

for such practice even in respect of persons who are not Members of the House, who have given away their lives for a holy cause or a good cause. I was waiting to see if there was any precedent.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: I was referring to one aspect of the matter which the Prime Minister stated in his statement.....(interruption). You will just hear me, Sir. If the Prime Minister referred only to the matter of death, there would have been no occasion for my making any remark at all, but along with that sentiment, he went on dealing with the steps which Government have taken to prevent this catastrophe taking place. I am saying a similar situation arose in 1929 when due to the delay on the part of the Government in taking action, it resulted in the death of Jatin Das. Will we have an opportunity of discussing this matter early?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I think it has been started with the due solemnity that the occasion requires. Let us not mar this occasion with any controversy over this matter. As I understand from the Prime Minister's speech, very soon some steps will be taken, and the matter will be pursued.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: What steps?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now it is not the occasion to ask for those steps.

Shri Nambiar (Mayuram): Even after the death, if it is not the occasion, when is the occasion?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: And, therefore, I have not admitted either the short notice question or the adjournment motions. I do not propose to admit them in view of the statement made by the Prime Minister today.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: We, Andhra Members, have a special responsibility on this occasion. (Interruption.) We desire to withdraw from the House with the deepest regret.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: We would like to go out.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House will now proceed with other matters.

Shri Raghuramaiah (Tenali): In view of the grave situation in Andhra I welcome the statement made by the Prime Minister that very soon steps will be taken for the formation of the Andhra province and I would like to place on record our deep gratitude for it.

MESSAGES FROM THE COUNCIL OF STATES

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Secretary to read the message.

Secretary: Sir, I have to report the following two messages received from the Secretary of the Council of States:

(1) "In accordance with the provisions of rule 125 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Council of States, I am directed to inform the House of the People that the Council of States, at its sitting held on the 13th December, 1952, agreed without any amendment to the West Bengal Evacuee Property (Tripura Amendment) Bill, 1952, which was passed by the House of the People at its sitting held on the 27th November, 1952."

(2) "In accordance with the provisions of rule 125 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Council of States, I am directed to inform the House of the People that the Council of States, at its sitting held on the 13th December, 1952, agreed without any amendment to the Influx from Pakistan (Control) Repealing Bill, 1952, which was passed by the House of the People at its sitting held on the 6th December, 1952."

RESOLUTION RE. FIVE YEAR PLAN—contd.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House will now proceed with the further consideration of the following Resolution moved by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru on the 15th December:

"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."

Some amendments were tabled yesterday. Those amendments were moved. I said yesterday at 12 O'clock when the motion was moved and when the first amendment was read out to the House, that I will not allow any more amendments to come in after that date. To those amendments which had been tabled earlier and copies of which had not been circulated to hon. Members, my ruling does not apply. I have allowed them to be circulated to hon. Members. Let me find out if any of those hon. Members are present here who have tabled those amendments.

Shri Chinaria (Mohindergarh): I beg to move:

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 Mohindergarh (PEPSU) if they do not come under any large or small irrigation Project or Tubewell Scheme, be given priority in other Development Plans and Community Projects etc."

Dr. Jatav-vir (Bharatpur-Sawai Madhopur — Reserved — Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

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 downtrodden 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."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House will now proceed with the discussion of both the original motion and the amendments that have been moved. **Shri K. M. Vallatharas** will continue.

Shri Vallatharas (Pudukkottai): I resume my yesterday's speech. I observed yesterday that the present Plan is not a Plan in the regular sense, but that it is only a budget for a period of five years. My conception about this is not solitary. I beg to refer the attention of this House to the views contained in the *Hindu* of the 9th December wherein a tremendous observation was made. This is the gist of it,

"The Planning Commission has undoubtedly been over-burdened

by the ideas that it has drawn up for the whole national economy, whereas the operating part of the plan will only meet certain public schemes and means to finance them."

I also wish to acquaint the House with another great opinion of the *Eastern Economist* which describes the plan as a strictly monetary apparatus. Adding to that is a deserving remark by one of the prominent and a senior Congressman, a Member of this House. The observation is that the Plan lacks mental and moral incentive. It seems to me to be a true observation. In fact, it is an adjusted economy and not a designed Plan. To create some economic adjustments may be good to the nation at large for a short or a longer period. But that is not the main objective of a Plan so-called. By co-ordinating the economic resources and by creating economic facilities, it must ultimately lead to the establishment of a planned economic society. Without attempting to change the structure of existing society, to contemplate action in the economic sphere cannot be described as a Plan in the regular sense. As a matter of fact, it is stated that there is a democratic set up behind it, but a democratic set-up is only an empty term. Democracy and capitalism have been for centuries in existence, and they have become so orthodox and so long-standing that it is to be considered more or less a carcass, an inactive body. It must be rooted out or effectively changed in order to bring society on a par with the world conditions.

We do not want a revolution and bloodshed. Evolution is better than revolution, and since the evolutionary spirit pervades the entire Plan, I do welcome it. But it should be based on a more practical sense of reconstructing society, and not of making adjustment of budgetary figures here and there.

And I may conclude on this point that unless the sponsors of this Plan resort to a reconstruction of the society, the Plan is absolutely bound to fail. The reason is this. More production, more education, and more amenities and convenience just as we see in America and Canada cannot bring a classless society. To say that we aim at a classless society by this Plan, I think, we must be in the "Moon's land". Nobody will believe it. As it stands, it is an undeveloped trunk with distorted limbs or a trunk with

a diseased heart, whichever is preferable to you. I leave it to your discretion. In my opinion, this can be proved. This cannot be believed to be a Plan for setting up the future fate of the Indian nation in days to come.

The Plan definitely lacks an approach towards decentralisation of all the economic and human powers. There is a greater dependence and reliance placed upon the private industrial sector, namely the capitalist sector. In the Plan itself, you have got two different statements, one relating to the rural sector, and the other relating to the urban sector. The urban sector has tended to grow in due course of time, as the dictatorial productive body, and the rural sector has tended to grow into a toiling mass of consumers. So long as you keep these two distinctions in the Plan, how does it behave you to say to us that this democratic set-up aims at a classless society? It is impossible. You are only making further attempts to show that the industrial population or the capitalistic sector may well dominate over the rural sector in a more scientific and more equipped manner. To provide food to the villager and make him feel that he can get the finances which he requires, is not the same thing as saying that he will be a member of a classless society. We have to fight against this aspect of the Plan. A thorough overhauling of the Plan in this respect is quite essential. If the sponsors of the Plan expect the nation at large to fall in line with them and agree to the Plan.

The private sector also is in a jeopardized position. On the one hand, the importance and significance of the private capitalistic sector are to be abolished *in toto*. On the other, the Plan states side by side the danger to which this private sector is subjected. If you are going to make the private sector as the responsible element for industrial development in this country, it must have an uncontrolled control over its finances. You are not going to supply finances to the capitalistic sector. You have to either borrow from it or you have to tax them for the government's own other extra activities. If you are going to tax that private sector or get loans from that private sector, how will the private sector feel safe in availing of all its resources for the proper maintenance of the industrial enterprise which has been entrusted to it? That is also another dangerous point.

There is another aspect of the public saving in this Plan. It is very difficult to believe that in this Plan, any saving can be had. Even the hon.

Finance Minister is not hopeful of it. In one of his recent utterances, he seems to have hinted that in this country where the people have a hand to mouth existence, it is impossible to have any effective saving. For saving, what would you resort to? You resort again to taxation, or borrow loans or depend upon this industrial sector. That is an awkward position. Unless you have got a definite status of saying or a plan to say that saving can be effected, it is really futile to think that there will be a proper saving to satisfy the financial needs of the Plan.

The wisdom of the Planning Commission is subjected to great scrutiny over another aspect, namely that it seeks to improve agriculture by legislation. It is very difficult to agree with that step. The entire Plan is something aristocratic and autocratic rather than democratic and socialistic. The plight of the agricultural section in this country is a very difficult one. They are lethargic and are incapable of feeling revolutionary. The industrialist labourers are sometimes brought up to the level of feeling revolutionary by the trade union institutions. But the dull agricultural population require only to be evolved, and not revolutionarily mended. In that case, the approach to the agricultural population must be based on a different attitude altogether, and not on this policy of legislation.

With regard to the social schemes, loans are sought to be raised. In my conception that is a perverse and misplaced move. Social schemes are important. I do not minimise their importance, for without social schemes, nothing good can come out. But if loans are obtained, we have got an obligation to repay not only the loan but the interest as well. If they are invested in unproductive schemes, certainly the means for repayment have to be shifted to other schemes. That aspect of the matter is not at all analysed by the Plan. It is desirable that the loans raised are best confined to investment in productive schemes and not on unproductive schemes.

So, in effect, the expectation to maintain financial stability by depending on Rs. 738 crores of Central and State finances, Rs. 520 crores of loans from the public, Rs. 156 crores of external aid already received, Rs. 290 crores of deficit planning, and Rs. 356 crores of additional internal taxation and loans, is a vicious spiral of the planners' expectations, and deserves to be curbed. It is an unwarranted optimism. So, as it is, the Plan begins nothing and ends nothing. It simply takes the present economic position

[Shri Vallatharas]

and wants to improve it. This is the limitation under which the conception of the Plan has to be viewed at.

If I am submitting all this, it is not with a view to reject the conception of the Plan or the reception of the Plan entirely, but these are only criticisms which must bear great weight with the Government. In the course of the working out of the Plan, if something happens on a consideration of these criticisms, there will be a greater reception on the part of the public for this Plan, and it would enable the Members of this House to work in co-operation. If there is an assertion of all the backward things of the Plan only, then there will be a standstill in the course of working out the Plan. It is only a warning that I am giving, not that I totally reject the Plan or totally detest it.

Another most important factor that has to be borne in mind is this. If the hon. Prime Minister is not going to devote his attention to it, it will be a deplorable thing. Of course, we newcomers to this Parliamentary life, people who have begun to love constructive parliamentary habits of approach to the public and to public questions, have become highly dissatisfied with the conduct of this Government's policy during the last few years. I have never seen an instance, in this House, where the corruption of any particular officer or any particular department, has been exposed.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Today the hon. Member has already taken 15 minutes, and yesterday he has taken some minutes.

Shri Vallatharas: I shall just conclude in two or three minutes.

There has not been a single instance of where an officer of any particular department has been exposed for his corruption,—when I refer to corruption, I refer not only to corruption in money, but corruption in other affairs also. Mahatmaji gave us a free country and a free nation, and we consider that our hon. Prime Minister is the manager of that family, whether he is a successor or not. Supposing in a family, we go about, toil hard, earn, borrow and bring money and invest it for our family expenses; the mother takes her choice of spending the money; the daughter-in-law squeezes out some money and sends it to her father, and the brothers take some money and spend it in some directions, and if there is a mismanagement of finance within the family, is it that we are not going to blame the manager of the house, but we are going to blame

the members? If the members are not exposed for their wrong acts, or if the members are not checked in time, then the family will go to ruin. That is the impression that is now prevalent throughout the country, and if I am wrong, I am subject to correction. The general impression is that corruption exists in the Government, and the fact is admitted in all quarters. I am personally in the know of some details, which I am not able to disclose at this juncture. I know fully well that corruption is rampant. If you are not going to end this corruption, if the Plan does not take a serious view to making out a scheme for ending corruption, if you are not going to remove this bureaucratic uncontrolled section of the official atmosphere and substitute it with a new national machinery with a sympathetic feeling towards the constructive aspects of national life, then this Plan is not bound to make any progress. I will not say that it will be a failure, but it will become an inevitable evil for this country.

In this connection, I would like to tell you one incident. Tracing back the traditional history of the nation's life, and also the puranic literature in which we would like to have some enthusiastic anecdotes, I am only dragged to the existence of an episode of Vishwamitra, who for performing a *yaga* wanted Harischandra to pay him a quantum of money, the height of which was such that an elephant must lie down, a youth must get over it, and with the *kavan* he must throw a stone up, and it should scrape the sky. To such a great height, he wanted money. Now the hon. Prime Minister wants such a sky-scraping amount for this Plan. The people in this country always like evolution, and peace. They are non-violent, and have great faith in the hon. Prime Minister. But let it not fuse out as Vishwamitra's effort. That is the only request I would like to make at this juncture. Advancing a great amount of caution in proceeding with the Plan and concentrating very great attention upon reforming the administrative machinery which has so far been bereft of any sympathetic attitude on the part of the public and responsible people in this country, we feel that the Plan must be worked out. We welcome the Plan, which has got a sound basis. But it must go to the entire reconstruction of the economic society, without which there will only be a trunk with a diseased heart.

With these words, I conclude my speech.

Dr. M. M. Das (Burdwan—Reserved—Sch. Castes): The first Five Year Plan

which is before us for discussion embodies the economic programme of the Congress party in this country. It is a well-conceived, well thought-out plan admirably suited to the present economic needs of this country. The Plan is the result, as has been pointed out by the hon. the Prime Minister, of years of hard painstaking labour by some of our best talented and most experienced administrators with the Prime Minister as the fountain-head of inspiration. The authors of this Plan are not unknown in this country. Their names command respect and inspire confidence not only in this country, but also abroad.

Planning for a country, especially for a country like India, with its uneducated teeming millions, with her industrial and technological backwardness, is not at all a very easy job. A plan does not always reflect *in toto* the ideals, the ideologies and the final goal, the ultimate destination, of the planners. The plan is made only for a limited period and it indicates the programmes for advancement of the country, maybe for a few steps only in that limited period towards the destination envisaged by the planners.

Any plan in order to be successful requires the wholehearted support and participation of the people. A plan must carry with it the people, not only the people, but the whole country. It is no good putting in a plan the ideologies, the political theories and the political views of a group of individuals or a political party. In a democracy like India where the will of one man or the will of a group of men or the will of a political party cannot be imposed upon the nation, the majority of the people of this country, against their will, any plan, in order to be implemented satisfactorily, must secure the willing co-operation and support of the people in general. The authors of this Plan have taken into consideration—serious consideration, I should say—these facts. I congratulate the authors of this Plan on their great success in hammering out this national programme which will be acceptable, I think, to all the different social and economic classes of this country.

As has been said by the Prime Minister, our planners had to work within the framework of our Constitution. The institution of private property ownership has been accepted by our Constitution and at least for the present, if not for all times to come, all our political and economic aspirations should be confined, should be shaped and should be modelled accord-

ing to the provisions of our Constitution.

Shri B. S. Murthy (Eluru): Increased also.

Dr. M. M. Das: We can change the Constitution, if we feel any necessity for it. I submit, Sir, that is altogether a different question.

Two hon. Members of the Opposition, Dr. Lanka Sundaram, and Prof. Meghnad Saha from Bengal have made some harsh and uncharitable criticisms.....

Kumari Annie Mascarene (Trivandrum): Really?

Dr. M. M. Das:.....about our multi-purpose river valley projects. Dr. Lanka Sundaram was highly dissatisfied with the slow rate of progress of our multi-purpose projects and he said that some of these projects would take 15 years to complete. Prof. Saha was more devastating and he nicknamed these multi-purpose river valley projects as 'projects of multi-purpose corruption.' We do not say that everything in respect of these multi-purpose projects is, well, happy and satisfactory. There are, no doubt, lapses, mistakes, some acts of omission and commission here and there. But if these multi-purpose projects have done something which will receive reprimands from hon. Members, they have also done something which deserves credit. For the information of my hon. friend, Dr. Lanka Sundaram, I may submit to him that the rate of progress of our multi-purpose projects is not so slow as he thinks. In my own province the Mayurakshi Barrage was completed in July, 1951, about one and a half years back. The dam is under construction and there is every hope that it will be completed ahead of the scheduled time. In the last *Kharif* season the Mayurakshi Barrage was able to irrigate more than two acres of land in the district of Birbhum.....

An Hon. Member: Only two acres!

Dr. M. M. Das: Two lakhs of acres. It was able to irrigate more than two lakhs of acres in the district in which it is situated. This year we have had a bumper crop in the district, in those regions which have got this irrigation, and the crop is more than double, and today of all the districts in Bengal, the price of paddy and rice is the cheapest in this district. Rice is selling at Rs. 15 per maund.

The much-criticised Damodar Valley Corporation is also making com-

[Dr. M. M. Das]

mendable progress. One of its eight dams, the Tilaya dam, has been completed and the Prime Minister of India is going to perform the opening ceremony of the Tilaya dam in January next.

Shri Meghnad Saha (Calcutta North-West): After five years!

An Hon. Member: Imitation speech.

Dr. M. M. Das: Imitation speech? It would have been good if I supported you, my friend, but that is not to be.

An Hon. Member: Carry on.

Dr. M. M. Das: There is another dam, the Maithon dam, the biggest dam of the Damodar Valley Project. Work is going on very satisfactorily and there is every hope that the construction of this dam will be completed at least one year ahead of schedule.

The Bokharo thermal station is nearing completion. In U.P. also, only the other day construction of several dams had been completed which would change the very face of Bundelkhand.

The Deputy Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri M. V. Krishnappa): Tungabhadra.

Dr. M. M. Das: Yes, Tungabhadra. I lack details of that scheme; so I am not mentioning that.

Prof. Saha referred to his visit to the Bokharo thermal station. The only thing that he found there was that the condition of the young men working there was very bad. That was the only criticism he made about the Bokharo thermal station. Had he found anything unsatisfactory, I hope Dr. Saha would not have lost the opportunity to mention it in this House. But he has not uttered a single word of appreciation about the valuable work that is being done today in the Bokharo thermal station.

Shri Meghnad Saha: I have given a full report to the Government and if Dr. Das wants that report, I can send it to him. If given an opportunity, I can disclose the whole of multi-purpose corruption there.

Dr. M. M. Das: Members of the Congress party will be gratified and thankful to him if he discloses everything that he has got in his pocket. We the members of the Government party, do not expect that the criticisms offered by our hon. friends of the Opposition will be pleasant to us, but will it be too much for us, the

members of the Government party, to expect from a man like Prof. Saha that his criticisms will be at least fair?

Coming to the Plan itself I must frankly admit my great disappointment in particularly one.....(Interruption.)

Give me a patient hearing. Don't be impatient and over-joyous.

An Hon. Member: The cat is out of the bag.

Dr. M. M. Das:Sir, about one particular matter of vital importance for my State of West Bengal. We, the Members of this House entertained high hopes that the Ganga Barrage scheme will be included in the first Five Year Plan but, to our disappointment we have found that the scheme is not included in the first Five Year Plan. The Ganga Barrage scheme is indispensable for the ...

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee (Calcutta South-East): The Finance Minister does not listen to you.

Dr. M. M. Das: May I have the ears of the Finance Minister. Sir? The Ganga Barrage scheme is indispensable not only for the welfare and development of West Bengal but it is indispensable for maintaining the efficiency and capacity of the Calcutta Port. The main danger to the Calcutta Port lies in the fact that the estuary of the river Hooghly is gradually silting up. The Monsoon Committee, a committee of engineers and experts, which was appointed by the Central Government to enquire into it and recommend measures for maintaining the safety of the Calcutta Port, has recommended that the construction of the Ganga Barrage is the only way, is the only remedy. Moreover in the State of West Bengal, as it is comprised today after partition, the river Hooghly has become the chief life-line of this State. The welfare, prosperity and development of the State of West Bengal depends only upon the resuscitation of this river Hooghly which can only be achieved by the construction of the Ganga Barrage. With all humility to this august House and to the members of the Planning Commission, I beg to submit that we the Members of West Bengal feel rather very strongly about this point. This Plan will be nothing but a mockery to the people of West Bengal, that unfortunate, truncated, problem-ridden province, if this scheme of Ganga Bar-

rage is not included in this Five Year Plan.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA in the Chair]

I want to place before the House a few words about a different matter. That is about Family Planning. I am fortunate that our hon. Minister of Health is present in this House and I think she will take note of my words. She is too busy with something else, but when the real time comes, I shall be able to earn her attention. In the Budget of the current year three lakhs of rupees were earmarked for Family Planning. Many of us, in this country, who have something to do with medical science and with the problem of over-population in this country, are of the opinion that the method selected by our Central Government for Family Planning is not strictly scientific; neither is it efficient. In this Plan 65 lakhs more have been earmarked to be spent for the purpose of Family Planning in this country. My submission to the Government and to the hon. Minister of Health is that a conference of the high medical talents of this country should be called to take up this question. Either officially or non-officially, the top-ranking practitioners of this country or the Professors of our medical colleges should be called to a conference and the problem may be placed before them. Let them hammer out a scheme for the expenditure of these 65 lakhs of rupees.

Another point, I beg to mention is about the Iron and Steel Industry. This Plan has made provision for setting up a new factory for the production of Iron and Steel. I have got every support for this scheme. But I beg to draw the attention of the Planners and especially the Finance Minister, who is the custodian of the public finances, that there has been a colossal loss of our national finances by the export of scrap iron. The question of scrap iron has been discussed on the floor of this House as well as of the other House. Only, the other day, Shri Karmarkar said in the Upper House that during the months from April to September in the current year, about three crores of rupees worth of scrap iron has been exported from this country. We are exporting scrap iron at the rate of Rs. 150 per ton and we are importing iron and steel at the rate of Rs. 850 per ton. I think the House will agree with me that the more we export scrap iron, the more is our national

loss. The blast furnaces that exist today in this country for the utilisation of this scrap iron are very few and their capacity is much less. So my submission to the Planners of this Plan will be to make provision for the setting up of factories, plants, in which the scrap iron of this country will be utilised to the best advantage of our trade and industry.

सेठ अचल सिंह (जिला आगरा-पश्चिम) :

माननीय सभापतिजी, मैं आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आप ने मुझे इस समय बोलने का मौका दिया। इस पंच वर्षीय योजना की हमें बहुत आवश्यकता थी, खास कर ऐसे देश के लिये जिसमें सात लाख से ज़्यादा गांव हैं, जिसकी ३६ करोड़ आबादी है। हमारे देश के लिये इस पंच वर्षीय योजना को इसलिये और भी आवश्यकता थी कि यहां के ८५ प्रतिशत आदमी खेती पर निर्भर करते हैं।

भारतवर्ष एक कृषि प्रधान देश है। यहां पर कर्षों भी गल्ले की कमी नहीं थी। और न पशुओं की ही कमी थी। यहां पर दूध की नदियां बहती थीं। लेकिन जहां दूसरी लड़ाई से पहले यहां पर गेहूं का भाव दो रुपये से तीन रुपये तक था, मोटे गल्ले का भाव डेढ़ रुपये से दो रुपये तक था, चावल तीन रुपये से सात रुपये तक था, गुड़ तीन रुपये मन था और चीनी सात रुपये मन थी, वहां दूसरी लड़ाई के दौरान से ही यहां के भाव बढ़ने लगे। हर चीज का भाव काफ़ी बढ़ गया, और देश के बंटवारे से तो भाव और भी ज़्यादा बढ़ गये। पिछले पांच सालों में हमारे देश में, जो कि एक कृषि प्रधान देश है, करीब ३५ लाख मन गल्ला फ़ी साल के हिसाब से बाहर से मंगाया जाता रहा है, जिस के कारण करीब नौ सौ करोड़ रुपया हमारे यहां से विदेशों को जा चुका है। इन सब बातों को देखते हुए हमारे कृषि प्रधान देश के लिये यह पंच वर्षीय योजना बहुत आवश्यक है।

[सेठ अबल सिंह]

यहां पर मैन पावर (men power) बहुत काफ़ी है। यहां के लोग अधिकतर गांवों में रहते हैं और खेती पर ही निर्भर करते हैं। लेकिन अक्सर इस बात का है, और जो किसी के हाथ में नहीं है, कि यहां पर कभी तो बाढ़ आ जाती है, कभी सूखा पड़ता है, कभी टिड्डी आ जाती है। और भी तरह तरह की विपत्तियां आती रहती हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में हम इस योजना से बहुत मुधार कर सकते हैं। हम कह दिया करते हैं कि ईश्वर को ऐसा ही करना था, या हमारी तकदीर में यह मुसीबत थी इस लिये ऐसा हो गया, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसा नहीं है, यह सब मनुष्य के काबू में है। अगर मनुष्य चाहे तो मरुभूमि को वह सरसब्ज बना सकता है, और उर्वरा भूमि को खराब बना सकता है। तो जिन देहातों में पानी का इन्तजाम नहीं है, जिन देहातों में बंजर जमीनें पड़ी हुई हैं जहां पानी का इन्तजाम नहीं होने से लोग खेती अच्छी तरह नहीं कर सकते हैं, यह जो हमारी पंच वर्षीय योजना है इस में जो रिवर वैली प्रोजेक्ट्स (river valley projects) हैं, उस में बांध बनाये जा रहे हैं। दामोदर वैली प्रोजेक्ट, हीराकुंड डैम है, भाखरा नंगल, तुंगभद्रा डैम है, इन के कारण ८२ से १६४ लाख एकड़ तक जमीन में सिंचाई हो सकेगी। अभी जिन खेतों में पानी के अभाव के कारण कुछ नहीं होता वहां लाखों मन गल्ला पैदा होगा, क्योंकि वहां पानी पहुंच सकेगा। इस तरीके से दक्षिण के काफ़ी हिस्से में भी अच्छी खेती हो सकेगी, वहां भी तुंगभद्रा का स्कीम है। उससे लाखों एकड़ जमीन में उपज बढ़ेगी। दूसरे इन बांधों के जरिये से हमें हाइड्रो इलेक्ट्रिक करंट भी मिलेगी, जो करीब बारह लाख किलोवाट होगा।

इस के अलावा इन बांधों से एक लाभ और होगा। हर साल जो बाढ़ें आती हैं उन को हम रोक सकेंगे। जैसे आसाम में ब्रह्मपुत्र नदी के कारण और कई जगह दूसरी नदियों जैसे दामोदर आदि के कारण बाढ़ें आती हैं जिस के कारण सैकड़ों हजारों गांव बह जाते हैं और उसके लिये फिर रिलीफ मेजर्स (relief measures) किये जाते हैं, इन बांधों के बनने के बाद इन बांधों को हम रोक सकेंगे और इन रिलीफ मेजर्स की भी-हम को जरूरत नहीं पड़ेगी और जहां पानी नहीं पहुंचता है वहां हम पानी पहुंचा सकेंगे। मुझे हरियाणा क्षेत्र के हिसार जिले में जाने का मौका मिला था। वहां करीब १० इंच पानी पड़ता है। वहां सूखे के कारण करीब दस पन्द्रह हजार से बीस हजार पशु मर गये। वहां पर काफ़ी पानी की कमी है। तो जो बांध बन रहे हैं उन से नहरें वहां पहुंच सकेंगी और उन के द्वारा सारी जमीन सरसब्ज बन जायेगी। बीकानेर में पहले मरुभूमि थी, वहां गंगा नहर निकलने से सारी भूमि सरसब्ज हो गई। तो इन नहरों से हमारा देश सरसब्ज हो जायेगा और जो लाखों मन गल्ला हमें बाहर से मंगाना पड़ता है वह यहां से ही पूरा हो सकेगा। मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि आने वाले तीन चार साल में ही हम उस कमी को पूरा कर सकेंगे।

इसी तरह से कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट (community project) भी बढ़ी उपयोगिता का चीज है। लेकिन कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट सिर्फ गवर्नमेंट के प्रभाव से या उस के कर्मचारियों द्वारा पूरे नहीं हो सकेंगे, क्योंकि हम आम तौर पर शिकायतें सुनते हैं कि गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से डिस्ट्रिक्ट मैजिस्ट्रेट प्लानिंग ऑफिसर या तहसील-

दार बगीरह जो काम करते हैं वे सिर्फ़ पंसा बनाने के ब्याल से काम करते हैं, भत्ता बनाने के ब्याल से ही काम करते हैं। उन के अन्दर नेशनल भावना नहीं है। ज्यादातर प्लानिंग का जो काम है, वह जनता के सहयोग से ही पूरा हो सकता है। इसलिये मैं चाहूंगा कि जनता को भी हमें एहसास कराना चाहिये कि प्लानिंग कमिशन का काम हिन्दुस्तान की खुशहाली के वास्ते है। हमें चाहिये कि हम जनता को और जो गवर्नमेंट के अधिकारी हैं उन को एहसास करा दें, उन को महसूस करा दें कि यह ऐसा काम है जिस से देश बड़ा समृद्धिशाली बन सकता है, जिस से देश खुशहाल हो सकता है। इस के वास्ते बहुत सख्त प्रोपेगेंडा की जरूरत है। काफ़ी लोगों में इस बात को दिल में बिठाने की जरूरत है कि वे इस बात को महसूस करें कि यह हमारा खुद का काम है, हमें इस काम को कामयाब बनाना चाहिये। इस तरीके से काम करने पर कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट से हमें बहुत कुछ सफलता बलाभ हो सकता है।

इसके साथ साथ हमें इस बात का भी ध्यान रखना चाहिये कि हमारा देश एक कृषि प्रधान मुल्क है। इस में ज्यादातर कार्तकार हलों से, बैलों से और मैनपावर से काम करते हैं। ट्रैक्टरों से या और मशीनों से काम नहीं होता है। इस तरह से हमारे देश का जन पशु धन है। उस की तरफ़ हमारा ध्यान बहुत कम है। पिछली लड़ाई में हमारे करोड़ों अच्छे जानवर, बैल बगीरह मांस और चमड़े के खातिर बर्बाद किये गये। इसलिये हमें इन की नस्ल को सुधारना है और इस कारण दुवारू गाय अच्छे बैल पैदा करना बहुत आवश्यक है, क्योंकि जैसा मैं ने अभी बताया कि हमारे यहां बैलों द्वारा काम होता है। हमें गांव गांव में अच्छे बुलस (bulls) देने चाहिये, जिस से

अच्छे बैल और दुवारू गाय पैदा हों और अच्छी खेती हो सके और दूध के वास्ते अच्छी गाय मिल सकें। खाद के लिये सिन्दरी में हमारी फ़र्टीलाइजर का फ़ैक्टरी बनी है। लेकिन उस से काम नहीं चल सकता। हमें कम्पोस्ट (compost) खाद के वास्ते कोशिश करनी होगी। अच्छे बीज के लिये कोशिश करनी है और हर प्रकार से ग्राम सुधार के वास्ते इन्तजाम करना होगा। कहने का सार यह कि हमें तमाम चीजों में उसी हालत में कामयाबी हो सकती है जब तक कि हम ग्रामीणों को यह एहसास न करा दें कि उन का पूर्ण उदार इस योजना की सफलता में है इस कारण उन्हें पूरा सहयोग देना चाहिये।

तीसरी बात है इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोजेक्ट (Industrial Project) की। इंडस्ट्रियल साइड में बड़ी बड़ी इंडस्ट्रीज हमारे बड़े आदमी बना रहे हैं। लेकिन हमारा देश गांवों का देश है। इसमें ७ लाख से ज्यादा गांव हैं और जब तक गांवों में होम इंडस्ट्री को ताकत नहीं मिलेगी, तब तक ग्रामों में तरक्की नहीं होगी, उस वक्त तक हम ग्रामों के मजदूर पेशा लोगों को बेकारी को दूर नहीं कर सकते हैं। इसलिये मेरा सुझाव है कि हमें गांवों की तरफ़ ज्यादा ध्यान देना चाहिये, छोटी छोटी मशीनरी द्वारा छोटी छोटी इंडस्ट्री को प्रोत्साहन मिलना चाहिये। जैसे कर्चे व चरखे का काम है, शहद पैदा करने का काम है, या दरी, मूज के फ़टे बुनने का काम है तैलघानी, बड़ई व लुहार के कामों को प्रोत्साहन मिलना चाहिये। जैसे जापान में बहुत सी छोटी छोटी मशीनरी से घरों में काम होता है, उसी तरह से हमें अपने यहां भी छोटी छोटी मशीनरी से काम कराना चाहिये। हमें अपने खेतहर मजदूर को इस प्रकार

[सेठ अचल सिंह]

की मशीनें देनी चाहियें जिस से मजदूर पेशा को बढ़ावा मिले। इस तरीके से बेकारी भी दूर होगी और हमारा देश भी खुशहाल होगा।

मेरा तो निवेदन यही है कि इस योजना को बढ़ाने के वास्ते हमें काफ़ी मेहनत करनी होगी, जनता को एहसास कराना होगा। खास तौर से जो हमारी एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव मशीनरी (Administrative machinery) अर्थात् सरकारी कर्मचारियों के दिलों में यह बिठा देना होगा कि यह उन्हीं का काम है और उन्हें ही इसको पूरा करना है। बहरहाल, अब मैं समाप्त करता हूँ। मुझे तो यही कहना है कि इसी योजना से हमारे देश का उद्धार हो सकता है बशर्ते कि हम इसको ठीक रास्ते पर चलावें क्योंकि जैसा मैं ने अभी बताया, हमारा देश कृषि प्रधान है और अगर हम न कृषि को और कम्युनिटी प्राजेक्ट को और इंडस्ट्री को अच्छी तरह बढ़ावा व प्रोत्साहन दिया तो हमारा देश खुशहाल हो सकता है। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस स्कीम का स्वागत करता हूँ।

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta North-East): We are discussing the Five Year Plan under the shadow of a calamity—the death of a leader of the people in Andhradesa. I refer to this incident, because I know that if the future of our country is to be secured in the interests of the common people, then the economic unity of our country will have to be broad-based upon the voluntary accession to that unity by the different linguistic regions of our land. I see this view seconded in the Tata-Birla Plan for this country which was put up in 1944. It made two political assumptions as an indispensable preliminary to the success of any Plan, and they were that there should be a National Government with full freedom in economic matters and that there should be regional groupings—but not such as to disturb the economic unity of the country. Therefore, when we remember the event that has happened—the melancholy event that has happened—I hope that we would rise to a graver sense of our responsibility in regard to the

linking up of our country by that silken cord of friendship and cordiality which alone can bring about the success of our Plan.

It is good that we have got from Government an admission that we have to plan or we perish, and that planning is the only thing which will help us to get out of the morass in which we are living today. But it is not enough only to say that we must plan our civilisation or perish. Today, the condition of things is such that we cannot escape the responsibility of trying to make the dream of freedom which our people had dreamt so long come true. But as a matter of fact the promises that the Government makes through this Plan, the prospects which are offered through this Plan, are—I should say—a shameful deception of the millions who have felt in the dark hour of agony that by going through their struggle for freedom their endurance might give promise of a better dawn. They have not got that promise today, and the Plan itself is strewn with the wreckage of the hopes that were raised in the hearts of our people, and the ideas they had formed in regard to the concretisation of their independence have been thrown to the winds. I think that we must realise that we need very much more than mere goodwill and a mere understanding of the difficulties of the situation. We need a philosophy which is proportionate to the problems of today. We need faith that will make that philosophy the urgent dynamic of our lives. But we have not got that yet. And I say that on account of what is happening today, our country will perhaps be subjected to years of distress and damnation because the economic prejudices which my hon. friend the Finance Minister imbibed at Cambridge are supposed to be part of the law of nature. Those economic prejudices have to be thrown overboard altogether, because today he is pledged to planning and if planning is to be a success it has got to be conducted on certain lines which I do not see at all in the very massive documents which have been given to us.

12 Noon

I heard with much interest, the speech made by the hon. the Leader of the House yesterday when he presented his Resolution. He even offered a characterisation of himself when he said that a revolutionary of yesterday is a conservative of today. Over and over again he was indulging in such contradictions that I could not make either head or tail out of what he was saying. He said,

for example, that it is the justification of democracy—that a democratic set-up should promote what we desire. But he went on to say that there are self-imposed limitations as far as the Plan is concerned. If our democracy is going to justify itself, it is necessary to go ahead. Planning is not a prank: planning is a high adventure. Planning is to be founded on a philosophy which alone can transmute the conditions of life of our people.

Then the Prime Minister said that political democracy without economic democracy was no good. And then he went on talking about friendly co-operative way of removing hindrances. I suppose friendly co-operative way of removing hindrances, when you come down to brass tacks, mean that you fleece the common people, that you impose upon the peasant and the worker and that you allow the sharks, the tax thieves, the industrial barons who are now wallowing in a kind of prosperity which they think is going to last for ever,—you allow them all the rope in the world and in the meanwhile you do not look at all at the interests of the common people. He talked about the need for control of the private sector. We know how this plan is based upon a very emphatic idea that the private sector is the most important and that we can at best influence it, but cannot determine what the private sector is going to do. In Chapter XXIV in paragraphs 26 and 27 it is said that Government can influence, but cannot determine the actual course of investment. Now, if you have this kind of attitude, if you allow those people who alone should be requisitioned for the purposes of financing our national plan to go scot free, if you allow yourselves to be tied hand and foot to the interests of foreign capitalism, which you vainly seek to deny from house-tops, then this Plan is by no means going to be a success.

Now in regard to the tax thieves, I find that in the Tata Birla Plan there was an estimate that the volume of hoarded wealth in this country was about one thousand crores of rupees. If there was a national Government trusted by the people, we could get about three hundred crores from this source. That was what was estimated by the industrialists in 1944.

Then in regard to the tax thieves again, we find that the Income-tax Investigation Commission have reported very openly that influential persons hold large numbers of shares in many companies, in fictitious names and they have deposits and loans in the

names of fictitious persons. Now we are referring not to blackmarket profits, but to a big chunk of legal profits over which taxation is evaded and should be imposed. My hon. friend, Mr. Tyagi, whom I miss in his seat at the present moment, admitted in Parliament that there were arrears of income-tax amounting to Rs. 127.2 crores at the beginning of 1950-51 and it rose to Rs. 137.2 at the end of that year. Again there was a question asked in this House some time ago about the amount of money disclosed State-wise as a result of voluntary disclosures drive. Till the 31st August 1952, Mr. Tyagi revealed, the amount disclosed was Rs. 72 crores plus Rs. two crores from the Bombay city making a total of Rs. 74 crores. Now, this is a kind of thing which goes on. This is the way in which those who are best able to bear the brunt of our country's economy, try to shield their own interest. As far as our Government is concerned it is not coming forward with any plan in order to get these top-dogs to help us in assisting the reconstruction of the economy of our country.

Now as far as this Plan is concerned, it says hardly any industrialisation worth mentioning is going to be done. As far as production of food is concerned we hope to be self-sufficient. It says—though it does not put it down in so many words—that our dependence on foreign capital would continue. As far as the interests of the common people are concerned—the interests of the peasantry, the interests of the working classes—those interests are not going to be looked after at all. Now that is the sum total, really speaking, of what the Plan amounts to. We are going to have double our national income in twenty-seven years. Now, if you compare it with other plans—the Tata Birla Plan, the National Planning Committee's Plan, even the Plan adumbrated by my hon. friend on the other side, who is not here at the moment, Shri Agarwal, the Gandhian Plan, even there we find very much better prospects being put forward before our country. Now doubling of the national income in twenty-seven years will not arouse wild enthusiasm. We find that in view of the increase in the population which would be about one and a quarter per cent. the prospect of eleven per cent. increase in the national income would be eaten away. There might be a very slight nett improvement in real income. But if the Finance Minister indulges in some little arithmetic, he will see that the change would be more of words than of substance. Now that is the only thing

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which you are putting forward before the people—in twenty-seven years' time you would be more or less where you are and in certain respects go back to 1938-39! I did not know till our great planners came into the picture that we lived in Ram Rajya round about 1938-39. That is the discovery we have made, thanks to the ideas of those who are ruling the roost as far as our country is concerned.

Now, some people have said that this is planning without tears. Now, I would say that it is planning without tears only as far as the upper layer of society is concerned. As far as the common people are concerned they are going to suffer tremendously. Now, as far as the upper layer is concerned, I would like to point out that it is important that we tap all the resources that are available. If we make up our mind that we are going to have industrial development, without which we cannot go forward in this world of today, then surely we have got to tap those resources. But we are not proceeding with it.

Shri B. Das (Jaipur-Keonjhar): Will the hon. Member kindly indicate how those resources should be tapped.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I will try to. Of course, I cannot perhaps satisfy my hon. friend. But I will try to point out certain sources which may be utilised as far as our planning is concerned.

But I would say in the beginning that we have got a plan of non-industrialisation. In this case I say that we can link it up with the recurring American theme, since Dr. Grady made his speech at the ECAFE Conference at Ootacamund in 1948, where he said to all intents and purposes that it was foolish to think of developing heavy industries in India, that India should concentrate on agriculture, mining and communications and it is only on those conditions that America would help in these projects. Now this has also been the fundamental approach of Point Four to India and that is why if we compare the present plan with the Bombay Plan, or the Visveswarayya Plan or even the Gandhian Plan, we find how very little money is allocated for the development of the industries of this country.

Now as far as the money available in the country is concerned, I have referred already to what is being done by the tax thieves, and then I would try to point out how the industrialists have lately claimed that

they have actually invested during the five year period 1946 to 1951 some Rs. 450 crores to build up new manufacturing units. If you deduct from this figure certain items which ought to be deducted, then the figure comes really down to Rs. 263 crores and not Rs. 450 crores. If we take as a rough average the calculation which was made by the National Income Committee for the year 1948-49, then we find that after meeting all costs, even paying dividends, the amount which was available for ploughing back was Rs. 137 crores. And if we take that as an average for a five year period, for five years Rs. 685 crores could have been available as far as the country's interests were concerned. Now if we go deeper into this report of the National Income Committee, and if we examine also the figures given in a publication of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, called "The Role of Private Enterprise in India—Retrospects and Prospects", then we find that in every year, on an average, if we take 1948-49, we might have Rs. 137 crores as our investment possibility. In the last five years, instead of Rs. 685 crores or so, the business community in India has reinvested about Rs. 263 crores. The rest has gone elsewhere. And it has gone where? Well, as far as that is concerned, the Planning Commission gives its own idea. It says that particularly at the time, that is 1950-51, on account of the Korean War, capital became very shy. They boycotted even the plan of borrowings as far as the Government was concerned, and hoardings of commodities became a feature of the economic life of this country.

Now, this sort of thing has gone on. The Tata-Birla Plan, as I have already said, points out that Rs. 300 crores can be had from the hoarded wealth of the country. That is in terms of the value of the rupee much earlier than today. Now we can have a lot more if we set about it properly. As far as the industry as at present constituted is concerned, we can certainly get a very great deal more than the figure mentioned, about Rs. 137 crores every year.

Now, this calculation has been made without reference to mining, trading, building, banking, insurance, operating of transport and plantations. Only 63 groups of industries have been covered in this calculation. Now if we take all that into account, and if there is a possibility of mobilising the patriotic zeal of our industria-

lists, then truly we can get a great deal more money than comes out into the open. We do not get it because speculative pursuits are very much more to the interests of these industrial magnates of our country, and our Government is not in a position, is not desirous of touching them because our Government depends for its own existence on the support particularly from those sections of society

I shall refer also in this connection to what was said, for example, in a journal which represents mainly British commercial and industrial interests, the "Capital" of Calcutta which said, in 1951 of course, in regard to the jute industry that in one full year the jute industry can make a profit of Rs. 50 crores, which will work out to more than 150 per cent. on the paid up capital of roughly Rs. 30 crores. Here is one example of mainly foreign capital in this country which has got back what it invested many, many times over. But we do not dare touch foreign capital in jute, tea, mining, plantations and all sorts of other enterprises like banking and international trade; we just do not dare touch them. That would require guts; that would require constitutional adventure. That is why we do not go forward. We try to amend the Constitution. The Congress Party whips up all its Members to get 350 to attend because you want to take away the franchise from a certain section of our population. But you do not amend the Constitution in order that we can get rid of these foreign capitalists who have ruled the roost in this country so long to the detriment of our country and who even today are having a most wonderful time.

In regard to that, if we are at all serious about the possibility that we have of confiscating foreign capital... (Interruption)...on the point of foreign capital in this country I would say that in the annual report of the Ministry of Finance for 1951-52 which was circulated to us there is a statement which says that investment of foreign capital in India to the extent of Rs. 15.08 crores was approved by the Controller of Capital Issues of the Central Government during 1951. 81 applications covering Rs. 15.08 crores were sanctioned. Now between August 1947, the great day of our Independence, and 1950, about Rs. seven crores of foreign money have been invested in this country. From 1951-52 it was double what it was in the last three years. If we take the earlier averages—I am quoting from the Midland Bank returns—

we find that during 1925 to 1927 the amount of British capital exports to India and Ceylon was Rs. 2.84 crores (at Rs. 13-8 to the pound); during 1932 to 1934 British capital exports to India and Ceylon amounted to Rs. 5.67 crores; and during 1934 to 1936 it amounted to Rs. 1.35 crores. Now India today is a halcyon land, a paradise as far as the investment of these foreign capitalists is concerned. And compared to 1925-27, 1932-34 and 1934-36 we are getting now ten or eleven times as much foreign capital as we had in those days.

Only the other day when I was mooching about in the Parliament Library I found a statement in the London "Economist" of the 29th November, 1952. It says in pages 628-631 under an article "Foreign Investment in India":

"The atmosphere for foreign investments is unusually favourable in India. It is not a colony like Malaya or most of Africa. So there are none of the risks of independence to come." (Mark the words, Sir). "It does not suffer from xenophobia, like so much of the Middle East". (I do not know what flag is flying over our head!) "Its government is stable and democratic, unlike much of Latin America. Its policy about repatriation of capital and remittance of profits is liberal. Taxation is not, in general, discriminatory, and only recently the Finance Minister has removed from his Income-tax Amendment Bill those provisions which foreign capital found particularly deterrent; fiscal concessions for new enterprises are considerable. Nationalisation is not an immediate threat, and the Constitution provides for compensation for anything which may eventually be taken over. There are no compulsory percentages of Indian capital or managers laid down. Strikes are rare and judges in labour arbitration cases more reasonable than they were a few years ago. For foreign capital there is in India not only a warm welcome, but even more important, ample opportunities for making a profit."

This is what the London "Economist" says in its issue dated 29th November, 1952 at pages 628-631. This is the way in which we are opening the flood-gates of our country for foreign infiltration.

My hon. friend the Finance Minister went the other day to a conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers and others. There the Chancellor of

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the Exchequer, Mr. Richard Butler, said:

"There are three cardinal propositions for the economic recovery of the Commonwealth.

Number one: Individual Commonwealth countries must put their internal economies in order.

Number two: There should be consultations with European countries because of their trading links with the Commonwealth.

Number three: No long-term plan for expanding world trade can be effective unless the economic and financial policies of the Commonwealth and Europe had the co-operation of the United States of America."

These are the three cardinal principles on which you were trying to put our house in order and that is why today we are slaves to the Mutual Security Programme. That is why our Plan contemplates industrialisation only to the extent that it is permitted by the big-wigs of American capital which are now leading international reactionism. That is why the Mutual Security Programme literature comprises such publications as the United States Government's Note which pointed out that these countries in Asia, Africa and Latin American "constitute, in terms of population and land area, the largest part of the 'free' world. [where profit still has a free run]. They contain a large proportion of the world's industrial resources. In these are found all the world's natural rubber, all of its jute, two thirds of its oil reserves, most of its tin, manganese and other strategic materials. Technical and economic co-operation is offered to help necessary advances in the basic fields of agriculture, education, health and transport." So, Sir, for agriculture, education, health and transport, they were going to do something. What really is going to happen? Pandit Nehru talked about the set-up now. When we talk about the set-up, let us ask: what is the condition of the people, how are you going to help the people? What about the production of food? What was the target? I find in the Tata Plan the target was that we must have for our population a balanced diet which would amount to about 2800 calories per day. Now I find from an estimate made by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, 1950-51, that Indian and Pakistan pre-war food energy content was 1970

calories, in 1949-50, it was 1700 calories, in 1950-51, it was 1598 calories and now the Planning Commission are going to give us 13½ ozs of cereals after 1956-57 and we shall live perhaps—perhaps some of us will live—to see what kind of cereals we may have when my friend Mr. Deshmukh has his way. That is a dangerous situation as far as food is concerned. The Government are fighting shy of land redistribution. What has happened to the abolition of zamindari? I ask the Finance Minister and his colleagues to go to the U. P. and find out what is happening as far as the condition of the peasantry is concerned. Let them find out all about Sir and Khudkasht lands

Hon. Members: It is the best. You go and see.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Government is the guarantor there of feudal exaction. You go and find out how evictions have taken place and compensation is being paid in enormous quantities to those people who do not deserve it, who do not need it. You see the condition of the agricultural worker.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member has finished his time.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I must have a little more time than allotted to others.

Mr. Chairman: I have therefore allowed 30 minutes.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Ten minutes more.

Several Hon. Members: No.

Pandit K. C. Sharma (Meerut Dist.—South): May I inform my hon. friend that no payment has been made to the zamindars yet.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Barrhat): We want more time.

Mr. Chairman: Order, order.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I have referred to food and I hope that other Members on both sides will refer to food because it is of vital interest.

I will refer now to cloth. After all food and clothing are the two most essential things of life and what do we find? We find as far as cloth production in our country is concerned, according to the Fact Finding Committee's Report, handloom cloth production in 1938-39 was 1703 million yds. The Report said that this figure

did not include Sind, NWFP, Gwalior, Travancore and some other areas and if those were included, the total production would come to 1800 million yds. The Committee emphasised that the total number of people dependent on handloom industry was about one crore. Now the total cloth produced in 1938-39 was 5700 million yds. 3900 million yds. being produced by the mills and 1800 million yds. by the handlooms. Of this quantity only 137 million yards were exported. This was the position in 1938-39. Now if you take the population figures of those days and compare them with the population figures of India proper today in 1950-51, we shall find that there is not very much of a difference. So, the needs of the people as far as cloth is concerned, are surely not very different. Now, in 1950-51 the mill production was 3718 million yards and the handloom production was 810 million yards and according to the Planning Commission, even this latter figure was a gross exaggeration. So, the total production for the entire population is only 4,528 million yards of which 1283 million yards, one third of the production, were exported, leaving a total of 2245 million yards for the people as against 5523 million yards in 1938-39. Sir, this is very, very bad as far as the interests of the people are concerned. Now, instead of 5523 million yards, we have about 2245 million yards. Why do you allow this export? You allow this export because this money goes to the capitalists. The money which goes to the capitalists as a result of the export is terribly important. Textiles worth in India 15 annas per yard was sold at Rs. 1-12-0 abroad and that is why you permitted the export of cloth in order to allow these capitalists to make more money.

As far as the condition of the peasantry is concerned, there is an attempt to beat down the idea of agricultural indebtedness. You know very well that the Reserve Bank of India itself had calculated that 1800 crores of rupees was in 1938-39 the volume of agricultural indebtedness. Since then, of course, Government seems to imagine that the volume has come down. But the Kumarappa Committee appointed by the Congress, the Agrarian Enquiry Committee—reported unequivocally the continuation of agricultural indebtedness and my friend, Mr. Agarwal's book on the Gandhian Plan also says that indebtedness continues. They want to beat down the whole idea of indebtedness and they say this is what is happening. The people are no longer in debt and we are abolishing zamindaries and therefore everybody is

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happy, everything is lovely in the garden and therefore the Plan can go ahead. This is a false and disastrous picture. This is an approach which is absolutely callous and insensible, this is unashamed indifference towards the interests of the people. There is no doubt about it.

In regard to the foreign aid also, we have got about 165 crores of rupees in the Plan and more—we do not know how much more—will come. In regard to this point I will quote what Mr. K. G. Mashruwalla, who was a great disciple of Gandhiji, said in regard to the Indo-American Technical Co-operation Agreement:

"The Indo-U. S. Agreement is virtually a charter to the U. S. to establish herself in India, first as a trading concern and then as India's political boss. The Government of India has agreed to place at the disposal of U. S. all its administrative machinery and to become her advertising agency. It is clear that motives of U. S. in aiding Europe and Asia are not so altruistic. They are frankly made for organising an anti-communist front....."

In regard to the great river valley projects about which so much is made, I will quote—because I have no time to elaborate my ideas—what the Modern Review of November, 1952, a very respectable paper which often attacks us and is friendly to Government said:

"Hundreds of millions of the hard earned money of our nationals were poured into the schemes and by the same token—quite a few score millions were wasted, embezzled or spent to fill the insatiable maws of the dependents, flatterers and political henchmen of the mighty".

This is the perspective which you are putting before the people: fleece the common people, keep the agricultural labourer in degradation, and keep the working classes under manacles. You have said in the Industrial Relations chapter that you will only recognise the Trade Union which has the largest membership, meaning therefore that you will send the INTUC to do what it can and flourish in that area. You have said that. You have said all sorts of things in order to beat down the whole idea of strikes altogether. As far as the working classes are concerned, you fleece the agricultural labourer, you keep down the working classes and you do not take any notice of the interests of the common people and the Middle class employees and people in the lower rungs of the ladder of our society. But, as far as those

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who are at the top are concerned, those who have already entered into a charter of slavery with foreign capitalists, you have the amplest consideration for them; with them you have "a friendly and co-operative" spirit. For heaven's sake, why don't you, for once, change your views? Why don't you try to mobilise the enthusiasm of the people? What is the point in Pandit Nehru coming forward and saying that we want to mobilise the enthusiasm of the people, but the people are inert? Is it the fault of the people? Would a great popular leader in any country of the world ever say that the people are inert, that people are like lead, that they do not move? If a popular leader is a real popular leader, he will go to the people and tell them, here is my Plan, come and take it over. He will say as the Chinese leaders said, take it over and work the Plan according as you like; out of your own productivity, new capital formations would come and then we can run the Plan in the only way in which it ought to be worked. There is bankruptcy of leadership, (*Interruptions.*) betrayal of the patriotic hopes and aspirations of the people. That is why we get in the shape of a plan a document which may look very massive, but which is really very little more than scraps of paper joined together. (*Some Hon. Members:* Shame.) holding out illusory hopes to the common people, trying to hoax and bamboozle our public into acceptance of the regime which means, (*Interruptions.*) "Too late and too little",—that is the epitaph which is going to be written over the Congress Ministry. If you are going this way, if even the idea of planning and adventure into new realm of enterprise, if even that does not move you, you are leaden in such a fashion that you will soon be stuck where you are, and you will not be able to move a limb; you will forget the dynamic spirit which your leader spoke so much about and the country will go to ruination. (*Interruptions.*) But the people will not allow you. The people will not tolerate it, to use an expression often repeated by the Prime Minister. The people would have their own plan with which they will build their future nearer their heart's desire. (*Interruptions.*)

Mr. Chairman: Dr. S. N. Sinha.

Shri G. H. Deshpande (Nasik—Central): On a point of order, Sir, the hon. Member who was just on his legs, made a statement while he was speaking

that this House yesterday has passed a legislation by which thousands and thousands in this country have been deprived of their franchise. It is an insult on this House and I say that the hon. Member would be asked to withdraw that statement which is not a fact and which is far from the truth.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Shri Nambiar (Mayuram): We have a right to have our own opinion.

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. It is hardly a point of order. The hon. Member is entitled to hold his own opinion. There is no point of order involved.

Dr. S. N. Sinha (Saran East): Sir, perhaps, you will allow me to revert to my old place, because from there I can see you properly and also my friends on my right to whom I have to reply.

Today, I would like to speak in a planned manner, and throw some more light on the Plan which our friends on the right have not been able to see correctly, because their vision has been blurred by a big rock. (*Interruptions.*) Before I come to that,—I will come to it in a moment—I would like to say in the very beginning that the Plan, as it is before us, is not meant for idle criticism. It is not for arm-chair criticism. Nor it is for any destructive criticism. It is a crime to indulge in loose talks about it. Why is it so? Because, the present Plan affects the every day life of our country and reflects some rays also of our bright future. When I was just going through the heavy volumes of our Plan, my mind automatically tried to translate the Plan into some slogans. From this, you can judge how fond of I am, how influenced I have become by, the soviet technique of planning. I am a very serious student of that and I will remain to be... (*Interruption.*) My friends on my right laugh; they do not know that I have worked there during the First Five-Year Plan and the Second Five-Year Plan, in the Soviet Union, in many of their factories, right from the Arctic circle to the Black Sea. (*Interruptions.*)

Mr. Chairman: Order, order.

Dr. S. N. Sinha: They know about their Plan only through books and propaganda; I have worked there for years and years together.

I would like, if the House wishes, to compare our Plan with the Soviet plan to show in what manner our Plan is superior to theirs.

In the very beginning, as I told you, my mind automatically tried to translate the Plan into certain slogans. The slogans are like these—which our people will understand. They are going to understand and work and fulfil the Plan not in five years, but in four years. The slogans are: Irrigation stops starvation; land reforms double *per capita* income; better railways bring health and wealth by driving out famine and scarcity; the Plan brings full employment, economic equality and social justice, and perhaps more than that—it strengthens our defences and removes the danger of foreign intervention including communist liberation. (*Interruption*). Our Plan certainly liquidates groups or parties who try to thrive on the misery of our people. Therefore, the slogans which we have to give to our people and to the whole country are to harness the entire nation's energies for the Plan. That would take us a long way and we will march forward towards being a great nation. When we see our Plan translated into such simple language, we know what are the targets which we have to achieve. It is a great thing. We are going to harness our rivers. We are going to change their courses for the benefit of our people. It is a great fight of man against nature. When we have been talking in this House a number of times about our own rivers, about the Damodar Valley and others, we hear about the Don and the Dnieper. When we have been talking about our Ganges, we hear about the Volga which our friends have never seen. I have lived also on the banks of the Dnieper and the Volga, but I love my Ganges because it gives me food, but those who speak of the Volga, should leave our country and go and settle there. Because, this Plan is meant for action, it is not for criticism. Of course, there are many difficulties in our way, but we have to surmount them. And there is a great pride in surmounting those difficulties. It is a fight against nature. Sometimes while we are harnessing the Krishna or a small river like the Kosi, not to speak of the Brahmaputra or the Ganges, there will be difficulties—more difficulties than conquering the Everest, but the greater the fight, the greater is the pleasure in having conquered it. The greater the obstacles are, when we have conquered them, the greater the right we have to call ourselves—real men.

In this sense, when we see the panorama of our Plan, I would like to make certain comparisons with the Soviet Plan. The Soviet Plan was based as everybody knows, to change the economy of the Soviet Union. They wanted to make their country an industrial one. When I was there for

the first time in 1931, theirs was just an agrarian country like ours. They wanted to make it an industrial one. You can change it, but you have to make certain sacrifices for that, and what were the sacrifices that the Soviets made? Millions of people perished in their First Five-Year Plan. Between 1932 and 1934 so many people perished in the Soviet Union that I dare say, if there is any statistician and if he counts them, their number will not be less than those who perished during the Nazi-Soviet war. Their number may be more. And that was a Plan under which I also suffered at that time. What were the conditions at that time? They had a famine in Ukraine. Ukraine is called the "bread-basket" of Russia. And the grain which was there was secured by force by a certain branch called OGPU. "OTDEL GOSUDARSTVENI POLITICHESKI UPRAVLENIYE." Learn, my friends, that is Russian. This was a branch of the Soviet Police which was made responsible for the fulfilment of the Plan, and at the same time for the execution of the persons who spoke against it or who worked against it. In that country, under those circumstances, if there were such criticism as I have been hearing in this House, our friends would have been the first candidates to be placed before a firing squad of the OGPU. They would not have existed at all. That was the case during the first Five-Year Plan. Nobody could dare open his mouth in the Soviet Union. And what happened?

An Hon. Member: That Plan we have not got.

Dr. S. N. Sinha: No, our system is quite different. We are a democratic people. Our country is democratic. This is not an authoritarian country. It is quite different here. We have quite different values of human life. There, thousands and millions of people perished. It did not matter. But to us, it matters a lot even if any one man is hungry. Let it be in Travancore or in Kashmir or any other part of India, if somebody is hungry, it pinches us, and pinches our heart. But, in the Soviet Union, there was nothing like that. I have seen people dying on the streets. The daily ration at that time, you will be surprised to hear, was 400 grams, i.e., about half a lb.—it may be less than half a lb.—for ordinary work, and for hard work one lb. of bread. That was also after a fight. People talk of wages in the Soviet Union. I will tell you what they are. The monthly income of a semi-skilled person was 75 roubles—about Rs. 100; and bread, in the open market, used to cost Rs. 25 a lb. A pair of shoes used to cost Rs. 250.

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Such were the conditions and as a result, millions of people perished through starvation under that Plan. We do not want such a Plan; and our friends should learn, that is the very reason why we have given priority to agriculture in our country.

Shri Nambiar: Please give a lesson to us!

Dr. S. N. Sinha: And we should not give priority to anything else. Any democratic country, under such conditions as we have in our country, must give priority to agriculture, and it has been duly given.

Coming to the criticism which has been made by our friends about our Plan, I have to say a word. I owe them this word. There is nothing new in that criticism. There is absolutely nothing new. And as I told you in the very beginning, I am a serious student of Soviet affairs, and I read everything that is published in the original in Russian, especially if it concerns our country. And when I compare those things with the remarks of the hon. Member who has just spoken, about foreign capital—many times he repeated about the common man—etc., there is absolutely nothing new. Just the same line of action, the same approach to the problem, and it is quite a perverse way of approaching the Plan. It is quite wrong, and it is in the interests not of our country, but of something else which I really hate to see in our country. When we are on our way to fulfil the Plan, the energies of the masses of the whole country must be harnessed, and there must be one idea. I do not want to hear any opposition to this Plan, because there could not have been any other Plan in the present circumstances of the country than what we have today.

Shri Nambiar: Will you issue an arrest warrant?

Dr. S. N. Sinha: I know, Sir, till now a few times I have spoken—

श्रेयासि बहुविघ्नानि—

When you speak very noble words and you give them good lessons, you have many difficulties. Why the people do not understand and hear it properly?

I do not see in the Plan that there are any natural obstacles which we cannot conquer. There are no such difficulties, but there are difficulties even in the realm of criticism. If it is idle, if it just demoralises, if it just belittles the Plan, it hurts me. But, as I told you a few minutes before, it is not sponsored by the friends here, and not in the interests of our country,

but in the interests of some country which is thinking in other terms, thinking in terms of the word recently M. Stalin used—"liberation". I would say there is not a more dreadful word for the whole of Asia today than this word "liberation". They want to liberate us from the joy of living. Their liberation means strangling of liberty. This is what they mean. Because I speak Russian, I can speak a little frankly and not in the polished terms of our Prime Minister, because he speaks gentleman's English. That is quite different. And the Russians misunderstand it. When he speaks about peace, they say it is perpetuation of war. But, as I understand their language also, I will say: Here is the first war-monger among men—the man who says to us that we are going to perpetuate war. He is the first war-monger of the world, and the world knows it. That is why I will say that the people who behave as Soviet agents in our country have the cheek to say here in Parliament that they are speaking on behalf of the common people. Who gave them the right to speak on their behalf? Who has elected them, (Interruption). They have no place. History has discarded them as the most reactionary people, and they are speaking here. They are going to enslave our country. They are thinking in those terms. Our country cannot allow such things. If we are going to fulfil this Plan, we have to see, of course, that the interest of the masses, of our common people, is served. It has been seen to in this Plan. And so I will say (Interruption) that it is a very good criterion today, because you can judge a man by his actions. Those people who are not with us in this Plan are against us. They are the enemies of the people; they are the enemies of the State, they are saboteurs in the interests of foreign countries, and they are saboteurs in the interests of the Soviet Union, who want to sabotage our whole Plan by idle criticism.

Before I conclude, I will just say, that once when our Plans are realised, we will have a great day for our country. We will then be able to walk proudly and say to the whole world that there is no country stonger than our country, there is no country richer than our country and that our country is the most beautiful in the world.

Shri Meghnad Saha: Sir, I want to correct one expression which my hon. friend Dr. Satyanarain Sinha has used.

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. This is not the way to correct any statement.

Shri Meghnad Saha: I want just a minute or two, Sir. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Chairman: I am sorry I cannot allow the hon. Member to speak now when no question of personal explanation arises. I am now calling upon Mr. Bansal.

Shri Bansal (Jhajjar-Rewari): As a humble student of Indian economic affairs, I am sorry I cannot hold a lamp to the persons who are blinded by their own effulgence. I will therefore come to the terra-firma of the Plan which is before us. I am one of those who have been following the progress not only of the Planning Commission, but also of the various Plans ever since the Tata-Birla plan came out. I was sitting in the galleries when Dr. John Mathai, our ex-Finance Minister announced the constitution of the Planning Commission, and I know that the country at that time did not take it very seriously. A whole atmosphere was created that this Planning Commission will not be able to achieve anything. That fact alone heartens me when I see what a remarkable change this Planning Commission has wrought not only in those who have been following the progress of the Commission, but also in those who have nothing to do with the Commission, but who listen about it from various sources. The Planning Commission has been struggling against heavy odds, and it is a great credit to them that they have produced one after another a number of valuable reports, culminating in these two massive volumes that are before us, and I pay my humble tribute to the Commission, for the very splendid work that they have done. Someone said that courage lies in saying 'No', when you want to say 'No'. I say, courage lies in saying 'Yes', when you want to say 'Yes', and I say to the Planning Commission 'Yes here you are, you have done a job'.

Yesterday Prof. Agarwal, a learned student of economics that he is, referred to planning in democratic countries. In my opinion, before the Tata-Birla plan in this country,—to which I am very glad to see my hon. friend Mr. Hiren Mukerjee today paid such wholesome tributes—I think in the democratic countries only one comprehensive plan exists and that is by Lord Keynes 'How to pay for the war'. This was published in 1940, and for the first time, it gave a plan for the whole of the United Kingdom to canalise their resources for the conduct of a total war. I shall refer to this later, during the course of my speech. But I can say that after that plan, ours is the only Plan which can be held out as an object lesson for all those students of economics who want to know

whether it is possible to plan in a democratic country. We are too near the event, and therefore we cannot see this Plan in its true perspective. But I believe and firmly hold that the generations to come will see in this Plan a remarkable step forward, not only in democratic planning, but in the betterment of the economic conditions of the masses of this poor country.

One of the main defects of this Plan when it came in the draft outline was that it did not pay much attention to the problem of under-employment and chronic unemployment that rage in our country. I am very glad to see that a full chapter on that subject has been added in this Plan. In our country, we are adding every year millions of people, majority of whom perforce have to live on agriculture. It is heartening therefore to see that in the operation of the Plan, employment will be found for approximately five million persons. But is this enough? Within a period of five years, we will be adding to our population—I refer here to working population—about twice this number. The result will be that even after all these five million persons are provided with employment, an equal number will still remain unemployed. But as the Planning Commission itself has pointed out, it is not possible all of a sudden to find avenues of employment for every person. After all we are here to face the problems which have been created for us by ages of slavery, and it is not possible without productive equipment to give employment to a very large number of persons all at once. But it is gratifying to note that the Planning Commission have addressed themselves to this problem and tried to find out a solution. In finding out a solution, however, they have tried to provide employment to the unemployed in certain sectors of the economy, which in my humble opinion, are not the most productive sectors. The result would be that although a larger number of persons may have found employment, the national output may not increase proportionately.

A number of studies has been made as regards the productivity of persons employed in various occupations. A calculation was made by our National Income Committee, which came to the conclusion that the *per capita* income in factory establishment was of the order of Rs. 1,900 while in banking and insurance, and commerce and transport, it was about Rs. 1,600 per annum; in railways and communications, Rs. 2,100, while in agriculture, it was just about Rs. 500, and in rural occupations, it was even less. Dr. V. K. I. V. Rao also came to a similar conclusion. Therefore while it is true that

[Shri Bansal]

all the five million people may find employment, I am afraid they may not add to the total national wealth to the same extent to which they would have added, if employment in industries could have been provided for them. According to Dr. Collin Clarke, the general morphology of economic growth has been, historically, a transfer of population from primary to secondary, and then from both of these to tertiary employment, because increase in income generates a demand for services of various sorts. It is not as if the Planning Commission is not aware of this difficulty. In fact in Chapter II it has been stated that there is a risk of creating or perpetuating pseudo-employment which might result in a rise in money income without a corresponding increase in the supply of goods needed for sustaining the newly employed. Therefore, the Commission has come to the conclusion that the problem, as has been shown earlier, cannot be solved satisfactorily without a substantial increase in the productive equipment of the community, which in turn means more investment.

This leads me on straight to the question of investment. The Planning Commission has computed total resources at a figure of Rs. 1414 crores; of this Rs. 156 crores is external aid, which has already been received. It means that for the five years of the Plan, Rs. 1,258 crores are to be had from internal sources, while for the remaining we have to depend on external help, releases from sterling balances, and the sources which have not yet been defined, to the extent of Rs. 655 crores. Now look at the figure what has so far been spent in the last two years—the second year of the Plan will be over by 1952-53.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member will resume his speech after Lunch. The House will now stand adjourned till 2-30 P.M.

The House then adjourned for Lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.

The House re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Mr. Bansal.

Shri V. G. Deshpande (Guna): Before we proceed, I want to make a request that the amendments tabled by a large number of Members may kindly be permitted to be moved.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members were not here when the amendments were called.

Shri C. D. Pande (Naini Tal Distt. cum Almora Distt.—South West cum Bareilly Distt.—North): He was already on his legs.

Shri Gadgil (Poona Central): He must finish.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I will come to that after the hon. Member finishes.

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj (Sholapur—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I would also like to move my amendment, Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Very well.

Shri Bansal: I was on the resources budget, Sir, when the House adjourned for lunch. I was saying that during these two years, i.e. 1951-52 and 1952-53, requirements for the development programme were estimated at 667 crores of rupees. There has been a short-fall in these requirements of the order of 212 crores. The question that arises is as to whether this amount of 212 crores has been taken note of in the estimates of deficit financing to the tune of 290 crores which the Planning Commission arrived at.

The other question that arises is this. During these last two years, these short-falls have been there in spite of the fact that 1951-52 was an exceptionally good year as far as revenues were concerned—both of direct taxation as also of customs receipts. If we calculate at the rate of 555 crores of rupees for two years, we come to the figure of 1136 crores of rupees during five years. That means there will still be a short-fall of 122 crores of rupees as compared to the estimated amount that has been given in the Report, namely, 1258 crores. It is possible that this amount of 122 crores of rupees may be made up by additional taxation, but, the Planning Commission says that the remaining figure of 655 crores of rupees will also have to be made up by additional taxation and borrowings if foreign aid is not forthcoming. I would very much like to know from the Finance Minister whether the Commission have calculated as to where the stage will be reached when the so-called normal methods of taxation will not turn into drastic methods. Lord Keynes in the book to which I was referring in the morning, when he was computing the war budget of the UK had something very definite to say about it. He said that it was fairly well possible to come to a figure beyond which drastic measures would have to be used. And if you over-step that line, then the other sector of the economy gets lop-sided. As it is we

are investing in the public sector, an amount of 4.5 per cent. of our national income. It leaves about three per cent. of the national income for investment in the private industrial sector as also in the various other sectors which do not come within the scope of the public sector. The Planning Commission have computed that about 100 crores of this go in the construction activity. The estimate is that roughly 100 crores of rupees are needed for the private industrial sector and the remaining 100 crores for various other activities.

Now it is likely that if Government resort to additional taxation to cover the short-fall of 122 crores to which I have referred just now and the remaining 655 crores, I am afraid the entire balance of the Plan may be upset. But what is the way out? Certainly we cannot reduce the size of the Plan because that will be an unmitigated tragedy. At the same time, we cannot go on deficit financing to an unlimited extent. I appreciate that now-a-days the dangers of inflationary implications of deficit finance are not as grave as they were in the war and immediate post-war periods. And it is quite likely that in the coming years, on account of the changing international situation we might have to import deflation rather than inflation. Even then, we cannot embark on a plan envisaging a huge outlay of deficit finance. But the Planning Commission themselves have said something very remarkable about deficit financing. In fact, in the Plan which was the predecessor of this final Plan, a copy of which I got through the courtesy of the Planning Commission, there was a very good phrase. They said that if human and material resources are available and it is found that by their operation on each other it is possible to increase the national output, then there is perhaps no harm in using some amount of money as a 'catalytic agent.' But, the difficulty is that the catalytic agent may become the 'villain of the piece' and it is quite possible that unless this kind of finance is indulged in with due care, a lot of mischief may be done to the economy as a whole. Therefore I would suggest that certain guiding principles should be observed in determining the appropriate type of investment to be financed out of created money. The following may be some of the criteria to be borne in mind:

- (1) The outlay should be such as will increase the supply of goods and services in the short period; in particular schemes of investment which would tend to augment the supply of articles like food and clothing—because on these articles

will there be the greatest impact—on which a major part of the increased income is likely to be spent, should receive the highest priority.

- (2) The expenditure should not increase the pressure on foreign exchange, and as such the schemes should be those which rely mainly upon local available materials. In the alternative, the investment should be capable of increasing our earnings of foreign exchange.
- (3) The effect of such expenditure should be to produce employment directly or indirectly, especially in those areas where the degree of under-utilisation of labour is particularly large.
- (4) The expenditures should have something to show in the form of prominent advantage to the community's capital stock.

As I am running short of time, I will not expand all these points. But even after these steps have been taken, the Government will have to see that there are certain controls on strategic points and these controls must be to ensure the distribution of scarce supplies and to secure investment in the most desirable channels.

I have given these criteria because I firmly believe, having regard to the financial resources of which note has been taken by the Planning Commission, that we cannot depend on the implementation of this Plan by the resources that are available to us and to some extent deficit finance will have to be indulged in. Rather than find ourselves at the end of the tether all of a sudden in the fourth year or the fifth year and then have to face the possibility of cutting down the Plan, we must devise ways and means from now so that we are not faced with a situation all of a sudden and which we may not be in a position to control. My friend, Mr. Gandhi yesterday referred to the book of Prof. Arthur Lewis. That book was written in 1949 when England was facing very great inflationary pressure. But Prof. Lewis was in our country recently and I had the good fortune of having a long discussion with him. He also gave a very illuminating lecture in the Delhi School of Economics where he suggested with reference to our plans a very much higher outlay and he said that India must spend much more money on investment as also save much more than it is doing at present and under the Plan. This is just to dispel the mis-conception under which my friend Mr. Gandhi is labouring.

[Shri Bansal]

I do not want to take much time of the House. I will just say a word about the implementation of the Plan. As I said, the country looks forward to this Plan to raise the standard of living of the masses. The whole country, in the rural areas, everywhere is depending on this Plan for raising their standard of life and therefore it is essential that it is implemented with vigour. One of the terms of reference of the Planning Commission was to determine the nature of the machinery which will be necessary for securing the successful implementation of each stage of the Plan in all its aspects. Nothing very much has been said about this aspect of the question in the Plan and I would suggest that a high-power Committee of the Cabinet should be appointed to see that the Plan is implemented at every stage, that the money which is allotted to the State Governments is properly utilised, that the public is kept well informed of the progress of this Plan. In the United Kingdom, a white paper is published every year; in the United States the President gives a message to the nation through the Congress. Similarly I would very much like that our Planning Commission comes out with a white paper every six months, and, if it is not possible, every year, at least, giving the details of what progress has been made and what amounts are spent, and what are made available and spent out of the so-called deficit.

I am particularly glad to note that the Planning Commission feel that planning is a dynamic process. You do not stop at a stage, then wait to determine as to what you have to do next. I wish the Planning Commission will keep an open mind and adjust its policies and programmes to the dictates of the circumstances. I am sure that this report will be a valuable landmark in our country's economy and it will be helpful in raising the standards of living of the masses.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: As a special concession, I will allow those hon. Members who were not in their seats in the morning to move their amendments.

Kumari Annie Mascarene: I beg to move:

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;
- (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."

Shri Gidwani (Thana): I beg to move:

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 have 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.”

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj: I beg to move:

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 five crore rupees should be made for this purpose;

(4) that the Government should make provision in the Five Year Plan for Rs. 25 crores 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. three 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;

[Shri P. N. Rajabhoj]

(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."

Shri Tushar Chatterjee (Serampore): I beg to move:

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."

Shri V. G. Deshpande: I beg to move:

That the following be added at the end.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He will move up to 'Bharat Sevak Samaj'; the latter portion is omitted.

Shri V. G. Deshpande: I beg to move:

That the following be added at the end:

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

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now no more amendment will be allowed.

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): Will you please give me the numbers of the new amendments that have been moved, Sir, beginning from No. 29?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Amendments Nos. 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35 and another amendment of Shri V. G. Deshpande, that the following be added:

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

All these amendments are now before the House for discussion.

Shri C. R. Narasimhan (Krishnagiri): This Five Year Plan has taken nearly two and a half years of hard labour and now we have the plan for the approval of the Parliament. Some were tempted to indulge in severe denunciation and showed lot of vehemence, but the parent plan of the Plan, namely the Draft Plan, was

before the public during the election campaign and the electorate had a lot of time to consider the main basis of that Plan. Whatever the basis of that Draft Plan was, has been taken up in the revised and final Plan. There is no point in thundering against those aspects. They have already the seal of approval of the electorate and it is in view of that approval that the party in power is functioning here as well as in the various States. Therefore, I do not see why we should go through the same process over again.

Shri Sarangadhar Das (Dhenkanal—West Cuttack): No discussion is necessary?

Shri C. R. Narasimhan: Discussion is no doubt necessary but the Plan has been placed before the House for formal approval. But I claim that the moral support of the people is already there and the people have already adopted it and I claim to say as well that it is the People's Plan. Some were pessimistic; some were optimistic; some thought that the resources were over-estimated; some were of the view that there was more scope. I really think, that what is wanted is the will of the people to carry the Plan and a determined effort to carry it through. For that leadership is needed, and the country has ensured that leadership by placing the most popular party in power both at the Centre and in the States. I am sure that there will be concentrated effort both at the Centre and in the States, and a single party being in power at both the places is going to help in the quick execution of the Plan. Therefore, I am very optimistic about the success of the Plan.

One hon. Member who spoke previously thought that the authors of the Plan were destined to meet the fate of Viswamitra. I do not think this is correct. I claim that the authors of the Plan had the spirit of Viswakarma. They are really going to be the great architects of the future.

I should like to mention about the rehabilitation of the railways. The money allotted for this purpose is not really enough. Most of it will be spent on current commitments and therefore there is not much scope for further expansion or restoration of old railways and opening of new ones. It is usually said that the road to prosperity lies through roads, and I suppose railroads also will be given a little more attention than what they have received. It would be a good thing if the Finance Minister and the Railway Minister would consult each

other and obtain a little more money for the railway rehabilitation programme.

Regarding the Madras State, some of the districts deserve special mention. I shall read to you about them from the report of the Geological Survey of India. This is what it says:

"The districts in the interior comprising Coimbatore, Salem, North Arcot, Chittoor and the Ceded Districts receive between 15 and 30 inches of rain during the year. If this is spread out at a suitable time, it should be adequate for agriculture. Unfortunately, however, the rains are untimely in some areas, giving rise to famine conditions. Though the province is fairly well supplied with rivers and receives a satisfactory amount of rainfall, the rain is very unevenly distributed during the year. Moreover, there has been little effort at conservation of the river water except in the deltaic area. The remedy for this state of things lies partly in re-afforestation and partly in the conservation of the waters of the rivers by forming artificial reservoirs....and regulating the flow of the water. Money given for a planned project of afforestation of the interior districts will be well spent as it will contribute to the land becoming cool, moist and fertile and to the prosperity of the people living in it."

I am sorry that one of the rivers in this area, the South Pennar, has been forgotten by the Planning Commission. Another thing is the omission to consider seriously how to develop the lignite deposits in South Arcot. No doubt, some drilling is going on here and there, subject to the resources available to the State Government and a little help which the Centre is giving. But this is not enough. Proper experts from abroad should be quickly invited and more money should be invested in completing the preliminary survey before starting the thorough exploitation of the lignite deposits.

There are also some proposals for the construction of oil refineries in the land, but before doing that I would like the Government and the Planning Commission to remember South Arcot, because if the lignite is exploited there, it will be a good thing to start a liquid fuel plant there.

I am very glad that in the welfare side of it, it has been recognis-

ed that for women's education facilities for appearing privately should be provided. I am also in warm agreement with and gladly support the schemes for child-welfare and other national physical fitness programmes. In fact, the Central Cabinet should have a Minister specially to devote himself to welfare activities, sport and recreation.

Regarding cottage industries, it is gratifying to note that the policy of reserving separate fields for hand-looms has been recognised whenever there is a clash with a major industry. This is not confined to hand-looms. It has also been recognised as necessary for other small industries.

In the matter of cottage industries, bee-keeping should receive the special attention of Government. In Australia and other countries, this is highly developed. Friends who go there, come and tell me on their return that it is organised there on a very large scale. On enquiry, I find that we are annually importing a lot of honey from Australia and other countries. This is very unnecessary. If a large number of bee-keeping boxes are made and distributed all over India, we can easily collect honey, or rather collect the honey which the bees have collected.

One more thing I wish to mention is that we find in the Plan that there are areas which are to be benefited by the multi-purpose projects, and there are areas which are to be benefited by the community projects. But there are some unfortunate regions in which some districts do not get the benefit either of this or the other project. So, I would like Government to devise means by which they can make the people of these areas also feel that they are in the scheme. If Government's resources are not enough, at least token things should be done, so that the enthusiasm of the people can be invited and exploited for making the Plan a success.

With these words, I once again congratulate the planners and wish them success.

3 P.M.

Dr. Krishnaswami (Kancheepuram): If I do not indulge in a conventional tribute to the Planning Commission it is not due to lack of appreciation of the great industry, earnestness, and enthusiasm that have gone into the making of these two massive "tomes". There are chapters of great

[Dr. Krishnaswami]

merit; there are chapters of not such high merit; there is one chapter which I would wish the Finance Minister to exclude altogether from the printed version of the Planning Commission's report. That chapter is the one dealing with employment. I tried to make some sense of the chapter on employment but I must confess that after having made all attempts I am no wiser than I was when I first started reading it. But before I proceed with a detailed analysis of the Planning Commission Report's recommendations, I should like to begin by endorsing the very pregnant observation made by the Leader of the House yesterday. Speaking with earnestness he pointed out that we have to remember that two years out of the five year period are already over and therefore we have to take account of what has transpired. The criticisms that we might have given expression to two years ago if made today would be futile. We can no longer argue whether multi-purpose projects which have been started at great social cost to the community should have been started at all. They are with us. Not heaven even over the past hath power. The sensible question which ought to be put is: What do we expect from the implementation of the first Five Year Plan in the context of a backward economy? Firstly investment must form the basis of social overhead capital, the catalytic agent which melts economic inertia, the heritage of generations of neglect and age-old custom. Social overhead capital is the parent of diversified industries. It is social overhead capital—and multipurpose projects are in a sense social overhead capital—which forms the basis for the growth and diversification of economic development in different parts of our country. Here let me point out that, it would be next to impossible on the part of private enterprise to invest in social overhead capital because social overhead capital partakes of the nature of autonomous investment, and does not spring from considerations of anticipations of profit, foreseeable demand and buying power. Early during the last session I had occasion to be critical of the Finance Minister's policy of financing capital development out of revenue surpluses. Today, having pondered over the matter more thoroughly, I am in a position to affirm that revenue surpluses are one of the methods of public saving for investment in basic projects. The

criticism that may be urged against such a policy is not whether revenue surpluses should be utilised for the purpose of financing capital development, but whether the amount that is collected in the shape of taxes produces other deterrent effects on the economy, in the shape of cost inflation and depression.

The second test which has to be kept in view and which I think is an important criterion, is that this initial investment must lead to a development in our economic progress. Thirdly the Plan must—and this is the most important criterion which I should like to bring to the notice of all our planners and particularly of the Finance Minister—secure an adequate regional balance as between different areas. Without an emphasis on regional balance in income and employment all talk about diversification of economic development, all talk about levelling economic inequalities is nothing but moonshine.

As it is, what is the situation that faces us? Today the economic development of our country is concentrated in a very narrow sector. The City of Bombay and about fifty miles around it, is the area around which industries are concentrated. The City of Calcutta and a hundred miles around it is the place around which most of the industries are aggregated. Bihar, with Sindri as the focal point and the iron and coal around are the places in which industrial development has taken place.

Implicitly and tacitly the Planning Commission has accepted the first two criteria, namely that it is the duty of the State to invest in social overhead capital and secondly that social overhead capital is to be the parent of future development. Let me examine the criteria which the Planning Commission have accepted and find out whether those criteria are likely to be achieved in practice. I venture to suggest that it is extremely improbable to assume that the investment made would lead to further development in the different sectors of our economy. There are many gaps and deficiencies in our industrial structure which have to be filled up and on which the Planning Commission is notoriously silent. Take, for instance, the iron and steel industry. Even with the new steel plant which is to come into operation, we would have only about 350,000 tons of pig iron and our production of steel is expected to increase from 1.2 million tons to 2.2

million tons at the end of five years. The power generated in these various multi-purpose projects would be much greater and would be capable of feeding at least a dozen more industries. In this connection I wish to stress an important factor which has been brought to our notice by the Planning Commission itself. The Planning Commission in the Chapter on Imports and Exports point out that we would have to import at least 2.8 million tons of steel each year even after five years. So in 1955-56 we would be much less self-sufficient than what we were in 1950. We need iron and steel plants, therefore, capable of producing another two million tons and it is necessary to have these put up as quickly as possible so that the power from these great projects might be consumed and so that many other industries dependent on steel might come into being. We have to think of iron and steel plants as part of the social overhead capital that we have to build up for promoting economic development at a rapid rate. They are basic for many industries for one thing. For another they can be produced at two-thirds of the imported price in our country. Therefore, I plead for a greater emphasis on basic industries, and more concentrated attention on complementary industries. In the revised draft presented to us only eight days ago, we came across a very cryptic sentence in the Introductory chapter, which deserves to be quoted:

"In the Draft Outline, owing to the greater urgency of the programmes for agriculture and irrigation, the provision made for the development of industry in the public sector was insufficient. In the Plan as now presented in addition to providing for an integrated steel plant, Rs. 50 crores have been allocated for further expansion of basic industries, including manufacture of heavy electrical equipment and fertilisers, and for revising increased transport facilities required for industry and mineral development."

Here, I thought, was something refreshing, something new, an indication of awareness of the problems facing us. Surely it is not the allocation of Rs. 50 crores for the achievement of this object that is important. The question is: How is this going to be spent? Where is it going to be spent? What particular factories have the Commission in view? Where are they going to be located? These are questions which cry out for answers and

as far as I can make out nowhere in the report of the Planning Commission has there been any indication given of how this amount is going to be spent and what steps are going to be taken. Is it the policy of Government to wait Micawber-like for events to turn up, or for somebody to come forward and instal a steel plant? Certainly this would not be in consonance with the spirit of planning as we have understood it.

I pass now to the third criterion,—neglected altogether by the Commission namely, that there ought to be a proper regional distribution of income and employment as between areas. Search the Planning Commission's report however carefully you might, you will find that there is no mention made of regional development at all. The whole thing has been left out of account as though it is of no consequence. It is a great tragedy that it should have been left out of account, particularly when we are talking big of the unity of our country, when we are emphasising day in and day out the inter-dependence of the various constituent units. Surely it is your duty to find out how far it is possible to regionally diversify our development so that there might be a better distribution of income as between the different regions. Today, let me express the most unpalatable and bitter thought: The bulk of our social overhead capital is concentrated in the North-East of India. So far as other parts of India are concerned, they have been allowed to languish. The Godavari-Krishna Pennar Project might come sometime if at all after the five year period into being. They might take more time to mature. But the Koynar project might come into being in 1954 or 1955. So far as Bombay city and the surrounding areas are concerned, there are many difficulties which are facing industries. I wish the Planning Commission and the Government would even now take account of the differing regional needs. It is absolutely essential that they should, because otherwise there would be very many handicaps which we would have to surmount if we are to have increased industrial production.

Take Bombay for instance. Habitually for the past five or six years or rather for the past decade industry has been handicapped due to lack of electrical power. In fact if I may enunciate a generalisation with the permission of this House, industry has become as much a gamble in monsoons as food and agriculture. It

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ought, therefore, to be your primary duty to attend to the regional diversification of industry, particularly of backward areas like Maharashtra, Karnatak, South, and those other areas which have long lagged behind in the pace of industrialisation and which looked forward eagerly, expectantly in the hope of obtaining a better deal but which have as yet not had fair treatment at your hands. Any Planning Commission, which takes its duty seriously ought to consider the problem of regional diversification of income and employment, because ultimately, when you wish to rectify economic inequalities, you cannot achieve it unless there is a fair amount of regional dispersion of income and employment in the different regions. I did not refer in particular to the South, but on this matter I should like to point out that we have a legitimate grievance against the Centre because we have also suffered from neglect and inattention to our demands. I want the Government of India and I want the Members of the Planning Commission to apply their minds afresh to this question of regional distribution of industries, income and employment, and if they do so they will be compelled to do much for these neglected regions.

Let me pass on to other points of importance. I said a few minutes ago that the chapter on Employment was one of those chapters which should not have been included in the Planning Commission's report. Taking a simple and elementary view one would find that out of the eight or nine millions increase in the working population that we would have, at the end of five years only about five millions or so would be absorbed in increased employment. (An Hon. Member: Are you sure about it?) I am sure at least to that extent to which I am now stating. But I am examining this five millions figure in another minute or two. Now let me assume that the figure is correct. Even so it cannot be suggested that this is a spectacular increase in employment. I can understand the planners suggesting that it will take time for increases in employment to occur because we have concentrated on agriculture, and by development of agriculture what we can safely expect is increased productivity and not employment, and therefore we will have to wait for a few more years before there is increased employment. But what surprised me in this report is the queer attempt made to work out

figures of increased employment. Take for instance the basis for calculation adopted by the Planning Commission. I have not been able to understand what basis for calculation has been chosen. It is said that handicrafts and production of other goods will absorb increased amount of labour. We know what the state of handicrafts is in our country. We have about three million handlooms, and there are about three million handloom weavers, most of whom do not have work for more than eight or ten days. The utmost that can happen as a result of increased opportunities being given to handloom weavers is a more full utilisation of their handlooms. And even this would be considerably limited by the fact of there being a great disparity in the prices between mill-made and hand-made goods. Certainly it is curious to suggest that there would be such an increased amount of employment in the decaying industries which are much less productive than agriculture. The National Income Report which issued its recommendations three years ago, in 1949, pointed out that so far as handicrafts were concerned, their productivity was less than in agriculture.

How then are we to expect an increase in employment? It would have been more honest to suggest that during the first five years we cannot expect increased amount of employment, though we can undoubtedly expect increased productivity. This is what has happened in many countries which have concentrated on agricultural development and on agricultural productivity. I therefore think that so far as these figures are concerned, the utmost that can be postulated about increase in employment would be not more than one and a half to two and a half millions. All the other figures deserve to be ignored because so far as they are concerned I do not think there is any scientific basis, and wishful thinking is no substitute for clarity of thought.

It is unfortunate that this chapter should be in contrast to the other chapter that has been brought out on assessment of resources. Here the high water mark of scientific attempt has been reached, and it was an intellectual pleasure for me to go through it. Whether we agree with the assessment or not is a different matter, but we were able to understand what the writers were driving at, and therefore from this point of view I should like to congratulate

those who have been responsible for this chapter.

Take for instance the assessment of food available at the end of five years. A few minutes ago I pointed out that we had to consider how we were going to assess increased agricultural productivity. Even in the matter of agricultural productivity there are one or two mistakes that have been committed by the Planning Commission. When we have great irrigation projects initiated, unless we take care to institute a system of production controls it will be impossible to postulate that there would be an increase in the area under foodgrains. Past experience has revealed the painful fact that irrigation projects have led in their wake to increased amount of land being allocated to commercial crops, and therefore unless we now think of these production controls—after all these projects will come into operation in another year and a half or two years—we may find ourselves in a tight corner. I therefore beg of the Members of the Planning Commission to advert to this particular aspect of the matter and to come out definitely with schemes of crop control, proposals for building up buffer stocks and the points at which they intend exerting pressure so that the community may have the grain it needs and farmers may be aware of what is expected from them. The Planning Commission seems to be unaware of all these important matters and yet considers it proper to make an assessment of the shape of things to come in the field of agriculture; the blind seek to illumine the blind.

Let me now pass on to the assessment of resources. 1951-52 and 1952-53 were the two years in which we had a shortfall as my friend Mr. Bansal pointed out of Rs. 212 crores. Now these were the two years in which our expenditure did not reach high levels. We expect, expenditure to reach high levels in the year 1954-55 or from 1953 and right up to 1955. When we had a shortfall of Rs. 212 crores in the years of buoyant activity is it reasonable to expect that our assessment of resources, internal resources, namely that of Rs. 1414 crores is likely to be realised? The Monetary Research Section of the Reserve Bank in its latest bulletin has pointed out that so far as the States are concerned, the part A States in particular, there would be a sharp decline in taxation receipts. So far as the B States are concerned, thanks to integration and thanks to the employment of a new sales tax devices, the

experts prognosticate an increase in income. To add to our worries, many States have initiated the experiment of prohibition. We are not suffering from an abundance of riches to deny ourselves the privilege to resort to excise duties on liquor and imposition of salt tax which would give us a handsome amount of say about Rs. 60 crores per year and which would work out at about Rs. 180 crores, quite a valuable addition to our resources.

Let me analyse some of the other aspects of the Planning Commission's recommendations rather briefly. It is a mistake to assume that we are having only a public sector for which money has to be found. It is true that in the public sector we are expected to invest rupees 2069 crores; but there is also a private sector which has to find about Rs. 1348 crores. Now, the question which faces planners is how are these funds going to be made available to the private sector? It would be another matter if you suggest that you do not believe in a mixed economy, that you do not think that a private sector can fulfil any function. But having made up our mind to have a private sector what steps have you taken to provide it with resources. 60 per cent. of the savings of the community, according to the Planning Commission's Report, are to be channelised into the public sector. 40 per cent. would be left over for the private sector. This 40 per cent. would be utilised for the purposes of rehabilitation of industry and the construction of houses for workers, because, according to the latest enunciation of policy, it has been laid down that the private sector would have to look after the construction of houses for workers. In addition, if the public sector runs short of resources so far as the 1414 crores are concerned, the State would have to indent heavily on the 40 per cent. of the saving reserved for the private sector. I would like those on the other side who have given some thought to this problem to consider the very difficult situation in which the private sector is placed. In talking about the private sector, one need not think of the 'managing agents' or those who have been responsible for the starting of industries. That is a different aspect into which we can go at some other time. But the question is: What is the amount that has been put into industry? Very little has been put into industry since 1947. What is the policy that the Government is following in respect of railways? It intends spending only Rs. 20 crores on new lines which is new investment.

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The rest is to be spent on rehabilitation and replenishment of existing resources. If the same test is applied to industries in the private sector, a more liberal allowance should be given to the private sector for developing itself and for playing a valuable part in bringing about an increase in productivity. What is the upshot of all this? It is unpopular to suggest that we should think of deficit financing. Sometimes it is considered that if we indulge in deficit financing, we would bring the country to ruin. But it is as easy to overestimate the vices of deficit financing as it is to underestimate its salient features. I think that it ought to be clear that if we are to have deficit financing—and we are bound to have it—we ought to make up our minds as to how we are going to initiate deficit financing. Obviously the criteria that we have to apply is that as a result of expenditure we should have production of commodities quickly. That is why it has been suggested that we cannot have education financed by deficit financing; here results mature after a long while and quick returns cannot be predicted. There are however many low-income areas in which expenditure on a large scale can be safely attempted: Here utilisation of the unemployed labour and exploitation of existing techniques will result in production of goods quickly. Thus starved handloom weavers obtaining yarn at cheap rates from spinning mills located in the low-income areas, apart from being fully employed will also bring their wares to the market. There is also a non-monetary sector in our economy—people forget that according to the National income unit's report, thirty per cent. of our economy is non-monetary—where expenditure can be directed and such expenditure apart from bringing more goods to the market, will lead to an increase in resources—taxable resources.

I would like to point out that we can have 'deficit financing' concentrated in parts of the private sector. Wherever you can obtain advantages to the community from capital assets and there are capital assets capable of yielding a rapid economic return there are no risks attached to a policy of regulated deficit financing. Investment in parts, minor parts like Tuticorin, Managalore, Vizagapatam and Ratnagiri can be taken up immediately; we can go full steam ahead and develop them to advantage. Se-

condly, if we are to have deficit financing in the private sector, we should advance funds with a condition namely that industrialists ought to replace their machinery and modernise their machinery, so that we might get quick and better results, and lastly—this is a point which I should like to bring to the notice of hon. Members opposite—we can have 'deficit financing' in order to strengthen the structure of under-capitalised firms. There are numerous under-capitalised firms in many parts of our country, particularly in backward areas. Here firms have borrowed short and invested long. If they collapse, then the whole economy of the regions will crash. Is it not therefore our duty to strengthen them by creating Development Corporations for the purpose of purchasing shares and embarking on equity financing on a large scale? It may be pointed out that there are dangers inherent in deficit financing. We have to meet our expenditure on Defence, we have to meet vast social consumption expenditure, inevitable and necessary in the context of our present day policy and therefore if any developmental expenditure is to be incurred we cannot but rely on deficit financing. We would, however, have to take care that 'deficit financing' does not lead to a collapse of confidence and for this purpose a properly devised system of controls will have to be operated by the State. Also in order to mitigate the dangers inherent in deficit financing we ought to have a policy of compulsorily siphoning savings. Today we have a five per cent. surcharge on Income-tax. Suppose, for instance, we had a ten per cent. surcharge on Income-tax and that with a condition that those who pay that ten per cent. surcharge on Income-tax should have the opportunity of investing it in specified enterprises, undoubtedly, this would be a profitable method of canalising the savings of our Community. Certainly, those who get increments in income would not feel it a grievance if they are told that a portion of it is to be lopped off as surplus. A scheme of deferred payments for workers and salaried groups can be worked out even for non-income-tax payers and thus the horrors of deficit financing can be considerably minimised.

I have spoken at some length on the financial aspects of the Plan; I shall end my remarks on a note of hope. Some people are inclined to assume that a mixed economy is an

abomination. I hold an entirely different view. I maintain that in a mixed economy it is quite possible to reconcile the virtues of freedom with those of control. In this connection, one of the very brilliant characterisations made by Dostoevski in Brothers Karamzov comes to my mind. In the chapter on "The Grand Inquisitor" it is said that this highly precise and stern individual the Grand Inquisitor placed before his hearer visions of economic plenty and promised him bread if the latter was prepared to forewear his freedom. But in a mixed economy, thanks to competition and thanks to the possibility of your being able to control and at the same time giving the individual freedom, we may be in a position to have a sound compromise between political freedom and economic freedom. I hope we would be true to our ideals and yet practical in our grasp of economic realities.

Shri S. K. Patil (Bombay City-South): I was of two minds whether I should take the time of the House, when the time is so much limited. But, looking to the trend of some of the speeches from the Opposition, I feel I must express a few thoughts, which are not new, but, which to my mind are of paramount importance.

Before I begin commenting on the First Five Year Plan, I must, for a special reason, although it might appear hardly necessary, congratulate with all sincerity and earnestness the framers of this Plan for the most magnificent piece of work that they have done. It is very easy to pick holes and criticise. I may be able to pick quite a lot of holes. It is another thing, situated as we are, to produce a plan of the gigantic dimensions of 2069 crores spread over a short period of five years, almost two years having gone.

There is a tendency to compare plans. Our Prime Minister naturally referred to one very successful plan, that is the First Five Year Plan of the Soviet Republic. There was a mention made of the National Recovery Act of the U.S.A. and the Beveridge social security Plan in the U.K. I am merely referring to them in order to bring home to you the unique feature of this Plan that this is something which has not been tried on this scale anywhere else in the World. There is no comparison between any of these Plans with our Plan. The conditions in the U.S.S.R. were quite different; absolutely different. There is nothing in common

except that there was enthusiasm among the people there and here. Otherwise, the Plan took ten years or eleven years after the Republic was established. Why? Not because they did not have all the plans, but because they had to eliminate certain factors which might have proved the greatest hindrance for the successful implementation of that Plan. One thing is that when that Plan came for execution, there was no Opposition. The administration had seen to it that they had not merely a plan for the objectives they had in view, but all political parties were successfully eliminated. There was nobody to voice any democratic feeling on that Plan. There was nothing wrong about that Plan; I am merely suggesting that the difficulties that are inherent in the situation today in India were not the difficulties of the Soviet Republic. There was compulsory regimentation for the successful implementation of that Plan, of all material resources which were actual and also potential. There was such a complete regimentation for five years and even after that that they did not worry about what the other parties or other groups or anybody else would feel about it.

When you come to America, it was not a Plan in my view, of the magnitude of the present Plan that we are envisaging. It was a trend in economics that President Roosevelt introduced, and to a large extent, very successfully introduced, and made America materially perhaps richer than she was before. But, it was not as comprehensive a Plan as we are having. We are planning almost from A to Z: all the resources at our command, the order of priority, the things that we want in order that our material and other resources might step up, etc. Therefore, there is no comparison in that too. Besides, the National Recovery Act was introduced and executed in absolutely what is known as the private sector. There was no necessity of deficit financing or any other trouble of that description. The question was how to give a twist to the economic trend in order that they may get better results and wider employment.

The Beveridge Plan of social security was only a social security measure. It was not a Plan as we have got, as I said, a most comprehensive Plan. Therefore, in my view, after the attainment of freedom, the production of this Plan is the greatest achievement so far as free India is concerned. It can be so judged

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by posterity, and very rightly too. How much of prosperity will be achieved by the implementation of the Plan is a different matter to which I shall presently come. But, so far as the production of the Plan in which no less than two and a half years have been spent, is concerned, all this labour has not been wasted at all. At the end of that, we have come to a Plan which is most magnificent and if worked in the right spirit, and if we give, without unnecessary criticism—sometimes criticism is necessary—our best, for the successful implementation of the Plan, the Plan is bound to succeed and make India prosperous.

Having said that, I do not want to get lost in the figures. Because, that may take time in the first place and secondly, I want to concentrate attention on those aspects of the Plan on which very little has been said. That is the leadership that is going to implement this Plan and the public co-operation and the vital enthusiasm expected from the people. These two points, according to me, are of paramount importance. Even with double the amount, that is, instead of 2000 crores, even if you have 4000 crores, if you have only half the public enthusiasm, your Plan is no good. If we create public enthusiasm as we shall create, surely, the Plan is bound to be a success. Members from the Opposition,—I am sorry, I am not saying it merely for the sake of criticism—have treated this Plan as if it was an ordinary piece of legislation. They have to criticise; they may criticise. I am not objecting to their criticism. But, they have gone to the extent of saying—here is my friend Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, acting leader of the Communist group—that it is bamboozling the people, and a betrayal of the patriotic urges of the people. These are quite good words. There is nothing wrong about them at all. From a political platform I might also use them with equal effect, if not better. I very respectfully submit that it is not in order to score a point that I am referring to the subject. Here is something unique;—not the Rs. 2,069 crores; that is very essential indeed, but the public response that we are going to generate. That is the electricity with which we are going to work this Plan. And we should not approach the people as these doubting Thomases intend doing; some one saying that the Government is bamboozling the people, betrayal of the patriotic aspirations of the people

and all this type of thing; somebody else saying that the question of unemployment has not been completely solved by the Plan. Whoever said that by the first Five Year Plan the unemployment question, which is so vast today that even its dimensions cannot be measured, is going to be solved? I am glad that we have called it the first Five Year Plan. That indicates that this is the first of a series of plans that we are going to have by which these questions will be solved by and by. But if you look at this Plan with that doubting attitude, thinking that the question of unemployment is not going to be solved completely, and if you go to the people, the workers and the peasants and tell them: "Where is the solution of the unemployment problem?", that means, instead of creating enthusiasm for the Plan, you frustrate the hope of the people. The very methods that you use in order to create enthusiasm, frustrate all the hopes that you may have entertained. Apart from the defects which are or which may be in the Plan and which may be freely criticised, please do not use it as a political weapon. And if it were a political weapon, the country had ample opportunity to express an opinion, not on every detail of it, but on the general outline of the Plan, which the country has very emphatically and unequivocally done in the last elections. Therefore, my appeal to all the parties in this country would be "Please for God's sake, and even for your sake, do not go on criticising this Plan so that you create an attitude of doubt among the people." The greatest danger to this Plan is that attitude of doubt. You must have faith in you, and if there is no faith in you, you cannot create any faith in anybody else. It is like having a big programme of prohibition and putting in charge of it a man who wants a glass of whisky in order to make his mental faculties work. I am merely saying about faith and want of faith. Unless you have got faith—you and I, Members of this august House, leaders of public opinion, leaders of groups and everybody—the Plan cannot succeed. It does not matter if there are any drawbacks in this Plan. Let us try to improve it while the Plan is being executed, but let there be that indomitable faith that moves mountains. If we critically examine every detail, possibly no movement of social good could have been carried on, and no freedom could have been achieved, but it was that indomitable and unquenchable faith which really

swayed millions of hearts of our countrymen which ultimately blossomed forth into the freedom which you and I are enjoying today. Faith is the greatest necessity in the world and that is, according to me, a very fundamental necessity for the successful implementation of this Plan.

I find some chapters in this Five Year Plan as to how public co-operation is to be acquired. You have created a machinery, but mere creation of a machinery, on paper is one thing and to get that dynamic leadership to which the Prime Minister referred is another. I do not know where that dynamic leadership that is required and to which reference has been made in the Plan, is to come from, and how it is to come. We must produce that dynamic leadership. That leadership must be from top to bottom, on all-India level, on the State-level, on the District-level and even on the Taluka-level. It is a great thing, that leadership that is imbued with faith—unchallengeable faith—with discipline, with the constructive attitude of mind and many other qualities that really make human beings and nations great. That has got to be created, and therefore, the requisite atmosphere for that has got to be created. Leadership is the primary necessity for the success of the Plan, more than the Rs. 2,069 crores.

An Hon. Member: Where is the leadership?

Shri S. K. Patil: Here is the leadership. If we lack something, we can borrow it from you. My point is this. I need it. We intend borrowing it from you, because, if you can show this much missionary spirit in other things of life, in political ideologies, do you mean to say that for the success of a national Plan you would not give that leadership to us if it is necessary?

In every part, from the village to the topmost level, there ought to be leadership in which there must be dynamic faith. People must trust. They trusted the Congress no doubt, and returned it to power with a large majority. There is leadership not only in the Congress, but also in the country. There is leadership in the Members of the Opposition, but they must not look at this Plan merely with the idea of criticising, but when we pass this motion of the Prime Minister, we must leave Parliament with a determined will

that we shall see to it that we shall implement it in the five-year period. That ought to be the spirit that must dominate and motivate every effort that we make.

You have created a public co-operation machinery in the Plan itself. You have got the National Advisory Committee with some duties, and they are, I think, merely illustrative and not exhaustive. You have created the Bharat Sevak Samaj, a non-political and non-official organisation in order to create public co-operation for the Plan.

Dr. N. B. Khare (Gwalior): Question.

Shri S. K. Patil: These two are quite right, but sometimes, I am afraid, there might be overlapping. I am merely putting this question, not that anything has happened, but something may happen. In all these multi-purpose projects etc., when the large comprehensive plan begins, there would be so much overstraining on both these machineries. There ought not to be competition or overlapping. There must be a harmonious fusion of both these machineries or any machinery that might be created, so that the functioning of the plan will be very smooth and very efficient. Therefore, the leadership has got to be created, with one man or a committee of more than one; I have not got a ready-made plan with me, so that that machinery will create enthusiasm, vitality and that dynamism in the country just as was created in 1928 and thereafter in the Soviet Republic, so that everybody may feel: "It is not the rupee that I give that will make this Plan successful, but the labour that I give for the success of it, the faith I attach to that Plan, the constructive attitude of mind towards that Plan, that is ultimately going to make a success of it." All that cannot happen without the leadership, and therefore, the Prime Minister and framers of this Plan will be well-advised to see even from now,—long before the Plan comes into operation, i.e., every part of it—the proper type of leadership is created.

So far as these two organisations to which I have referred are concerned, their terms of reference are very wide. They are very good, but sometimes there may be overlapping in these. Both these things must grow together and harmoniously. The Bharat Sevak Samaj has not yet grown. It is being created, created very fast, but we have not got the dynamic energy in it. We have got to infuse it. People may be waiting that Parliament will approve of this

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Plan, and when it comes, we shall start doing the work. Therefore, it seems to me that our effort now should be to see that all these things are done quite in good time, so that the proper enthusiasm for public co-operation is created. We have got media of propaganda in this country. We have got the press, the radio controlled by Government. We have got motion pictures. All these and other media of public information and knowledge must be pressed into the service of this Plan so that even the common man in the remotest village knows that there is a Plan for him and that it is his duty to implement it. Do not go to the common man and undermine his faith. There is a good advice in our 'Bhagavat Geeta'.

“न बुद्धिभेदम् जनयेत्,।”

Do not undermine the faith of the ignorant man. He understands very little. He goes on slogans. He has no time to study these big Plans of yours, and not even a summary of them. He just believes what his leaders tell him. If he thinks that this Plan is for the good of his society and the country, that it will do good to the country, then he will give his best to this Plan for making it a success. In a country where the national income is Rs. 9000 crores, Rs. 2069 crores is only less than 25 per cent. and spread over a period of five years, it comes only to five per cent. of the national income per year. Considering this, your Plan is not really a big Plan; it appears to be a big Plan today, because you do not assess the public co-operation that you will be getting; you assess it by the standards of the administration during the last five years, which I may humbly submit, are not very great in order to justify a larger measure of co-operation from the public. If the fact that the Plan is there to do good to society, goes home to these poor people, there would be such an automatic and spontaneous response that it would not be difficult for you to get that Rs. 2069 crores that you want for working out this Plan. As I was saying earlier, all the media that we have got have got to be pressed into use for this purpose. The media that we have are not very competent. Just now I have nothing to say about the Press, because it is a private machinery, but so far as our machinery, namely the radio is concerned, even the radio, at whatever stage it is, can be pressed into service for this purpose. There must be more radio sets everywhere for that purpose, not merely for this

Plan, but for other purposes as well. For the Plan, it is a unique necessity, for everybody even in the remotest corner of a village must know the implication of this Plan, what his duties towards that Plan are, what he should do to make it a success. Then we have the motion pictures. While in other countries, it has been a most powerful weapon, in our country unfortunately it is not so yet. In the short time at my disposal, I am not going into the question as to who is responsible for that, although it is somewhat a special subject, so far as I am concerned. Even then, the motion pictures can do an immense good. In the United States of America, a large part of the NRA or the New Deal was successful on account of the terrific propaganda that was carried on, in which the motion pictures also played a very important part. The same is the case in other countries as well. So, all these things can be done in our country also.

Now I would like to say a few words on the co-operation of the States. I do expect that spontaneous co-operation must be forthcoming from the States, for, after all, this Plan is not a Plan for Delhi only or for this Parliament, but it is for everybody and it is for the State Governments no doubt. They will therefore co-operate in this Plan, and in your expectation you have set apart a sum of Rs. 532 crores from the States, who I hope, must have very gladly agreed to that. They may even give more, but I want to sound a note of warning that in their haste or hurry to collect that much money as quickly as possible, let them not go against the popular will. If you do that, and try to get money for the Plan, by completely putting the people against you, then you cannot expect the same people to co-operate with you in the implementation of the Plan. Therefore both the Parliament and the States must see that they get more money for this Plan in a manner that the quantum of popular will that is already with them is not completely lost. If you realise the money needed by merely saying 'Oh, we want more money for the Plan, give it, and give it in the manner that we ask you to give', surely that is not the way of getting popular sympathy. If you do not get popular sympathy, money you may or may not get, but surely you may not get the successful implementation of the Plan. Therefore our effort should be to get the people with us, no matter at what cost it might be.

I was very greatly surprised at the last Indore session, when it was announced that for a particular project, namely the Chambal project in Madhya Bharat, the people themselves were collecting about rupees ten crores. No doubt, it was a loan, but I could well imagine that if people could collect rupees ten crores for a multi-purpose river valley project, surely I should say that there is the last word in popular enthusiasm and the people will come forth saying 'We shall do sacrifice, we shall do service, and we shall give our labour.' In Germany some two years back, when its economy after the War was failing, and they wanted that free labour was necessary from the people to resuscitate the tottering German economy, an appeal was made to the people saying that they wanted some two million man-hours free in order to resuscitate their economy in a period of six months. History tells us that in less than that period, two million man-hours work was given free and rightly too, in order to resuscitate the tottering German economy. I do not know how much it would have cost in terms of money, but that co-operation was given by the people as national service. But in our case, it is not the tottering economy only, we are trying to build a permanent economy for the State, so that not only the per capita income will be doubled—which is of course, the immediate objective, to be achieved within 27 years—but we shall become one of the top-ranking nations along with other great and prosperous nations of the world. All these things have got to be done. So far as the States are concerned, we must see to it that while they secure money, they do not put the people against them by methods of taxation which may not be very popular. Somehow or other, you must get the people with you. If the people tomorrow give you all these Rs. 2069 crores, but deny all their co-operation for the implementation of the Plan, what can you do with your Rs. 2069 crores? But what is of paramount importance is co-operation first, and money afterwards. Russia never made a money plan of this description: they had not to depend on any International Monetary Fund or any International Bank; they had their own determination, and their own manpower, there was a will to succeed in that Plan, and millions of people gave their ungrudging and unremitting labour, so that the Five Year Plan was completed within four years. I am not prepared to admit that all that was done by mere

suppression of the liberties of the people etc., or by compulsion. They could not suppress the liberty of a whole people and still get the co-operation which they had in those days. What I am submitting is that we can imitate the good part of what Russia has done. We can imitate others also. We can imitate even what Roosevelt did in America. There is nothing wrong in doing so. If things are good, humanity must imitate. It is by healthy imitation that the society has to progress, as will be evident from the entire history of mankind. There may be some little difficulties here and there, and there are bound to be difficulties. But let us look at the Plan from this point of view, namely that it is the first national attempt of this gigantic dimension that we have. Let us therefore pilot it with the determination of the people, with the determination of everybody in our country,—no matter to what creed or party he belongs—that he shall give his willing labour and co-operation for the successful implementation of the Plan. If that is done, I have not the slightest hesitation, in spite of the forebodings that have been expressed in this House, that this Plan shall be a success.

4 P.M.

श्रीमती उमा नेहरू (जिला सीतापुर व जिला खेरी—पश्चिम) : जनाब डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, मैं आज प्लानिंग कमीशन वालों को मुबारकबाद देती हूँ कि उन्होंने इस कदर उम्दा पांच साल की योजना हमारे सामने रखी है। मैं यह भी इस हाउस को बताना चाहती हूँ कि यह योजना जो हमारे सामने रखी है इसमें हम को पूरा विश्वास है। मैं जब से यहाँ बंठी हूँ वही सुन रही हूँ कि यह योजना जो पेश की है बेकार है। जनाब डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, हम को यह बताया गया, अभी थोड़ी देर हुई कि हम को जिन्होंने यह योजना तैयार की है, बताया गया है कि हम ड्रीमर्ज है आजादी का स्वप्न देखते हैं। मुझे अपने इन भाइयों को यह बताना है कि आजादी के स्वप्न हम ने देखे और उन स्वप्नों का नतीजा यह हुआ कि आज देश को आजादी मिल गई। यह भी उन कब

[श्रीमती उमा नेहरू]

में बताऊँ कि हमें, आजादी के स्वप्न देखने वालों को, पूरा विश्वास है कि यह योजना देश को आगे ले जाने वाली चीज है। जो हमारा उम्मीदवादी देश है इस को यह फिर से बसाने वाली चीज है। देश वही तारीफ़ के क़ाबिल होता है जिस देश के लोग कि खुशहाल होते हैं। अगर हम इस योजना को इस निगाह से देखें और दिल से इस को मंजूर करें और मेहनत और जोश से इस से बरतें तो कोई वजह नहीं है कि हम को इस योजना में पूरी सफलता न हो। हम ने महात्मा गांधी के साथे में रचनात्मक-कार्य किया है। हम जानते हैं कि देश के निर्माण में हमें सेवा भाव से काम करना है, खास तौर से स्त्रियों को। हम ने स्त्रियों ने, हर चीज का त्याग करके आजादी की लड़ाई में मरदों के साथ साथ काम किया है। हमें उसी भाव से अब इस देश का निर्माण भी करना है। इस काम में पूरे तौर से दिलचस्पी लेनी है और बिना उन के साथ के यह योजना सफल भी नहीं होगी। जैसा अभी श्री पाटिल ने कहा था कि जब तक हम पूरे जोश से इस काम की नहीं करेंगे, जब तक देश में लीडरशिप (leader ship) नहीं होगी तब तक योजना को आगे चलाना भी जरा मुश्किल होगा। स्त्रियों को चर्चा में इसलिये करती हूँ क्योंकि हम ने इस पिछले चुनाव में यह देखा कि स्त्रियों के वोट पुरुषों से अधिक थे और हम यह जानती हैं कि स्त्रियाँ यदि इस रचनात्मक कार्य को अपने हाथ में ले लेंगी और भारत सेवक समाज, जिसका जिक्र है, उस को समझेंगी और समझ कर आगे चलेंगी तो कोई वजह नहीं है कि योजना देश में सफलता न हो। हम स्त्रियों को अपने मापदण्डों के संग संग चलना है, चाहे कितनी ही हानियाँ दिक्कतें हमारे सामने हों।

हमें अब अपनी इस वेलफ़ेयर स्टेट (welfare state) को बनाना ही है। कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट्स (Community Projects) में हमें बराबर हिस्सा लेना है। देहात की आर्थिक और सामाजिक दशाओं में परिवर्तन करना हमारा ही काम है योजना के प्रोग्राम को सारे गांवों में फैलाना, शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य, काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज की तरफ़की, इन सब को अपने त्याग व मेहनत के भावों से हम को कामयाब करना है। देहातों में जिन्दगी पैदा करना, उन को सैल्फ-सफ़िशियेंट (Self-sufficient) बनाना, यह हमारे लिये बहुत जरूरी है। खाने, कपड़े वगैरह के लिये हमें दिक्कत न हो, इसका इन्तजाम करना है। इस खाने और कपड़े के इलावा हमें अपने देहातों में आराम की चीजें भी तैयार करनी होंगी, जैसे कि पीतल का काम होता है, कालीन बनाना, कढ़ाई करना यह जो इस तरह के धन्धे हैं, इन की भी हमें तरक्की करनी होगी। देहातों की आर्थिक स्थिति तब ही बदलेगी जब हम देहातों में खाना और कपड़ा बराबर देंगे। कच्चे माल का भी हमें बन्दोबस्त करना होगा। फिर कच्चे माल के संग संग जब तक हम देहातों में मारकेट का बन्दोबस्त नहीं करेंगे तब तक इस में दिक्कतें होंगी। आजकल जब हम देहात में जाते हैं तो वहाँ बुरी दशा हमें दिखाई देती है। वहाँ देहातों में हालत यह है कि न उन के पास माल है और न उन के पास खाना है, न उन के पास कपड़ा है। जो माल वहाँ मिलता भी है, जो थोड़ा बहुत माल वहाँ बनता भी है, तो उस के लिये उन के पास कोई मारकेट नहीं है। जो व्यापारी लोग होते हैं वे वहाँ जा कर उन को कच्चा माल दे कर कपड़ा बनवाते हैं और दूसरी चीजें बनवाते हैं और वे ही उस माल को खरीदते हैं और इस

बजह से देहात वालों की जो हालत है वह एक मजदूर की हालत से भी ज्यादा बदतर हालत है।

तो इन सब बीजों को हमें सामने रख कर सारी वृत्तियों को हमें इस योजना की मदद से दूर करना है। देहात की कारीगरी तभी फले फूड़ेगी जब कि हमारा एग्रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्शन (Agricultural production) बढ़ेगा, क्योंकि इस एग्रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्शन पर ही काटेज इंडस्ट्री का सारा दारो-मदार होता है। विलेज कम्युनिटी में घन पहुंचाने का इन्तजाम भी हमें इस योजना से पूरा करना है ताकि कारीगरों को घन की कमी से हानि न पहुंचे। यों तो हर स्टेट अपनी जिम्मेदारी पूरी करेगी, लेकिन सेंटर (Centre) को भी ऐसा इन्तजाम करना है कि हर स्टेट को वह बराबर जांच करती रहे। योजना का मकसद यह होना चाहिये कि हर काटेज इंडस्ट्री सैफ्ट-सफ़िशियेंट हो। जब तक यह सैफ़्ट-सफ़िशियेंट नहीं होगा तब तक यह काम कामयाबी से नहीं हो सकेगा। हमें अपनी पंचायतों को फिर से देखना होगा। पंचायतों में हम सच्चे ईमानदार आदमियों को रखन होगा, जिस से कहीं पर भी हमारे नज़दीक करप्शन (corruption) का जिक्र या नाम भी न आने पड़े।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह (हजारीबाग पश्चिम) : और गवर्नमेंट में कसे आदमी होने चाहियें ?

कुछ माननीय सदस्य : आप जंसे।

श्रीमती उमा नेहरू : हमारा यह भी फ़र्ज होगा कि हम देश की पैदावार को ली-वड़ावें और इस पैदावार को बाकायदा तक्ररी

भी हमें करना होगा। पहले हमें अपने देश की फ़िक्र करनी है, बाहर के मारकेट के तरफ़ हमारा ध्यान नहीं जाना चाहिये। योजना तभी कामयाब होगी जब हम देहाती कारीगरों की पूरी मदद करेंगे। देहात में कोओपरेटिव सोसायटीज स्थापित करनी होंगी, ताकि इन सोसायटियों की बजह से घन की मदद उन को मिले। हमें वाक़ायदा टेक्निकल एजुकेशन (Technical Education) भी देनी होगी, बेसिक स्कूलों में भी और जहां एडल्ट एजुकेशन (Adult Education) हो वहाँ भी। हमको रिसर्च इंस्टीट्यूट्स (Research Institutions) को क़ायम करने पड़ेंगे जहां कि काटेज इंडस्ट्री की उन्नति हो। यह सारा काम हमें देहात में पंचायतों से करना पड़ेगा। कच्चे माल को खरोदना, खास तौर पर वह माल जो देहात में न हो, यह भी उस का एक बड़ा भारी काम होगा। देहात की पंचायतों को कोओपरेटिव मारकेटिंग सोसायटीज की पूरी मदद करनी होगी ताकि जो माल ज़्यादा हो वह ठीक दाम पर बिक सके। हमें इस बात का भी ख़याल रखना है कि बड़े काखानों से इस काटेज इंडस्ट्री को किसी तरह का नुक़सान न पहुंचे और अगर पहुंचता है तो इन बड़े कारखानों पर टैक्स भी हमें लगाना पड़ेगा।

इस पंच साल की योजना ने काटेज इंडस्ट्री का विचार किया है, जो कि कमी होगी, और इसका फ़ायदा हमें ले सके। कोई वृत्ति हमें इसका फ़ायदा देना है। उसमें जो माल ज़रूर हो उसको हमें ली-वड़ावें कोई ऐसी पत्थर की लकीर तो है महीनैज जो मिट न सके। यह योजना तभी

[श्रीमती उमा नेहरू]

सफल होगी जब हम एक दूसरे के लिये फ़ैलो फ़ीलिंग (fellow feeling) रखें, एक दूसरे का ख्याल रखें, समाज सेवा का भाव हम में हो। हम उसी हालत में इस योजना को सफल बना सकते हैं। आजादी मिलने के बाद हम इस पाँच साल की योजना का स्वागत करते हैं और हमें पूरा विश्वास है कि हमारे स्त्री व पुरुष दोनों मिलकर इस योजना को कामयाब करेंगे।

मेरे एक भाई ने एक प्रश्न अभी मुझ से किया था कि मैं उन्हें बताऊँ कि पिछले करप्शन का मेरे पास क्या जवाब है। तो आप जानते हैं कि मेरे पास तो कोई जवाब नहीं है, सिवाय इस के कि अगर कोई गुनाहवार है, उन्होंने पिछले कर्म ऐसे किये हैं, गुनाह किये हैं, तो उन को तो प्राबन्धित करना है, चाहे वह नौकर पेशे हों, चाहे पोलिटिकल बॉडीज (political bodies) में हों, चाहे कहीं भी हों। पिछले कर्मों का पाप कोई करे उन को अपनी तरफ़ भी जरा निगाह डालनी होती है पश्चात्तर इस के वह दूसरों में नुक़स देखें। मैं कुछ ज्यादा न कह कर सिर्फ़ काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज के बारे में ही कहना चाहती हूँ। उसी का जिज़्ज़ में ने आप के सामने किया है। मुझे पूरा यकीन है कि, जैसा श्री पाटिल ने कहा कि जब तक इस के लिये हम में फ़ैलो फ़ीलिंग नहीं होगी, त्याग का भाव और एक दूसरे का विश्वास नहीं होगा जिस के अन्दर कि कोई (पार्टी पालिटिक्स (party politics) न हो, जब तक हम में रचनात्मक काम करने की स्पिरिट (spirit) नहीं होगी तब तक इस योजना का कामयाब होना जरा मुश्किल होगा।

मैंने भी फ़िज़स बहुत पढ़ीं और मेरे भाई जो बंटे हैं उन्होंने भी दी, और मुझे ऐसा मालूम होता था कि दुनिया में दो तरह के लोग होते हैं, एक प्रैक्टिकल (practical) होते हैं और एक जो होते हैं, उन में किताबी विद्या भरी होती है और कई स्पीचें और व्याख्यान में ने यहाँ बैठ कर सुनें — ऐसा मालूम देता था किसी ने इनसाई-क्लोपीडिया (Encyclopedia) को खोल दिया हो। लेकिन अक्सर मैं इस योजना को चलाने के बास्ते तो हमें उन्हीं मजदूरों की जरूरत है जिन मजदूरों ने देश को आजादी की मंजिल पर पहुँचाया। आज उन को यह कहना कि वह क्या जाने था उन को सुनाना जिन्होंने देश को आजाद कराया और यह योजना आपके सामने रखी है, कोई मानी नहीं रखता और हमें पूरा विश्वास है कि इस योजना को सफल बनाने के लिये हमारे जितने भाई इस हाउस में बंटे हैं, खाइ वह प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के हो, चाहे कम्युनिस्ट हों अथवा कोई भी हों, उन का यह पहला धर्म और कर्तव्य है कि वह अपने देश को हराभरा बनायें और अपनी उजड़ी हुई बस्ती को फिर से बसायें। उन का यह फ़र्ज़ नहीं है कि वह बाहर के देशों का स्वप्न देखें, बल्कि उन को तो अपने घर को संवारना है। अगर हमारे वह भाई समझते हों कि हमारे काम करने का तरीका ग़लत है तो उन को पूरी आजादी है कि वह हमारा रास्ता रोकें और रास्ता रोक कर हम को बतलायें कि यह सही रास्ता है, लेकिन यह न कर के केवल एक जबानी दाखिला अगर उन का होता है, तो वह देश को नुक़सन पहुँचाता है। तो मुझे पूरा विश्वास व यकीन है कि इस योजना को जब हम काम में लायेंगे और बतेंगे तो निस्सन्देह हमारे सामने बड़ी बड़ी कठिनाइयें

आने वाली हैं और हमारे सामने मुश्किलें होंगी, लेकिन मुझे पुरा विश्वास है कि इन तमाम कठिनाइयों और मुश्किलों को हम पार कर ले जायेंगे और हमारी यह योजना अवश्य सफल सिद्ध होगी।

Kumari Annie Mascarene: There cannot be two opinions with regard to the idea of planning. It is sanctioned by historical precedents and necessitated by the nation. I am only surprised that the idea of planning has been belated. It ought to have come into existence the day the majority party took up administration. I am a believer in planning and agree with the majority party in giving top priority to agriculture and food production. With these principles, which are *a priori* facts required by the nation, I beg to submit my criticism of the Plan.

Democracy is no democracy unless it can go through the cauldron of criticism and come out pure and unalloyed as a heaven light to millions waiting for it. Therefore, if bitter criticism happens to come from anybody it should not be looked upon with disfavour because it is made with the best of intentions to guide democracy, by whichever party it may be run. India has contributed a fresh chapter of moral values to the world history in her political struggle for freedom. She is now contributing a second chapter more excruciating than the first, by holding up to the nation their economic salvation. The majority party had just entered the forum of the nation with the two voluminous books, two mighty volumes, enclosing within its weighty pages the economic salvation of 36 million people—(Interruption—360 million)—I am sorry for the figure, it is just what is meant—with inexplicable details, intricate schemes, heavy commitments, diplomatic foreign aid leading to taxation, deficit finance, privation, hardship and what not for the coming five years. The simple man has been referred to on this forum, many an instance by my compeers. I also wish to refer to him because he is the very crux, the foundation of the scheme. This man is a simple fellow, who hitherto had seen nothing but the halo of a heavenly luminary round the national heroes is now experiencing the misery of an administration fraught with the evils of bureaucratic officialdom leading the Ministers by the nose. The poor, starving, miserable, god-forsaken wretch of this poor simple man, of this common man, languishing for strength, is presented with two

volumes and asked to comfort himself with the contents in these two volumes which frighten his tired sleep-like phantoms of darkness dancing round his bed, crushing his sepulchral bones with responsibilities and weight of projects and plans for the next five years. The Plan is too voluminous for me to go through in details because it is so full of facts, so full of details and so full of problems. Truth and honesty are simple like the laws of Nature and maxims of Nature. Volumes and details come where there is suspicion and difficulty. Democracy prevails in the world, not for the first time. It started with the polity of Greece and Rome and planning is incidental to all democracies; as we have seen, in America, in England, in Greece, in Rome, in China and in Russia. China could solve her food problem in two years; Russia solved it in five years. We are, even though five years have gone, still in the beginning of the world. When the mighty scheme confronted me my first thought was about finance. We are familiar with the contents of the National Exchequer. We are still more familiar with the expenditure we had gone through during the last five years to make the nation at least stand on its feet. And, we can, more or less, calculate the plus and the minus, the surplus and the deficit that ought to make up the finance of planning for the next five years. This is nothing more than a budget of the coming five years. The assessment of the resources as envisaged by the planners is very vague like a maze in the misty morn. We are confronted with a huge capital of Rs. 2069 crores and we are waiting to have a glimpse of that millenium when the mighty projects of the north will flow with milk and honey and the dollar earning areas of the south will still stand gaping their mouths. When all is said and done, when the taxation of public savings, the budgetary resources, deficit financing, external aid and public co-operation are counted to the last pie, there still remains a gap of Rs. 365 crores.

Now, let us have a glimpse of the finances at our disposal. The Finance Minister has clearly told us that the current Budget contains a small surplus of three crores of rupees or so, and a deficit of something like Rs. 75 crores with regard to capital expenditure. I hope the Finance Minister will correct me if I am wrong. We have now passed the Estate Duty Bill and perhaps we are looking for some finance from that direction. I suppose, it cannot go beyond rupees six crores. There also, I expect to be corrected by the Finance Minister, if

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I am wrong. The Central Government had been trying to get at the sales-tax, but the States refused and the Central Government has failed miserably. The Companies Act which we passed during the last session is not going in any way to increase our finances at the Centre. If you distribute the outlay of Rs. 2069 crores during the coming five years, we will have to shell out nearly Rs. 500 crores every year. As far as I am able to see, therefore, this Plan has more a propaganda value than otherwise. It is going to be a miserable failure. I only hope that it will not be so.

Now, having seen the rigidity of the internal resources, let us see to the elasticity of the external aid. It is on this that I want to concentrate my attention. We are told that we are getting aid from America. I am extremely glad to hear that. But let me read to you from a pamphlet entitled "What are the facts about American aid to India?" published by the United States Information Service. I shall read only a few lines. It seems that they are giving two kinds of aid; one military aid to countries of Europe and the other is assistance to underdeveloped nations—designed solely to help these nations conquer disease, poverty, illiteracy, to improve their agriculture, and to grow in economic and social progress. This is given by what they call the Technical Co-operation Administration. The idea of helping India, they say, is to help India increase her agricultural production. For this purpose, they say, it was agreed by the Indian Government and the U.S. that American aid would go, in all, to eleven different types of activity, all of them directly furthering the objectives of the Five-Year Plan. Then they recite the community projects etc. and then explain why America is helping India. They say under the heading "why does the U.S. offer India help?" as follows: "In the midst of all the bitterness of our present world, the people of America, like the people of India, feel deeply that they must work for peace. This peace cannot be assured by military defence alone." Peace is the end of their help and they are looking for a peaceful world and they think that India will join hands in this peace move. This pamphlet issued by the U.S.I.S. says that the idea of helping India is only to give her economic help. We are very much obliged to the Americans for the help they are giving us, but I wish to ask one question: Are they giving us this help unconditionally? If they do, then we are prepared to accept it. But no. My hon. friends

on the other side said that the help is being given unconditionally and that there is no political commitment in it. But I wish to draw your attention to the agreement—that important document—wherein the signatures of our Prime Minister and the Ambassador of America are contained. There the conditions are laid down with regard to the help we are getting from America, and one of the conditions is contained in Article 1, clause 4, which says:

"The Government of India agrees that the Administration, being an agency of the United States of America, wholly directed and controlled by the Government of the United States of America, will share fully in all the privileges and immunities, including immunity from suit in the courts of India, which are enjoyed by the Government of the United States of America."

That is, they are having full control of the money they are giving us. Article 2, clause 1 says:

"The two Governments undertake to execute....."

So, the execution is not confined to us. Then Article 3, clause 1 says:

"The two Governments agree that with respect to the funds to be made available by the Government of the United States of America to Fund A, any part thereof may, with the concurrence of the Government of India, be withheld in the United States of America for the procurement of agreed goods, materials and contractors' services from sources outside India; funds so withheld shall be regarded as having been deposited in Fund A."

In this agreement, they have laid down that we cannot spend their money without their concurrence. They have their Director sitting side by side with us and determining what we shall do and what we shall get from abroad. We must get goods only from them and the money is taken from the aid funds. This is not free aid. What I want to say is that America is taking advantage of the situation to form a world bloc and have a world leadership and drag India willingly or unwillingly into their fold.

On the 12th December, 1952 an American paper called "Washington Times Herald" had published a leading article called "Isolationism pays". In this article, they find fault

with Pandit Nehru. This is under the new Republican Government. They suspect him and think that he is not loyal to America. This paper says:

"Nehru probably would not refuse additional assistance from the same quarters if indeed he does not count upon it. Chester Bowles, Mr. Truman's Ambassador, has been shouting for large American grants to buy Indian favour and it will be recalled that Adlai Stevenson during the campaign asked what was the use of talking how China was lost to Russia when we should be thinking of keeping India friendly.

Nehru does pretty well in barter market considering that he never gives a thing in return. His ace in hole is always an implied suggestion that if America does not unclasp the wallet India might fall into the arms of Communism. It is a genteel form of blackmail that never fails to impress the State Department.....India has expressed much more sympathy for the Communists in the Korean war than for our side."

The leading article of the present Government's paper concludes with reference to India's peace policy—

"That is a good policy for India but if an American were to suggest that the United States follow suit can't you imagine a horrible uproar that would come from the U.N. fanciers and global oracles of all sorts that we were 'betraying humanity', 'forfeiting our world leadership' and running out on our 'responsibilities to the world'?"

What I want to impress upon this House is that according to the provisions of the agreement we have signed, Americans can subtly exercise their influence over us. What for, as one of the previous speakers said. We can look after ourselves; we can run our own projects. We can give up American aid and count upon the nation. I quite agree with Mr. Patil when he said count upon the people, the simple common man and he will stand by you. We need not have any finance. If you can have the co-operation of the people you can build not only this Plan, but a world, with their co-operation.

My idea in reading these passages is just to impress upon this House that we cannot depend upon American aid and if we get American aid they give it with an ulterior motive of leading India away slowly into

their bloc. There is one more line which I want to read which Mr. Chester Bowles has published in one of his statements on W.S. aid to Indian villagers.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Long extracts are not allowed.

Kumari Annie Mascarene: It is only a small passage.

"What was true on the American frontier two centuries ago applies today on the frontiers of the free world."

And then he says:

"Because we have learnt from experience that tanks and machine guns are not the most effective weapons in fighting Communism".

This is their political programme in India. What I wish to impress on the House is that it is dangerous to count on American aid hereafter. The administration has changed hands and they want to call back their Ambassador. If that is the case what will be the nature of the aid that we are going to get from them?

These documents are very important documents and indicate the influence they are likely to bring to bear on our planning. And they have already begun to exercise it. Sir, the other day two Americans.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member must conclude.

Kumari Annie Mascarene: I shall finish in a minute...came to Travancore to my constituency to run the community project. They were constructing a road where there was already one. Where is the necessity of constructing a road where there is already one? Travancore-Cochin is a State which has got a mile of road for every square mile of land and a school for every locality. They are constructing roads for whose good? People in my constituency refused to co-operate with them on the ground that the responsibility is entrusted to officers who cannot be trusted, who have a record of questionable character in the past.

Therefore, my humble submission is that if you want to run this Plan you will have to take the opposition parties into confidence and get their co-operation. It is laid down in the Plan, that it should be kept above party politics. But the Chief Minister in Travancore-Cochin said that we cannot trust Miss Mascarene coming on the scene because she has

[Kumari Annie Mascarene]

no faith in community projects. I have faith in community projects, but I have no faith in the Government and the Chief Minister. That is why I had to point out the defects of the community projects.

Time is short; therefore, I conclude with these words.

Shri Pataskar (Jalgaon): So much has been said with respect to the principles enunciated and the plans formulated in these two books that have been circulated to us that I would not like to take the time of the House by taking time in discussing them. Planning in a country like ours should be directed to develop the resources not only in regard to food, but other primary necessities, to put our defence on a proper footing, to rehabilitate our shattered economy in a world where economic conditions are themselves in a chaos. To achieve all this planning for some time is an absolute necessity. There has been no difference of opinion as to the fact that there should be proper planning so far as our country is concerned.

This Plan is a correct analysis of the problems that face our country. Secondly I would say that it suggests definite lines of approach, so far as the question of economic recovery is concerned. Then the third thing that remains is the question of co-ordination of Government and other machinery for carrying out the above two objectives. On that point there seems to have been some difference of opinion as expressed by several Members of this House. Co-ordination is not a matter which can be indicated in the programmes of planning. It is an energy which has to be generated in the public firstly by means of the objectives which we have placed before them and secondly by inducing in them a hope that every region, every man in this country is going to be looked after and his needs attended to.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA in the Chair]

At the end of the period of planning he should be assured of a better life.

Therefore, so far as this aspect of the planning is concerned, there can be no two opinions, whatever might be the lines of approach. I find there are some hon. Members who do not like the very approach in this Plan, namely the plan of mixed economy. I will not dilate on that point

and take the time of the House because we find that there is possibility of both views being held by different persons in this country. But situate as we are, if we want to profit by the lessons both in Russia and America, the best course is the one suggested by those who are responsible for putting forth this Plan—that is mixed economy is the only means by which our country can progress. Our antecedents, the way in which we attained freedom, the principles in which we believe (they are not principles of increasing conflict, but principles of peace and co-ordination) indicate that it is the right approach which has been made.

Then I would like to mention that it is very right that out of Rs. 2,069 crores which are provided for the execution of this Plan, about Rs. 922 crores have been provided for agriculture and community projects and irrigation and power projects. I have also noted with satisfaction that so far as the State of Bombay is concerned, a sum of Re. 146 crores have been provided. I have to make one or two suggestions in this regard. The principles, as I find from the report of the Planning Commission, are very properly enunciated. For instance, you will find that the Planning Commission says that for determining the priority of irrigation and power projects certain broad principles must be observed. One of them is that projects which will add to the food production in the country must receive priority over projects relating to other uses of river waters. The second is region-wide requirements of food and power must receive due consideration and also the need of the backward areas. I will try to examine from this point of view the proposals which, so far as I find in this booklet, have been enumerated as the proposals that are going to be carried out during the next five years. I will try to avoid any reference to any division of the State of Bombay on linguistic or other basis, because that would not be fair. So far as I am concerned I would make it clear, in order that I may not be misunderstood, so long as the State is one we have to take the State as a whole and not by its linguistic areas. And far will it be from me to create any such impression.

But there are well defined regions in the State itself and they are the Northern, the Central and the Southern Regions, and Bombay itself with its vast population of about 28-

lakhs has problems of its own. Therefore there are these four distinct regions of the State of Bombay, and as I said, very rightly the Planning Commission have laid it down that regional requirements of food and power should receive due attention. I will therefore in that connection try to bring to their notice one thing which probably has escaped their attention.

The Central region of the State of Bombay consists of what is known as the Deccan plateau or that part is normally suffering from scarcity of rains, parts like Ahmednagar, Sholapur, part of Poona, and other parts are in the Central region. For years these parts have been suffering from scarcity of rains, and it is these parts which really require whatever money could be spent on them for irrigation. I am not speaking merely as a politician. As a young College boy when I was in the Ahmednagar district in 1913 and 1914 there used to be famine in that district for years and years. People had left the villages. In that region, finding that there were continuous famines in the Deccan tract, which is notorious for failure of rains, a sum of about Rs. 8.18 lakhs was spent on irrigation. It is mentioned in Table I. There is a list given: Nira left-bank canal, Godavari canals, Pravara canals and Nira right-bank canals. It was mainly intended for relieving distress in that area which was being devastated. It was done even by the old foreign Government because they found that there was no other alternative.

Now, even in this year and in the last we find that this part suffers from scarcity of rains—part of Bijapur also, which is in the southern division forms part of the Deccan plateau and suffers likewise. There are no forests practically, in this area, and the clouds that gather vanish to other parts, and this part suffers from scarcity of rains. Therefore, even in those days they were the only irrigation works which were undertaken after 1916. In 1906 there was only one irrigation project, the Nira left-bank canal, which passed through the western part of Poona which has been also a scarcity area.

Therefore, I would have expected, so far as the Bombay State was concerned, proper provision for irrigation made in respect of this area which has got rich lands, lands which if there were rains could produce very good crops, both in Bijapur and Ahmednagar, because of the good black soil there. I was talking of those days when I was not in-

fluenced by any political considerations. There is a place called Don in Bijapur district where they used to say that if there is rain there would be such a good crop that there would not be people found to eat the grain produced! What was meant was that the soil was so good.

The point I am making is that this Deccan plateau is very rich in its soil and if there is rain or provision for water this is a part which can produce grains on a very large scale. But though the principle is enunciated, when appropriations are made for the new projects I find that the provision for that area is very meagre.

For instance, the new projects are mentioned at page 134: Gangapur, Gataprabha left-bank canal, Mahi right-bank canal, Renand tank, Kolchi weir, and Lower Tapti valley. The total expenditure on all these is Rs. 25.65 lakhs. There is a further note at the bottom that a revised estimate for Rs. 29.11 lakhs is under examination so far as the Lower Tapti valley scheme is concerned, that is Rs. 17 crores more than the Rs. 12 crores provided already, so far as the Lower Tapti valley scheme is concerned.

I tried to examine as to what is the amount really provided for this area which, I said, is rich in its soil, which has been devastated by famine so very often, in respect of which even in those days when we were under the rule of a foreign Government which did not care for the people but on account of the large devastation it had to undertake such irrigation projects—I was trying to see what is the amount provided for that area which is being starved. Probably it may be that it was not brought to their notice, but I would like to point out that there is only one project which is called the Gangapur storage project, and this has been provided for in this Plan. But even there I find that it is not a new project so much as it is a project which is meant for supplying or helping the Godavari valley project which is already in existence. I have therefore to suggest to the Planning Commission—I would try to avoid going into details—that practically there is no provision made for the relief of famine in this area and I hope due attention will be paid, not only on a regional consideration, but on account of the fact that this Deccan tract is a region which for years has been suffering like Rayalaseema from scarcity of rains. There are big rivers, Godavari, Bhima and others which flow through it. If we want to create en-

[Shri Pataskar]

enthusiasm among the starving people, among the peasantry of that area which is suffering from scarcity of rains, it is necessary that due attention is paid to it. Otherwise the Plan is very good, there is nothing against it, but either by oversight or for some other reason this point has been overlooked. I would like to suggest it to Government publicly here that this is a very large tract of land which has always been suffering from scarcity of rains, it has got a very good soil, and therefore it needs more attention than other places. But looking to the distribution of money which has been made available to the State of Bombay I must say not that anybody has done it willingly, because I do not make that charge, but the fact remains that practically no new project is proposed to be undertaken in that area.

The argument may be that there was already some irrigation there when there was no other irrigation in the State of Bombay. But only Rs. eight crores of money had been spent because in those days famine was staring this area in the face. And there is also a political aspect to it: where there is such distress it leads to all sorts of anomalies in public life also. For instance in the district of Ahmednagar I find that there are so many anti-national elements in that part. The best way of removing these anti-national elements is to provide the people of that area with means of a better livelihood. I think that is the only solution of that problem. Of course it is being done to some extent so far as that part is concerned, but I would like to draw the attention of the hon. the Finance Minister to the problem and the fact that there is practically no money that is provided so far as this area is concerned and therefore this may be taken into account.

Shri G. H. Deshpande: I rise to support the proposition placed before the House by the hon. the Leader of the House. I have tried very carefully to follow the criticism that was levelled at the Planning Commission's Report by the hon. Members from the Opposition. The first Opposition speech came from the learned Professor, the well known Scientist of Bengal. He praised the Dneiper Dam and all those who were working on it and he condemned and condemned very strongly the way in which the river valley projects are being worked out in this country. I have found here that a number of hon. Members are very much prejudiced against the

river-valley projects that are undertaken under the suggestions of the Planning Commission. If you want to make famines a matter of the past in this country, I do not think it is possible without undertaking river-valley projects on a bigger scale. Minor irrigation has its own importance, no doubt but minor irrigations fail you in times of need. For instance in Maharashtra where in several districts famine conditions prevail, I find so many tanks dry under minor irrigation. Unless and until we make provision to store water in those parts of the country where rains never fail, where we get continuous rains and ample rains, unless and until an arrangement is made to store water in such reservoirs as would never fail the country, then and then alone we can make famines a matter of the past. So the river-valley projects have their own importance and, minor irrigation also has its own. All honour to those who carried out the Dneiper Dam project in Russia but are we to suppose that every engineer who was working there was a saint and every engineer who is working on the river-valley projects in India is a sinner? The learned Professor talked very gloriously about those who worked in difficult circumstances. He said a spirit of sacrifice was there with those who worked in hard conditions in the Dneiper Dam but he does not realise in what difficult circumstances people are required to work on the river-valley projects here. If people are inconvenienced in the Damodar Valley Project you run them down and if people are in much difficulty in the Dneiper Dam you have a praise for them. We know, in spite of the great scholarship the learned Professor has, he is under the influence of Russia and is also almost Moscow minded. He put up a different view point but that was a view point with which we differ. The plans are not based on that view point. This is not a Russian Plan. This is an Indian Plan.

I come to this House from the rural parts of our country and I am very glad to see that in the Plan, adequate provisions for all round rural development have been made. Agriculture figures everywhere. I was really astonished when the learned Member who started the opposition, who is not present here—Dr. Lanka Sundaram—said "what is there about food". I do not know why he did not find anything about food. Perhaps he might have read it in his lazy moments. He seems to have forgotten to see what measures for food and for the development of agriculture are suggested in the Plan. Look at the Plan. Go through it. You will find that there are pro-

[Shri Deshpande]

posals for all round development of agriculture in this country. Not a single item so far as the development of agriculture is concerned, is dropped from it. No better suggestions could be made.

There was another learned Professor from the Communist Party who was very vehement in his denunciations of the proposal. The learned Professor has realised the potentialities of the Plan very much, and he is very much upset on that account, because once the Plan is implemented, it will be very difficult for the learned Professor to preach his gospel in this country, and that is why he is so much vehement. It is out of desperation. He never thought that this country was capable of providing such a Plan. He visualises prosperity for the country and if prosperity will be there, where is the room for his gospel? It is only under the distressed conditions that they can prosper and that is why he was so very vehement.

As I said, I come from Bombay and from the rural parts of Bombay. Though it is an industrially advanced Province in the comparative sense, it has its own problems. Of this whole Province, only four per cent. of the land is under irrigation. 96 per cent. of the Province is a dry land and the condition of that part from which I come is more woeful. Look at Bombay. Only four per cent. of the land is under irrigation. All the land that is cultivable in the State of Bombay is only four per cent. and mind you 96 per cent. of the land is non-irrigated and then you have a very large proportion of the city population there. Most of the industries are concentrated in Bombay State. Therefore the food position is very difficult and unless and until the Government of India pays special attention to the State of Bombay, and makes more provisions for more river-valley projects or more schemes of irrigation, the problems of Bombay will never be solved. I do think that an attempt is made. Whatever attempt is made is not adequate, that is what I have to say. My friend, Mr. Pataskar, who preceded me tried to bring to the notice of this House and to the hon. Members of the Planning Commission that certain tracts of Bombay also are in the grip of famine often. If you will go through the plans that are going on in Bombay you will find that better provisions are made to certain tracts and meagre provisions made to certain other tracts. I say this not with any sense of provincialism. In my public life, provincialism has never touched me but if a certain section of the community, if a certain part of the country

remains poor, it will be a burden to the prosperous part of the country. I have no grudge against that part of the State which has been provided with sufficient irrigation facilities but I have a duty to my constituency and I think it will be just to say that there is injustice done to some parts of Bombay State so far as any provision of irrigation is concerned, the Planning Commission must consider this question sympathetically. I may say that the southern tract of the Presidency and the Central tract of the Presidency is practically neglected. In my district, we have a population of more than 14 lakhs of people. We have some 25 lakhs of acre land under cultivation but most of the land is dry. Most of the area is backward area. Out of the twelve representatives that represent the State Assembly from the district, five are from backward classes, i.e., two from Harijans and three from the Adivasis. You can very well imagine how backward the people are. In such a district the food situation is very very serious. During the last five years my experience is that unless and until we import 37,000 tons of foodgrains, we cannot pull on for the year. We are trying our very best with the aid of the State Government to improve our position. An advance has been made during the last two or three years but better irrigation facilities and better arrangements for loans are absolutely necessary and so with all the vigour that I have, with all the sincerity that I possess, I press the hon. Members of the Planning Commission and the Government to take into consideration these factors regarding certain regions in Maharashtra and make adequate provision. I support the Plan. I have no doubt that it will be implemented successfully. I have no doubt that it will receive public co-operation. The Plan was before the country for a pretty long time. It was before the masses during the election. It was criticised from both sides. People have got the real picture of the present Plan which is before the House. It is much better than the Plan which was placed before the country during the elections. When we come here with better proposals, I have no doubt that we will have co-operation from every section of the public. We are determined on this side and I have no doubt that a very large section of the community is also with us. We will make the Plan a success. We want the co-operation of all. I would like to say that we have determined to make the Plan a success with the co-operation of all, and if necessary, with the opposition of some. With these words, I support the Plan.

5 P.M.

Shri R. G. Dubey (Bijapur North):
I deem it a privilege to express my views on this most important subject, namely, the report submitted by the Planning Commission. I believe this House ought to be grateful to the Prime Minister and the Planning Commission for submission of this most important document.

A criticism has been levelled in certain quarters that the report of the Planning Commission aims at *status quo* and that no change is desired in the structure of the society and so on and so forth. Before proceeding to discuss the other matters enumerated in the Plan, I propose to deal with this question. The question regarding the philosophy behind the Plan also has been rightly discussed. Every nation must have a plan and every plan must have some ideology or definite philosophy which should work as the motive force for the successful implementation of the Plan. Now, Sir, with your permission, I should like to quote one relevant clause from the Resolution by which the Planning Commission was constituted by the Government of India. It says:

“that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good;”

“To my mind, this is the most important contribution of this Plan.

Now, I may refer to the Directive Principles in our Constitution. On the analogy of the Constitution of Free Ireland, this clause has been put in. You know, Sir, that one of the important factors in a capitalistic society is that the motive of production is the profit. Here is an important point that I want the Members of the Opposition to impartially consider. If you say that we are aiming at *status quo*, that we want to retain the present capitalistic structure of society, I want to ask, what is the indication of a capitalistic structure of society. Profit should be the motive of production and not use. Here it has been very categorically stated that we are going to build up a society in which production will be not for profit, but for the use of the society, for the common good as a whole. This is the most fundamental characteristic that we have to bear in mind.

The hon. Prime Minister also very rightly emphasised the aspect of economic democracy. Now, we cannot

go on by dogmas. If we go by dogmas, because the world is changing, the ideas also change and some ideas may be good and some may not be good. I doubt very much whether if, Karl Marx, the author of modern socialism were to be alive now, he would have agreed with some of the doctrines that are proposed to be followed today. I was just referring to an article in the Pacific Affairs. There is a certain portion regarding agrarian reforms in China. This illustrates the difference between the mode of structure of society in Soviet Russia and China. This is the relevant para:

“Although by no means exhaustive, the foregoing comparison of the land policies pursued by the Moscow and Peking Governments serves to indicate some of their fundamental differences and similarities. By way of summary, it may be pointed out that the Chinese policy, which transfers landlords' holdings to private peasant ownership, is at present quite unlike the land nationalisation programme adopted in the Soviet Union in 1918. Moreover, land reform has been much more orderly in China than in Soviet Russia, thanks to more careful planning and preparation. Again the Soviet policy of rural struggle, noted above, was much narrower in scope and more uncompromising than the Chinese device of the united front which comprises.....”

This sentence is worth noting.

“.....comprises workers, peasants, independent labourers, professional people, intelligentsia, liberal bourgeoisie, and enlightened gentry who split off from the landlord class. Furthermore, from the 1917 Revolution until the second world war, the Soviet Government persistently strove to appropriate agricultural products through compulsory requisitioning or the creation of disparities between prices of agricultural and industrial goods, thus depriving the peasants of any incentive to expand their production for market whereas in China a policy of ‘free’ marketing of farm produce has been followed.”

It is very important to note here that in China the prices of agricultural commodities were not fixed and a free market was allowed.

“The general conclusion, therefore, is that, until now at least, the Chinese Government appears to have adopted a land policy

which, though it cannot be regarded as 'liberal' in the Western sense, is nevertheless less revolutionary in principle and more progressive in nature than the Russian. The facts that there are pronounced differences in content as well as in form between the Chinese and Soviet models of land reform, and that both the policy of land confiscation and the ideal of equitable distribution of land ownership have their historical roots in China, raise the question whether the changes that are taking place there today may not be necessitated by special local conditions....."

I was going to say, as the Prime Minister took the stand in the course of his speech, that we want to build a classless society in India. The structure here will be different from even what is happening today in China. China is admittedly a Communist country and the Communist party is in charge of the administration. All the same, we find that the mode of development and social reconstruction in China is essentially different from what was happening in Soviet Russia. So, I humbly submit that if we want to develop a new society based on non-exploitation, and co-operation, we shall have to follow our own genius.

Another point is, that we cannot go by economic determinism. If you say that a country's prosperity should be judged only by the standard of living of the people, take the Scandinavian countries where social democracy prevails and the standard of living there is much better than you find in Soviet Russia. That is what I am given to understand. In that case, if you go by the doctrine that only better standards of life are the criteria, I am afraid, we will lose certain important values of life. What I want to submit is this. If we want to develop a society in our country, that development must be according to our own genius. What is contained in the Directive Principles in the Constitution and what the Prime Minister and the Planning Commission have said in the introductory remarks should suffice to disabuse the minds of any critics who say that we want to retain a capitalistic society in this country.

However, I should like to make one suggestion on this occasion. The objective laid down by the Planning Commission is very important. We fought our battle for political liberation. Fighting against the foreign power was a dynamic force and that was the motive force. Every one of us felt that

we must lay down our lives in the battle for liberation. Now, we want to fight our battle for the social and economic emancipation of the country. I think that the objective that we indicate in the Planning Commission's report ought to be more clear. It should be so worded as to attract the millions in this country, and as the Prime Minister pointed out, we may be able to mobilise all the resources and be ready for any sacrifice. Co-operative commonwealth has been our goal all along. The Congress resolution on the point is very clear. I humbly suggest that the Planning Commission should consider an improvement of the language so far as the objective is concerned.

I now turn to the question of land reforms in the country. Really speaking, the Planning Commission deserves our thanks for the most important contribution that they have made to this question. Some time ago, there was difference of opinion in the Planning Commission as well as in the country as to whether there should be a fixation of the ceiling for land holding. I am really glad that the Planning Commission, under the leadership of the Prime Minister, has taken a decision to fix the ceiling for land holdings in this country. It is true that they have not indicated any definite size. I do not think it is possible now, because India is a vast country and in every province the conditions vary. So, it has been left to the respective States to formulate laws. It is admitted that our aim is to build up a society or a social order based on mutual co-operation, a co-operative commonwealth, which should mean ultimately the negation of the present capitalist system of society. But, I think, this process ought to be a protracted one. This society cannot be built overnight. We must take some concrete steps from now on so that we can reach the reconstruction of society in time to come. A provision of Rs. 50 lacs has been made in the Planning Commission's report for experimenting and expanding in co-operative farming. In my humble opinion, this is not enough. Government should come forth with some more amount, and as in Russia, as Mr. Morris Dobb has pointed out, or as in China, we must have labour brigades for co-operative farms. If you leave it to the people, I do not think the operative farming here, situated as they are. We have to do that if we want that we should generate a co-operative mechanism as opposed to the private system of cultivation, because, today redistribution of land is

[Shri R. G. Dubey]

more or less for a psychological appeal. I do not think the country's production will improve merely by distribution of land. The Planning Commission have also emphatically said so. So, my submission is that the Government should take the initiative in forming such societies. The States must have their own State farms with whatever cultivable wasteland is at their disposal. And the monetary as credit policy of the Government should be so manipulated that these State farms are given preference. I find in Soviet Russia the policy was so operated that ultimately the individual cultivator was eliminated by this process. I think we must attempt that.

It has been stated that the Grow More Food Committee recommended that at least Rs. 100 crores should be made available for rural credit. The Planning Commission has also realised its importance, and they have provided Rs. 15 crores for this. With the passing of legislation in the various States in respect of Tenancy reform, land reforms, Moneylenders Act etc., the position has become difficult. The indigenous system of money-lending has broken down. Therefore, the most important question that faces us is credit. We are spending huge amounts on irrigation, power etc., but proportionately you are not making available rural credit. For example, in the case of the Bhakra-Nangal project, in the course of three years there will be a gigantic dam, but you have not provided commensurate credit for the people in the area to develop industries. Neither is there any scheme to utilise the energy afterwards. The Rural Banking Enquiry Committee also sometime ago, in 1950, recommended that there should be enough rural credit.

Now, come to the question of Industries. So, I think if you want to develop a co-operative commonwealth Government should, through the Industrial Finance Corporation or some such organisation, develop co-operative enterprise in this field also. Even bigger industries should be run on a co-operative basis, so that in course of time we generate a force of mechanism, a co-operative mechanism, as opposed to the private nature of industry, and our idea of social reconstruction will mature.

Finally, I should add two or three words regarding the province for which I come, viz., Bombay-Karnatak. I am very glad that Mr. Pataskar, in his speech, has pleaded our case. I find there are two vital omissions

on the part of the Planning Commission in respect of this. From Bijapur right up to Rayalaseema—parts of Sholapur, parts of Raichur, the full district of Vishpur, Parts of Dharwar, Rayalaseema and Kolar etc.—is what is known as the dry belt in South India. The Planning Commission have admitted this fact. At one place, they specifically say that they have provided Rs. 15 crores. But the point is that the need is permanent. If you merely provide Rs. 15 crores, that money will be wasted. Under the old Famine Code we were spending money on this area. That money does not help us. So, I would request the Planning Commission that this matter should be treated differently. I am glad that the Prime Minister has stated in one of his letters that a special Committee is going into the matter, but I suggest that if the special committee is going to make any recommendation, there must be sufficient provision to cover this dry belt.

From Cape Comorin right up to Ratnagiri, the West Coast is called "Malnad". The Malnad Development Committee was appointed some time ago by Government, and I do not know for what reason its report has not been released. This area is very rich in timber, forest etc. I suggest that Government should also make some adequate provision so that possibilities for developing industries be opened up.

Lastly, for the successful prosecution of the Plan, three things are necessary. Firstly, as Mr. Patil has suggested, I want to add further, a unique leadership. Secondly, we must have resources, material as well as human. There is no doubt that in Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru we find a leader of very great calibre. Any country in the world today could be proud of him. We have got human and material resources also, but where is the machinery? We want a cadre of workers for the successful prosecution of the Plan. What is required is a band of workers who will work wholeheartedly, not because the Prime Minister asks them or the Finance Minister asks them, but because they believe in the ideology and the philosophy behind the Plan; because they believe in a classless society. We must sincerely and nonestly believe in that ideal. All this question of delay, red-tapism, corruption etc., can be dealt with if we have a set of workers who believe in that ideal. Efficiency is, of course, required, but it should not depend on academic qualification alone when selecting the persons. You must pick men who have faith in the

Shri Khardekar (Kolhapur cum Satara): Today, I am under some handicap because four very eloquent speeches have been delivered since this morning. The first was the powerful speech by Shri Hiren Mukerjee; then, the second was a very eloquent speech by Dr. Krishnaswami which was full of technical jargon; the third was not only an eloquent speech, but a thundering speech by Shri S. K. Patil—a good bit of it was certainly sensible—and the last thundering speech was full of empty thunder, by Mr. Deshpande. It was thunder in "Sarad Ruthu".

शरदि न वर्षति गजंति

As regards the Plan, it might surprise some Members on this side when I say that I welcome it. And I am in a mood to co-operate with the Plan to the best of my ability. But I would like to reserve my congratulations for some time. And I hope that I will get an early opportunity to congratulate all of us, I should say, because it is only all of us that can see the Plan through.

I heard yesterday a very eloquent speech by the Prime Minister. Being very modest, he very often calls others' speeches as very eloquent, but he himself is a very eloquent speaker. But part of his speech was quite amusing. For instance, the sort of mathematical discovery that five means three; and the other point that amused me was when he, of course in a spirit of self-congratulation said, and rightly too, that this is the first democratic planning on the largest scale. I entirely agree. But then, as he proceeded with his talk, definition of democracy that emerged was a little strange. If I may define, in the light of his speech, democratic planning means that a Plan one-third or one-half of which has already been under execution. Probably one-fourth of it executed; more than one-third of expenditure incurred; and then, after offering us two big volumes, giving only a few days to study, we are allowed the privilege and the luxury of an empty academic discussion. But, all the same, compared to other countries, from the point of view of democracy, this is the largest, the most wide Plan and as such there is something to be proud of it. Now as regards the method of approach, I am willing to accept the suggestion thrown by the hon. Leader of the House that we should confine ourselves only to basic principles and main objectives. It is impossible to go into details, facts and figures, which economists, calculators and speculators are better suited to deal with. Let us approach

this Plan, as Shrimati Uma Nehru said, not like students of encyclopaedia, but as persons with commonsense. And here I have some advantage because I am not a student of economics, and therefore, my approach would be an approach by one who has some commonsense available to him. But on one point I slightly disagree with the hon. Prime Minister. He said that we should look to the objectives, but let us not bother about priorities. I do not know how priorities could be separated from objectives. Priorities mean values, and values are an indication and proof of progress and civilisation, and priorities in that sense are as connected and linked up with the objectives as means are with ends. If I were to talk philosophically, I would say that it is neither right nor proper, nor correct to completely dissociate or disconnect means from ends, and particularly in this country where we are very particular about giving means the importance that ends deserve, because ultimately proper means produce the proper ends.

Coming to basic facts and basic principles, and talking the language of a common persons. I think four important factors emerge. The first is the money, and how to get it. The second is the men who are going to see this Plan through. The third is the question of priorities, and the fourth important factor, according to me, is the quantity of production, and the number of consumers. I do not know whether it would be possible for me to cover these points. But I will just say whatever is possible in the brief space of time allotted to me.

Coming to the question of money, which is the most important factor, next of course to manpower as has been pointed out by Mr. S. K. Patil, we require Rs. 2069 crores; we are provided, as the Plan shows, with Rs. 1414 crores; what we require is Rs. 665 crores. For this, three sources are stated, foreign aid, deficit financing, and additional taxation. About foreign aid, I hope my hon. friends on the other side would not mind, if I say that we should not touch any foreign aid, not because any foreign aid is going to interfere with our foreign policy of neutrality or that we are going to be slaves of any country. I do not think so, but being a borrower in my life for myself and my institutions, I know that a borrower invariably loses his self-respect, and a nation like ours which has just emerged as an independent nation should have freedom and the possibility of holding its head high; "where the mind is without fear and the head is held high," as Rabindranath Tagore has said.

[Shri Kharúekar]

I read in yesterday's paper that this particular Plan is something like the Bible of the Congress Party; let it be a Bible also of the whole nation, and according to the Bible, let us put our shoulders to the wheels,

उद्धरेत् आत्मनात्मानम्; as the Gita would tell us. Apart from the question of losing self-respect, I think, if we are borrowers and beggars, we cannot possibly have the prestige that is required for us, as we are a factor for world peace. If we borrow, it means that there is ground for suspicion in the minds of some people, especially at a time when we have a historic role to play. I do not think under these circumstances, it is proper that we should give rise to any suspicion. For instance China and Russia, who should have been naturally more sympathetic towards us, have been saying—I do not want to repeat the sort of thing which they have been saying at the U.N.O. as regards our proposals—that is because they think that we are invoking assistance or trying to get help from America, as such we would be under American domination. Whether it is America or Russia, we must be on the best possible terms with them, but let us not have any help from either. But as I said my approach is going to be that of a practical person with some commonsense. I would request the Government to resort to foreign aid, only after all the possibilities of getting this money here in our country are at an end. The Planning Commission has been very candid in many respects, and they have given noble examples. I would just like to read one or two sentences from Chapter I page 37 of the Report.

“Japan depended very little on external resources. The Soviet Union provides another instance of a country which developed rapidly with its own resources.”

So, as Mr. S. K. Patil said, let us imitate whatever is good anywhere in the world without any fear and without any prejudice.

As regards deficit financing, I would only say that the final Plan gives us a warning that we should have deficit financing only if we can have effective controls and equitable distribution.

As regards taxation, I must congratulate the Government that at long last the estate duty has become an established fact. I do not know why duty on salt has not been resorted to. There have been suggestions from many persons of importance in our country that

now we should resort to salt duty. I know the noble sentiment that comes in the way of the Government in not introducing this duty. But it is the tragedy of Mahatma Gandhi as it is the tragedy of all great men and prophets that they are understood very often in the letter rather than in the spirit. I am sure, if Gandhiji had been alive, he would have changed his views in the light of circumstances. Well, here is a friend of mine who says all politicians change their views, as he himself has changed his views very often. But a question may be asked of me, what is the difference between my friend and Gandhiji. Gandhiji changed his opinions because of humanitarian considerations and not for personal gains. But for my friend who is here—I am just making a jest—his opinions are influenced by geography. I am using the word geography not in the sense of climate as used the other day by Nayar but in the sense of place and environment. Instead of being on the 1st row bench on this side, if he were to be on the 1st bench on the other side, well, he would change his views again. I am saying all this in jest.

परिहासविजल्पितं सखे परमार्थेन न गृह्यतां वचः

I only want to touch briefly prohibition, which is very important for me, because I come from Bombay. Now a very important discovery or lesson in new economics was given to us the other day by Shri Khandubhai Desai from Bombay. He said in reply to Mr. Gidwani that prohibition is a great success if Government loses ten crores, it puts 50 crores in the pockets of the people. I entirely agree. I think I am the only student of his here who agrees with his views.

Now, let me talk about this in the light of experience because knowledge that emanates from experience is wisdom. In Bombay, a friend of mine who is a litterateur, wanted to write a thesis, a book, on fishermen—their language, their dances, songs and so on. He took me round to a number of fishermen's villages. We went to the headman or an important person in a village about twelve miles from Bombay, and it amazed me to see that his house was full of all good things, first-rate furniture etc. Everything was spick and span. Then of course we sat there. My friend and the host went out of the room and after one minute they returned and immediately the host asked me: 'Will you have a drink?' I said: 'Drink?' What drink?

Well, I will have *Limbupani* or *Coca-cola*. He said: 'No, man's drink.' I said: 'Even if I wanted it'—I did not want it—'how can we have it in the Kingdom of Bombay?' Then he said: 'Oh, I can give you any drink—from the best foreign liquor to the worst country liquor'. Then I looked at the walls, and one of the walls was decorated by a very huge, beautiful photograph of the champion of prohibition. Not only was the wall decorated but the photograph was decorated by a huge garland of luxuriant fresh flowers. Then I looked at the photograph and at his offer and asked him: 'How do you explain this contradiction?' He smiled and said: 'Sir, three or four years ago, myself and my family used to work day and night, expose ourselves to all the risks and hazards of the sea and at the end of the year, if it was a good season, we used to get five to six thousand. But now thanks to this great champion of prohibition we are making not less than 40 or 50 thousand per year. That is how things are. Let anybody come. Of course, I cannot invite the Prime Minister to my place, but if the Finance Minister, Mr. Deshmukh, were to come and spend a week with me, I do not want him to try the different country liquors—I can show him that every village has not one distillery, but several. I could have related a number of my experiences. But I do not wish to go over them.

Pandit K. C. Sharma: Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity this afternoon to discuss this Plan. Much has been said on whether the Plan is good or bad. My view of the Plan is that this is a thing which is the consummation of 20 years of constructive thinking in this direction. As you say, Sir, independence without abundance is a meaningless conception. After the first great war, we became restive and wanted to be independent, and so many political movements took place. A hard struggle we fought and won ultimately. In the field of Constitution, if you go back to 1929, the scheme goes with the great name of Pandit Motilal Nehru. Then came the 1935 Act and then the final consummation is this Constitution. In the same way, the food riots in the first war, the industrial boom after the war, all these brought in a constructive thinking in the direction of planning, hard working, industrialisation, prosperity, food sufficiency and all this.

Now, there was the **Bombay Planners' Scheme** of 10,000 crores of rupees and doubling the income in 15 years, then the scheme of the Government

with which the leftist parties were associated and the Congress Planning Committee's work of which this is the final consummation the Five Year Plan. So, this Five Year Plan could not be, I submit, different from what it is, as our constitution could not be different from what it is. It is the sound logical consummation of our labours and any other thing could not be expected under the circumstances we are placed in. So, there is no use saying it is good or bad. The fact is that it is what it could be; it could not be different from what it is. Therefore, our only duty is to work it out with sincerity and enthusiasm and hard work.

If our Constitution is a charter of liberty, I beg to submit, this Plan is a charter of prosperity. No liberty can be enjoyed by the people if they do not come up to it. They require certain levelling up, certain consciousness of being responsible citizens of a State. Prosperity could not be attained unless we are socially responsible, unless we are willing to work, unless there is a will to work. As liberty cannot be given by a Constitution alone. It requires a sort of sense of responsibility, a sort of consciousness, so prosperity cannot be attained by giving this Plan or any Plan whatsoever. The Constitution is the consummation of the past labours of 20 years beginning from 1929. This Plan is also the consummation of labour of about a decade beginning from the Bombay Planners' Plan of 10,000 crores of rupees. This Plan runs parallel to the Constitution. As the Constitution ensures, as I said, the supremacy of the Legislature, the independence of the Judiciary and the efficiency of the executive, this Plan gives a scientific solution of the land problem, a better organisation for the industry, and a better deal for the labour. But all these things, being as they are, can be attained and enjoyed only with hard work and a will to work. That is the first condition of any progress whatsoever. I, for one, do not doubt that our people are capable of it, Prof. Mukerjee this morning said something about U. P. Sir, I have first-hand knowledge of what is happening to my people in the villages. I may mention here, that only 30 miles from here, you will find the villages of Patla and Taleta and there you will find children's schools, good roads everything built by common people. We call and collect people and ask them what is to be done. The general question is of the road. Road has generally the priority. We begin the work and as we go on with the work lots of people join and it only takes a week

[Pandit K. C. Sharma]

or so for a road extending a mile or two to be constructed. Then district boards come in. They give it a shape. After a week or so, the road is ready for the use of the villagers. Therefore, there is no lack of enthusiasm. My hon. friend Dr. Lanka Sundaram said that the whole money would go into the pocket of somebody in the office. He said that somebody here is corrupt and somebody there is demoralised. I submit that this sort of attitude should be given up. Let us see who is responsible for saving this country from chaos and anarchy after partition. They are the services. I have seen Sub-Inspectors facing bullets after bullets. One man actually fought against 200 people for two hours. He was only a assistant sub-inspector. He was getting only Rs. 80 and had three children and a number of dependents. I asked him how he dared it. The reply was: "It is for the first time after 200 years of slavery that a Rajput youth has been given the chance to save his country's peace and freedom." So, the spirit of sacrifice and manliness is not lacking. These very people who came forward before will now come forward to make this ancient country prosperous and happy. There is no lack of enthusiasm. There is no hesitation on the part of people in coming forward to work. The thing is that in a big country like ours, with limited resources, we could not work at random. Why could we not work up to this time? Because of the reasons which I shall give you. It was not as if the will to work was not there. It was not as if the people were hesitant to work. It was because of the fear that in a big country like ours, if we proceed in a haphazard manner, then the limited resources might not produce the best results, and even these resources might be squandered away. Now, with this Plan there is organisation. There is a way of doing things. There is such a thing as priorities. There is an expectation that after some investment and hard work, we would be able to achieve the targets. Now, therefore, is the time for us to proceed, and I have not the slightest doubt that in times to come we would be a prosperous and happy country and we would safeguard our freedom. It could not be otherwise, because a free country cannot maintain its freedom without abundance. Abundance cannot come without planning and hard work. Therefore, I am happy to see that all responsible sections of our people are supporting this Plan. You may have read in the papers about the Bombay industrialists' reactions; about the reactions of the Socialist leaders; about the reactions of the

labour leaders and so on. Only here and there people are in doubt whether this Plan will bring success and whether our resources may not be squandered away. I have already said that a majority of the people have given good proof in maintaining peace and order in very troublous times. These very people will be able to work harder still in a constructive way now.

A word about the land problem. The Zamindari abolition is a good step. In U. P. it has produced much good to the people. But I am very doubtful about two questions. One is the ceiling on the holdings. Supposing I have 1,000 acres of land, and you limit the holding to 100 or 200 acres, then you would deprive me of 800 acres or so. This is of no significance. The question is what will happen if 800 acres are so taken away. My experience of the consolidating of holdings in U.P. is not a happy one. The law is the co-sharers in the property can apply and the Government machinery will move to consolidate the holdings. Zamindari abolition has been an easy problem, but this consolidation of holdings is the most difficult one. People are not willing to part with their land. For one single *bigha* they are willing to commit murder. They say that it is their life-blood—the life-blood of the family. They are not giving it up. They are associated with it with the same attachment and affection that they have for their wife or children. (Shri Jaipal Singh: Even more.) They say that this land has been got from our grandfather; that it has been got from their maternal grandmother. So it is a very difficult problem. Therefore, the redistribution of land is an impossibility with the present machinery at our command.

My Communist friends raised the question of agricultural labour. I beg to submit that agricultural labour works under two systems: one is permanent service the other is temporary service. Permanent service workers take a part of the produce of the agriculturist. Therefore no question arises that agriculture labour would be starving while the agriculturist would get the better of the situation. It is an impossible position. He gets a share in that produce. He is a partner in the process of production. He is not a stranger to the operation of agriculture. (An Hon. Member: What about land for him.) I beg to submit that agriculture labour is much better off than the small holding agriculturists. Go and see for yourself about 20 miles from Delhi. They have got buffaloes: they have got sturdy wives; they are

living happily. While the agriculturist has to pay for irrigation; he has to pay for the seed; he has to go early in the morning at 4 o' clock and wait at the door of the labourer and shall have to wait for two hours, when from inside the house a voice will come: "Wait I am coming after the smoking." This is the situation. You have no knowledge of conditions here. You read something from here and there and concoct something in your brain which is far from reality.

With these remarks, I beg to support the Plan and submit that it is a happy day that we have come to the door of prosperity.

Shrimati Kamlendu Mati Shah (Garhwal Distt.—West cum Tehri Garhwal Distt. cum Bijnor Distt.—North): Sir, great speeches have been delivered by several hon. Members. The time of this House is very precious and I do not wish to take much of it. As the Five Year Plan is being discussed, I take this opportunity of stating my peoples' needs and difficulties before this House, so that what I say may perhaps help other parts that resemble my part.

I am sorry to have to say that I have so far been disappointed in not being able to draw the attention of Government towards my constituency people's needs, but then disappointments are so common in life. I, however, hope and wait patiently, that now the luck of my district may also change for the better during the Five Year Planning.

There has been some mention in the papers that the District Magistrate was going to make some improvements in my district. During my recent tour I found the conditions worse than before. I hope when I next go there, I will find things much better. I do not mean to criticise. I only want to put before the House the real conditions and the grievances of the people and remind Government lest my district, being in the background, is again forgotten, while others reap the harvest of the Five Year Plan. I will also try to suggest how, in my opinion things can be remedied. It is no good only to criticise, without making any concrete suggestions.

The people of my constituency are very restless and disturbed. They complain of all sorts of difficulties and restrictions. New taxes have been levied. I know Sir, that no Government can do without some sort of taxes, but these taxes have been exported in quite a different form. The

tax-collectors, it is said, demand money from the illiterate villagers at every step. This money does not reach the Government treasury. This is a very difficult question in the whole of our country today, and if this corruption is not rooted out I do not see how our Five Year Plan is going to be implemented.

Sir, the people have not got enough land for cultivation. Their cattle have even less land now to graze. The forest boundary line has closed in upon them, reaching almost upto their house doors, with the result that if they cut a dry piece of wood for cooking their food or a blade of grass for their cattle they are heavily fined. I well realize the value of forests. But the necessities of the people have also to be considered. I have seen with my own eyes their cattle tied up hungry, lest they trespass on the forbidden areas. These cattle are reduced to as much skin and bones as their keepers are hungry and dirty. These people do not ask for kingdoms or palaces; their only cry is to be given facilities to appease their hunger and cover their bodies.

Land is not a thing that can be stretched or expanded, nor can we very well starve the people. So the only solution, in my opinion, is to start demarcation, rearrangement and fair distribution of land among the farmers, and also to plan the forests so that in future trees are planted in remote places, away from cultivation, for undisturbed growth.

I tried to explain the advantages of the forests to my constituency people, but I very well realize that first we will have to make it practical for them as they have not got enough land for even cultivation and grazing. One cannot believe what a terrible condition they are in, unless one actually sees them.

In high altitude the people have got sheep which serve all their needs. They help to clothe them, feed them, and are the basis of their cottage industry. In short, if they need anything, they exchange their sheep and wool with the other products of the neighbouring areas. They were never dependent on imports. Now, due to the grazing difficulties they have had to reduce their sheep as much as from five hundred to thirty or forty per family. Demarcation, I think, is the only means by which this problem also can be solved.

I will give you, Sir, an example of how backward the people of my con-

[Shrimati Kamlendu Mati Shah]

stituency are. In some of the villages I found some basic schools, and you will be surprised to hear that the parents ask the teachers to remove their children's names from the register, even by offering them money to do so. Now, how can we compare this district with the other advanced ones who demand from the Government all the modern facilities such as electricity, telephones and what not, while these unfortunate ones are missing even what little they have?

It will never do to ignore this district. An earnest policy will have to be followed to make these wild and backward people see the light of knowledge. And the first step, in my opinion, towards this is to declare this district as a backward area, like its neighbouring district, Jaunsar-Bhabar, whose people have exactly the same customs, habits and living conditions as the people of my district, namely Tehri-Garhwal. The only difference is that the river Jamuna separates them. I feel sure that my district also would have been declared—backward, along with its neighbouring district, had the State been merged earlier but now the people are finding it very difficult to draw the Government's attention towards themselves.

To help them, overcome their illiteracy and ignorance I would request the Government on their behalf to accept their demand for the implementation of the Vidya Prasar Trust money, as suggested in the resolution of the then Constituent Assembly of Tehri-Garhwal. Further, on the eve of the merger, when the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh was in Tehri, he was pleased to assure the public that it would be established as soon as possible. I have recently received many resolutions from the people which confirms that they are very anxiously awaiting the fulfilment of this promise. This is a very necessary step for the upliftment of the district and I earnestly hope that it will not be delayed any further.

I am very sorry to have to say that the people of my district, instead of being provided with new facilities, are even deprived of the old ones. I will give you an instance. There used to be two forest offices in some place in the interior. Very recently, these offices have been shifted to Mussoorie and Chakrata. Even the Civil and Sessions Courts from Tehri town have

been removed to Pauri. The reason given for this is that there were no modern comforts for the officers in the former places; but this also should not go without notice that now, people have to make five or six days' journey to reach the new stations. I think the conditions in the former places could very easily be improved by generating electricity from the many water sources in the mountains which would suit the officers, and would open many industries, and thereby would improve the whole district. This was contemplated even before the merger.

I have placed before the House facts and the conditions in my District and the plans for its development and improvement; and I sincerely hope Government will consider their case sympathetically during the Five Year Plan discussion.

Shri Nevatia (Shahjahanpur Distt.—North cum Kheri—East): Sir, for the first time in the history of our country we have before us an integrated plan for all round development of our country, in all spheres of life, economic as well as social. As stated in the Plan, the Central objective is to initiate a process of development which will raise the living standards of our people and open out to them new opportunities for a richer and more varied life. This objective is sought to be achieved by democratic methods. It is no exaggeration, if I may say so that the success of democracy itself in India will, to a large extent, depend upon the success of this Plan. A heavy responsibility has been cast on our people, more particularly on those who believe in the dignity of the individual and his development; to see that this plan which is already in action for the last 1-3/4 years succeeds in giving the desired results. I hope that those sections of our society who do not believe in democratic methods for achieving desired ends will also give their full co-operation to the working of this Plan for the building up of this country which belongs to all of us and not to any particular section, caste, or creed. It was inevitable that the Planning Commission should lay down.....

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member will require more time. The House now stands adjourned till 10 A.M. on Wednesday the 17th December.

The House then adjourned till Ten of the Clock on Wednesday, the 17th December, 1952.