is that these phenomena cannot be dealt with in a very short span of time. It is a long term measure to eradicate habits which have grown over the space of, shall we say, the last ten years. Gradually, we are tightening the many avenues along which money finds its way to the black markets. We have amended the Company Law. We are awaiting the report of the Expert Committee on Company Law Amendment. Then the Act for the regulation and development of industries ought to help us to ensure that money does not flow into black markets by way of unregulated prices. Hon. Members have seen the report of the Committee that had been appointed to advise on the amendment of the stock exchange regulations. We have had an Act for regulating forward markets. So, in various ways we are tightening the screw and in the meanwhile, my hon. colleague is doing all he can to encourage tax conscience and rectitude. I have every hope that these measures followed by more rigorous measures to be taken in consultation with the Planning Commission would enable us to bring this problem under some kind of control.

That leads me to the next question and that is about the price level. On this, Mr. Krishnanand Rai expressed himself very bitterly and Pandit Kunzru with his usual urbanity. Apart from general allegations, I do not know that Mr. Krishnanand Rai has made any great point in regard to price control or quoted any facts. It is true that we have not been able to hold the price level as well as we would have wished, but I think I can easily quote figures to show that taking everything into account we have done better than many countries in similar circumstances and indeed till recently there was definite evidence that the price level was falling, as I had

ventured to anticipate some time in June.

Now, in regard to the purely financial aspect Mr. B. Das raised some issues about the sterling balances. The subject is so important and open to so much misunderstanding that I hope I will be forgiven if I dilate upon it a bit and quote certain figures. Our sterling balances stood at £1,160 million on the 15th August, 1947 and declined to £615 million on 30th June, 1949. This large drop of £545 million during a period of less than two years was due to some special payments like the payments we made to consolidate our pensionary liabilities; the payments we made in the transfer of sums due to Pakistan as her share; and certain sums paid to the U.K. Government for military stores. These *ad hoc* payments amounted to as much as £361 million out of £545 million and the balance of £184 million was used for meeting the current deficit in our balance of payments during the period from 15th August, 1947 to 30th June, 1949. As a result of liberal imports and slow off-take of our exports, in the early part of 1949 our balance of payments was heavily adverse and as a result we began to run down our sterling balances. State purchases of foodgrains also contributed to this result and the sterling balances which stood at £615 million on the 30th June, 1949 declined to £582 million on the 2nd September, 1949. That is the least figure on record. Since then, thanks to the devaluation and the restraints placed on imports, our external balances began to rise and we reached the figure of £622 million on the 30th June 1950. Of this amount, under existing agreements we could have drawn a total of as much as £118 million up to 30th June, 1951, leaving a balance of £504 million, but since the beginning of July, 1950, the balances began to decline as a result of food purchase increases and the liberalisation of imports to meet essential needs. So, it was on the basis of the position as on the 30th June, 1950 that proposals for the extension of the sterling balances agreement after the 30th June, 1951 were formulated. It was considered that out of the estimated amount of £504 million left on the 30th June, 1951, something like £300 would be needed as a currency and foreign exchange reserve and for meeting certain other demands. The Colombo Plan which was drawn up at about this time therefore stipulated a release of £210 million over a period of six years. The discussions which took place in September, 1950 between the U.K. Chancellor of the Exchequer

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and myself provided therefore for an annual release of £35 million over a period of six years beginning from 1st July, 1951. You can add up and find that after allowing for the currency reserve there would have been hardly anything left of the sterling balances or the sterling balances problem. In the first three months of 1950-51, as I said, the sterling balances were declining. At the end of September, 1950, favourable external factors came into operation as a result of the Korean war and they began to influence our balance of payments after that date. There was a large demand for our export commodities, especially cotton and jute textiles. On the import side, although the licensing restrictions were relaxed, difficulties of obtaining goods, more especially raw materials, reduced our bill on imports and the sterling balances therefore began to rise and reached a peak figure of £661 million on the 4th May, 1951. After that date, the purchase of raw jute from Pakistan which was then a part of the sterling area for us under our agreement was an important factor which resulted in a reduction of the sterling balances. Now the figure for the 30th June, 1951 was £643 million. This included a free balance of nearly £90 million. According to the understanding reached with the U.K. Government we can draw up to £300 million over a period of the next six years and that is an important point. Over a period of next six years we can draw £300 million, that is to say, about 400 crores, leaving a balance of about £343 million which is more or less what we want as currency reserve.

Now the House will be glad to know that as a result of further discussions it has now been agreed that a sum of £310 million out of this amount would be transferred to our No. 1 Account and held as a currency reserve to be drawn upon only in an emergency. Now, therefore, the sum total is that large portions of our blocked balances have been unblocked and what remains in the blocked account is more or less equivalent to the amount which we are entitled to draw over a period of six years. It would be clear that perhaps at the end of six years there would be practically no balance left in our blocked account and as I said there will be nothing left I hope, if conditions remain as they are, of the sterling balance problem.

**Shri B. Das:** All the same United Kingdom is enjoying the benefits of that balance for the next six years.

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** There is no way of avoiding that. As long as under our law we have to hold some of our currency backing in foreign securities, it will remain in one form or another, either U.K. will enjoy it or some other country will enjoy it. We cannot hold all our currency reserve in gold. \*

**Shri Biswanath Das (Orissa):** I am thankful for the information given to my query on sterling balances. May I know the date of this decision, because I was apprehensive of the capacity of Britain, particularly in the face of her present difficulties.

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** It has been recently agreed. The date of the decision is just last month.

**Shri Kamath:** I hope Government will stand up to the British Tories, if they come to power.

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** We hope to do our best. I am not losing heart.

I now come to another financial question which was raised by Mr. Biswanath Das and that was about State contributions. I do not quite know what his difficulty was. His idea or his philosophy seemed to be that the Centre should draw up the plan both for the Centre and the States and finance it both for itself and the States, —or at least in the case of some of the poor ones. Actually, so far as the State plans are concerned, it is obvious that the onus of financing plans must primarily fall on the States. It is true that the Planning Commission has assumed certain figures of assistance, in order to be able to draw up a plan at all. Those assumptions are based on the best information that they could get and the best judgment that they could form, but it does not and cannot commit the Finance Ministry in the nature of things, because the Centre's capacity to advance that aid either in the form of a grant or a loan would depend on a number of factors—their own revenue surplus, the progress of their own unavoidable expenditure, the reactions of the money market and so on and so forth. That position has been made clear to the States. So far as Orissa is concerned, I think Mr. Biswanath Das would be surprised at the generosity which has been implied, so to speak in the proposals of the Planning Commission. In the draft outline of the Five Year Plan the figure of development expenditure assumed for Orissa is Rs. 15 crores and out of this the assistance from the



Centre is assumed to be Rs. ten crores. So that if Orissa is to proceed on this Plan they would have to raise a revenue surplus of Rs. five crores, as against something under one crore which they have agreed to do during the discussions. These discussions are continuing and I have been informed that preliminary talks show that this target may not prove to be unattainable.

Now, the Orissa Plan of Rs. 15 crores, so to speak without any commitment on the part of the Finance Ministry, but based on the best judgment, compares as follows with the plans of other smaller States:

Assam Rs. 12.5 crores

Punjab Rs. 15.5 crores

Rajasthan Rs. 15.2 crores

Madhya Bharat Rs. 22.0 crores.

It should be remembered that Orissa and Punjab get in addition the benefits of Hirakud and Bhakra-Nangal projects respectively and the sums involved in those projects are very, very considerable. We do not quite know what the revised estimates are, but in one case we know it is Rs. 130 crores and in another case the latest estimates communicated to us place it at Rs. 65 crores.

**Shri B. Das:** You will find it wrong.

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** It may be. My point here in quoting these figures is to show that the States have not at all been treated ungenerously by the framers of the Plan and all this has been included in the Plan after repeated consultations with the States themselves. I am very grateful to my hon. friend for drawing my attention to the possibility of the States getting something more.

**Shri Biswanath Das:** On a point of personal explanation may I say that what I was pointing out was this, namely that you have planned to do something for the States, irrespective of the fact that they were in different stages of development when Britain left. That is No. 1. No. 2, I stated is that you have called upon the States to get benefits on the basis of their contribution, which certain poor Provinces like Orissa, Assam, Rajasthan and the like may not be able to make. I am sorry that while the hon. the Finance Minister gave me a full reply regarding sterling balances, for which I am thankful to him, he has not given any reply to this point. Again you are not giving a grant of Rs. 65 crores to Orissa. You are only giving a loan

for which you will get interest and repayment.

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** We are talking on a financial plane and from the ways and means angle. The question we are considering is how these projects are going to be financed. It does not matter for that purpose whether the money is advanced as a grant or as a loan. As regards Mr. Biswanath Das's observation that I have given no reply.....

**Shri Biswanath Das:** I meant not satisfactory reply.

1 P.M.

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** If I had the time I can go into the details of the discussions with every State, but I repeat that nothing has been included in the Plan except after repeated consultations with the States. That is all that I have to say in regard to the general question of financial basis, except that I think I ought to answer the point made by Pandit Kunzru. He said that he was sceptical of our ability to raise the surpluses. Well, so far as this year is concerned, I do not like to prognosticate, but on the figures available to me I think on the revenue side we shall not fall far short of our expectations. As regards the States I am afraid I have not got the information, but I do not think it is right to judge of the soundness of a Five Year Plan by figures relating to any particular year. These ups and downs must be accepted. It may be—at least one should go on hoping—that next year may be better from the revenue as well as the expenditure point of view as the Plan gets into full swing and more conscious efforts are made and other extraneous circumstances come into play which inhibit the raising of revenues or the contraction of expenditure. When unnecessary expenditure is eliminated, then one may hope that these fairly modest targets will be realized.

The same thing is true for instance of our estimates of public loans. They are only Rs. 114 crores for five years, which is much less than Rs. 23 crores a year. I do not think that that is at all too high a target. Then the target in regard to small savings and unfunded debt which is Rs. 250 crores, that is Rs. 50 crores a year, I think has more or less been attained this year. And as the Plan gets under way and incomes are generated, I have no doubt that we shall be able to realize this particular estimate. Similarly in regard to railways we are anticipating Rs. 120 crores. So I have myself, after giving the most anxious thought to this problem, no doubt that we shall be able

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to raise the revenues necessary for financing Part I of the Plan. And even if we are driven to a certain measure of deficit financing I am quite satisfied that it will not carry with it any portentous results for us.

As regards the Second Part we have conceded that that depends entirely on the receipt of foreign aid. I have never been able to understand the antipathy shown by certain Members in respect of the receipt of foreign aid when it is postulated that we are not going to sacrifice any of our independence or any of our principles in receiving foreign aid. If we receive it we shall receive it in the full consciousness that we have spent a great deal of our substance in the supposed safeguarding of democracy in this world and that much more has been done for enemies than for allies. (Shri Kamath: Enemies?) Yes, countries which were ranged against the allies in the last war, they have had much more money spent on them.

**Shri Kamath:** They were not our enemies.

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** I am now referring to it historically, I am not entering into the analytical side of it. It would be a good investment for any one with surpluses to spare to devote them to economic development in this part of the world, and there is no reason why we should fight shy of any such friendly assistance. Apart from that, there is the possibility of getting some measure of this assistance from the International Bank, for reconstruction and development, of which we ourselves are a member.

**Shri B. Das:** But not at four and a half per cent.

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** Four and a half per cent. includes a charge for reserves and when these reserves are built up in the interest of the common good I have no doubt that the rate will come down provided other things remain equal. Whereas some time ago the Bank was able to raise a loan in the market at three per cent, today it is perhaps three and one-fourth per cent. These movements in the market one cannot obviate. There is no means of obviating them.

Well, Sir, that is all that I need say on the financial aspect of the problem, except that in respect of the expenditure on river valleys I entirely agree with Shrimati Durgabai that unless we are watchful we might be spending the bulk of our substance on these

river valleys and that economies and avoidance of waste on the big schemes that are in hand might mean a great deal for the implementation of the rest of the Plan. Just consider the figures 130 plus 70, that is 200, plus 70, that is 270 or 275 crores, and even a five per cent. saving on that will give us schools and hospitals and other things which will gladden the heart of Shrimati Durgabai. So I am well aware of the existence of this problem. I have been adopting what may be regarded an unpleasant and tough attitude in regard to some of these matters and promoting the appointment of Committees to look into the expenditure, and I have hopes of ensuring that there is no wastefulness in carrying out these very important river valley schemes.

On the whole, Sir, trying to look at the Plan as dispassionately as I can—and I can to a certain extent, because the responsibility for finding the finance finally rests on me; I am in a dual capacity, I am a member of the Planning Commission but I am also the unfortunate person who has to foot the bill and therefore I am capable of looking at the Plan somewhat critically—I feel convinced that it succeeds in finding the middle way in many difficult situations and that it has, without being too loose, the seeds of adaptability, it clears the deck and sets the compass for future progress. And I am unable to understand the cry that often goes up that there is nothing in this Plan that should enthruse people or is par enthusiasm. I say that the Plan presents a very fine field of endeavour, in which as we go along success itself will lead to greater success. I can see signs of it in the countryside today. I can see people gradually drinking in this idea of giving some free labour. Today it has percolated among the University graduates, both boys and girls, I have seen camps working, taking up the spade, turning up the first sod, so to speak, encouraging the villagers and I have seen the slow reaction of the villagers to it. I believe if one were to be able to take a census in the country today by some magical process one could get an idea of what could be done and one would find a great deal to encourage one. I feel sure that all this process will be accelerated because this urge is evident in the hearts of our peasantry in the countryside. I think I can assure the House that this fine Plan will not be allowed to languish for lack of finance.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The House will now stand adjourned till 3-40.

**Shri Kamath:** What is the afternoon programme? How long shall we sit?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** We will conclude at six. I intend calling upon the hon. Minister of Planning at five.

**Shri Kamath:** Not the Prime Minister who moved the motion?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The Prime Minister may not speak.

*The House then adjourned for Lunch till Forty Minutes Past Three of the Clock.*

*The House re-assembled after Lunch at Forty Minutes Past Three of the Clock.*

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

**Dr. Deshmukh (Madhya Pradesh):** When the Planning Commission was appointed, I was of the view that in a country like ours especially in view of the nature of our Constitution, I did not think they will be of much assistance and I thought that the Ministries, if they were in a way augmented or were properly guided, would themselves be capable of bringing about new ideas and giving effect to them. I also thought that all planning is bound up with the modern model of the Russian Plan because Russia was the first country which planned and planned successfully and the background against which the Russian Plan worked and succeeded was entirely different from the one in which we are situated. Four important factors of the national economy of the Soviet Union, were firstly, the dictatorship of the Proletariat with a very firmly established Government. I can safely say that our Government is firmly established, although unfortunately its plans and ideas have not that popularity amongst the people and that enthusiasm, which we would have very much liked. But there is no dictatorship; ours is a democracy. Secondly, the second important background of the Russian Plan was the nationalization of the factories, the land transport and credit system. Thirdly, the Russian background had the socialist bond between town and countryside and fourthly, the monopoly in foreign trade. In all these respects, we are very different from Russia and therefore, as I once said before our planning was likely to be whenever possible and wherever possible, that we could not go about the business in the totalitarian way,

in which the Russians go. We were therefore, not in a position to harness all our resources into a single purpose so as to achieve in a very rapid manner all that we intended to do and yet nobody can say that the time of the Planning Commission has been wasted or their labours are entirely fruitless. Even if we differ fundamentally and do not like many of the recommendations they have made, there is no doubt that half a dozen of our best brains in the country have laboured seriously and earnestly and have produced a tentative Plan. It will be possible to modify it in various respects and where, if we are so minded, there are constitutional difficulties in our way, it is not too much to expect that even those may be removed. Yet, we have to work with the instruments at our hands and that instrument is the present Government. So far as the administration of the Plan is concerned, it is intended that there should be a nucleus of an organization which would be more or less distinct but supplementing the ordinary administration in the country. We are trying to develop certain village councils and district councils and other bodies. The question to my mind is as to how this will function, whether they will be allowed to work side by side, whether they will be in a position to supersede the ordinary administration or to what extent they will be able to influence the ordinary Administration so as to obviate the difficulty of counter ideas or even lukewarmness on the part of the ordinary administration to absorb all that is intended by the Planning Commission. I thought that would probably work much more smoothly than the way that has been suggested by the Planning Commission. These bodies may come into existence but they should be integrated into the administration and should not function separately.

My second suggestion is that the Planning Commission if it wants to succeed must not altogether depend upon the exigencies or of the ordinary day to day finances in the country. They must have certain special resources at their command by which it would be possible for them to realize their aims, speedily and more effectively. I have at least four concrete suggestions in this respect to make. I am glad my hon. friend, Mr. Tyagi has been able to unearth a good deal of hidden money. I wish him all success but to supplement that, I would suggest that the Government of India should float debentures for the sake of bringing out the black-market money. It may be given at a very

[Dr. Deshmukh]

great discount, say of Rs. 60 or even Rs. 40 if it is prepared to give up.....

**Shri Himatsingka:** You mean premium, not discount.

**Dr. Deshmukh:** Therefore, Rs. 100 will be worth Rs. 60 of actual money so to speak and it should not put a penalty on the more honest people who had disclosed their hidden income.....

**Shri Himatsingka:** It must be premium then.

**Dr. Deshmukh:** If that means is utilized and a certain interest is guaranteed, I am told by people who know what they are speaking about, that we would be able to get about Rs. 100 crores if not 200 crores of rupees. The only condition is that the source of their investment should not be unearthed nor they should be questioned where they got the money from.

Then my next suggestion is that only for the purpose of the Planning Commission it has to levy a death duty. My third suggestion is that the Salt Duty should be reimposed at double the rate and fourthly the prohibition idea should be stopped for the next period of ten years at least. If these four sources are tackled, I am sure plenty of money would be available for the development of the country and even if temporarily ten per cent. of our people may not be so sober as they would otherwise, I do not think that much damage would be done to the country as a whole.

**Ch. Sir,** the time at my disposal is so short that I could not enter the big subject and the most important and vital subject of agriculture. I have many ideas so far as this is concerned, and I regard it as the most vital concern of any Government or of any Planning Commission.

**Shri My hon. friend, Mr. Venkataraman** suggested the redistribution of the land having and incidentally that could be done only by nationalisation. I am not unfavourable to the idea of nationalisation nor to the redistribution of the land, nor putting a ceiling on the ownership of the land but that way our short term programme is bound to suffer. Even the abolition of the zamindari or other land reforms are going to act as a terrible deterrent and a factor which will dislocate production, so far agricultural production is concerned. If we are prepared to tolerate that, I have no objection in going wholesale for the idea of nationalisation of the land. Then, so far as utilizing the

energies of our unemployed people or part-time occupations are concerned, I would very strongly recommend the idea of my hon. friend, Babu Ramnarayan Singh, namely, greater emphasis on the production of Khadi and I think by that way we will be able to save a good deal of textiles which earn us good foreign currency.

There are a few matters on which I find the Planning Commission's report very, very unsatisfactory: first, in the field of education. I am glad that the hon. Prime Minister also admitted that he did not regard the way in which the problem of education has been dealt with as satisfactory. He said, we cannot have both river valley projects as well as education. As was explained by the hon. Finance Minister, these are not self-contradictory things. There are many places where we can stop wastage and utilise the amount for better education of the country. Even in what we spend on education or other nation-building purposes, there is a great deal of wastage and lack of proper priorities. As a member of the Standing Committee of the Ministry of Education, I say there are many schemes which could be set down a little lower in the priority than what is now being done. In that way, I think it would be possible to go much faster in the field of education than we have been able to do.

I was very sorry that the Planning Commission has not taken any heed of two important problems. One is the care of the destitute children and the second is the employment of the youth of the country. I am sorry to see that the two important Bills of which I had given notice, they have not cared to look at. If at any time they pay attention to this, I am certain a solution would lie in the way I have suggested in those two Bills. Better care could be taken of these destitute children at less cost than is imagined by the Ministry of Education, or other Ministries. I think it is the crying need of our country that the children are less cared for than even trees and animals and it is a standing disgrace that hundreds and thousands of boys should be going about and become victims of anti-social elements in the country. I would therefore very respectfully draw the attention of the members of the Planning Commission to the fact that they make some definite provision and have a certain plan to see that the destitute children are looked after and that they

do not become enemies of society. Secondly, I would appeal to them that the youth of the country should be trained and their employment should be secured. It cannot be merely done through the Labour Exchange organisation that we have. It will have to be a deliberate effort on the part of the Government to tackle this problem.

In so far as industrial development is concerned, a good many of my hon. friends seem to think that it is time now that the private sector did not at all exist. I emphatically differ from them. I think there is plenty of room, plenty of scope for private industry to come into being and flourish. If we try to put too much restraint upon it, it will not be in the interests of the country. If the first effective step that has been taken by the Planning Commission is regarded as the Bill that we have passed, I do not think they are going in the right direction.

The members of the Planning Commission are high intellectuals, men of sincerity and patriotism, absolutely unquestionable. Very often, in these Plans, we have great leaders of men than men proper. And the more a man becomes a leader of men, he becomes less of a man. My contention is that the Planning Commission or even for the matter of that, the composition of the present Government has not the common man's background. That is one fundamental defect that runs through the whole Planning Commission's report. This sort of a report could be drawn up by any Under Secretary. I do not think there is much there. After all, it is stated that there should be more roads, more hospitals and some more education. Every Secretary in any Ministry understands that. But, how are we going to achieve the progress? My hon. friends have suggested that there is not sufficient enthusiasm in the country. How to create that enthusiasm? That is the central problem that has been urged both from this House and from the Treasury Benches. The solution is not very difficult to seek. It always depends upon the leaders to create that enthusiasm in the people. So far as the people are concerned, there is nothing lacking in them. It is only leadership that is wanting. If there is proper leadership, there is no sacrifice that our people are not capable of and there is no ability that is lacking. Therefore, it depends upon how we go about the business, and how we enthuse the people with our ideas. That is going to be the test of the leaders of India as well as, if I may say so, even of this Parliament. Because what our Government pro-

poses is not only for their own sake; it is for the whole country, and therefore we are also responsible both for good or worse for the whole business. It is not only the responsibility of the Government to make the Plan succeed; it is the duty of each one of us, however critical we may be and whatever defects we may find, to help the Government and help each project and every effort of theirs.

**Prof. S. L. Saksena (Uttar Pradesh):** I am very sorry I cannot congratulate the Planning Commission on the report that they have produced.

**Shri B. Das:** That was not expected of you.

**Prof. S. L. Saksena:** I am very sorry firstly that while we were drawing up a Plan for our country, we did not try to utilise the services of those who had specialised in the subject, who had spent twenty solid years on this work of planning. I remember the Congress formed a Planning Committee in 1931 with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as President and Prof. K. T. Shah as Secretary.

**Some Hon. Members: 1938.**

**Prof. S. L. Saksena:** I am sorry; it was in 1938. That Committee made a survey of the whole field and produced about 30 volumes. I was surprised to find that the author of that voluminous report was not associated with this report of the Planning Commission at any stage of the drafting of the report.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Another hon. Member referred to this very same matter. The hon. Member was not present then. There is so much to refer to. The matter need not be repeated. That is all I wanted to say.

**Prof. S. L. Saksena:** I thought it was relevant. I think that a Plan which has been conceived in prejudice cannot produce something which can be really beneficial to the country.

Coming to the details of the Plan, we are now in the month of October. The Plan is for the period from 1951 to 1956, that is five years; four years in fact. Seven months have already passed. I would like to know whether 1/10th of the work has already been done. It is really surprising that so far practically nothing has been done. I have been trying to see the effect of the report on the country. I am certain that no change has taken place. Instead of going over the whole country, I shall try to confine myself to a particular region with which I am intimately connected and about which I know intimately.

[Prof. S. L. Saksena]

In the Gorakhpur Division, there are one crore of people. There are four districts. I know the conditions there very intimately. I have tried to see how this Plan will work and how the Plan will affect the people there. I will take agriculture first. It is stated in the summary of recommendations:

"According to the Commission's estimates, out of 7.2 million tons of additional production, 2.3 million may come from major irrigation projects, 1.9 million from minor irrigation schemes, 1.5 million from land improvement and reclamation schemes, 0.6 million from manure and fertilizer schemes, 0.4 million from seed distribution schemes and 0.5 million tons from other schemes."

There are no irrigation facilities in the Gorakhpur Division, Eastern U.P. It is in the same belt as North Bihar. Last year, the whole area was famine-stricken. This year again, there has been no rain. There is complete drought and the whole area has again been completely ruined. This time in the month of June, people wanted seed for sowing their fields. As there was famine last year, the people had eaten even the seed grains. Therefore, we from all parties and public men recommended to the Government that at least a sufficient amount of seed grains should be provided to sow the lands. But, the seed was not sent in time. One lakh acres of prepared, ploughed fields remained unsown because no seed had been sent to the area. When the hon. Minister went there in the month of July, he also received complaints and after that seed grains were sent in the month of August, when the rice crop had been sown. What happened to that seed-grain? It was given to black-marketeers and even that did not reach the real cultivators. What I say is this. Whatever Plan you make, so long as the administration is wooden, so long as there is black-marketing, so long as there is corruption, nothing that we do will be able to solve the problem of under-production. When one lakh acres remain unsown, what is the use of your reclaiming land in Naini Tal and other places? You should first of all see that no land remains unsown like this for want of seed in time. Unless and until your schemes reach down the villagers they will remain only paper plans. They must reach the people in the villages. Unless the villager gets what he requires in sufficient quanti-

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ties and in time, good seeds, water and other facilities, your plans will remain here itself. The money will be spent. You will issue directions to the district officer to do this and that and something will be done, but the thing will not reach the people for whom it is meant. Seven months and more have gone out of this period of five years and nothing has been done in my district at least. There I am sure there will be famine this year too which could be avoided if some effort was made to lift water and supply it to the fields. Here is an area in which live one crore of people—one-thirtieth of the whole population of the country and there is no scheme for these people of Eastern U.P. There is the Bhakra-scheme but none for the eastern parts. There was a Rihand scheme on which several crores of rupees had been spent by the U.P. Government, but according to this Plan, nothing is to be done on this scheme and it will be allowed to be dropped.

There is the Rapti river which is doing havoc every year to these areas, due to floods and I have been pressing upon the authorities the need to have a scheme for this river so as to prevent the destruction caused by its floods. But nothing has yet been done in this direction. Recently I visited the Damodar Valley where they had a small scheme by which they could catch the rainwater in a catchment and utilise it later for irrigation purposes—all within about Rs. 50,000. I wonder why a similar thing could not be done in other parts of the country. For instance, if they had done such a thing in my part of the country, they could have saved many acres from drought and they could have enabled the people to raise good crops from those fields. But there is nothing in this direction mentioned in the Plan of the Planning Commission. The result is, the whole of Eastern U.P. will remain where it is, unirrigated even after this period of five years, with neither irrigation, nor good seeds nor any other facilities. The people will not be able to improve their agriculture.

Then as regards sugar. My area produces a lot of sugar and it has some 33 factories and sugar cane is one of the crops about which the Commission has reported something and it is anxious to increase the yield of sugar from the cane. But I may tell you, Sir, from my 30 years' experience and connection with this question, that the U.P. Government have been trying to increase the yield of

sugar from the cane right from 1937 and they have not succeeded. All these fourteen years they have been trying to increase the yield and the result has been the yield has actually gone down and today from 300 mds. per acre it is somewhere about 290 mds. per acre. This is the result of all their better seeds and better manures and other efforts. There has not been any real effort made to increase the yield per acre. Who is most interested in increasing the yield? It is the mill-owner who is most interested, but he does not make any real effort in this direction because he says, "Why should I do anything when the Government has taken upon itself the responsibility of increasing the yield?" If only the sugar mill-owners had been given some help by way of subsidies or some such thing, they would by now have succeeded in increasing the yield. While the figure for Java is about 3,000 mds. per acre, in our land it is not even 300 mds. per acre. That is the sorry state in which we are.

And then about the manures and the seeds. Most of the seed stores are empty and they are so when the seeds are needed most. The only work these stores do is to conduct cases against the cultivators for this and that. That is their only work. So also about the manures. The quantities supplied are not at all sufficient for development purposes.

Therefore I say that this agricultural Plan will not be translated into practice and work in the field and factory. The researches that you conduct will remain in your own laboratories and they will not go down to the villages and they will not be of use to the peasantry. That is so because the whole plan has not been integrated with the real people and the people will not be able to take advantage of your plans and schemes and they will remain only on paper and not reach the people at all.

Then I come to labour. Here you say labour must do a lot and you expect a lot from labour. But from my experience of labour I can say that labour is the most discontented element in the country today and probably no amount of your planning will encourage them and enthruse them to produce more because you do not attend to their most elementary wants. And in this connection I am most surprised at the policy that has been adopted by the Planning Commission. They have contacted only those per-

sons who they think represent labour. Formerly Shri Jagjivan Ram used to consult all the organisations, the A.I.T.U.C., the I.N.T.U.C., the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, the Socialists and others. But now the Planning Commission has consulted only the I.N.T.U.C. and the A.I.T.U.C. They seem to think that only those who are 'safe' represent labour. But let me tell them, only those who have been left out really represent labour and control labour.

**Shri Venkataraman:** Question.

**Prof. S. L. Saksena:** My friend Shri Venkataraman may question here; but outside when he meets me, I know he will say the whole thing is so intolerable. My friend knows that the I.N.T.U.C. is nothing but a capitalist Congress fifth column inside labour. I say once again, you cannot get labour to do what you want unless and until you try to give them a little of what they want. What is the most patent cause of labour trouble today? It is all because you cannot give redress to their grievances by simple methods. You think only the I.N.T.U.C. represents labour. This organisation actually claimed that it represented 90 per cent. of the workers in sugar factories, but when the actual voting took place, it was found that they did not represent even 20 per cent. Still you consult this organisation. And in my own Province the Government have declared your laws and regulations null and void. If there is a dispute the Regional Commissioner will have to report and it is for the Government to send the dispute to the Appellate Tribunal. There are many disputes which are not sent to the Tribunal at all because the Government does not want them to be decided by the Tribunal. They want to crush the Unions which they do not favour. This is not the method by which you can implement a scheme as big as this. It can only be implemented if you take the cooperation of every Indian who is interested in the development of the country. It is only by an impartial attitude on your part towards every one and by helping every body according to his needs that you can achieve what you desire. As it is this Plan is only on paper. It does not even promise full employment to the people nor even the standard of life that obtained in 1939. In the circumstances I do not think the Plan is worth the paper on which it is written. It is wholly useless and will not serve the purpose you have in view at all.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव : जनाब हिन्दी स्पीकर साहब यह जो प्लान (Plan) हमारे सामने पेश किया गया, है, पांच साला प्लान, में इस के बारे में बड़े अदब से जिन साहबान ने इस प्लान को बनाया है, उन को इस काम के लिये मुबारकबाद पेश करता हूं। इस प्लान को इस किताब के अन्दर अगर कोई शस्त्र बिला किसी तास्सुब के और बिला किसी प्री-कन्सीवड ओपिनियन (pre-conceived opinion) के इस किताब को शुरू से लेकर अखिर तक पढ़ेगा तो वह यह कहे बगैर नहीं रह सकता कि इस में प्लानिंग कमीशन (Planning Commission) वालों ने बड़ी सिनसियर अटेंप्ट (Sincere attempt) की है और बड़ी ईमानदारी के साथ रियलिस्टिक एटीट्यूड (realistic attitude) ले कर इस प्लान को बनाया है। अब यह बहस कि यह प्लान काफी है या नहीं है, पीछे से मेरे एक लायक दोस्त पूछते हैं कि क्या यह प्लान काफी है ? इस में रायों का इस्तिलाफ हो सकता है और अभी जब वह मेरी तकरीर आगे मुनेगे तो पायेंगे कि मैं भी कई बातों में प्लानिंग कमीशन की रिपोर्ट से इस्तिलाफ रखता हूं। लेकिन मुझे इस में कोई इस्तिलाफ नहीं है कि जो कोशिश हिन्दुस्तान के जंगल को गुलज़ार बनाने की श्री गुलज़ारी लाल नन्दा ने की है वह जरूर सराहनीय है। मैं यह भी साथ ही अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि इस देश में जितनी मुश्किलें हैं, उन मुश्किलों का जब तक आप अन्दाजा न लगायेंगे तब तक आप उस स्कीम में उन मुश्किलों को अबूर करने की तरफ जो कोशिश है और उस स्कीम में जो खूबियां हैं, उन का आप पूरा अन्दाजा नहीं लगा सकते। यह दुस्त है कि हमारे

देश में जितनी कठिनाइयां हैं उन को अबूर करना बहुत मुश्किल है, लेकिन ताहम एक रियलिस्टिक कोशिश इस प्लान ने की है। हमारे लीडर साहब ने कल यह फरमाया कि यह बात साबित है कि इस प्लान के अन्दर रियालिज्म (realism) है और यह कोई हवाई प्लान नहीं है जिस पर अमल न किया जा सकता हो और मैं तो समझता हूं कि इन मौजूदा हालात में शायद इस से बेहतर प्लान बनाना मुश्किल था। इस प्लान के सिलसिले में यह भी कहा गया है कि हमारे रास्ते में ऐसी दिक्कतें हैं जो कि कांस्टीट्यूशन (Constitution) ने बना दी हैं, उन के ऊपर अबूर हासिल नहीं किया जा सकता था। मुझे अरब से अर्ज करना है कि जो इन में कांस्टीट्यूशन की कठिनाइयां बतलाई गई हैं वह ऐसी कठिनाइयां नहीं हैं जिन के लिये यह कहा जा सकता है कि उन को पार करना मुश्किल था। दफा ३१ की तरफ तबज्जह दिखाई गई है, हम जानते हैं कि दफा ३१ हरगिज ऐसी मुश्किल दफा नहीं है जिस के ऊपर अबूर न किया जा सके। उस के अन्दर कोई जस्टिसयेबुल राइट्स (justiceable rights) नहीं हैं जिन के ऊपर अबूर हासिल न किया जा सकता हो। यह राय एक दफा नहीं, बल्कि जब कांस्टीट्यूशन बनाने वालों ने उस पर तबसरा किया, उस वक्त सब की राय यह थी कि यह कोई ऐसी मुश्किल चीज नहीं है जिस पर अबूर हासिल न किया जा सके। अलावा इस के मुझ को जो इस के अन्दर दिक्कतें मालूम होती हैं वह और किस्म की हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि बड़ी मोटी बातें जिन पर बहुत सारा बक्त और रुपया लगेगा, उन पर कमीशन ने बहुत सारा बक्त लगाया है और एक योजना पेश की वह योजना अग्रीकल्चर (agriculture) की है, वह हमारी खाने पीने की चीजें



हैं। इस के बारे में मुझे अदब से अर्ज करना है कि उस योजना में कन्ट्रोल के जो चैप्टर्स ( Chapters ) हैं उन को पढ़ कर मुझे बड़ा ताज्जुब हुआ और दुख भी हुआ। अभी थोड़े ही दिन हुए जब हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने बड़े जोर शोर से प्रोपेगेंडा के तौर पर नहीं, बल्कि अपनी फर्म पालिसी ( Firm policy ) का ऐलान किया था कि सन् १९५२ के मार्च में फूड में सेल्फ सफिशियेंसी (Self-sufficiency) इस मुल्क को मिल जायेगी। इसी तरह हमारे प्रैजिडेंट साहब ने पालियामेन्ट का सेशन शुरू करते वक़्त अपने ऐड्रेस (Address) में यह फरमाया था कि सेल्फ सफिशियेंसी हमें बहुत जल्द मिल जायगी और हमारे फूड मिनिस्टर साहब रोज कम्म खा कर ऐलान करते थे कि सन् ५२ के मार्च में वह फूड के मामले में सेल्फ सफिशियेंट होजायेंगे और उन्हें बाहर से गल्ला मंगाने की जरूरत नहीं रहेगी और यह सारी बातें इतनी जोर से कही गयीं कि किसी आदमी को यह शुबहा नहीं था कि १९५२ में सेल्फ सफिशियेंसी नहीं हो पायेगी। अब जो आंकड़े इस के सिलसिले में प्लानिंग कमीशन ने दिये हैं और जो हिसाब फैलाया है, इन आंकड़ों को कमी अग्नीकलचर मिनिस्ट्री ने कबूल नहीं किया। वह फरमाते हैं कि यहां पर ८६ फी सदी अडल्ट पापुलेशन (Adult population) है, यह चीज ऐसे झगड़े की है जिस के बारे में कितनी भी दफा इस हाउस के अन्दर भी बहस भुबाहसा और झगड़ा हुआ है, और मैं नहीं मानता कि इस देश के अन्दर अनाज की इस कदर कमी है कि हमें बाहर से गल्ला मंगाना जरूरी है। जिस जमीन में आठ अनाजों से अलावा अनाज पैदा होते हैं उनका कमी अन्वयाया अग्नीकलचर डिपार्ट-

मेन्ट ने नहीं लगाया, वह आठ सीरियल्स के सिवाय जो अनाज है उन को शुमार में नहीं लिया जाता, एक करोड़ एकड़ में ऐसा अनाज पैदा हो जाता है जो राशन वाले अनाज में शुमार नहीं होता है। पहले कमी भी इन आंकड़ों की ओर खयाल नहीं किया गया कि वह कितनी हमारी खुराक को बढ़ाती है। इस तरह जो ८६ फी सदी अडल्ट पापुलेशन है यह दुनिया भर का जो हिसाब का तरीका है, उस से वह भिन्न है, दुनिया भर में ८० प्रति शत एडल्ट आबादी फैलाई जाती है और हम भी पहले इस हिसाब से फैलाते रहे हैं। श्री मुंशी जी १५ प्रतिशत से अधिक पैदावार के हिसाब में गलती हो सकती है नहीं मानते। इस से यह कहना कि हम को इम्पोर्ट्स के लिये बीस तीस लाख टन गल्ला मंगाना पड़ेगा, यह दुखस्त नहीं है। मेरी अदब से गुञ्जारिश है कि गवर्नमेन्ट बिला ठीक ठीक आंकड़ों के लिये हुए इस नतीजे पर पहुंच जाती है कि यहां पर अनाज की कमी है, यह ठीक नहीं है, दरअसल माकूल इन्जाम की कमी है और कन्ट्रोल एक खराब चीज है, जिस की वजह से प्राविन्सेज जोर देते हैं कि बाहर से गल्ला इम्पोर्ट किया जाय और इस के अलावा उन को कोई चीज नजर नहीं आती। कन्ट्रोल से इन्तजाम ठीक तरह नहीं हो पाता और इस वास्ते गवर्नमेन्ट मजबूर होती है कि बाहर से वह इम्पोर्ट करे और वह इम्पोर्ट करने पर मजबूर हो कर इस नतीजे पर पहुंचती है कि यहां पर गल्ले की कमी है। अगर गवर्नमेन्ट के पास ठीक-ठीक आंकड़े नहीं हैं तो गवर्नमेन्ट को यह कहने का हक नहीं है कि चूँकि कन्ट्रोल के ठीक इन्तजाम नहीं कर सकते, इस वास्ते यहां पर गल्ले की कमी बतलावें। कमीशन की रिपोर्ट में

[ पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव ]

इस के बारे में कि यहां पर गल्लों की कमी है बड़ी वजह यह दी गई है कि हमारे यहां इस कदर गल्ला राशन के लिये पर्याप्त नहीं है कि जिस के अन्दर हम यह कह सकें कि यहां पर गल्ले की कमी नहीं है। मैं अदब से अर्ज करूंगा कि जिस नतीजे पर कमीशन पहुंचा है वह नतीजा उन नतीजों से मुस्तलिफ है जो अप्रीकल्चर डिपार्टमेंट निकालता था और जिस के बारे में प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब, प्रेजिडेंट साहब, और देश के अगुवा यह मानते हैं कि हम यह कहने के काबिल नहीं हैं कि देश के अन्दर इस कदर अनाज की कमी है। चूंकि मेरा इस बारे में इख्तिलाफ है, इस वास्ते कन्ट्रोल के बारे में जो चीज है, मैं उस के साथ इत्तिफाक नहीं करता।

इस मामले को छोड़ कर दूसरी बात में अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि ऐनिमल हस्बेन्डरी (Animal Husbandry) के बारे में जो चैप्टर है वह हैरानकुन है। उस को देख कर मुझे यह शूबहा होता है कि जितनी तबज्जह इस मामले की तरफ दी गई है, वह काफी न थी। जब मैं उस को पढ़ता हूं १०९ सफे से ऐनिमल हस्बेन्डरी का जिक्र होता है, और उस का पहला फिकरा यह है, India has to support today about 177.4 million heads of cattle. कैटिल के बारे में तीन सफे इस सारी रिपोर्ट में दिये गये हैं, मेरे ख्याल में इस बात का पूरा अहसास नहीं रखा गया है कि इस मुल्क के सारे अप्रीकल्चर की पशुओं के ऊपर इनहिसार है और १००० करोड़ रुपये सालाना की इन से आमदनी होती है। इस मुल्क की अप्रीकल्चर में कैटिल ऐसी चीज है जिस की तरफ सब से ज्यादा तबज्जह होनी चाहिये थी। यह अम्र बकाया है कि अप्रीकल्चर का

बढ़ना बरीर कैटिल के नहीं हो सकता। मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि उस के अन्दर दो, तीन बातें ऐसी लिखी गई हैं जो पुरानी किस्म की और हैबनीड (Hakneyed) हैं। और जाहिर करती हैं कि ठीक नुकते-निगाह से यह मामला नहीं जांचा गया।

क्या हम को मालूम नहीं है कि गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया आध आना पर हैड (per head) खर्च करती है ऐनिमल हस्बेन्डरी पर और कैटिल वेलफेयर पर (Cattle welfare) जबकि और मुल्कों में एक रुपया पर हैड खर्च किया जाता है। क्या हम को मालूम नहीं है कि सांडों के न होने की वजह से ऐग्रिकल्चर पैदावार नहीं बढ़ने पाती। सच्ची बात यह है कि पंजाब में सन् १८९५ में २० सांडों पर १०० एकड़ मौजूद थे, और सन् १९४० में, सिर्फ १४ सांडों पर १०० एकड़ रह गये, और अब पंजाब में खेती की कमी की वजह यह भी है कि वहाँ सांड काफी नहीं हैं। मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि अगर आप ठीक आंकड़ों देखें तो इस वक्त भारत में ५ करोड़ सांडों की जरूरत है, अगर आप सारी जमीन जो बंजर है और कल्तिवेबल लैंड (Cultivable land) पड़ी हुई है की काश्त करना चाहें। इसी हिसाब से ऐग्रिकल्चरल कमीशन ने हम को बतलाया था। उस ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में लिखा था कि :

"Ten pairs of cattle are required for 100 acres".

मैं अदब से अर्ज करूंगा कि इस नुकते ख्याल से न इस में चारे का जिक्र है न किसी और दूसरी चीज का है। मगर इस में एक जिक्र जरूर है और वह यह है कि :

"Removal of useless cattle.—It is estimated that at least ten per cent of the total population con-

sists of unserviceable and unproductive cattle".

यह एक रिपोर्ट की बिना पर कहा गया है जिस रिपोर्ट में कोई अदाब ब शुमार नहीं दिये गये हैं। अनसर्विसेबल कैटिल (Unserviceable Cattle) की तादाद क्यादा से क्यादा ३, ४ फी सदी है, लेकिन इस के अन्दर मान लिया गया है बौर किसी दलील के, हर मामले में इस रिपोर्ट को कोट (Quote) कर दिया जाता है, हालांकि किसी ने इस का केलकुलेशन नहीं किया है, न सेन्सस (Census) लिया है। मुझे मालूम है जिन्होंने ने यह रिपोर्ट लिखी है, उन का अपना यही कहना है, कि यह महज अन्दाज़ है। इसमें आगे चल कर लिखा है :

"It is somewhat difficult to gauge the effect of Article 48 in Part IV of the Constitution on this problem. In so far as it is interpreted as preventing slaughter of decrepit and useless cows it may be said to have aggravated it."

I am extremely sorry that such words should have appeared here. Is it a national report? Then they go further and say words which would certainly wound every person's heart:

"Another result of such a provision is the adverse effect it might have on the manufacture of glandular products like insulin, adrenalin and liver extract".

क्या इस मुल्क की गाय और इस मुल्क के सांड इस गरज के वास्ते यहाँ रखे जाते हैं कि इस से ग्रैन्डुलर ऐक्सट्रैक्ट बनेंगे ?

श्री श्री० डी० पन्त : आप तो गाय और बैल की पूजा करते हैं।

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव : आप पूजा नहीं करते, ऐसे लोग हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत

रहते हैं जो गाय और बैल की पूजा करते हैं। आगे चल कर लिखा है :

"On the other hand, by preventing the slaughter of calves and milch and draught cattle which formed a considerable portion of the animals slaughtered for beef and particular varieties of hides, the Constitution has taken a positive step in furthering the development of cattle in India".

क्या मैं अदब से अर्ज कर सकता हूँ कि Pakistan also has stolen a march over us. पाकिस्तान के अन्दर भी यूजफुल कैटल (Useful Cattle) का स्लाटर अब नहीं होता है। लेकिन बावजूब हर कोशिश के गवर्नमेन्ट आफ इंडिया ने पसन्द नहीं किया कि यूजफुल कैटल का स्लाटर कानून के जरिये बन्द कर दिया जाय। हालांकि उन्होंने ने जो-कमेटी बिठलाई थी, कैटिल प्रिजर्वेशन कमेटी (Cattle Preservation Committee) उस ने भी कहा था कि यूजफुल कैटल का स्लाटर बन्द कर दिया जाय। किसी ने यह कानून पेश नहीं किया कि कैटल स्लाटर कतई बन्द कर दिया जाय। लेकिन यूजफुल कैटल के लिये भी यह नहीं किया गया कि इस को बन्द कर दिया जाय। जब से बहु गवर्नमेंट बरसरे इक्तरदार आई है क्या उस ने यह तखवीब दी है कि इस सबाल का फैसला जल्दी से हो जाय। दर असल गाय के नाम से ही हमारी सेकुलर स्टेट (Secular State) खतरे में पड़ जाती है। बहुत से लोगों के लिये गाय का नाम Anathema है जनाब, यह तो एक आर्थिक सबाल है। इसी नुक्ते खयाल से इस हाउस के अन्दर बिल पेश किया गया और यहाँ रोब अर्ज किया जाता है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज इस देश के हिसार और रोहतक जिलों के अन्दर गायों की

[ पंडित ठाकुर दास भागव ]

बड़ी बुरी हालत है। सन् १९३८-३९ में जो हकूमत यहां थी उस ने तीन करोड़ रुपया कहत दूर करने के लिये हिसार जिले में खर्च किया ताकि आदमियों और गायों को बचाया जा सके। आज हिसार जिलों में वहां की गाय जो पहले ८०० रुपये में बिका करती थी अब सी और पछत्तर रुपये में बिकती है। १२ की कीपत की एक एक भैंस १५० रुपये और २०० रुपये में बिकती है लेकिन किसी के कान पर जूं नहीं रेंगती है। जनाब वाला सुन कर हैरान होंगे, मुझे पंजाब की तरफ से तो शिकायत नहीं करनी चाहिये, आज भी अखबार में निकला है, एक आदमी १६८९ पाउन्ड यानी करीब आठ सेर दूध के प्रोडक्ट्स खाता है, लेकिन बाकी हिन्दुस्तान में क्या हाल है। सिर्फ पांच आउंस पर हैड पड़ता है और पाकिस्तान में सात आउंस पड़ता है। मैं ने यह दो बातें इस लिये अर्ज कीं कि यह बहुत जरूरी है।

जहां तक हमारे मुल्क के अन्दर इन्डस्ट्रीज (Industries) का सवाल है, जितनी जरूरत इन्डस्ट्रीज हैं उन के बारे में मैं कुछ अर्ज करना चाहता हूं। आप मिलों से स्पिनिंग (Spinning) करवाइये। लेकिन जहां तक इस देश के रहने वालों के कपड़े बुनने का सवाल है, वह आप की काटेज इन्डस्ट्री के जरिये होना चाहिये। आप दूसरे मुल्क को कपड़ा भेजने के लिये जरूर अपनी स्पिनिंग मिल्स को इस्तेमाल कीजिये। लेकिन जहां तक बुनाई का सवाल है, अगर आप किसी काटेज इन्डस्ट्री को प्रोटेक्शन दे सकते हैं तो वह बुनाई इन्डस्ट्री है। जो आप की सारी की सारी बुनाई मिलें हैं उन को हिन्दुस्तान के जरूरत के कपड़े

के लिये बन्द करवाइये। बुनाई मिलों का सारा काम अगर काटेज इन्डस्ट्री को दे दिया जाता है तो यहां के लोगों को रोजी मिल जायेगी।

घंटी बज चुकी है अब जूँक मेरे पास ज्यादा वक्त नहीं है मैं तमाम बातों को नहीं ले सकता। लेकिन एक बात जनाब की खिदमत में जरूर अर्ज करूंगा। जितनी स्कीम की आउटलाइन (outline) है मैं उस को बहुत रिजलिस्टिक, प्रैक्टिकल पैट्रिआटिक एफर्ट (effort) समझता हूं। और इस वास्ते मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि इस ने गरीबी के इन्टेरेस्ट को बहुत आगे बढ़ाया है लेकिन एक शर्त है ठीक इम्प्लीमेंटेशन (implementation) की। और वह यह है कि जब तक आप गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया में कर्प्शन (Corruption) नहीं दूर करेंगे, जब तक आप के इन्डस्ट्रीज डिपार्टमेंट में यहां के सेक्रेट्रीज बँटे रहेंगे में अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता कि जब तक आप इस का इन्तजाम नहीं करेंगे तब तक कुछ नहीं हो सकेगा। आप कुछ ही कर दीजिये, जब तक इस का कोई इन्तजाम नहीं होगा, सारी की सारी जनता में समझता हूं कि वह पसन्द नहीं होगा। श्री गुल्जारी लाल नन्दा और हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब हमारे ऊपर जोर डाल सकते हैं पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर भी उन की प्रेरणा से मुतासिर हो सकते हैं लेकिन जब तक आप तमाम देश में ठीक माहोल नहीं पैदा करेंगे तब तक यहां की जनता में आप का असर नहीं जायेगा, उस वक्त तक यह मामला तय नहीं होगा। आखिर कौन इम्प्लीमेंट करेगा, किस की जिम्मेवारी है ? आप यहां स्कीम बनाते हैं, उस की जिम्मेवारी आप खुद तो महसूस

करते हैं, लेकिन प्राविन्सेज के अन्दर कोई अपनी जिम्मेवारी महसूस नहीं करता। आप की फूड प्राब्लेम कभी नहीं तय हो सकती, जब तक प्राविन्सेज के ऐग्रीकल्चर मिनिस्टर और फूड मिनिस्टर इस की जिम्मेवारी नहीं लेते।

एक बात और मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ। जितने आप के करप्ट आफिशल्स हैं, ब्लैक मार्केटर्स हैं, या जो देश के वास्ते बुरी मिसाल पेश करते हैं, देश को नुकसान पहुंचाते हैं, उन के लिये व्हिपिंग (Whipping) की सजा जरूरी और दुरुस्त है पहले भी तजवीज पेश की थी लेकिन मेरी बात नहीं मानी गई। हैंगिंग (Hanging) गैर जरूरी है, लेकिन करप्ट पब्लिक सर्वेन्ट्स और ब्लैक मार्केटर्स के वास्ते जब तक आप व्हिपिंग नहीं करार देंगे, यह बन्द नहीं होगा। व्हिपिंग का कानून हमारे देश में आज भी मौजूद है, सन् १९०४ का कानून मौजूद है, उस का आप को पता है कि क्या मतलब है। जब तक आप इस को नहीं रायज करेंगे तब तक आप ऐसे लोगों के दिलों में डर नहीं पैदा कर सकेंगे, और उस के बिना यानी डर के बिना प्रीति नहीं होती। अगर हम इस काम को ठीक तरह पर चलाने के लिये एक माहोल नहीं पैदा करेंगे, और जब तक सब लोगों में उत्साह नहीं पैदा होगा तब तक आप को पब्लिक का पूरा कोआपरेशन इस प्लान के लिये नहीं हासिल हो सकता। अगर आप इस प्लान से फायदा उठाना चाहते हैं तो उस की यही एक तरीका है।

(English translation of the above speech)

**Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava** (Punjab): At the outset I wish to congratulate the framers of the first Five Year Plan. Anybody going through the entire Plan as given in this book without any prejudice or pre-conceived opinion cannot help feeling that the Planning Commission have really made a sincere

attempt and that they have adopted quite a realistic attitude in its framing. The hon. friend sitting at my back has posed a query whether the plan can be considered as adequate. Opinions differ on this issue and on hearing me further he will find that I too differ from the Report of the Planning Commission on a number of points. But I have no doubt that the labours of Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda to bring prosperity to this poor land of ours are certainly quite commendable. I also maintain that in the absence of a proper assessment of the actual difficulties facing this country at present, any one is likely to fail in having a true appreciation of the attempt made in this Report to overcome those difficulties or its other good features. It is true that all these difficulties can hardly be overcome; nevertheless, a realistic attempt in that direction is certainly there. Our leader stated yesterday that the presence of realism in the report is a patent fact and that there is nothing imaginary about it which may be incapable of implementation. Personally speaking, I feel that probably it was difficult to have a better plan under the existing circumstances. In this connection, it has also been suggested that some obstacles have also come in the way as a result of the Constitution that we have adopted, and these difficulties could not be surmounted. I feel that the constitutional hitches referred to are not of a nature which cannot be removed. A reference has been made to Article 31. We know that it is not such a formidable Article. There are no justiceable rights in that Article which cannot be waived. This opinion has not been expressed once only. The Constitution makers themselves had been unanimous in the expression of a similar view while commenting on this Article that there is no such difficulty in it which cannot be overcome. Apart from that, I am conscious of some difficulties of a different type altogether. I also feel that the Commission has devoted much time to the major things which require considerable time and funds and eventually submitted this Plan. That Plan is predominantly agricultural and concerns our food. I have to express here my feelings of pain and surprise which I had on coming across the chapters on controls in this Report. It was only a few days before that our Prime Minister— not with any propaganda motives but to enunciate the firm policy of his Government, declared that this country will attain self-sufficiency in respect of food by March, 1952. Similarly our President, while inaugurating the Session of Parliament had observed that we should be able to attain self-suffi-

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ciency very soon. Our Minister of Food has been equally emphatic to declare every now and then that we shall become self-sufficient in food by March, 1952 and that we shall not have the need to import foodgrains from other countries any longer. All these declarations were so emphatic that not an iota of doubt was left about the non-practicability of attaining self-sufficiency by 1952. The figures now supplied by the Planning Commission and other calculations made have never been acceptable to the Ministry of Agriculture. They maintain that 86 per cent. of India's population consists of adults. It is a point which has given rise to a controversial discussion even in this House a number of times and, personally speaking, I do not agree that India is so much short of foodgrains as to render imports absolutely necessary. The Ministry of Agriculture have never had estimates regarding the land where foodgrains other than the eight main type of cereals are produced. Cereals other than these eight types are never taken into account. In one crore acres of land those types of cereals are produced which are not taken into account for rationing purposes. Never before have those figures been considered to ascertain the extent to which they contribute towards our requirements of food. Similarly, speaking about the 86 per cent. of adult population, the method followed in arriving at that figure is different from the one that is followed all the world over. Throughout the world this figure is fixed at 80 per cent. and we too have been doing that in the past. The hon. Shri Munshi is not prepared to allow more than 15 per cent. difference in the production of foodgrains. On that basis it is not correct to say that we have to import two to three million tons of foodgrains. My respectful submission is that the Government's conclusions regarding shortage of foodgrains are not based on accurate statistics. It is not correct to assume that. In fact we have no proper arrangements. The controls are a bad thing to have. It is because of these that the States press for imports, as they cannot think of any other remedy. But for the controls, proper arrangements cannot be made and the Government become compelled to import from abroad—and further because of this compulsion they reach the inevitable conclusion that there is a shortage of foodgrains in the country. In the absence of accurate figures and statistics, the Government have no right to assert that because of a defective control system there is a shortage of foodgrains in the country. The main argument advanced by the Commission

in support of this shortage is that foodgrains available in the country are not in such a sufficient quantity within which a shortage in this respect can be ruled out. I maintain that the conclusion which the Commission has reached is different from the one which the figures of the Ministry of Agriculture make us believe and because of which our hon. Prime Minister, the President and other foremost leaders feel unable to mention the actual shortage categorically. I hold a different view in this respect and I, therefore, do not support the control system from which the whole thing proceeds.

Another issue which I want to refer to is the Chapter in this Report on animal husbandry. It is really an astonishing chapter. On reading through it, I apprehend that inadequate attention has been given to this issue. I will read it out to you. The subject of animal husbandry begins at page No. 109 and the first sentence is, "India has to support today about 177.4 million heads of cattle". Three pages in all have been devoted to the cattle wealth of the country in this Report. I feel that the fact does not seem to have been fully realized that the entire agriculture of this country depends on the cattle and that an annual income of 1,000 crores of rupees is due to this source. In the agricultural set up of this country cattle ought to have been paid attention more than any other thing. This is a patent fact that agriculture cannot prosper without the cattle. I want to point out two or three observations made in the Report are out-moded and harkened in type and indicate that the issue has not been examined in a right perspective. We are aware that the Government of India are spending at present only half an anna per cattle head on the animal husbandry whereas in other countries this expenditure is one rupee per head. We know again that because of non-availability of good bulls, we are unable to increase our overall agricultural production. The fact is, in the year 1885, 20 bullocks were available for cultivating 100 acres of land in the Punjab whereas in 1940, only 14 could be had. At present a lower acreage under cultivation in that State is partially due to the inadequate number of bullocks available there. In my opinion, many crores of bullocks are required for cultivating all the fallow or cultivable land lying waste in India. The Agricultural Commission had also told us likewise. In their Report, the following sentence occurred:

"Ten pairs of cattle are required for 100 acres."

From that viewpoint, this Report is absolutely silent on the issue of fodder or any other such thing. Nevertheless the Report refers to one thing which is as follows:

*“Removal of useless cattle.—It is estimated that at least ten per cent. of the total population consists of unserviceable and unproductive cattle.”*

This has as its basis a report which contain no facts and figures. The un-serviceable cattle do not form more than three to four per cent. of the total population, but without resorting to any reasoning or calculations or census, this statement has been taken for granted. In every matter, this Report has come to be quoted. I know that the framers of this Plan have themselves described it as a mere conjecture. Proceeding one comes across the following:

*“It is somewhat difficult to gauge the effect of Article 48 in Part IV of the Constitution on this problem. In so far as it is interpreted as preventing slaughter of decrepit and useless cows it may be said to have aggravated it.”*

I am extremely sorry that such words should have appeared here. Is it a national report? Then they go further and say words which would certainly wound every person's heart:

*“Another result of such a provision is the adverse effect it might have on the manufacture of glandular products like insulin, adrenalin and liver extract”.*

Are the cows and bulls bred in this country with the purpose of obtaining glandular extracts?

**Shri D. D. Pant (Uttar Pradesh):** You worship the cow and the bull.

**Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava:** You may not worship them, but there is a large number of people in India who do so. Proceeding the Report says:

*“On the other hand, by preventing the slaughter of calves and milch and draught cattle which formed a considerable portion of the animals slaughtered for beef and particular varieties of hides, the Constitution has taken a positive step in furthering the development of cattle in India.”*

May I point out that in this connection that Pakistan also has stolen a march over us. Even in Pakistan, the slaughter of useful cattle has been stopped. But in spite of every effort the Government of India have not agreed to stop by law the slaughter

of useful cattle in this country. They have even ignored the recommendations of the Cattle Preservation Committee set up by them. None has still brought forward a legislation banning cattle slaughter—not even of useful cattle. Has this Government ever since it came into power shown a sense of urgency in deciding this issue? It appears as if the mere mention of cow puts the secular character of our government is some danger. To many a person the mere mention of cow is a sort of anathema. Sir, this is essentially an economic issue. From that very viewpoint a Bill was introduced in this House and it is again with that intent that a discussion takes place here day in and day out. I want to tell the House that the cows are in a very bad way in Hissar and Rohtak districts in these days. The Government that was in power there in 1938-39 had spent three crores of rupees to cope with the famine and save the human beings and the cows in those districts. The cows in Hissar which could be purchased for eight hundreds of rupees previously can now be had for Rs. 100 or Rs. 75 only. A buffalo fetching Rs. 1,200 previously, is disposed of now for Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 only. Yet nobody seems to be worried the least. Sir, I should have nothing to complain on this score about the Punjab. Even today it has been given out in the papers that the consumption *per capita* of milk products there is 16.89 lbs. or in other words, is eight seers daily. What are, however, the conditions in the rest of India? It comes to only five ounces per head whereas in Pakistan it is seven ounces. I have submitted these two facts because I attach much importance to them.

So far as the industries of this country are concerned, I want to say a few words regarding the rural industries. Let the mills be entrusted with the spinning, but so far as the weaving of cloth required by the inhabitants of this country is concerned, it should all be undertaken by the cottage industries. Let the mills be used for the production of all such cloth as is meant for export purposes. But so far as weaving is concerned, it is the only industry which is in dire need of protection by the Government. All weaving mills preparing cloth for our own requirements should be closed down. If the total weaving work being handled by the mills at present is transferred to the cottage industries, it shall go a long way to provide a livelihood to our people.

The bell has gone. Because of the very limited time at my disposal I cannot take up all the issues. But I must

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submit one thing. It is that I regard the outlines of the Plan as embodied in this book, to be very realistic, practical, and a great patriotic effort. For that reason I am of the view that it has very much advanced the cause of the poor. But my submission is subject to one condition *viz.*, the implementation of the Plan in right earnest. That is not possible so long you do not adopt effective measures to eliminate all corruption from the Government of India\* and so long the present Secretaries continue to be on their posts in the Ministry of Industry. Nothing will possibly be accomplished till some effective steps are taken in that respect and I think nothing can arouse the enthusiasm of the public of this country. Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda and our Prime Minister may bring pressure on us and the Members of this Parliament may yield to it in deference to their wishes, yet until a right type of atmosphere is created in the country, you will fail to move the masses and the whole thing will remain unsettled. After all, who is ultimately responsible for the implementation of this Plan? You prepare a plan and genuinely feel your responsibility in the matter. But this is not the case with the States. None of them seems to feel responsibilities. Your food problem will remain ever as serious so long as the Agriculture and Food Ministers of the States continue to show their apathy towards it.

One more thing and I would have done. I regard the punishment of whipping as quite necessary and right for all corrupt officials, blackmarketers or all other persons who set bad examples in social dealings or in other ways harm the interests of the country. I had made this suggestion on an earlier occasion also, but it was not accepted. Hanging is unnecessary, but until whipping is laid down as the punishment for corrupt public servants and the blackmarketers, these evils will not be stopped. The law regarding whipping continues to be on the Statute Book even now. There is the 1904 legislation. You are aware of the objects of that law. Unless you agree to apply it effectively, you will not be able to create the necessary respect and awe for the law in the people's mind without which they cannot be made to desist from these malpractices. So long the required enthusiasm is lacking, you will fail in the attempt of obtaining full co-operation of the public in the implementation of this Plan. If the desire is to benefit from this Plan, then the way suggested by me is the only one in that respect.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** If hon. Members will confine themselves to ten minutes each, I can call some more Members.

**Hon. Members:** Yes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I am sorry hon. Members were not in their seats. They expect to be called—they choose their own time.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhuri:** There is a saying that you can take a horse to the fountain but you cannot make it drink. You can present a thousand and one combs either to myself or to my friend here, Mr. Shibban Lal Saksena, but you cannot make us comb our hair. For that, as in the Planning Commission report, you require manpower. You can have a thousand and one plans, but unless you have manpower you cannot work them successfully. That was what was stressed on so much by our leader, the Prime Minister yesterday. What is needed is co-operation from the public, co-operation of all classes of people with the Government, and it is only through co-operation that we can expect to attain success. Take the population policy set out in this Plan. The Commission has assumed that the birth rate must be reduced in order to remove the pressure on population. I submit—this is a moot question—whether it is necessary to have less population or whether it is in the interests of our country to have more population for the sake of our economy. I have often said here that if India had not been populated to the extent that it was, it might have had vacant space and would have been subjected to colonisation by non-Indians. If India had been separately populated like Australia or some parts of Africa, there would have been colonisation by the Portuguese, by the French and even by the English in the earlier days. So, we must not beg the question. We must settle once and for all whether the pressure of the population should be removed and whether we should resort to scientific methods of controlling the birth rate, or we should do nothing of the kind. According to the Planning Commission, the death rate has gone down but the birth rate has not and so they recommend that the birth rate should be reduced. Now, what are the practical steps that you can take to reduce the birth rate? So far as educated people, literate people, the youth are concerned, you need not give them any lessons in birth control. They are themselves taking steps to reduce the birth rate, but what about the masses? How are you going to deal with them? You are now going to approach the



masses for the elections. When you go round, are you prepared to tell the masses that they should adopt sterility and other methods that have been recommended in this Plan? Are you prepared to advise them to go to clinics and get their womenfolk sterilised? Has any one got the fortitude to tell the villagers that they should reduce the number of their children? You know that for the villagers their able-bodied sons are their asset. They are their capital. They are utilised for more production and better agriculture. Have you got the hardihood to tell those people that they should resort to artificial methods of birth control?

**Shri J. R. Kapoor:** The sons may be their capital, but there should be no inflation of capital.

**Shri Munavalli (Bombay):** Do not pass the Hindu Code Bill.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhuri:** Left to myself, I would not have liked to deal with this question at all. In our times, we used to pride in having children, and whenever we did not have children, we used to resort to incantations, but now the time has changed. The educated people seem to have a different idea about this. I would warn the Government of this: before you go and preach about sterility and other things in the villages; before you set up expensive clinics etc., you ought to come to a definite conclusion as to whether it is really in the interests of India to have resort to artificial methods of reducing the birth rate. I say with all seriousness at my command that this is a question in which religious sentiments also come in.

The other point is about land settlement and land reform. I pay my tribute to the Planning Commission for the land policy they have enunciated. This is really the crux of the whole situation. I would just like to read a sentence or two from the Plan. The Commission says:

"In the last analysis, it is the peasant, the man behind the plough, on whom hopes of increasing production have to be based. The changes in organisation which have been proposed by us are designed to assist and strengthen, not to supplant, him."

I very much appreciate these remarks. All this talk of collective farming and our having scientific appliances and things of that kind—all this is rot. You have to improve, you have to make the peasant work more

and get more results. What is the position of the peasant today? He cannot work all the year round. He is suffering from illness, from Malaria, and it is precisely at the time when he ought to be busy in the fields, he falls sick. Let aside other health measures. We do not have enough quinine even, to distribute among the peasants. What I want in my Province at least is that if you are for more intensive cultivation, if you want to have more food, then you should make available a larger supply of plough bullocks. During the floods, a large number of plough bullocks were washed away. During the war, a large number were slaughtered. We are therefore in dire need of plough bullocks. The Assam Government spends money and tells the people to get bulls from elsewhere, but we do not get them. We do not want tractors or anything of the kind. We want only plough bullocks and proper seeds. We want the peasants to be kept in good health. You have been talking loudly about collective farming. I am sure it will never find favour with the peasants. Instead of that, the Planning Commission should have recommended the revival of the joint family system. The joint family system has been broken up by the educated women of this country. It is the educated women, it is the luxury loving women, of this country that wanted to separate brother from brother. (*Interruption*). That is how the joint family system in India that existed during British rule was broken up. It is on account of the wife of an I.C.S. officer; it is on account of the wife of an officer placed in a high position that there was quarrel between brother and brother and the whole joint family system came into disfavour with the educated people. There is no use frowning at me. But is it not a fact? I am not in a laughing mood. I submit with all the emphasis at my command...

**Shrimati Durgabai:** We neither object to nor frown at this hon. Member, because in whatever he says, in time and out of time he attacks women. Therefore, we treat him with indifference.

**An Hon. Member:** Not contempt?

**Shri R. K. Chaudhuri:** Contempt? And yet Mr. Chaudhuri gets presents from people—perhaps with contempt!

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member will refer to planning.

**Shrimati Renuka Ray (West Bengal):** How is this reference relevant to the subject?

**Shri R. K. Chaudhuri:** Sir, my point is that the joint family system should be restored and collective farming should not be considered seriously. The joint Hindu family system is the biggest insurance against risk. If you insure your life, say for Rs. 5,000 how far can that money go for the education of the children or the expenses of your family. But the joint Hindu family system, takes care of the members of the family in times of adversity. The best way to improve our economic condition is by the revival of this system.

**Shri Himatsingka:** I welcome the Five Year Plan that has been put before the country. There is sufficient material in it, which if properly worked, will change the face of this country. What is more needed is the creation of necessary enthusiasm for the implementation of the schemes. At the present moment the enthusiasm needed is not there. This is an important aspect to which we should pay immediate attention. The leaders should create the atmosphere for the active co-operation of private initiative, so that the schemes put forward in the Plan may be speedily implemented.

The Five Year Plan incorporated in this volume, is more or less a collection of the large number of schemes that have been taken up by the different States for development purposes. If they are carried out economically and quickly they should go a long way in removing a large number of our difficulties. They will go a long way in removing our food deficit. At the present moment the one thing that is eating up all the resources of the country is the import of foodgrains and unless the Government can take steps to increase the production of food I am afraid all the resources that the country had built up during the past many years will be frittered away. Therefore the greatest attention should be given to schemes which will increase production of food quickly.

There is one thing on which the Prime Minister laid great stress. He referred to the anti-social activities of a number of persons who are engaged in black-marketing. Controls, as you know, Sir, are effective instruments in creating black-markets and if they are not properly administered they create conditions in which these elements thrive. Therefore, if you are going to have controls you must be in daily touch with the situation in the market and must be prepared to regulate your controls in a manner that there will be the least opportunity for anti-social elements to take advantage of. But I

am sorry to say that that is wanting. You will find that on many occasions prices are fixed at a level much below the prices to be paid to the primary producer. My friends from Assam will be able to say that the price of paddy there is fixed at Rs. 7/8 a maund. No producer is willing to sell at that price. Persons who have to convert it into rice have to pay a higher price. They pay it privately and sell the rice at a higher price. We should, therefore, take note of the actualities of the situation and act up to the requirements of the situation. It is no use calling something black when you create a situation whereby the whole country is forced to take to those methods. Unless we are actively alive to the difficulties we will always have this kind of anti-social things. Government should be more active in following up the situations that are created from time to time and meet the situation by changing their policy as and when needed. The remedy that should be adopted is what may be called progressive decontrol. As the House knows, the policy that was followed by Government in the case of sugar has resulted in increasing the production. This year, I am told, the production will be much more. If the same policy is followed in other cases as well, that will stop the black-markets and anyone who wants to have any supplies beyond what is given as ration can go and buy it in the open market. I am told this is the system followed even in Russia. Certain commodities are on ration and if anyone wants beyond the fixed quantity he can buy it from the same shop at a higher price which goes to augment the revenues of the State. Here also if the extra quantity required is sold at higher prices at least the Government will get its share of the taxes which are at present being avoided by selling at black market prices. The prices at present shown on paper is one, while the prices actually charged are different. On account of controls people have to resort to these subterfuges.

There is another element which is the blackmarket money. Apart from the black market there is a certain amount of money which is not in the books and which is being utilised for purchase and sale of commodities. That money is now being utilised in trade and commerce rather than in industry. Of course a lot of money—I think about Rs. 400 to 500 crores—has been invested in industry during the last five years as fate of the so-called shyness of capital. But there is a certain amount of floating money which is creating certain situations. If Government can find out some method whereby that money can be mopped up,

that will relieve the country of a lot of difficulties. My friend Dr. Deshmukh suggested the issue of debentures—he mentioned at a discount. I think he meant premium. This has been suggested many times and even the Prime Minister, as you know, before he left for America had announced that Government will try to announce a policy but somehow or other that policy has not come in. Therefore Government should consider that and introduce something by which it could be done.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya (Mysore):** I wish to say a few words on agricultural prices. The Planning Commission has dealt with what is called the price policy in agriculture. I may state that their observation is good. My point of view is it can be bettered. There are several defects in the present agricultural price policy. The first is we are paying to the indigenous grain less than what we pay for the imported grain. This is wrong. This affects, according to the Commission's report, the production of foodgrains in India. After all, whatever the field of production, price is the best incentive. It is here we have to see what can be done. The price we are fixing for agricultural produce is neither sufficient nor rational. To begin with it must be rationalised. There is a proverb in Hindi whose translation is: a kingdom where horse gram is sold dearer than wheat must be a kingdom that is being ruled by a mad man. That is exactly what is happening today. In my part of the country horse gram is selling dearer than rice or *ragi*. I do not know the position in North India, whether it is sold dearer or not. This is what is happening every day and yet this Government has not paid attention to this aspect of the matter. That is why I used the word rationalisation of prices. If a *ryot* can grow a particular kind of grain, whether it is horse gram or oilseed or groundnut and he could get better prices thereby he will certainly not grow the required foodstuff, be it wheat, rice or *ragi*. Knowing this state of affairs it is rather sad that the Government should go on with this anomalous position. I have been urging in this House for the last two or three years that the fixation of price for agriculture produce must be based on some scientific, economic data. Just as in regard to every other production in the industrial field the price is fixed on the cost of production, so also in the agricultural field the price must be based on the cost of production. The price is now fixed without regard or without taking into consideration the cost of production. The price is fixed now more or less in this manner: before the war the price was so much, now

we give a little increase and we fix the price with a sort of guess. That should not be there. It is true that agricultural prices have gone up. It is true that prices of foodstuffs have been fixed by Government. But this fixation ought to be done on facts. They must be ascertained. Just as the Government of India enquires into what is called the living cost and bases its index figures on the data obtained and made available, or fixes minimum wages by making a series of enquiries, they must also make sample surveys of various crops in various parts of the country and fix agricultural prices on the basis of the data available on date. That is the basis on which the whole price structure ought to be constructed. If the *ryot* gets much more for the commercial crop than for the food crop he will certainly not grow food crops to the extent or of the quantity required. Therefore we must see that the price got for foodgrains is more or less the same that the *ryot* gets for the commercial crop.

It may be done in one of two ways. Either we may fix the price of foodgrains higher or we may fix the price of commercial crops lower. That is one way. The other way is by the imposition of a sort of tax on commercial crops, so that the incentive to the *ryot* may be more or less the same to grow foodgrains or to grow commercial crops. Therefore I emphasize these two points in regard to our price policy so far as agricultural production is concerned. The first is that the price must be fixed on the basis of the cost of production plus a certain margin of profit. Secondly, the price structure must be rationalised.

The third suggestion I would like to make is this. A few years ago the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress appointed a Committee to enquire into agricultural economy and that Committee made a recommendation that you must guarantee a minimum profitable agricultural price to the agriculturist. That is what is being done in other countries, whether it is U.S.A. or Great Britain. That policy must be implemented here also. We must guarantee to the agriculturists minimum profitable agricultural prices. When we have a Congress Government and the Congress organisation has laid down that policy I do not know what the difficulty is in implementing that suggestion.

I am very glad to see in the report that about Rs. 137 crores have been earmarked for agricultural production. My suggestion is instead of spending this money in a diffused manner all over India and getting no result this

[Shri Hanumanthaiya]

money may be spent in a concentrated manner in an area where we can get good foodgrains production. And that area is the western coast. From Cape Comorin to Bombay there are the Western Ghats where there is plenty of rain every year. In fact the water goes to waste and to the sea in many places. There are places where these natural water resources can be bounded up and tractors and bull-dozers can be used in order to get field for cultivation in many areas. This space is about a thousand miles long and about fifty to hundred miles wide. This area is called malanad and a Committee had been appointed by the Government of India to look into its development. I do not know what happened to that Committee's report. If this area is developed with concentrated effort and by spending the major portion or even the whole sum of Rs. 137 crores on this area I for one feel we can solve our food problem to the satisfaction of all.

**Shri Mirza (Hyderabad):** As very few points are made against the Plgn I think the Minister can give a few minutes of his time to the other Members.

**Shri Sonavane (Bombay):** I rise to support, generally, the report of the Planning Commission and appreciate the efforts of the Commission. While doing so I would be failing in my duty if I do not draw attention to certain things in which I am deeply interested:

5 P.M.

I would invite the attention of the Planning Minister to page 231 of the report to the matter dealt with under heading 'Backward Classes', wherein the backward classes, combining the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes form nearly, according to the report, 40-17 per cent. of the population of this vast continent, and only 45 and a quarter lines have been devoted in this Planning report. Not only that but the question has been lightly treated setting out the principles of their improvement, giving out pious wishes and principles, but no concrete scheme has been envisaged in the report. The Planning Commission in the first part of the Five Year Plan says that Rs. 18 crores have been provided for the amelioration of the Backward Classes. I would like to know whether this amount is really sufficient for the amelioration of 40-17 per cent. within the course of five years, of a section of people who are weaker and downtrodden for centuries to come. Has the Commission given much thought to this problem? Taking out a percentage, I would say that for every

four persons one rupee has been set out per annum for the ameliorating programmes. The report says:

"The advancement of the backward classes is a task which stands in a category of its own because of the special disabilities from which they suffer..."

and further on they themselves admit that this weaker section needs all the support. They say:

"The difficulties of the backward classes are in part an incidence of the low development of the country in which the greater portion of the limited opportunities available have gone to sections of the population which enjoyed certain advantages."

Admitting all these things, what have they done? They have set apart only Re. 1 for 4 persons. Is this, I say, adequate or at least reasonable to the sections of persons whom you say are a privileged class? Let the Planning Minister put his hand on his heart and say that he has acted in a fair manner to the Backward Classes. All the time for ages, we have been kept by the Government in power with promises and we have been fed on promises and promises. The report says:

"Plans for the economic development of the country hold promise for the backward classes in as much as in all directions. State policy is designed to redress the balance in favour of the weaker groups and the under-privileged sections of the community".

These are all promises, that development will take place in future, that all the river projects will fructify and then we will get all the benefits and our level would be raised. I say, we have been kept on promises and promises. What I wanted to say is this: that a scheme for housing, a scheme for education, for technical and vocational education should have been set out and the State Governments should have been directed to implement these schemes forthwith because we have waited for long. This disparity and this inequality between sections of the population, do not permit to be kept for long.

With these words, I hope the Government and the hon. Minister, who has got great sympathies for the weaker sections, will take special care to see that housing schemes in all the States, in all the villages are started. These poor *Harijans* and Scheduled Castes should be provided with good houses.

Such schemes should be started and more funds should be allotted to them. Therefore, I would request that every effort should be made and the State Governments should be approached to do the needful in this matter.

**Dr. M. M. Das (West Bengal):**—The recommendations of the Planning Commission regarding family planning has given rise to a controversy in the country. Although the overwhelming majority of the people, almost the educated people of this country are in favour of family planning, there are a small minority who are opposed to the practice of birth control.

Sir, at the very outset, I would like to tell the House that I am an ardent admirer and supporter of family planning. I believe that under modern conditions, we adopt a gradually higher standard of living, not only to have a balanced budget of our country as a whole, but to balance our own family budget. There is no other alternative but to resort to family planning. I do not understand what family planning or contraception has got to do with religion. Pregnancy is a physiological process like so many others in the different fields of medical science. Pregnancy also can be and should be controlled and regulated.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhuri:** You are an expert in that.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** But not so expert as you are. You surpass everybody. I do not see any harm in that, if it is practised properly. There are cases where it is criminal not to practise birth control which is advised by the medical men. The scope of a medical practitioner has revealed to me hundreds of heart-rending cases and sights which could be easily averted by timely knowledge and practice of contraception. I have seen famished and under-nourished and blood-less mothers giving birth to still born babes one after another every year and ultimately dying of consumption in the lower middle-class families. I have seen children of perpetually ailing mothers die by sheer neglect and want of good food in the poor families. I have seen the caesarean section, a kind of operation, being performed upon the same woman for the fourth time. Let me explain what the caesarean section is. I mean...

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The Doctor need not explain all these processes.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** It is important.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** It is not necessary.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** During the last operation in which the caesarean section was performed, the surgeon in sheer disgust put a ligature, that is, tied down the fallopian tubes and made her sterile for the rest of her life. There is nothing anti-moral or anti-religious in it. On the contrary, birth control under modern conditions is an unavoidable measure necessary on principles of health, and happiness not only of the middle class parents, but also for their children. In a poor family, the less the number of children the better are the conditions of their living. What makes me sad is...

**An Hon. Member:** The State will support them; why do you worry?

**Dr. M. M. Das:** ..... to see that the practice of birth control is being adopted very quickly only by the middle class intelligentsia alone, the poor and illiterate classes remaining as productive as ever. The middle class section of our population is certainly the backbone of our country and they are the brains-trust of the nation. As a result of the practice of birth control, the birth rate in this most useful section of our society will be controlled and regulated whereas the floodgates of production will remain open for the poor and unintelligent. I am afraid that this will act as a double-edged sword diminishing the birth rate among the intelligentsia on the one hand and increasing the birth rate among the poor and illiterate. They may be a fallacy in my argument and I shall be very glad if it is pointed out. The only solution in my option lies in propagating this family planning among all classes of the Indian people.

May I continue, Sir?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I think the time is over. However, the hon. Member may go on for a minute or two.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** So far as the industrial field is concerned, the most striking feature of this First Five Year plan is the conception of mixed economy. The hon. Minister for Planning has, on more than one occasion, explained this doctrine of mixed economy. In the debate on the Industries (Development and Control) Bill, he has said that mixed economy is not a half-way house between the capitalist and communist economies, that it is not a mechanical mixture of the State and private enterprises, but that it is a harmonious and intimate blending of the State enterprise and private enterprise. Under this mixed economy, it will be quite possible for the private enterprise to retain the private character so far as proprietorship is concerned. At the same time, it will

[Dr. M. M. Das]

be national and public in spirit and outlook and in activities. The attitude of our Government and our Planning Commission towards the industries of our country is crystal clear. The Commission wants the development of industries because they believe that without this development it is not possible to raise the standard of living and the general condition of the public. Uptill now, Government has rendered great help to the industries only at the cost of the community by giving them protection against foreign competition. It is only now that emphasis has been transferred from the negative idea of safeguard against foreign competition to the positive conception of the fullest utilisation of all the available resources in the country of men, material and machines. We see that within the framework of the constitution, a mixed kind of nationalisation is sought to be achieved by this plan.

**Shrimati Renuka Ray:** I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak. But in the short time at my disposal, I will not be able to go into any detailed suggestions regarding the Planning Commission's Report. I wish to place a few points before the hon. Minister for Planning.

Before doing so, I want to say that this report of the Planning Commission has come very late. But, still I am glad it has come because it is better late than never. It was, I think, in 1948, when the Industrial Policy resolution was passed, that we were promised that a Planning Commission would be appointed. Perhaps much of the wastage that has taken place in many of the long term projects might have been avoided had this Commission come earlier and prescribed a system of priorities.

Many people have said that there is nothing very much in this report. It is indeed a modest conception. It is not an enumeration of the objectives and dreams that we have; but it is related to the realities of the situation as we face them today. We have to take things as they are. Although, as the Planning Commission's report has pointed out, emphasis has to be laid on the Directive Principles of State Policy and we must go further towards that end, we must, at the same time realize the limitations of the moment. But, in saying this, I should like to make certain suggestions to the Planning Commission and the Minister for Planning. I am glad that they have pointed out that if rural development is to take place, we must not only lay stress on

the abolition of *Zamindari* and the intermediaries but change must be brought about in the actual land system so that fragmentation of holdings and uneconomic holdings may be ended. They have pointed out in their report that the ultimate objective is to have co-operative village management. There is a great deal of hesitation here. It is one thing to say that we should have co-operative village management. To bring that about requires greater effort than merely saying that we want the villages to be managed in this way, or that co-operative effort should be encouraged. We know from our experience in the past on many occasions that while there is lip sympathy in the administration even today to co-operatives, in actual practice, how very difficult it is to help any co-operative endeavour. I would suggest to the Planning Commission that they should tell Government that all governmental help in regard to agriculture and cottage and small industries should be to co-operatives. In this country, most of the people are uneducated as yet. When we try to lay down a new policy, there must be some inducement. We cannot bring this about in an authoritative manner for we believe in democracy. Therefore, we cannot lay down any hard and fast rule that every one must go in for co-operatives. But, surely, it is up to the State, if it believes in this new pattern of economic society to say that State aid will only go to co-operatives. That is one point that I wish to place before the hon. Minister for Planning.

The next point is with regard to social services. It is quite right that agriculture has been given the first priority in this Plan. But it is very unfortunate and most regrettable that social services which ought to have come next, have not been given that place. If we want more production so that we may have better distribution, how can we achieve that unless the men and women, who are the builders of society are first trained and equipped to do so? I am not speaking in the air. I realise the difficulty that is confronting us. I realise the fact that we have not even got a sufficient number of trainers to train teachers, nurses, doctors and all others who are to expand the social services. But, the question is, are we using that unused capacity and skill in the community as we should? The Planning Commission's report has pointed out that it is not being fully utilised. But, what is the solution? We cannot expect the thing to be done to a full extent and by voluntary organisations alone. These organisations on a voluntary

basis cannot mobilise the fully unused skill and capacity that is there in the country and canalize them into useful activities. It is essential that the youth of this country should be mobilised by initiative taken by the State for this work. For a year or two at least, after taking their degrees, the educated youth must be drafted to various forms of social work so that these social services could be extended. Our greatest difficulty now is that we do not have adequate number of trainers in these services. These young people are also without work or employment after their degree examinations. They should, therefore be utilised for this work which is the greatest national need today. I would suggest to the Planning Commission to bear this in mind when drawing up their final report. This matter has been brought before this House time and again. We brought it up during the Budget discussions but I do not know for what reason it has not been possible for Government to start something even on a small scale in utilising the services of educated youngmen and women. In other countries, military service is compulsory. Surely in India when our most emergent need is the expansion of our social services, instead of leaving the thing to voluntary effort, the State should take the initiative and mobilise the entire youth for it.

The third point on which I would like to touch before closing my speech is this question of mixed economy. Even if for the time being we have agreed to mixed economy, the State has to come in gradually into the field of economic administration. It may not be possible to nationalise all at once. But it is indeed regrettable that we have not been able to improve our administrative machinery to that extent or to any extent during these four years. It is in that direction that we must concentrate now. The Gorwala Report is a great revelation and I do hope the Planning Commission will give due attention to the improvement of administrative machinery through which we can extend the public sector gradually. In the meantime, while a mixed economy remains, it is essential that there should be controls. I am very glad that the Planning Commission has pointed out that it is not merely a question of commodities in short supply for which we need controls, but that for better distribution these controls are equally necessary. I hope that a great deal of attention will be focussed to improve the administration of the controls. This counsel of despair that is preached nowadays that we should decontrol because we do not

have an adequate administrative machinery and would therefore retire from the field of economic administration is not fit to govern. Therefore, I am glad that the Commission have laid stress on this point and I do hope that they will go into much greater details on this, because, after all no Plan can succeed unless the administrative machinery through which you are going to carry out the Plan is effective and strong. Public co-operation is more if not equally important and this can only come if we can give life to the Plan and enthuse the country. If we can lay the foundation of our economic structure in the right direction, then ultimately it will be possible to achieve our objective of equality of social justice in the economic sphere.

**Shri Satyanarayana (Madras):** I am very grateful to you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to speak on the Planning Commission's report. I have not got much time before me to go into details, and so I will only touch upon one or two main points that I want to mention here. This is a national Plan prepared by the national Government. But on going through its pages I find that it is not a Plan, but the principles of planning are discussed here and it is really a programme. It should have been called a programme instead of a Plan. It would also fit in very well with our ideas for all these years for about 30 years, we have been referring to our work as constructive programmes or various other programmes. Probably as this particular programme is to be fitted into a particular mould which is western and not our own, and as we have also borrowed the words "Five Year Plan" from Russia, naturally our Government or the Planning Commission thought that "National Planning" would be a better term. We might call it a National Programme as this contains not only the programmes prepared by the Central Government but also those prepared by the various State Governments. They have incorporated them all and made a catalogue and given them in this Plan. It is really a catalogue of the various items of the programmes which the Central Government and the Provincial Governments have prepared.

In this programme they have to meet a great challenge. This challenge that faces the Central Government is the supply of food to the millions. I find they have tried their level best to meet this challenge and they have also suggested raising the ration to 14 and 16 oz. But one great fact has been completely forgotten and that is that we have got a great deficit in this country as far as food is concerned and that deficit is rice. I tried to find out from

[Shri Satyanarayana]

this report what is the target of production that is likely to be reached in these five years and whether that would be sufficient to meet our demand. But I was greatly surprised and disappointed to find that sufficient attention has not been paid to meet our rice deficit in this country. Take for instance the State of Madras. Every day we hear in this House and outside that Madras wants more and more of rice. Probably nowadays it has become the notion in the north that Madras is not taking wheat and if they want food, they must take wheat and rice cannot be produced there or supplied to it. But the fact is Madras has the capacity to produce rice because the Madras State has got big rivers like the Godavari and Krishna from which you can irrigate nearly one crore acres of land, if only you spend one-third of what is being spent on the river-valley projects of the north. I say this because almost all the river-valley projects that are now in execution are not supposed to produce rice, but they are meant to produce wheat. So even after five years Madras will be left in great deficit for rice. If one or two river-valley projects of the south had been included in this Plan the South would be able to produce more rice and I would have been immensely pleased. It has been generally said that there is not enough money. This point has been answered by many hon. Members. Money can come from the people. For instance a river valley scheme on a small scale may cost about Rs. 20 crores and the people who are living in that particular area of the country can give that money themselves in five years. Now the question is, how can we get the people to give that money? As it is, it seems that unless the Central Government can find the finance from its Budget the thing is not possible. It is not so. The money can be collected from the moneyed people in the area. There are several schemes that have been prepared and these have been brought to the notice of the Planning Commission. This is one of the most important things which the Planning Commission, I hope, when they finalise their Plan, will incorporate.

There are several other subjects which have already been dealt with but there are one or two which I would like to mention. This Plan would cost about Rs. 40 *per capita* ultimately, when it is executed, which means that each person will pay Rs. eight per year for the purpose of the execution of the Plan. But what will be the total wealth produced by this Rs. eight *per capita* which will be paid by the consumer in this country? That calcula-

tion I find has not been made. When actually I begin to calculate I find that it is not a very encouraging figure. It should also be taken into consideration that when we make a money Plan, it should satisfy the money conscience too. From that point of view I am very much disappointed. A real wealth production Plan must not be based on money economy alone but on the basis of what it is capable of in the way of enthusing the people, what it is capable of in the way of increasing the wealth of the people. Only then it would produce greater enthusiasm among the people and they will begin to work it. Has the whole of India been surveyed from the point of view of production of wealth, from the point of view of increasing the wealth through industries located in cottages, has the country been surveyed from the point of view of deficits? If all this had been organised on a decentralised basis and all the deficits had been made up by money as well as human labour, the results would have been better. It would have been very much better if the Commission had taken into account the various resources in the different regions collected by subsidiary Committees or State Planning Commissions and incorporated all those data in the report of the Commission, so that anybody who goes through it would understand the data on which the entire report of the Commission is based. Therefore I hope that when the report is finalised all these data, resources, deficits and various other facts and statistics will be incorporated so as to justify the report when it will be placed before us.

With these few words I welcome the report and I congratulate the Commission for having produced this report. Since it is not a final one but is going to undergo change, next time the House is given an opportunity I hope they will incorporate many more things which will enthuse this House and the people outside.

**चौधरी रनबीर सिंह :** माननीय उपाध्यक्ष

महोदय, मैं इस पांच साला योजना का स्वागत करते हुए यह कहे बगैर नहीं रह सकता कि यह स्कीम जिस वक्त पूरी हो जायेगी हिन्दुस्तान के देहात का नक्शा बदल देगी। यही नहीं, बल्कि यह कह दिया जाय कि राम राज्य की तरफ यह एक काफी आगे की ओर कदम होगा तो कोई ताज्जुब की बात नहीं है।



वैसे तो मेरी इच्छा थी कि मैं हाउस का कुछ वक्त लेता, और कुछ और बातें भी कहता लेकिन चूँकि समय बहुत थोड़ा दिया जा रहा है, इसलिये अब प्लानिंग कमीशन के मेम्बरान को मुबारकबाद देते हुए मैं जो मुझे मिला है उस की तरफ अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ। इस में बैटरमेंट फी (Betterment fees) का एक नया सिलसिला निकाला जा रहा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर यह बैटरमेंट फी खरीद के ऊपर होती, ज़मीन की खरीदारी या ज़मीन की फरोख्त पर होती तो उस के कुछ माने थे, क्योंकि उस से ज़मीन की कीमत बढ़ती थी और जो आदमी अनअर्ज्ड इनकम (unearned income) उस से कमाता उस में गवर्नमेंट को भी, देश को भी, हक था कि उस में कुछ हिस्सा ले। लेकिन एक तरफ तो आप का नहर के पानी का इस्तेमाल करने के लिये जो आँवधाना है, वह रहेगा और दूसरी तरफ यह बैटरमेंट फी भी होगी, यह कोई ठीक नहीं मालूम देता। इस के दो तीन कारण हैं। एक तो यह कि देश के अन्दर दो किस्म की जायदादें हैं। एक तो शहरों की जायदाद है और दूसरी जायदाद है एग्रीकल्चरल लैंड (agricultural land) की। यहाँ पर शहरों में जब सड़कें निकाली जाती हैं तो कोई बैटरमेंट फी वगैरह का टैक्स नहीं लिया जाता। लेकिन चूँकि देहात के अन्दर नहरें निकाली जा रही हैं तो बैटरमेंट फी ली जाय यह मुनासिब नहीं मालूम देता। और यह नहरें भी इसलिये नहीं निकाली जा रही हैं, जैसे कि बहुत से लोगों का खयाल था कि देहात के लोगों के स्तर को ऊँचा किया जाय, बल्कि जो मजबूरियाँ हैं, उन के कारण आप ऐसा कर रहे हैं, क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान की जो इकतसादी हालत है वह यह है कि

जब तक खेत की पैदावार देश में नहीं बढ़गी उस वक्त तक देश की आर्थिक अवस्था नहीं सुधर सकती। ऐसी हालत में लोगों को तो गिला यह है कि जो थह स्कीमें अब बन रही हैं और जो रुपया अब खर्च करने का सरकार का खयाल है वह इस से पहले ही होनी चाहियें थीं और इस से ज्यादा रुपया खर्च होना चाहिये था। अब से बहुत पहले ही काफ़ी से ज्यादा रुपया वह शहरों की तरक्की के लिये और शहर के रहने वाले आदमियों के आराम के लिये खर्च कर चुके हैं। तो जब तक देहात वालों का स्तर उतना ऊँचा नहीं कर दिया जाता जितना कि शहर वालों का है इस किस्म की बैटरमेंट फी लगाना कोई जायज़ नहीं है।

एक बात मुझे और अर्ज करनी है वह यह है कि जैसा कि वावू ठाकुर दास जी ने जिक्र किया था कि हिन्दुस्तान की हरियाना ब्रीड (breed) खतरे में है। हरियाना ब्रीड हिन्दुस्तान की बेहतरीन ब्रीडों में से है।

सरदार. मुचेत सिंह : आदमियों की है या जानवरों की।

चौधरी रनबीर सिंह : जानवरों की, हिन्दुस्तान की कैंटल ब्रीडों में बेहतरीन ब्रीड है। आदमियों की ब्रीड से तो बेहतर है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : वह तो आप नमूना है।

चौधरी रनबीर सिंह : हरियाना ब्रीड हिन्दुस्तान की बेहतरीन ब्रीडों में से है। मैं श्री नन्दा जी का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि वह बम्बई में भी वजीर रहे हैं और वह देखें कि कलकत्ते में क्या होता है। हमारे

[चौधरी रनबीर सिंह]

इलाके की बहुत अच्छी अच्छी भैंसों और गायों वहाँ जाती हैं और जिस वक्त उन का दूध सूख जाता है तो उन को मार दिया जाता है, जिबह कर दिया जाता है । तो आप को जो प्लानिंग करनी है तो कम से कम इस तरफ भी आप को ध्यान देना है कि जो कैटल की बढ़िया ब्रीड है उस को बचाने के लिये आप कोई कायदा और कानून बनायें ।

पंडित ठाकुर दास भागवत : २८ वर्ष से ध्यान दे रहे हैं, पर अब तक कुछ नहीं कर सके ।

चौधरी रनबीर सिंह : मैं तो नहीं मानता कि सरकार के अन्दर ऐसी शक्ति नहीं है या यह काम इतना मुश्किल है कि जिस पर काबू न पाया जा सके । बाबू जी भी ऐसा ही मानते हैं पर उन्हें नाराजगी है, और इस नाराजगी की वजह से वह अपना ऐसा खयाल जाहिर करते हैं, वरना इस में कोई मुश्किल बात नहीं है । उन इंगरों को अगर पंजाब में वापस भेज दिया जाय तो भी देश की काफी अच्छी ब्रीड की रक्षा हो सकती है ।

इन दो चीजों के अलावा मैं एक और चीज आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर टैग्जेशन (Taxation) का जो तरीका है वह यकसां होना चाहिये । आज खेती के अलावा जितनी भी आपदनी होती है उस पर आप इनकम टैक्स लगा कर टैक्स वसूल करते हैं । इस के अन्दर काफी हद तक, कई हजार तक की आमदनी को आप छूट देते हैं । तो जहाँ आप ने देश की बहुत सारी बातों के प्लान करने के लिये स्कीम

के अन्दर ध्यान दिया, वहाँ इस चीज के लिये कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया देश के अन्दर लैंड रेवेन्यू (Land revenue) का तरीका ऐसा होना चाहिये कि काश्तकार खून और पसीने की कामाई से जो अपनी रोटी कमाता है तो उस में कम से कम दो हजार या ढाई हजार, या तीन हजार की आमदनी पर कोई टैक्स नहीं होना चाहिये ।

श्री फिरोज गांधी : अगली दफा आना तबकराना, अब तो बहुत देर हो गई ।

चौधरी रनबीर सिंह : अब मैं ज्यादा समय नहीं लेना चाहता और आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जब आप यह स्कीम दोबारा डीटेल्ड स्कीम हाउस के सामने लावें तो उस में खास तौर पर इन दो तीन चीजों का ध्यान रखें, एक तो यह कि देश की जो अच्छी अच्छी कैटल ब्रीड है, खास तौर पर हरियाने की ब्रीड, इस को रक्षा हो । क्योंकि हम कलकत्ते को दूध देना चाहते हैं और बम्बई वालों को भी दूध पिलाना चाहते हैं, इसलिये वहाँ पर हमारी भैंसों को या गायों को मरवाना नहीं चाहिये । दूसरी बात यह है कि, जैसा मैं ने आप से अर्ज किया, टेग्जेशन का जो तरीका है वह यकसां किया जाना चाहिये ।

(English translation of the above speech)

Ch. Ranbir Singh (Punjab): Sir, while welcoming this Five Year Plan I cannot but say that this scheme when completed would usher in a new era in the Indian villages. It would not be wrong to suggest that it would be a step towards the establishment of Ram Rajya, so to say.

Although I should have liked to take a little more time of the House and make a few more observations, I would now, in view of the short space of time at my disposal, confine myself to congratulating the Members

of the Planning Commission and expressing my grievances in this regard. The Plan seeks to provide for realising what is said to be betterment fee. If this betterment fee was to be realised from the sale or purchase of land one could understand it, for, in that case, it could amount to an increase in land price and also Government could justifiably claim a share in one's unearned income. But where a tax is continued to be imposed on the use of canal water it is not proper that a separate betterment fee be also realised. There are two or three reasons for this. In the first place, there are two kinds of landed property in the country, viz., property in cities and agricultural property. When some new roads are constructed in cities no tax of the kind of betterment fee is levied. It is, therefore, not justifiable that a betterment fee be charged in villages for constructing new canals. These canals are being constructed not because—as many of us thought the village conditions are required to be improved but because of the fact that India's economic condition cannot be improved unless the country's food production is considerably increased. Under such circumstances, people are of the opinion that the Government should have taken up these schemes much earlier and should have spent more money than what is proposed to be spent now. Already they have spent a considerable amount of money in urban development schemes and for providing suitable amenities to inhabitants of cities and towns. But unless villages are placed on equal footing with cities, no betterment fee of this kind can be said to be justifiable.

I have one more thing to state in this connection. It was also referred to by Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava. What I mean to say is that the Haryana breed is facing the danger of extinction. It will be recalled that the Haryana breed is one of the finest breeds in the country.

**Sardar Sochet Singh:** Is it a breed of human beings or of cattle?

**Ch. Ranbir Singh:** It is a breed of cattle—one of the best cattle breeds to be found in India. It is better than the breed of human beings!

**An Hon. Member:** Of that you are a good specimen.

**Ch. Ranbir Singh:** Haryana breed is one of the best cattle breeds in India. May I request hon. Shri Nanda, who has also been a Minister in Bombay, to see what is happening in Calcutta. Cows and buffaloes of good breeds are sent there from one

side and when they go dry, they are slaughtered. While preparing any plans they should also take this fact into consideration so that the best cattle breeds in the country are preserved.

**Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava:** They have been taking into consideration for the last 28 years but with no results.

**Ch. Ranbir Singh:** I am not prepared to admit that the Government have no means to do so or that it is so difficult a task that they cannot possibly do it. He too seems to be of the same opinion but since he is a little displeased he speaks in such ambiguous terms. It is by no means a difficult task. If these cattle are sent back to Punjab, one of the best cattle breeds would be preserved.

Apart from these two things there is one more point which I would like to touch on. It is that there should be an uniform taxation policy throughout the country. Whereas income to the tune of several thousands of rupees is not taken into consideration while imposing income-tax on all non-agricultural incomes, things are otherwise in case of agricultural incomes. Therefore, since many other things have been taken into consideration while preparing this Plan, this aspect of the question should have also been given due consideration. The system of land revenue should be so formulated that an agriculturist who ekes out his income from the sweat of his brow may not have to pay income-tax on the income upto at least two to three thousand rupees.

**Shri Feroz Gandhi (Uttar Pradesh):** You may see to all these things next time. It is too late now.

**Ch. Ranbir Singh:** Now I would not take more time of the House and would only submit to the Government that next time when they bring forward the detailed scheme, they should take particular note of at least two or three things. One is that all the good cattle breeds in the country, especially the Haryana breed, should be preserved. Since it is our desire to see that Bombay and Calcutta get full supply of milk, let there be no slaughter either of buffaloes or of cows. Second thing, as I said before, is that there should be an uniform taxation policy throughout the length and breadth of the country.

**Prof. S. L. Saksena:** How long are we going on, Sir?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I shall call upon the hon. Minister at six o'clock. We will carry on till seven o'clock today because I find many hon. Members are anxious to speak.

**Shri Syammandan Sahaya (Bihar):** Why not sit tomorrow also, Sir?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The House will not sit tomorrow, it will conclude today. The hon. Member has not been here. Enough opportunity has been given so far. People are getting tired—I find there is not as much enthusiasm over the debate now as there was when it started originally.

**Shri Jhunjunwala (Bihar):** Though the time at my disposal is very short I cannot begin without thanking the Planning Commission for all the troubles they have taken and the strenuous efforts they have put in in coming to this Plan which will suit us best under the present circumstances. Those who have read the report will find that the members of the Planning Commission have studied the problem from all points of view. Some may say that the Plan has not been able to meet everything that we wanted, but howsoever modest it may be I want to congratulate the Planning Commission because they have given us something on which we can work, something which will set our pious hopes and aspirations of Planning something big and imaginary at rest.

One of the great omissions which I found in this Plan is that while it has given us data only regarding financial allocations, nothing has been said in it about the procurement of raw materials, real capital goods necessary for the purpose.

We have been kept completely in the dark about these things. The only thing they have said is that they will spend so much money on this particular item or on that particular item. And, further, as the Prime Minister has said these allocations can be changed as we get experience in working out the Plan. So, the first thing which the Planning Commission should do when they collect more data is to see what are the raw materials which will be required for these purposes and what are the resources from where they will get the capital goods. We should have a clear picture of these before us and then we should have a picture of the result of the production and as to how that production will be distributed and utilised. For instance, we have got a plan for producing so much electricity in different centres. The Planning Commission has not given us any idea as to how that electricity will be utilised.

The other omission, which is a drawback, which I find in the Plan is that it has aimed only at marginal adjustment of things according to modern

economy theory. They have looked at the whole thing from the point of view of efficiency and have just adjusted the thing according to the present economic theory; they have not taken into consideration the conditions of our country as it stands today—if they had done that they would have tried first to solve the problem of unemployment. They should not have minded what price we have to pay for our produce as a result of solving the unemployment problem, whether the price we may have to pay is more with respect to the production we get out of such employment, the quality is inferior, our first problem which the Commission should have kept in mind should have been of employment, which the Commission have omitted to do. I would request that when they consider this question again they should look at it from the point of view of giving employment to all.

One point more and I have finished. The Prime Minister said yesterday, and the Commission also has said, that there were constitutional limitations in the way of our employing compulsion in order to build up our economy. The Prime Minister said that if this difficulty had not been in the way our economic condition within the course of these five years would be quite different; if we could employ compulsion we would be able to improve the country quite a lot. If there is a constitutional limitation in our way I would request the Planning Commission to find out whether there is no other alternative. In my humble opinion there is. If there could be no compulsion employed, at least there should be voluntary adoption of certain things, that is we should voluntarily do what is required to be done by compulsion. You may ask how it can be done: it can be done by building up traditions, and traditions can be built up from above, not from below. If our Government and those who are at the helm of affairs can build up traditions and show to the people that the foundation of our economy can be built up only on a life of austerity and economy, both in the public as well as in the private sector, and they follow that principle, I think much can be done towards improving the economic condition of our country and giving employment to most of the people, though it is not possible to do it all at once. But what I would have expected the Planning Commission to do is, that just as they have done in respect of a limited number of people by large scale production, similarly they should have

given a lead to begin with as to how we can use the produce of our cottage industries and then by giving employment.

Within the short space of time at my command, I have not been able to make out my point clearly. I have merely given the outline and the hint, and would request the Planning Commission members to develop the same and do what little they can to help our poor people who are starving and going without food.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** There are ten more minutes left. I think I may call two hon. Members and give them five minutes each.

**Shri Naziruddin Ahmad (West Bengal):** Sir, I have been given five minutes to deal with an enormous subject.

**Dr. Deshmukh:** Five minutes for a Five Year Plan.

**An Hon. Member:** Brevity is the soul of wit.

**Shri Naziruddin Ahmad:** Therefore, I shall cut my coat according to the cloth. This Plan is a splendid Plan considered from the point of view of an idealist or one who indulges in pious wishes and platitudes. But the test of a Plan lies not in its language or diction nor even its arrangement or its ideas, but the proof of it is like that of the pudding which lies in the eating. The whole scheme will depend on how the Plan is actually worked. If it is successfully worked, it would be a good Plan. If it is not successfully worked, it would not be a good Plan. Some 175 years ago, Warren Hastings said that a second-rate scheme if consistently and properly worked and effectively put through will work well; but a first class scheme if it is not properly and successfully worked and consistently put through will fail. I would therefore rather await the actual execution of the Plan, and not be carried away by its language or its fine ideas.

This Plan has been regarded by so many hon. Members as sacrosanct, as absolutely inviolable and, for others untouchable. There was a great saint who used to lay down a test for the propriety of a speech or writing. He always judged things by the test of the scriptures. He would say, "If what you say is already in the scriptures, then it is superfluous. But if it is not in the scriptures or if it is inconsistent with them, then it is blasphemous." Therefore, in dealing with the Five Year Plan, we have to strike a middle path. I shall deal only with one or two matters. First

I take agriculture. It is no use asking people to carry on agriculture and grow more food so long as there continues a discouragement in the procurement policy. The agriculturists spend their all and produce food and then Government takes them away almost by force at an uneconomic price. It is said that they should be guided by the service motive and not the profit motive. This is a most unpractical approach.

Next I come to industrialisation. I think more scope should be given to private enterprise; otherwise, industry will not grow. I have heard it frequently stated that our industrialists are not cooperating; that they are not putting their money in industries. I think there should be a little clear thinking about it. As far as I know, capitalists and industrialists do not employ their own money. As Dr. John Matthai once explained in reply to a question, 95 per cent. of the shares of public limited companies are held by the middle class moderate and small share-holders, and only five per cent. of the shares are held by the big capitalists and industrialists. Therefore, it is not a question of capitalists' non-cooperation. The fact is that the investment market has gone down. There is no encouragement. Instead of the profit motive, service motive is recommended as an encouragement to industrialists, and when they do not come forward it is assumed that they are not cooperating. As a matter of fact, it is the middle class investors whose savings go into these industrial undertakings that are not coming forward, and not the capitalists.

Sir, some time ago you spoke about the common fallacy that capital is shy. You explained that capital is not shy; rather it is dry. Capital has vanished out of the market, and therefore Government should try to give some encouragement for the investor to draw it. The investor supplies the money, and the so called big capitalists are merely the managing agents. They look like capitalists and wield enormous power; but their invested capital is very small. Here, I should emphasise that the profit motive rather than the service motive should be put forward as an inducement. Government must be practical and not merely express pious wishes. The ordinary, middle class investors are the people who must be encouraged. Instead of that, there is constant government interference from all sides and business and industry are put at a disadvantage. The result is that the market has gone down and is going down steadily still further. Nobody

knows what would happen to our industrial institutions if pious wishes and platitudes go on governing the policy of Government.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I thought of calling the hon. Minister at six o'clock. Two more minutes are left. I see Mr. Alagesan wants to speak. Can he finish in two minutes?

**Shri Alagesan (Madras):** I shall finish in a sentence, if you so desire. However, I am glad and grateful for your giving me these two minutes. I am only concerned with that part of the Plan that is still in the making. I want a very important project that has been prepared by the Madras Government to be included in the second part of the Plan. As it is, there is no large rice plan that finds a place in this Five Year Plan. Three major river-valley schemes have been included and they find a place in the first part of the Plan, but they are mostly wheat plans and there is no provision for a large rice plan. The Krishna-Pennar project will supply the need and wipe out the rice deficit of Madras. It has been designed in such a way as to make it easy for Government to find finance for it. It has been split up into two stages and presented to the Planning Commission. The position in Madras is very difficult. It also puts the Central Government in a very awkward position when they are not able to supply the rice needs of the Madras State.

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I am only sorry that there should be some controversy about such a useful scheme. Extraneous factors like linguistic considerations have been imported into this which make it difficult for the Plan to be accepted by the Commission. I can say that this project serves more the Andhra area than the other areas in Madras. When the first part of the Plan will be taken up 95 per cent. of the benefit would go to the Andhra Area. There are very large parts of the Andhra country which are sparsely populated and which are proverbially famine-stricken. That part is served by this project. You know, Sir, that Nellore rice is famous all over the south. It is something like the Dehra Dun rice of the north. That district stands to benefit to the extent of 15 lakhs of acres and though the Prime Minister in his speech seemed to belittle foreign assistance the second part of the Plan is based on foreign assistance. Since this project has not been taken up in the First Part of the Plan it has to be taken up in the Second Part which depends for its implementation on foreign assistance. There is no

river in India which takes its source in and runs entirely through one State. Every river is an inter-State river. An inter-State river has to be defined not only with reference to the regions that it drains but also by taking into consideration the areas that will be benefited by it. Madras is one State and there is no question of any inter-State river. So I would urge on the Planning Commission to include the Krishna-Pennar project in the Second Part of the Plan and give effect to it.

**The Minister of Planning (Shri Nanda):** Sir, my task in replying to the debate has been rendered very easy by the valuable contributions made by several hon. Members of the House. Still, there is such a large number of points raised, suggestions made, questions asked, that I am at a loss to know as to how it would be possible for me to deal at length, or even briefly, with all those points in the very short space of time that is available to me.

When the Planning Commission's report was placed before the House for consideration, it was not with an idea to defend every little proposition made in the Plan. The idea was to evoke reactions, obtain suggestions and to make use of those valuable comments for the purpose of revising and developing the outline of the Plan. I will, therefore, try to make use of whatever time is at my disposal in dealing with general considerations and the general question of approach which is far more important. But I cannot dispose of the other points lightly. Therefore, before coming to the general question, I will take up some of the questions that have been raised.

I must at the outset say this that many of the queries raised ignore the nature and the character of the Plan. It had been very emphatically stated over and over again that this is a draft outline: it is not a final Plan; it is not a complete Plan. Naturally there are omissions in it; naturally several questions are not answered. Yet I am surprised at the amount of information that has been squeezed into it. There is something in it about State-trading—my hon. friend Mr. Kamath enquired about it—there is something, also about destitute children; there is something about cattle, though we have devoted only three pages to it; there is also reference to Backward Classes.

We are not able to answer several questions even now and I would like to submit here that even after the completion of the Plan there may be

questions which we may not be able to answer. We have been working on certain problems which have not been dealt with in the Plan, or if at all have been dealt with only briefly. For example, we have given a lot of thought to the question of administration. We have arrived at some concrete proposals regarding that which in course of time will come up for discussion here and elsewhere. The foreign exchange budget, for example, is not there in the draft outline. There are many other things which the Planning Commission is working on and on which it will be able to throw more light later on.

There is another aspect of the matter which I would like the House to keep in mind. The Plan does not represent what I, the Chairman and other members would have liked it to be. It simply reflects our judgment and opinion about what is feasible, workable and practicable. Therefore, when we are asked: "Are you yourself satisfied with the Plan?" the only answer we could give is: "We are not satisfied with it; but we cannot do better."

I would also like to submit that the criticism that the Plan is just a catalogue of schemes and not a Plan at all is a very unfair one. I believe I have on my side the handsome appreciation of Pandit Kunzru—this is an aspect on which he laid great emphasis—when he said that this is the first time when a complete Plan has been drawn with reference to all the factors, considerations and questions of resources and priorities. So it is not just a catalogue of schemes. It is as much a Plan as can be made in a country like ours in its present conditions. Not that it is bound to remain like that for all time. Things will improve, even regarding the techniques of Planning. There should not be over-planning. Our planning must have some relation to the realities, the possibilities. It should not create illusions, nice statistics which might possibly gladden the heart of statisticians but which will be absolutely of no value so far as the people are concerned, because, they will mean nothing.

There is another aspect also with regard to the question of the character of the Plan which I would like to submit. It is not what is to be achieved as the maximum: it is the minimum, even for this period. It is the minimum for several reasons. In the first place the figures relate to the first part of the Plan. The targets arise out of the first part of the Plan. There is a second part which if pos-

sible we might like to carry out. And then, the speed of it is not necessarily going to be what we visualize at the moment. But it will not at all be desirable to start a car in the top gear. It will not do any good to anybody. We start on the basis of our judgment of immediate conditions with some allowance for some progress, some change in those conditions. We provide for a great deal more of change, improvement of conditions, removal of those limitations which now obstruct our economic progress. And I believe in the course of time the Plan could be accelerated very much in its execution.

Sir, what is it that has chiefly attracted attention? Targets. The targets are low. In the first place I do not admit that they are so low. Hon. Members have access to the information on the subject, but I might invite attention to some of the most prominent figures with regard to this. Regarding foodgrains 46 million tons is the current output, the expected increase by 1955-56 is seven million tons, 18 per cent. Jute 33 lakh bales, expected increase in 21 lakh bales, 63 per cent. Cotton: 33 lakh bales, expected increase is twelve lakh bales, 36 per cent. Sugar-cane twelve per cent. Oilseed seven per cent. What makes this possible is increase in irrigated area, 26.5 per cent. that is out of the major projects.

In the industrial side also we have textiles, cloth 32 per cent. Cement 76 per cent. Fertilizers 181 per cent. And there is a whole list of articles, commodities which show very substantial increase. Yet, I admit considering our needs, considering the claims of the population, and that they have today to go without so much that is necessary, this is not very much at all. Hon. Members have brought up the question of some individual project here and there. Naturally, I will not be in a position, nor is it proper for me to answer questions regarding a certain individual project which an hon. Member might want to have in a certain part of the country. These are things which we can discuss in very great detail, in the planning course with hon. Members who are interested in these projects. There are also other questions of a general nature. Why have not we put in more steel? We are very sorry that we have not and we have been thinking about it and we want to provide for more steel if possible; it may be that we may not be able to do that but it is not that we are not keen for more steel, but because we are not able to accept the suggestion that we might put in steel

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at the expense of a little more irrigation. Irrigation means to us food, irrigation means raw materials and we will have them first. We will have steel also. But we are basing our proposals on a set of priorities. I would humbly submit: let us not judge these Plans simply by these figures. These targets are not such that we need be ashamed of, but there is much more that is being offered than these targets. The whole approach is that we have to provide immediately for our most urgent needs. We have to see to it that those deficiencies in the economic situation which are creating serious privations are dealt with first, that a breakdown is avoided with regard to the supply of raw materials. The industry will stop if there is not enough cotton, enough jute, employment will be curtailed and numerous questions of a very difficult character will arise. All that is being looked after, but much more is being done and sought to be done. We are providing for the future. We are laying the foundations for a much more substantial advance in later years. We are trying to deal with those conditions, to overcome the handicaps and the limitations and to ensure that with the effort that will be made during the five years. Although we may not be able to offer much more in the way of essential or non-essential consumer goods, we will be able to say that at least afterwards there will be a more assured supply of those very things and of other things including social services. Regarding the lack of it the Prime Minister has expressed deep feelings and my feelings are not less deep on the subject. Sir, this is with regard to the targets.

There are some other specific questions related to the same subject—the question of food self-sufficiency. It is evident that the Planning Commission has attached to this question the greatest importance and it may be that we may not be able to dispense with imports, but the object is that, in a few years at least the minimum needs of the country, minimum in the sense that we may not have to starve, if other sources are cut off, that is at least assured and that does not mean that we should not have imports.

Now, to the question of employment. I was dealing with targets. What the Plan is going to achieve in other directions also arises and employment is a very important question. We, who have devoted all these months to an examination of the economic difficulties of this country and who have had to face the hard fact that

it is going to be very difficult to improve the conditions and to assure the people the minimum essentials of living, we should be guilty of a great offence if we ignore even a little bit of help that may be available from any source, if we neglect any part of our resources, and if we fail to make the best use of whatever is available. Man-power is our greatest asset. Therefore, it would be a great failing, it would be a great omission if the best that is possible in this direction is not done. In this case also, it may be that what actually has been proposed may fall short of what is desired and we also desire to do. But, whatever is possible has been considered and recommended on this subject.

Cottage industries have received a great deal of attention in the Planning Commission. It may be that the outline Plan does not give full evidence of that fact if the importance of the subject is to be judged by the number of lines that are given to that. But, we were working on the details of the Plan regarding cottage industries, which require a great deal of study, and collection of information. This has progressed a great deal since the time of the publication of this report. Employment will increase as a result of investment in agriculture, irrigation and various other things that are being done, especially cottage industries. We have to realise the fact that the costly capital equipment we cannot get on a sufficient scale and therefore we have to make another approach to this question of employment, and that is the labour intensive approach. We have to take up the cottage industries: not cottage industries simply in name. Cottage industries have to be developed, protected and systematically fostered. That will be done. I would not go into the details because it will consume time and I may not be able to deal with the other questions. But I may assure the House that all these things which are necessary for giving effective aid and protection to cottage industries are being considered and planned. That is not the only thing. Even cottage industries are not going to absorb the whole of the man-power. Therefore, what the Prime Minister, in his opening speech yesterday, put forward in the way of suggestions are of the greatest importance. We have to think of other ways also of making fuller use of our man-power. There are two ways. One is the voluntary aspect which has been considered in the Plan; the idea of the Bharat Seva Sangh. That is intended for the



mobilisation of man-power and other spare resources on a voluntary basis. That too may not suffice. Somewhat may, something like the suggestion made by the Prime Minister will have to be considered. I believe the best results will be achieved if our villages are organised better and we are able not only to have our production programmes for the production of food and other raw materials, etc., but also when the community makes its plan of all needs and in the satisfaction of those needs engages all the spare man-power. After all these people who are not fully employed have been consuming something now. This is an idea which can certainly be developed.

Regarding the question of the actual working out of the Plan several doubts were raised but they were of a contradictory nature. On the question of the feasibility of the Plan or the fulfilment of the Plan on one side it was said that this may not be achieved, and on the other hand that what the plan set's out to achieve is not enough. I refer to certain ideas regarding which there is no promise that they will be fully implemented within the next five years. Take for instance the cooperative farming idea. We want to do as much as possible in two, three or five years. It is not that we expect that the whole country will be dotted with cooperative farms. Our targets do not depend upon that. Whenever we have made specific proposals there we have seen to it that that part of our recommendations which is of a contingent nature does not affect our calculations.

So far as the fulfilment of the Plan is concerned limitations such as the Constitution and democracy were pointed out but I will not go into them. The Constitution perhaps may have been a little different and in that case it might have had some effect in strengthening our hands in dealing with the situation. But by and large it is the difficulties of the situation itself which come in the way of bigger ambitions.

We had also given thought to the subject of the implementation of the Plan. We had it very much in mind that certain basic conditions have to be fulfilled before we could think of the Plan being realised. There must be a proper, adequate, strong and efficient administration. This was touched upon by several Members. There should be public cooperation. This point was very much stressed and I may say that we are very keenly aware of it. It has been said

that what we have put forward will not entuse many people, because, the targets are not adequate. I submit that if even this much can be secured it must entuse the people. There enthusiasm is essential for us, because in the working out of the Plan they have to play a large part and so their sacrifices, their hard work and their cooperation are essential and we have to see to it that we secure them for the Plan.

As a first step we tried to take people into our confidence, in the preparation of the Plan. In fact every one whom we thought would be of help to us. There was a large amount of discussion and consultation and this draft report has been circulated very widely. Among the factors which are absolutely indispensable for the implementation of the Plan are the co-operation of the people and efficient administration, to which a great deal of though has been given. I may point out that this is with reference to the question which was asked, namely, "Already so many months have passed and what has been done about the Plan?" The Plan is already in operation. It is not waiting for anything. For example between the Centre and the States the Plans are being worked out in details for the purpose of execution. In the next year's Budget the whole programme is being adjusted in the light of the Plan. Not only that but other ideas of the Plan also are being worked out such as public co-operation, mobilisation of manpower etc. We have already circulated to the States and the persons in charge of river-valley projects that it should be possible for them to enlist and harness the unemployed people in the villages, that they should be asked to work in digging the canals, etc. on the basis of some kind of cooperative organisation. That would make our plans less costly and also create a great deal of enthusiasm. We are very much aware of the great need for public cooperation. That is most essential for the success of the Plan. We have to create the solidarity of the people behind these plans and for this purpose there must be public cooperation of all progressive parties in this country. They may not find everything that they want in this Plan, but most of what they want will be found there. All of it may not be there, but very much of it will be there in the Plan.

Another condition for the success of the Plan is that there must be adequate resources, resources not only in terms of finance, but also in terms

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of materials. It was suggested that adequate thought was not given to this aspect of the question; but I would like to state that this aspect has been considered and the whole question of natural and other resources is being covered fully. The limitation of finance is there and that is only a reflection of our inadequacy in the material sense. Whatever was possible, to that extent our resources have been stretched. And just as in the case of targets in the case of financial resources also we have been told that we have over-shot the mark. "You may not have so much money from the States or from the Centre. Then what are you going to do?" That is the question put to us. On the one side we are accused of not keeping the targets sufficiently high and on the other we are blamed for expecting too much in the way of financial resources. Actually we have tried to reckon as closely as possible and we have put down what is physically possible and workable.

One thing about the Plan is this. When I referred to accelerating the pace of it, I said if this minimum visualised is not attained, whosoever comes in the way will have to be dealt with. Therefore it is better that we have modest and reasonable targets so that nobody could say that this thing has not been done and that thing has not been done because we aimed at something unrealistic.

With regard to the question of implementation, I have stated some of the things which we have considered in order to ensure successful fulfilment of the Plan. In this connection a question of policy arises. What about controls? We want more production and yet this Government or this Planning Commission comes down with these proposals for controls. Have we not seen that the production of sugar has gone up because there is a partial de-control? Will not the price incentive work? That is the question put to us. Well, the price incentive cannot work now. There is a limited amount of land available and if you increase the price of one thing, the area under cultivation of that crop goes up and some other crop suffers and actually we are worse off. In addition there is an increase in the price level because rise in price of one commodity leads to rise in price of several others. Thus taking away controls and allowing prices to rise will not result in increased production. There are

these physical limitations. It is only when the economy is free to develop that you expect the price incentive to work. Our economy is not free to expand and there are other causes at work. This limitation can only be dealt with by action by the State to remove these obstacles. A little more money in the hands of the cultivator is not going to do it. It has to be done by resources in the hands of the State. Therefore anything which takes away from these resources is going to strike at the roots of this Plan.

Sir, regarding the question of the price policy, it was said that horse gram and wheat were selling at the same price. There is something seriously wrong. Yes, but it is because horse gram is free commodity, while the other thing is not. That distinction is really significant. It is that which creates these anomalies. I am not arguing for controls. I am only answering the point raised. If a serious difficulty arises with regard to competitive commodities, then the answer is that.

Several other questions were raised. I cannot deal with them at length, the question of cattle for example, the question of the Backward Classes, etc. It was, Sir, a mistaken view of the attitude of the Planning Commission that because we have dealt with the question of Backward Classes in a few paragraphs, we have given no attention to it. If the hon. Member who raised this question were to refer to the other parts of the Plan, he will take a different view. Improvements in the conditions of agricultural labour, all this is going to be done for these classes, and all the other measures that we are going to introduce, irrigation and other things, they will help to improve the condition of the masses. So let us not judge the Plan from that point of view, although I must admit that so far as the figures of expenditure are concerned, they have to be raised.

Regarding resources, I forgot to deal with some points raised in this connection. One was, why not enlarge the resources say by stopping prohibition? Some hon. Members said that it does not matter if there were a few people in the country who were not sober? But if people were not sober, they might destroy more wealth. I am not pleading for one side or the other. I am only saying that it has to be decided on merits. If it succeeds, well and good. If it fails,

then of course the question takes a different aspect altogether.

Regarding the question of policy, Shrimati Durgabai has been persistent in reminding me that I should not forget her question. I have decided to touch on that lest there should be no time later on. I did not fully comprehend the question. Are we dealing with the question of women on the basis of the family or as an individual being the unit. Later on it was explained that the idea had a reference to the Constitution. There is a clause in the Directive Principles that every citizen, man or woman, had the right to question. There is another class about equal pay for equal work. I hope this is what was being referred to?

**Shrimati Durgabai:** I was referring to that.

**Shri Nanda:** Now, I am not entering into the constitutional side of it. So far as the practical aspect is concerned, the question of equal pay for equal work is an accepted idea. There is no difficulty about that. We are for equal pay for equal work. If there is anywhere any departure from that, it will have to be rectified. As regards the question of livelihood, women are doing, as it is, valuable work large numbers of women are doing that, and it is the duty of any nation to see to it that the useful work that women can do is fully utilised. The question of adequate remuneration for this certainly arises, but at that point I need not labour.

Then, Sir, some bigger questions arise, that is, the subject matter of these amendments. We are told not to think so much of the actual targets, but to consider the more fundamental question of the social structure, the economic organization and the social system. In these days, there is hardly a person who cannot emphatically state that he wants the common man to come into his own, that he wants the standard of living of the people to be raised, that he wants all injustices to be removed, etc. I have fairly frequent contact with people who control industry, wealth and money, and many of them profess socialism. I find more socialism amongst them than in the Socialist party. Only when it comes to the question of doing things, the problem arises. When we talk of a little more taxation, they say, "No, if you tax us more, the incentive will be lost, there will be no capital formation, and the State will not be able to raise loans." A vicious circle is put before our eyes. If we go and say that industries should be helped to improve, the reply

is, "you do not know anything about these matters. You will make things worse." I have visited as many factories as possibly any person who owns the largest number of factories in the country, and I can say that industrial conditions are capable of a lot of improvement. But they would not let us interfere. That is when you come to real action. Then the whole armoury of ingenuity is used for opposing new suggestions and ideas.

Now, coming to the question of change, things as they are cannot remain. This much is understood. Social change is necessary. But the division arises or the line of departure starts at this point. How is it to be achieved? Between the friends who have put forward these amendments and us, I do not think there is any difference at all regarding the objectives, as to what exactly we want to secure. Mr. Kamath said something about hunger and some friends said something about employment and in a country where people are poor, the question of narrowing down disparities and making things equitable—nobody can deny these. The only thing is, how do we achieve it. We are told that our Plan is not sufficiently radical. If it is a question of words, if it is a question of certain slogans or 'isms', that is not a matter for a Plan. The Plan is achieving those very objectives which the hon. Movers of the amendments have in mind. The only question for us is which will do the job better. It may be urged that 'you are afraid, you are not prepared to take risks'. We are not prepared to take excessive risks to-day. We feel that the time now is such for this country that we should not add to our difficulties. Apart from that, the question is whether even if those risks are taken, if there is disturbance or dislocation or breakdown, and we do not mind that whether it will advance the objective at all. We have seriously considered this matter and we do not agree that it will. We believe that it will retard.

The line of action we are taking is likely to achieve those results better and quicker. The question of making a radical Plan is not a matter of just putting forward a theorem or proposition. It is facing the situation in terms of what the outlook of the people is, to what extent they are prepared to cooperate among themselves, to what extent they are prepared to make sacrifices and undergo hardships. Taking all these into consideration—the physical limitations and the other circumstances which

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come in the way of a much more radical position being taken now immediately—not at all suggesting that a much more radical approach may not be adopted—I am only saying that what can be done now. Our idea of mixed economy is not a question of the co-existence of capitalism and of a public sector. It is the co-existence of a public sector and private sector but we should not equate the private sector so far as our ideas of private sector is concerned with capitalism. There may be individual enterprises, there may be co-operative enterprise. But capitalism means a certain force and we believe that force should not be there. We do not want to destroy the capitalist people who have money. We want to conserve whatever is of value, particularly the talent—the managerial capacity of the people who are now functioning. We want to use that on reasonable terms and use that in a manner that will not conflict with the major policy of the country with regard to the industry and other matters. Therefore the question of private initiative—that force being utilized—is still there. It has to be on certain lines which will conform to the pattern of the Plan, which will be in pursuance of those objectives and not in conflict with those objectives.

Sir, now we will be asked, "In what manner precisely are you going to achieve this? You say you are not going to accept the extreme line." What is our way? In extremes lies instability. It is a third way—I will not call it middle way. It is a way by itself and it has its own philosophy and its own technique, its own operation, its own procedure. I would point out scores of things which will be symbols of that approach or conception of the economy of this country. The idea of the cooperative farming, cooperative joint village farming operations—that is not simply a question of bringing together a few people in order to increase the production to a small extent. It underlies the conception that a different kind of social order is going to be built up in this country and the same applies with regard to industry. The whole idea of Development Councils has also that significance. The workers have to cooperate and participate. So also the consumers cooperate in the work. This is a new approach. To what extent it is implemented—that question arises; but we are making sure about that also to the extent it is humanly possible, that these

ideas do not remain simply as ideas. It was said that our manpower is wealth. I say the same thing of ideas, ideas are also wealth. The ideas create new conditions and situations, which change the whole pattern of life and therefore a discussion of ideas is not at all out of place. In the village community, it will mean a different kind of a social and economic system—in industry, also the same way. In industry, in the relations between workers and the employers, the approach leads to the establishment of joint Consultative Boards. There is the question of cooperation not on the basis of someone who is the boss and others as subordinates. They are all copartners, people who are participating together in the same big process of production. One person may get a little less than the other. The question is they are equally interested in the objective that the industry should develop and improve the economic life of the country. There are several other things which reflect the same approach—of building a social order on the basis of cooperation not on conflict or competition. The difference is this. We do not want to build on the profit-motive and competition nor do we want to build up a bureaucratic system. We do not believe that a little more production is the only objective of the Plan. The human side, the whole question of freedom, the development of personality—these are things that we cherish and therefore we want to build up a system in which not only the production increases but these values are realized or retained and are protected. So the whole approach is built up on a democratic basis. It is to improve the capacity of the individual. This is also how we deal with the question of employment. We want to raise the skill which means more wealth. We have to impart more skill on the one side and on the other it is to secure their own growth in the human sense. These have great value,—the way in which the mode of production is developed—and there we emphasise on decentralisation, on cooperation etc. and this applies to the question of employment also. The idea is there should be more small entrepreneurs, there should be small scale industries and there should be more facilities for industrial training for educated people than are available now. For that means should be provided by the State. They have no money, they have not the resources, buildings etc. Therefore the idea is there about providing physical facilities; for

research etc. to the small men so that we can build up a system of society in which large numbers of people pursue their own lives, trying to get their livelihood in an honourable way and there are not very large disparities and there is as much of private initiative as can possibly be secured.

Sir, time is running out and although I would have liked to develop this a little further, it is not possible to do so now. But towards the end I might express my faith. May be there are deficiencies in the Plan in this respect and that respect, but there is an effort to remove those deficiencies. There is that bigger thing, that the approach to the problems is a sound approach: not only in creating more wealth in a few more years but in building what we may call a co-operative commonwealth, something which will possibly be an answer to all those conflicting 'isms'. It all depends upon our own faith. The Prime Minister said that he had a picture of the country in his mind, and sometimes he feels whether that picture does not amount to wishful thinking. I can assure you that if we will have faith in ourselves and in the destiny of our country, we will be able to arouse in the people also enthusiasm and faith in the destiny of your country. A Plan is not propaganda: a Plan just gives things as they are; we can do more and bring out the inner significance and place it before the people so that they can see that although what is coming is not very much immediately; much more lies after it. We can have their co-operation also. On their understanding, on their hardwork and on the solid backing of the large mass of the people, I am sure that we can realise the picture which the Prime Minister has in his mind.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Hon. Members who have tabled amendments are not in their seats. Therefore, I do not propose to put amendment after amendment. There are three amendments practically of the same type, one standing in the name of

Shri R. Velayudhan, another in the name of Shri Damodar Swarup Setl and the third in the name of Shri Kamath.

The question is:

(i) In the original motion, add the following at the end:

"and having considered the Report this House is of opinion that the Report of the Planning Commission be referred to an expert Committee consisting of the members of the various political parties with a view to re-formulate a 'five Year National Plan' for India."

(ii) In the original motion, add the following at the end:

"and having considered the Report this House is of opinion that as the existing socio-economic structure has failed to satisfy the basic human needs and to seek to maintain it unchanged is to ignore reality and invite defeat, the report should be referred back to the Planning Commission to re-draft the same on the socialist structure of society which would necessitate economic equality essential for a classless society which was the cherished goal of the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, not for this country alone but for the whole world."

(iii) In the original motion, add the following at the end:

"and having considered the Report this House is regretfully of the opinion that the Draft Plan is unsuitable to the needs and conditions of India."

The motions were negatived.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The question

"that the draft outline of the First Five Year Plan prepared by the Planning Commission, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

The House then adjourned sine die