

### RUBBER (PRODUCTION AND MARKETING) AMENDMENT BILL

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Rubber (Production and Marketing) Act, 1947.

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

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Rubber (Production and Marketing) Act, 1947."

The motion was adopted.

**Shri T. T. Krishnamachari:** \*I introduce the Bill.

### RESOLUTION RE. FIVE YEAR PLAN—Concl'd.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The House will now proceed with further discussion on the following Resolution moved by the hon. the Prime Minister:

"This House records its general approval of the principles, objectives and programme of development contained in the Five Year Plan as prepared by the Planning Commission."

I thought there would be discussion for one hour but it has been reduced by the short notice questions. I will call the hon. Minister at 12. I will allow Members who have not spoken yet five minutes each.

**Shrimati Maydeo (Poona South):** I am very thankful to you, Sir, for allowing me at least five minutes. I feel it is a privilege to support the Resolution placed before the House. I had heard with interest and care the speeches made by the Opposition parties in the last few days but I thought that when they attacked and criticized the Plan, the words did not come from their hearts but from their mouths because before resuming their seats they could not but appreciate the toil and the pains the Planning Commission Members had taken to place before this House such a comprehensive Plan. As the time at my disposal is very short, I will just take up the points which I want to say. I agree with Dr. Mookerjee and the hon. Minister that health is of utmost importance to our country and some more allocation should have been made. At the same time I feel that the amount allotted for the indigenous systems of medicine is far less than it should be. Out of Rs. 17,87,00,000, only Rs. 35 lakhs have

been allotted for the indigenous systems of medicine which include the Ayurvedic, the Unani, the Homocopathy and the nature cure. I think that even it was accepted by foreigners that indigenous systems of medicine are, of course, very valuable and important. It is stated in the Report of the Health, Survey and Development Committee—3rd volume of the Bhoré Committee—

"The fact that indigenous medicine plays such a very important part in the life of the Indian people is frequently minimized or even ignored. And yet it represents a very tangible reality that must be faced openly whenever plans are elaborated for improving the health conditions of the country particularly since its population is growing rather than diminishing. New indigenous schools are being founded. They are subsidised by the Governments in several Provinces. The Osmania University of Hyderabad has a Medical College which is a Unani Medical College. The Medical Practitioners' Act of Bombay of 1938 admits graduates of indigenous schools to the Medical Register.

At first sight it seems strange that these ancient indigenous systems are able to compete with modern scientific medicine. It was not strange in the 17th and 18th centuries when the two worlds first entered into contact. At that time European medicine was developing new theoretical foundations but in practice, in the treatment of disease it was hardly more effective than Greek, or Hindu, or Arabic medicine. But today? Nobody can deny that scientific medicine during the last hundred years has made tremendous strides. Bacteriology and immunology have permitted us to combat communicable diseases most effectively and to eradicate many of them. Modern surgery is able to save thousands of human lives that would have been lost only fifty years ago".

That means it would not be proper to under-estimate the modern bacteriology and surgery, but at the same time we must take care of our indigenous systems so that they may not die. I would like to say that the Government has made real efforts and appointed Committees after Committees, first the Yodh Committee, then the Chopra Committee and then the Pandit Committee but even after their reports are out, for the last four five years things are at a standstill. In

\*Introduced with the previous recommendation of the President.

spite of their optimistic views and conclusions of all these Committees, the Government appears to be reluctant to deviate from the established routine. It may be perhaps due to the dogmatic attitude or a sort of fear complex. This deviation would be apparently incongruent with the established systems of medical relief in the world.

I will just say another point and finish my speech. I find that in the Five Year Plan Rs. 65 lakhs are allotted for research on family planning and when I read some of the lines in Volume II, chapter XXXII, I find this rhythm method mentioned therein. I am afraid that some more lakhs will be wasted on a method which is not a method at all. It will be an utter folly to go behind any method which will not be useful and which will not give out the results or reduce the population of the country, even by minus one per cent. I just had a mere chance to be present at a lecture in Poona by Dr. Abraham. It was a great surprise to me when he said that he did not advocate the rhythm method. He did not suggest it for India. Many people were under the impression that Dr. Abraham had to do something with this method but he said, "I had no choice. I was sent on behalf of the WHO exclusively to propagate this method but I would like to point out that this is not going to help at all." During the rhythm period when there is the most urgent desire to ask the people to abstain is like telling a man to fast when he is dying with hunger. So, I can assure you that there is no reason or no necessity for finding out any new methods or for making research. What is necessary is that there should be sufficient number of clinics which will be readily available for advice to all the poor people or village women in our country and they should get the materials for contraception at a very cheap rate. We should manufacture those materials in our country instead of spending money on research about methods, which are not new, at all and which are known to all the people.

I would have liked to say something about social welfare also; but I have no time.

**Shri N. Somana (Coorg):** At this stage of the debate, it would not be necessary or proper for me to enter into a discussion of the principles underlying the Plan or touch any details contained in the Plan. In the first place, it is my duty to pay a tribute to the planners and all the officers concerned for having produced this plan,

which in my opinion, gives a correct and practical picture to the whole of our country as to what the Government and the people ought to do during the period of the Plan and the years to follow. There may be imperfections in the Plan; but I do not think it is necessary to quarrel over that. As the hon. the Leader of the House said, planning is a process; it is not static. At every stage, not only the Members of this House, but also the country at large can have a say in the matter and any changes and alterations can be made so far as the Plan is concerned. Generally, if that is accepted as the basic principle of the Plan, it ought to be our duty to accept this Plan as a whole and give our full support to this Plan and see that it is put through as quickly as possible.

In this connection, I have to make one or two observations so far as the agricultural problem is concerned. I feel that the question of production of food has been left in an uncertain state. From the Planning Commission's report, we find that neither have the targets been definitely fixed, nor the periods. Our experience of the Grow More Food campaign has been rather sorrowful. If the same state of affairs were to continue, I do not think that our goal of achieving self-sufficiency in food within the period of the Plan will be possible. A more definite scheme should have been made. I think it is possible to lay down definite proposals so that the States may be in a position to put through their schemes as early as possible. Especially with regard to minor irrigation schemes, a definite period ought to be fixed by which time the States should be able to push through their schemes and thus help to solve the food problem.

So far as the land policy is concerned, to which some reference has been made, my humble view is that at this stage it would not be very proper to disturb the middle or small owners of land. We may take up the question of the large scale holdings so that beyond an upper limit, whatever it is, the balance may be distributed. For instance, take the case of a tenant at will. The Planning Commission has recommended that in the course of five years, if the owner is not in a position to come back and cultivate the land, the tenant, will have a right to take over the land. My humble submission is that if such a law is to be introduced, it would certainly disturb the whole system of cultivation. Every landlord, simply because he has to take over possession of land at the end of four years, will come back and occupy the land. I am sure there will be disturbance in the

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cultivation and the very object with which we have started this Plan will not be achieved. It is my view therefore that for the present, so far as the first Five Year Plan is concerned, it is better to leave these small and middle owners and only deal with the question of large owners.

On going through the whole of the report, I was sorry to find that not much attention had been paid to horticulture. Coming from South India, I have to state that at least 25 per cent of our daily food consists of fruits and vegetables. The Planning Commission has only devoted two pages for that. They have not taken up this matter seriously. Especially with regard to fruit cultivation. I am sorry to note that they have not laid down any definite programme. It is absolutely necessary that more attention should be paid to fruit cultivation, especially fruits like oranges, apples, etc. There is a great scope for improvement in this direction.

Next, with reference to the Chapter on Forests, I feel that sufficient attention has not been paid. They have given a very valuable report containing several pages of statistics. But, I feel that definite proposals have not been made. They have divided the forests into four regions. So far as the southern region is concerned, it has got vast potentialities which have not been properly investigated. As my hon. friend Mr. Nijalingappa pointed out yesterday, Malnad, coming under the southern region of forests has not been given sufficient attention. The potentialities are so great that they are bound to produce enormous wealth. I hope this problem may be examined.

One other matter I have to refer to and I have done. In the matter of irrigation and power projects, so far as my State of Coorg is concerned, I am sorry to state that no attention has been paid either to agriculture or irrigation or power. There are many schemes which have been examined and which have been recommended by my State, but they have not even been referred to. There is, for example, the Barapole hydro-electric scheme which will have power not only to my State, but also to the State of Madras. It is on the West coast. It is capable of producing about 36,000 kw of power which will be able to supply electricity to my State and to the West coast of the Madras State. I hope the Planning Commission will consider this project as a necessity and include it in this Plan.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Lala Achint Ram; three minutes.

लाला अचिन्त राम (हिसार) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सिर्फ दो एक बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। डिस्प्लेस्ड पर्सन्स (displaced persons) के बारे में मैंने पढ़ा है कि एक चैप्टर (chapter) में लिखा है कि गवर्नमेंट ने डिस्प्लेस्ड पर्सन्स पर डेढ़ अरब रुपये खर्च किया है, करीब तीस करोड़ रुपये १९५३-५४ में खर्च कर दिया जायेगा। इस के अलावा ईस्ट बंगाल से आने वालों के लिये भी बहुत खर्च किया गया है। यह सब ठीक ही कहा गया है। यह भी कहा गया है कि गवर्नमेंट कुछ नहीं कह सकती कि और कितने रिपयूजीज आयेंगे। उन की पोस्तीशन बिल्कुल फ्लुइड (fluid) है और हो सकता है कि किसी वक्त और भी ज्यादा आयें। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वेस्ट पाकिस्तान से आदमी आये हैं उन के रिहैबिलिटेशन (rehabilitation) के मुतालिक गवर्नमेंट ने जो कुछ कहा है उस से बड़ी गलतफहमी हो जाती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बात ठीक नहीं है। मेरे हृदय से तो गवर्नमेंट को एक कमीशन बनाना चाहिये और वह कमीशन जो फंसला देगा उस से लोगों का तमल्ली हो जायेगी।

कम्पेन्सेशन (compensation) के बारे में, जहाँ पर सारी प्राब्लेम्स (problems) को डिस्कस (discuss) किया है, वहाँ पर मैं समझता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट ने कोई रुपया नहीं रक्खा है, लेकिन जनता इस बात की आशा रखती थी कि प्लैनिंग कमीशन (Planning Commission) रिहैबिलिटेशन के लिये कुछ रुपया ज़रूर रखेगा। हालांकि मैं जानता हूँ कि प्लैनिंग कमीशन की इस बारे में कोई जिम्मेदारी नहीं है, फिर भी मैं चाहता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट इस बात का ऐलान कर दे कि गवर्नमेंट अपने वायदे पर कायम है, वह अपने फाइनेन्शल रिसोर्सेज (Financial Resources) के मुताबिक

जरूर कम्पेनसेट (compensate) करेगी, भले ही वह कम्पेन्सेशन की रकम पचास फी सदी, हो, चालीस फी सदी हो या तीस फी सदी हो, लेकिन जो वायदा हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने किया था उस पर गवर्नमेंट डटी रहेगी।

साथ ही मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ, लैनिंग कमीशन की सिफारिशों के बारे में लोगों ने कहा कि जनता में जोश नहीं है, यह बात गलत है। लेकिन यह बात जरूर है कि इस के लिये मुनासिब तरीके इस्तेमाल किये जायें जिस से जनता के अन्दर प्लैन्स (planners) के लिये श्रद्धा हो। जो भी प्लैन्स हैं, या मिनिस्टर, डिप्टी मिनिस्टर हैं, पार्लियामेंटरी सेक्रेटरीज हैं, या पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर्स हैं जो यह कहते हैं कुएँ खोदो, नहरें बनाओ, सड़कें बनाओ, वह जा कर गांवों में कम से कम साल में पन्द्रह दिन खुद भी काम करें, तभी लोगों में श्रद्धा पैदा हो सकती है। मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि जो तरीका मैं बतला रहा हूँ उस पर अमल किया जायेगा।

दूसरी बात यह है . . . .

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय:** तीन मिनट हो गये।

**लाला अश्विन्त राम :** मैं अभी खत्म कर रहा हूँ। तो दूसरी बात जो है वह करप्शन (corruption) के मुतालिक। इस के लिये मैं यह अर्ज करता हूँ कि जहाँ इस प्लैन् (plan) के अन्दर बहुत बड़ी बड़ी बातें करने की कोशिश की जा रही है, खाने का इन्तजाम किया जा रहा है, कपड़े का इन्तजाम किया जा रहा है। लेकिन इस सब को देख कर मुझे ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि यह सब मसले एक ऐसे आदमी के हैं जो कि शेर के मुँह में जा रहा है। आप उस के खाने का इन्तजाम कर रहे हैं, कपड़े का इन्तजाम कर रहे हैं, लेकिन पहले उसे शेर के मुँह में से तो निकालिये वह शेर का मुँह करप्शन है। सब से पहले जो जनता पिस रही है वह करप्शन से।

पहले उस को आप निकालिये। और उस का तरीका यह है कि आप सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट को एक ऐन्टी करप्शन ट्रिब्यूनल (Anti-Corruption Tribunal) बनाइये, और उस के मातहत जितने प्रदेश हैं, वहाँ भी ऐन्टी करप्शन ट्रिब्यूनल बनाइये। फिर उन को तीन हक दिये जायें। पहला यह कि यह ट्रिब्यूनल खुद प्रोसीडिंग्स (Proceedings) इनिशिएट (initiate) कर सकें, दूसरे यह कि वह समरी ट्रायल्स (summary trials) कर सकें, और तीसरे यह कि वह कड़ी से कड़ी सजा दे सकें। मेरा ख्याल है कि अगर हम ऐसा करेंगे तो आप को करप्शन के दूर करने में जरूर कामयाबी होगी। इस के लिये आप को बहुत अच्छे और चोटी के आदमियों को लेना पड़ेगा। मेरी तजवीज तो यह है कि बाबू पुरुषोत्तम दास टंडन इस के लिये बहुत मौजू हैं। उन की अध्यक्षता में यह सेन्ट्रल ऐन्टी करप्शन ट्रिब्यूनल बनायें और इसी तरह स्टेटों में भी किया जाय तो आप को जरूर कामयाबी होगी। जैसे पंडित जी का होना हम लोगों के लिये बहुत जरूरी है, जैसे गांधी जी का होना बहुत लाजमी था, देश को आजादी दिलाने के लिये, इसी तरह मैं समझता हूँ कि टंडन जी की भी बड़ी अहमियत है। अगर उन की खिदमात हम इस काम में इस्तेमाल करें तो इस काम में जरूर सफलता होगी।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि इन तीनों बातों पर अमल किया जाय।

**Shri Nambiar (Mayuram):** It is at the fag end of the second year of the Five Year Plan that I am given an opportunity to speak on the Five Year Plan, and that too for five minutes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Other hon. Members have taken sufficient time.

**Shri Nambiar:** Yes, Sir, I know that.

My point is about labour. In the Plan it is stated that labour must be contented with what they get or even less, and they must work for more production, i.e. that they should pro-

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duce more at a lower wage level for the benefit of the profiteers. And the Government are unable to get the profits from the profiteers. That is the policy enunciated by the Five Year Plan. And they also state in the Five Year Plan that there must be an industrial peace and harmonious working relations. What is this "harmonious relations" that they want? They say:

"As a last measure, differences should be resolved by impartial investigation and arbitration. At times, the State may even have to intervene and impose a settlement. Although the efforts of the parties should be to secure internal settlement of disputes."

And they say:

"Direct action on either side which violates this obligation should be punishable by law."

That means that you impose a settlement on the worker and if he does not accept it, he will be punished by law; he will be sent to jail. This is how you treat the worker and you want whole-hearted support from the working classes of this country to make this Plan successful. With regard to the unemployed labour in the countryside, with regard to those millions and millions of agricultural workers, you have no plan. They will continue to starve, and you want their co-operation. You want the co-operation of the starving millions to whom you cannot give any employment, the co-operation of the workers whom you threaten to send to jail if they do not accept your imposed settlement, and you want co-operation from the middle-class employees.

With regard to the middle-class employees, you state in Chapter XXXIX of the Plan:

".....an *ad hoc* enquiry conducted by the Directorate General of Resettlement and Employment last year illustrate the position of the employment opportunities for the technical and clerical personnel.....This means that of every 100 unemployed technical persons, only about 12 persons could be provided with jobs, while in the case of clerical jobs the vacancies were only 4 for every 100 unemployed registrants. This indicates that, while the problem of unemployment amongst the technical personnel is serious enough, in clerical cadres it is at least thrice as bad.

The first Five Year Plan lays an emphasis on increasing agricul-

tural production and at the same time creating a base for future industrial expansion. This limits the immediate expansion of employment opportunities for the educated unemployed."

For the educated unemployed you are not going to give any satisfaction or any employment. Therefore, I ask, if not to the agricultural worker, if not to the industrial worker and to the educated unemployed, then to whom are you going to give relief through your Five Year Plan? You are going to give relief, I know, to your own followers, the Landlords and the big bourgeois class.

You say that Rs. 400 crores of money is kept for communications in the Plan. With the Rs. 400 crores are you going to produce more or start more railways? What the plan says is that they want to repair the old outmoded engines and locomotives. By 1956, 2,092 locomotives are to be replaced; 8,535 coaches and 47,533 wagons are to be renewed. Therefore, there will not be a single mile more on the railway, and all this money is to be spent for renewal. Renewal means that Rs. 200 crores of money will go to the British companies who produce the locomotives now. In Chittaranjan you say that you are going to produce locomotives, but here is the agreement entered into with the Loco Manufacturing Co. of England, which states at the end:

"The L.M. Company has undertaken to manufacture locos completely with the parts and boilers to be manufactured here in terms of agreement with the target date of five years, i.e., 1955. Each year some minimum quota has been fixed so that after 5 years, 120 locomotives and 50 spare boilers are to be manufactured by the India made parts by the trained staff."

The Plan promises that by the end of 1956 we will get 300 locomotives from Chittaranjan, but here the agreement which you have entered into with the Loco Manufacturing Co. of England, states that at the end of 1955 there is a possibility of 50 spare boilers and 120 engines to be produced in India. Subsequent to that, I have got information from Chittaranjan that they have said that even what has been promised is impossible. Therefore, they have to go back upon what the British company of manufacturers already promised. So, this is the Plan.

The Plan says that Rs. 170 crores of revenues the Railways must con-

tribute. The Railway every year contributes Rs. 32 crores for interest charges. The Railway every year contributes Rs. 30 crores for general revenues. Apart from this, they have now to contribute Rs. 170 crores to the general revenues for the success of the Plan. And what does it promise to the Railway worker? The Railway worker cannot get a single pie more. He will be told that there will be retrenchment. He will be told: "If you 'misbehave', if you say that you want more wages, then there is the law to impose an award on you which if you do not accept, you will be put in jail." This is the promise that you give to the worker.

Let not my friends here understand that we this side of the House are against the Plan, but we are telling you that without the help and co-operation of the millions, without the help and co-operation of the toilers of this country, you cannot make any Plan successful. Therefore, what we say is: Make your Plan in such a way that you will get the willing co-operation of the masses, and then you can go forward. Therefore, it is wrong to say that those who non-co-operate with the Plan will do so at their own peril. The point is you bring in a Plan which is not workable, which it will not be possible to implement successfully. And then you put the fault on our side, and you say: "Here are the Communists, here are the Socialists, here is the Opposition, and because of their 'non-co-operation' the Plan has failed." You do not want to give anything more to the worker and to the people, and you want after five years to say against us that these fellows have spoiled it. Therefore, you think that after 1956 you can go to the electorate and say: "We were thinking of doing some good to the people, but these fellows are responsible for its failure. Therefore, you must vote for us so that we will see that something is done at least in the next five years. These fellows are the betrayers." This is the political game which you want to play, and you say we are against the Plan. Think well and go ahead with a Plan which will be accepted by all and which will get their willing co-operation. If you make your plan suitable to them, and change it, the whole country will be behind you. Then you can go ahead.

**Shri Lakshmayya (Anantapur):** Sir, I am the only Member to speak on behalf of Rayalaseema. May I be allowed to speak?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member may speak.

**Shri Lakshmayya:** I am grateful to you for the opportunity given to me to speak on the Plan, for five minutes, at least on behalf of Rayalaseema which is a chronically drought-stricken and famine-ridden area.

The Plan is the best of its kind in a democratic State based on democratic principles, and it is to be implemented by democratic methods and peaceful means.

The Plan is a complete and comprehensive one designed to achieve progress and development in all spheres of activity. It is first and foremost an attempt on the part of the Government to organise the nation's resources, men, money and materials, to promote industries, and transports and develop social and other nation-building activities, such as education and public health. However best and however comprehensive the Plan may be, it has not done due justice to the backward tracts in the country, particularly to Rayalaseema which is a famine-ridden area. Rayalaseema, you are aware, Sir, once was a land of plenty and prosperity but now unfortunately has been reduced to a 'famine Zone' and it has rightly been observed, that the ryots of Rayalaseema, before they emerge from one famine are engulfed by another. It has been like that for the last one century and the foreign rulers have neglected that area purposely, to suppress the rebellious and strong spirit of Rayalaseema people, lest they might create some trouble.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** What are the suggestions of the hon. Member? Everybody knows all this.

**Shri Lakshmayya:** Now, to develop the economic growth and prosperity of this backward tract, I request the Government to constitute an economic Board with statutory powers for the formulation of schemes and the execution of irrigation projects in these areas, and provide it with adequate funds by the Centre as well as the State Governments for a limited period of ten years. If this is done, Sir, I am sure, the area will really become a land of plenty. In Rayalaseema, at present, agriculture is a gamble in rain though the land is very fertile. I would therefore suggest that irrigation facilities should be provided for this area, and large as well as small scale industries should be started before long. I come from Anantapur which ranks first in an alphabetical order and stands first in poverty also among the Rayalaseema districts. When the hon. Prime Minister, who is also the Chairman of the Planning Commission recently visited that district, we requested him to take up the

[Shri Lakshmayya]

Tungabhadra High level channel as a famine work and include it in the Five Year Plan. But unfortunately our voices were not felt. Again we made a representation to the hon. Minister for Planning to take up this scheme but to no effect. You can feel the urgency of providing drinking water supply to millions of people in a number of villages in the districts of Bellary and Anantapur, in several big towns like Bellary, Uruvakonda, and Guntakal, where there has been scarcity of drinking water, for a long time; and you consider the question of feeding the mouths of millions of people in the dry districts of Bellary, Anantapur and Cuddapah; and also you think over the important problem of eliminating the standing famine from these three districts. If the Tungabhadra High level channel is taken up, it would irrigate three lakhs of acres of land. Not only would it solve the problem of drinking water, but also solve the food problem in that area to a great extent. After all, we are making a request only for food and water, which are the basic needs of any people. At least, now, it is not too late, it may be included. The 'Chambal project' has been included, recently and it is our misfortune our project does not find a place in the plan. Sir, this project will uplift the backward area, and afford some protection to the unfortunate people of Rayalaseema. Our request may be reconsidered with sympathy and kindness. Give us the ready hand, not the ready tongue. Any amount of sympathy will not fill the bellies of starving people. Use the means, God will give the blessings for my 'Rayalaseema.' As for this Plan trust in God and do the right, and go ahead. Then our Plan will achieve great success.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Now I call upon Mr. Nand Lal Sharma. He will be the last speaker before I call upon the hon. Minister.

**Shri P. N. Rajabhoj** (Sholapur—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Give me only five minutes, Sir.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I have given enough time to all hon. Members.

**Shri P. N. Rajabhoj:** I am very sorry I could not get any time.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I cannot allow now. There have been full four days for discussion, and I cannot call all the 500 Members of Parliament even with the best of intentions. I have tried to adjust the time between all sections of the House.

**An Hon. Member:** Within this time we could have been accommodated.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Mr. Nand Lal Sharma.

12 NOON

**श्री नन्द लाल शर्मा (सीकर) :** धर्मण शासिते राष्ट्रे न च बाधा. प्रवर्तते । नाशयो व्याघ्रयश्चैव रामे राज्यं प्रशासति ॥

माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरे पास पांच मिनट का समय रह गया है, अतएव में मंगलाचरण के अर्थ के सम्बन्ध में कुछ अधिक कह नहीं सकूंगा। वर्धापन में जरूर हृदय से देना चाहता हूँ। इस दुःखी भारत इस बुभुक्षित भारत को निवृत्ति के लिये और स्वर्ग का स्वप्न दिलाने के लिये जो इस ऊंचे आदर्श पर प्रयत्न किया गया है उस के लिये मैं योजना आयोग के कार्यकर्ताओं को हृदय से वर्धापन देता हूँ। किन्तु मैं एक बात अवश्य निवेदन कर दूँ। कुछ की दृष्टि अमरीका की ओर है, कुछ की दृष्टि रूस की ओर है। दुर्भाग्य से आप के इस धर्मासन की ओर दृष्टि किसी की नहीं है जिसके ऊपर भगवान धर्म अभी भी विराजमान हैं। मेरा यह दृढ़ विश्वास है कि दो हजार उनहत्तर करोड़ का खर्चा कोई बहुत खर्चा नहीं है, यदि कार्य करने वालों के मन में धर्म भावना दृढ़ हो जाय। इस से भी बढ़ कर अमरीका और रूस और जर्मनी की योजनाओं की ओर ध्यान दे रहे हैं, महाकवि कालिदास ने ऐसी दिव्य योजना का उल्लेख किया है—

पृथूय दिष्टां दुदुर्धर्त्रिन्नीम् ॥

इस पृथ्वी के अन्दर से पृथु महाराज ने पहली योजना के अनुसार चमकते हुए रत्न और दिव्यातिदिव्य औषधियों को निकाल कर हमारे यहां दिखाया था। तब हमारे यहां तो चार फूटी कौड़ी भी खर्च नहीं हुई और राम ने समुद्र पर पुल बांध दिया इस देश के भालू बन्दरों को साथ ले कर। उन्होंने एक कौड़ी भी खर्च नहीं की। लेकिन उस में एक बात थी। वह दो हजार उनहत्तर करोड़ रुपयों की ओर

ध्यान नहीं देते थे। अगर उन को यह ध्यान होता कि हम को कौशल के खजाने में से रुपया निकलवाना है तो हर एक को ध्यान होता कि कुछ रुपया उस के भी हिस्से में आवेगा। इसलिये मैं निवेदन करता हूँ कि आप ने जनता के सहयोग के लिये बार बार कहा है और "क्रूसैडिंग स्पिरिट" (crusading spirit) यह शब्द आप के प्रधान मंत्री महोदय ने भी कहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि "क्रूसैड" शब्द सेक्यूलर स्टेट (secular state) में आ ही नहीं सकता है। क्रूसैड (crusade) शब्द का अर्थ ही है 'धर्म भावना से प्रेरित हो कर काम करना'। मेरा यह विश्वास है कि, चाहे हिन्दू हो या मुसलमान हो, भारत निवासी में ईश्वर की भावना मर नहीं गई है। अगर उन के अन्दर धर्म की भावना दृढ़ कर दी जाय कि देश और जाति की रैब करना हमारा सब से बड़ा धर्म है तो मैं समझता हूँ कि लोग प्राण भी देने को तैयार हैं, रुपया तो क्या वस्तु है।

सरदार ए० एस० सहगल (बिलासपुर) : मतलब उस का वही है।

श्री नन्द लाल शर्मा : मैं अब दो चार शब्द योजना के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ। इस योजना के अन्तर्गत भोजन और कृषि के सम्बन्ध में बहुत सी बातें कह दी गईं, मैं ने इस आयोग की रिपोर्ट को देखा है, किन्तु दुर्भाग्य से मुझ को ऐनीमल हसबैंडरी (animal husbandry) के चैप्टर (chapter) को पढ़ने पर कहीं एक अक्षर भी उस के लिये नहीं दीला जिस के लिये यह कहा है कि वह सब से बड़ी आवश्यक वस्तु है, जिस से एक हजार करोड़ रुपये प्रति वर्ष की ग्रास नेशनल इनकम (gross national income) बतलाई गई है। यह इनकम गो धन के द्वारा बतलाई गई है, परन्तु गो हत्या बन्द करने के लिये कोई शब्द नहीं

कहा गया। सारे भारतवर्ष में १६० गौसदन हैं ३५-३६ करोड़ व्यक्तियों के निवास के बीच में १६० गौसदनों को आप पांच वर्ष में स्थापित करना चाहेंगे। मैं उस के लिये भी आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ। किन्तु जब तक गोवध को गोहत्या करने वालों को आप कानून द्वारा नहीं रोकेंगे तब तक आप को सफलता नहीं मिलेगी क्योंकि ट्रैक्टर के द्वारा आप का काम नहीं चलने वाला है।

इसी के साथ मैं आगे चल कर स्वास्थ्य के बारे में कुछ निवेदन कर दूँ। स्वास्थ्य मंत्राणी महोदय यहाँ हैं नहीं। स्वास्थ्य के सम्बन्ध में भी खर्चा बहुत कुछ बतलाया गया, क्षय रोग पर, मलेरिया पर, मच्छर मार पाटियों पर। किन्तु शुद्ध घी और शुद्ध दूध की प्राप्ति के लिये जो बच्चों के लिये और माताओं के लिये सब से आवश्यक वस्तु है, और जिस के द्वारा फिर न मलेरिया उन पर प्रभाव डाल सकेगा और न क्षय रोग ही आ सकेगा, उस शुद्ध दूध और घी की प्राप्ति के लिये कोई उपाय नहीं दिया गया है। 'दूध तो आप के डब्बे का है और तालीम है सरकार की।' यह डब्बे का दूध, बाहर का पाउडर मिलक (powder milk) आ कर काम नहीं करेगा।

साथ ही मैं स्वास्थ्य शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में भी कुछ कह देना चाहता हूँ। आयुर्वेद के द्वारा जो स्वास्थ्य शिक्षा सब से कम खर्च में भारतवर्ष में चल सकती है उस की ओर कुछ ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। शिक्षा विभाग के सम्बन्ध में भी कुछ कहना है। मौलाना साहब उपस्थित नहीं हैं। परन्तु मुझे दुर्भाग्य से कहना पड़ रहा है कि संस्कृत शिक्षा को बिल्कुल मटियामेट करने का प्रयत्न करने का इन्होंने ने दृढ़ निश्चय कर लिया है। संस्कृत यूनीवर्सिटियां यहाँ भारतवर्ष में चलती थीं। आप आज मनुष्य के लिये रोटी प्राप्त करेंगे

[श्री नन्द लाल शर्मा]

के लिये अमरीका और इंग्लैंड तक दौड़े जा रहे हैं। किन्तु आप की खोपड़ी को बनाने वाला जो दिव्यातिदिव्य सिर में मशीन है, उस मशीन का सर्वनाश करते चले जा रहे हैं। फ्री एजुकेशन (free education) के नाम से भारत वर्ष में आज तक संस्कृत और हिन्दी फ्री पढ़ाई जाती थी। अभी भी पाठशालायें और विद्यालय और आप के ऋषिकुल जैसी बड़ी बड़ी यूनिवर्सिटियां, जो आप के राष्ट्रीय ढंग पर चलने वाली संस्थायें थीं, उन को आप ने मार देने का प्रयत्न किया है। उन में शर्तें लगा दी हैं कि पांच पांच अध्यापक न रखो तो पाठशाला नहीं चला सकते। जहां एक कौड़ी फीस नहीं ली जाती थी और धार्मिक भावना से राष्ट्रीय भावना से लड़कों को शिक्षा दी जाती थी सिम्पल लिविंग और हाई थिंकिंग (Simple living and high thinking) की, उस के बदले आप कालेज के लड़कों और कालेज की लड़कियों को बढ़ाते जा रहे हैं जिन की दृष्टि फिर रूस और अमरीका की ओर होगी और भारतवर्ष की ओर नहीं जायेगी।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं केवल एक शब्द राजस्थान के बारे में कह देना चाहता हूँ जहां से मेरा निर्वाचन हुआ है। मैं समझता हूँ कि राजस्थान की राजनैतिक परिस्थिति इस समय बहुत गन्दी हो रही है। क्षमा करेंगे, अगर मैं यह कहूँ कि वहाँ राजपूत, जाट इत्यादि जातियों को आपस में लड़ाने का प्रयत्न हमारे कुछ कांग्रेसी भाई कर रहे हैं, इस के लिये मैं सभी कांग्रेस वालों को दोष नहीं देता, लेकिन कुछ कांग्रेसियों ने अपने स्वार्थ के लिए वहाँ ऐसा किया है और मैं आप की चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि यदि आप ने अलवर और भरतपुर से ले कर और पाकिस्तान तक की सीमा तक चलने वाली

इस चीर भूमि को इस प्रकार झगड़ों में डाल दिया तो आप को यह झगड़ा सम्भालना कठिन हो जायेगा। केवल १६ करोड़ रुपया राजस्थान के लिए दे कर इस प्रदेश से अन्याय किया है। वहाँ को सारी बड़ी बड़ी स्टेट्स को, जो उन्नति की योजनायें रखती थीं, उन सब रिधासतों को मिला कर महा राजस्थान बनाया गया है, वहाँ की रेलवेज को आप ने ले कर के समस्त रेलवे सिस्टम को अपने हाथ में कर के जहाँ नई लाइन्स बनने वाली थीं उन्हें रोक लिया है वहाँ किराया भी डबल कर दिया गया, इसलिये मुझे खेद के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि जनता के दुख व कष्ट ज्यों के त्यों चले जा रहे हैं और मैं यहाँ पर राजस्थान के रेलवे सिस्टम की ओर विशेष रूप से रेलवे विभाग का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ।

बस एक शब्द मैं केवल योजना बनाने वालों से और कहना चाहता हूँ, कि जिस बीमार को बाहर से कोई औषधि मिलने की कोई उम्मीद न हो और अपने घर में ही उस औषधि को तलाश करना हो, वह अगर स्वयं अपने घर वालों को ठीक करने का विचार नहीं करता है तो इस से बढ़ कर दुर्भाग्य की बात और क्या हो सकती है।

आज हमारी भारतमाता के अंग भंग हो गये, टुकड़े हो गये, और आज इसी कारण उस के बच्चों को देश में अनाज खाने की नहीं मिल रहा है, क्योंकि अन्न पैदा करने वाले प्रदेश तो हम से बाहर चले गये हैं, और खाने वाले आप के यहाँ हैं। दुख तो इस बात का है कि भारतमाता के टुकड़े, कटी हुई भुजाओं और उस के कटे हुए सिर को पुनः मरम्मत करने की तरफ आर धीमों ने कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया, और भारत की तरफ से अखंड बचाने की

कोई योजना आप ने नहीं रखी है, मैं समझता हूँ कि जब तक आप यह नहीं करते, आप का कल्याण होने वाला नहीं है। याद रखें कि यह लाल और हरा ऊपर नीचे से आप को घेर चुका है, और लाल वाले और हरे वाले आप को खा जाना चाहते हैं। आप ने कोई ऐसी योजना नहीं बनाई है जिस से इस वायलेट (violet) द्वारा इस रेड (red) और ग्रीन (green) दोनों को इस श्वेत में मिला कर धर्म चक्र की विजय कर सकें, अगर आप ऐसा करेंगे तो हमेशा विजय आप की रहेगी।

**The Minister of Planning and Irrigation and Power (Shri Nanda):** I feel deeply grateful for the extent of praise and the degree of support which the Plan has received in this House and outside. There is hardly one important feature of the Plan which has not met with a wide measure of approval. In the volumes of the Plan, vast amount of material has been assembled. This fact has been given very liberal recognition by one Member after another. The Planning Commission's stress on food self-sufficiency, the amount of attention that has been paid to agricultural development, irrigation and power, have been very widely welcomed. The Planning Commission's land policy opens a new chapter in agrarian relations and this feature has also been appreciated almost unanimously. Significant improvement is sought to be made in respect of unemployment situation through measures connected with expansion of village industries and small-scale industries.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA in the Chair]

The construction of common production programmes has been noticed with very great approval in other respects too.

Take the question of labour policy. In spite of what we have heard just a little while ago, the new basis for industrial relations evolved by the Planning Commission (An Hon. Member: 'Reactionary') has had wide acceptance on the part of those concerned. (Interruption). I am not now dealing with the labour

problems and I will not be distracted. On any other occasion I will take it up. In the matter of housing for industrial workers—I cannot say that it is very adequate provision—but it does make a very large improvement on the existing conditions. What we are doing in the matter of basic education, control and eradication of malaria, has been commended. There is so much else also which forms common ground, the increased provision for basic industries and transport, the provision for scarcity affected areas, for local works, for minor irrigation. Still who can deny that there has been opposition to the Plan, from the disagreement expressed here? But, one thing should be noticed regarding disagreement. If you scan all the speeches that have been made, you will discover that whatever has been provided, whatever is being offered, is acceptable. Nobody would have anything taken out of it. But they say that it is not enough. More is asked for in every direction. I can understand that attitude. I myself would agree with it. It cannot be helped at this stage. It may be that if we all co-operate not only in carrying out the Plan but in overstepping the target of the Plan much more can be done. If less is done, because some people do not give their co-operation, then we shall all suffer. Most of all, the common man, the poor man on whose behalf we all speak here, will suffer. This is the peril for all of us.

I would now address myself to just a few of the major issues raised in the course of the discussion. Obviously, I cannot take up for answer all matters of detail, nor can I deal with the numerous references to local problems, projects and difficulties. Not that they are not important, but there would be other occasions, and other ways of doing them justice. However, I think I should clarify the position regarding one or two general aspects of the matter. We have heard that there is dissatisfaction in some States. That dissatisfaction was expressed here abundantly. The complaint is that provision has not been made for a number of very important schemes. Some of the schemes were specifically mentioned here. In connection with that, I have to make this point that the programmes of the States are the minimum, not the maximum. It should be possible for any State to enlarge the size of its Plan if it is in a position to find the additional resources, provided that the imple-

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mentation of all that is already included in the Plan is assured. Furthermore, certain increased allocations which were provided in the Plan could not be distributed in respect of the different States—minor irrigation, local works, scarcity-affected areas, community projects and some other allocations also. When they are distributed as among the different States, several things which now do not appear there, would be found there and the size of the Plan for the States will certainly rise further. Thinking particularly of the case of U.P. which was referred to here, I might point out that it should be possible to remove the discrepancy between the size as announced and as provided for here on that basis. It may apply in different degrees to other States. For example, take the question of Bengal. There you have the Ganga Barrage and several other projects.

Coming to the criticism which has been levelled at the Plan, I feel, and say so in all humility, that it does not raise any very serious problems. It leaves the Plan intact. I do not mean to say that no flaws were discovered or pointed out, or that no useful suggestions were made, or that nothing was said that we need pay heed to. There was much, but my point is that so far as the principles, objectives and programmes of development contained in the first Five Year Plan are concerned, these things for which the approval of the House is being sought remain unaffected.

I would like now to take up the contents of the Plan in relation to the various points of criticism. A Plan to be acceptable must satisfy certain fundamental tests. I shall put these tests before the House. First and foremost, the Plan must adopt a correct approach. The approach, of course, comprises both the objectives and methods, and the choice of methods and selection of objectives. Secondly, a Plan must be an adequate Plan. It must make the fullest use of the resources of the nation. At the same time, it should not be so designed as to incur excessive risks. The third test is regarding the balance in the Plan. Is it a balanced Plan? Is its scheme of priorities sound? Lastly, a Plan must be an effective Plan. It must be a workable Plan and under that head several tests come in. Take the first—the question of approach to the Plan. There are some who

question the very basis of the Plan. What is right for us is wrong for them. With them, there is no use arguing. I am referring particularly to the remark made by the hon. Member, Prof. H. N. Mukerjee who said that this Plan has no philosophy proportionate to the needs of the country. As far as I can recollect, these were his words. It may be that our philosophy and his philosophy are not of the same kind, but we have a philosophy which meets the needs of the people and which also is suitable to the conditions of this land. We can only justify that by the results, by the fruits, of the Plan. Whatever may be our differences regarding that, it is no use misnaming whatever approach the Plan offers. Calling it a Plan of *status quo*, a Plan that perpetuates inequalities, a capitalistic Plan, etc. is not correct. It is not a Plan of *status quo*. It is a forward looking Plan. It is a Plan for change. It is a Plan for technological change, for economic change, for social change.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty** (Basirhat): What do you do for reducing rural indebtedness?

**Shri Nanda:** If there is time I will deal with that question also. It is not as the hon. Member Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani said a capitalistic Plan with slight touches here and there. It is not a question of slight touches. It is a radical Plan. It is a Plan which seeks the abolition of privileged and unearned income. It aims at realising social and economic equality. It seeks to provide security for the people and raise their standard of living.

**Shri B. S. Murthy** (Eluru): The Constitution has said that.

**Shri Nanda:** I have not followed the remark, but I need not attend to it. Possibly, the meaning is that although we say so, we do not mean it.

**Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani** (New Delhi): You have left the private sector untouched.

**Shri Nanda:** I will come to the private sector also.

The idea of my hon. friend's remark is perhaps that we are paying lip homage to this principle but are doing nothing about it. It is not correct. It is not denied that to achieve an object of that kind certain steps have to be taken, an environment, a new environment,

has to be created, the institutional framework has to be changed and new methods of economic organisation have to be evolved. That is all quite true. And this is what the Plan has done. It has examined the implications of this approach and set out the lines on which we are to advance. It accepts the fact that the economy of the country has to be transformed; it accepts the fact that the State has to play a crucial role; it has to take up increasing responsibilities; it has to initiate development; it has also to take various steps to bring about social and economic equality. Various things connected with that are interspersed throughout the Plan.

I may cite a few of these just to illustrate that it is not simply an idle aspiration, but is meant to be implemented. In the Plan hon. Members will find in various places references to the new set-up that must be evolved, co-operative organisation, new cadres, etc. Without that hon. Members on that side or this may say anything. But nothing can happen. The other essentials are re-organisation of agricultural system, land policy, examination of the whole question of the system of distribution, State-trading, etc. Another essential factor to which I would like to invite the attention of hon. Members is "progressive socialisation of agricultural marketing and processing industries in rural areas through the agency of co-operatives". There is reference to finance in several paragraphs. And finally it has been brought out very clearly that the whole mechanism of finance, including insurance and stock exchanges have to be refitted into the scheme of development, the Plan, and this is not to depend on the private motive.

Further, regarding fiscal policy, it has been stated that it should aim at enlarging the public sector. The Plan also refers to the private sector and public enterprise with a view to reduce inequalities. Hon. Members know that the recommendations regarding death duties have already been adopted. But the consequence of that is not fully realised. It has been brought out that a high rate of progression in income-tax rates, the structure of controls to regulate prices and profits, death duties can make a significant contribution towards reduction of inequalities.

With regard to capital formation and savings, it has been very pronouncedly stated that the Planning Commission prefers not individual savings, not even corporate savings,

because it is realised that corporate savings in the conditions of today means concentration of economic power in certain hands, in a few hands. Therefore the preference of the Planning Commission is for co-operative savings. These are a few references which hon. Members can themselves make in those volumes and they will find these and several other things.

It was said that whatever we may say, the speed is so slow. It may take a hundred years and yet we may not have reached the goal. That is not true. We are not believers in gradualism. We want rapid change. But there is one qualification. It must be rapid of course, but there should be orderly development. Subject to that condition that there should be orderly and peaceful development, let us go as far as we want, as fast as we can. But I do not agree with those friends whose conception is that there is no change unless things start toppling around them, unless there are upsets, although it may take years thereafter to repair the damage. I do not consider that speed fast really, where if we try to hasten, make forced progress, we come to a situation where we have to go back—we go forward two steps, we have to go four steps backward. It happened in the country where planning started.

**Shri Meghnad Saha** (Calcutta—North-West): The hon. the Prime Minister has on many occasions said that industrialisation has to be a forced march.

**Shri Nanda:** I was referring to an experience in recent history that it does not do any good to a country to try to force pace. In those earlier years their agricultural production went down by 50 per cent., because of extravagant experimentation.

**An Hon. Member:** What country are you referring to?

**Shri Nanda:** It is very well known.

I am thinking now of our country, its future, and I can state with confidence that we are laying down strong foundations for a really good, stable, strong superstructure. The foundation is invisible and it takes time to lay a strong foundation. No one can say that nothing has been done while the foundations were being completed. Without foundation what happens is that you build, it comes down and again you build. We do not want to build like that.

I have got another point in mind in relation to the Plan. The hon.

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Member from Gujerat the other day said: "If you do not want private enterprise, tell us now. Why keep it in suspense? Abolish it if you want to." He said that we should know that the country will suffer, because we have not got the machinery, we have not got the personnel and we will make things worse. I have to inform him that in the first place let us not equate private enterprise with capitalism. There can be private enterprise which is not capitalist enterprise. There is room for large numbers of small individuals working in their own way. There is also room, and should be increasing room, for co-operatives. What I am thinking of for the future of the country is that large-scale trade, large-scale industry will be run on behalf of the community; and small-scale industry, cottage industries, retail trade will be in the hands of the co-operatives.

That does not mean that there is going to be no function for the kind of private enterprise that is now a part of the economy of the country as it stands now. As long as we do not find an alternative which subserves the interests of the community better, we will let them remain. The moment an alternative is found which serves the interests of the community better, there will be no hesitation in making the change. And I am sure that the members of that section of the community will themselves, for the greater good of the nation, accommodate themselves and help to enable us to carry out that programme better, than it would otherwise be, by the help of their experience. Meanwhile, as long as they are there, we recognize that they should be enabled to function effectively, that they should not be harassed. But they should of course be properly controlled in the interests of society. This is the position so far as that point of view is concerned.

I was surprised to listen to another criticism of the Plan from the Gandhian view-point. I am also supposed to be a person having something to do with the Gandhian outlook. It was stated that the Plan goes as far away from the Gandhian outlook as anything can be. This is quite wrong. I can say with confidence that this Plan embodies as much of that outlook as is possible in the circumstances of the country now. When we see in the Plan the amount of concentration on the resources and energy on the rural

sector, food self-sufficiency, land reform, cottage industries, village industries, small-scale industry, basic education—when we take all these things together they make a very sizable part of the Plan. I have absolutely no regrets on the score. If anything more can be done there is the willingness to do it. A start has to be made. Along the lines where the progress is smooth and it succeeds, we can go much further in that direction. This is the first test regarding the approach of the Plan.

The second is: is the Plan adequate, the size of the Plan, the scale of programme of development? There are two sets of views on that: One is a rather pessimistic view. It was reflected very prominently in the speech of Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, namely that this is too high an expectation, how can we waste resources of this order. (he took out one after another) the revenues of the State, it is not possible to raise all these taxes, loans: no hope. Then he came to deficit financing. He says it is something which is abominable. Then, as regards external aid, he and several others feel that this is a very risky affair; so we cannot really raise the resources which we have provided in the Plan. So the position is, according to him, that the resources of the Plan cannot be realized.

There is an extension of that view-point. I heard some hon. Members saying—I do not remember the names—not only that you will not be able to raise the taxes, etc. but that you should not try to do that, do not try to raise more taxes, people will resent it, do not borrow because it is inconsistent with self-respect to borrow, and so on. And it was said that targets will not be realized. That was also very strongly asserted here.

One argument brought up in that connection was: where is the purchasing power, we have attained the targets regarding cotton, jute, sugar, etc. This is what was said. This is not true. We have not. Not in the matter of cotton; not in the matter of jute; and even in regard to sugar, if we take gur and sugar together, no. But the point made was having been able even in regard to these two or three to increase production, the people cannot consume it.

This point has been very adequately dealt with by my colleague, the Finance Minister, that if the purchasing power is really at such a low ebb it will be reflected in the price

level, and that will be the opportunity for an enlarged deficit financing. Therefore, purchasing power can be poured into the economic system. The purchasing power arises there. (*Interruption*). I understand this point, and if the hon. Members do not understand that, it can be explained to them at greater length on some other occasion.

**Shri B. S. Murthy:** Dr. Schacht's economics!

**Mr. Chairman:** I would ask hon. Members not to interrupt him. Let him proceed.

**Shri Nambiar:** We cannot understand; that is the difficulty.

**Shri Nanda:** Sir, my time is being encroached upon. Is it really such a difficult feat? The Plan says that all that we are attempting to do is, five per cent. of the income is at present being utilised for investment, and we propose to raise it to 6-3/4 per cent. by the end of the five year period. How do we do it? Every year, of the additional income we take away 20 per cent. only. And that gives us this. (*An Hon. Member:* What?) The order of investment which is being visualised by the Plan. Not only that. But of the rest of investment in the country.....(*Interruption*). Sir, these are matters on which it is not a question of simple vocabulary; it is a question of understanding of a different kind. It was in the name of the peasant. We were told the peasant is indebted, the peasant is living in straits, how can you make him pay more, how can you have additional indirect taxes? All that we are taking out, as I explained, is from increased incomes. There is no question here, so far as the Plan is concerned, of curtailing the standards of consumption though it should not be. I imagine hon. Members there might support a programme of that kind for they are bringing up again and again: how much cloth at the end of five years, how much food at the end of five years? They should know that more of that means the less of investment.

**Shri S. S. More (Sholapur):** Is it not the object of Government to utilise the increased income for raising the standard of living in India?

**Shri Nanda:** It is one hole out of which two things flow in two directions. It can flow into consumption, it can flow into investment. The more it goes into consumption, the less in investment. Increased consumption and investment not to the same extent, Sir.

**Mr. Chairman:** I request the hon. Members not to make a running commentary on what the hon. Minister is talking. It disturbs the line of reasoning and snaps the thread of thought. If hon. Members have any objections, when the Minister finishes his speech, they may put questions to him, and it is not fair that on every word uttered by the Minister, a comment is made.

**Shri K. K. Basu (Diamond Harbour):** Comments and clarifications.

**Shri Nanda:** We are questioning the preparedness and the capacity of the people to pay. I am sure if the situation is explained to them, if they realise that what is being taken away from them goes back to them four-fold, will increase their prosperity, their standards, then the people will be glad to pay. They will not grudge to pay but what each one of us will and how it will spare the other provisions, is a matter for each one to choose and decide. At the same time, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, who does not happen to be here now, on the one side tells us "limit your objectives, do not fritter away your resources, do not be too ambitious" and then he tells us again just five minutes later "do these things". How many things he asks: "clear all the slums of the country in five years, rehabilitate everybody, give employment to all the middle classes, have rural housing, have more of the consumers goods, have more basic industries".

**Shri Gadgil (Poona Central):** On the top of it the Ganga Barrage.

**Shri Nanda:** Dr. Mookerjee says "more education, more provision for tuberculosis". All these things put together will mean five to ten times....

**Shri B. S. Murthy:** On a point of order, Sir.

**Several Hon. Members:** No point of order.

**Mr. Chairman:** What is the point of order?

**Shri B. S. Murthy:** Can the hon. Minister misquote Dr. Mookerjee in his absence?

**Shri Gadgil:** Who is responsible for his absence?

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member has no right to say that. If Dr. S. P. Mookerjee was here, he could contradict or give personal explanation. It is a question of finding out what Dr. Mookerjee said and what the hon. Minister is saying. The hon. Mem-

[Mr. Chairman]

ber has no right to go into that question. When the hon. Minister is in the middle of his speech, it is not fair to interrupt him. There is only very little time for the hon. Minister to reply.

**Shri B. S. Murthy rose—**

**Several Hon. Members:** No, no.

**Shri Nanda:** I was only recapitulating the observations of Dr. S. P. Mookerjee. The record of his speech can be referred to for that. He said "do not be ambitious, reduce your targets, do not do all these things" and on the other side he wants all these things should be done. This is what I have said. I will now come to the other set of views.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

The other point of view is that what we are attempting is too little. They may lightly talk of the figures of increase in the national income given in the Plan, they may ridicule five per cent. in five years and they may say "In 27 years the income will be doubled but who will be alive for 27 years?" Sir, this was made clear that in the first place this doubling of our capital income is really trebling the income. Moreover, it should be possible, if there is enough co-operation, to reduce that period to 20 years. Twenty years for doubling the per capita income which means 15 years for doubling the income of the country. The hon. Member, Prof. H. N. Mukerjee made a remark which I am still not able to understand. He said in 27 years this country will be coming back to the position it occupied in 1938. This is something which I cannot comprehend but I will not stop for any explanation on that now. Is it possible to very much accelerate this rate? After this five year period what do we propose to do? We are taking 20 per cent. of the additional income during this period of five years and then we step up to 50 per cent. of the additional income so that 6-3/4 becomes 10 per cent. in about ten years and 20 per cent. at the end of this period. Twenty per cent. for purposes of investment is no small thing. Is any alternative suggested to us? Suppose we agree that we will raise the scale of development, the order of investment? What are the means suggested for that? Of course, this cannot be the means for raising consumption which is being urged again and again.

One other thing was suggested. We should tap the profits of private industry. Actually there must be some

very serious misconception about the size of those profits. I have got the figures here—1950-51: Rs. 98 crores. Of this Rs. 40 crores were collected by way of tax, Rs. 24 crores dividends and Rs. 34 crores retained. This, compared with the size of the investment, is a very large figure and then we leave this in the private sector, we also leave with it certain obligations and responsibilities. The private sector has to perform those obligations. It has to make the investment. It has to run that sector. So, there is really no favour shown to the private sector so far as this aspect is concerned.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee** (Calcutta North-East): On a point of personal explanation. I take advantage also of the presence of the Finance Minister. I said in reference to the profits of the jute industry,—I am quoting what I actually said.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Leave alone the records. What does the hon. Member want to say by way of personal explanation?

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** He referred to the quantum of profits which has been mentioned by certain Members of the Opposition. I had referred to a certain figure, Rs. 50 crores for the jute industry and I have referred to that figure with the qualification which this record will show that the jute industry could make it and it is the Capital of the 5th of April which shows it.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member may remember that the Finance Minister said that he does not agree with that, and that is an incorrect figure according to him. Therefore, there is no misunderstanding so far as this matter is concerned. He does not agree.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** I submit there was some misunderstanding. I referred to the possible profits in the hands mainly of foreign capitalists. (*Interruption*). He referred to profits actually made. There is a misunderstanding. The Finance Minister talks about profits actually made. I referred to profits potential which they themselves admit, which are in the hands of foreign capitalists whom we can treat in a particular fashion if we wish to do so.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** There is no misunderstanding so far as this is concerned.

**An Hon. Member:** Misquotation.

**Shri Nanda:** This is not a matter which has advanced beyond the stage of judgment; this could be examined and re-examined.

Another aspect touched frequently by hon. Members and which is being shown up as a deficiency of the Plan is the aspect of employment. We have been told that our Plan is not a Plan for employment for all. It is a Plan for employment for all. Only there is no claim being made that employment will be given to everybody during the course of the next three years. That is not possible in any kind of a plan under any kind of system.

**Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani:** Nobody expects that.

**Shri Nanda:** Nobody expect full employment for everybody during the next three years. But, we expect full employment for everybody during the succeeding Five Year Plan, and every five year period is going to improve the position more and more rapidly. What exactly is involved in this question is employment. Taking this five-year period, really is it a small achievement? In the chapter on employment some calculations have been made. They are not complete. From the fact that in the rural sector production is going to be increased and all the resources are going to be applied to increase irrigation, have we reckoned how much it will mean in the matter of increased employment? I have got some figures worked out. But, I think I should not take up the time of the House in giving an idea as to what actually it amounts to.

**Some Hon. Members:** Give it.

1 P.M.

**Shri Nanda:** Execution of minor irrigation works which will cost about 113 crores will provide additional employment for about 60 crore man-days. It is not possible to work out in terms of units, that is, so many persons employed, because our problem of unemployment in the rural areas is largely a problem of under-employment or disguised employment. Reclamation and land development programmes will cost 35 crores and will create employment for ten crore man-days. Thirty lakh persons will get employment as a result of this. The provision of irrigation will result in intensive cultivation and increased employment to the members of 60 lakh families cultivating 20 million acres which will benefit by the irrigation schemes. Extension of cultivation to 7.4 million acres will  
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provide full employment for about seven and a half lakh families. In addition, intensified cultivation measures including use of improved seeds and fertilisers, manures, etc., are expected to call for increased efforts to the extent of 25 per cent. or 30 per cent. per worker for at least 25 per cent. of the agricultural population by 1955-56. This is not a very insignificant achievement, when as a result of the implementation of these programmes these results come about.

I come now to the question of priorities. As I explained earlier, priorities are not questioned. All that we have offered and all that is intended to be done is acceptable. The only question is, do more of these things, and all other things. That is really not a question of priorities, but it is a question of raising the size of the Plan. As I have already explained, in the circumstances of the country, this is the best that can be attempted.

Now, I come to the fourth test, the effectiveness and workability of the Plan. Is it a Plan at all: that was the question raised time and again. The hon. Member Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee and other Members also, said that it is only a bundle of schemes and unless it is hundred per cent. planning, it is no planning; that we must have crop planning and all kinds of planning covering every aspect of our economy. We are told that we have not made a survey of the manpower resources.

**Shri Damodara Menon** (Kozhikode): Shall we continue after Lunch, Sir?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** We shall go on now. I will allow this time for re-assembling. I will finish this Resolution before we disperse. The same interval we shall have for Lunch, as usual. We will sit till 1-30.

**Some Hon. Members:** There are amendments.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The amendments will be put to vote.

**Shri Nanda:** One serious charge made against this Plan was that if we are really planning, it should offer a solution for all the problems and difficulties of the country, that this Plan does not do that, and that this Plan does not also create all kinds of statistical and other equipment which is, in the eyes of those who have read text books about planning a pre-requisite of planning. My own view is that in the circumstances of this country, it would be over-planning. We do not need all that at the moment. It would take so

[Shri Nanda]

many years to complete that kind of basis for planning that we might in the meanwhile have wasted precious opportunities for years and years.

I now come to a very important question, the question of public co-operation. Its importance cannot be exaggerated. It is only on the basis of widespread agreement and large scale co-operation of the people that a Plan of this kind can be accomplished. In respect of public co-operation, we were again and again being told that we cannot expect public co-operation in a full measure. Why? It is said that our administration is such that it arouses antipathies, that it creates antagonisms between the people and the administration. One particular feature which was stressed was corruption. We recognise that there is an amount of corruption and that corruption must be eradicated, tackled effectively and removed in order to create confidence among the people, to create more confidence. This aspect of corruption has been thoroughly gone into in the Plan. Various remedies and steps have been suggested. Corruption in the relations between the administration and the people is one thing. Then there is another kind of corruption, which is not bribes paid to officers, but the funds of the State are embezzled. Some illustration was given here and some clarification was called for. I am not concerned with that at the moment, but I would just like to point out that although corruption of that kind may be of sufficient volume and it needs to be tackled very strongly, this other kind is not of such huge proportions as what was stated here in the House yesterday would lead one to believe. I only wanted to say that in fairness to those who are concerned.

Then the question of administrative efficiency. I do not want to take up the time of the House. There is not enough time. I will state the fact that a very great deal of care has been taken in the study of that problem and a series of recommendations have been made which, taken together, must lead to a very great deal of levelling up of the efficiency of administration. I will not take time on that issue. I want to consider now a much more important question that was raised. That was the enthusiasm of the people. How can you enthuse the people? I have still not been able to understand what is wrong, and why we should not be able to enthuse the people if

we want to. The essence of the Plan is that the essential needs of the people will be met more and more. If a country which is now in the grip of scarcities and has to depend on food from outside, can set before itself a goal of self-sufficiency in food, it is not a very small thing by itself. There can be nothing which will create more enthusiasm for those millions of people working on the land than the sight of water. These are the figures here of the acreage which is going to be brought under new irrigation by minor irrigation works and major irrigation works. That is going to increase the production. That is going to increase employment not only directly on the land, but also, as a result of the greater availability of raw materials, employment in various other occupations, in factories small and large; and also in the tertiary sector. So, it is not something which is very negligible. If we only put it properly to the people, they will understand it, because it affects them, and they know what it means for them. It is only a question of making an appeal to them, bringing the knowledge to them of the implications. Of course, when the thing comes, they will see it, but before it comes and when the attempts are being made, let not those attempts be thwarted by misrepresentation of what the state of affairs is.

Then it was said in respect of the issue of public co-operation, that it is not a national Plan. But, before I come to that, I want to dispose of a rather delicate question, the question relating to the Bharat Sevak Samaj. Again and again, hon. Members made observations which were entirely inappropriate, unapplicable to the situation, and had no bearing on realities. It is said that the Bharat Sevak Samaj has received money from the Government. Not at all. We have no money at all really. It is said that the Bharat Sevak Samaj is going to be provided with rupees four crores under the Plan. That also I do not see anywhere. The money allocated for social welfare activities may be spent through any agency. There may be scores of agencies. Whichever is most suited for a particular purpose may be selected. (Interruption).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** There has been sufficient discussion for five days. He need not interrupt now.

**Shri Nanda:** I remember all the questions that were raised in my

presence, and I have also seen the records and I am answering all the questions. (*Interruption*).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Let there be no running commentary.

**Shri Nanda:** It is stated that the Bharat Sevak Samaj is an auxiliary of the Congress, that it is a friend of the Congress, and that it is not really a non-political organisation. Hon. Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani at least was fair so far as the persons with whom she is in contact here dealing with the Bharat Sevak Samaj were concerned, and conceded that they want to have it kept on a non-political plane. But the charge is that all over people in strategic positions are Congressmen, and that it is really intended to develop the influence of the Congress. It is a matter of detail, but since the question was brought up, I refer to that. Before any kind of set-up was created, an attempt was made to secure the names of conveners from all the parties who were associated, and I personally again and again asked for names of persons who could be introduced into this work, but at that stage minds were not made up altogether, and no suggestions were made of names of persons who could be selected for this work. Even now, let us take the list of the conveners in the various States. I hardly find a very active Congressman in the list of conveners. If there are some here and there because nobody else could be found, I do not think that it is anything for which we should apologise.

Regarding the Bharat Sevak Samaj, I wish very humbly to state again that we should not condemn it out of hand on certain assumptions. It is something which the country needs, a non-political, non-official organisation which will engage itself in constructive activity where all parties can come together for things which are for the good of the nation. If we cannot do that in a democracy, if we must go on only fighting, and if we cannot meet for constructive purposes, democracy will be in very serious jeopardy. What I was pointing out was that if at a certain stage for certain constructive purposes co-operation is not forthcoming, it is a different matter, but actually on a point of fact, there is nothing to warrant the kind of inferences that have been drawn. (*Interruption*).

सरदार ए० एस्० सहगल (बिलासपूर) :

चोर की दाढ़ी में तिनका ।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member is not the only hon. Member in the Opposition. A number of things have been stated here. The hon. Minister is answering various points that have been raised and doubts that have been created. No hon. Member need take that all the arguments are against him. The hon. Minister may kindly go on.

**Shri Nanda:** It was said that this Plan was not a national Plan; that it was a political stunt; that it was a Plan of the Congress Party. So far as those who were concerned with the preparation of the Plan are concerned, I can say categorically that there was no kind of narrow political view at all present in their minds. It is not at all a Plan which has been made with a view to serve the interests of any party. No questions of the interests of any party are involved in it. I do not see where and how the question arises, because as I said, the reaction regarding the things which I enumerated was that they were good things, they should be done, and that more of them should be done. So, where does the question of any party interest arise there? If all the things are such that they can disagree with them mostly, then there is no question that there is a separate special point of view of the Congress Party which is going to operate in the implementation and formulation of this Plan. It is a national Plan in the sense that in the first place, it was worked out in relation to the needs of the whole nation. Secondly, it was publicised, and information about the Plan went out to all parts of the country, and the reactions, opinions and suggestions that resulted, reflect the minds of the people of the country. Between the period of the draft outline and that of the final Plan, there were consultations in which the hon. Members who spoke in that strain were associated. Now it is really odd for them to say that though they were associated in that manner, their views have not found full place. Let the hon. Members examine the contents of the draft outline and the contents of the final Plan. They will see evidence of the impact of whatever thought and whatever opinions emerged during this period. They may notice their own suggestions also finding a place in the document.

**Shri Nambar:** All underground.

**Shri Nanda:** It is not possible for every suggestion of everybody to be accommodated in the Plan. No Plan could be formulated on that basis. Even within a party, it may not be

[Shri Nanda]

possible to accommodate every viewpoint. Therefore to the best possible extent, to the utmost extent, every point of view was adjusted. Actually when criticism was made, nothing tangible was pointed out, which really went contrary to the expressed opinions of the hon. Members who had taken part in these consultations.

I understand that the House would be rather restive, and I should not take much more time. There were several questions raised, to which answers are being demanded, and I can give those answers, but I would not take up the time of the House now. There will be other occasions for that.

I should, in conclusion, just submit that it is not the intention to put up this Plan as something which is perfect. It is not at all perfect. It has many flaws. We are aware of those flaws. Some of them are inevitable in the present circumstances. But there will be always an effort to improve it. It is a blueprint. It is possible that everybody might find some little thing here and there, with which he cannot entirely agree. Several things can be adjusted in course of time, as we go along. Those who are in a mood to help and cooperate in reconstructing the country's economy, will find a good deal to do, and a great deal of room and opportunity for work of the most useful kind. It is not a very spectacular Plan, it is not a very big Plan, that is true. But it is big enough. It is not an easy Plan; as the hon. Prime Minister said, it is going to need the utmost effort on the part of all of us, to work out and realise and implement the Plan. The tasks and the targets of the Plan are of no mean order. Yet they require the utmost application of energy on the part of all of us, to achieve those targets. The objectives and proposals of the Plan were not conceived in any narrow party-spirit. It is an honest Plan. I can say that with absolute confidence that it is an honest Plan, a straightforward Plan. It may be that in material terms it does not produce anything big immediately though it does in that direction also. But chiefly what we have in view as the results of this Plan is that it places before us the prospect of becoming bigger and better in course of time. We need not remain in the category of under-developed countries, and we can, as a result of this Plan, a few years later, become a fully developed country. We need not depend on anybody, as a result

of what is visualised for the next three years. Just three years is not a very long period. My humble appeal to the various hon. Members connected with parties here and outside is that it should be the endeavour of everybody to give his utmost towards the successful implementation of this Plan. I have to think of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee again, because he said something very significant. He said that the Plan has no life, and that let the hon. Prime Minister put life into it. It is not one person who can put life into a Plan of this kind. All of us have to unite and then the Plan will become a living thing. I place the Plan in the hands of the people.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Except where any hon. Member wants his amendment to be put separately, I now propose to put all the amendments to the vote of the House.

**Shri Gidwani (Thana):** I want mine to be put separately.

**Kumari Annie Mascarene (Trivandrum):** I want mine to be put separately.

**Shri T. K. Chaudhuri (Berhampore):** I want mine to be put separately.

**Shri Chinaria (Mohindergarh):** I want to say one sentence only about my amendment.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He can't make a speech now.

**Shri Chinaria:** Only one sentence.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** This is not the time for it. It is now over.

**Shri V. G. Deshpande (Guna):** I want my amendment also to be put separately.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** What is the hon. Member's amendment? What is its number? Hon. Members are not sure about the amendments themselves.

पंडित अलगू राय शास्त्री : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा भी एक संशोधन है जो नम्बर ११ पर है। मैं उसको वापस लेता हूँ।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** All right.

**Shri Gidwani:** My amendment also should be put to vote.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I shall now put all the amendments to the vote of the House.

**Shri Chinaria:** I withdraw my amendment.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I shall put it to the vote of the House.

The question is:

That the following be added at the end:

"and congratulates the Planning Commission for their strenuous labours and single-minded devotion to the completion of their task and further calls upon the Government to take steps to enlist the co-operation towards a successful execution of this Plan of every political and social organisation and of the public in general whose well-being is the object of this Plan."

The motion was negatived.

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

That for the original resolution the following be substituted:

"This House is of opinion that the policy and the plan are permeated by a sense of over expectation and unwarranted optimism, and the economic calculations on which they are based will inevitably lead to a disorganisation of the entire economic system."

The motion was negatived.

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

(i) That for the words "records its general approval of" the words "takes into consideration" be substituted; and

(ii) that the following be added at the end:

"but regrets that they fall far short of a real effort to achieve a social order for the promotion of the welfare of the people, even as directed by Articles 38 and 39 of the Constitution."

The motion was negatived.

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

That the following be added at the end:

"and congratulates the Planning Commission and appreciates the strenuous efforts made by the Planning Commission in the completion of its huge task and further calls upon the Government to take necessary steps to enlist co-operation of all sections of the public in this country, whose well-being is the object of this Plan."

The motion was negatived.

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

That the following be added at the end:

"but feels constrained to express its disappointment at the low targets fixed by the plan particularly for the increase in the national income."

The motion was negatived.

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

That the following be added at the end:

"and suggests that for a proper implementation and execution of the plan and for creating fervour in the country, the following preliminary steps should as soon and as far as practicable be taken namely:

(1) The introduction of more and more responsible democracy through formation of autonomous statutory bodies in each village union with M.L.A.'s and M.P.'s as *ex-officio* members with power and responsibility to plan, organize and execute the programme in their respective areas;

(2) voluntary levelling down of the income and the way of living of the upper urban class in Indian life by patriotic persuasion and acceptance;

(3) ruthless austerity measures in the administrative sphere; and

(4) a renewed persistent emphasis on swadeshi and banning import of all unnecessary foreign goods in the interest of nation."

The motion was negatived.

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

That the following be added at the end:

"but regrets that the plan lacks proper emphasis on the preventive side in the planning of wealth and by giving undue emphasis on the foreign system of the so-called scientific treatment, has lost sight of the indigenous and local methods of easy and natural treatment which deserve immediate research, publicity and encouragement."

The motion was negatived.

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

That the following be added at the end:

"but regrets that in planning housing, the plan does not pro-

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

vide for reconstruction of new villages by clustering together the innumerable small, scattered and out-of-the way 'basties' in the rural areas."

The motion was negatived.

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

That the following be added at the end:

"and congratulates the Planning Commission for their labour and further calls upon the Government to take immediate and adequate steps to socialize the means of production including land to make the Plan a complete success."

The motion was negatived.

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

That the following be added at the end:

"and urges that Government should include the Kistna Valley Scheme as recommended by the Khosla Commission in the Five Year Plan and take immediate steps for the implementation of the same."

The motion was negatived.

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

That the following be added at the end:

"but regrets that the Five Year Plan suffers from several limitations and lays stress only on production, paying very little attention to equal distribution and towards providing gainful employment to fifty million unemployed and under-employed and hence fails to restore faith in the people and to mobilize the masses for reconstruction."

The motion was negatived.

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

That the following be added at the end:

"but is of opinion that the industrial policy is reactionary and tends to continue and intensify class domination."

The motion was negatived.

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

That the following be added at the end:

"but is of opinion that the policy and the plan do not aim

at a planned economy and are devoid of any scope for a centralised economic planning, besides being a total abstention from making any attempt to inaugurate or devise a policy or scheme to establish a socialistic order of things."

The motion was negatived.

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

That the following be added at the end:

"but is of opinion that the policy and plan tend to severely regiment the national economy and lower the standard of living of the bulk of the population."

The motion was negatived.

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

That the following be added at the end:

"but is of opinion that the policy and plan do not envisage any scheme to have the plan worked out free from corruption and waste."

The motion was negatived.

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

That the following be added at the end:

"but is of opinion that the policy and plan to effect a land reform is misconceived and portentous of very grave consequences, without a proper and adequate data regarding land ownership and distribution being prepared beforehand."

The motion was negatived.

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

That the following be added at the end:

"but wishes to draw the attention of the Planning Commission to the provisions made by it for providing irrigation facility and other improvements in U.P. and especially so in the Eastern parts of it which are disappointing and inadequate and urges upon them to allot more funds for the purposes aforesaid."

The motion was negatived.

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

That the following be added at the end:

"but regrets—

(a) that the Plan has totally ignored to examine and adopt modern trends of man-power mobilisation which envisage the integration of defence with socio-economic planning;

(b) that the Plan has overlooked the possibility of utilising the defence organization not only for national service in emergencies but also for appropriate nation-building activities which do not hamper the efficiency of military training;

(c) that the Plan has made no provision for education and training facilities for the defence personnel to enable them to be re-settled in civil life and to help the implementation of the various programmes chalked out by the planners;

(d) that the Plan discloses no programme for absorption of ex-servicemen, with their training and discipline, in the contemplated socio-economic drive;

(e) that the Plan gives no indication of building up potential nation-wide reserves, not only for war emergencies but also for civilian national-service activities;

(f) that the Plan does not seek to enthuse the country for national service by satisfying the aspirations of every patriotic citizen to be associated with national defence;

(g) that the Plan has failed to explore the possibility of manufacturing defence material requirements as far as practicable in this country, at least to save foreign exchange;

(h) that the Plan, in indicating priorities, has not adopted a unified approach, taking into consideration not only the socio-economic but also the defence needs of the country; and

(i) that the Plan has failed to attempt an integrated solution of the various problems (including those of the Backward classes and the refugees) by correlating Defence with socio-economic programmes."

The motion was negatived.

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

That the following be added at the end:

"and suggests—

(a) that an agency of officials and non-officials should be creat-

ed in each group of villages to advance loans and grants and to help the villages with all possible modern equipments and technical guidance to increase the village production and thus to utilise the man-power in villages in building our national economy;

(b) that our defence forces should be utilised to execute our First Five Year Plan as most of the countries in the world are utilising their defence force in building their socio-economic plans;

(c) that collective and co-operative farmings should be started among the Harijans, backward classes and other agricultures labourers in each group of villages to improve the economic condition of the poor class of people in villages;

(d) that 'Ghata-prabha' project in Karnatak should be included in the First Five Year Plan; and

(e) that immediately new small irrigation projects and roads should be undertaken in the scarcity areas and that the present provision for scarcity areas should be increased as it is too small to meet the situation even in Southern India."

The motion was negatived.

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

That the following be added at the end:

"and welcoming this gigantic and completely co-ordinated plan as an earnest attempt on the part of the Government to eradicate famine, poverty, backwardness and unemployment from the land, assures the Government of its whole-hearted support to the stupendous task undertaken, that will change the very face of India."

The motion was negatived.

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

That the following be added at the end:

"and, while congratulating the Planning Commission for their strenuous labour and single-minded devotion to the completion of their task, regrets that the Plan presents a great disparity between the objectives in the industrial sector and those in the rural sector, that there is no promise of full employment in the urban sector, that after the completion

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker] of the Plan, as at present conceived, private vested interests will be more firmly entrenched in power in the industrial sector, that even in the rural sector there is no deadline set for basic reforms such as fixation of ceiling on land holdings, that that part of the Plan dealing with public administration amounts to a mere repetition of pious platitudes, and that in respect of foreign aid, the Plan fails to insist on and secure assistance from U.N. agencies, rather than from individual countries."

The motion was negatived.

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

That the following be added at the end:

"but regrets that the Planning Commission has neglected unirrigated areas 90 per cent. of the total area in the Agricultural Schemes and have overlooked unirrigable dry areas 40 per cent. of the total altogether by not locating even a single Community Project anywhere in them out of fifty-five and this House therefore urges upon the Government that the dry areas like Mohindargarh (PEPSU) if they do not come under any large or small irrigation Project or subwell Scheme, be given priority in other Development Plans and Community Projects etc."

The motion was negatived.

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

That the following be added at the end:

"and suggests—

(1) that the cultivable waste land be given to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for cultivation and the State Governments should be made to make adequate provision of loans to these castes for cultivation from the money allocated for such purposes under the Five Year Plan:

(2) that the Government should consider its first duty to provide houses to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe people suitable for human habitation as they are today living in filth, squalor and insanitation:

(3) that the people belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be adequately provided with funds to start cottage industries such as shoe-

making, tanning and rope-making etc. and a provision of at least 5 crore rupees should be made for this purpose;

(4) that the Government should make provision in the Five Year Plan for Rs. 25 crore to acquire lands for building sites for these castes;

(5) that a provision should also be made in the Five Year Plan of about Rs. 3 crores for the implementation of the various Acts such as Social Disability Removal Act directly concerned with the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes:

(6) that a provision of Rs. 50 crores should be made in the First Five Year Plan for Foreign Scholarships and Technical, Medical, Engineering education in this country for the students belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes:

(7) that a provision should also be made in the Five Year Plan for Rs. 25 crores for making arrangement of drinking water to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes;

(8) that there should be separate "Ministry for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes" in Government of India and the Minister so appointed should be of cabinet rank and should be taken from Scheduled Castes:

(9) that a separate colony should be established for Scheduled Castes where they are in majority and a separate provision of Rs. 50 crores should be made in the Five Year Plan for this purpose;

(10) that there should be provision of free legal aid to the people of Scheduled Castes who are harassed by caste Hindus in the rural areas:

(11) that those members of the Scheduled Castes who want to migrate from Pakistan to India should be afforded all possible financial and other aid for doing so and special attention be paid to their rehabilitation problem and that a special provision be made for this purpose in the First Five Year Plan;

(12) that the members of Scheduled Castes residing in Jammu and Kashmir should be afforded all facilities provided by the Constitution; and

(13) that the people from Scheduled Castes should be appointed on the committees and in

services in various stages of the Planning Commission."

The motion was negatived.

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

That the following be added at the end:

"and suggests—

(1) that the available land in the villages should be distributed among the Harijans and Adivasis to improve their down-trodden condition and to make them independent in their livelihood;

(2) that the present provision for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is too small to improve their condition within the required period;

(3) that a special provision should be made for the rehabilitation of Tanning industry as cottage industry among the Scheduled Castes who eke out their livelihood by Tanning and Shoe industry."

The motion was negatived.

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

That the following be added:

"and is of opinion that Ganga Basin Scheme should be taken into consideration and should be included in the Five Year Plan development scheme."

The motion was negatived.

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

That the following be added at the end:

"but at the same time disapproves of the organisation and activities of the Bharat Sevak Samaj."

The motion was negatived.

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

That for the original Resolution, the following be substituted:

"This House records its general approval of the principles and objectives of installing a planned economy in India in terms of the Resolution of the Government of India in March 1950 but is of opinion that the final draft of the First Five Year Plan as prepared by the Planning Commission fails to reflect in any adequate measure the national aspirations of the people of India and to formulate a programme for the most effective utilisation of the country's resources so as to secure all citizens the right to an adequate means of livelihood, the distribution of the ownership and control

of the material resources of the community as best to subserve the common good and to ensure that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment in the real meaning of the Directive Principles of State Policy as enunciated by the Constitution of India."

Those who are in favour of the amendment will please stand up in their seats. There are 52 hon. Members in favour of this amendment. Now, those hon. Members who are against the amendment will please stand up in their seats. The 'Noes' have it, as there is an overwhelming majority against the amendment.

The motion was negatived.

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

That for the original resolution the following be substituted:

"Having considered the Report of the Planning Commission this House regrets that—

(a) no account has been taken of suggestions to augment the resources available for developmental expenditure and by not doing so, the Planning Commission have failed in making a correct technical appraisal of the resources available;

(b) the basis chosen for calculation of resources available for implementation of the Plan in a mixed economy is undefined and vague;

(c) no steps have been taken to secure a more balanced regional distribution of income and employment;

(d) a lack of comprehensive appreciation of the immediate needs of the country and the future claims of the people invalidates most of the conclusions of the Commission;

(e) an inadequate provision for rehabilitation of refugees, especially from East Bengal, and the absence of an integrated programme for treating the refugees as part and parcel of the community and thus advancing social and economic interests to the maximum extent considerably whittles down the efficiency of the Plan;

(f) the lack of an integrated policy of development of small-scale industries with large-scale industries and agriculture minimises the value of the recommendations pertaining to the former;

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

(g) the Plan after execution will not raise the standard of living above that in 1950 and this would fall short even of the modest claim made in the preliminary Planning Report issued in 1950 of the standard of living reaching at least the 1939 level; and

(h) finally the Plan as a whole is vitiated by inadequate provision for additional employment and imperfect appreciation of agrarian needs and reforms.

This House is further of opinion that the Planning Commission should be abolished forthwith and in order to implement, assess and revise the Plan, a Sub-Committee of the Cabinet be appointed and be charged with the duty and responsibility of presenting an annual White Paper to Parliament prior to or with the Budget on the progress of different schemes, Central and State."

The motion was negatived.

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

That the following be added at the end:

"but regrets—

(a) that so far as the rehabilitation of the urban displaced persons is concerned, the Planning Commission while admitting that the problem of urban resettlement in the case of the displaced persons has been one of considerable complexity due to the essential difference in the

economic pattern of the incoming and outgoing population and further stating that the urban economy in India does not offer scope for quick expansion and absorption of new elements, have offered no solution for the same;

(b) that the Planning Commission have made assumption that most of the agriculturists from the West Pakistan have been settled and in the case of displaced persons from East Pakistan nearly 70 per cent. have been settled while there was no factual data before them;

(c) that the Planning Commission has vaguely stated that certain steps in the direction of giving a measure of compensation to displaced persons have been taken but have not produced any concrete scheme of compensation; and

(d) that the amount proposed to be spent for the rehabilitation of the displaced persons from the West and East Pakistan is inadequate to meet the requirements of the situation."

The motion was negatived.

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

"This House records its general approval of the principles, objectives and programme of development contained in the Five Year Plan as prepared by the Planning Commission."

*The House divided: Ayes, 286: Noes: 62.*

#### Division No. 8]

#### AYES

[1-30 P.M.]

Abdus Sattar, Shri  
Achal Singh Seth  
Achint Ram, Lala  
Ajhuthan, Shri  
Agarwal, Shri H. L.  
Agrawal, Shri M. L.  
Akarपुरी, Sardar  
Alagesan, Shri  
Altekar, Shri  
Aiva, Shri Joachim  
Amrit Kaur, Rajkumari  
Anandchand, Shri  
Athana, Shri  
Balasubramaniam, Shri  
Balmiki, Shri  
Bansal, Shri  
Barman, Shri,  
Barrow, Shri  
Barupal, Shri  
Basappa, Shri

Bhagat, Shri B. R.  
Bhakta Darshan, Shri  
Bharati, Shri G. S.  
Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das  
Bhatkar, Shri  
Bhatt, Shri C. S.  
Bheekha Bhal, Shri  
Bhonsle, Shri J. K.  
Bidari, Shri  
Birbal Singh, Shri  
Bogawat, Shri  
Boroach, Shri  
Bose, Shri P. C.  
Brajeshwar Prasad, Shri  
Brohmo Choudhury, Shri  
Buragohain, Shri  
Chacko, Shri P. T.  
Chanda, Shri Anil K.  
Chandak, Shri  
Chandrasekhar, Shrimad

Charak, Shri  
Chatterjee, Dr. Susilranjan  
Chaturvedi, Shri  
Chaudhary, Shri G. L.  
Chinaria, Shri  
Chaudhri, Shri M. Shafiee  
Dabhi, Shri  
Damar, Shri  
Das, Dr. M. M.  
Das, Shri B.  
Das, Shri Bell Ram  
Das, Shri K. K.  
Das, Shri Ram Dhanl  
Das, Shri S. N.  
Das, Shri N. T.  
Datar, Shri  
Deb, Shri S. C.  
Desai, Shri K. K.  
Deshmukh, Shri C. D.

Deahmukh, Shri K. G.	Khongmen, Shrimati	Patel, Shri Bajeshwar
Deshmukh, Dr. P. S.	Khuda Baksh, Shri M.	Patel, Shrimati Maniben
Deshpande, Shri, G. H.	Ktrollakar, Shri	Pateria, Shri
Dholakia, Shri	Krishna Chandra, Shri	Patil, Shri P. B. K.
Dhusiya, Shri	Krishnamechhari, Shri T. T.	Patil, Shri Shankargauda
Digambar Singh, Shri	Krishnappa, Shri M. V.	Pawar, Shri V. P.
Dube, Shri Mulchand	Kureel, Shri B. N.	Pillai, Shri Thanu
Dube, Shri U. S.	Kureel, Shri P. L.	Prabhakar, Shri N.
Dubey, Shri B. G.	Lal, Shri R. S.	Prasad, Shri H. S.
Dutt, Shri A. K.	Lallanjli, Shri	Rachiah, Shri N.
Dutta, Shri S. K.	Lakshmayya, Shri	Radha Raman, Shri
Dwivedi, Shri D. P.	Laskar, Prof.	Roghbir Sahai, Shri
Dwivedi, Shri M. L.	Lotan Ram, Shri	Raghubir Singh, Ch.
Elayaperumal, Shri	Mahodaya, Shri	Ram Das, Shri
Fotedar, Pandit	Mahtab, Shri	Ram Saran, Prof
Gadgil, Shri	Majhi, Shri R. C.	Ram Subhag Singh, Dr.
Gandhi, Shri Feroze	Majithia, Sardar	Ramanand Shastri, Swami
Gandhi, Shri M. M.	Malaviya, Shri K. D.	Ramaswamy, Shri P.
Gandhi, Shri V. B.	Molliah, Shri U. S.	Ramaswamy, Shri S. V.
Ganga Devi, Shrimati	Malvia, Shri B. N.	Ranbir Singh, Ch.
Ganpati Ram, Shri	Malviya, Pandit C. N.	Rane, Shri
Gautam, Shri C. D.	Malviya, Shri Motilal	Rao, Diwan Raghavendra
Ghose, Shri S. M.	Mandal, Dr. P.	Raut, Shri Bhole
Ghulam Qader, Shri	Masuoeli, Maulana	Reddy, Shri H. S.
Gopi Ram, Shri	Masuriya Din, Shri	Reddy, Shri Janardhan
Gounder, Shri K. P.	Matthen, Shri	Roy, Shri B. N.
Gounder, Shri K. S.	Maydeo, Shrimati	Rup Narain, Shri
Gupta, Shri Badshah	Mehta, Shri Balwant Sinha	Sahu, Shri Bhagabat
Hari Mohan, Dr.	Mehta, Shri B. G.	Sahu, Shri Rameshwar
Hazarika, Shri J. N.	Mishra, Shri Bibhuti	Saigal, Sardar A. S.
Heda, Shri	Mishra, Shri L. N.	Sakhare, Shri
Hembrom, Shri	Mishra, Shri Lokenath	Saksena, Shri Mohanlal
Hyder Husein, Ch.	Mishra, Shri M. P.	Samanta, Shri S. C.
Ibrahim, Shri	Mishra, Shri S. N.	Sanganna, Shri
Islamuddin, Shri M.	Misra, Pandit Lingaraj	Sankarapandian, Shri
Iyyani, Shri E.	Misra, Shri R. D.	Sarmah, Shri
Iyyunni, Shri C. B.	Misra, Shri S. P.	Satish Chandra, Shri
Jain, Shri N. S.	Mohd, Akbar, Sofi	Satyawadi, Dr
Jajware, Shri	Mohiuddin, Shri	Sen, Shri P. G
Jangde, Shri	Morarka, Shri	Sen, Shrimati Sushama
Jasani, Shri	More, Shri K. L.	Sewal, Shri A. R.
Jatav-vir, Shri	Muchaki Kosa, Shri	Shah, Shri R. B.
Jayashri, Shrimati	Mudaliar, Shri C. E.	Shahniawaz Khan, Shri
Jena, Shri K. C.	Muthukrishnan, Shri	Sharma, Pandit Balkrishna
Jena, Shri Niranjan	Nair, Shri C. K.	Sharma, Pandit K. C.
Jethan, Shri	Nanda, Shri	Sharma, Prof. D. C.
Jha, Shri Bhagwat	Narasimhan, Shri. C. E.	Sharma, Shri K. R.
Jogendra Singh, Sardar	Naskar, Shri P. S.	Sharma, Shri B. C.
Joshi, Shri Jethalal	Natawadkar, Shri	Shastri, Pandit A. R.
Joshi, Shri Krishnacharya	Natesan, Shri	Shastri, Shri H. N.
Joshi, Shri Liladhar	Nathwani, Shri N. P.	Shivananjappa, Shri
Joshi, Shri M. D.	Nehru, Shri Jawaharlal	Shobha Ram, Shri
Joshi, Shrimati Subhadra	Nehru, Shrimati Uma	Shukla, Pandit B.
Jwaja Prashed, Shri	Neewi, Shri	Sidhananjappa, Shri
Kakkan, Shri	Nijalingappa, Shri	Singh, Shri D. N.
Kale, Shrimati A.	Pannalal, Shri	Singh, Shri Babunath
Kasliwal, Shri	Pant, Shri D. D.	Singh, Shri H. P.
Katham, Shri	Paragi Lal, Ch.	Singh, Shri L. J.
Katju, Dr.	Parekh, Dr. J. N.	Singh, Shri M. N.
Keshavajengar, Shri	Parmar, Shri B. B.	Singh, Shri T. N.
Khan, Shri S. A.	Petaskar, Shri	Singh, Shri S. C.
Khedkar, Shri G. B.	Patel, Shri B. B.	Sinha Dr S. N.

## AYES—contd.

Sinha, Shri A. P.  
 Sinha, Shri Anrudha  
 Sinha, Shri B. P.  
 Sinha, Shri G. P.  
 Sinha, Shri Jhulan  
 Sinha, Shri K. P.  
 Sinha, Shri N. P.  
 Sinha, Shri Satya Narayan  
 Sinha, Shri Satyendra Narayan  
 Sinha, Shrimati Tarakeshwari  
 Sinhasan Singh, Shri  
 Sodhia, Shri K. C.  
 Somana, Shri N.  
 Subrahmanyam, Shri T.  
 Swaminadhan, Shrimati Amma  
 Syed Ahmed, Shri  
 Syed Mahmud, Dr.  
 Tandon, Shri  
 Telkikar, Shri  
 Thimmalah, Shri  
 Thomas, Shri A. M.  
 Tivari, Shri V. N.  
 Tiwari, Pandit B. L.  
 Tiwari, Shri B. S.  
 Tiwary, Pandit D. N.  
 Tripathi, Shri H. V.  
 Tripathi, Shri V. D.  
 Tudu, Shri B. L.  
 Upadhyay, Shri M. D.  
 Upadhyay, Shri Shiva Dayal  
 Upadhyay, Shri S. D.  
 Vaishnav, Shri H. G.  
 Vaishya, Shri M. B.  
 Varma, Shri B. R.  
 Velayudhan, Shri  
 Vidyalankar, Shri  
 Vishwanath Prasad, Shri  
 Vyas, Shri Radhelal  
 Wilson, Shri J. N.  
 Wodeyar, Shri

## NOES

Achalu, Shri  
 Ajit Singh, Shri  
 Bahadur Singh, Shri  
 Basu, Shri K. K.  
 Chakravartty, Shrimati Renu  
 Chatterjee, Shri N. C.  
 Chatterjee, Shri Tushar  
 Chaudhuri, Shri T. K.  
 Chowdary, Shri C. B.  
 Chowdhury, Shri N. B.  
 Damodaran, Shri N. P.  
 Das, Shri B. C.  
 Das, Shri Sarangadhar  
 Dasaratha Deb, Shri  
 Deo, Shri R. N. S.  
 Deshpande, Shri V. G.  
 Doraswamy, Shri  
 Gidwani, Shri  
 Girdhari Bhol, Shri  
 Gurupadaswamy, Shri  
 Hukam Singh, Sardar  
 Jaisoorya, Dr.  
 Kelappan, Shri  
 Kripalani, Shrimati Sucheta  
 Krishnaswami, Dr.  
 Majhi, Shri Chaitan  
 Mascarene, Kumari Annie  
 Menon, Shri Damodara  
 Mishra, Pandit, S. C.  
 Mukerjee, Shri H. N.  
 More, Shri S. S.  
 Murthy, Shri B. S.  
 Nambiar, Shri  
 Nanadas, Shri M.  
 Narasimham, Shri S. V. L.  
 Nathani, Shri H. R.  
 Pandey, Dr. Natabar  
 Patnaik, Shri U. C.  
 Punnoose, Shri  
 Raghabachari, Shri  
 Raghavajah, Shri  
 Ramasami, Shri M. D.  
 Randaman Singh, Shri  
 Rao, Dr. Rama  
 Rao, Shri Gopala  
 Rao, Shri K. S.  
 Rao, Shri P. R.  
 Rao, Shri P. Subba  
 Rao, Shri Vittal  
 Reddi, Shri Madhao  
 Reddi, Shri Ramachandra  
 Reddy, Shri Eswara  
 Rishang Keishing, Shri  
 Saha, Shri Meghnad  
 Shakuntala, Shrimati  
 Sharma, Shri Nand Lal  
 Shastri, Shri B. D.  
 Singh, Shri R. N.  
 Subrahmanyam, Shri K  
 Swamy, Shri N. R. M.  
 Verma, Shri Ramli  
 Wachmare, Shri

The motion was adopted.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I have to make two announcements. First of all, I have received notice of half-an-hour discussion regarding famine conditions in South Maharashtra. The hon. Minister of Food and Agriculture is unable to be here tomorrow. In view of the importance of the half-an-hour discussion, I shall take it up after the normal business of the day is over.

The other announcement I have to make is that the hon. the Prime Minister will make a statement today at 3-15 P.M. as soon as the House re-assembles after lunch in answer to a short notice question regarding the formation of an Andhra province.

The House is adjourned till 3-15 P.M.

The House then adjourned for Lunch till a Quarter Past Three of the Clock.

*The House re-assembled after Lunch at a Quarter Past Three of the Clock.*

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

DELIMITATION COMMISSION BILL  
 3-19 P.M.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The House will now take up further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri C. C. Biswas on the 10th December, 1952:

"That the Bill to provide for the readjustment of the representation of territorial constituencies in the House of the People and in the State Legislative Assemblies and for matters connected therewith, as reported by the Select Committee, be taken into consideration."