

to the Committee on Public Accounts of the Lok Sabha represented by its Chairman in Title Suit No. 1428 of 1973 filed in that Court by one Shri Gobinda Ram Sinha, Preventive Officer, Grade I, attached to the Calcutta Customs under the Government of India, for declaration and mandatory injunction as consequential relief valued at Rs. 25 in respect of certain observations made in the Seventy-first Report of the Committee on Public Accounts (Fifth Lok Sabha).

The Constitutional position that no such suit or proceedings is maintainable in any court of law is quite clear as provided in Article 105(2) of the Constitution which reads as follows:—

“No Member of Parliament shall be liable to any proceedings in any court in respect of anything said or any vote given by him in Parliament or any committee thereof, and no person shall be so liable in respect of the publication by or under the authority of either House of Parliament of any report, paper, votes or proceedings.”

Since this matter relates to the proceedings of a Parliamentary Committee and the powers, privileges and immunities of members and Committees of Parliament, I am placing this matter before the House. As has been the practice of this House, I am asking the Chairman, Committee on Public Accounts, to ignore this summons and not to put in any appearance in the court.

I am, however, passing on the relevant papers to the Minister of Law for taking such action as he may deem fit to apprise the court of the correct constitutional position in this regard.

Mr. Era Sezhiyan, is not here; we can pass it on to him.

11.06 hrs

MOTION RE. NEW PROGRAMME FOR ECONOMIC PROGRESS—contd.

MR. SPEAKER: Now we shall take up further consideration of the motion regarding New Programme for Economic Progress. Shri Kotoki may continue his speech; he has taken already two minutes.

SHRI LILADHAR KOTOKI (Now-gong). Mr. Speaker, Sir, yesterday when I began my speech, I welcomed the 20-point New Programme for Economic Progress and I stated that all the 20 points of this programme are not all new. I now want to add that what is new in this is the sense of urgency attached to the implementation of programmes in priority sectors of our economy. Sir, this economic programme and other measures that are to follow, as the Prime Minister has herself indicated in her broadcast on 1st July are an integral part of the emergency. Taken together, during the few weeks that have elapsed, the economy has picked up. The review on the economic situation presented to this House by the hon. Finance Minister merely indicates the directions in which the economy has improved, but we have yet to go a long way and in this task, I feel that the measures that have been taken, the emergency that has been proclaimed, shall have to be continued till we succeed in putting our economy on a firm footing. This I am saying because in the two broadcasts of the Prime Minister on 26th and 27th she indicated, and I appreciate, her eagerness to lift this emergency as soon as possible. Now, this ‘as soon as possible’ is the crux of the problem and if we want to implement these programmes on a war footing, then, all the measures and the weapons that are necessary will have to be continued. I would call it a war against poverty and a war against reaction of all kinds. It is just like the battle of

[Shri Liladhar Kotoki]

Kurukshetra against all the evil forces who are obstructing the very sincere and wholesome programmes that our Government undertook all these years but they could not achieve the result because of these obstacles and ultimately they culminated in a dangerous phase of fascism. That has to be curtailed and therefore, this war. This war against reaction, this war against poverty is the battle of Kurukshetra that we are fighting and virtue, truth, righteousness and good of the people of the country and the whole world is on our side and, therefore, we are bound to win it. And, in this, the most enthusiastic and encouraging feature is that the whole country and all sections of people have stood behind these programmes. They have welcomed this emergency and they have come forward to bear all the difficulties in the emergency as it is in all wars to see that once for all we do away with all these obstacles, root and branch.

I agree with the Prime Minister when she says that this emergency and the measures that have been taken in its wake have created that required sense of confidence and discipline in the nation and that is the sure sign that we are going to succeed in this war. I would not take much time of the House in going into all these twenty points. I welcome all of them and I welcome the other measures, the Prime Minister has indicated would be taken and would be necessary. But I would most humbly submit that the machinery to implement these programmes will have to be taken to the village level and that, I consider, is a very important and very difficult task. Fortunately, we have the Panchayati raj all over the country although, as the Prime Minister remarked somewhere, it is not as well as it should be. If we gear up this panchayati raj machinery at the village level, then from the centre, the urgency that we attach to

these programmes, if we carry it to the panchayat level, that will be a sure way of the speedy implementation of these programmes. But there also, not merely the panchayats but our own organization and other organizations that are of the same view and the youths and the students will have to be associated with it. And then only, it will be a national programme and that will be a great thing that we have to do.

Regarding prices, it is good that the the signs are very encouraging, but, yet, it has come to our notice that in some places the prices of essential commodities are rising again. Sir, merely keeping the prices at reasonable level or low level is not enough. Supplies should be assured in respect of essential commodities for the poor people and the common people. They should be made available in an easy way through the public distribution system. This is also very essential.

Then, Sir, regarding inflation and other things and want of resources for our plan, I wish to point out one thing. This thing is very conspicuous. In the market we find that there are a large number of articles which are not at all necessary for our common people. It may be necessary for a few people but it is not necessary for all. A sort of vicious atmosphere and influence is created in the minds of the people and people go madly after those so-called standards and in the name of standards our people are paying through their nose and bleeding. This is what happens. Therefore, I would venture to suggest that while we have taken so many drastic steps, we can also take this step and ban all these articles from the market. If we want, we can produce them and sell them elsewhere and earn foreign exchange. I will support that. But we should not allow them to be sold in the market, to allure our poor people to go in for it even by begging or borrowing and even at the cost of their very basic things. This is not to be

permitted in the present context. I hope Government will consider this.

Regarding production, both agricultural and industrial, it is quite true that 50 lakhs of hectares will be brought under irrigation. We must cover all cultivable areas with irrigation. While irrigation is necessary it is also necessary to save our crops from floods. Flood protection is a long-term measure. The simplest thing which I would suggest is this. We should harness our irrigation potential so that these areas which are affected by floods mostly in the eastern States like eastern UP, Bihar, Bengal, Orissa, Assam and other places, where such conditions exist could be enabled to produce winter crops. Electricity is necessary for lift irrigation and for energising pumps. But unfortunately power is in short supply in these areas. There was a committee appointed by the Government of India to look into the rural electrification in the eastern States. If we take electricity to the rural areas then people will take advantage of power and use it for lift irrigation and pumpsets for irrigation. I was one of the members of that committee and I understand that the report has been submitted to the Government and they are under consideration. I hope that Government will take appropriate steps in this direction. Of course, the report is about the eastern States, but the committee's recommendations may be applicable to other areas of the country also.

These measures are short-term measures required by the emergency to tackle our basic economic problems. We must finalise the fifth five-year plan and we should have a 15-year perspective. We should have this perspective of 15 years and unless we have this plan finalised soon, we may land ourselves into difficulties. It is stated that as the resources are not adequate enough and therefore we could not finalise the fifth plan. I

would venture to suggest that whatever may be the resources let us have the plan finalised, and as and when additional resources become available, we can supplement the plan.

Therefore, I do not agree with this contention that the Fifth Plan cannot be finalised because we do not have adequate resources to finance the Plan of this size that was drafted. I hope the Government will consider this seriously so that we know where we are going. There is no harm in having a small Plan commensurate with our resources.

About rural indebtedness I would only say a word. Rural Banks are very welcome. Some hon. Members who preceded me pointed out that till then what should we do. We have got the Cooperative Central Banks who take the contributions from Reserve Bank for use by the farmers in the rural areas. But, unfortunately, there are heavy overdues from loanees, particularly in the eastern part of India which is very backward. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile that the organisations which are already there are revitalised and their initiative is utilised for the time-being. Ultimately, the central banks may be merged with the Rural Banks.

I have moved an amendment to the Resolution moved by the hon. Finance Minister. The Motion says 'That the House takes note of this programme'. I want to add to that the words 'and approves of the same and urges upon all concerned to take effective and expeditious steps for its implementation'. This motion has come up. But, we need not wait for Government to tell us what we should do. Emergency is there and broad outlines have been given. Therefore, all concerned must take the initiative themselves. The Government will come forward definitely to support them and give them the necessary help. Sir, mine is a very broadbased amendment. I

[Shri Liladhar Kotoki]

moved my amendment because it is not merely enough that we take note of the new economic programme but we also do something more than that. We take positive steps to approve it. We have approved the Emergency. On the same line we should approve of this programme and then all concerned—not merely Government, not merely officials but all concerned—in their respective places should take effective and expeditious steps so that the programme becomes a success.

I request the hon. Finance Minister, the mover of this Resolution to consider if he can accept my amendment and also request this House to accept this.

MR. SPEAKER: There are so many names given to me to-day—fifty of them. Should we continue?

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPAN: (Tellicherry): This discussion can continue.

MR. SPEAKER: Even then it cannot be finished in the whole day. There are so many of them. I am going backwards. There are certain minor groups which do not get any chance. So, I am starting from them. I am coming to the 'forward block.' There are two speakers—Shri Ram Hedao and Shri Dhote. Anyone of them may choose to speak.

श्री राम हेडाऊ (रायटेक) अध्यक्ष महोदय, जो 20 सूत्रीय कार्यक्रम पर चर्चा चल रही है मेरे ख्याल से यह बड़ी महत्वपूर्ण चर्चा है। इस कार्यक्रम की ओर सारे देश की दृष्टि लगी हुई है। ऐसी अवस्था में इस बहस में जितने लोग हिस्सा लेना चाहते हैं उतने लोगों को खुले दिल से बहुत ज्यादा पाबन्दी न लगाते हुए हिस्सा लेने की इजाजत दी जाय। इस के लिए वक्त बढ़ाने की जरूरत पड़े तो वक्त भी हमें बढ़ाना चाहिए।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैंने आप को इस पर बोलने के लिए बुलाया है। आप की पार्टी के दो मेम्बर हैं, दोनों में से जिस का दिल चाह बोलने के लिए खड़ा हो जाय।

श्री राम हेडाऊ : अध्यक्ष महोदय, आर्थिक अराजकता से देश को बचाने का उपाय, एक प्रगतिशील उपाय, आर्थिक कार्यक्रमों के द्वारा जनता के सामने रखा गया है। देश की अधिकांश जनता की तकलीफ दूर हो, उन्हें सुविधा प्रदान हो, उन के आर्थिक उत्थान के दरवाजे जो आज तक बन्द थे वह खोल दिए जायें ऐसा आर्थिक परिवर्तन लाने का विचार इस आर्थिक कार्यक्रम के द्वारा देश के सामने रखा गया है। महंगाई, बेरोजगारी, अष्टाचार और मुट्ठी भर लोगों द्वारा आर्थिक और सामाजिक भ्रष्टाचार यह इस देश में सदियों से चलता आ रहा है। प्रजातंत्र के नाम पर प्रजातंत्र को ही नष्ट करने वालों को, जन-साधारण विरोधी तत्वों को भी इस आर्थिक कार्यक्रम में एक बड़ी भारी चुनौती दी है। डगमगाते हुए प्रजातंत्र को संभालते हुए आर्थिक परिवर्तन के लिए रखा हुआ यह 20 सूत्रीय कार्यक्रम वास्तव में सराहनीय है। निष्ठा, साहस, धैर्य और ईमानदारी के साथ यदि इस कार्यक्रम पर अमल किया जाय तो निश्चय ही देशवासी इस में सहयोग देंगे और राष्ट्रीय उत्थान में अपनी राष्ट्रभक्ति का परिचय देने का भारतवासियों को इस कार्यक्रम द्वारा एक बड़ा भारी मौका भी मिल गया है। सभी क्षेत्रों में अधिक उत्पादन, उस का उचित ढंग से वितरण जन-साधारण तक उन की उचित दामों में उपलब्धि ये बातें अधिक महत्व रखती हैं। महंगाई रोकने, रोजगार की उपलब्धियां सुलभ करने और गरीब और असुरक्षित वर्ग की कठिनाइयां दूर करने के उपायों पर इस आर्थिक कार्यक्रम में विचार

होना बहुत जरूरी है। कृषि मजदूर जो देश के पालनहार हैं उन के उत्थान का विचार भी इस में रखा गया है। खेती के विकास पर देरी से ही क्यों न हो, इस आर्थिक कार्यक्रम के द्वारा ध्यान केन्द्रित करने का प्रयास हुआ है। ईश्वर और भगवान को भी वस्त्र दे कर उस की लज्जा राक्षण करने का काम करने वाले हथकरघों पर काम करने वाले बुनकरों जो आज तक सदियों से उपेक्षित और असंतुष्ट रहे हैं की ओर जो ध्यान दिया गया है वह इस वीस सूत्रीय कार्यक्रम में बहुत महत्व रखता है। ये सब बातें अनुशासन और निःस्वार्थ वृद्धि से सभी वर्गों की सद्भावना लिए वगैर सफल नहीं हो सकती हैं। डर इस बात का है कि अगर यह कार्यक्रम भी कागज पर ही रह गया तो बहुजन समाज जो इस देश की सरकार की ओर, इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व की ओर आशा भरी निगाह से देखता है उसे बड़ा भारी धक्का लगेगा और उसे फिर से बड़ी—भारी परेशानी का मुकाबिला करने का मौका आएगा। इसलिए मैं कहूंगा कि इस का संतुलित विकास होना चाहिए। किसी की भी उपेक्षा इस में न हो। जो शोषित वर्ग हैं, नीचे के तबके के वर्ग हैं जिन का उद्धार नहीं किया गया है, जैसे खेतिहर मजदूर हैं, हरिजन आदिवासी हैं या दूसरे कमजोर वर्ग हैं उन के आर्थिक उत्थान की जो बात कही गई है उस को अमल में लाना बहुत अनिवार्य है।

इस लिये नये आर्थिक कार्यक्रमों से एक बात यह भी हो सकती है कि एक वर्ग इस से बड़ा असंतुष्ट होने वाला है, जिन वर्गों के स्वार्थ हैं, इन आर्थिक कार्यक्रमों को लागू करने से उन को बड़ा धक्का पहुंचने वाला है। वे स्वार्थी तत्व इन कार्यक्रमों को फेल करने के लिये जितने भी उपाय सम्भव होंगे कस कर करने का प्रयत्न करेंगे। उन स्वार्थी को हमें तोड़ना होगा। जब तक अमीरी नहीं हटेगी, गरीबी दूर नहीं हो सकती। आर्थिक स्रोत जो सदियों से पूँजीपतियों की

तिजोरियां में जाता रहा है, जब तक उस को गरीबों की झोपड़ियों में नहीं पहुंचायेगे, गरीबी दूर नहीं होगी, गरीबों को राहत नहीं मिलेगी।

इस दृष्टि से ये जो कार्यक्रम हैं—ये कोई पर्याप्त हैं, मैं ऐसा समझने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ। लेकिन उस दृष्टिकोण से यदि अभी श्रीगणेश किया गया है, तो यह स्वागत योग्य है। लेकिन सिर्फ इतने से ही काम चलने वाला नहीं है, केवल इतने से ही इस देश में आर्थिक परिवर्तन आनेवाला नहीं है, इस में कुछ संशोधन भी हो सकते हैं, जिन को मैंने सदन के सामने रखने का प्रयास किया था, लेकिन देरी से रखने के कारण उन की अनुमति नहीं मिली, मैं अब उन को सदन के सामने पेश करने की कोशिश कर रहा हूँ। मेरा पहला संशोधन है—

“सर्वहारा जनता की एवं देश की समाजिक आर्थिक तथा राष्ट्रीय प्रकृति को सुधारने हेतु सम्पूर्ण भारतवर्ष में सम्पूर्ण शराब बन्द को सख्ती से कार्यान्वित किया जाये।”

आज शराब से गरीबों के परिवार उजड़े हुए हैं। आप देहातों में देखिये—पहले वे जितनी शराब पीते थे, आज उस से कहीं ज्यादा शराब पी जाने लगी है, विद्यार्थियों से लेकर बुढ़ों तक सब शराब पीते हैं। इस का एक बहुत बढ़िया प्रमाण यह है—अंग्रेजों के जमाने में जब यहां शराब चलती थी, गांधी जी ने उस का विरोध किया था, पिकेटिंग की थी, लेकिन आज हम देखते हैं कि उसी गांधी के देश में शराब की नई नई दुकान खोली जा रही हैं, जिस का परिणाम हमारे देश की नई पीढ़ियों पर पड़ रहा है। शराब बन्दी 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम का एक महत्वपूर्ण अंग होना चाहिये और सख्ती के साथ

[श्री राम हेडाऊ]

इस देश में शराब बन्दी की जानी चाहिये। सरकार इस बात को जानती है कि शराब के जो कारखाने इस देश में लगे हुए हैं, वे बहुत से पूजीपतियों के हैं, इतना ही नहीं जो पूजीपति सत्ता में बैठे हुए हैं, उन के मालिकों के कारखाने हैं। महाराष्ट्र और दीगर प्रान्तों में जो शक्कर के कारखाने हैं, इन कारखानों से जो शराब निकलती है, जो एक तरह से फेंकने का मैटीरियल है, उस से शराब बनाई जाती है, इसलिये कि शक्कर से पैसा कम मिलता है और शराब से पैसा ज्यादा मिलता है। इसलिए हमारे देश की गरीब जनता का ग्राहक बनाने के इरादे से शराब को खूला कर दिया है, इस तरह से आप गांधी जी की आत्मा को धोखा दे रहे हैं। हमें इस पर गम्भीरता से विचार करना चाहिये और जल्द से जल्द पूरे देश में शराब बन्दी लागू करनी चाहिये।

मेरा दूसरा संशोधन था—

“भयानक आर्थिक विषमता से निर्मित गरीबी एवं कमजोर वर्गों के दुखों के लिये जिम्मेदार माल की अधिकार को तुरन्त नाट कर दिया जाय। सारी चल और अचल धन सम्पत्ति पर देश की मालकी स्थापित हो।”

देश की गरीबी को दूर करने के लिये इस मालकी के अधिकार को तुरन्त समाप्त किया जाना चाहिये तथा उस पर देश का अधिकार होना चाहिये।

तीसरा—“लाखों एकड़ उत्पादन योग्य सरकारी भूमि भूमिहीन किसानों में जोत करने के लिये तुरन्त वितरित कर दी जाय और उसे उपजाऊ बनाने हेतु अनुदान आर्थिक तथा प्रत्यक्ष कृषि उत्पादन हेतु आवश्यक सभी वस्तुओं का उचित समय समय पर वितरण द्वारा सम्पूर्ण सहयोग दिया जाय।” ऐसा किये बिना हमारे कृषि उत्पादन में बढ़ोत्तरी नहीं होगी।

बोया—यंत्र करघा तथा मिलों में निर्मित रंगीन साड़ियों के उत्पादन पर सख्ती से पाबन्दी लगाई जाय और रंगीन साड़ियों का उत्पादन सिर्फ हाथ करघों पर ही बने ऐसी व्यवस्था तुरन्त की जाय।”

वास्तव में यह बात कोई नई बात नहीं है, अशोक मेहता कमेटी की रिपोर्ट में यह सब दिया गया है, लेकिन सरकार उस पर अमल नहीं कर रही है। उस के बाद शिव रमन की रिपोर्ट आई थी और सुना है कि उस पर अमल करने की बात हा रही है। उस पर तो अमल किया ही जाय लेकिन साथ साथ मैं चाहता हूँ कि अशोक मेहता कमेटी की रिपोर्ट पर भी अमल किया जाय। जब तक हथकरघों पर काम करनेवालों को यह सुविधा नहीं दी जायगी उन के लिये कपड़ा निश्चित नहीं किया जायगा, तब तक समस्या का समाधान नहीं हो सकेगा। वे यन्त्रों के साथ स्पर्धा करने की स्थिति में नहीं आ सकेंगे।

“हथकरों पर काम करनेवाले बुनकरों के लिये बुनकर बस्तियों में सरकारी स्तर पर हथकरघों की फैक्टरियां लगवा कर उन्हें उचित जीवनावश्यक मजदूरी तथा कार्य निमितता से दिलाने के कार्यक्रम पर अमल किया जाय।”

बुनकरों को यदि आप सहकारी समितियों पर ही छोड़ देनेवाले हैं तो मैं आप को बता देना चाहता हूँ—सहकारी क्षेत्र के जरिये आज तक बुनकरों के लिये जो भी राहत शासन ने दी है, वह बुनकरों तक नहीं पहुंच पाई, जो बीच की एजेन्सियां थीं, सहकारी क्षेत्र में जो बड़े बड़े नुमाइन्दे थे, उन्होंने सब खा डाला, बुनकरों को कुछ भी नहीं मिला। इस बात को रोकना है तो मैं शासन से अनुरोध कहूंगा कि बुनकरों का पूरा भविष्य सहकारी क्षेत्र के भरोसे मत छोड़िये। सरकार लाखों-करोड़ों रुपया

खर्च करेगी, लेकिन उस का फायदा बुनकरों को नहीं मिलेगा। इस लिये जहाँ जहाँ बुनकर बस्तियाँ हैं वहाँ सरकारी तौर पर हथकरघा लगाइये, हथकरघों पर उन से काम लीजिये, जिस कपड़े की डिमाण्ड हो, वह कपड़ा उन से निर्माण कराइये और उन को उन की मेहनत का उचित मेहनताना दीजिये, जिस से वे अपना जीवन निर्वाह कर सकें।

बुनकरों के लड़कों को शिक्षण की पूरी सुविधा दी जानी चाहिये। आज भी हम देखते हैं कि उन का आश्रित्व नहीं माना जाता। इन का भी एक संस्कृति है। इसलिये बुनकरों के धन्धे में काम करनेवाले लोगों की पिछड़ी दशा को देखते हुए उन को पिछड़े वर्ग में माना जाना चाहिये, इन के लिये शिक्षा की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये तथा इन का नौकरियों में उचित स्थान दिया जाना चाहिये। आदिम जातियों को जो सुविधाएँ दी जाती हैं, वे पूरी सुविधाएँ बुनकरों का भी प्रदान की जानी चाहिये।

रिक्शा चलाने का व्यवसाय बड़ा अमानवीय व्यवसाय है। इसलिये मेरा मुझाव है—'रिक्शा चलानेवाले श्रमिक मजदूर को स्वयंचालित यन्त्र के रिक्शा प्रदोष किम्ना पर देने की तुरन्त व्यवस्था की जाय। कलकत्ता शहर में हाथों से रिक्शा खींचने के अमानवीय कार्य पर पाबन्दी लगा कर उन्हें भी स्वयंचालित यंत्र के रिक्शे दिये जाय'। कलकत्ते में हम ने देखा है कि आदमी आदमी को खींचता है। दो आदमी रिक्शा पर बैठ जाते हैं और एक आदमी उन को खींचता है—यह स्थिति बदलनी चाहती। मद्रास में इसे बन्द किया गया है—यह बड़ी खुशी की बात है। यह बात पूरे देश में होनी चाहिये। कोई भी आदमी आदमी को न ढोये। इसलिये यन्त्र चालित रिक्शे लम्बी किस्तों पर सरकार इन मजदूरों को दे।

“विद्यार्थी-शिक्षक और शिक्षा का संचालन करने वाली सभी शिक्षा संस्थाओं

का सम्पूर्ण राष्ट्रीयकरण कर उस का संचालन सरकार अपने हाथों में ले और बिना मूल्य शिक्षा देने की व्यवस्था हो।” आज इन प्राइवेट शिक्षण संस्थाओं में बड़ा भ्रष्टाचार व्याप्त है। इस के बारे में पहले भी दो-तीन बार यहाँ कह चुका हूँ। शिक्षा में यदि आमूल परिवर्तन करना है तो शिक्षा के लिये सरकार द्वारा जो पैसा खर्च होता है उस का सही इस्तेमाल हो रहा है या नहीं, यह देखना सरकार का काम है। आज हम देखते हैं कि आज ऐसी संस्थाओं का भी ग्रांट दी जाती है जहाँ विद्यार्थी ही नहीं होते हैं। वे रिकार्ड पर विद्यार्थियों को दिखाते हैं और ग्रांट ले लेते हैं। शिक्षकों को पूरी पगार नहीं दी जाती है। सरकारी रिकार्ड के अनुसार शिक्षकों में पूरी पगार पर इम्नाक्षर ले लिये जाते हैं, जैसे किसी की पगार 350 रुपये रिकार्ड पर है तो उस में पूरी पे पर सिग्नेचर ले लिये जाते हैं, लेकिन उसको 60 या 70 रुपये दिये जाते हैं और बाकी सारा पैसा मैनेजर या मैनेजमेन्ट हजम कर जाता है। ग्राम पंचायतों से लेकर लोक सभा तक के कई नेताओं के अपने स्कूल हैं। यह बड़ी दुख की बात है—कहने को तो हम इसे पवित्र विद्या मन्दिर कहते हैं—लेकिन इन में व्याप्त भ्रष्टाचार कब तक देश में जारी रहेगा। इन शिक्षा संस्थाओं पर 95 प्रतिशत पैसा सरकार स्वयं खर्च करती है लेकिन उस का सदुपयोग नहीं होता है। इसलिये इस का एक ही मार्ग है, दूसरा कोई मार्ग नहीं है—सरकार इन का राष्ट्रीयकरण करे। महाराष्ट्र में हम देखते हैं कि अब शिक्षकों का वेतन बैंक के द्वारा दिया जाता है, शिक्षक बैंक से पैसा लेते हैं, लेकिन सीधे वहाँ से मैनेजर के पास जाते हैं और उस का हिस्सा उस को दे देते हैं। अगर कोई हिस्सा न दे या उस का विरोध करे तो दूसरे दिन उस को नौकरी से हटा दिया जाता है। इसलिये शासन को इन का राष्ट्रीयकरण फौरन करना चाहिये। और बिना मूल्य शिक्षा देने की व्यवस्था सारे देश में हो।

[श्रीराम हेड ऊ]

इस के अलावा मेरा निवेदन है कि शिक्षित बेकारों का निर्माण करने वाली देश की शिक्षण संस्थाओं एवं विश्वविद्यालयों को दो माल के लिये बन्द कर दिया जाय, जैसा कि विनोबा जी ने भी कहा है, और सारे विद्यार्थियों को तथा शिक्षकों को राष्ट्र के आर्थिक उत्थान और 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम में लगाया जाय। यदि ऐसा किया जायगा तो राष्ट्र का उत्थान जल्दी हो सकता है।

शिक्षित तथा अशिक्षित नौजवानों को पर्याप्त काम दिया जाय। जहाँ यह सम्भव न हो वहाँ ऐसे नौजवानों को नौकरी भत्ता दिया जाय जिस से वह गलत रास्ते पर न जाय। यदि हम उन के जीवन निर्वाह की व्यवस्था कर सके तो अच्छा होगा।

प्राइवेट क्षेत्र सारे उद्योग सरकार अपने कब्जे में ले ले और उद्योगी मालिकों को सारी उपयुक्त सुविधाएँ प्राप्त करा के उन्हीं उद्योगों में उन को नौकर रखा जाय। आज 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम की घोषणा हो रही है और दूसरी ओर मजदूरों को नौकरी में न लेने की व्यवस्था हो रही है, कारखाने बन्द हो रहे हैं, और इधर आप आपातकालीन स्थिति घोषित कर रहे हैं जिसमें मजदूर इस अन्याय के विरुद्ध आन्दोलन नहीं कर सकते। यह विरोधाभास है। इसलिये काम करने वाले मजदूर का पूरा हक मिलने चाहिये। जो मजदूर जिन्दगी भर कारखाने में काम करता है वह बेचारा मजदूर ही रहता है और मरते वक्त उस का कफन तक के लिये कपड़ा नहीं मिलता। जब कि मिल मालिक अपने पैसे के बलबूते पर एक मिल से 10 मिलें बना रहा है। आप को मिल मालिकों मालिकी हक नष्ट करने होंगे, और मजदूरों को मालिकी हक देने होंगे। मालिक

को मजदूर की तरह से उसी कारखाने में रख कर उस से काम कराओ। यह आप कानून के जरिये कर सकते हैं।

देश में पोषित और अपोषित सारा व्यक्तिगत संपूर्ण धन राष्ट्र के कब्जे में लिया जाय, और स्वर्ण का व्यक्तिगत इस्तेमाल राष्ट्रीय अपराध घोषित किया जाय। बड़े बड़े लोगों की महिलाएँ स्वर्ण के आभूषण पहन कर आती हैं उस को देख कर उन गरीब महिलाओं को कैसा लगता होगा जिन के पास मंगलसूत्र तक नहीं है, इस की आप स्वयं कल्पना कर सकते हैं। ऐसा धन हमारे देश में बहुत है। इस सारे स्वर्ण धन को राष्ट्र को अपने कब्जे में लेना चाहिये।

देशी और विदेशी बैंकों में, लाकर्म में तथा घरों में रखे हुए व्यक्तिगत धन का हिसाब लिया जाय और उचित हिस्सा जो 25,000 से अधिक न हो व्यक्ति के पास रख कर बकाया राष्ट्र निर्माण के लिये सरकारी कब्जे में लेने का प्रवन्ध किया जाय।

गांव में ले कर शहर तक जिनके पास रहने के लिये मकान नहीं हैं उन्हें मकान के लिए प्लॉट दिये जाय। यह कार्य गांव में ग्राम पंचायत, शहरों में नगर परिषद, नगर महा निगम सुधार प्रन्यास, नजूल और रेवेन्यू विभाग के माध्यम से तुरन्त किया जाय।

देश के 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम में बाधाएँ डालने वाले अधिकारी, कर्मचारी, उद्योगपति, व्यापारी जमाखोर, कालाबाजार, आर्थिक मुनाफ़ाखोर, मट्टे वाले तथा उन के दलालों पर भ्रष्टाचारी तथा शोषणकर्ताओं पर कड़ी से कड़ी कार्यवाही की जाय तथा सुरक्षा कानून के अन्तर्गत उन्हें गिरफ्तार किया जाय।

राष्ट्र के आर्थिक कार्यक्रम को प्रमा-
णिकता से सक्रिय सहयोग देने की प्रतिज्ञा करने वाले नेताओं, कार्यकर्ताओं को जेल

से रिहा करवा कर राष्ट्रीय आर्थिक विकास में उन का भी सहयोग लिया जाय। जो इस आर्थिक कार्यक्रम के साथ हैं उन को बन्द नहीं करना चाहिये। ज्यादा कुचलने से काम नहीं चलता। जितना दबाओगे उतना ही विद्रोह मन में पैदा होगा। जो राष्ट्र के उत्थान के कार्यक्रम में सहयोग देने के लिये तैयार हैं उन को रिहा कर दो।

जिन संस्थाओं ने, संगठनों ने 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम को समर्थन जोषित किया है उन के नेता और कार्यकर्ताओं को जिला स्तरीय समिति पर उचित प्रतिनिधित्व दिया जाय। 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम के यशस्वीता के लिये जिला स्तरीय कमेटियां सारे देश में स्थापित कर दी जाये जिस का सेक्रेटरी कलेक्टर रहे और अध्यक्ष समद सदस्य रहे जिस पर पूरी जिम्मेदारी डाली जाय।

इस आर्थिक कार्यक्रम को प्रभावी और सक्रियरूप में कार्यान्वित करने के लिये शुद्ध एवं कार्यक्षम प्रशासन निर्माण हेतु सम्पूर्ण भारत में तुरन्त छोटे छोटे राज्यों का निर्माण करे यह बहुत ही आवश्यक है। यदि शुद्ध और कार्यक्षम शासन आप को लाना है तो डीसेन्ट्रलाइजेशन करना बहुत जरूरी है।

पिछड़े हुए विदर्भ इलाके का विकास नहीं हुआ है इसलिये राज्य पुनर्रचना आयोग ने जो सिफारिश की उस के अनुसार विदर्भ राज्य का निर्माण तुरन्त कर दिया जाय।

अन्त में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम को हमारा पूरे हृदय से समर्थन है। मेरी पार्टी इस कार्यक्रम को अमल में लाने के लिये तथा इस को मकल बनाने के लिये सरकार के साथ है। हमारा अधिक से अधिक उपयोग आप करा सकते हैं।

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Stephen, how much time will you take? I think you may not take more than ten

minutes because the Whip has written to me that each Member may be allotted not more than ten minutes.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): Sir, may I know when the Minister will reply?

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM): I will reply on Monday.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Muvattupuzha): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise today as a very happy man.

MR. SPEAKER: You are always a very happy man.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: I am fully gratified at the stability, sobriety and the atmosphere of self-purposefulness that has permeated the nation, and I am grateful to the national leadership that by their very bold action this situation has been brought about. We know that the national picture was extremely forbidding. There were dark clouds everywhere and it looked as if we were on the edge of a precipice. Suddenly India's situation has changed. This national emergency and the developments thereafter have brought to the surface two or three very important features. Sir, nothing has happened in the course of this one month. No new factory has come up, no fresh productive machinery has been set up and no material innovation has happened. Nothing new in that sense happened. Nevertheless, production has started moving up, prices are slumping and the anarchical situation has been removed. A sense of discipline is manifest everywhere. We have arrived at a stage at which the Government can come to this House and confidently tell us that the situation promises to be brighter in future. This demonstrates two important features: One is that in the course of the last 25 years we had built up an infrastructure in every sphere—science and technology, industrial productive capacity, agricultural productive capacity, human material

[Shri C. M. Stephen]

and resourcefulness, etc.—of which we can be proud. Nevertheless, we were not able to take the fruit of it. What had happened whereby this infrastructure stopped operating, bringing benefits to the nation?

In the course of the last 25 years, certain vitiating tendencies had developed. Democratic freedom we had, but everybody had their own perverted view about it. The judiciary was assigned a particular task, but they had their own perverted view about their role in national life. Political freedom there was, but it was mistaken for licence and making anarchical efforts destructively motivated. Freedom of the press we had and still we have, but it was taken as having nothing to do with the national challenges and national mandate. Trade union freedom we had but in certain sectors, it was taken as not a commitment for the furtherance of national goal but as an instrument for the subversion of productive capacity. Constitutional safeguards we had given to the administrative set-up and the bureaucracy, but they took it in most cases as a licence to lord it over people and not to behave as servants of the people. The result was, in spite of the productive capacity, production slumped. In spite of availability of goods, distribution was perverted. In spite of low cost at which things could be produced, prices mounted up. In spite of laws and policy declarations which guaranteed a better living for the people, acquisitive tendencies developed in the administrative set-up to the detriment of the people at large. Liberty was misunderstood as licence. The result was, the nation was going to pieces; democratic stability was giving place to anarchical conditions in the country. It was this that was called a halt to by the proclamation of emergency. That is why I say, declaration of emergency did not bring anything new on the material side but brought about a condition whereunder everybody

was reminded of his duty to the nation and that groupish acquisitiveness must give way to the national interests at large. Now, this is what has happened in the course of this period. I do not want to add anything to what the hon. Finance Minister has told the House. I think, the 20-Point Programme has been given in elaborate detail and there is no need to add a word to it except to say that the outstanding feature of the 20-Point Programme is that the common man has been given a place of priority in the making of the Nation. The 20-Point Programme is aimed at the amelioration of the condition of the common man. He is accepted as the kernel of the Nation and the responsibility and duty of the Nation is to take care of him.

Now, I would like to emphasise certain basic things. When we go into the future, when the emergency is lifted, even after that, the same discipline and the same atmosphere must prevail. In the meanwhile, as has been stated, to the democratic rights, according to me, we must give a second look. We have the press. Press has been given full freedom. But we have got to consider as to what we mean by the freedom of the Press, for whom, by whom and for what purpose. If the Press with the freedom that has been given to it, could not accept the mandate of the Nation after an election and could not be a party in furthering the policies that the Parliament lays down, then the question arises, freedom of the Press for whom and for what purpose. That way, the Press must get re-oriented to the democratic challenges and for the purpose of the Nation, some sort of guidelines might have to be laid down in future. A second look at the entire thing is certainly called for.

Yesterday, there were comments about Article 311 whereby safeguards are given to the officers under the Government. Well, we have got an administrative set up of which we

are proud. This administrative set up, in the past, enabled us to face many a challenge. Immediately after the partition, we had the challenge. This administrative set up helped us to go through those challenges to bring about unification of the princely States of the country. Many a challenge we were able to face during the course of 25 years. I put it to the House to consider whether this is or this is not a fact that they are contemptuous of the political parties, they are contemptuous of the capacity of the Ministers, they are contemptuous of the common man and their aspirations, they are contemptuous in their outlook and they are sectional in their outlook. That contemptuousness and sectionalism, put together, pose a challenge to the Nation and a challenge to the will of the Nation. If that is so, the question is whether the constitutional guarantee given under Article 311 is called for or not; it needs to be re-considered according to me. Mr. S. M. Banerjee while speaking yesterday, challenged the question that was put by Mr. Satpal Kapur. I put a question why, how and in what sense, is an officer of Government entitled to more constitutional guarantee than a worker in this country? He must have a security of tenures he must have a security of life. Why should an officer of the Government have more constitutional guarantees than the worker in this country?

12.hrs.

But when there is a situation in which merit cannot be rewarded, a situation in which these erring officers cannot be punished quickly, a situation in which even promotion is straight-jacketed, a situation in which under Article 311 the High Courts of this country and the Supreme Court can come in every time and put spokes in the path of the marching nation, it has got to be considered. We started the Constitution with all good intentions and gave guarantees to everybody. The question is how was this guarantee taken and utilised. If it was mis-

utilized, either there must be a situation in which we can feel assured that such is misutilization will not recur; or the guarantee may have to be taken away and other constitutional remedies given. I do not say that he must be left without any protection; but why this constitutional guarantee? If there is an injustice done to him, let there be an administrative tribunal which will go into it. I do not say that he must be given no relief; but the officer of the government need not get protection which an industrial worker is not getting. We have a judiciary here. It has a system, as America has. I submit that in America, the system is a *status-quo* one. They legislate with hindrances and with hurdles. Our society aspires to be a dynamic society. We meet the challenges of the situation and pass laws which are interfered with. Should it be permitted? In England, there is no fundamental right. The law passed by Parliament is not made *ultra vires*. Why should it be done here? When we pass a law, we take into consideration, one aspect, viz. whether the law which is going to be passed, is or is not within the competence of Parliament. When we are fully competent, we exercise our jurisdiction and decide that it is within the competence of Parliament and we pass the law. Then, a single judge somewhere strikes it down and the onward march of the nation is stopped. The judiciary of India, in search of authority, has been showing again and again, an utter lack of perspective, as far as the national needs of the country are concerned. This should be looked into again. These aspects call for a second look.

Now about our parliamentary functioning. We know how the functioning has degenerated. Certain Members here, themselves put spokes in its functioning. We now say that Parliament's reports should not go to Press. Some people are aggrieved about it. I do not know why. As far as I understand, there was a time when

[Shri C. M. Stephen]

the publication of its proceedings was the privilege of this House. It was provided that the proceedings of the House should not be published in the Press. A Resolution was passed by the House of Commons prohibiting the publication of the proceedings of the House. Here also, the privilege is for speaking in the House. The privilege is not for publishing everything that is said in the House. When it is published, the man can be hauled up if it is a libel. He can be protected. In 1956, protection was given, by an Act, to the publication. Looking at the publications as such, we find that the debates have degenerated. Gimmicks have taken place; and speeches are made, not to convert one another. They are addressed to the larger public and to the gallery. The question is whether it should be permitted. There are so many angles from which these things have got to be looked at

One more point; and I will finish. We have put before us certain major targets. We have got massive programmes of land reforms, house construction etc. These can be implemented only if the people come into the picture only by people's involvement. No land reform will succeed unless the people are organised down to the grass roots and pressure comes up. In Kerala I claim we have implemented land reforms to a large extent not merely by some official ukase but by the pressure which was built up by the people. People were involved in the whole thing and that is how it was done. In Kerala we were able to construct about one lakh houses in four years by the participation of all the people. So, involvement of the people is necessary. The matter must not be left merely to the officers. I am not decrying the officers as such, but the common man has got a grievance. He makes a petition it is not disposed of. Where will he go? Such a situation must go. Therefore between the Ministers and officers on the one side and the people at large on the other, there must be committees

where the representatives of the people, M.P.s and M.L.As, must have a definite place and these committees must form the channelising agency through which grievances can be collected and screened and prompt relief can be brought to the people. It is by the involvement of the people that these challenges can be met and many other problems solved.

I join in the people's jubilation at the Government's effort to implement this programme. I only appeal to the Government and the people at large and to the representative of the people in this House to take a second look at the whole thing that has come up, the vitiation that has taken place in our national life, and to see not only that this is implemented but that the vitiation is wiped out and proper democratic liberty is assured. This can be done by the participation of the people and with that let us go ahead, and the future is bright for this country I support the motion of the Finance Minister.

THE MINISTER OF HEALTH AND FAMILY PLANNING (DR. KARAN SINGH): My colleague, the Finance Minister, while introducing the resolution yesterday, mentioned that family planning had not been included as one of the twenty points—not because it was unimportant, but because in my view it is too important to be listed as one of the points.

Family Planning underlies all economic development. Whether it is the question of food production, cloth, shelter, services such as hospitals, schools etc., everything in this country, the population problem, as Laski would have pointed out, is the major inarticulate premise, the unspoken substratum upon which everything has finally got to be decided. And I would give only two figures to illustrate it.

Since independence we have added in our country 250 million people, which is equal to the entire population of the Soviet Union, and the

Soviet Union is six times our size. Every year we add 1.3 crores, which is equivalent to the entire population of Australia, and Australia is two and a half times the size of India. These two figures I think are enough to show that what we are facing in the population front is a problem of staggering dimensions and magnitude.

The year 1974 was World Population Year and it gave us an opportunity to clarify our basic philosophy about population control and family planning, and I think we have now succeeded in very clearly placing family planning where it really belongs as one of the important weapons in the battle against poverty. We must remember that the real problem that this nation faces is not people, it is poverty, and it is in order to fight that poverty that family planning becomes extremely important.

I had the privilege of going to Bucharest leading the Indian delegation, and I very clearly enunciated this point there. I would just read out the relevant paragraph with your permission because it was something that I think has not been so clearly stated before I said:

"The path of family planning in every country lies through the eradication of poverty which, in fact, has historically been the main cause of overpopulation. The need is to adopt an integrated approach encompassing the ecological system and covering man-environment relationship in such a way that every human being born on this planet is assured of the material, intellectual and spiritual inputs necessary for the full flowering of the human personality. Population policy is thus one of the several vital instruments for securing comprehensive social development and it cannot be effective unless certain concomitant policies and social programmes succeed in changing the basic determinants of high fertility. It has truly been said that development is the best contraceptive."

This statement was sought to be mis-interpreted by some people in the Western press as saying that India was not interested in family planning, it was prepared to wait until economic development took place. We have the oldest and largest family planning programme in the entire world, but what was necessary was to integrate this into the central developmental processes with health and nutritional inputs and make it an integral part of the minimum needs programme. And this is what we have tried to do in the Fifth Plan.

Before that we had important achievements, but I must admit that the family planning programme tended to be somewhat elitist and urban-oriented. Perhaps that was inevitable in the first stage, but as soon as I came to this Ministry it became very clear that a break-through could not be achieved if it remained as a Governmental programme. It has to become part of the mass programme of the people, and the people must demand and accept family planning in the same way as they demand and accept educational facilities, health facilities, roads, water and so on. So, my effort in the last one and a half years has been to integrate family planning into the mainstream. We have had to adopt a target and the target which we have adopted is to reduce the birth rate by one point per thousand per year over the next ten years. The birth rate at the beginning of the Fifth Plan was 35 per thousand. Our target now is to reduce it to 25 per thousand by the end of the Sixth Plan.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY (Nizamabad): The death rate is decreasing.

DR. KARAN SINGH: Obviously, We have taken that into account. In a way my health portfolio seeks to ensure that the people live longer happier and healthier lives and my family planning portfolio seeks to ensure that the number of people in this country is not so overwhelming that they

[Dr. Karan Singh]

have got ultimately to die of ill-health.

How are we doing this? We have adopted a triple strategy. Our red triangle is a well known symbol. One line of it represents bio-medical research. In India we have some of the best scientific minds in the world, and if our scientists can develop enough expertise to have a nuclear explosion, there is no reason why they should not be able to achieve a break-through in reproductive biology and in contraceptive technology. We are working on this. The All India Institute of Medical Sciences, for example, is working on a very interesting and promising field of an anti-pregnancy vaccine and new types of IUDs are being developed. I have given this challenge to the scientific community that they must achieve a break-through. It is not necessary that the break-through should always take place in the West and we should copy it and pay through our noses for copyright. We must develop indigenous break-through. Some of the best scientific minds are working on this.

The second aspect is the service aspect. Here, we have tried to integrate family planning with health and nutrition, instead of these three things being separate. For example, when you go to a village, the children have got to be given nutritional inputs. It is interesting that infant mortality has a direct relationship with fertility. Where infant mortality is high, fertility is also high. Therefore, if you look after the children when they are born, and if the people in the rural area can be assured that their children have a better chance of survival and growing up, it is an important deterrent to fertility.

I may mention that my colleague yesterday spoke of the great achievement that we have had in the various fields. I think you will agree and the House will agree that the eradication

of small pox has been an achievement of equal magnitude, I would say, even to the nuclear explosion and to the satellite. A disease which has been with us for thousands of years, which nobody could eradicate, we have succeeded as a result of clear cut policies and coordination in eradicating totally from this country. A million people who used to suffer hideous death and deformity have been saved from it.

Now with this immunisation, there are still many diseases like diphtheria, tuberculosis, malaria and so on. With this, we link our family planning. We have given an extra doctor to every primary health centre; we have given auxiliary nurse midwives to every sub-centre. What we are trying to do is to take family planning to the rural people and make it part of the package of services that we are giving. So, as I have said, the first aspect is bio-medical research and the second is services.

The third and the most important problem is motivation. The hon. Member, Shri Mohan Dharja moved an amendment suggesting that after three children, sterilisation should be made compulsory. I must tell you, a view is growing in this country that unless we are able to bring down the fertility rate by other methods, it may become, at some stage or other, necessary to use this sort of method. But I may say that at present this is not our thinking. We are still hopeful that if we approach this problem from a really integrated and comprehensive point of view, the people of India themselves, with their inherent intelligence and commonsense, will respond effectively.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY: If they do not respond?

DR. KARAN SINGH: If they do not respond, the only option open to us and to this hon. House is to pass whatever legislation may be necessary. I am putting forward Government's

policy in this regard. We are doing several things with regard to this motivation. The first thing is that we are utilising a new mass media campaign. Today, the satellite programme is being initiated. In the satellite programme, for example, there is going to be an important input on family planning so that the rural areas to which the satellite programme is being attached will be able to gain advantage.

Then we are taking special interest in the organised sector. You will be glad to know that I have been able to get together the employer and the employees in a National Tripartite Committee for Family Planning where the employer's representatives, the employees' representatives and the Government sit together. We had a very successful meeting and I was glad to see that the initial hesitation, reservation and suspicion on this score at least had largely disappeared, and there is a broad consensus among both the employers and the employees that family planning must be made an important part of the welfare of the people. The employees quite rightly say that this thing should not be imposed by the management; it should be something which is organised in consultation with the workers. This is the theory that we have accepted, because the organised sector is a very good place to concentrate as far as family planning is concerned.

Then there are Panchayats. The Panchayats are our rural outreaches. You will recall that last year the Prime Minister wrote a personal letter to every Sarpanch and village Headman in India, five lakh letters were sent out urging them to cooperate in this programme. Now, when we talk of rural extension, after all, the Panchayat does represent in a way the greatest rural outreaches and my strategy is to get the Panchayat involved to give them, if necessary, some group incentive. Whether we can give them a well or a Panchayat hall or something so that the people in the rural area begin to get themselves involved is another important

line on which we have to work. I have mentioned about the mass med'a programme; I have mentioned about the organised sector which is mainly in the cities; I have mentioned about the Panchayats. I now come to cooperatives. I met the National Cooperative Union of India. Along with other things that are being done, cooperative movement can also help in motivating people and in distributing Nirodh and various other family planning appliances. Then, there are voluntary institutions like the Family Planning Association of India, the All-India Women's Conference, the Bharatiya Grameen Mahila Sangh, etc. I have had special meetings with voluntary organisations, particularly, women's organisations not only because this is the International Women's Year but because, in the ultimate analysis, it is the woman who really bears the main brunt of unplanned family. It is the woman who has got to suffer the most. Unless we are able to raise the status of women and motivate the women of India, all our programmes are going to collapse. So what I have tried to do is that I have tried to involve all sections of the people of the country. I have tried to involve the labour, the rural population, the voluntary organisations, the cooperatives and so on.

Above all this, what is important is the involvement of the political leadership. This is where I would like to appeal, through you, Sir, to the hon. Members of this House that quite regardless of party differences or party affiliations, this is a national programme. I would like it to be treated in the same way as, for example, there is a consensus on the defence of the nation, similarly, there must be consensus on this also. I would urge that all MPs—it would perhaps be impertinent for me to suggest that—set a good example in their own families. Maybe, probably, the families have been complete before I became a Minister. Of course, my hon. friend, Shri Indrajit Gupta, has given a marvellous example which is to be commanded.

[Shri Karan Singh]

The point that I would like to make in all seriousness is this. This is the reason why I have made this intervention. Just because "family planning" is not mentioned in this 20-Point Economic Programme, some people have seriously asked me, "What is this? Family Planning is so important and it is not mentioned in this." As my colleague, the Finance Minister, said, this is intended to be a time-bound economic programme. Therefore, these points are there. But family planning is absolutely fundamental and I would urge that it should be considered by the hon. Members of this House as underlying and overriding all these 20 points so that, ultimately, in our efforts to build a new India and a better life for generations yet unborn, we do not neglect this very crucial and important aspect of our national policy.

With these words, I commend the Resolution.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN (Wandiwash): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the 20-Point Economic Programme announced by the Prime Minister.

In this House, we have been speaking very often on every Budget about the strident inflation, industrial stagnation, scarcity and high prices of essential commodities and widespread unemployment which have become the order of the day. The Government did not take any serious steps. Now, the Prime Minister has announced the 20-Point Economic Programme and she has said that this will be pursued with vigour. I am very happy to say that it has begun well. It is said, well begun is half done. I hope, the Central Government will now concentrate more on the implementation part of this Economic Programme.

As students of economics, we know that when the primary objective of a

country is economic growth, the stability of prices becomes a secondary objective. If strict codes of price stability balance the Government Budget—import only as much as export and invest at home no more than what is saved—then, there would probably be less growth as savings cannot be augmented. Government tax and control machinery is never so efficient to curb consumption sufficiently to release the required saving for planned investment. Exports often of traditional commodities are never so large as to permit import of machinery, spares and raw material for industrialisation and future import substitution. Thus, in the process of speeding up growth, planned investment begins to exceed available saving, Government budgets become imbalanced and the balance of payments goes into disequilibrium.

In the first quarter of 1975-76 we have witnessed about 5-1/2 to 6 per cent growth of industrial production. In spite of this concentration of economic growth, I am happy that, according to the Finance Minister, he has successfully taken some effective measures to control the price-line. My only hope is that the result of this controlling of the price-line will reach the consumer, the ordinary common man.

Sir, we have been pleading very often in this House that effective steps have not been taken against inflation and money supply. I find now that the money supply has been cut down effectively. For example, we have been told that the money supply currency with the public was Rs. 43 crores in 1974-75 as compared with Rs. 892 crores in 1973-74. Thus I understand that inflation was not only contained but also curbed.

Now, I would like to discuss the food policy, and I would first like to know from the Government whether at all we have any national food policy as such. Sir, if the country's total production has any meaning, the country as a whole should share the surpluses

as well as the shortages without allowing the grains to rot in one place and having shortages in other places. The inter-State disparities, both in prices as well as in availability should be reduced to the minimum. I think, Sir, that the immediate objective of the national food policy must be the equitable sharing of available supplies at reasonable prices, irrespective of regional variations in production. The principle of equitable distribution between the 'have' and 'have-not' States should be accepted as a part of the national policy.

Due to political motives of almost all the States, the surplus States purposely indulge in under-estimation of their surpluses and deficit States take to over-estimating their deficits without making serious efforts to mop up surpluses. Now, I am happy that the Minister has said that the Government is going to procure enough stocks and create a buffer stock. I want to know from the Minister as to what are the targets fixed for each State and how many States have so far fulfilled the targets and what steps are going to be taken if they don't fulfil the targets.

According to the Finance Minister, the prices have already started coming down after the Emergency, and he has given figures also. But, unfortunately, in my State, after the declaration of Emergency, the prices have gone up. For example, the price of rice has gone up in the last one month (I think the Hon'ble Minister must be aware of it). When this was published in a Tamil newspaper called Makkal Kural, the Police raided the premises of the paper and seized the copies because they had printed that there is a price rise. He said that strict measures have been taken against hoarders and black-marketeers etc., but nothing has been done in my State. The MISA has never been used against black-marketeers and hoarders, whereas it has been used against smokers in theatres and arrack sellers etc. This is not only misuse of

MISA, but it is ridiculing of the Maintenance of Internal Security Act.

I would like to remind this House that the sympathisers of our Party, the Anna DMK and the Communist Party of India are being threatened now under MISA and money is being collected from some of the licence holders like DL II and L II licence holders under the threat that they are going to be taken into custody under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act. About 80 to 90 licence-holders of L-II licence have already contributed Rs. 5,000 each and it has reached the right quarters. I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether he is aware of this misuse of power in my State.

12.30 hrs.

[SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD in the Chair]

We have already imported 55 lakh tonnes in 1974-75, and again in the last six months the country has imported 35 lakh tonnes of foodgrains. I want to know from the Agriculture Minister whether there is any plan at all for attaining self-sufficiency in this country where 70 per cent of the population is engaged in agriculture. All our achievements in space, science and technology and atomic energy are not going to bring us any honour or respect in the international arena unless we stop this import of foodgrains from foreign countries.

Now, let us take up unemployment which is wide-spread in this country and especially the educated unemployment. Only in one year, between 1970 and 1971, there has been a rise of 22.2 per cent in unemployment. According to Mr. B. K. Nehru, in 1970 there were 14 million unemployed in this country, and according to his estimate, it is going to rise upto 37 millions by the end of 1980. He says that 6,000 persons are added to the list of unemployed every day. How are you

[Shri G. Viswanathan]

going to solve this problem of unemployment, especially the educated unemployed? Education is a national investment in our productive human force. The educated unemployed constitutes a great socio-economic waste. I think, our planners have failed in that the employment objective has not been given its due importance in the formulation as well as implementation of our plans. Again, the educational policy does not fit to the conditions of our country. Very often we find that in the Post-Graduate and Research Courses there is a wide gap between theory and application. We find that too many theorists are being produced and there are too few applied scientists and technologists. I think, we have now to concentrate on educational reforms. It requires a complete overhaul and change.

Population explosion is another cause for this widespread unemployment. Dr. Karan Singh has put it very ably. I need not dwell on the subject of population explosion. As he has pointed out correctly, unless this problem is solved, no other problem can be solved in this country.

The preference for white-collared jobs in this country and the aversion to take to manual work is another cause of unemployment. Even now we find that there is widespread unemployment in villages, in the rural areas; there is lack of hands at the time of harvesting and transplantation. But what is the remedy? I think, we have to move quickly with industrialisation and expansion of the public sector. The under-utilised capacity of the public sector as well as the private sector has to be fully utilized. Expansion of rail, road, air and sea transport, etc. has to be taken up. Programmes like extension of housing programmes, strengthening of irrigation and water supply, social welfare, public health and family planning and primary and social education schemes should also be taken up.

We have vast natural resources, but they have not been exploited well. Very often it is said that India is rich but the Indians are poor. Once we take up exploitation of the natural resources like forest, oil, minerals, etc., we can find employment for thousands of our engineers, technologists, chemists, etc.

Now the retirement age in most of the States is 58. I think, the Centre is also following the same thing. The age of retirement should be brought down to 55 from 58. According to calculations, by March 31, 1971 alone this would have enhanced the absorbability by Government from 11,000 to 51,901, if the retirement age had been brought down from 58 to 55.

Another thing which Government can easily do is stopping of the overtime allowance. If that is stopped, it will create more employment.

In agriculture, when the prices of fertilisers have been brought down, the farmers are very happy that they have been brought down at least by Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per tonne.

Sir, regarding land ceiling, there have been a number of laws in almost all the States, but what is the result? These laws are there only on paper; they have not been implemented. I think, no State is an exception to these laws being on paper only. Mostly these lands are in Benami holdings, I would like to give you an example. We have passed a law in Tamil Nadu in 1969 which brought down the acreage from 30 to 15 standard acres per individual and from 60 to 30 standard acres for a family. According to the Tamil Nadu Government, the surplus land should have been two lakhs, eighty thousand acres, but what is the surplus? According to the Chief Minister's statement, it is 78,000 acres and out of that 58,000 acres have been distributed. This is

according to the Chief Minister's figures. To my surprise, I find that those who are holding more than nine to ten thousand acres of land are still untouched. The Minister must be aware of it. For example, I can give two-three names; there is nothing wrong in that. In Thanjavur district, V. S. Tyagaraja Mudaliar is owning more than ten thousand acres; not even a single acre has been taken by the Government. Again Sir, P. S. G. group of families—the Minister is well known to them—are owning more than ten thousand acres in Madurai district. Not a single acre has been touched. The Birlas are having more than ten thousand acres in Niligiri district. Not a single acre has been touched. I want to know, how these Acts and laws are being implemented; how these people are still owning their old property. The Mutts in Tamil Nadu, own more than four lakh acres; the Government is not able to do anything regarding the Mutt land. This is how the land ceiling is being implemented in my State. I do not know about other States; the Members should speak about that.

I am very happy that bonded labour is going to end in this country. This is another way of social emancipation. This reminds me of the abolition of slave trade by the great President Abraham Lincoln. In Tamil Nadu in some of the areas, it exists in the name of Panniayal. It is for the State Government to pass a law which will abolish this Pannaiyal system.

The minimum agricultural wages have not been fixed in most of the States. It is often fixed on adhoc basis in Tamil Nadu. There is need for uniform legislation for fixing the minimum agricultural wages.

Regarding relief to the rural debtors, I am very happy that it has been announced and it is being implemented in some of the States, but what is going to be the alternative. Once

this is announced, the creditworthiness of the farmers is going to be eroded no doubt, but what are the alternatives that the Government is going to have. They say that the bank is going to move to the rural areas. I do not know, how much time it will take for the banks to go and settle down in the rural areas. We know the mind of the people working in the banks. It is very difficult to persuade and pressurise them to move to the rural areas. The Government should have some alternative till the banks go and settle down in the rural areas.

The Prime Minister announced that five million hectares are going to be brought under irrigation in the near future. I would like to request the Government to take some effective measures regarding these water disputes. There are a number of number of disputes like Narmada, Godavari, Krishna, and Cauvery disputes etc. and we are fighting like individuals in courts, tribunals and talks going on for years together under the aegis of the Central Government or somewhere else, but there is no end to this problem. An immediate solution is necessary for these problems. In this emergency at least the Centre should put an end to this problem, so that the river water which is going waste will be utilised effectively.

Again, Sir, there should be enough fund available for the farmer to dig and deepen the wells which will be utilised for bringing more hectares under cultivation.

Now, regarding handloom cloth, according to the figures, 50 per cent of the handloom cloth of the entire production in this country is produced in the four southern States alone. The southern States had demanded at least ten crores as grant to clear about 50 crores worth of accumulated handloom cloth in the four States. The Centre has given only four

[Shri G. Viswanathan]

crores, and that too not as a grant, but as a short-term loan. It is difficult for the State Governments to collect the short-term loan from the weavers. I think, the Central Government should consider and give another six crores to them, not as a short-term loan, but as a grant.

I would like to know from the Minister how this programme is going to be implemented. For example, unless the person in authority, viz., the head of the Government is determined to implement it, this can never be implemented. For example, there is one State in India, namely, Tamil Nadu which is opposed to emergency, having openly opposed it and the Government there refuse to convene even the Assembly to discuss the 20-point economic programme. The president of the ruling Party there who happens to be the Chief Minister also says, 'I have already implemented 15 or 16 points out of these 20 points.' You know how it is being implemented. I have already given certain figures...

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: Then, there should be no problem at all in your State.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: It is not so. They have not implemented. Take land reforms. There, I have already pointed out how it was implemented. Not only that, the Ministers there openly criticise and say, 'What is the use of giving us a 20-point programme? What is the use of giving us ideas? In fact we can give more ideas to the Prime Minister and the Central Government. Let them give us money and not ideas' That is how the Government in Tamil Nadu is going to implement this 20-point programme. This 20-point programme is being successfully sabotaged in my State. I warn the Centre to take up the imple-

mentation in whatever level it is possible for them.

I am very happy that certain States like Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh are taking very stringent action against corrupt officials. This was long due in this country. But, unfortunately, not a single action has been taken in my State. Corruption and bribery has reached the maximum in my State, this year being the last harvest. You know—I hope the Minister must be aware—for example, take admission in the colleges. If you want admission into Law College, you must pay Rs. 5000. If you want admission into Engineering College, it goes upto Rs. 20,000 while for admission into Medical College, you will have to pay somewhere between Rs. 40,000—45,000. It was lower last year but this year being the last year of the harvest, the rates have gone up. How are we going to live in that State? Same is the case with regard to appointments, even for appointment as a teacher or a clerk, Assistant Professors, etc. For Deputy Collectors you must pay not less than Rs. 25,000 and for appointments as Deputy Superintendent of Police you must pay not less than Rs. 20,000. Not only that, even for transfer of doctors from one place to another, you will have to pay Rs. 4000—5000. Either for retention or transfer to a certain places you must pay Rs. 5000. This is the order of the day. Among the Police, the corrupt officials are protected and shielded and the honest ones are harassed. The other day, when I was leaving for Delhi, a Police Officer met me and said, 'I do not do any duty nowadays. I just go to the office and come back.' I asked him, 'Why?' He said, 'If I take action, I will be harassed. I have already been transferred to this place and I will be again disturbed and transferred.'

This is how the government is run in our State. Not only that, it has reached the highest citadel of justice, namely, the High Court. Even the High Court is not free from corruption—I am sorry to say, being a lawyer myself. I will ask the Minister who hails from my State that something must be done to root out corruption at least from the High Court. I want to know from the Government. What is the remedy? Are the people of Tamil Nadu going to be plundered this way by a corrupt government? Is there no authority in this country to save the people of Tamil Nadu? Is there no power in this country which can liberate the people of Tamil Nadu from a corrupt government?

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO (Chattrapur): I rise to support the resolution moved by the Finance Minister regarding the 20-point programme announced by the Prime Minister.

This 20-point programme has to be viewed in the context of the emergency that has been proclaimed and approved by both Houses of Parliament recently. I view this emergency from a different angle. The moral fibre, the moral fabric of the country, the moral values have been falling more steeply than the money values. There is a crisis of character. There is a crisis of discipline in the country. No man feels that he is a part of the country. No man feels that he has a duty towards the society at large. Every man feels for himself and smugglers, black-marketeers, hoarders and all these people have been looting the poor and innocent people. They are amassing large wealth. Black money is being circulated. This is running as the parallel economy of the country, thus disrupting the economy and economic system. If you view this twenty point programme in the context of the emergency, you will find that a new direction has been given by the Prime Minister when she announced the 20 point programme. It is not that some of these points were not dealt with by

State and Central Governments in the past. They have been dealt with by them, no doubt; but in the context of the present emergency, a new determination is injected into it, a new dimension and a new direction is being given. I hope this will receive the prompt attention of the State Governments for implementation. This is very essential.

Sir, the people of India have given unto themselves a Constitution whereby equality of opportunity is enshrined in the Constitution and assured to everyone. The preamble and the directive principles of the Constitution reflect the socio-economic philosophy of the Constitution. Although the directive principles are not justiciable, they are fundamental in the governance of the country. Directive principles deal with the fundamental rights of the vast majority of our people whereas fundamental rights enshrined in Part III of the Constitution are the rights of a privileged few. Unfortunately whenever legislation is brought, executive action is taken, these principles are not heeded to. Now I hope that the directive principles will be given utmost importance in dealing with the administration of the country.

Sir Mahatma Gandhi used to say that India lives in villages. There are six lakhs of villages. About 60 to 70 per cent of our population live in villages, most of them are below the poverty line. The more vocal, the educated people, are able to get whatever they want. But these poor people, illiterate people, do not know what their rights are; they do not know where to go to press their demands and they are continuing to live in the same old poverty-stricken state. Therefore, if our country has to go strong economically we have to strengthen the villages. The people who live in villages are the basic foundation of our society on which the edifice of any society can exist. If this is weak, the edifice will tumble down

[Shri Jagannath Rao]

very soon. The twenty-point programme of the Prime Minister gives due importance and due priority to the development of these people.

I will mostly refer to rural areas as my time is short. Irrigation is essential for agriculture. There was the green revolution but it has been mostly confined to delta areas of States. I am not envious, but I would say this, that almost all the major projects of every State have benefited those who live in the delta areas. Green revolution is there; they are able to increase food production. But what about the hinterland? Those people of the hinterland still continue to be the people not helped by these programmes. There are advasis, harijans and backward classes who are dispossessed from their lands, when their lands are taken up for dam construction. They might have been given alternative sites, but nothing else is there for them. The channel runs from reservoir, runs for miles and water is distributed to the fields. There are lands on both sides, but they cannot get the water. They are holding the horns of the cow, but the milk is being taken by somebody else, by the people of the delta area. There is lopsided and not proper development, for people living in the hinterland. The State Government suffer due to paucity of resources. Under this twenty-point programme, Centre should give necessary assistance to the States for completion of the long pending projects and also for starting new projects—minor irrigation or medium irrigation projects. You will be surprised to know that one medium irrigation project in Orissa, in my constituency on river Bahuda is pending completion for the last 14 years. Dr. K. L. Rao knows this. It was started in 1962. I raised the point when Shri K. C. Pant was the Minister-in-charge in 1973. He said that it would immediately be pushed through. Two years have passed. Nothing has been done to this. It is not included in the Fifth

Plan. This is what I understood. I also wrote to the Agriculture Minister to see to it that such projects are completed early so that 10,000 acres of land could be irrigated. Of course the State Government has no money. But, something has to be done keeping in view the betterment of the people in the hinterland. If the State Government cannot do anything the Central Government at least has to come to the rescue of the State Government. Let it be outside the Plan. That is a different matter. Whether it remains inside or outside the Plan, when once it is taken up you should see that it is completed.

As I said earlier, I wrote a letter to the Agriculture Minister and also to the Chief Minister of Orissa about the long pending project. Now, I am glad and the House will also be glad to know that in my district the small farmers and marginal farmers' development projects are a great success. There are 87 such projects in the country. Now it is increased to 160 according to the Economic Survey presented by the Finance Minister. Three more districts will have to be added in Orissa. My request to you is this that a few more districts should be allowed to be included in this scheme. You will be surprised to know how these small farmers are greatly benefited. If a small well is constructed, it will irrigate about 10 acres of land and the man is able to raise three crops. With 25 per cent subsidy for the small farmers and 33 1/3 per cent subsidy for the marginal farmers, they are able to raise two or three crops in their land. Not only that. They are able to discharge their loans and are able to stand on their own legs. Every land must be brought under irrigation. You only provide the small farmers the necessary inputs. Certainly, resources may not be available with the State Government to implement all the irrigation projects. But, at the same time, they should expand their activities. No doubt the State Government have no resources. Secondly, all lands cannot be brought under

irrigation. At least come to the rescue of these poor people so that they become self-sufficient and can stand on their own legs. I also suggested to the Irrigation Minister and also to the Prime Minister to take up an integrated scheme. In my district one lakh beneficiaries are there under both the schemes. There is also a tribal development agency. Two years ago it was a tribal village. Now I am happy to find that they are able to develop that village and are able to stand on their own legs. I further suggested that we should have an integrated development. Take the block as a unit and develop in an integrated manner so that the persons having lands can have wells. Those who do not own any lands, let them start a poultry or piggery or goatery development so that they can earn their living. There is a B.D.O. or a Project Officer who is to be put in charge of all these things and keep a watch on them. There should be an integrated development. Other wise you will only create a rich class and the rural poor will remain poorer and poorer.

I come to the inter-state river dispute. Take the case of the mighty Godavari river. There are so many other rivers that flow through Orissa as Godavari's tributaries. Orissa is not allowed to carry out any projects because of the Godavari river water dispute which is still pending. After all the upper riparian owner has got the right to use water. Why should they be not allowed to construct a dam? I told the State Government that they should go ahead with the construction of the dam. We shall fight it out in the court if necessary. There should be a sense of national outlook in the States so that other States are able to utilise water to a certain extent.

Now, Sir, I will say a few words about abolition of bonded labour. It is a good point. Orissa Government passed a Legislation in 1939. I may tell the House in 1917 when my areas was under Madras Presidency an Act I of 1917 was passed which prohibited

the granting of loans at exorbitant rates of interest and also alienation of land by Adivasis to non-Adivasis without the previous permission of the Collector or sub-Collector. In Orissa we have got Regulation I of 1956 which prohibits high rate of interest and also alienation of land by Adivasis to non-Adivasis without prior permission of the revenue authorities. In Orissa we have mobile courts and the Magistrates go at the site to hold the enquiry and if an irregularity is found the land is restored to the Adivasis then and there.

All these things the State Governments have to implement with greater determination and will and make them a success so that the poor people who have been living on hope all these years can see that their hopes get fructified and they can stand on their own legs.

SHRI NIMBALKAR (Kolhapur):
 Sir, when the emergency was declared some people felt that that was the end of democracy in our country. At that time I said that emergency is a provision in our Constitution and the utmost that we can say is that democracy has been hospitalised and the country is now under intensive care. The happenings after the emergency during the last five to six weeks show that this hospitalisation and intensive care has made the country healthier than what it was before.

Sir, out of this twenty or twenty-one point programme I would like to take up a few points and give my observations. About rural indebtedness I would like to say that even though it is a matter which has to be looked into from the point of view of the people today it must have also a long-term attitude and the long-term attitude towards this problem must take into consideration the social position of the farmers. Why do the farmers go in for debts or borrow money? You will find that in more than 75 per cent of the cases the farmers borrow money because they

[Shri Nimbalkar]

want to fulfil their social obligations rather than economic ones. They borrow money in order to marry their daughters or perform some sort of religious rituals and so on. This amount which we are clearing off at present for that the amount that is made available in the form of taccavi loans is too small to be a substitute. Another thing is that, it is a time consuming matter. When a farmer goes to a bank, it is not likely that he is going to get the money immediately, which is otherwise the case with the money lenders. We will have to find some way to help the farmer in this. But, much more than that, we will have to help the farmers in fulfilling their social obligations by preparing them for these things in advance. For instance, if a farmer wants to marry off his daughter, at the time when the girl is born and so on, from that time itself, he must be taught to save money for the marriage of his daughter. There must be such schemes in this direction framed by the banks so that these things are made possible.

13 hrs.

Now, we are proposing to have 50 new banks in the rural areas. I would like these banks in the rural areas, not to be just banks in the usual sense of the word as we have in the cities, but they should be banks, which I would like to term as administrative banks. It very often happens that a farmer will take loan from the bank and he will say that he is going to dig a well with it. In fact, he does not dig a well at all. He again uses that money for marrying off his daughters or to meet certain of his social obligations. It should be our duty, the duty of the administrative banks, to have people not only to inspect but also to help the farmers in organising their economic life in such a manner that these loans that are given to them are used by them for the purpose for which they are meant. This does not always

happen and this is one of the reasons which result in rural indebtedness.

Sir, I am very happy that a scheme has been drawn up; what we call the apprenticeship scheme. Some time back, some years back actually, when the present Finance Minister was the Minister of Planning, I had spoken to him about this apprenticeship scheme which simultaneously creates more jobs, for the people. I would just give one example. Supposing a person's car breaks down, which is worth more than Rs. 30,000. He will go to the mechanic or what we call the mistry in this country. He does not know whether that fellow has actually got any education, any formal education, whether he had been taught in the proper manner and whether he has a diploma and so on. He just goes to him because some of his friends would have told him that that person is a good mistry, that he has repaired his car and that he will repair his also. Therefore, the gentleman will go to that mistry. The point is that, if we want proper apprentices, we should not allow anybody to put up mechanic shops for repairing cars, unless a master mechanic is employed there, unless one mechanic is under him and unless two apprentices are also employed therein. This is a must because this is the real way in which we want to bring education to our industries and to our occupations.

I think, we are looking at education in a lop-sided manner. We say that our education is not occupation oriented which is not true. Our education is occupation oriented. But, what happens is that there is no correlation between occupation and education. So many jobs are not available in that particular occupation. For example, we find that the number of clerical jobs available in the country today are not sufficient to absorb the entire population of matriculates who come out of the schools. What is really needed in the country today is not that education should be

occupation oriented, but that occupation should be education oriented. I have just given this example. If a mistry can repair a car which is worth over Rs. 30,000/-, I cannot imagine anybody giving a diamond which is worth over Rs. 30,000 in the hands of somebody. It is like entrusting a car to a mistry for repairs, who is not actually fully educated for that purpose. What is needed today is that all occupations should be education oriented. This should be so even in the case of restaurants. There must be a master cook, what we call master chief; there must be another cook under him and there must also be two apprentices. Otherwise, we will not know what meant we are eating and the person himself may not be able to distinguish whether it is beef or mutton or chicken.

In this way, you can create lot of jobs. Then, it will be possible to give value to our basic education. No person should become an apprentice unless he has basic education. Then, every one will find it necessary and will find it lucrative to go in for basic education. But, what is happening in the country today? Even if I send my child to school, who knows whether he will really get a job or not afterwards?

I would also like to say a few words about what I think is going to come now, the urban property ceiling. I have felt that there is a possibility that this will be applied in such a manner that the Hindu family system will be very largely affected. This was one of the fears expressed loudly to me by many people in Gujarat during the last election. I would like to suggest to the Government that the ceiling on property must be there, but the ceiling should be such that any person who owns property beyond that ceiling must every 20 years but that property. That is to say, there should be a tax on property beyond a ceiling and if anybody wants to own property beyond that ceiling, he must pay 5 per cent tax over

twenty years, so that every twenty years that property has been bought by him over and over again. This will prevent people from keeping huge areas in their possession for which no tax is charged; at the same time, it will help Government in acquiring more revenue than will be the case now. Now if you, put a ceiling, you will acquire that land over that and for acquiring that land you will need money. In this way because that land is lying idle, you will be creating money for yourself and revenue for the country. This is a more logical and more practical way of going about it. I admit I do not really understand the phrase which the Congress President used when he said that we are going to have a 'property-less' democracy. But this is a manner in which you can have what may be called property-less democracy.

श्री श्रीकिशन मोदी (सीकर) : चेयरमैन साहब, मैं 20 सूची कार्यक्रम का स्वागत करता हूँ और खास तौर से एक ही प्राइमरी पर बोलना चाहता हूँ और वह है वितरण प्रणाली ।

श्रीमन्, हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर इस वितरण प्रणाली में आजकल 50 लाख आदमी काम कर रहे हैं और अगर हम ठेकेदारों, रिक्शावालों और गाड़ी वालों को भी इस में शामिल कर लें, तो इन की संख्या एक करोड़ के करीब होती है । आज तक 27 सालों में इन की समस्याओं पर कभी ध्यान नहीं दिया गया, कभी चर्चा नहीं की गई । वितरण प्रणाली पर सोचते वक्त कभी इनके रेप्रेजेंटेटिव्स को नहीं बुलाया गया और न कभी उन से यह पूछा गया कि आप की क्या हालत है । मैं उन लोगों के बारे में कह रहा हूँ जिन की आमदनी 5 रुपये से लेकर 40 रुपये तक है । हमारे माईनों में आता उन को यह कह सकते हैं कि वे सैल्फ एम्प्लायड लेबर हैं । जो आज 20 घंटे घर में काम करता है, मैं उसके बारे में निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ । श्रीमन्,

[श्री श्रीकिशन मादां]

यह लोग जो बड़े बड़े कैपिटलिस्ट्स थे और जो बीच के महाजन थे और ज्यादा पैसे वाले थे, उन के थे आधारित हो गये क्यों कि उन से इन को माल देना पड़ता था। वे उन को ब्लैक में माल बेचते थे और इस के साथ साथ कंडिशनल सैल करते थे। कंडिशनल सैल का मतलब यह है कि एक आइटम जो बहुत ज्यादा बाजार में चलती है, वह उन को देते हैं और साथ में चार चीजें और ऐसी देते थे जो बाजार में सस्ती बिकती थी। इस कारण इन रिटेलर्स की हालत, इन खुदरा व्यापारियों की हालत दिन पर दिन खराब होती गई और वे बदनाम होते गये क्योंकि कन्ज्यूमर्स का डाइरेक्ट डीलिंग डाइरेक्ट सम्बन्ध उन के साथ था। उन की हालत खराब होती गई और इसलिए मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि उन की तरफ ध्यान देना जरूरी है। इतने बड़े तबके को आप इग्नोर नहीं कर सकते और आप की जो वितरण प्रणाली है, वह आप इन के वगैर सफलतापूर्वक चला नहीं पाएंगे उदाहरण के तौर पर मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कांभ्रापरेटिव्स के अन्दर आप का जो स्टैंडर्ड कपड़ा है, वह ट्रेड के अन्दर ओपन मार्केट में नहीं दिया जाता है। फिर आप चलकर देखिये कि वह कपड़ा ओपन मार्केट में कितना बिक रहा है। आप मेरे साथ चलिये, मैं आप को दिखा सकता हूँ कि वह कपड़ा ओपन मार्केट में कितना बिक रहा है। इसलिये मेरा कहना यह है कि वगैर इन की मदद से, वगैर इन को कांफ्रिडेंस में लिये हुए, आप कोई प्रणाली नहीं चला पाएंगे। यह ठीक बात है कि पिछले 25 बरस में इस तबके ने कुछ गलतियाँ की हैं। लेकिन वे भी इसने मजबूरी से की हैं, भूल में आ कर की है। पीले रंग की तरफ इसका झुकाव क्यों हुआ। आप व्यापारी वर्ग के इतिहास की देखें तो आप को पता चलेगा कि पिछले एक हजार बरस में कभी व्यापारी

सरकार के खिलाफ नहीं गया है। लेकिन कांग्रेस के राज में वह पीले रंग की तरफ इसलिये झुका कि सरकारी आदमी ने और हमने भी ऐसा रवैया अपना लिया था कि जिसने हमें गालियाँ निकालीं उसका हमने तरजीह दी। इस बात को वे भी समझ गए और समझने के बाद इसकी तरफ वे झुक गए। पीले रंग में उसकी जड़ नहीं है। हमारे यहां कहते हैं कि भ्रमर बेल जो होती है वह जिस पेड़ पर पड़ती है उसको खाती है और उसकी कोई जड़ नहीं होती है। व्यापारी की भी कोई जड़ नहीं है। उसको पीले रंग से कुछ लेना देना नहीं है, उसमें उसका विश्वास नहीं है। वह उसकी ओर इसलिये झुका कि हमने उसको प्रोत्साहन दिया। हमने उसको बढ़ावा दिया, जिस ने हमको गालियाँ निकाली उसकी तरफ हम झुके और कांग्रेस कमिटीज जो आदमी थे, कांग्रेस के जो वफ़ादार थे उन लोगों को हमने ठुकराया। इस कारण से उसको बढ़ावा मिला। आप यही तो चाहते हैं कि व्यापारी राइट लाइज पर और ईमानदारी के साथ काम करे। वह ईमानदार रहने के लिए तैयार है। व्यापारियों में मैं गरीब तबके की बात कर रहा हूँ। उसका कोई बच्चा माडर्न या किमी पब्लिक स्कूल में नहीं पड़ता है। मैं उसकी बात कर रहा हूँ जो किसी पक्के मकान में नहीं रहता है। पटरी खोमचे वाले की बात मैं कर रहा हूँ, जो सड़क पर बैठ कर माल बेचते हैं उनकी बात मैं कर रहा हूँ, जो पंद्रह बीस रुपये रोजाना आमदनी कर लेते हैं उनकी बात मैं कर रहा हूँ। आप चाहते हैं कि गरीबी हटाई जाए। बात ठीक है। गरीबी हटनी चाहिये। लेकिन गरीबी किस की हट रही है? दुर्भाग्यवश जितने क नून बन रहे हैं सभी की मार गरीबों पर पड़ रही है। दिल्ली में आप ने सफ़ाई अभियान चला रखा है। सफ़ाई होनी चाहिये, इससे कोई इन्कार नहीं कर सकता है। लेकिन इसका नतीजा यह हुआ है कि पचास हजार जो ठेले पटरी

वाले हैं वे सभी बेधरवार हो गए हैं। वही लोग हटाए गए हैं। वे लोग भी हटा दिए गए हैं जिन को गाडगिल साहब के जमाने आपने बिठाया था। आप दिल्ली को ऐसा करके खूबसूरत नहीं बना रहे हैं। जो जगह खाली करवाई गई है वह किस काम आ रहा है। कारें खड़ करने के काम आ रही हैं। छोटे मोटे लोगों के काम नहीं आ रहा है। इससे फायदा किम को हुआ है, उन दूकानदारों को हुआ है जिन की पहले आमदनी पाच सौ रूपये होती थी और आज हजार रूपये हो रही है, जो जिस चीज को पहले चार आने में बेचते थे आज उसी चीज को आठ आने में बेच रहे हैं उनकी मोनोपली हो गई है। बड़े आदमी को सफाई के काम में लाभ हुआ है छोटे को नहीं। छोटा मारा गया है। वह अरब गरीब हो गया है। वह बरदाद हो गया है, वह अनएम्प्लायड हो गया है। आपने टैक्स स्टैंड बना रखे हैं कारें खड़ी करने के लिये। ये आपने बड़े आदमियों के लिए बना रखे हैं। दिल्ली में छः जगह बने हुए हैं। ये छः जगहें आप पटरी वालों को दे देते तो उनकी समस्या कुछ हद तक हल होनी, उनको काम मिल जाता। आज दिल्ली में पचास हजार आदमी बेकार हो गए हैं, दूसरे शहरों की बात में नहीं कहता हूँ।

हमने एमरजेंसी लागू की और 20 सूत्री प्रोग्राम की घोषणा की। इस वातावरण में हमको खास तौर से इस बात का ध्यान रखना चाहिये था कि उनके रिप्रिजेंटेटिव को ले करके हम उन से बात करते। मैंने प्रधान मंत्री जी में निवेदन किया था कि एक छोटी सी कमेटी वह बना दें जो खुदरा व्यापारियों की कमेटी हो और वह कमेटी एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के साथ मिल कर बैठे और अपने हितों की बात उसके सामने रखें और इस तरह से एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन उनको साथ ले कर चले। आप देखें कि

एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के जितने मामले होते हैं उन में सभी जो मैनूफैक्चरर हैं उसको पकड़ा नहीं जाता है। यही बेचारा गरीब आदमी पकड़ा जाता। मैंने कुछ सजेशन प्रधान मंत्री को दिए थे मैंने कहा था आप रिटेलर की कोओ-प्रेटिव सीसाइटी बना दें और उनको विश्वास में ले कर चले। रिटेलर कहते हैं कि आप हमें सारा माल दे हमें आप प्रोत्साहन दे, हमें आप जगह दे हम आप के रेट पर हर चीज बेचेगे, जितने दिन तक आप बिकवाना चाहेंगे उतने दिन बेचेगे और अगर हमारा उस भाव पर पूरा नहीं पड़ता है तो आप हमें सब-सिडी दे सकते हैं। यह जो स्कीम मैंने बनाई है इसको समय बचाने के लिये मैं वित्त मंत्री जी की सेवा में प्रस्तुत कर दूंगा। मेरा निवेदन है कि आप रिटेलर को, खुदरा व्यापारी को बचाएं। उनकी एक रिप्रिजेंटेटिव कमेटी को एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के साथ जोड़िये ताकि उनके साथ अन्याय न हो।

कोई भी आप कायदा या कानून बनाए वह ऐसा होना चाहिये जो निभ सके, जो प्रैक्टिकल हो। जो निभ न सकता हो उसको आप न बनाएं। आपने एक सक्च्युलर जारी किया जिस में आपने कहा है कि बोर्ड के ऊपर प्राइव लिस्ट लगानी पड़ेगी। बीसियों चीजे ऐसी हैं जिन की कम से कम आठ सौ बैराइटीज हैं, एक एक हजार तरह का वे हैं। साबुन नहाने का ऐसा है जिस की पांच सौ बैराइटीज हैं। जेम, आचार, मुरब्जे दो हजार तरह के हैं। इन सब की प्राइसिस बोर्ड पर किस तरह से लिखी जा सकती है, पांच हजार आइटम्स की प्राइसिस बोर्ड पर नहीं लिखी जा सकती हैं, यह इम्पासिबल है, यह प्रैक्टिकल नहीं है। जो काम आप करें प्रैक्टिकल करें। जो प्रैक्टिकल काम करने वाले हैं उनके रिप्रिजेंटेटिव को आप साथ ले कर चले।

श्री एम राम गोपाल रेड्डी । पैकेट्स पर मैनूफैक्चरर से कीमतें लिखवा तो रहे हैं।

श्री श्रीकिशन मोदी : वह एक सितम्बर से कर रहे हैं और उसके लिए मैं वित्त मंत्री जी क. सन्यवाद देता हूँ। उन से यह काम घाप करवाओ। वही उसको कर सकते हैं।

जो सजेशन हैं उनको मैं वित्त मंत्री जी को दिये देता हूँ।

DR. K. L. RAO (Vijayvada): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am very happy to see the valuable and comprehensive economic programme given by the Prime Minister last month. It can be divided into five groups.

1. Land for the landless labourer, Urban land ceiling house-sites for the weaker sections, etc.
2. Financial controls and checks to stop smuggling, hoarding, etc.
3. Industrial Development
4. Development of natural resources, and
5. Miscellaneous items dealing with the problems of labour and students.

Now, I would like to take up the last group, that is, Miscellaneous items. In this group comes the question of supply of drinking water in priority areas. Last year was a bad year for Madras. The Madras City Corporation has been supplying water to the citizens once in three days. Actually in the coastal areas I have seen a number of trains stopping for more than six hours or even for longer time because there was no water for the engines. It is not difficult to solve the water problem. It is quite easy for us to solve this problem. For example, we can supply water to the Madras City if the Somaseela project on Pennar river is completed. I had suggested long ago to take up this project but it has not yet been taken up with full force. Actually

the Andhra Pradesh Government has started this project but no significant advance has been made and it has got to be taken up with the combined effort of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and the Centre, pooling together the finances for this purpose. The Andhra Government has allotted Rs. 50.0 lakhs for this project for this year. But this is a small amount. Necessary financial assistance should be given by the Centre to complete this project within a period of three years or so. If a small amount is allotted for this project every year, it will take a number of years for the completion of the project.

In the rural areas there are places where flourine content in the water is more than the permissible limit, that is, one part per million. If this kind of water is consumed the people are likely to suffer from flourosis. This is worse than paralysis. There are a number of villages in the States of Puniab, Harvana, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh etc where flourine content in the water is more than the permissible limit. What I am submitting is that these areas must get priority in the matter of drinking water availability. So, I would request that since the supply of drinking water to the priority areas is a very important item, this may be added to the list of the Programme. Now, having said this I would like to say a few more words about the development of natural water resources. Water and power are the basic infrastructures for both agriculture and for industrial production. Power and water irrigation are the two most important inputs for economic growth.

Take irrigation. We have done very well. In fact, the Government can be justly proud about having put in more than Rs. 5600 crores into irrigation, and developed nearly 20 million hectares, which no other country has done. But this is insufficient because our problems are immense. We are irrigating only one

out of every four acres of land that can be irrigated. We have to do at least twice this much if we are to stop food imports, and spending hundreds of crores, which will increase as population increases. Therefore, we have to take up certain important policy decisions about irrigation, so that we can do as much as possible. There are topographical difficulties in India. The Tropic of Cancer passes through Bhopal; to its north the cultivated area is 50 per cent and to its south also it is 50 per cent. But the water resources of the north are, nearly twice the water resources of the south. Therefore, while developing India's irrigation system we have to transfer water from one area to another. Even in the Ganga Basin, the Mirzapur plateau, the Rewa Plateau, the Palamau plateau, Shahabad, etc. are famine-stricken. There is very little pumping and very little assistance. We should have a national water policy. It is very important that we should declare that water belongs to the nation and not to a particular area or people. That is the policy adopted all over the world and I do not know why we should lag behind. Once you accept it, there will be no dispute and you can easily transfer water from one area to another. Apart from the Ganga-Cauvery link, there are a number of useful water links which can be implemented like Dhubri with Farakka, Chambal with Central Rajasthan, etc., by which we can give relief to the famine-stricken areas. Ganga water can be made to flow into so many rivers like Son, Narmada, Wain Ganga, Prahrita Godavari, Krishna and so on. I have been pleading that at least investigations may be undertaken. I am not saying they should be implemented straightway. For example, Bhakra has taken nearly 30 years for investigation and subsequent sanction. So, every project takes a long time for investigation. At one stage, the Prime Minister in fact approved the taking up of investigation, and told the Planning Commission to allot

some money. But it has not been done. I would request the Finance Minister to allot some money, say Rs. 5 to 10 crores for this purpose. It is very important that investigations should be done, so that the future citizens of India will have the benefit of taking up these projects.

In this country one great difficulty is the completion of our irrigation projects. There are some canals like Rajasthan Canal, Nagarjunasagar, Gandak and so on which last more than 20 years. I do not know why the economists and agriculture scientists have not taken a deeper view of the matter. When the Nagarjunasagar project was sanctioned, the cost was about Rs. 100 crores. Today it is Rs. 300 crores. The interest on the money spent comes to about Rs. 150 crores. So from Rs. 100 crores it has come to Rs. 450 crores. This is true of the projects which take a long time. So, you should never undertake projects which will take more than 10 years for completion. You can divide a project into stages and complete it stage by stage.

Floods are occurring every year causing huge damage. Last year I had the privilege of giving a few suggestions. A minimum flood control programme costing about Rs. 650 crores should be undertaken in five years. This year the flood season has just begun and we have started hearing about the damages. By the time the season is over, I am sure the damages would be far more. Particularly in the eastern sector of UP and in the adjacent areas of Bihar, the flood damages are very heavy. They occur year after year. Unless you do something, this cannot be stopped. Rapti, Sharda, Karnali or Gagar, Bhagmati and Buri Gandak are some of the rivers which must be controlled by taking international measures. For example, Rapti is a small river but it has done immense damage to U.P. Construction of a

[Dr. K. L. Rao]

reservoir on Rapti alone can prevent the flood damage in Eastern U.P. No country should stop development of an international river. We should request the Nepal Government to co-operate in the control of these international rivers. For example, we are doing that in Bangla Desh. We have got to control Barak river in India if Bangla Desh is to be saved from floods in that valley. Similar steps must be taken with regard to Rapti and other international rivers in India and Nepal.

The other point that I would like to submit is that the Narmada dispute which is going on is definitely standing in the way of our development. I think, hon. Shri Pandey was talking about development of irrigation in Madhya Pradesh yesterday. So long as you don't settle this dispute the development of this area will not take place. What I would submit is that people concerned should sit together and settle down this dispute. We can also sanction projects on Bargi and Punasa in Madhya Pradesh. They don't come in the way of dispute at all. On the Narmada river the only obstacle for its development is with regard to the Navgam Dam. We have to settle the height of the Dam which is quite possible. All other aspects of the dispute have been settled. Allocation of water can wait because it will take years before water can be used. So, the only problem that has to be settled in the Narmada river is the height of the Navgam Dam.

Power is also most important. The world was having about four million kilowatt of power in the beginning of the century and it is now thousand million kilowatt. This is going to be 3000 million kilowatt by the end of the century. But our contribution is very little i.e. about 20.8 million kw. This shortage of power can be made up by determined effort of financing

further power programmes. The whole financing must be done by the Centre.

In the Programme, mention is made only of Super thermal stations. It should also include hydro. For example, if you want to remove the shortage of power in northern States like Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, U.P., hydro power in the Himalayans has got to be developed. Coal is too far from this basin. Therefore, the Centre must take the responsibility of developing the hydro-power stations in this part of the country just as, they have said, they are going to develop big thermal stations. The hydro projects can be developed at Kishtwar and Sutlej. They are all within 250 miles of Delhi. These should be harnessed in addition to the thermal stations at other places. And, of course, power is so fundamentally important, both for agricultural and industrial production; and really, if I had more time, I would have made out a case for the hon. Members sitting here to get some money for this sector; but let it be understood that we should add four million kilowatts every year. Otherwise, the country will lag far behind. If money is not given by the Centre, it is no use depending on the States. There will be darkness because of shortage of power. I would like you to know that the USSR has come to this degree of prosperity due to the development of power, purely by combining power development with communism. So let this country also follow that, by combining Congress and power and thus bring about prosperity to the country.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA (Poona):
Mr. Chairman, Sir, the other day when I participated on the Motion on Emergency, I have freely expressed my views; and I have condemned the atrocious operations that are being carried on in the country. With all those political differences with your permission, Sir, I would like to say

today that so far as the economic programme that has been announced by the Prime Minister is concerned, with a few amendments, I am here to support the programme. Sir, I believe that constructive cooperation is absolutely essential from all sections of our society, if at all we want to meet the severe challenges that are confronting our country today. So far as this economic programme is concerned, there is nothing new in it. As I had indicated the other day—I did not say that it is old wine in the new bottle; but that these are the same vitamins in the new bottle—when I think of the Government and the several programmes announced from time to time, I wonder many times whether the Government is serious or not. That is also a problem. It was the Immediate Needs Programme accepted at the Bhubaneswar session, which was announced, promising to the country food, clothing, shelter, education and other amenities. We know what are the reasons why they were shelved. Then about the massive distribution system. Then came the Calcutta session in December, 1971. We announced a massive programme to give employment opportunities at least to 5 lakh educated unemployed. I was myself put in charge of it, and I tried my best; but within two years, when this programme was catching up, no money was provided for the programme; and it was side-tracked. Similar is the case with drinking water. When we celebrated 100 years of our great leader Mahatma Gandhi, we said that we will provide drinking water to every village where there is no drinking water within a distance of one mile. What have we done to this programme? So, with these slogans and programmes at the background, when I look at the present programme again, there are doubts. And I have no doubt in my mind that these programmes could have been implemented by the Government. If the Government is saying today that it is because of the Opposition parties that they could

not implement them, I think it is nothing but a blatant lie. Government could have implemented them. But even then, instead of going into political aspects on this occasion, I have decided to express my constructive criticism and constructive approach today. As you are well aware, Sir—you have been my colleague in campaigning for them—I have been a consistent campaigner for such programmes. Being an ardent lover of the programme, I cannot afford to divorce myself from this. Therefore, with amendments regarding family planning and involvement of youth—not by giving special employment to them, but by having an integrated area planning, integrated planned development, so that we can provide employment opportunities both to the educated and uneducated persons in rural and urban areas—as also environmental improvement and slum clearance programme on a time-bound basis, I support this programme. That was more than an assurance. Even at the Narora camp you will find them mentioned among the 13-point programme. Yet we find them missing in this programme of the Prime Minister. I do not know why. In that camp the leadership was serious that environmental improvement programme, and housing for weaker sections and slum areas should be taken. Why is it not included in this programme?

AN HON. MEMBER: This is a phased programme.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: Are not there poor people in this country? There are three crores of people in our urban areas, coming from the rural areas, saying in these filthy slums out of which nearly 14 crores are our sisters and mothers. I come from a city like Poona, which is a historical city, a city of culture and education and what not. But I hang down my head in shame when I find that our mothers and sisters have to sit in the open to answer the call of nature. Should we not feel about it

[Shri Mohan Dharia]

and do something about it? Therefore, while there may be phasing of the programme, let us not forget the things to be done immediately in the country, let us not forget the weaker sections in society, particularly those living in slums. They come from the villages and live in the slums in the cities because they have no other accommodation in the cities. We cannot afford to allow them to live like that by saying that housing for them is not included in this programme. Therefore, I have given my amendment that you should include them in the first phase itself.

So far as family planning is concerned, this is the best possible opportunity for the Government to see that it is given due importance. Otherwise, our population will jump from nearly 60 crores to 100 crores within the next 25 years and, whatever may be our planning or our rate of growth of economy, it will not be possible for us to improve the standards of the people, particularly of the weaker sections in society. Therefore, let us resolve that if there are more than three children, there should be compulsory sterilization. (Interruptions) There should be financial incentives. So far as public financial institutions, banks or cooperatives are concerned, if anybody wants credit for purchase of seeds, fertilizers or tractors, he can have it only if he has not more than three children; not otherwise. The same thing should be done about houses constructed by the housing board. This emergency is an ideal occasion for this and we will not get a better opportunity. If we go ahead with the programme, we shall be doing justice to the country, particularly to the younger generation to come.

So far as the economic programme is concerned, please allow me to say that certain basic structural changes are all the more necessary if this

programme is to be implemented. This programme cannot succeed unless and until some basic decisions are taken. For instance, what is to be the relationship between individual and property? What is your concept of payment of compensation? The Government say "we shall take over the land in urban areas; urban land would be socialised" meaning thereby that such land would be taken over. How much of compensation will you pay? Do you want to pay the market price? If not, what is your concept of payment of compensation? (Interruptions) I am trying to seek that information from the hon. Minister, because I feel that the relationship between individual and property in a socialist society is one of the basic criteria. How can you forget it? Yet, nothing is being said about it.

Then, what about the monopoly houses? When this whole House has given consent to the Government, if the monopoly houses are to increase, as they have been increasing today, will it ever be possible for this Government to have socialist programmes in the country? Is it not possible that these monopoly houses will go on increasing and they will exploit the present atmosphere? What is the approach of Government to this question?

I am not saying here that everything should be nationalised. I know that we have accepted mixed economy. I would very much like that we should have more and more production, as I have stated in my speeches in Ahmedabad. All my suggestions and speeches are included in my book *Fumes and the Fire*, which is available in the Parliament Library.

SHRI C SUBRAMANIAM: Supply Members of Parliament with a copy.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: I am prepared to lay it on the Table. I have no objection.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You cannot lay it on the Table. You can place it in the Library.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: It is there in the Library. The hon. Minister suggested that copies should be made available to every Member. I said that I am prepared to lay it on the Table. Let the Lok Sabha Secretariat make them available to Members. I have no objection

My submission is regarding those basic changes. We cannot forget them. Today what is happening to our planning? I am extremely sorry that when all these changes are to take place, that body which has to deliberate is on holiday. How can a country progress and prosper when the Planning Commission itself is on holiday? For some time the Planning Commission got itself converted into a diplomatic mission. Now the Planning Commission is without any mission. This will have to change. There should be integrated planning, planning for backward areas and so on. It has become all the more relevant today. Then proper implementation is equally important

In that context, how we as Members of Parliament or Members of the Legislative Assembly will be involved in the implementation of this programme? What is the concept of the Government? Or, are we going to leave it to the bureaucracy, people who have no faith in planning, people who are not committed to that philosophy? Will they ever be able to implement this programme? Are we to be under the impression that these programmes would be successful if they are implemented even by the bureaucracy? I at least do not believe in that philosophy. What has the Government to say about it?

How are you going to involve millions of people in this venture? Let me make myself very clear. I am one of those who believe that when you have put several leaders behind the bars on the ground of emergency, it

will not be possible for you to involve the people in your programme. Government will have to reconsider the decision. As one of those who believe in the progress and prosperity of the country, as one of those who believe in democracy, let me warn you that it will not be possible to have successful implementation of this programme unless millions of people are involved in it, and that is not possible when you have put so many leaders behind the bars. I am not speaking in anger; nor am I speaking in hatred. But when I look at the history itself, I find that it is not possible to implement any programme successfully without the active involvement of the millions of the masses, and it is out of this concern that I have made this suggestion.

I would like to say today that this programme, if successfully implemented, will certainly enhance our production and it will certainly eliminate, to a great extent, the agonies of the poorer sections. It can certainly create in that sense confidence in the minds of our angry youth, it can also certainly create a new concept in the country which is very much necessary.

So far as parliamentary institutions and democracy are concerned, I have no doubt the way in which we have been functioning is not the proper way. I am not saying this here for the first time. I have been making this suggestion right from 1970-71 onwards. My letters and correspondence on this subject are included in my book. I do feel that we shall have to make these parliamentary institutions more purposeful and they will have to be given a new meaning. It is in this context that we are discussing this programme for two or three days. Instead of that, we have to take each programme, have several committees to go into the problems in depth and see how the various programmes could be integrated in their implementation. This is very much necessary. It is in this context that I have said that the time has come when the country should apply its mind to what has

[Shri Mohan Dharja]

happened in the last 27 years since independence, where we have gone wrong and where we were right, how can we protect that parliamentary system, how can we enhance the democratic traditions in the country and, at the same time, how can we render social justice to the people. That is the problem and it is in this context that I would like to appeal to this House to look at these problems absolutely in a dispassionate manner. At the same time, so far as this programme is concerned, as I have said earlier, I would like to extend all my possible cooperation, because I feel this is a constructive effort that every Indian citizen should try to implement.

श्री चन्द्र शैलानी (हायदरा) : सभापति महोदय, आज से ढाई हजार वर्ष पहले इस देश में भगवान् बुद्ध ने सब से पहले बहुजन-हिताय बहुजनसुखाय के लिए कार्य किया और इस प्रकार ससार में सर्व-प्रथम समाजवाद का मार्ग प्रशस्त किया।

आज हमारे देश की महान् नेता एवं लोकप्रिय प्रधान मंत्री, श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने उसी महान् एवं पवित्र मिढान्त को सामने, रखने हुए देश की दुखी, पीड़ित, शोषित सर्वहारा जनता के हित में यह 21-सूत्री कार्यक्रम घोषित किया है। प्रधान मंत्री द्वारा 1 जुलाई, 1975 को घोषित आर्थिक विकास के नये कार्यक्रम को देश की जनता ने हार्दिक स्वागत किया है। वास्तव में देखा जाये, तो यह कार्यक्रम देश में एक नये युग का शुभारम्भ है।

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के इस समयानुकूल एवं ठोस ऐलान से एक ओर जहाँ समाजवादी शक्तियों को नया मार्ग-दर्शन एवं अदम्य उत्साह मिला है। वहाँ दूसरी ओर यथास्थितिवादी, पूँजीवादी एवं प्रतिक्रियावादी शक्तियों को गहरा धक्का लगा है।

समाजवादी के बाद जमींदारी उन्मूलन एक क्रान्तिकारी कदम था और उस के अनेक वर्षों बाद राजा-महाराजों के भित्री पत्तों की समाप्ति, बैंक, बीमा और कोयला खानों का राष्ट्रीयकरण प्रधान मंत्री, श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी, की ही देन है। ये इस बात के प्रतीक हैं कि देश से दकियानूसी, पाँगापन्थी, पूँजीवादी, दक्षिणपन्थी और प्रतिक्रियावादी शक्तियों के दिन हमेशा हमेशा के लिए लद रहे हैं और अब यहाँ समाजवादी सुनहरे मबरे की आभा आकाश में बढ़नी चली आ रही है। लोकतंत्र के नाम पर समाजवाद एवं राष्ट्र-विरोधी ता तो की साजिशें नाकाम हो गई हैं और अब लोकतंत्र का राजनैतिक स्वप्न आर्थिक लोकतंत्र का रूप भी ले रहा है। आपात-स्थिति के फलस्वरूप प्रधान मंत्री के आर्थिक कार्यक्रम को अमल में लाने का जो अभियान दिन-प्रति-दिन मफनता की ओर अग्रसर हो रहा है, तथा उमे जनता का जिस प्रकार पुरजोर समर्थन मिल रहा है, उस से लगता है कि आर्थिक, सामाजिक एवं राजनैतिक परिवर्तन के लिए जन-मानस किनना आतुर था। राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्रता के आन्दोलन में लोकतंत्र, समाजवाद, धर्म-निर-पेक्षता एवं राष्ट्रीयता के जिन पुराने आदर्शों को ले कर शहीदों ने बलिदान दिये थे, आज उन्हीं आदर्शों को समाज में प्रतिष्ठित करने के लिए प्रधान मंत्री जी ने शब्दनाद कर दिया है।

सभापति जी, जब से देश में आर्थिक कार्यक्रम की घोषणा हुई है, आवश्यक उप-भोग्य वस्तुओं के दामों में गिरावट आ रही है। गावों में जो गरीब मजदूर तबके के लोग हैं, जो छोटे छोटे किसान हैं वे महसूस करते हैं कि उनके इस्तेमाल की जितनी वस्तुएँ हैं उनमें एकदम गिरावट आई है। आप चाहे सरसों के तेल के भाव को ले लीजिए, चीनी के भाव को ले लीजिए, कपड़े के भाव को ले लीजिए, या अन्य जो राजाना इस्तेमाल में आने वाली चीजें हैं उनके भाव

को ले लीजिए, उन पर ऐसा जादू का प्रसर हुआ है कि लोगों ने बड़ी राह की सांभ ली है ।

सभापति जी, इस देश में सबसे भयंकर समस्या जमीन की चली आ रही थी। आजादी के बाद इस देश में जमींदारी उन्मूलन हुआ लेकिन उसके बावजूद यद्यपि शब्द "जमींदारी" तो हट गया परन्तु जो बड़े बड़े जमींदार थे उनके पुराने पुराने नाम पर पाच सौ, हजार, दो हजार, ५ हजार ए.ए.ड तक जमीनें थी। हमारी ओर उम देग ५ ऐंप भी लोग थे जिनके पास बिल्कुल जमीन नहीं थी। प्रधान मंत्री जी का 21 सूत्रीय कार्यक्रम जो है उनमें सब से विशेष महत्व का मुद्दा यह है कि जिन लोगों के पास जमीन ज्यादा है उन पर रोक लगाई जाये और उनके शिकजे से उस जमीन को निकाल करके गरीब भूमिहीनों में बांट दी जाये। यह एक स्वागतयोग्य कदम है। जिन लोगों के पास जमीन नहीं थी उनको जमीन मिलेगी। भूमिहीनों का जमीन बांटने का कार्यक्रम तेजी से चल रहा है लेकिन यह तभी सम्भव हो सकता है जबकि सरकारी मशीनरी इसमें पूरी ईमानदारी से और पूरे बफादारी से सहयोग दे। गांवों में जितनी भी चक्रवन्दी और हदबन्दी से बची हुई जमीन है या जो ग्राम समाज की जमीन है उसको गरीबों, भूमिहीनों और मजदूरों में वितरित करने का काम किया जाय। चूकि इस स्वयं शोषित समाज का व्यक्ति है इसलिए मैं देखता हूं कि गरीब लोग पर—विशेष रूप से शंड-यूल्ड कास्ट और शंड्यूल्ड ट्राइव के लोगों पर देहात में जुल्म इसलिए होते है कि उनके पास अपनी जमीन नहीं है। अगर वे लोग बेगार करने से, जबरिया काम करने से बड़े लोगों को इनकार करते हैं तो उनको धोष दी जाती है कि देखेंगे तुम्हारी औरतें टट्टी पाखाने के लिए कहां जाती हैं और तुम भी कहां से निकल कर जाओगे? मेरा यह दृढ़ विश्वास है—अगर हिन्दुस्तान के हर भूमिहीन किसान को जमीन मिल गई तो उस

के ऊपर होने वाले इन अमानुषिक अत्याचारों में बहुत कमी आयेगी, लेकिन यह तभी सम्भव है जब कि उस को सच्चे मायनों में जमीन मिले।

सभापति जी, बेगार प्रथा इस देश में बहुत ही भयंकर बीमारी के रूप में पनप रही थी। मैं तो हमारा देश 27 राज्यों से आजाद है और देखने में ऐसा मालूम होता है कि यहां पर सभी लोग खुशहाल है। लेकिन अगर ग्राम गांवों में जा कर देखें तो आप पायेंगे कि बड़े बड़े किसान, जमींदार, आज भी लोगों से बेगार कराते हैं, उन से जबरिया काम कराते हैं और उन के किये हुए काम के बदले मजदूरी नहीं देते हैं, पैसा नहीं देते हैं, इस तरह से शोषण करते हैं। मेरा अपना यह विश्वास है कि इस देश का उत्तीर्ण सर्वहारा समाज अब सदैव-सदैव के लिये प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी जी का आभारी रहेगा, यदि यह कानून बना कर हमेशा हमेशा के लिये बेगार समाप्त कर दी जाय। अब यदि कोई किसी से जबरदस्ती काम करायेगा, बेगार करायेगा तो उस के खिलाफ कानूनी कार्यवाही की जायगी। मैं इस कदम का हृदय से स्वागत करता हूं।

श्रीमन, गांवों में कर्ज की बीमारी एक बहुत बड़ी बीमारी थी। इस माननीय सदन के बहुत से सम्मानित सदस्य जो शोषित समाज से सम्बन्ध रखते हैं, उन को अच्छी तरह से मालूम होगा कि गांवों के छोटे छोटे किसान या जो मजदूर हैं, वे अपनी जरूरत के लिये—चाहे शादी हो या बीमारी का इलाज कराना हो—महाजन से, पैसे वालों से सूद पर कर्ज लिया करते थे। मैंने अभी मिसालें स्वयं देखी हैं—जो लोग भूखे मर रहे थे, जिन के पास पैसा नहीं था, जिन के बच्चे ला-इलाज मरने को थे, वे साहूकारों के पास गये और 200 रुपये कर्ज लिये। उन साहूकारों ने उन से कोरे कागज पर दस्तखत करा लिये, उस के बाद वह कागज चलता रहा—200 रुपये के बदले 2000 रुपये दे दिये गये,

[श्री चन्द्र शैलानी]

200,00 रुपये दे दिये गये, लेकिन फिर भी वह कर्जा खत्म नहीं हुआ। अब इस कानून से देश के लाखों लोगों को राहत मिलेगी, इस लिये यह बहुत ही सराहनीय कदम है और मैं इस का भी स्वागत करता हूँ।

सभापति महाराज.....

सभापति महोदय : महाराज कहने से भी मैं समय नहीं बढ़ाऊंगा।

श्री चन्द्र शैलानी : हमारे देश में एक सब से बड़ी परेशानी यह थी कि देश का उत्पादन कम हो रहा था। इस के लिये मैं किसी वर्ग विशेष को दोष नहीं देना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन अब वह समय आ गया है कि जिससे देश का उत्पादन बढ़ेगा। बिजली के उत्पादन के लिये नये नये प्लांट लगाये जा रहे हैं, उस के उत्पादन को बढ़ाया जा रहा है, जिस से खेतों में फसलों को पानी मिलेगा, कारखानों के लिये बिजली मिलेगी, मजदूरों को काम मिलेगा और जनता को उपभोक्ता वस्तुएं मिलेगी। इस के अलावा जो हथकण्डों में काम करने वाले बुनकर लोग हैं, उन के लिये भी विशेष व्यवस्था इस में की गई है—इस का भी मैं स्वागत करता हूँ।

सभापति जी, कन्ट्रोल रेट के कपड़े की जो बवालिया थी, उस में भी सुधार होगा और उस का वितरण अच्छे ढंग से, अच्छे ईमानदार कर्मचारियों के द्वारा कराया जायेगा। इस से जनता को बहुत बड़ी राहत मिलेगी।

शहरी सम्पत्ति के समाजीकरण का ऐलान किया गया है—इस से जिन के पास बड़ी बड़ी सम्पत्ति थी, चाहे चल सम्पत्ति थी या अचल-सम्पत्ति थी, अब उस का भी सामाजीकरण होगा। जिन के पास रिहायश के लिये जमीन नहीं थी, उन को उस से लाभ होगा।

सभापति जी, टैक्सों की चोरी करने वाले लोगों के बारे में आप ने देखा है कि देश का करोड़ों-अरबों रुपया टैक्स की चोरी के रूप में अभी तक उन की तरफ बकाया है, चाहे वे चाय-बागान के मालिक हों या उद्योगपति हों या पूजापति हों। ये लोग टैक्स की चोरी करते थे और इन के खिलाफ कोई कार्यवाही नहीं होती थी। मेरा मुझाव है कि इन के लिये कड़े से कड़े कानून बनाये जाच। जब तक कड़े कानून नहीं बनाये जायेंगे, तब तक इन को नहीं रोका जा सकता।

तस्करों के सम्बन्ध में भी आप ने देखा कि ऐसा लचीला कानून था कि जिस के अन्तर्गत अनेकों तस्कर छूट गये। लेकिन अब ऐसा कानून बनाया गया है जिस में उन को माफ नहीं किया जायेगा। जो सरकार के शिकंजे से निकल गये थे, अब उन को फिर से गिरफ्तार किया जा रहा है—यह सराहनीय कदम है।

जहा तक मध्यम वर्ग के लिये आय-कर में छूट दी गई है—यह बहुत अच्छा कदम है और सभी मध्यम वर्ग के लोग इस की सरहना कर रहे हैं।

अब मैं छात्रों के सम्बन्ध में दो शब्द कहना चाहता हूँ। छात्रों में अमन्तोष इस लिये आ कि उन को विनाश कापियां, स्टेशनरी का सामान बहुत उची कीमतों पर मिलता था, कैरोमीन का तेल नहीं मिलता था, होस्टलों में एकामाडेशन नहीं मिलती थी। उन के लिये शिक्षा पद्धति इस प्रकार की थी कि जिम में उन के लिये कोई फ्यूचर नहीं था। लेकिन इस 21 सूत्री कार्यक्रम में उन के लिये जो व्यवस्था की गई है उस के लिये मेरे जैसे लोग हमेशा हमेशा प्रधान मंत्री जी के शुक्रगुजार रहेंगे। इस से उन को बहुत बड़ी राहत मिलेगी।

13.57 hrs

[SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT in the Chair.]

अन्न में मैं यही निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ—गरीब कुछ नहीं चाहता—वह कोठी नहीं चाहता, वह कार नहीं चाहता, गरीब रोटी चाहता है, चाहे बेझड़ की हो, कपड़ा चाहता है, चाहे मोटा कपड़ा हो, मिर छुपाने के लिये मकान चाहता है, चाहे झपडी हो। हम के लिये मेरा आप से यही कहना है कि गरीब को रोटी दो, कपड़ा दो, मिर छुपाने के लिए जगह दो। आप का यह 21 सूत्री कार्यक्रम तभी मफ्त हो सकता है जब सरकार की जो मशीनरी है, अकारणवाही है, नाँकरशाही है, उस की जर्हनियत पर श्रुण रखा जाय। वह अभी तक नहीं बदला है—क्योंकि मैंने देखा है—प्रधान मंत्री जी की आपातकालीन धांपशा के बाद अभी चार-पाच दिन पहले अलीगढ़ में ग्राम० एस० एस० वालो का जनूम निकला। उसमें 100-200 आदमी थे, नारे लगाने हुए वहाँ के बाजरो में गुजरा और बाद में कितने लोगों को पुलिस ने पकड़ा—बैचल 10-15 लोगों को पकड़ा लिये। पूरे शहर का राजा उनहो। उनको लिया तब उनको पकड़ा। हमारा यहाँ एक बी० एस० टी० के नेता को पकड़ा गया। उन का मतलब वहाँ विधायक है—उसने अपनी कार्टाटएस में दन-शन बारह-बारह 3 दमियाँ के ग्रुप को वहाँ भेजा। बम स्टैण्ड में कचहरी तक उठ मील का फागला है। वे लोग नारे लगाने हुए कचहरी तक गये, तब उनको पकड़ा गया, शुरू में ही बम स्टैण्ड पर उनको नहीं पकड़ा गया। यह जा जर्हनियत है उस पर कन्ट्रोल किया जाना चाहिये।

आप का यह 21 सूत्री कार्यक्रम गरीब और शोषित जनता के लिये "गोल्डन गोली" है और मेरा दावा है कि यह कामयाब हो कर रहेगा और इस देश की जनता और यह सदन हमेशा हमेशा के लिये प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधीजी के अहसानों को कभी भी नहीं भूलेंगे।

श्री चन्डूलाल चन्द्राकर (दुर्ग): सभापति महोदय, इन 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रमो को लागू करने से यह आपातकालीन-समय निर्माण युग के नम से स्मरण रहेगा। इन 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रमों का उद्देश्य है—कृषि तथा औद्योगिक उत्पादन बढ़ाना, धनी और गरीबों के बीच में जो असमानता बढ़ रही है, उसको दूर करना और गरीबों के शोषण को रोकना। इस कार्यक्रम में यह बात स्पष्ट रूप से कही गई है कि ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में जिनके ऊपर कर्ज है, वह अब अदा नहीं करना पड़ेगा। इस सम्बन्ध में मेरा एक मुझाव है कि जो मजदूर क्षेत्र है—जहाँ मजदूर कारखानों में काम करते हैं, वहाँ भी इस तरह का शोषण करने वाले लोग हैं। एक मजदूर जो 200 रुपया पाता है, जब वह तनख्वाह लेकर बाहर आता है, उसमें वह 200 रुपया छीन लिया जाता है क्योंकि वह उस तान्कि के कर्ज से दबा होता है, जिसको वहाँ पठान कहा जाता है। अक्सर वहाँ लोग कहते हैं—पठान पैसा लेने के लिये आ गया। उनके शोषण को रोकने के लिए—मेरा अनुरोध है कि यह कानून ग्रामीण क्षेत्र के साथ-साथ शहरी क्षेत्र में भी लागू किया जाय, खास कर उन क्षेत्रों में जो मजदूर क्षेत्र हैं...

श्री मूलचन्द डागा (पाली) : उनको मीसा में बन्द किया जाय।

श्री चन्डूलाल चन्द्राकर : मीसा में बन्द करे गा जो भी व्यवस्था करे।

मेरा दूसरा मुझाव यह है कि यह शोषण कुछ अन्य रूपों में देश में चल रहा है। जैसे मध्य प्रदेश में शराब के ठेकेदार हैं उनको तीस-तीस, चालीस-चालीस गाव दे दिये जाते हैं। उन गांवों में ठेकेदार हर एक गरीब के घर जबरदस्ती हर रोज या दो चार दिन में बोटलों में शराब पहुंचा देते हैं और पहली तारीख को या महीने के पहले सप्ताह में मार-पीट करके जबरदस्ती पैसे बसूल करते हैं और उनकी सम्पत्ति भी छीन

[श्री चन्द्रलाल चन्द्राकर]

ले जाते हैं। इसलिये जबरदस्ती शराब पीने की इस कुप्रथा को रोका जाना चाहिए।

14 hrs.

हमारा उद्देश्य है गरीबों को अनाज और कपड़ा उचित भाव में मिले। आजकल 80 करोड़ गज स्टैन्डर्ड कपड़ा बनता है, सरकारी आंकड़ों के अनुसार 14 प्रतिशत कपड़ा ग्रामीणों को पहुंच पाता है, बाकी 86 प्रतिशत कपड़ा मालूम नहीं कहाँ चला जाता है। इसलिये मेरा वित्त मंत्री जी से अनुरोध है कि वितरण व्यवस्था ऐसी हो कि ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में स्टैन्डर्ड कपड़ा पहुंचे। यदि उसको ग्राम पंचायत के जरिये बाटा जाय तो अच्छा होगा।

इसी तरह मे उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिए बात कही गई। कृषि उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिए सिंचाई और बिजली की आवश्यकता होती है। सिंचाई की कितनी योजनायें पहले से मंजूर हैं, लेकिन अक्सर कहा जाता है, और ठीक ही कहा जाता है, कि पैसे की कमी के कारण अमुक सिंचाई योजना, अमुक बिजली की योजना रुक गई। मेरा सुझाव है कि सरकार फिजूलखर्ची को रोके और जो कंज्यूमर गूड्स हैं, जैसे प्लैस्टिक की बहुत सी चीजें हैं जिनकी आवश्यकता नहीं है, उनको बनाने के लिये जो पैसा मशीनरी पर खर्च किया जाता है उस पैसे को सिंचाई और बिजली उत्पादन में लगायें। इस बारे में मेरा एक सुझाव यह भी है कि देश में ब्लैक मनी बहुत है, यदि हो सके तो ब्लैक मनी वालों से कहा जाय कि यह जो तुम्हारा पैसा है इसको हमारी सिंचाई योजना में लगा दीजिये और उसको 20, 30 वर्ष में अमुक रेंट से जो सिंचाई के लिए पानी की व्यवस्था हो उससे पैसा मिलना रहेगा और उस पैसे पर आप उनको 5 या 10 परसेंट का लाभ भी दें। इस ब्लैक मनी को अगर आप सिंचाई और

बिजली के उत्पादन में लगा सकें तो, कई अरब रुपया आ सकता है। यह रुपया कैसे आये, इस पर वित्त मंत्री जी को गम्भीरता से विचार करना चाहिए।

इस समय उत्पादन बढ़ाने की बहुत आवश्यकता है। सिंचाई और बिजली से कृषि उत्पादन बढ़ेगा। लेकिन साथ में हमें सोचना चाहिए कि उद्योगों में जो उन की कैपेसिटी है उसका पूरा उपयोग होना चाहिए। आज बहुत सी मशीनें बेकार पड़ी हुई हैं। इन सब के लिए बहुत जरूरी है कि हर एक उद्योग में मजदूरों और मालिकों में सामन्जस्य हो। पब्लिक सेक्टर के बारे में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि मजदूर और मैनेजमेंट एक साथ बैठे हर एक उद्योग में और उनके ऊपर छोड़ दिया जाय कि जो भी फैसला करना हो वह खुद करें, दो-पक्षी वार्ता के आधार पर वे स्वयं निर्णय करें कि कहाँ और कैसे उत्पादन बढ़ाना है। उमी प्रकार विदेशों से मशीनें न मंगा करके देश में ही उनका उत्पादन करें। अगर ऐसा हर एक उद्योग में हो जाय तो बहुत ही अच्छा होगा।

इस्पात मंत्रालय है, आप देखें कि जितना इस्पात का उत्पादन बढ़ रहा है उसका एक विशेष कारण यह भी है कि जितनी भी मजदूरों की समस्याएँ होती हैं, चाहे भिलाई हो, हरकेला हो, बोकारो हो, या दुर्गापुर हो, इन के झगडे दूर करने के लिये मजदूरों और मालिकों के बीच में जॉइंट निगोशियेशन कमेटी बनी हुई है जो हर चीज का फैसला करती है। अभी-अभी मजदूरों के वेतन के सम्बन्ध में या अन्य सुविधाओं के विषय में, चाहे वह शिक्षा हो या ट्रांसपोर्ट हो, जॉइंट निगोशियेशन कमेटी ने 15 दिन तक यहाँ बैठ कर के महत्वपूर्ण फैसले लिये हैं और समझौते किये हैं जिससे मजदूरों के वेतन में बढ़ोतरी हुई है। इसका सारा श्रेय इस्पात मंत्री श्री चंद्रजीत यादव को है कि उन्होंने मैनेजमेंट और मजदूरों के प्रतिनिधियों को स्वतंत्रतापूर्वक

निर्णय करने की छूट दी और सहा मागदर्शन किया। पहली बार ऐसा हुआ है कि जिन मजदूरों को अभी तक सरकारी मकान नहीं मिल सकता था उनको हाउस रेंट दिया जायगा। यह जोइंट निगोजिनेशन कमेटी के जरिये ही तय हुआ है। इसी तरह से शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में पहली बार तय हुआ है कि इम्पात कारखानों के मजदूरों के बच्चों को हाई स्कूल तक मुफ्त शिक्षा मिलेगी। मजदूरों को जो सुविधायें दी जा रही हैं इमका एक बहुत बड़ा कारण है जोइंट निगोजिनेशन कमेटी, जिसका नाम अब नेशनल जॉइंट कंसल्टेटिव कमेटी कर दिया गया है। यह एक बहुत बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण कदम उठाया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि अन्य उद्योगों के लिये भी यह मार्गदर्शन बनेगा और मीमेट, कोयला, पेट्रोलियम उद्योगों में इसी तरह से जोइंट कंसल्टेटिव कमेटी बना कर के आपसी झगड़े दूर करने चाहिए। और यह ख़बी है कि बहुत से ऐसे पब्लिक सेक्टर में प्रोजेक्ट्स हैं, जैसे भिलाई है, वहाँ अगर कोई मजदूर काम करने करने मरता है तो मजदूरों और मालिकों ने मिल कर एक सेवा संस्था के नाम से संस्था बना ली है उममें एक रुपये की मेम्बरशिप है, अगर कोई मजदूर काम करने मर जाना है तो उमके परिवार को 10,000 रुपये दिया जाता है। तो ऐसी जो कल्याणकारी सुविधायें दी गई हैं, या नियम बनाये गये हैं यह सब जोइंट निगोजिनेशन कमेटी के माध्यम से ही किया जाता है।

बहुत से माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा कि बहुत सी हमारी योजनायें बनती हैं लेकिन वह अमल में नहीं आती है। उमके बहुत से कारण हैं। कहा गया कि संविधान की धारा 311 को हटा दिया जाय। मेरा भी सुझाव है कि इस धारा 311 को हटाना चाहिए अन्यथा कुछ लोगों को, सरकारी कर्मचारियों को, विशेष सुविधायें दे कर के नौकरी में रखने से काम में शिथिलता आती है। यही मझे कहना है।

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी (चांदनी चौक) : सभापति जी, अभी हमारे बहुत से माननीय सदस्यों ने जो कार्यक्रम आया है उसका स्वागत किया है। मैं भी उमका बहुत स्वागत करती हूँ और उसके लिये बधाई देती हूँ जो एक कार्यक्रम हमारे सामने रखा। अभी इमरजेंसी लागू हुई तो सारे देश में उमका स्वागत हुआ। दिल्ली के लोगों ने भी बहुत स्वागत किया और बहुत शांति मिली और इममें फ़ायदे भी हुए। पर एक बात की तरफ मैं सदन का और मंत्री जी का ध्यान दिलाना चाहती हूँ और वह यह कि दिल्ली में एक अभियान चला हुआ है जिसके अंतर्गत दिल्ली की सफाई हो रही है और उस सफाई करने के कार्यक्रम में सारे दिल्ली शहर में फ़ुटपाथ पर, पटरियों पर या गेढ़ी वालों को हटाने का बड़े जोर से कार्यक्रम चलाया गया है। मेरा मंत्री जी से अनुरोध है कि दिल्ली की सफाई का कार्यक्रम न बना कर उन लोगों के रिहैबिलिटेशन का कार्यक्रम बनाया जाय तो ज्यादा मुनासिब रहेगा क्योंकि बेशुमार गरीब आदमियों को अचानक हटाया जा रहा है। यह कोई कड़ा-करकट तो है नहीं कि उनको जहा चाहे फेंक दिया जाय। लाखों लोगों की रोजी चलती है, बेचारे रोज़ कमाते हैं और रोज़ खाते हैं। यह ठीक है कि वह जगह उनके बैठने की ठीक नहीं है, मुनासिब नहीं है, पर जोर इस बात पर देना चाहिए कि उनको फिर कमाने की जगह कौन सी दी जाय, बजाय इमके कि यह कहें कि इस बाज़ार को साफ करना है। अनगिनत लोग बेरोज़गार हो गये हैं। और उनके बेरोज़गार होने के साथ-साथ कई जगह मीलों मीलों तक ऐसा हो गया है जहाँ लोगों को सविम नहीं मिलती है जिनको कि मिलनी चाहिए। इस वजह से चीजों के भाव भी महंगे हो गये हैं। तो जो हमारा ख्याल था कि इस कार्यक्रम से, इमरजेंसी से गरीब आदमों को लाभ होगा उसका उल्टा अमर दिल्ली में इन बेचारों पर हो रहा है। मेरा निवेदन है कि इस कार्यक्रम को भी आर्थिक कार्यक्रम में जोड़ा जाय और कम से कम इस बात का ध्यान

[श्रीमती सुभद्रा जर्ना]

रखा जाय कि दिल्ली में गरीब आदमी बेरोज-
गार न हो जायें और उन लोगों को रोजगार
देने की मुनासिब तरकीब की जाय। मैं मंत्री
महोदय से यही सविनय निवेदन करना
चाहती हूँ।

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE
MINISTRY OF COMMERCE (SHRI
VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH):
Sir, The Prime Minister in her re-
solve to provide not only cloth to the
millions but also a decent living for
those who produce cloth has very
rightly in her 20-point programme ob-
served that handloom is only next to
agriculture in importance in our
national economy. In this industry,
about ten million people earn their
livelihood by the sweat of their brow,
and to this nation they provide 2,200
million sq. metres of cloth in the total
production of 8,200 million sq. metres
of cotton textile. In the Fifth Five
Year Plan we intend to push up this
production in the handloom sector to
3,000 million sq. metres, thereby in-
creasing the percentage of the hand-
loom sector from 27 to 30 per cent.
Till now, the States bore the major
responsibility of formulating and exe-
cuting the schemes for the welfare of
people involved in the handloom in-
dustry and the Centre was confined to
the role of providing loans, infrastruc-
ture and training facilities. The
Central Government set up a high-
power study team under the chair-
manship of Shri B. Sivaraman and in
the present decision the government
is now taking, it is very much guided
by the report of this committee and
the Government has now decided that
it will be associated with the develop-
ment of the handloom sector in a more
integrated form and for this purpose,
it intends to set up a suitable organi-
zational structure with a separate
Handloom Development Commissioner
in charge so that this work could be
more effectively and efficiently attend-
ed to. Along with it, the All India

Handicrafts Board will also be re-
vamped so that it can play the role
that is assigned to it.

The exploitation of the handloom
weaver is one of the saddest facets of
this industry and the only emancipa-
tion that we can see and the only ray
of hope that we can see for the worker
and the weaver who is toiling is that
he will be taken into the co-operative
fold. For this purpose, we intend to
increase the cooperative sector from
its present 30 to 60 per cent in the
Fifth Five Year Plan. So also, while
we have increased the obligations of
controlled cloth on the organized sec-
tor, we feel that may be the organised
sector may not be able to cope up
with the total requirements of the peo-
ple and the weaker sections. So, we
intend to involve the handloom sector
also particularly, for dhoties and saris
and for this a certain percentage of
yarn supply will be made available
at concessional rates to the handloom
sector. The health of this sector is
primarily dependent upon the ade-
quate supply of hank yarn at reason-
able prices. In the Fifth Five Year
Plan we made a provision that any
new spinning mill coming will have
an obligation to produce 65 per cent
of their production in hank form. Al-
ready there is a statutory obligation
of those mills which were in existence
in 1972 to produce at least 110 per
cent of their 1972 production of hank
yarn. Now, it has been heartening to
note that in 1974-75 hank yarn prices
came down and there were no diffi-
culties of supply of hank yarn to the
handloom sector, and supplies could
meet the demands.

Then, Sir, to protect the handloom
sector from the competition from the
mill and the powerloom sector, so far
three items, namely, piece dyed dho-
ties, loongies sarang and coloured
cotton sarees piece-dyed or yarn-dyed
have been exclusively reserved for the
handloom sector. Unfortunately these
reservation orders have not been uni-
formly implemented by all the States

and they have also been confronted with court orders and injunctions in States. We had addressed the States in regard to the implementation of these reservations more strictly and more rigidly and also to take steps to remove the injunctions if they had come in the way. And I may tell the House, Sir, that we are considering legislation so that these reservations are properly enforced. At the same time we are also thinking of extending area of reservation for handloom and this is under active consideration of the Government. I think, Sir, that soon a decision will be taken on this matter.

Handloom is an important foreign exchange earner. It has contributed in 1974-75 to the exchequer of about Rs. 100 crores in foreign exchange and with this point in view we intend to have production centres, which are specifically export-oriented. There will be a group of a thousand mills per centre and all raw materials, credit facilities, marketing arrangements, technical facilities etc. (that would match the requirements of sophisticated international markets) would be provided to these centres. Production sectors and cooperative sectors are complimentary, both will go together.

Recently unfortunately we have experienced large accumulation of handloom cloth. The Centre provided Rs. 4 crores to the States of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamilnadu. I have noted the point made by hon. Shri Viswanathan, about this matter. I may point out to him that out of Rs. 4 crores given, Rs. 1.80 crores has gone to Tamilnadu alone and rightly so, because the largest number of handlooms are there in that State. A sum of Rs. 70 lakhs is being considered for U.P. I will not go into the details of the loans and the conditions.

SHRI D. BASUMATARI (Kokrajhar): In Assam members of the whole family are engaged in weaving;

we find whole families of weavers. What steps are you taking in this regard?

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: It is certainly handloom production centre and it deserves as much attention.

Coming to the controlled cloth, we had increased last year, the controlled cloth obligation from 400 million sq. metres to 800 million sq. metres. We intend to substantially increase it further and a decision on this will be made soon. The mills were being subsidised for the controlled cloth, including the N.T.C. Mills, which were producing this controlled cloth. The subsidy or giving of finances to meet the economics of producing cloth should be done away with and minimum price for the controlled cloth should be fixed. We also intend to increase the variety of cloth that is being produced in the controlled sector. Till now dhoti, shirting, drill, sarees and long cloth were being produced. We are now considering of including poplin, sheeing and coating also. At the same time, to meet the needs of the commonman we intend to increase the percentage of production of dhoties and sarees in the controlled sector from 100 million square metres to about 160 million square metres. It may be that the mill sector may not be able to cope up with this. We will involve the handloom sector also in the production of these items. Mention was also made about the quality after increasing the controlled cloth obligations of 800 square million metres. It was observed that there was a fall in the quality of controlled cloth. We have taken the necessary action and it is heartening to note that the quality since then has been good. About distribution also while the cooperative sector will continue to play its commanding role in the distribution system, we are ready to have a flexible approach to meet the demands for distribution. The suggestion in this regard is under consideration.

[Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

With these measures, I hope we will be able to weave some ray of hope in hearts of those whose lives till now have been woven with only strands of sorrow and, in the era of new sense of urgency inspired by our Prime Minister, we shall be able to give those hands their due share which give to the nation so much.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shastri Ji, if you do not mind I shall call Mr. Ramakrishna Reddy because he wants to go for a meeting. I shall give him only five minutes. Mr. Reddy.

SHRI K. RAMAKRISHNA REDDY (Nalgonda): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the 20-points economic programme of our beloved Prime Minister which was announced on 1st July, 1975. This programme mainly envisages for the benefit of harijans, weaker section, small and marginal farmers and landless labour. As such, it should be scrupulously and vigorously implemented for the development of our nation.

Even today, several harijans are not getting the house sites. This should get top priority. Mere mention does not serve the purpose at all. Along with the land, some more funds should be allowed for the construction of the houses. Every effort should be made for the increase of agricultural and industrial production. Without production, our efforts will be fruitless.

As regards our problems for ground water, it should be exploited for agricultural and industrial purposes. Our Prime Minister has announced that five million hectares of land should be irrigated. Every effort should be made. It is not a big problem. In Andhra Pradesh, for example, the Nagarjunasagar project is nearing completion but due to lack of adequate funds the work is going very slow. If the Central Government pays its special attention and provides funds the project will be completed within a short time and in the same way as

of Pochampad project as per the first phase, nearly 20 lakhs hectares will be irrigated. In the districts of Telengana, till today, in several villages, there is no drinking water facility, particularly in drought prone ones. This should be attended to. Land ceiling acts have been enacted by many States but they should be implemented in true spirit and letter. Smugglers' property should be confiscated whether the property stands in their name or in the name of benami.

With regard to the handloom, Mr. Singh just now mentioned elaborately. I will not touch that except to say that the handloom industry should be encouraged so as to remove poverty of weavers. This morning Dr. Karan Singh has explained in greater details about the family planning. That should be attended to. The Prime Minister mentioned about the provisions of text-books. As mentioned by her, the text-books should be supplied at the controlled price. So also stores and stationery for students, hostels and lodging houses at control rates.

Sir, as regards moratorium on rural indebtedness it is a welcome step. But it is no use simply having moratorium until and unless we make alternative arrangements by opening new rural banks.

As regards removal of unemployment, I suggest, from every family one person should be provided with job. With these few words I support this Motion.

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री (पटना) : हमारे दल की ओर से कहा जा चुका है कि प्रधान मंत्री ने जिस 20 सूत्री आर्थिक कार्यक्रम की घोषणा की है उससे समाज को अन्यायी तौर पर तो बदला नहीं जा सकता है लेकिन कुछ जरूरी समस्याओं का समाधान निकालने में इससे मदद मिलेगी। हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति दयनीय हो चुकी थी। बेकारी की समस्या तो

बढ़ती ही जा रही है। और भी दूसरी जो समस्याएँ हैं उनके समाधान में हम इससे आगे बढ़ सकेंगे यह हमारा दल मानता है। हम समझते हैं कि इस कार्यक्रम को पूरा करने के लिये जनता का सहयोग लेना तो अव्यावश्यक है ही साथ ही यह भी आवश्यक है कि देश के इजारेदारों और पूँजीपतियों पर चोट करने का कोशिश की जाए। यह चोत्र इस प्रोग्राम के जरिये नहीं की गई है।

जो पाँच औद्योगिक संस्थान कर्ज के रूप में पैसा देने हैं यानी इण्डस्ट्रियल डेवलपमेंट बैंक, आफ इंडिया, इण्डस्ट्रियल फाइनेंस कॉर्पोरेशन आफ इंडिया, एल० आई० सी०, यन्त्र ट्रस्ट आफ इंडिया और आई सी आई सी आई, 31 दिसम्बर, 1974 तक इन में से हर एक ने 253 प्राइवेट कंपनियों को एक एक करोड़ से ज्यादा रुपया कर्ज के तौर पर दिया। इस तरीके से इन सारे संस्थानों ने 837 42 करोड़ रुपया 31 दिसम्बर, 1974 तक 253 कंपनियों को दिया और उनमें ग्रामीण कंपनियों को तीन करोड़ से भी ज्यादा रुपया दिया गया है। इसमें स्पष्ट है कि अगर यह नीति प्रायः भी आप जारी रखेंगे तो इस तरह के कार्यक्रम को पूरा करने में कठिनाई होगी फ्लॉवटे पैदा होगी और देश के अन्दर इजारेदार बढ़ते ही जाएंगे जबकि इस इजारेदारी को तोड़ना इस कार्यक्रम की क्रियान्विति के लिए आवश्यक है। मुझे विश्वास है कि आने वाले दिनों में सरकार का ध्यान इजारेदारों पर चोट करने की तरफ जाएगा। आप देखें कि—बिनांगनी प्रायः आठ सौ करोड़ के मालिक हैं, टाटा जी बारह सौ करोड़ के हैं जबकि ये लोग स्वतन्त्रता के पहले चालीस करोड़ और अड़नालीस करोड़ के ही मालिक थे। ये मालामाल होते चले जा रहे हैं। आपको इस तथ्य पर विचार करना चाहिये और उचित कार्रवाई करनी चाहिये।

अब मैं कार्यक्रम की एक दो बातों की तरफ ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। जमीन के बटवारे की बात कही गई है। यह बिल्कुल ठीक बात है। इसको जितनी जल्दी हम कर सकें उतना ही हमारे लिए फायदेमन्द होगा। हमसे दक्षिणपन्थी लोग, जमींदार पक्षी लोग और इजारेदार पक्षी लोग जो हैं हम उनको कमजोर कर सकेंगे। पहले हम अखबारों में जगह जगह पढ़ते थे—अभी तो वह बात नहीं आ रही है—कि नक्सलवादी लोग खेत मजदूरों का सम्भाल कर रहे हैं। और उन कर्जिये वदकितनग इत्याये करवा रहे हैं और इस नीति का प्रचार कर रहे हैं। मैं और हमारा दल इस नीति के विरोधी है। किसी भी व्यक्ति की हत्या करने में खेत मजदूरों का सवाल हल नहीं हो सकता है, और न ही जमीन के बटवारे का सवाल हल हो सकता है। अगर हम सरकारी परती जमीन को खेत-मजदूरों को न दिलवा सकें, और उस पर जमीन-मालिक कब्जा कर लें, तो क्या इनको न्यायसंगत कहा जा सकता है? अगर सरकारी परती जमीन पर किसी किसान या जमीन-मालिक ने कब्जा कर लिया है, तो उसको लेकर उसका बटवारा करना चाहिए। आज 27 बरसों की आजादी के बाद भी उन लोगों के साथ जो सामाजिक अन्याय होते हैं, उनका खान्मा होना चाहिए।

इसके अतिरिक्त सरकार द्वारा निर्धारित मजदूरी उन लोगों को मिलनी चाहिए। हमारे सूबे में साठे चार रुपये और पाँच रुपये मजदूरी निर्धारित है। कहीं कहीं चार रुपये भी हैं। लेकिन मजदूर को सिर्फ दो रुपये दिये जाते हैं। यह न्यायसंगत नहीं है। इसमें उन लोगों में अमन्तोष होना स्वाभाविक है। वे नहीं चाहते कि वे नक्सलवादी तत्वों के चक्कर में आये, लेकिन लोग उनको मजदूर कर देते हैं।

जहाँ तक हाथकरघा मजदूरों का सम्बन्ध है, उनकी दशा पूरे देश में बहुत दयनीय है।

भाज के टाइम्स ऑफ इंडिया में तामिलनाडु के हाथकरघा उद्योग के बारे में एक लेख छपा है, जिसका शीर्षक है : "हैंडलूम इण्डस्ट्रीज बोज"। तामिलनाडु में सबसे ज्यादा हाथकरघा का काम होता है। वहां 5,56,000 हाथकरघे हैं, जिनमें 26 लाख मजदूर काम करने थे अब उस उद्योग की स्थिति खराब है। उनके यहां 40 करोड़ रुपये कपड़े का स्टॉक जमा है। अगर उसको खलास नहीं किया जायेगा, तो उन लोगों को सकट का सामना करना पड़ेगा। इस वजह से उस उद्योग में रोजगार में कमी आ गई है, एम्प्लायमेंट प्रॉस्पेक्ट्स कम हो गये हैं। आज केवल 6 लाख लोग ही इस उद्योग में काम कर रहे हैं, जबकि बाकी 20 लाख अन-एम्प्लायड हैं। जब हाथकरघा उद्योग को इस प्रोग्राम में रखा गया है, तो इसकी तरफ सरकार का ध्यान विशेष रूप से जाना चाहिए ताकि इस संकट को दूर किया जा सके। चकि देहात में गरीबों के पास परचेजिंग पावर, खरीदने की शक्ति नहीं है, इसलिए कपड़े का भारी स्टॉक जमा हो गया है। उसको खनाम करने की जरूरत है। सरकार तमाम स्टॉक को खरीद ले और आगे ऐसी स्थिति पैदा न हो, इस बात की गारंटी करे।

मैंने थे आन्ध्र केवल एक राज्य— तामिलनाडु—के बारे में। यू० पी०, बिहार, और पश्चिमी बंगाल में भी यही हालत है। पूरे हिन्दुस्तान में हाथकरघा मजदूर भूखों मर रहे हैं। उनके परिवारों के करोड़ों लोग इस संकट से प्रभावित हैं। इसलिए सरकार को इस विकट समस्या की तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिए।

मैंने अपने एक संशोधन के जरिये सरकार का ध्यान इस तरफ खींचने की कोशिश की है कि उसको पिछड़े हुए राज्यों को विकसित करने और उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति को ठीक करने में मदद करनी चाहिए। आप

जानते हैं कि हमारे बिहार की पर-कैपिटल इनकम शायद मेघालय या किसी अन्य एक स्टेट को छोड़ कर सबसे कम है। यद्यपि वहां उद्योग-धंधे बहुत हैं और वहां की मिट्टी सोना उगलती है, लेकिन वहां सिचाई का बन्दोबस्त नहीं है, और कई अन्य मवाल भी हैं। इसलिए वह सूबा गरीब बना हुआ है। पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश के बारे में माननीय सदस्य, श्री राजदेव सिंह, ने भी एक संशोधन पेश किया है कि उत्तर प्रदेश के पन्द्रह पूर्वी जिले पिछड़े हुए हैं जिन की ओर विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। दूसरे राज्यों में भी ऐसे इलाके हैं। अगर सरकार चाहती है कि यह प्रोग्राम सफल हो तो उसको इन इलाकों की तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिए।

जहां तक सहयोग का प्रश्न है, हम लोग और जनता सहयोग देने के लिए तैयार है। श्री मोहन धारिया ने कहा है कि जो लोग जेल में बन्द हैं, उन का जेल में रख कर जनता के सहयोग कैसे लिया जा सकता है। उन लोगों के साथ जनता है या नहीं, यह हम भी जानते हैं और आप भी जानते हैं। बड़ी मुट्ठी भर लोग उन के साथ हैं जो चोर—वाजारी और गल्ला—चोरी करने हैं, मजदूरों पर जुल्म करने हैं, जबर्दस्ती उन से जमीन छिन लेते हैं, दूसरे देशों के साथ मिलकर हमारे देश की आजादी को खत्म करना चाहते हैं और इस पूँजीवादी समाज को इसकी तमाम बुराइयों के साथ हमेशा के लिए हाथम रखना चाहते हैं।

लेकिन आम जनता का सहयोग सरकार को जरूर लेना चाहिए, और जनता सहयोग देने की इच्छुक है। अगर सहयोग देने का सरकार का तरीका क्या है? उस ने बड़ी बड़ी कमेटियां बना दी हैं। उन में कैसे काम चलेगा? बिहार में 76 या 80 आदमियों की एक कमेटी बनाई गई है बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम व लैण्ड सीलिंग बिल को अमल में लाने के लिए। उस कमेटी में कौन लोग रखे

गये हैं? स्वामी हरिनारायण नन्द जो लैण्ड सीलिंग के बिल्कुल विरुद्ध हैं, आर्थावर्त के सम्पादक जो शुरू से ही श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण के आंदोलन का समर्थन करते रहे हैं और सर्वलाइट के सम्पादक और विरोधी दल के कितने आदमी रखे गये हैं? केवल 8-80 में 81 सी० पी० आई० के 6 आदमियों को रखा गया है और एक एम० एम० पी० तथा एक भूतपूर्व जनसंघी को रखा गया है। यह तरीका ठीक नहीं है। जिन लोगों को लैण्ड सीलिंग और वीम मूत्रीय कार्यक्रम में विश्वास नहीं है, उन को इम कमेटी में नहीं रखना चाहिए।

आज सरकारी यंत्र में आर० एस० एम० और आनन्द मार्ग के लोग और श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण के समर्थक घुसे हुए हैं? अगर सरकार उन को नहीं निकालेगी, तो काम कैसे होगा? मैं इम बाल की वकालत नहीं करता हूँ कि नौकरशाहों का सहयोग बिल्कुल न लिया जाये। कल टा० वी० के० आर० वी० राव ने इस बारे में कहा था। लेकिन अगर रेलवे बोर्ड की तरह के नौकरशाह हों, जो मंत्री के यह आर्डर करने पर भी कि फर्ना आदमियों को रीडिनस्टेट कर दिया जाये, इम बारे में कुछ न करें, तो जाहिर है कि काम नहीं चलेगा तथा जनता का सहयोग नहीं मिलेगा।

मैं बिहार की बात जानता हूँ कि 250 आनन्द मार्गी सरकारी कार्यालयों में घुसे हुए हैं, जो बड़े-बड़े अफसरान हैं। उन को निकाला जाये और अच्छे लोगों का सहयोग जरूर लिया जाये। जिन लोगों की सरकार की नीतियों में आस्था है, जो समाजवाद, धर्म-निषेधना और जनतांत्रिक प्रणाली को मजबूत करने में विश्वास रखते हैं जो फासिज्म और साम्राज्यवाद के विरोधी हैं, जो सही मानों में देश की जनता गरीबों और मेहनत कशों के हाथ में शासन देना चाहते हैं, या कम से कम उन की समस्याओं का समाधान करना चाहते हैं, जो इस 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम

को कार्यान्वित करना चाहते हैं, देश के नक्शे को बदलना चाहते हैं जनता की स्थिति में सुधार लाना चाहते हैं, ऐसे अधिकारियों से जरूर सहयोग लिया जाना चाहिए और जो लोग ऐसे न हों, उन को तुरन्त दूध का मूखी की तरह निकाल देना चाहिए। ऐसा करने पर यह कार्यक्रम जरूर क्रियान्वित होगा। अगर सरकार ने पुराने जमाने की तरह वायदे किये, लेकिन उन को न निभाया तो काम नहीं चलेगा। स्थिति बदल गई है और सरकार के लोग भी बदल रहे हैं। इसलिए मुझे विश्वास है कि जा सुझाव में न रखे हैं, मंत्री महोदय उन पर गम्भीरता के साथ विचार करेंगे और देश को आगे ले जाने में नमाम जनतांत्रिक, फासिस्ट-विरोधी और धर्म-निषेध शक्तियों का सहयोग लेंगे और उन के साथ एकता बना कर आगे चलेंगे तब हमारी समस्याओं का समाधान जरूर होगा।

SHRI DHARNIDHAR DAS (Mangaldai): The most welcome event in the post-independence era is the proclamation of emergency that has cleared the decks for a battle against the reactionary forces, in Indian society being aided and abetted by outside forces, particularly the multinational corporations of America which believe that democracy must be subverted and stable governments must be destabilised just to contain the advance of socialism in any country.

The 20 point programme announced by the Prime Minister in the context of the emergency is just the starting point of the battle against those forces that had created anarchy and chaos in the country and were holding the Indian masses to ransom, for 27 years after independence. The proclamation of emergency has been made to avert the anger of fascist takeover of the country by forces who want to retain capitalism by any means. They want to do so if possible through democracy;

[Shri. Dharindhar Das]

by which they mean political democracy. But when democracy is used to serve the masses of people and to bring about the desired changes in the direction of socialism, then they want to destroy democratic institutions and want to have full-fledged fascist rule in the country. That was what was going to happen in this country. Timely action had been taken by the Prime Minister by the proclamation of emergency and declaring this was the one side of which are the people, the exploited masses and on the other side are the monopoly houses and reactionary forces like RSS, Anandmarg and the communal forces, that killed Mahatma Gandhi. These forces are hindering the progress of the country towards socialism. Here what is most important is the will and determination of the leadership, which is now being expressed through the measures in the emergency to put down the forces that want to bring about chaotic conditions in the economy. Capitalism itself is anarchy in production and distribution and people had been made helpless victim of all sorts of exploitation. The result is the deepening economic crisis being manifested unemployment, high prices, inflation and the like because those are the problems of capitalism. In a few months or a short span of time, it is not possible to put the whole thing in order. This emergency has to be prolonged because under our existing laws status quo forces were working very strongly. Even Pandit Nehru had to say in 1961 that monopoly was on the increase despite our efforts to usher in socialism.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now.

SHRI DHARANIDHAR DAS: The 20 point programme includes land reform as the main plank. I shall cite one negative instance. In 1951 in Assam the Zamindari Abolition Act was passed but it was struck down by

the High Court. In the same way the Supreme Court challenged in the Golaknath case the power of Parliament to take over property.

Bank nationalisation was also delayed by another judgement of the Supreme Court. In this way the judiciary was serving the class interests of the privilege few and was going against the interests of the Indian masses. So, now, this Parliament has been playing the role of bringing about revolutionary changes including the removal of those obstructions in the path of our march towards socialism. Here again I would say implementation should be the name of the emergency. For the information of the Members here I would say something about speedy implementation of land reforms, how we have proceeded there in Assam. In Assam a high powered committee has been formed consisting of all the concerned Ministers and leaders of political parties. The Ministers and the Officers have been brought together with political party representatives and camps have been set up at certain places where they meet for one, two or three days or as many days as are required. The land has been handed over to the landless peasants on the spot. Similarly a vigorous drive for public distribution of essential commodities. Public distribution system is meaningless, if it is not done through the co-operative structure in the country. In Assam, we have started public distribution system with a network of mass co-operatives. We have abolished all individual traders. The distribution of essential commodities has been entrusted to the co-operative societies at the Gram Panchayat level. This structure alone can make the public distribution system effective and that alone can bring about socialism in the country-side. Now, this Economic Programme can be implemented only through a such system of co-operatives in distribution and also by nationalisation of the consumer goods industries otherwise we cannot get regular supplies of the essential commodities.

to the co-operative societies for distribution to the village people or to the masses of the country.

SHRI K. GOPAL (Karur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I do not like to make, as usual, a ritualistic mention of welcoming the Economic Programme. Even the worst critic of the Government or for that matter even the Congress Party cannot but welcome this Programme. Ever since we attained independence, we have been marching ahead but we have a lot of things to do. With our own problems and constraints, the rural India could not be developed as envisaged by Mahatma Gandhi Sir, the poverty line in 1960-61 was somewhere 37 per cent and today it is about 50 per cent and unemployment in 1950's was somewhere around three million and it is now about 20 million as per the registers maintained in the Employment Exchanges. Sir, 10 per cent of the households in the rural areas own 56 per cent of the land and 44 per cent of the households are not in the productive form. One of the most important features of the Economic Programme is the liquidation of rural indebtedness. I would request the Government not only to extend this programme to the rural areas but it should also be extended to other industrial areas where the workers are equally poor. Till today the poor people are not able to utilise the banking facilities and they are under the strangle-hold of private money-lenders. Unless private money-lending is banned, we cannot help the poor masses.

Coming to workers' participation in management, production can be increased only by better industrial relations. Without the active cooperation of workers, no industry can produce more. There is no point in having a Director here or there. The workers should be involved in all levels including the shop level, as in the steel industry. When Shri Karamangalam was Steel Minister, he went down to the workers' level and

discussed the problem. I am glad Shri Chandrajit Yadav also is doing the same thing. If the steel industry has progressed during the last few years, it is because we have the right people there—from the Minister down to the workers' level. If production targets are set in consultation with the workers, it will be possible to achieve them.

The Deputy Commerce Minister, Shri Viswanath Pratap Singh explained that the target for production of standard cloth was 800 million metres and they are going to increase it. The quota for production of standard cloth is fulfilled only by the NTC mills and not the private mills. The only way to remedy the situation is to take over the private mills. When we have been holding so many sick babies, we can certainly look after the healthy ones.

I am afraid how we are going to implement the land ceiling, not because we do not want it but because land registers in many States are not maintained properly. Out of 156 million hectares of land, only 44 million hectares are irrigated. We have to see that every piece of land is irrigated and cultivated. There are many instances where lands are lying vacant and deliberately not being put to any use. Such lands should be taken over and given to the landless labour for cultivation, because just like water, land also is a natural resource belonging to the Government.

For increasing food production, we have to give good quality seeds, assured credit and marketing facilities to the farmers. Whatever laws may be passed fixing minimum wage for agricultural labour, they will not be implemented by the feudal landlords. So, there should be workers' cooperatives at panchayat level in every village and every land owner should apply to the cooperatives for supplying him the required labour. This is the only way of assuring minimum wages to them.

[Shri K. Gopal]

I do not think it will be difficult to provide house sites for the poor, provided we have the will. Bonded labour is still prevalent in different forms. As Mr. Vishwanathan said, in my State they are called *pannaiyals*. This problem should be solved and we can do it. We should have no mercy in regard to confiscation of smugglers' properties. Any property created out of unfair income should be taken over.

We have been talking about ceiling on urban land for too long a time and it is better we act. How to act is a matter of detail for the Government to work out. I am glad from 1st September there will be tags showing the price and weight of every packet. This will control prices to some extent.

As far as power is concerned, today there is dispute between State and State not only with regard to power but with regard to water also. Take for example, my State, Tamil Nadu. Mysore says: "Give us food and we will give you power." And same is the case with Kerala. I urge upon the Centre that these water disputes should be solved.

Octroi in the States should also be abolished. Transport is not moving smoothly because of this.

We are talking about discipline. I say that when we preach something, we must practise that.

About implementation of programme, we will have to be ruthless. We have to implement these programmes with the help of our bureaucracy. I am not the one to condemn our bureaucracy outright. But to weed out the corrupt and inefficient elements, it is necessary to remove article 311 of our Constitution which gives guarantee to all our civil service officers. If you want to involve the people at every level, you will have to set up Peoples' Committees.

With these words, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak on this Motion.

SHRI ARAVINDA BALA PAJANOR (Pondicherry): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak on this economic programme. I listened to the hon. Minister and other hon. Members. But I am trying to approach this problem from a different angle. We have to see from the days of Mahalanobis. Quite a number of documents have been placed before this House. Similarly, this document is not to be taken in the same spirit for the simple reason that according to the simple economics that was taught during our College days, India is a giant, it sleeps, any amount of injections cannot make the giant get up and walk. And that is the reason why the Nation does not push forward in economic field. We have also to admit that it failed us because all these plans were not only paper plans but it failed to inject the giant fully. When we welcome the emergency it is not because certain leaders who are menace to the society are put behind bars, but for the simple reason that it has awakened the Nation. At this moment the giant is awake. If the proper injection is not given, the giant will once again go back to sleep. When the giant is awake, it is time for us to march forward. Though the programme is numbered in 20, it may be even 200 by taking the entire shape of the country. As a document, we don't welcome it but we welcome it because it made this Nation the spirit to march forward in every sphere. That is the reason why I am not approaching this from an analytical point of view like Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Dr. K. L. Rao, or in the way of Mr. Indrajit Gupta, Mr. Gopal and Mr. Vishwanathan for comparison.

15 hrs.

I agree with their ideas: but at the same time, I want to say that the

main spirit behind in all these Members' speeches—though they gave statistics—is that of the mood to make the people move. The question is, how to do it. The programme is divided into 3 sections, viz., agriculture, industry and the working classes. That is why the Prime Minister has correctly mentioned the apprenticeship in the last point to back all points, though I feel that it might have been elaborated upon. I hope that elaboration will come later. But I feel that this is the main thing on which we are going to inject enthusiasm into the people to make them push forward. Some people suggested that Members of Parliament can take care of their own constituencies and go to the people and implement the programme. My submission is that there is no point in suggesting that people's committees should be there. When somebody said that the bureaucratic mentality was there, the other Member immediately suggested that we should cooperate with them and work together, to fight the evil. If we have to implement it earnestly—either from the point of view of Mr. Mohan Dharia or of the Finance Minister—we have to take the people into confidence. People have gained confidence due to this Emergency. Quoting prices is not going to help. I am not satisfied when it is said that there is a 2 per cent fall in prices. The people will give us now only a short time, say a month or two. We must have a specific programme for people's cooperation. When you speak of rural indebtedness, you speak of banks. The other day, I had an opportunity to speak on this. We have a bad experience, while legislating for the last 27 years. It is no use saying that we will improve the growth rate from 4 per cent to 6 per cent. When you say that the measure on rural indebtedness is going to save the people, I do not see how it can be done so quickly. People are not taking money only from big money bags. This point was also brought to the notice of this House. Ordinary people also come into the picture. We

have, in the past, passed legislations such as the Tenancy Protection Act. According to my experience, in my State, people were under debt to the landlords during last year and the year before; and decrees were taken by the landlords against those people for eviction for non-payment of dues, on the basis of laws passed prior to the declaration of Emergency or of the economic programme. These decrees are now being executed. These landless peasants are being removed from the lands. They technically try to adopt the old laws. To prevent this supervision is required. For this purpose, I suggest that every Member of Parliament must help at the State level. We, Members of Parliament, are satisfied with appealing to the gallery, to the other side or to the papers. We must set a model in this regard. If we are not going to set up a model for implementing the economic programme, I think we will never get another opportunity, because people will never trust us; but they will throw us out. Both the educated and uneducated people have seen enough of documents. I have seen how people had asked for Plan-holidays. We do not get finances when we ask for them. I suggest that we should start to-day itself from the level of Members of Parliament and of other legislatures. Regarding employment, the position in our States is that people who were enrolled in the so-called employment exchanges as early as in 1967 are yet to get their first call for interview. The figure of such persons runs into hundreds of thousands. My idea is not to blame anybody but to help in spreading our ideals throughout the nation. When J. P. was put in prison, there was no flare-up not because they dislike J. P., but because they are not followers of J. P. This is the class that is frustrated, hit day in and day out. They have been looking for some solution or other. The followers of J. P. welcome the emergency because they expect that the national leadership will give them some solution or other. These are the people who are frustrat-

[Shri Aravinda Bala Pajanor]

ed and are unemployed. I do not speak about Members of Parliament who are unemployed. All of us, including you, Mr. Chairman, will have to work for that.

An HON. MEMBER: He is a lawyer.

SHRI ARAVINDA BALA PAJANOR: He practices in the Supreme Court, I practise in the High Court.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Lawyers are getting unemployed. That is what I have been told.

SHRI ARAVINDA BALA PAJANOR: I am not unemployed. I have five juniors under me. That is why I have to fly back at 4 O' Clock as I told you, and I have to come back on Monday morning.

I speak of our brothers who are skilled and unskilled. They must also get the opportunity. I hope this will not remain a document merely on paper. I hope the Indian giant will get up with spirit and march forward during this emergency and many more economic programmes would follow.

श्री परिपूर्णानंद पेंवली (टिहरी-गढ़वाल): सभापति जी, प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जो 20 सूची कार्यक्रम देश के सामने प्रस्तुत किया है, हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने उसकी व्याख्या भाष्य-मात्र की है। प्रधान मंत्री जी का कार्यक्रम सूत्र-रूप में हमारे सामने आया है और इसी की सब से बड़ी विशेषता यह है कि यह समय-बद्ध कार्यक्रम के रूप में अपनाया जाये। इस के सम्बन्ध में हमारे मित्र श्री मोहन धारिया ने बड़ी निराशा व्यक्त की है और कहा है कि जिस तरह से और दूसरे कार्यक्रम फेल हुए हैं, उसी तरह से यह भी फेल हो सकता है। मैं इस भ्रम का निवारण इस लिये करना चाहता हूँ—इस में संदेह नहीं कि पिछले जो कार्यक्रम

स्वीकार किये गये, कुछ कदम आगे चल कर वे शिथिल हो गये, उन पर भ्रमल नहीं हो सका, लेकिन आज जनता में पहली बार यह विश्वास पैदा हुआ है कि यह जो कार्यक्रम राष्ट्र के सामने प्रस्तुत किया गया है यह अवश्य पूरा हो कर रहेगा।

इस का एक कारण यह है कि आपात-कालीन स्थिति में जो परिवर्तन हुए हैं, शासन ने जो कदम उठाये हैं, उन का देखने हुए आम जनता को यह विश्वास हो गया है कि यह आर्थिक कार्यक्रम अवश्य पूरा होगा।

मैं एक वान ग्रीर निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ—ग्राम स्थिति के सम्बन्ध में वान हम सब लोग जानते हैं कि हमारे हमारे परिवार का बजट हा, प्रदेश की सरकार का बजट हो, केन्द्र का बजट हो—यह हम वान पर निर्भर करता है कि हमारे पास आश्वासन की स्थिति क्या है। हरित क्रांति के आविर्भाव आम किसानों की हानि में कोई विशेष सुधार नहीं हो पाया है। कृषि विकास के नाम पर अब तक जो कुछ भी लाभ उठाया गया है, उस पर जिन तरह से विशेष धन-राशि खर्च हुई है, उसका लाभ बड़े-बड़े किसानों वा, जमींदारों को हुआ है, जिन के पास बड़ी-बड़ी जमीनें थी। लेकिन जो हमारा छोटा किसान है, वह उस के लाभ में महसूस रहा। इस लिये मैं समझता हूँ कि छोटे किसानों की स्थिति को सुधारने की ओर विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है।

वित्त मंत्री जी ने अपने भाषण में कहा— हमने देश के सामने जो टारगेट फिक्स किया है, वह 11.40 करोड़ टन पैदा करने का है, जिसमें 6.90 करोड़ टन इस खरीफ की फसल में पैदा होगा। मैं समझता हूँ यह जो लक्ष्य निर्धारित किया गया है— उत्पादन का— इसमें से कम से कम एक-तिहाई का प्रीवियोर-मेंट अवश्य धरना चाहिये। अभी दो तीन वर्ष पहले अमरीका से हमारे यहां जो गेहूं हर साल आता था, और आप को पता होगा कि

उन्होंने घूँसा मिला कर हमारे यहां गेहूं भोजा, जिससे देश की जनता की काफ़ी हानि हुई। उस पर इस सदन में चर्चा भी हुई थी। और पब्लिक एकाउण्ट्स कमेटी ने भी उस पर गम्भीरता से विचार किया था। वित्त मन्त्री जी ने कहा है कि हम करीब करीब 1 करोड़ 20 लाख टन का बफर-स्टॉक रखना चाहते हैं। पिछले साल हमने साढ़े-बत्तास लाख टन आयात किया। इस साल भी जनवरी से जून तक साढ़े तीस लाख टन बाहर से मंगाया है। इसका मतलब यह है कि 90 लाख टन हमने बाहर से मंगाया। इस हिसाब से अगर एक करोड़ बीस लाख टन का अग्रिम लक्ष्य निर्धारित किया है तो हिसाब की दृष्टि से यह ठीक है, किन्तु मैं समझता हूँ कि इससे हमारी अर्थ व्यवस्था को उत्तरोत्तर बहुत क्षति पहुंचती जायगी। इसलिये हम को बाहर से मंगाने के बजाय प्रोक्योरमेंट की तरफ़ ज्यादा ध्यान देना चाहिये और उसके साथ ही डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन सिस्टम भी ठीक होना चाहिये। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे आर्थिक कार्यक्रम की रीढ़ की हड्डी आयात की आत्म-निर्भरता पर निर्भर करती है। यह आत्म निर्भरता इन बातों पर निर्भर करती है कि हम कितना ख़ूब अधिक में अधिक पैदा करते हैं और कितना प्रोक्योर कर पाते हैं। किसान के पास खाने के लिये, बीज के लिये तथा दूसरे आवश्यक कामों के लिये छोड़ कर बाकी सब ख़ूब आप को प्रोक्योर करना चाहिये। खेद की बात है कि देश के बड़े कम्प्लेक्सर चोरी से ब्लैक मार्केट में अनाज बेच बेचे हैं जिससे उपभोक्ताओं को दिक्कत होती है।

मन्त्री जी ने खाने का काम बढ़ाया और सिंचाई की सुविधा बढ़ा कर, विजली मुहैया करके, खाने उत्पादन की दिशा में जो घोषणाएँ की हैं वे साराहवीय हैं और आशा है कि 11 करोड़ 40 लाख टन अन्न उत्पादन का जो लक्ष्य है उसको प्राप्त किया जा सकेगा जिससे इन्फ्लेशनरी ट्रेन्ड घटेगा और उपभोक्ता वर्गों की अधिक से अधिक प्राप्ति होगी।

किसानों को कर्ज के सम्बन्ध में हाल में वित्त मन्त्री जी ने घोषणा की थी कि 50 रीजनल बैंक्स स्थापित करेंगे। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि इससे छोटे किसान को राहत मिलेगी और सूदखोर गरीब किसानों की लूट नहीं कर पायेंगे। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिस ढंग की आज की बैंकिंग व्यवस्था है उसको देखते हुए कितना सफल हो पायेगी यह योजना, यह देखने की बात है। क्या यह सम्भव नहीं है कि कोऑपरेटिव बैंक जो देहातों में हैं उन्हीं के माध्यम से इस काम को जारी रखें? और जो कर्ज देने की नई व्यवस्था चालू करना चाहते हैं उस पर आप दोबारा विचार करें।

दो बातें मैं पर्वतीय और जनजाति क्षेत्रों के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। आशा है कि प्रधान मन्त्री जी का जो अग्रिम इन्स्टालमेंट कार्यक्रम का आयेगा उसमें इन बातों को अवश्य शामिल करेंगे। पर्वतीय क्षेत्र काश्मीर से लेकर अरुणाचल तक फैला हुआ है और वह क्षेत्र देश की उत्तरी सीमा पर है। छोटे छोटे गांव हैं जिनमें अधिकतर लोग अशिक्षित हैं, असंगठित है जिसकी वजह से उनकी आवाज में ताकत नहीं है। मुझे केवल यही कहना है कि अगर आप मिनिमम नीड्स का नेशनल प्रोग्राम उन तक पहुंचा दें तो अच्छा रहेगा। पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में कुछ विशेष प्रकार की समस्याएँ हैं। कौश क्रॉप वहाँ बेकार चली जाती है, खाद्यान्न में बहू डेफिसिट एरिया है, वहाँ अनाज नहीं पैदा होता है, न उनको कौश क्रॉप का उचित पैसा मिलता है। अतः आपको वहाँ की परिस्थिति के मुताबिक योजना बनानी चाहिये। मेरा सुझाव है कि आपको लिफ्ट इरिगेशन स्कीम पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में लागू करनी चाहिये। माइक्रो हाइड्रल प्रोजेक्ट्स बनाने चाहिये, फोरेस्ट और मिनरल बेसड इंडस्ट्रीज होनी चाहिये। काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज नाम मात्र के लिये कश्मीर और हिमाचल प्रदेश में हैं, बाकी क्षेत्रों में उनका अभाव है। घड़ियों की तरह आपको मिनिमम बल्ब इण्डस्ट्री वहाँ पर

[श्री परिपूर्णानन्द पंत्यूली]

स्थापित करनी चाहिये। खादी कमीशन का कार्य पर्वतीय क्षेत्रों में दो, चार जगहों के अलावा कहीं कुछ नहीं है, उसमें काफी मिस-मैनेजमेंट है और पैसे का दुरुपयोग होता है। इसके मैनेजमेंट में सुधार करना चाहिये।

जन-जातियों के सम्बन्ध में मेरा निवेदन है कि जो पर्वतीय क्षेत्र के लोगों की परिस्थिति है वही जन-जाति के लोगों की भी है। उनके प्रति सहानुभूति सब दिखाते हैं, लेकिन उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति सुधारने की दिशा में, यदि मैं कहूँ कि कछुए की चाल से प्रगति हुई है जो दिखाई नहीं देती, तो गलत नहीं होगा।

प्रत्येक वर्ष ग्रेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और ग्रेड्यूल्ड ट्राइव्स कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट सदन में पेश की जाती है, उस पर विचार विनिमय होता है, सुझाव भी दिये जाते हैं, किन्तु उन पर शायद ही एक प्रतिशत सुझावों पर कार्यान्वयन किया जाता होगा। एक बात इसके सम्बन्ध में जानना बहुत जरूरी है, और वह यह कि जो ब्यूरोक्रेसी हमारी है जिनके हाथों में इन योजनाओं के कार्यान्वयन की जिम्मेदारी सौंपी गई है, वह कैसी है। हम कहते हैं कि कमिटेड ब्यूरोक्रेसी होनी चाहिये। इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि वे शासक दल के प्रति वफादार हों। इसका मतलब यह है कि सरकार की घोषित नीति के मुताबिक वे हों और उसको निष्ठापूर्वक लागू कर सकें। इसलिये जरूरी है कि भारत सरकार की पर्सनल पॉलिसी घोषित होनी चाहिये कि जन-जाति के लोगों के बीच किस प्रकार के लोग काम कर सकते हैं। वहाँ के जनजीवन से वह परिचित हैं कि नहीं। इसी प्रकार पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में काम करने वाले कर्मचारियों की तरह जन जातियों के बीच जो काम करने वाले कर्मचारी हैं, हमारे 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम को वे कैसे कार्यान्वित करते हैं। इस की सफलता इस पर निर्भर करेगी कि उसको कार्यान्वित करने वाले कर्मचारी कैसे हैं? वे कमिटेड हैं कि नहीं? इसके लिये उनके रि-

ग्रोरियेन्टेशन की जरूरत है। उन्हें ट्रेनिंग की जरूरत हो तो किया जाय। इसके लिये हम थोड़ा समय इन्तजार भी कर सकते हैं क्योंकि सबसे आवश्यक यही बात है कि जिन लोगों से आप काम लेना चाहते हैं वे उसके लिये निष्ठावान हों।

PROF. NARAIN CHAND PARASHAR (Hamirpur): Sir, I rise to support the 20-point economic programme announced by the hon. Prime Minister on the 1st of July, 1975. The programme has brought forward new hopes in the minds of the people and the people think that the sluggishness, the tardiness and the inefficiency that have plagued this land, especially the bureaucracy and other sectors, will be eliminated once for all.

Sir, there is at last some hope for the bonded labour, wherever it exists, that it should be declared illegal. Similarly, there are plans for liquidation of rural indebtedness. For thousands of years, generations of people are born and die, but the debt that they inherited from their forefathers is never liquidated. So, this is one of the brightest spots that these people will hail.

Similarly, there are some plans and provisions for socialisation of urban land and a ceiling is to be imposed on ownership and possession of vacant land. There is a special provision for evaluation of conspicuous construction and prevention of tax evasion. I would like to dilate on this point. So far, the people in the villages have been witnessing some announcement of a programme of land reform and the ceiling laws that have been enacted by the States. But more often than not, they have been honoured only in breach rather than in fulfilment, because there have been *benami* transfers of land and the head of a family has seen to it that the land remains in the family. Whether it is in the north or in the south, it does not matter, but it must remain within the four walls of a family. So, this must

be stopped forthwith and we must be taken into account the entire land which is there in the name of every and any member of the family, while we are calculating and thinking of the ceiling of the land. But more important than this is the imposition of a ceiling on urban income. Why should the skyscrapers rise high? There are people, who, with the help of black money, have raised buildings to seven storey, ten storey and 15 storey and God knows how many buildings they have got in how many cities, and yet we are unable to find out a formula.

I fail to understand how all the technical experts, economic pillars of this country have lost their wisdom suddenly when they come to think of cities? What about the cities which are not yet touched, because it is here that the black money is mostly concentrated. I have not seen a millionaire moving to a village or living in the poor and the rural surroundings of a village simply for the sake of love for it. But if you think of these people in big cities, they are putting their money into the banks and all that and yet we think that some formula has to be found and that has not been found.

I would urge the hon Finance Minister that he should lose no time in bringing about this legislation for the ceiling on urban income, land and property and this will be taken into account at the earliest possible. Otherwise, none of your economic programmes is going to be fulfilled. Everything is being ultimately gravitated towards the cities. Every development is taking place only in the cities, whether it is a metropolitan project of the Railways or of Transport. There is no money for the rest of the country for laying down new railway lines. But there is enough money for metropolitan transport system because smugglers are living there, big people are living there. They have their cells in Rafi Bhavan and in every Bhavan of the Central Government. They can get telephones; they can get everything.

Whether they are in Bombay or in Delhi or in Calcutta or in Madras, it does not matter, they have all the programmes gravitated to their own comforts. So, the ceiling on the urban property is a must, and it is a thing which is required to be implemented in the very beginning.

My hon. friend, Shri Painuli, referred to the hill areas. I think the Prime Minister has backward areas in mind. I want to refer to her speech of 22nd July which she delivered in this House. I quote:

“We have announced some programmes. But very much more has to be done to change life in our cities, in our villages, in our desert areas and in our hilly areas.”

The main reason why backwardness stalks the land of India is that not enough attention has been paid towards transport and communication. I find from the Annual Plan which has been laid on the Table of the House that the expenditure for the year 1974-75 is higher than the outlay for the current year. If this is the picture, if you are not going to give even that much of amount which you gave last year, what is going to the fate of our programmes? How are we going to fulfil them? An amount of Rs. 1,040 crores was allotted for the year 1974-75 and now this amount has been reduced. Similarly, in each sector, whether it is railways or roads, etc., it has been reduced. I would like the hon. Finance Minister to pay heed to the fact that the creation of infra-structure specially in the hilly and backward areas in the form of railway lines, roads, etc. is a primary thing, the most important thing, because otherwise you cannot go there. Everything will be concentrated in the cities. I would, therefore, appeal to him to be more liberal in his allocation for the hilly and backward areas.

The hon. Finance Minister is now taking with the hon. Minister of Civil Aviation. We want an Aerodrome at

[Prof. Narain Chand Parashar]

Simla. Also, we want early construction of the Nangal-Talwara railway line in Himachal Pradesh which was inaugurated by the former Railway Minister, late Mr. L. N. Mishra, on 22nd December, 1974. We want all these things. But the allocations are not there. If the allocations are reduced, if they do not give even the amount which was given last year, everything is gone.

I want to refer to one or two more things. One of them is education. Here is a programme of essential commodities at controlled prices to students in hostels and books and stationery at controlled prices. This much is quite okay. But this is not enough. The youth of the country wants to have something more. You can give essential commodities, books and stationery at controlled prices only to those who are in the colleges. What about those who are passing out every year? Thousands of them are marching in the streets and they are having no hope. So, the entire educational pattern of the country must be changed and it should be changed without any commission or committee being appointed to change it. I say this because, every time there has been a demand to change it, a commission or a committee has been appointed and that has taken years and their recommendations have become obsolete and they have lost their *raison d'être*.

I would submit very humbly that there must be some sense of uniformity. Let there be a beginning from primary education. From Nagaland to Gujarat and from Trivandrum to Himachal Pradesh, let us have the same uniform for the primary schools. We will be instilling a sense of discipline, a sense of unity, in the educational institutions of the country. The students in Trivandrum need not know the language which is spoken in Simla.

But they will be able to say that they are primary students. Japan consists of four main islands separated by sea. There, all the primary students wear the same uniform. Whether he is a son of an emperor or a labourer, he wears the same uniform. That instils a sense of discipline, a sense of national discipline, through education, through primary schools and colleges and through universities.

I have pleaded for the hill areas; I have pleaded for the students. Let me plead for the agricultural labour also because there has been no trade union for these people. They have been agitating; they have been very much weak. Their voice has not been heard. So, it is high time that each State bring forward new laws so that all those slavish laws are eliminated once and for all and the country can look forward to new horizons of peace and prosperity.

With these words, I would once again request the hon. Finance Minister to be more liberal to the hilly and backward areas and allocate more money for the head 'Transport and Communications' because in the hills we need railways and roads, we need transport and communications more than anything else.

*SHRI M. KATHAMUTHU (Nagapattinam): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I wish to point out at the very outset that the responsibility for implementing the provisions of Emergency and the 20-point economic programme announced by the Prime Minister now rests with the State Governments. That being so, we should see how the State Governments are functioning today and what steps they are taking to implement the duties enjoined upon them. We all know, Sir, that many State Governments convened the State Legislative Assemblies and got Resolutions passed supporting the Emergency and the 20 point Economic programme. Many State Governments have also

passed orders in regard to implementation of 20-point economic programme. But there is solitary State which has not done any of these things.

Sir, I come from Tamil Nadu. Till now the Tamil Nadu State Legislative Assembly has not been convened and there is also no indication that the Assembly will be convened in the near future for the purpose of approving the Emergency and for discussing the 20-point economic programme. When a member of the Communist Party of India, who is a Member of the Legislative Assembly of Tamil Nadu, Shri K.T.K. Thangamani, raised this question, the reply from the Tamil Nadu Government was, what was the need for convening the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly, while 12 State Assemblies have already supported the Emergency and the 20-point economic programme. The Tamil Nadu Government has brushed aside the legitimate request of the C.P.I. M.L.A. in the Assembly.

Let us see the reaction of the Tamil Nadu Government for the 20-point economic programme and what steps have been taken by the State Government to implement this programme. They say that they have already implemented 15 out of the 20 points. Sir, the other day the Home Minister stated on the floor of this House that the Central Government was aware how the State Government was functioning in the emergency period and the Central Government was watching the situation. It is not enough that the Centre should remain content with watching the situation. Wherever and whenever it becomes necessary, the Central Government should actively intervene and set the things in order. I am referring to these things because of my anxiety that this House and the Central Government should immediately review their stand in respect of Tamil Nadu Government's attitude towards national emergency. Instead of declaring the determination of the State Government to implement the 20-point programme, the Chief Minister of Ta-

mil Nadu, who is charged with this onerous duty, says: 15 points out of the 20 points have already been implemented by the Tamil Nadu Government; the State Government will implement the remaining 5 points if the Central Government give enough funds; and he further says that in fact, the Tamil Nadu Government have implemented more items than those mentioned in the Prime Minister's broadcast on 1st only other State Governments should usefully emulate Tamil Nadu in this respect. I wonder whether the Central Government should tolerate such intemperate pronouncements of those in authority in Tamil Nadu.

Sir, this 20-point economic programme includes land reform. The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu says that his Government has already completed land reforms in the State. When this House was considering 34th Constitution Amendment Bill last August, Shri Era Sezhiyan, the D.M.K., M.P. demanded that the Tamil Nadu Land Ceiling Act should be incorporated in the 9th Schedule of the Constitution. At that time, the present Finance Minister, while replying to the debate, pointed out that the State Government had not complied with the Central guide-lines in regard to ceiling, family definition and such other provisions. He also referred to the fact that the Tamil Nadu Act was also not in consonance with the recommendations made by the Chief Ministers Conference. I have now moved an amendment to rectify the defects in the Tamil Nadu Act in this respect. I request that the Government should accept my amendment.

Sir, under this Tamil Nadu Land Ceiling Act, many *benami* transactions have taken place. In Tamil Nadu an individual having no dependent family can own 15 standard acres. In Kerala, an unmarried individual can own only 5 standard acres. So many such defects have come to light under the Tamil Nadu Land Ceiling Act. Yet, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu,

[Shri M. Kathamuthu]

glibly says that the Tamil Nadu Government has implemented effectively the land ceiling law. He is not prepared to make any changes in the existing law. He is sticking like a leech to the prevalent position and wants to perpetuate *status quo*.

Sir, this House may now be aware of all the provisions of this law. There is an intervening period of 104 days between the President's assent to the Bill and the date of notification. During this period all the documents executed outside the purview of the law become valid. This is ensured by Clause 21(a) in the Act. Sir, I hope you will agree with me that this appalling situation should be remedied forthwith. It is not enough to say that the land ceiling laws should be implemented effectively. It must be ensured by the Central Government that the defects in the laws should be rectified forthwith. It becomes all the more the responsibility of the Central Government when a State Government is actively engaged in hoodwinking everyone. I can go on enumerating many such instances, but paucity of time prevents me from doing that.

Sir, I have to say with a heavy heart that the agricultural workers are the worst neglected section of our society; nobody can deny the fact that the lot of this oppressed section has not been improved at all. There are 4.75 crores of agricultural workers in the country; if you include their dependents, their number will be about 15 crores. They constitute 26.3 per cent of the total working force. Yet this section is the most neglected section of our society. Their genuine demand that their wages should be increased has not yet been fulfilled. Resolutions have been passed in the recent Labour Ministers' Conference about the wages to be paid to the agricultural workers. These resolutions speak about the upward revision of minimum wages to be paid to the agricultural workers but nothing has been mentioned about the quantum

of increase in wages. No such direction is there in any of the Resolutions. It has been left to the State Governments. Again, there is discrimination in the wages being paid to the male and the female agricultural workers. No attention has so far been paid, no guidelines have been laid down by the Central Government in the matter of paying equal wages to both the male and female agricultural workers. I have moved another amendment stating that the Central Government should enact a comprehensive legislation for the protection of agricultural workers on the lines of Kerala Agricultural Workers' Act. I request that the Central Government should accept this amendment and enact a comprehensive legislation without delay. I would like to recall the ghastly incident that took place at Ramanapalle when the agricultural workers getting Re. 1 for men and 50 paise for women as wages demanded an increase. 100 houses were burnt down to ashes. I come from Tanjore. In Tanjore, some years back in the village of Keelavenmani 44 people were burnt alive just because the agricultural workers demanded increase in wages. This is the fate of agricultural workers in our country. After the proclamation of Emergency, the State Governments of Punjab and Madhya Pradesh have increased the wages of the agricultural workers. But, a Revenue Officer of Tamil Nadu by name Karthikeyan has recently stated that there is no need at this moment to increase the wages of agricultural workers. Naturally the agricultural workers may think that this is a directive of the Central Government. It should be stated here that the same State Government has fixed one of the lowest rates of minimum wages, i.e., Rs. 3 for men and Rs. 2.25 for women. Now the position is that the agricultural workers in Tamil Nadu are forced to struggle for revision of these rates. It is unfortunate that the people of Tamil Nadu have no avenues to express their grievances. The moment they raise their voice, the Government of Tamil Nadu threaten them with D.I.R. and M.I.S.A. The D.I.R. and

M.I.S.A. are likely to be used against the people the moment they demand implementation of 20 point economic programme. There is also no chance of the State Assembly discussing the new economic programme. Thus, a very difficult situation has arisen in Tamil Nadu which the Central Government should take into consideration with all the seriousness it deserves.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am calling the next speaker. Kindly conclude.

SHRI M. KATHAMUTHU: The situation in Tamil Nadu is entirely different from other States. The DIR and MISA are being used by the DMK Government against their political opponents. Today also we have come to know that the Tamil Nadu Government have taken action under the DIR and MISA against ADMK supporters. They have been threatened that their names included in the list of people to be arrested will not be removed unless they pay Rs. 5000 each. As pointed out by the hon. Member, Shri G. Viswanathan today morning, those in authority demand Rs. 20,000 for Medical College Admission, Rs. 5000 for Engineering College admission. The people who refuse to encourage such rampant corruption are threatened under DIR and MISA. Sir, a frightful and frightening atmosphere is being created in Tamil Nadu. The situation there is going from bad to worse. While the people of Tamil Nadu are prepared to extend their wholehearted cooperation in the implementation of 20-point economic programme, the State Government of Tamil Nadu is not ready to do that. I wish to say that the Central Government should realise this and act forcefully and forthwith in the interest of the people of Tamil Nadu.

DR. HENRY AUSTIN (Ernakulam): Mr. Chairman, Sir, our country was passing through a traumatic experience in the month of June. The significance of that trauma the country had to face was such that creative artists like Husain was spurred to bring out paintings of lasting value and some of us have seen how the painter,

Husain had brought forth suggestive paintings of modern art depicting the various stages of the unfoldment of that trauma from the second week of June to the end of this month. After this conclusive experience we see something constructive coming up. In whichever country great revolutions have taken place, we see that if the revolutions were genuine, they have produced something of lasting value to the people. History repeats itself and a similar situation has repeated itself in our country, now and the hon. Finance Minister has placed before us a document embodying the 20-point programme announced by our Prime Minister on 1st of July. So, after the month of June, on the very first day of the next month, we got the announcement by the Prime Minister placing before the people a 20-point programme for the socio-economic development of our country, particularly for the amelioration of the lot of the poorer sections of the people and to give an economic tilt to the whole revolutionary process that we witnessed a few days earlier.

When considering the scope and magnitude of this announcement, I would compare it with the April thesis of the Soviet Union and would say that it is a "July thesis", because the 20-point programme envisaged in this scheme, if implemented correctly, is sure to give a new dimension to our country's socio-economic transformation. As a matter of fact, this scheme is nothing new. Actually, when the Prime Minister went to the people during the 1971 elections, the main thrust of the campaign was the slogan *Garibi Hatao* and the Prime Minister was seriously concerned about this and she had her own vision of how this project had to be implemented. But, as everyone, every conscious citizen of this country knows, particularly, every Member of Parliament knows, this was frustrated by a small minority or a motley club of minority parties whose sole aim was to thwart this plan instead of helping in its execution.

[Dr. Henry Austin]

After this 20-point programme—I would call it the July Thesis—was announced, the entire country rose to a man and has been supporting this programme. Ever since the election campaign of 1971 people were looking forward to the early implementation of this programme. But, as I pointed out, a motley group of minority parties whose popular base is negligible, in collusion with certain disruptive forces and perhaps in combination with some foreign agencies, were conspiring to thwart all this endeavour. As a matter of fact, some of the disruptionists led by Jayaprakash Narayan or Raj Narayan sought to convert this *Garibi Hatao* programme into a *Indira Hatao* programme. These disruptive forces strove to mislead the people and create chaotic conditions and unleash violence and disaffection among the people and the proclamation of emergency was the response of the government and the thinking people of this country to salvage the programme announced as early as 1971 a programme, which would have made much progress in its implementation by now had not these disruptive forces combined to thwart it. It is in this context that we welcome this 20-point programme which hardly needs further explanation. Those of us who lived with and were nurtured in the congress movement, the various items of the programme will not appear new. The congress has been in one form or other trying step by step to implement many of the steps contemplated in the programme. That is the reason why in spite of constant disruptive methods adopted by disruptive forces they could not succeed in reducing the mass base of the congress. With certain confidence, with full realisation of the true aspirations of the people of this country, we have chalked out this programme in tune and harmony with the ideals and programme of the Congress.

Let us turn to the first point. It is to take continued steps to bring down

prices of essential commodities; to streamline production, procurement and distribution of essential commodities; and strict economy in Governmental expenditure.

Every one of us knows the reasons for the escalation in prices. One of the reasons is that anti-social elements have been taking advantage of the political confusion created by certain disruptive forces. The black marketeers and anti-social elements had a hay day. But when a strong Government emerged and when people knew that Government is taking a very serious view of hoarding, smuggling, black marketing, etc., naturally the prices have come down.

The ten-point programme was announced on 1st of July. To-day is 1st of August a month is over now. Even in this short span of a month we have seen a spectacular and palpable change in the price structure of our economy.

Credit should go to the Finance Minister who ever since the announcement by the Prime Minister has been giving stern warnings to all these forces which have been responsible for this unnecessary escalation in prices. It will be noticed that we have now been able to bring down prices to such a level that our Finance Minister with considerable optimism has been able to predict that inflation will soon come to the zero level. In fact our economy is poised for a big thrust forward.

While congratulating the Finance Minister for this, I would also like to point out that it is not enough that we reduce the prices by punitive action alone that has its own limitation, but we should streamline things so as to maintain certain price stability. It is very necessary that we have effective control at the levels of production, procurement, storage and distribution especially on the food front. I would like to say that we have not got created

requisite facilities, especially post-harvest facilities. If you go through the various documents produced by the Ministry of Agriculture, we find that a sizeable quantity of cereals is eaten away by rodents and otherwise spoiled because of inadequate storage facilities. If proper attention is, therefore, given at the production level, procurement level, storage level and distribution level, I am sure, we will be able to bring further reduction in prices and will be making rapid headway towards stability.

Another point which I would like to stress in this connection is the need for strict economy in Governmental expenditure. Over the years and decades it has become a fashion to expand the governmental apparatus for various reasons. Several efforts under different commissions have been made for administrative reforms; volumes after volumes of reports have been produced. Shri Hanumanthaya has produced, I think, 26 volumes but nothing has come out from all these efforts. I do not think this bureaucratic approach will yield the desired result. The idea of popular committees is gaining currency now. We should have a fresh look into Administrative Reforms based on increased non-official representations and find out whether this administrative machinery can be streamlined by decentralisation and making it in tune with the expectation of the people to reduce expenditure and delay. In an independent and sovereign country like ours we do not need the existing pattern of Secretariat where we have an Under Secretary, Joint Secretary and Secretary. All these gradations or their archical structures were made by the British people because they never trusted the Indian citizens. They had a negative approach. Every citizen was suspected and considered as "who had come to rob the Government." To-day, we are a free country. We should always have a positive attitude—we should believe and trust the citizen and try to help him. There is no need of

double check or cross check. Everything can be simplified. We must think of de-centralisation and debureaucratisation. In a short duration I cannot explain this. Volumes are produced by Administrative Reforms Commission; but those are not necessary; we can evolve simple formulae from our expenses and that of other countries. In several countries particularly socialist countries, there are system for speedy implementation of decisions and projects. They have also bureaucracies but the bureaucracies are patterned after system which make implementation expeditious.

There is only one more point which I will stress as my time is running out. This is regarding house sites and house-building for rural poor. This is a point on which I have spoken several times. Low-cost house-building for the rural people, particularly for the weaker sections of society is a top-priority nation building task. Almost every material needed for low-cost house-building would be indigenously available. I don't find any reason why the house-building programme cannot be started from the panchayat level. I have read a paper which has been prepared by some friends on this problem, proving how by organisation of local materials and talents we can undertake massive rural house-building programmes. For instance Woodwork and carpentry are important elements in the house-building industry. You can utilise the services of the local village carpenters. That is what is being done in China; and some other countries. You can find out the number of carpenters available in a panchayat for instance. I am sure in most of our panchayats there will be not less than fifty carpenters. You can select a dozen or so best carpenters out of them and ask them to train about 100 in the profession of carpentry in one year. You can put up tents for the trainees near their houses; you can get those tents either from the military or the territorial army people or some such agencies. If you could

[Dr. Henry Austin]

train hundred carpenters in one year like this in a panchayat you need not wait for sanction huge funds from the Central or State Governments for putting up a college training people in carpentry. The same thing may be applied in the case of masons, in the case of limestone manufacturers, brick-makers, etc. In rural construction of low cost housing cement is not necessary and we need not be vail over non-availability of cement but we can go ahead with these indigenous materials. We can utilise our vast forest resources for the timber needed for these houses. These trained carpenters and wood cutters can be taken to the forests areas and they can manufacture the frames of door, windows, etc., required for houses in the temporary forests tents specially made for them. Along with it even as they cut the trees, they can start the 'afforestation process' also. That is to say, for every tree cut, two trees must be planted. So, what I suggest is that we can do all these things depending upon the indigenously available human and material resources. Nothing will stand in our way. All the materials and expertise needed are available in our own country and these can very well be utilised. We will by this process be able to bring about an era of self-reliance which is very necessary. We can do all these things ourselves, without depending upon any foreign capital or know-how or expertise; massive programmes of these types undertaken on the basis of self-reliance will bring about greatest satisfaction to largest numbers of our people. Sir, the main problem of the people is housing, lack of a place to lay their heads on. As the Bible says:

Foxes have holes;

And Birds of the air nests;

**But the son of man has nowhere
to lay his head.**

To sum up, I would say this: If energetic steps are taken in the direc-

tion of implementation of the Twenty point economic programme announced by the hon. Prime Minister, in the wake of the new social and political discipline brought about by the declaration of Emergency, I am sure the country will move rapidly towards our goal of a Socialist Society.

Sir, I support the 20-point economic programme announced by the Prime Minister and placed before the House by the Finance Minister.

MR CHAIRMAN: Now, I shall just draw the attention of the hon. Members to a fact that the Chair has before it fifty members from the Congress Benches who are still remaining and, there are a few Members from the Opposition side also. In a discussion as important as this, everybody want to participate in some measures. But, there is limitation of time.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: You can limit it to five minutes each.

MR. CHAIRMAN: This is a consideration which you will kindly bear in mind. When the bell rings do not disregard it and continue. When there are two minutes left, I shall give a ring and when the time is over, the bell will be rung again. Member will kindly resume his seat irrespective of who is speaking. I shall call the name of the next Member and we shall proceed.

श्री जगन्नाथ सिंह (संजयपुर) :
सभापति महोदय, यह 21 प्वाइंट प्रोग्राम जो प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने दिया है, यहाँ कहा गया कि यह कोई नया नदी है। मैं यह कहता हूँ कि लगातार काम करने की वजह से ही हम यहाँ तक पहुँच पाए हैं। ये न्यू अजज हैं इसमें। नये ढंग से हम इनको आगे बढ़ाना चाहते हैं। इस में जो कमी रही है वह अपोजीशन ने जो बार-बार इस बात में रोक-टोक की है

उसकी वजह से रही है। किसानों को कहते थे कि आप को कम दाम मिलता है और यहां कहने थे कि आप को बहुत कीमत पर मिलता है। इस तरह दोहरी बातें ये करते थे। फ्रंट के नाम पर ऐसी ऐसी पार्टियां इकट्ठा हुईं जो डेमोक्रेसी के ढांचे को खत्म करना चाहती थीं। इसलिए जितने भी स्टेप्स विन मंत्री ने लिए हैं वह यह नहीं कि फौरी तौर पर उन्होंने ऐक्शन लिया है, और बहुत सी बातों में वह आगे बढ़े हैं, एक-एक पाइप के बारे में मैं अज कब तो बहुत वक्त लगेगा। लेकिन वक्त की तंगी इसलिए मैं नहीं अज करना चाहता। मैं यह अर्ज करूंगा कि प्रपोजीशन पार्टीज जिन्होंने राईटिस्ट फ्रंट बनाया उनमें मनीड आदमी है। वह ऐसे लोग हैं जो इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स में मिल गए थे। वह चाहते थे कि डेमोक्रेसी का खत्म कर दिया जाय। इस वजह से रुकावट हमारे कामों में रही है और उस रुकावट को दूर करने के लिए एक पार्ल्या इरादा गवर्नमेंट ने किया है। उसके लिए प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने यह प्रोग्राम दिया है जो आगे बढ़ेगा। इन्फ्लेशन को चेक करने के लिए जो स्टेप्स लिये गये हैं उसके लिए वह बहुत मुबारकबाद के मुश्तहक है कि कुछ प्राइमेज भी नीचे आई हैं और इन्फ्लेशन रुका है। उन्होंने मनी स्वीज किया है और फाइनेशियल जो हालत है उसको अच्छा करने के लिए बहुत कोशिश की है। आज जो उरामे लूपहॉल्य है वे तो दूर होने ही चाहिए। लाइमेमेज का जो मिम्यूज है उसको देखने की जरूरत है। मारे लाइमेमेज को देखें। मोनापली हाउजेज के पाम बहन में लाइमेज अनयुज्ड पटे है। वह उनसे लेकर और लोगों को देना चाहिए जो उनको जल्दी पूरा कर सकें। मैं जानता हूँ ऐसे लोगों को जिनके पाम एक नहीं, दो नहीं, दस नहीं बीसों लाइसेंस बगैर यूज किये गये हैं। वे उसको आगे बेचना चाहते थे कि इसको ब्लॉक में दे सकें और किमी और के नाम करवा सकें। इसकी तरफ तबज्जह देने की जरूरत है।

दूसरी बात—अर्बन बेकेंट लैंड के बारे में बहुत ही घिनीनी तस्वीर है। लोगों के पाम रिहैबिलिटेशन की जमीन पड़ी हुई है जो उन्होंने संभाली हुई है। उम पर उन्होंने मकानियत बना ली है। आप इसकी जांच कराइए और उमको खाली कराइए। यह वक्त आ गया है जब कि जिन्होंने लैंड यूजस की हुई है उनमें उमको खाली करवा मके।

एग्रीकल्चरल एमेनिटीज के बारे में अर्ज करूंगा, उसके अंदर आपको 50 लाख एकर जमीन नई डेवलपमेंट के नीचे लानी है। बहुत अच्छी बात है। मीडियम और मेजर इर्रिगेशन के लिए आप ने काफी कुछ दिया है रुपया बढ़ाया है। 385 करोड़ में 466 करोड़ रुपया किया है। ठीक बात है। लेकिन इससे काम चलने वाला नहीं है। यह सारा पैसा आप इस ढंग से तकसीम करें कि जो आप के फौरी तौर पर प्रोजेक्ट्स पूरे हो सकें हैं या पूरे होने के करीब हैं उनको ज्यादा रुपया दिया जाय ताकि उनमें आपको बिजली और पानी मिल सके।

ये झगड़े जितने हैं, अब यहां गव साहब बोल रहे थे, मैंने उस वक्त टोका नहीं, लेकिन मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसी स्कीम लाना जिनमें 5-5, 7-7 और 10-10 हजार रुपया खर्च हो, उन स्कीमों में बेहतर क्या यह नहीं कि आप एक ग्रिड बनायें? बिजली का एक ग्रिड हो। वाटर को आप पूल करें। नेशनल पावर ग्रिड एक बनना चाहिए। थर्मल प्लांट आप देखें, विहार में इतना कोयला है और ग्रान प्रोडक्शन ज्यादा की है लोहे की ग्रार कोयले की तो क्यों नहीं बना ज्यादा थर्मल प्लांट पाकर पावर ज्यादा पैदा करेंगे उनको दे और उसका बटवारा मारे देश में किया जाय। यह निहायत जरूरी है। इसकी तरफ तबज्जह आप दे क्योंकि थर्मल प्लांट में आपको बहुत जल्दी बिजली मिल सकती है और आप के जो हाइडेल प्रोजेक्ट्स हैं वह अभी नहीं चल

[श्री दरदास सिंह]

पाये हैं। उनके लिए दस-दस माल चाहिए। लेकिन इनके लिए तो तीन चार माल में ज्यादा बक्त की जरूरत नहीं। इसलिए रुपया इस तरह लगाना चाहिए। पावर के बगैर हिन्दुस्तान की तरक्की रुकी रही है और उसमें अभी भी स्कावट पड सकती है।

मैं फुड मिचएशन के बारे में अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि बड़े-बड़े बिग लैंड लार्ड्स क्यों अभी भी आणकी सरकारों में फसे हुए हैं? उनको क्यों नहीं निकालने? वहाँ आपको नहीं चलने देने। 1953 में लेकर 1970 तक उनको विशिष्ट करने आ रहे हैं। उन्होंने अपनी जमीनें कुन्ने बिलियों के नाम, मुर्दों के नाम और पता नहीं किस किसके नाम डी हर्ड है। क्यों नहीं फिजिकल वेरिफिकेशन की जाती है। मेरी 22 एकड़ जमीन है। मैंने साठे चार एकड़ देनी पड़ेगी। लेकिन जिनके पास हजार हजार और पांच पांच सौ एकड़ जमीन है उनको एक इंच नहीं देनी पड़ेगी। क्योंकि उन्होंने इस दौरान में लेजिस्लेशन के मुनाबिक नहीं, पता नहीं किस किस ढंग से पैसे दे कर तहसीलदार में डिप्टी कलेक्टर से मिल कर उस सारी जमीन को इस तरह से लॉ के अनुसार कर रखी है कि आप उनमें एक इंच जमीन ले नहीं सकेगे। इसलिए आप मेहरबानी करके फिजिकल वेरिफिकेशन कराइए और उससे साथ-साथ एक कमेटी बनाइए जो आपको बता सके कि यह जमीन किसकी है? ऐक्चुअल वेरिफिकेशन होगी तो आपको जमीन मिलेगी। लेकिन उन गरीबों को जिनका नाम ले कर हम कहते हैं कि इनको जमीनें देगे लैण्डलेस को जमीनें देगे उन सबका जमीन मिलनेवाली नहीं है। अगर मिलने वाली है तो बहुत थोड़ों को मिलने वाली है। सब को नहीं मिल सकती, सब गरीबों को सब लैण्डलेस का सब छोटे किसानों को नहीं मिल सकती। लेकिन जो मिशनी है वह तो लेकर आप दे।

उसके साथ साथ माल स्कोप इन्स्टी बजाय इसके कि दिल्ली, कलकत्ता और दूसरे बड़े बड़े शहरों में सस्टेनाइज करे, उसको डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन करके छोटे छोटे शहरों में न जाइये जहाँ आमदमी आने घर में रोटी का तरास के प्रौर वापस जा सके तथा उस। फायदा उठा कर दो सौ तीन सौ रुपये घर की आमदनी उठा सके। अगर ऐसा नही बरेग दो आठ यह जमीन जो है उसमें आठ सारी प्राइमरी साल्व नहीं कर सकेगे। बहुत गरीब जो हरिजन हैं उनका जमीन पर आठ सौ नहीं सकेगे क्यों कि जमीन गिरल नहीं रही है, वे निकलने नहीं देते। आपकी एंटी डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन पॉलिसी जो कि पावर में है उसको जरा हिट करे और उन लार्ड्स को जमीन लीजिये। अगर लार्ड अन्ध्र प्रदेश पार्टी ने स्वयं ही है कि आपकी अपनी जमीन की फेडरेशन बना कर दे। फेडरेशन नहीं बन ले। यहाँ मैं सरकार का चाणगी डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन में सफाई हो जाणगी ता कि फिजिकल बखत सफाई हो जाणगी। इसलिए फौरी तौर पर इसकी तरफ आप ध्यान दीजिये।

गेडयल्लु ट्राइबल की लैन्ड नान टाइज ने समाली हुट है। उसका खाली क्यों नहीं कराने? आन्ध्र, बिहार, उड़ीसा आर यू० पी० में मैकडॉ नहीं हजारों एकड़ जमीन है, उसको खाली कराइये। पचायतों की जमीन है उसको खाली कराइये। पचायतों की जमीन जो कमालिडेशन में इधर उधर चली गई थी, वे टुकड़े जिसका जमीन के साथ थे उन्होंने उसे मभाला हुआ है, उनसे वह वापस लीजिये। हजारों नहीं लाख एकड़, 42 लाख एकड़ जमीन पचायती यू० पी० में है जिनको सरपच दबाये हुये हैं या किमी न किमी ढग में अपने रिश्तेदारों को दिये हुये हैं। उनमें वापस ले कर उन गरीबों में तक्रमोम कीजिये जो कि काश्न करते हैं और लैण्डलेस कल्टीवेटर्स हैं। बड़े बड़े जमींदारों ने क्या किया है कि पांच पांचसौ एकड़ का फार्म उन्होंने रखा हुआ है और कहते हैं कि पांच

सी एकड़ का गार्डन है। उसमें दोनों फसलें उगाते हैं, पानी ज्यादा लेते हैं और उसको लिखवाते हैं कि यह हमारी सिर्फ गार्डन है उसके लिये ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव मशीनरी ऐसी कमिटेड लगाइये जो उसकी सफाई करे, जो हैव नट्स की हो। यह नहीं कि बड़े-बड़े कमिश्नर और दूसरे अफसर जो हैं जिनके पास बड़ी बड़ी जमीनें हैं उनको आप लगायें वे तो वही काम करेंगे जो आज पन्द्रह-बीस सालों से करते चले आ रहे हैं।

प्राइस आफ अथकल के बारे में बहुत जिक्र किया गया। वीवर्स के लिये बहुत सहूलियत देने के लिये कहा गया। बहुत अच्छी बात है। लेकिन मैं यह भी अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि काटन जो आपका है, यह तो ख्याल रखें कि किस भाव पर उसे लेना है। आपका काटन कारपोरेशन आफ इंडिया है, वह तो कहीं रिट्रैचमेंट कर रहा है, कहीं वापस ले रहा है, कहीं कहता है कि हम काटन नहीं खरीद करेंगे। तो कल को काटन ज्यादा होगी उसको कौन खरीदेगा? आप बाहर से इम्पोर्ट करते हैं, यहां क्यों नहीं लेते? इस बारे में हाउसिंग बैक्स से पैसा लेकर फीरी तौर पर कार्यवाही करनी चाहिये। समाजवाद में रोटी, कपड़ा, मकान इलाज और बुढ़ापे में पेंशन ये चीजें गारन्टीड होती हैं। इनमें से आप पहली चार कर दें तो भी हम समझेंगे कि हम आगे बढ़ रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ गवर्नमेंट ने अपनी नीयत से पूरे सौसेज इकट्ठा करने के लिये एक इरादा बनाया है। हम उसके साथ हैं और हमारी जो भी ड्यूटी लगे, एम० पी० के तौर पर उसे हम पूरी तरह से निभायेंगे। बाकी जो आपका इम्प्लीमेंटेशन है लोवर लेकिन पर वह ठीक से होना चाहिये।

16.00 hrs.

SHRI NITIRAJ SINGH CHAUDHARY (Hosangabad): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the economic programme 1210 LS—5.

announced by the Prime Minister has been welcomed throughout the length and breadth of the country, and therefore, I, as representative of the people, feel that it is our duty to see that that programme is implemented in letter and in spirit.

There are some snags and these snags and problems vary from State to State. I come from the State of Madhya Pradesh. I will draw the Government's attention to the things as they are happening there and I will try to suggest as to how far these defects can be remedied.

In regard to land ceiling, it is surprising and shocking that in the state of Madhya Pradesh, when the ceiling law was enforced, a forecast was made that about 68,000 acres of land would be available for distribution to the poor. But, hardly 12,000 is expected and I think, ultimately, the figure of 12 may be reduced to 6 or even 5. Why and how all this has happened is a matter for serious consideration. It is true that law allows a person to arrange his affairs in a way as he likes provided he is within the four corners of the law. In the matter of land ceiling, what happened was, persons have transferred their lands legally by documents and by getting the names of persons existent and non-existent recorded in revenue papers. Therefore, if these cases are heard on tours, where village people can come, officers may know as to how the property has gone, where it has gone, who is in possession who is taking the crop who is selling the crop and who are the benamidars. In our State, a very large area is occupied by the tribals. There is a land alienation Act in the State of Madhya Pradesh which prohibits transfer of land by tribals. Yet, thousands and thousands of acres of land of tribals have been transferred. How? Either without permission or permission has been given without any consideration for the welfare of the tribals. I would request the Government to have a look into that.

[Shri Nitiraj Singh Chaudhary]

Then, I come to the next point, about house sites. I have been touring my State and what I found was that the house sites allotment was on paper, within the court compound and not outside the court compound. If one was to go to a village and ask a man, whom the court record would show as an allottee, as to where was the site, he would say 'I do not know'. If accidentally he knows, he would tell you that such and such person is in possession of that site. How can that man, the poor man, eject the rich, the powerful, the bully? I would, therefore, suggest that it should be the duty of the officers, who allot these sites to go to the villages and make demarcations on the spot and put persons in possession. If that is done, the persons who are in wrongful possession will be ejected and the persons in the villages would be able to know about the real ownership. If the persons in possession have any claim, they would come there and state their position. By this, matters could be sorted out and the poor man would not be put to trouble.

I feel that mere allotment of sites would not solve the problem because the persons to whom sites are given, do not have means to construct small huts. Therefore, some arrangements should be made by which some tiles and ballies are provided for construction of huts. The other materials, they would arrange themselves locally, they can have mud walls; they can have tatti walls and they can have roofing for tiles etc. But unless the main building material, wood, is supplied, I feel they cannot construct houses and the sites would remain sites and ultimately they would be sold off to or taken possession of by others.

An effort is being made to wipe out rural indebtedness. Laws are being enacted. But I would request the hon. Finance Minister to consider the present methods of moneylending. If he

would recollect, 10 or 15 years back, a small causes court had 300 to 400 cases each day. But today it has 30-40 cases. These courts do so not have these cases each day; they are sitting twice a week. What is the reason? The method of money-lending has since changed. Persons who advance money do so on pawning of ornaments. When a person goes and pawns his ornaments, no receipt is given. So if you pass a law by which the debt is wiped out, how is he to receive back his ornaments? He goes to the person with whom the ornaments are pawned. He asks: 'When did you pawn the ornaments? I have not received any ornaments from you'. No receipt has been given. So this law will remain on paper.

Another method is sale. If these poor persons in need of money hold land, the person advancing the money takes the sale deed of the land. The sale consideration is not for the amount advanced only; it also includes interest for the period after which the amount is agreed to be paid. It is not paid, he takes possession of the land. The laws that are being passed will not wipe out this indebtedness. If really we mean that indebtedness of the poor should be wiped out, we have to see that such unscrupulous persons are brought to book and the property of those who have lost it to these persons is restored back to them.

As regards the distribution system, I feel that except in the urban areas and some rural areas, there is no distribution system. If figures for the entire Madhya Pradesh State are taken, and if the figures of shops that exist for distribution of controlled commodities in the State are collected and from out of that figure, the number of shops in the urban areas, that is, municipalities, is eliminated, the number remaining would be one per 100 villages. I doubt if one shop can cater for the needs of 100 villages. The village people do not need foodgrains. What they need is coarse cloth, then kerosene for

lighting the little lamp in their houses and occasionally some sugar or *jaggari* or any other thing which they take. To supply these, there used to be market places. In these market places, these things were available. But now they are not. So our effort should be to have these shops in all market places, big and small, and it should be seen that a shop caters for the needs of about 1,000 or 1,500 people and it should be within 2—4 kms. of each resident in that area.

Then about irrigation and facilities for irrigation, major projects are there. Money is being allotted for them and they would be completed. But they would take time. For immediate gain, I would say that in minor, even minor, projects are taken up, if they are begun in the month of October and completed in December and by lift irrigation a few hundred acres are irrigated from each project, many thousands of acres would be irrigated in each tehsil and district. There are rivulets in which water flows some-time throughout the year, sometime till March/April. If this water is hunded and lifted, I think we can derive much advantage and we shall have in abundance the grains that we need most.

SHIRI SYED AHMED AGA (Baranulla): The twenty point programme announced by the Prime Minister is most welcome. I would only say that implementation should not be left in the hands of those with a wavering mind. Again implementation should not be such that it is deficient and there are many loopholes. Because, if this programme does not succeed much will remain to be desired.

With regard to the first item food, I do not quite understand why the Government is hesitant to deal with wholesals. They should, at least, not be content with the marketed surplus from big landlords; they must take the marketable surplus from the big landlords and leave the small man.

I feel that essential commodities should not be the concern of the private trade. Essentials must remain with in public distribution. We feel that the traders who are selling stocks at the moment are not replenishing their stocks, the Government must not be caught napping. Government must take steps to see that stocks of essentials are and remain available. Luxuries might be left to the private sector and let them do what they like, but not essentials.

Leaving irrigation side, the power projects in the States are implemented very slowly. In my State the Lower Jhalem and Ori are agonisingly slow moving; it is decades since they were begun but they had not yet been completed. Salal would be a Central project. I should urge the Centre to take up or ensure the implementation of projects expeditiously. The implementation of super thermal projects should be accelerated by the Centre. The national grid should come into being soon. The Centre should have greater control over power production and distribution; it should not be left to the States only.

With regard to land ceilings there is also hanky-panky; land may not become available. But when it does, it should first be given to those who have uneconomic holdings; next it must be given to those who do not have land. It should not be left there, people should get the services; they need a pair of bullock, tractor, etc. Service stations must be set up there. There is a net-work of that used to be called service co-operatives. If they are service co-operatives, they should certainly afford services such as seeds, fertiliser, tractors, etc. on credit. If rural indebtedness is removed and debt is scaled down, certain things should be kept in mind. At the moment credit is given on consideration whether a person is creditworthy or not. In that context a small man may not be creditworthy. What is important is that credit should be need based credit, not

[Shri Syed Ahmed Aga]

based on credit worthiness. After all the land is there. If people could get seed and fertiliser on credit, the crop will come up and service cooperatives can take it back. They should not depend upon whether he is credit-worthy or not. In this connection, I would like to submit that in my State a small man has just a tree, it is not an orchard. Now, that tree does not bear fruits, very standard fruits and even if it bears standard fruit, he does not know what to do with them and how to sell them. So, in Kashmir we have a lot of trees like that. There is the tree falls; or under-ripe or over-ripe. Even a cow does not touch it. So, at least my State should be advised on this matter. It should have a huge processing plant and it should have feeders throughout the valley. A food processing plant has been set up there by a private person. He is roaring in wealth. So much wealth he has got that he does not know what to do with it. He has put beautiful tiles on the road in his garden. My submission therefore is, the Government should set up the food processing plant in the public sector?

Then, Sir, I come to handloom. Handloom must get due attention in my State. Previously we used to have good pastures in Chathan Leh district. But now they are all in bad state. Good pastures are now on the Chinese side. No good pastures are available now on our side. There are therefore less goats and less wool-pasham. I would suggest that the State Government should be asked or the Centre should see to it that the pastures on our side improve.

With regard to wool production, I would submit that we must get sheep from the USSR and improve breed in our State so that the people in my State may have wool and subsidiary occupation.

Then, Sir, with regard to controlled cloth, I would like to submit that its

supply is not adequate and it is not available throughout the country. It should be available in adequate quantity and should be durable. With regard to vacant land, I may be permitted to quote an example here. I purchase a plot of land in 1938 at a cost of Rs. 210. Today its value is more than Rs. 2.0 lakhs. That means if anybody had purchased a plot of land in 1938 at Rs. 210 today its value is about Rs. 2.0 lakhs. I would suggest that the Government while acquiring these vacant plots of land in urban areas, should not pay the price as is prevalent today, but it should pay the price as was obtaining twenty years ago or fifteen years ago.

Then, Sir, I come to the subject of forest. Forests throughout belong to the Government. At least in my State forests belongs to the Government, not to a private party. But the forests are given to the contractors and they are exploring the forest wealth and earning more from the forest wealth and the Government is losing on this account. What I am submitting is that the contractors should not be employed for tapping the forest wealth. The Government should have direct control over forests and they should not be given to the contractors. Lastly, I would submit that the Hathi Committee recommendations should be implemented.

Finally, I may make it clear that imperialism was beaten in Indo China. It is concentrating on Asia and India is the immediate target. We will have to see that we do things in a manner that no conspiracy is allowed to be hatched again. The Emergency Proclamation has met the first attack, but the conspirators are not going to take it lying down. They may reappear in another form.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Kozhikode): Sir, I am happy that with the declaration of emergency, more serious and determined attention is being paid by the Government to the

economic development of the country and the Prime Minister has come out with this 20 point economic package programme, which is very encouraging and promising. In the last 25 years, we have had planning, but things did not improve materially though it laid down the economic and technical foundation. Planning did not improve the standard of living among our people and the suffering of the common man and the down-trodden did not decrease. Even today it pains we to say that 50 per cent of our people live below poverty level and the backlog of employment today is 20 million. It is the people of the rural areas and also the fixed income groups who have always been neglected and have suffered more. The people have been suffering during the last 2 or 3 years particularly due to inflation, unemployment, non-availability of essential commodities and rising prices which have been touching the sky, with more than 100 or 200 per cent increase.

Thank God, today we find a new determination and the Government is also better equipped with all powers to go ahead with proper planning, keeping in view the socialistic objectives. This is happening for the first time in our country.

During the emergency, no doubt fundamental rights have been suspended and democratic rights also are curtailed, but then if the common man could find relief by slashing down of prices and maintenance of law and order, even the stringent laws and the emergency may for a time become popular. I am no economic expert but common sense demands that economic equality is as much essential as political equality to sustain the country. It is this economic equality that the weaker sections and the minorities did not have so far. The economic package programme announced by the Prime Minister on the 1st of July really envisages a correct and bold approach to the present economic situation in the country. Many steps are emphasised like continuation of efforts to bring

down prices, implementation of agricultural land ceiling, etc. As far as Kerala is concerned, the State Government there have not only implemented land reforms but also nationalised plantation forests, which is a big step forward. Moreover, the Prime Minister's economic plan envisages more land to be brought under irrigation, house sites for the landless, valuation of conspicuous constructions, confiscation of smugglers' properties, income-tax relief, help to students in hostels and apprenticeship scheme for the weaker sections and the down-trodden, etc. These are measures that have to be appreciated.

Today a very strange situation exists in our country. On the one side there are people who have constructed houses worth lakhs and lakhs. On the other side, we have people who cannot have one square meal a day. They do not have any shelter and they sleep on footpaths and platforms. In today's papers we see that when income-tax squads raided areas like Maharanibagh and Greater Kailash, they found houses worth Rs. 10 to 15 lakhs and 20 to 30 lakhs. One family was having 4 television sets; 8 to 10 air-conditioners, 5 to 6 geysers, 5 imported cars, 3 to 4 refrigerators etc. On the other side, there are lakhs of people without any shelter and lakhs and lakhs do not even have drinking water. This strange situation must end. Very strong action should be taken against black-marketeers, hoarders, smugglers and other anti-social elements who have brought the country to this position and have increased the sufferings of the common people.

I am very happy that the income-tax limit has been raised. I think, it was some years back that the Boothalingam Committee had recommended that it should be raised from Rs. 6000 to Rs. 7500. Since then, the prices have risen further and I feel that instead of raising the limit to Rs. 8000, it must have been raised to Rs. 10,000. That would have given a real relief

[Shri Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait]

to the middle sections of the society who are the worst sufferers.

To keep the student community in good stead the programme provides essential commodities at controlled prices to students in hostels. I feel that this facility must be extended to labourers in major industrial cities.

Special mention has to be made about the new apprentice scheme to enlarge employment and training to weaker sections. Sir, I must point out that the largest minority of the country, the Muslims, has been all these years subjected to great social injustice in the economic field. This fact has been acknowledged by all and little has been done so far to remedy the evil. I feel that there should be a feeling of participation by all sections of population in the national development and particularly the minorities, the scheduled castes and weaker sections. They must not have a feeling of neglect and frustration which will never be in national interest. Thousands of public sector industries have been started, hundreds of banks have been nationalised, but if we look into the percentage of Muslims and other minorities in these projects and in these banks they are negligible.

I am confident that these economic measures will be implemented honestly and will not remain as list of honest intentions. And I hope the Prime Minister and other Ministers will do something tangible to redress the just grievances of the minority communities.

I, on behalf of my party, offer all cooperation in the implementation of this economic programme. I conclude and wish the country and the people a happy future.

SHRI K. SURYANARYANA:
(Eluru): Mr. Chairman. Sir, after the announcement of the economic programme I have gone to my constituency

and visited so many villages. I have met tribal people, and agricultural labourers particularly. The people are very happy that the country is progressing towards socialism. This country of 550 million people will ever remain grateful to Shrimati Indira Gandhi for salvaging the Nation from chaos and confusion.

Nehruji once compared India to the elephant-intelligent, strong and dignified but heavy, lumbering and slow—which, when provoked, can run faster than a champion sprinter. The analogy could not have come to mind at a more appropriate time. Events of far reaching consequence have happened in the last three weeks. Our Prime Minister, when provoked and challenged, displays extraordinary courage and capabilities, spurring the entire nation to action. In these days of Emergency, all the parties and even capitalists meet the Prime Minister every day and express agreement with her policies. This is the time to nationalise anything. Only 14 banks have been nationalised; and we are getting fruits from that action. After having that experience, it is now time to take further action. I request the Government of India to study the working of foreign banks and consider nationalisation of banks having deposits of Rs. 100 crores and more. Earlier, we have nationalised banks having deposits of only Rs. 50 crores or over.

I would like to say that at present it is the rural population that agrees most with the Government. I would request the Finance Minister to consider as to how we can remove the economic difficulties of the common man. The whole nation is now moving like one man towards the cherished goal.

Many of the items in the economic programme are not entirely new. They have been part of our different programmes at different periods. The Prime Minister has also said that the

programme may not be new; but what is required, is the sense of urgency to be given to its implementation. Not only the Congress Party; and the leaders of other parties who are now associating with us, but also persons who are not cooperating with us now, may also join us after their release. Keeping them in jail is not a permanent thing. The State is paying them Rs. 10 a day. We cannot afford this. They may be released after some time. If they differ with us, let them go to villages and argue as to how these steps are not beneficial to the country.

Now about land reforms. Action in regard to land reforms is being taken for the last several years. In Andhra Pradesh, 16,81,480 acres of government land have been distributed, in Maharashtra the figure is 10 lakh and odd acres; and in U.P. 8 lakhs and odd acres and so on. The Government is, no doubt, moving, but not to the extent desired by the people; and Government is not doing things according to the land reform legislations which we have indicated here.

Even in my constituency, 70,000 acres are there in Kolleru area. The Prime Minister has referred the matter several times to the State, when Andhra Pradesh was under President's rule. They have not taken any action. Now, on the 3rd November, 1974, the Chief Minister myself and so many other legislators went to that place and we have given a promise to the landless people. In the Secretariat, the landlords are creating so many difficulties to the Chief Minister as well. If there is a will, there is a way. I have told the Chief Minister that unless he distributes at least 60,000 acres, the position will not improve. It seems that they have suggested to the Chief Minister the constitution of a corporation. In that case, the corporation itself will become something like a board of trust. Unless a *pucca* arrangement is made, the landless labour and fishermen, who are staying in Kolleru area for generations, will not be satisfied. If you give water and power to them,

they would give one lakh tonnes more of rice, after meeting their own requirements, from those 60,000 or 70,000 acres.

Coming to power, the south in general and Andhra Pradesh in particular, is very much in need of power. Andhra Pradesh is traditionally known as the granary of the entire south, if not of the whole country. Though it is very rich in mineral resources, the majority of the population depends only on agriculture. The generation of power is a pre-requisite for the exploitation and utilisation of the mineral resources. Therefore, emphasis should be laid on the generation of power in a big way. Andhra is rich in coal resources. Therefore, one of the new power projects should be located in Andhra. In fact, our Chief Minister has written to the Centre in the matter. When we are considering the installation of 2,000 mw projects with World Bank loan, I would say that one of the projects should be located in Andhra, instead of locating it in some other area where coal will have to be transported all the way from Andhra or elsewhere. If we are given more power, we can produce another 20 lakh tonnes of rice which will be available for the rest of the country. Nagarjunasagar and Pochampad projects alone will not be sufficient. You must remember that whatever assistance is given to Andhra is utilized for the benefit of the whole country. After all, we are self-sufficient in food. So, the extra production is meant for the rest of the country.

Take the example of your State, Mr. Chairman, Kerala, your State has gone in for commercial crops. You are not growing enough of food crops. You can purchase rice from the market because you have the purchasing power. Andhra is the only State in the country where you get finer variety of rice for Rs. 2 per kilo. So far, Andhra has paid attention only to the development of agriculture. Now we want to develop industrially, but that

[Shri K. Suryanarayana]

is not possible unless we get financial help from the Centre. So, I would request the Centre to give us more financial help.

For want of time, I will refer only to sugar and conclude. The Finance Minister, while speaking in the Rajya Sabha, said that the production of sugar in 1973-74 was 3.97 million tonnes and the anticipated production in 1974-75 season is 4 million tonnes. That has happened because the Government gave encouragement to the growers. Now, all of a sudden, the Government is reducing the prices. As my friend, Shri N. N. Pandey, has said, many millers are not giving the proper price, while the cooperatives are giving Rs. 120—140 to the cane-growers. The cooperative sugar factories are losing heavily. I do not know why the private factories are keeping quite. In the entire country the cooperative sugar factories are suffering. Five or six States are affected by this. In Andhra we are losing Rs. 32 per bag and Gujarat Rs. 26 per bag.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He should conclude now.

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA: For 1975-76 about 30 or 40 need licences have been given for sugar. Now the cost of machinery has gone up and the IFC is not giving any loan to the cooperatives. This is the position.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let him mention only the points and conclude.

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA: Let us announce a long term sugar policy. Be it a cooperative or any other factory, let us nationalise everything; otherwise, the cooperatives also may fall into the hands of the private people.

MR. CHAIRMAN: His time is over. Mr. Ahirwar.

श्री नाथूराम अहिरवार (टीकमगढ़): बीस प्वाइंट प्रोग्राम जो प्रधान मन्त्री जी ने घोषित किया है तथा वित्त मन्त्री ने उसको यहां पर विचार के लिए प्रस्तुत किया है। उस पर मैं भी अपने विचार प्रकट करना चाहता हूँ।

जब से हम आजाद हुए हैं बराबर कांग्रेस के घोषणा पत्रों में और सरकार के द्वारा भी इस बात की घोषणा की जाती रही है कि भूमिहीनों को भूमि मिलेगी, जिन के पास आवास नहीं उनको आवास के लिए जमीन मिलेगी, जो खेतिहर मजदूर हैं, उनको भी राहत मिलेगी, उनके लिए भी कुछ रोज़ी रोटी का प्रबन्ध किया जाएगा। पिछले पच्चीस साल से ये लोग बराबर इस बात का इन्तज़ार करते आ रहे हैं और आज भी कर रहे हैं कि उनकी ये समस्याएं हल होंगी अब जब यह बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम घोषित हुआ है तो लोगों को महसूस हुआ है कि शायद अब कुछ होने वाला है।

जहां तक जमीन का सवाल है यह कहा गया है कि लैंड सीलिंग से जो जमीन निकलेगी वह भूमिहीनों को दी जाएगी। आपके अनुमानों से अगर पांच प्रतिशत भी इस तरह से जमीन निकल आए तो यह बड़े सौभाग्य की बात होगी, मैं ऐसा महसूस करता हूँ और इसके लिए सरकार को मैं धन्यवाद दूंगा। मैं मध्य प्रदेश की बात जानता हूँ। वहां पर 1960 में लैंड सीलिंग एकट पास हुआ था। तब सरकार ने यह फैसला किया था कि इसको सन् 1962 में यानी दो साल के बाद महात्मा गांधी की जन्म तिथि दो अक्टूबर को लागू किया जाएगा। इससे हुआ यह कि जो बड़े बड़े जमींदार थे, जिन के पास काफी जमीन फालतू थी, उनको छूट मिल गई और जो भूमि निकलने वाली थी उस सब भूमि को

अपने रिश्तेदारों में, नाती पोतों में, बच्चों में जिन की शादी होने वाली थी, भतीजों यहां तक कि कुत्ते, बिल्लियों के नाम वह जमीन करवा दी। 1962 में जब यह कानून लागू हुआ तो जहां सरकार ने पहले यह हिसाब लगाया था कि 38,000 एकड़ जमीन निकलने वाली है वह बारह हजार एकड़ निकली। पिछले दिनों मधोपाल सेक्रेटेरिएट गया था वहां मैंने पता लगाया और मुझे बताया गया कि केवल बारह हजार एकड़ ही निकल आए तो भगवान का शुक है। जो नक्शा आपने इस जमीन के बारे में बनाया है, जो सीलिंग के बाद निकलेगी, और जो अनुमान लगाया है वह सही निकलेगा इसमें मुझे बहुत ज्यादा सन्देह है क्योंकि सभी लोगों ने अपनी अपनी जमीन अनेक लोगों में बांट रखी है। यदि वास्तव में हम भूमिहीनों को जमीन देना चाहते हैं तो जितनी जमीन आपके पास ग्राम पंचायतों के अधीन पड़ी हुई है मध्य प्रदेश में या दूसरे प्रान्तों में या जो गोचर भूमि के नाम से है या वन विभाग के जंगलों के नाम से पड़ी हुई है और जो खेती लायक है, उस जमीन को आप सब से पहले तुरन्त भूमिहीनों में बांट दें। साथ ही जो लोग सरकारी जमीनों पर अधिकार, कब्जा किए बैठे हैं उन से कब्जा हटवा करके उन लोगों को कब्जा आप दें जो भूमिहीन हैं। इससे भूमिहीनों की समस्या कुछ हद तक हल हो सकती है अन्यथा नहीं होगी। इस काम को आपको सखी से करना होगा।

हमने मध्य प्रदेश में देखा कि भूमिहीनों को जमीनों के पट्टे तो दे दिए गए लेकिन उनका कब्जा नहीं दिलाया गया। हुआ यह कि पटवारी नहसीलदार अदि रात में चले गए और जा जमीन बंटती थी उनका कब्जा पहले ही बड़े आदिमियों को दे दिया और वे उस पर कब्जा करने बैठ गए और सको रिकार्ड में लिख दिया। अब जब

किसी भी भूमि पर किसी दूसरे का कब्जा हो गया तो वह कैसे भूमिहीन को मिल सकती है। मेरा निवेदन है कि पट्टे के साथ साथ उनको आप कब्जा दिलाने की भी व्यवस्था करें। जानकारी के लिये तो आंकड़े पेश कर दिए जाते हैं कि इतनी जमीन मध्य प्रदेश में, इतनी उत्तर प्रदेश में निकली और इसको हरिजनों, आदिवासियों को दिया गया। लेकिन कब्जे बहुत ही थोड़े लोगों को मिले। मैं चाहता हूँ कि राज्य सरकारों को बड़े आदेश दिए जाएं कि वे मौके पर जा कर जमीनों का उनको कब्जा भी दिलाए जो उनके नाम की गई हैं, जिस का उनको पट्टा दिया गया है। बड़े आदिमियों का जो कब्जा उन पर बन हुआ है, उन से छीन कर के आप जिन के नाम पट्टे हैं, उनको उन जमीनों को दिलाएं।

खेतिहर मजदूर जो कर्ज में फंसा हुआ है, जो बांडिड लेबर है सरकार ने कहा है कि इसको वह खत्म करेगी। बेगार प्रथा का जहां तक तालुक है इसको स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्ति के बाद ही खत्म कर दिया गया था, अर्थात् 1947में ही कानूनन खत्म कर दिया गया था। लेकिन आज भी आप देहातो में जा कर देखें तो आपको पता चलेगा कि बड़े जमींदारों के यहां हरिजन और उनकी औरतें जो हैं उनको गोबर का काम करना पड़ता है, चक्की पीसनी पड़ती है, उनके मवेशी उनको चराने पड़ते हैं, आदिमियों को हल चलाना पड़ता है। हमारे देश में आज भी गुलामी की प्रथा चालू है। मैं अपने यहां छतरपुर जिले के हमोरी गांव में गया था। दिन को हरिजन मेरे पास नहीं आ सके, रात को आए और एक ने मुझे बताया कि उसके बाप ने उसकी शादी के सिलसिले में एक साहूकार से चार सौ रुपये उधार लिए थे। उस कर्ज को पटाने के लिए उसके बाप ने बारह साल तक उस साहूकार की नौकरी की, हल चलाया और चौदह साल तक उसने की लेकिन अभी भी सोलह

[श्री नाथूराम अहिरवार]

सौ रुपया और तीस पैंतीस मन गल्ला बकाया है। 26 साल तक नौकरी करने के बाद भी उसका यह हाल है वह कर्ज नहीं चुका पाया है। यह जो बाट्टि लेबर है इससे मवेशियों की तरह काम लिया जाता है। माहूदार लोग क्या करते हैं कि लोगों को कर्जा देने से पहले मोना चांदी के जेवर गिरवा रख लेते हैं और तब तक वापिस नहीं करते है जब तक कर्ज की पूरी राशि मुद समेत वापिस नहीं कर दी जाती है? इस तरह की भी कई शिकायतें हमारे पास आई हैं कि माहूदार किसानों को एक किलो चांदी खा गया है, दो मीने मोना खा गया है। और माहूदार ने लीन घर नहीं दिया है। क्योंकि गिरवी रखने की वह कोई रसीद आदि तो देता नहीं है। अब इसका क्या इलाज है? इसके बारे में भी आपको सोचना चाहिये।

आपने घोषणा की है कि पचास बैंक गरीब लोगों को कर्जों से मुक्ति दिलाने के लिए खोले जा रहे है। इतने बड़े देश में इन पचास बैंकों से क्या होगा? कैसे आप गरीब आर्दमियों को कर्जों से मुक्त कर सकेंगे। ग्रामीण इलाकों में आप ऐसी व्यवस्था करें कि जो कर्जा लेने वाले है उनको वही कर्जा मिल जाए और प्रत्येक व्यक्ति के लिए आप एक क्रेडिट लिमिट फिक्स कर दें और उस लिमिट तक उनको खेती के लिए, उद्योग धंधे के लिए कर्ज मिल जाए। पोस्ट आफिस हो, कॉन्सोर्शियम भासाइटी हो अथवा बैंक की शाखा हो आप ऐसी व्यवस्था कर दें कि जो भूमिहीन है, हरिजन है, आदिवासी है, चंतिहर मजदूर है या जिस के पास पांच एकड़ से कम जमीन है, उसके लिए आप क्रेडिट लिमिट फिक्स कर दें और उस हिस्सा से वही वह पैसा ले ले। अगर आप उन को दूसरे धंधे करने के लिए कर्ज नहीं देंगे तो उनकी हालत में सुधार नहीं हो सकेगा।

अब आवास भूमि (हार्डिंग ग्राइंड्स) का सवाल भी आता है जोकि भूमिहीनों को दी जानी है। मध्य प्रदेश के बरेलखण्ड में बहुत से बड़े जमींदार हैं उनकी जमीनों पर खेतिहर मजदूरों के मकान बने हुए हैं, ये लोग इन्ही जमींदारों की खेती का काम करते हैं। अब अगर वह जमीन उनका मिल जाए, उनको दिलाने की आप व्यवस्था कर दें तो उनकी समस्या हल हो सकती है और वे आपको बर्धा देंगे। वह बाट्टि लेबर है। उनके पास मकान नहीं है। वे कहां जाएंगे। जहां उनके मकान बने हुए हैं वही उन्हें दे दिए जाए और वहां जमीन उनको दे दी जाए तो इनकी समस्या हल हो सकती है। दो साल पहले मध्य प्रदेश की सरकार ने सर्वे किया था। कि किसने लोग आवासहीन है। तब पता लगा था कि नौ लाख लोग ऐसे है जो आवासहीन है। इन में से सान लाख लोगों को हाउस माइडस के पट्टे दिए गए हैं लेकिन मौके पन जाकर उनको कब्जा नहीं दिया गया है। बहुत ही कम लोगों को दिया गया है। अब इनके बारे में भी सरकार को सोचना होगा।

जहां तक सिंचाई का सम्बन्ध है आपने कहा है कि आप पचास बड़ी बड़ी सिंचाई योजनाये हाथ में लेने वाले है। यह अच्छी बात है लेकिन इनका पूरा करने में दस दस और पंद्रह पंद्रह बरस लग जाएंगे। मेरा सुझाव है कि जितनी भी छोटी और मध्यम दर्जे की सिंचाई योजनाये है उनको आप हाथ में ले। नदी नाले जो काठ महीने या साल भर बहते हैं वहां पर पट्टी बनावा दें और ग्रामीण विद्युत योजना के अन्तर्गत वहां सिंचाई की व्यवस्था की जा सकती है। इस काम में इरिगेशन और बिजली विभाग का आपस में सहयोग होना चाहिये, कोऑर्डिनेशन होना चाहिये। बिजली विभाग बिजली की लाइन दे दे और इरिगेशन विभाग नहर खोद कर ले जाए तो आपको कुछ और न ही करना पड़ेगा। कम पैसे में यह काम हो सकता है। बहुत ज्यादा सर्वे आदि करने की भी जरूरत नहीं होगी और सिंचाई

को मुनिधायों भी उपलब्ध हो जाएंगी। इसी प्रकार पुराने तालाबों की मरम्मत की जा सकती है अकेले विक्रम गढ़ जिले के याद 800 तालाबों का मरम्मत कर दा जाये ता लगभग डेढ़ लाख अन्वटल गैहू अधि उत्पन्न होगी।

देहातों में जो बुनकर हैं उनके वास्ते सरकार सूत का प्रबन्ध क्यों नहीं करती है। उनको बड़े बड़े व्यापारियों के पास इसके लिए जाना पड़ता है और ज्यादा कीमत देनी पड़ती है। यदि सरकार में या कोअप्रेटिव्ज में उनको सस्ते दर पर सूत मिलेगा तो उनका धंधा आसानी से चल सकता है। वे जो कपड़ा तैयार करते हैं उसको बेचने के लिए उनको मारे मारे फिरना पड़ता है। दूकानदार उसको खरीदते नहीं हैं। उनका कपड़ा मर्यादा गुपर बाजार या कोअप्रेटिव्ज भोग इटीज खरीदे इसकी आप व्यवस्था क्यों नहीं करते हैं। मिलों द्वारा तैयार कपड़ा भी तो आप लेते है। उनका कपड़ा ले कर विक्राने की आप व्यवस्था क्यों नहीं करते है। बैंकों में उनको कर्जा दिलाने की व्यवस्था भी आपका करनी चाहिये। अब उनको बहुत ज्यादा ब्याज पर कर्ज लेना पड़ता है। उनके बारे में भी सरकार को सोचना चाहिये।

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR (Dindigul). Mr Chairman, Sir, I welcome the 20-Point Economic Programme announced by the Prime Minister of India. This is a very good bold step, a leap forward, taken by her. If you implement it successfully, the people will appreciate it and will be very happy. But if you do not implement it, there will be frustration and the people will not become happy and satisfied with your duty of delivering the goods to them. So, the people now look forward to you to see how far you are going to implement it effectively, in practice, for the welfare of the people of India.

The national enemies, the capitalist group, the reactionary forces in India

under the leadership of J.P. and others opposed Shrimati Indira Gandhi and her policies, specially the 20-Point Economic Programme saying that this programme is nothing new but an old wine put into a new bottle. I would say to those people that it is better than having a rotten wine put in a rotten bottle. The policies propagated by them were destructive policies. The Anglo-American, the colonialist policies, the capitalist policies are worse than the policies put forward by the Prime Minister of India. They do not have any other policies except the destructive policies put forward by any Opposition political party. Hence, we welcome the 20-Point Economic Programme on behalf of the Anna DMK Party.

The followers of J.P. were saying about total revolution. I do not understand what was meant by "total revolution" by J. P. or Morarji Desai or Kamaraj or Karunanidhi. These people never explained what is the meaning of "total revolution". So far as I can understand, the total revolution, according to that term, is nothing but a "hotel revolution". I can call the total revolution as a "bottle revolution" or a "water revolution". But it is not a total revolution. They cheated the people of India in that context.

At the eleventh hour, the Prime Minister of India was bold enough to declare Emergency in the country and save democracy and democratic forces, like, Parliament, State Assemblies and various other elected bodies under the Indian Constitution. They failed to explain what was the total revolution, whether it was a bloody revolution or a bloodless revolution. They have not been able to explain it so far. They will not be able to explain it in future also. We are having this 20-Point Programme to overcome the so-called total revolution, a bloody revolution or a bloodless revolution or a water revolution

[Shri K. Mayathevar]

or any other kind of meaningless revolution put forward by J. P. and his followers and other destructive group of people, anti-national people in the country. Therefore, I appreciate the 20-Point Economic Programme put forward by our Prime Minister. This is strongly opposed by Mr. Karunanidhi and Mr. Kamaraj from Tamil Nadu. I do not understand why they have opposed it. I will come to that later on.

In the first instance, I want to say a word about the nationalisation of banks. We have nationalised banks in India with a certain objective of improving the lot of poor masses, farmers, middle-class businessmen. But we have not achieved anything because they have not received any loans from the nationalised banks. Even now I can say, the real truth is that nationalised banks are granting loans only to big landlords and capitalists. The administration of banking institutions is still controlled by the aristocratic and bureaucratic classes of people in India. Therefore, I suggest—as a matter of fact, I have suggested many times—that the Government of India should appoint at the all India level an all-Party Committee or People's Committee to advise, and supervise the functioning of, the banks throughout India. Committees should also be appointed at the State level, at the district level and at the taluk level to advise the banks on the loans to be granted to the poor people and the needy people in the rural areas.

Regarding land reforms, I would like to say that Shri Kamaraj put forward land reforms in Tamil Nadu from 1954 to 1964. Kamaraj was able to cheat the people of Tamil Nadu for 10 years as the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. The present Chief Minister, Mr. Karunanidhi, has also cheated the people of Tamil Nadu in

the name of land ceiling and land reforms. I request the Government of India to cancel all fraudulent, benami transactions that took place from 1954 to 1975, reconsider the entire matter, get some surplus land and distribute it to the landless poor.

Regarding ceiling on urban property also, you will have to implement it expeditiously. When you take over the urban property, you will have to pay compensation according to the decision of the Supreme Court or of the High Courts as to what is just compensation or adequate compensation. The Government of India and the State Governments do not have finance to give compensation to those big capitalists in the urban areas. Therefore, I suggest that a suitable Amendment may be introduced to the Constitution of India, Part III, so that no compensation is payable at all for the various properties that you may have to take over from the urban areas.

Regarding the media of implementation, you are going to implement the 20-Point Programme through the State Governments. But what is the nature of the Government that we have in Tamil Nadu? The Tamil Nadu Government has opposed the Central Government in the proclamation of Emergency and has also opposed the 20-Point Programme. The Executive Committee of the DMK has resolved to oppose the Emergency and the 20-Point Programme. The DMK Chief Minister and the Education Ministry, on 3-7-1975, in the Marina Beach in Madras, openly told the people that 'there is danger to the Government of India, there is danger to the Prime Minister of India, from the judgment of the Allahabad High Court, but there is no danger to the people of India or to the country'. This is how the Ministers of Tamil Nadu have openly spoken against the proclamation of Emergency,

against the directions of the President of India. Still, you are allowing that Government to go on. When they are opposing you politically, economically and socially, when they are opposing you in each and every field, how are you going to get the 20-Point Programme implemented through the agency of that State Government? Therefore, I request you to depose that Government and implement the 20-Point Programme through a Central agency.

THE MINISTER OF ENERGY (SHRI K. C. PANT): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity of speaking on this motion. This is the first time that I have had a chance to speak on the functioning of the Ministry of Energy before this House and as such, I hope you will be a little indulgent with me. Hon. Members are extremely keen to know about the various aspects of subjects like power and coal and energy as such, and I shall try to touch, very briefly, on some of those aspects.

17 hrs.

[SHRI ISHAQUE SAMBHALI *in the Chair*]

The Prime Minister 20-Point Programme which has been so ably put before the House by the Finance Minister has been widely and enthusiastically welcomed all over the country. And the debate in the House has reflected the welcome that the country has given to this programme. The essence of the programme is to see that it is implemented. Shri Suryanarayana referred to the sense of urgency that should now lead us to implement this programme quickly and effectively. This sense of urgency has to be accompanied by a certain climate of discipline in which this implementation is possible, and when we look back to the period before the emergency we find indiscipline in various walks of life. Shri Stephen, who has just left the chair,

and others have spoken about various manifestations in the political life, which were incompatible with the healthy functioning of democracy, violence for instance, or preaching of hatred in the guise of religion, or promotion of ill-will between various sections of the people and intimidation of lawfully elected members of the legislatures, attempts to close down lawfully elected legislatures. All these were manifestations on the political front and democracy, if it implies anything, it is certain acceptance of discipline not imposed from outside, but discipline which is accepted willingly. Sir, democratic socialism calls for a firm commitment to productive endeavour by the nation accompanied by a mechanism to distribute the fruits of that development in such a manner that the poorer sections of the society benefit from it also, and perhaps largely, so that we progress towards an egalitarian society, but all this calls for discipline. And over the years, there have been so many onslaughts on discipline in this country that one could see a gradual but a definite loosening of the social fibre in this country. If we look around at our schools and colleges, at the functioning of our offices, at the strikes and lock-outs in our industries, there was a general erosion of the norms of behaviour and a general lowering of the standards of work. The work ethics had fallen low. Worse still we found the newer generation who should have been inspired to work to become good citizens of the nation were being misled by doctrines of destruction. All these things we have been seeing and we also saw a conviction growing in the country that this loosening of the social fibre was irreversible. That was the worst part of it because it had come to be accepted that it was irreversible and a sense of helplessness was growing in the country that nobody could set it right. It was in context that the emergency has created a new atmosphere in which this helplessness has given way to a sense

[Shri K. C. Pant]

of national purpose and urgency and this has, I feel, created the right atmosphere for the implementation of the programme which has been placed before us.

We all know that all over the world inflationary trends had set in since 1973 and we also know that the increase in oil prices and the energy crisis in the world had added to the rate of increase of prices all over the world and we, in this country, were no exceptions to this phenomenon. We could not escape the impact of the inflationary trends in the world and during 1974 we witnessed the highest rate of increase of prices in this country in our entire history. But, as the House knows, the Government faced up to this situation and devised a package of measures which not only halted the inflation but, as the Finance Minister has brought out in his speech, there has actually been a downward trend in prices and if one looks round the world, this is indeed a most satisfactory development. If I call it a remarkable development, I do not think I would be questioned because people in the world who are today grappling with this question have told our leaders that 'It is nothing short of a miracle that in such a short time you have been able to bring down the rate of increase of prices which had touched 30 per cent. And, today, it is actually going down and this is indeed a feat and I think the Finance Minister for his very clear-headed policies and his direction to the economy, deserves a very special world of praise, if I am not impudent in saying so, in bringing this about.

Ultimately prices can be kept down only if production goes up. In this context, I am fully conscious of the role which the energy sector, particularly, power and coal has to play in keeping the growth rate high. We

have only to remember this time last year to recall how much the production apparatus of the country was affected not because there was any shortage in the field of power or coal and I dare say that had this debate taken place last year, then perhaps 50 per cent of the time of the House would have been taken up by complaints with regard to these sectors and the fact that there have been so few complaints this year is in itself indicative of the improvement that has taken place since then and the Finance Minister himself has referred to this improvement and has hold out a promise of further improvement. So, we, in the Ministry of Energy, would certainly do our best to see that the energy sector does make the contribution expected of it.

I referred to the energy crisis. This energy crisis has made people all over the world to look to alternative sources of energy. We, in India, are luckily endowed with vast resources of coal and in this changed situation, coal will have to be the primary sources of energy in the coming decades. I hope the Bombay High will yield rich oil and we shall certainly keep a close eye on that. But our energy needs are so high that in the meantime we cannot slow down the development of coal and so the programmes relating to the development of coal and the utilisation of coal are receiving a very high priority because coal converted into electricity is the most convenient form of energy and electricity also receiving a very high priority. At the same time, along with other countries we are looking to other non-traditional sources of energy like solar energy, geo-thermal energy, energy from the waves and energy from the air—that is, the wind power. We are looking to all these sources and for this a systematic research and development programme is necessary. It is not that nothing has been done. Some beginnings have

been made. But we have felt the need for a co-ordinated effort in this field and, therefore, the Government has set up a Committee to develop co-ordinated energy research programme to determine priorities, to review progress and follow up the utilisation of results and I would only refer to feats like increase in the efficiency of coal production as well as utilisation and on the power side, transmission, distribution and utilisation so as to improve fuel efficiency, reduce outages and losses and increase the efficiency of appliances using electricity. These are some of the examples where we will start work. As far as I know this is the first attempt at co-ordinating energy research in our country as a step towards developing a cogent energy policy for this country.

I have had occasion in the past to refer to many steps which the Government has been taking in the field of power particularly, in the last year or so there has been a steady improvement in the the field of thermal generation and utilisation of capacity and I can say to-day in view of the present better situation all round in the field of power that the steps we have taken, the efforts we have been making, have borne some fruit. During 1974-75 the capacity utilisation has risen by over 10 per cent—that is in thermal stations from 47 per cent to 52 per cent and this has been one of the areas which we have concentrated upon so that we can get maximum out of the thermal stations which have been installed. I do not say that the performance is uniformly good. But there is improvement and that can be indicated roughly by the figures which I am giving. The capacity generating at 5000 kwh/ kw increased from 36 per cent in 1973-74 to 55 per cent in 1974-75, and capacity generating at 6000 kwh/kw went up to 26 per cent from a mere 11 per cent in the previous year. This will give some idea of improved generation from the same plants. This is a point on which this

House has been laying emphasis again and again.

Then comes the question of new capacity. New generating capacity of 1720 MW was commissioned during 1974-75, compared to only 466 MW in the previous year. So, this gives you an indication of the extra effort put in during 1974-75 in the field of generating capacity. During the first three months of the current year, the thermal generation has gone up by another 18 per cent compared to the same period of last year. The trend of increased generation on the thermal side is being kept up. On the Hydel side, last year we had difficulties and the House is well aware of some of the giant hydro-electric projects like Bhakra Nangal and the big hydro-electric stations in Orissa in Maharashtra. Koyna and so on. All of these generated below their normal levels.

Fortunately, the monsoons have, till now, been good in almost all parts of the country. As a result of this, hydro-electric generation has improved considerably and this coupled with higher thermal generation, has led to the improvement in the power availability in the country. A number of States which last year had sizeable powercuts have removed them completely, and amongst these are for example States like Punjab and Haryana. And many Members here from Punjab and Haryana will remember what a difficult time industries in both these States as well as agriculture had last year. In both these States this year there are no power-cuts. Tamilnadu has also removed all restrictions just now. A few months ago they had 100 per cent restriction in some of their industries. It is good if over the year a State were to consider a likely cut threatening and not impose some little out now itself, rather than out, it out completely to zero, so that, over the years, the degree, of out could be controlled. I think that would be a better way to manage things whenever shortages occur like this. States like UP, Maharashtra and Karnataka

[Shri K. C. Pant]

which last year were faced with great difficulties in the field of power, have considerably relaxed these power-cuts. And Madhya Pradesh has also removed restrictions imposed earlier. In the other States, except for Andhra Pradesh, I would say, the situation is satisfactory. During the current year we propose to add another 2600 MW of new capacity and in addition to that we shall continue with our efforts to get more generation from the same installed capacity. We have fixed generation targets for each individual station. And, while I have referred to the improved situation, I would say, with this improvement, there will be general satisfaction in the country and at any rate, the heavy damage would not be there and it will come down to a comparatively small figure. Nevertheless, I think, the need for vigilance continues and we cannot afford to be complacent. We have established a monitoring system through which we keep a watch on generation all over the country and I get daily reports of generation from every single unit in the country so that we can keep a close eye on the output of generation in all thermal stations in the country and we have asked State Governments to set up similar monitoring units so that action can be taken as and when difficulties arise, instead of waiting for a long time to set matters right, because that does not really help us at all.

We have been trying to improve the organisational arrangements in the States and at the Centre. We are conscious of the fact that unless the organisational arrangements in the States are well-suited to the present needs, there cannot be increased tempo of generation, better maintenance and modern management. Here, we cannot really hope to make a dent on the problem because a large part of the generation and the management of thermal stations are in the State sector. And therefore, we have been dis-

cussing this with the States. We did give them our ideas. Many of them have responded and some of the States, at any rate, have professionalised their Electricity Boards, and there has been some progress in some States. So, this process is continuing, and we are trying to persuade other States. At the same time, we are trying to activate and revitalise the CEA (Central Electricity Authority).

There is one other aspect to which I would like to refer briefly and that is about the thefts, thefts of electric wires, thefts of transmission parts, and in a few cases, thefts of components of transmission towers, which led to a situation where in the first gust of monsoon the whole tower fell and in spite of good generation, the power could not reach the consumers, either in industry or agriculture or even for lighting. This is a highly anti-national activity. While the concerned administration has come down hard on these elements, whether it is staff, whether it is those who sell these things, whether it is those who buy them, whether it is those who finance them, etc., today, the whole Governmental machinery has to come down hard on these elements and, along with that, I would request the Members, in whose areas this malpractice has grown, to help in getting the public cooperation also to tackle this problem so that quick information can be given. I know that, in the past, a couple of years back when similar thefts of the wire were taking place in the transmission lines of the railways, the public cooperation helped us very greatly in putting an end to this and the police patrols also helped to a large extent because villagers were patrolling the railwaylines and immediately they gave the information and, in some cases, they apprehended the criminals.

So, I would request you to help us to safeguard these vital installations. We ourselves intend to examine whether the law needs any strengthening to take action against such elements. My friend, Shri Reddy, referred to

transmission and distribution. We are considering for developing strong regional grids as a step towards the evolution of a strong national grid. Even to-day the electricity can travel over long distances. But, some of the links are very weak. And therefore, we are developing the regional grids first and I must say that in the Southern region, this strengthening of the grid has been done very well and to-day, in the southern region States trade in power very readily goes because the network is there. Still there are gaps even in the Southern regions which we are trying to fill. But, it is essential to have strong regional grids and strong national grids to make optimum and full utilisation of the power generated.

Now, Sir, Shri Reddy referred to line losses and I agree with him that with the growth in generation, it is necessary to reduce the line losses and to improve transmission. The only thing that I can say and, it seems to me, is that in the past, in view of the urgency to increase generation, not enough attention has been given to the laying of transmission and distribution lines with the result that today, whole system have been built up which are lesser in capacity than are required to carry the increased load and this is one of the important factors that has to be kept in mind. In future, we have got to plan in such a way that we anticipate the growth in demands. After all, these lines have got certain capacity and, if the load is much more than the capacity they can carry, the transmission losses increase. This is not the only reason. There are again these thefts which I spoke of against which stringent, very firm and strong action is to be taken. Regional load despatch stations are being set up in all the regions. In the Central Electricity Authority, we have evolved a system to look after this work. Therefore, you will see that we have taken various steps to improve the integrated functioning and to integrate various

1210 LS-6.

systems in our country as rapidly as we can. There was a reference by Shri Suryanarayana and some other friends. Dr. Rao also referred to this question of super thermal power station—large-sized thermal stations—at coal pitheads. This idea has been mooted for a long time and now, we have made a beginning with this and we feel that it would be better to generate power at the pitheads rather than to carry coal over a long distance. This would not be true in every case. One has to examine case by case whether at the consuming centres or at the producing centres to find out an optimum answer for that situation. At least we have made a beginning by putting forward or by projecting certain projects to the World Bank. The Finance Minister had discussed with them and we have put forward before them five projects one of which will be in Andhra Pradesh. But the likelihood is that four will be accepted—one in each region. That is our information at this stage. I do not think the hon. Member should clap immaturely! But these would be started as soon as funds are available.

Many friends have referred to the fact that we should have more generation in the Central sector. I find it difficult to accept the suggestion that all generation should be in the Central sector but, I think, more generation can be in the Central sector and the States also being pressed for resources are not averse to the idea of increasing the share of the Central sector. We are going to have super-thermal stations in the Central sector.

Dr. Rao also referred to keeping the hydel projects in mind. We have hydel projects in mind and we will take up hydel projects. Even we projected hydel projects to the World Bank but their main interest seemed to be in super-thermal power stations. For running these stations in the Centre sector we are setting up two separate companies. This is part of the re-organisation which I referred to earlier. There was reference to

[Shri K. C. Pant]

micro-hydel schemes. This is a matter which the States are attending to and wherever they want our assistance we give the same. This is the broad picture.

Rural electrification is the subject in which many Members are interested. I would only give you the broad figures about rural electrification because it is an important element in our power programme. The Rural Electrification Corporation has sanctioned 976 schemes involving a loan assistance of Rs. 445.58 crores. These schemes envisage energisation of 7 lakh pump sets by electrification of 83,172 villages and we are attempting to accelerate the pace of these programmes. This is all that I have to say with regard to power.

With regard to coal, I would only refer to three aspects. One is the trend of production and I would like to say that after nationalisation and particularly in the course of last year the increase in production has been remarkable I shall refer to the figures subsequently and this increase does contribute to helping in the acceleration of the growth rate of the country. We have been examining the question of re-organisation of the coal industry to make it a better instrument to fulfil the Fifth Plan targets and also take a long-term view. That is another subject which I will refer to. Thirdly, I would like to say that we are putting into operation a 12-point programme for increasing production, productivity and efficiency in the coal industry. With these three main thrusts we hope not only to meet the requirements of our economy but also to export some coal.

Coming to some details of production, from April to June this year production has been of the order of 22.85 million tonnes as against 20.06 million tonnes during the same period last year. That is roughly 1 million tonnes more per month this

year as compared to the last year. I found that whereas a peak is reached in coal production at this time every year then there is sudden drop and after monsoons the coal production picks up. This fluctuation is there. So keeping that in mind it should be possible for us to reach the target of 98 million tonnes which has been fixed for 1975-76. We shall even try to do better. For this improved performance I would like to take this opportunity to thank the miners, the engineers, the technicians, the administrators and all those who are concerned with this work and, I am sure, the House would join me this.

In 1974-75 the production of coal was 88 million tonnes and in 1973-74 the production was 78 million tonnes. The growth last year was ten million tonnes and if you look back at the years before that, during the whole of the Fourth Plan period, you will find a stagnation in coal production. Therefore, after a period of stagnation, in one year coal production increased by another ten million tonnes and we want to increase it by another ten million tonnes this year. This is only possible because after nationalisation, we could take a rational view of the whole industry, we could re-organise the mines and we could provide the much needed inputs without which this kind of rapid production is not possible and this has been helped by improvement in other ancillary industries which are vital to the increase in production in the coal industry, like power, steel and railways. So, all these factors have combined to bring about this improvement and I would be failing in my duty if I do not refer here in particular to the very good industrial relations in the industry which have further improved after the national Coal Wages Agreement which came into force with effect from 1st July 1975 for a period of four years. Immediately after this agreement, there was a definite spurt in production and the commitment made by the labour

leaders that they would fulfil the target has been met and that is how we have managed to reach that figure.

Sir, with increase in production and improvement in rail transport availability, the coal position with the consumers has improved, that is, supply has improved all round. I do not want to go into these figures. I can only tell you that in the steel industry, which at one time was very watchful of its supply and which was a little apprehensive whenever coal supply went down—at one stage, it went down to three days supply—today, they have nine days supply, in spite of their improved production. From steel and from power last year, I used to get frequent calls for help. This year, in power houses, a stock of about four weeks has been built up and cement plants, 26 days consumption. This will give you some idea of the improvement in supply and in spite of this improvement in supply, the pit-head stocks have risen. This is an index of the increase in production even after meeting the increased demand from the economy.

Sir, one word about soft coke because soft coke is the fuel of the common man particularly to Northern India and Eastern India. We intend this year to increase the production of soft coke by about 33 per cent from 2.8 million tonnes to 3.7 million tonnes. We also want to give priority of rail movement for soft coke, because movement by road is costly. We want to keep the price of coke as low as possible and we want to give it the same priority as movement to power stations, steel plants and so on. The third thing is that while Government has increased the price of coal by Rs. 17.50 all round, the price of raw coal, from July 1, 1975, there has been no revision in the pit-head price of soft coke. Now, this I want to emphasise because we have deliberately, as a part of our overall desire to keep down the prices of essential commodities, not increased the price of soft

coke, even though we had to increase the price of coal.

SHRI CHAPALENDU BHATTACHARYYA (Giridih): Mr. Chairman, Sir, may I interrupt the Minister for a minute? In order to keep down the price of soft coke and making it available to consumers, what steps have you thought of for inland water transport in that region which will make all the difference?

SHRI K. C. PANT: Sir, I will do the thinking when others have made it feasible. I would welcome it. But, first, it should be made possible and if it is made possible I would certainly like to utilise it.

Sir, I have recently met trade union leaders to see how best, during this period of emergency we can join together in increasing production and productivity. There is some surplus labour in this industry and together we want to see what is the best way of utilising the surplus labour and of increasing production and productivity. In this, I have been assured of all assistance by the trade unions for which I thank them. I intend to call a meeting of this kind later on.

With regard to reorganisation, the only thing I would like to tell the House is that we want more of decentralisation and delegation of powers and if possible to reduce the number of tiers.

Since Bharat Coking Coal and the Coal Mining Authority are today separate, we want to see whether bringing them together will not be better for the coal industry as a whole.

These are some of the points which have been of concern to members. There are some others, malpractices in the coal mining area etc., but since you are looking definitely worried by now, I do not think I can go into all these, although some friends like Shri Indrajit Gupta have referred to this matter. It is of some

[Shri K. C. Pant]

concern and I would have liked to explain to him the exact position in regard to these matters. But in view of the fact that many members are yet to speak, I would only like to tell the House that I have discussed all these questions, whether it is illegal, mining, whether it is money-laundering, whether it is the law and order situation in the coal mine area, with the Chief Minister of Bihar and together we are tackling these problems. We are at it. We are not ignoring these questions at all. That assurance I can give to all members, that all aspects of the coal mining industry are very much before our eyes in the State Government and the Central Government and the trade unions are today working in concert together for the objective of increasing coal production, of improving productivity and of seeing that the energy sector fulfils its obligations during this period of emergency and lays the foundations even for the future so that we can make the contribution that is expected of us in fulfilling this 20-point programme.

STATEMENT RE: SITTINGS OF
THE HOUSE

THE MINISTER OF WORKS AND HOUSING AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI K RAGHU RAMAIAH): With your permission, I would like to announce that the House will sit also on Tuesday the 5th, Wednesday the 6th Thursday the 7th of August.

17.32 hrs.

MOTION RE: NEW PROGRAMME
FOR ECONOMIC PROGRESS—contd.

श्री बिबू नाथ सिंह (बुंसुन्) : सभापति जी, प्रधान मंत्री जी ने आर्थिक विकास के सम्बन्ध में 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम की घोषणा की। जैसा कि स्वयं प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा है कि यह कोई नया प्रोग्राम नहीं है। लेकिन जिस समय घोषणा की गई है इस में इसकी अहमियत है। कांग्रेस ने, जो कि देश का शासक दल है और सरकार ने भी समय समय पर आर्थिक कार्यक्रम के लिये, आर्थिक विकास के लिये घोषणायें की हैं और उन में से बहुत सी कार्यान्वित भी हुई है। नरोरा कैम्प से कांग्रेस ने एक दिशा दी और उस के बाद नरोरा प्रोग्राम को सभी प्रान्तों में काफी गम्भीरता से लिया गया और उस का पालन भी किया गया। अब यह नया 20 सूत्री प्रोग्राम हमारे सामने है। हमें यह देखना पड़ेगा कि कितनी स्थितियों में यह घोषणा हुई है, और इमरजेंसी के साथ साथ इस कार्यक्रम की घोषणा हुई है जिस से इस की अहमियत और बढ़ गई है। आज देश का हर नागरिक यह सोचता है कि इमरजेंसी हमारे हित के लिये लागू हुई है। और सही भी है देहात में जो खेतों में काम करते हैं, जो मजदूर हैं जिन्होंने के आज तक फ्रीडम आफ स्पीच और एक्सप्रेशन कभी नहीं भोगा उन्होंने एक राहत की सांस ली है। लेकिन देखना यह है कि यह कार्यक्रम सफलतापूर्वक लागू हो।

मैं मानता हूँ कि सम्पूर्ण आर्थिक विकास इस में निहित नहीं है। लेकिन उस और हमारा कदम है और उस की सार्थकता इसी में है कि इस को पूरी तरह से लागू किया जाए। यदि इस कार्यक्रम को जनता तक नहीं पहुंचा सके और पूर्ण नहीं कर पाये तो हमारी एक बहुत बड़ी खामी रहेगी और उस खामी के लिये हम किसी भी तरह से भाफ नहीं किये जा सकते। जनता ने 1971 के चुनाव के

बाद यह महसूस किया कि आर्थिक विकास के लिये कुछ कार्यक्रम होने वाले हैं और प्रधान मंत्री जी ने पिछड़े हुए लोगों की तकलीफों को सोचा है और उन को कुछ दूर करने के लिये इंतजाम हो रहा है। जनता ने हमारा साथ दिया। लेकिन 1971 के बाद से लगातार कुछ तत्वों की तरफ से इस प्रकार के प्रयत्न होते रहे कि जो आर्थिक विकास का कार्यक्रम जनता के सामने दिया गया है उस को पूरा न होने दिया जाय क्योंकि अगर वह पूरा हो गया तो प्रतिक्रियावादी ताकतों का देश में नामोनिशान नहीं रहेगा। इसलिए बं बार-बार इस मामले में बाधक बाना कर ही आए। हम देखते हैं कि इन्डस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स जिन का यह कर्तव्य था कि वे देश की पैदावार बढ़ाते, उन्होंने पैदावार नहीं बढ़ाई। इस देश में दो ही क्षेत्र हैं, एक औद्योगिक क्षेत्र है और दूसरा कृषि का क्षेत्र है। जहां तक कृषि के क्षेत्र का सम्बन्ध है, वह बराबर देश का साथ देता रहा है और किसानों के पाम जितने भी साधन थे और जितने भी उस को साधन दिये गये, फर्टिलाइजर्स, पावर और इम्प्रूव्ड मीड की शकल में, उन को उस ने स्वीकार किया और करने के बाद अच्छे नतीजे दिये और हम देखते हैं कि सन् 1952 में जहां एग्रीकल्चर प्रोडक्शन 52 मिलियन टन था, अब प्रोडक्शन दुगने से अधिक बढ़ गया है, लेकिन उतनी प्रगति औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में नहीं हुई। इसका एक कारण यह है कि उद्योगपतियों ने, बिजनेसमैन ने अपने मुनाफे को अधिक अपने सामने रखा और देश के विकास को उन्होंने अपने सामने कम रखा उन के दिमाग में हमेशा यही बात रही कि मुनाफा अधिक से अधिक कैसे हो। इसलिए वे प्रोडक्शन को नीचे लाए और औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में जहां 4 परसेन्ट, 5 परसेन्ट या 6 परसेन्ट के आसपास हर साल प्रगति होनी चाहिए थी, वह जीरो पर आ गई जैसा कि वित्त मंत्री जी ने कहा है कि औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में जो प्रगति होनी चाहिए, वह बिल्कुल रुक गई और इसी का कारण यह हुआ कि जो आवश्यक चीजें कन्स्यूमर्स के पास पहुंचनी चाहिए उन के

पास नहीं पहुंच पाई और इस का फायदा विरोधी पक्ष ने उठाया और एक ऐसा वातावरण दीखने लगा कि अब देश में पता नहीं क्या होने वाला है। उन्होंने पीड़ित जनता के दुखों का नाजायज फायदा उठाने की कोशिश की। उन्होंने रैलिंग की, सभाएं की और ऐसा अहसास लोगों को कराया कि तमाम दुनिया, तमाम हिन्दुस्तान की जनता हमारे साथ है। मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि 5 परसेन्ट से अधिक नहीं और मैं तो कहता हूं कि उस से भी कम लोगों पर इस बात का असर हुआ और बाकी 96 प्रतिशत लोगबाग जो गांवों में काम करते हैं, गांवों में रहते हैं और मजदूरी करते हैं, उन पर इस का कतई अहसास नहीं हुआ और यह बात इस में सिद्ध हो गई कि जैसे ही इमर-जेन्सी डेक्लेयर हुई, वे 5 परसेन्ट लोग बिल्कुल दब गये और बाकी 95 परसेन्ट लोगो ने इस का हार्दिक स्वागत किया। उन्होंने इस का स्वागत इसलिए नहीं किया कि कोई दूसरी बात हो बल्कि उन्होंने इस का स्वागत अपने हित के लिए किया और अब जो आप का 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम है, उस की ओर वे टकटकी लगाये बैठे हैं और वह चाहते हैं कि उन के हित की कोई बात हो।

मैं इस 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम में दो तीन बिन्दुओं की ओर ही ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं क्योंकि समय अधिक नहीं है। मैं आप से निवेदन करूंगा कि मकानों के लिए साइट देने का काम हम ने पिछले साल भी किया और वह बहुत तेजी से हुआ लेकिन उन लोगों के पास मकान बनाने के लिए पैसा नहीं है और सरकार को इस बारे में अपनी नीति में परिवर्तन करना चाहिए और उन को जहां तक हो सके मकान बना कर देने चाहिए और किरातों में रुपया वसूल करना चाहिए। अगर ऐसा होगा तो यह प्रोग्राम सफल होगा।

इस के साथ ही आप ने यह कहा है कि ग्रन्डर-ग्राउन्ड वाटर क. उपयोग हो और बिजली का विस्तार हूं। अभी मंत्री महोदय कह रहे

[श्री शिव नाथ सिंह]

थे कि पावर के जेनरेशन में प्रगति हुई है लेकिन उस जेनरेशन का फायदा कन्ज्यूमर के प्वाइंट तक पहुंचे, यह बहुत आवश्यक है और इस सम्बन्ध में मैं यह कहना चाहता हू कि राजस्थान के छः पूर्वी जिलों के लिए एक प्रोग्राम बना था लेकिन आर्थिक कठिनाइयों की वजह से और रिजर्व बैंक के अंकुश की वजह से वह प्रोग्राम पूरा नहीं हो पाया है। अगर उन छः जिलों में बिजली का प्रोग्राम पूरा हो जाता है तो राजस्थान इतना अन्न दे सकता है कि वह सरप्लस होगा और दूसरी स्टेटों को भी वह अन्न दे सकेगा। इसलिए कन्ज्यूमर प्वाइंट पर एग्रिकल्चर सेक्टर में इस पावर का पहुंचना बहुत आवश्यक है।

इसी के साथ ही साथ पिपिल्स क्लथ की बात कही गई है और आज के दिन वह कपड़ा मिल रहा है और सस्ता मिलता है, लेकिन मैं आप से निवेदन करूंगा कि उम कपड़े में इन्डस्ट्रियेलिस्ट्स, मिल ओनर्स बहुत नाजायज फायदा उठाते हैं। आप ने मिलों पर पाबन्दी लगाई है कि इतना परसेन्ट कपड़े का वह म.धारण आदमियों के उपयोग में आने वाले कपड़े का उत्पादन करेंगे लेकिन उतना उत्पादन उन्होंने नहीं किया है और जो कपड़ा बनाया है वह बहुत खराब क्वालिटी का बनाया है जिस की वजह से उस पिपिल्स कपड़े को लोग कफन क्लथ कहते हैं। इस तरह से उन्होंने शोषण किया है और अपना वायदा नहीं निभाया है।

आप ने आर्थिक क्षेत्र में एकोनामिक आफेन्सेज को लिया है और मीसा और डी० आई० आर का उपयोग हुआ है लेकिन अभी तक इन्डस्ट्रियेलिस्ट्स के ऊपर कोई पाबन्दी नहीं लगाई है। उन इन्डस्ट्रियेलिस्टों ने, जिन्होंने अपना वायदा नहीं निभाया है और जितना प्रोडक्शन देना चाहिए था उतना नहीं दिया है और रेटेड कंपैसिटी से कम उत्पादन किया है, उन से आपको सावधान रहना पड़ेगा। इमरजेंसी डेक्लेयर होने से पहले जो वातावरण बना था

और जिन तत्वों ने उस को बनाया था, उन से आप की सावधान रहना चाहिए और उन के मुगालते में नहीं आना चाहिए। आज वे बड़े-बड़े डेलिगेशन्स लेकर आते हैं और कहते हैं कि हम प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाएंगे। हम उन की नियत पर शक तो नहीं कर सकते परन्तु फिर भी उन पर निगाह रखनी पड़ेगी कि कहीं वे फिर स्थिति का नाजायज फायदा न उठा लें।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस कार्यक्रम का स्वागत करता हूँ।

श्री मुहम्मद जमीलुर्रहमान (कियानगज):
मोहतरिम चैयरमेन साहब यह जो 20 प्वाइंट प्रोग्राम हमारी हृदयप्रतीक प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने कौम के सामने और मुल्क के सामने इनायत फरमाया है, इस का हर तबके ने स्वागत किया है।

अगर मैं यहाँ पर फ्रीगर्स कोट करनी शुरू करूँ तो न इतना समय आप देंगे और न ही मैं इस के लिए तैयार होकर आया हूँ। मैं सिर्फ़ दो एक बातें आप के सामने कहना चाहता हूँ कि किस तरीके से हम लोग इस को इम्प्लीमेंट कर सकते हैं जिस से अन्न को जिन से गरीबों को राहत मिले और जिस के लिए हम सब लोग कमिटेड हैं, हमारी पार्टी कमिटेड है, हमारे नेता कमिटेड हैं और जितने मॅम्बर्स हैं मेरी पार्टी के वे भी कमिटेड हैं। जैसा कि मैंने पहले कहा मैं दो तीन प्वाइन्ट्स सरकार के ध्यान में लाना चाहूँगा।

एक बात तो यह है कि आप और हम सभी जानते हैं कि गांवों से रहने वालों की तादाद 80, 85 फीसदी है और उस में भी करीब-करीब 90 फीसदी आदमी खेतिहर मजदूर और भूमिहीन तबके के लोग हैं और वे लोग हिन्दुस्तान की जम्हूरियत की रीढ़ हैं। इसलिए हम जितने सारे कमिटेड

लोग हैं उन को इन के लिए जितना करना चाहिए था उतना नहीं कर पाए हैं और इस का मुझे एतराफ है। हम ने उस दिशा में कदम उठाया है और हम उस के लिए कोशिश कर रहे हैं और उस के तहत यह 20 प्वाइन्ट प्रोग्राम आया है कि गरीब अबाम जो गांवों में बड़ी तादाद में रहते हैं उन को किस तरीके से राहत पहुंचा सकें और उन को किस तरह से राहत मिले और कैसे उन की जिन्दगी खुशहाल हो, कैसे भूमिहीनों को सर छपाने के लिए मकान मिले और कैसे छोटे छोटे किसानों को हम पानी पहुंचा सकें, कैसे हम बिजली पहुंचा सकें, कैसे हम खाद पहुंचा सकें और कैसे उन को बीज पहुंचा सकें। ये सब बाने गावों की है और ये सब बातें हमें पूरी करनी हैं। तो मैं अर्ज कर रहा था कि मुल्क में यह हालत है और हमें बुनियादी तौर पर इस को देखना होगा।

जहां तक इस प्रोग्राम का सम्बन्ध है, इस का बहुत बड़ा अंग, बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा आफिसरो की जिम्मेदारी है और वे शाना-व-शाना मिलाकर हमारे साथ मिल कर इस प्रोग्राम को कामयाब बनावे क्योंकि वे भी भारत के अंग है और वे भी भारत के अटूट हिस्सा है। उन की जिम्मेदारी और बढ़ जाती है क्योंकि वे उन ओहदों पर है जहां से उन को इस को इम्प्लीमेंट करना है, इस प्रोग्राम को नाफिज करना है। इसलिए उन को अपने को अबाम के साथ और समाज के साथ ढालना होगा। अगर इस से वे नहीं ढल पाएंगे तो जिस तरह से मजदूर इमारत बना सकता है और उसको तोड़ भी सकता है, गिरा भी सकता है, उसी तरह से हालत इनकी होगी। हर आदमी को अपने अपने दायरे में ईमानदारी के साथ, मुस्तैदी के साथ काम करना होगा। चाहे, खेत मजदूर हो, मिल का मजदूर हो, अफसर हो बिजनेसमैन हो, हर किसी को अपने अपने दायरे में ईमानदारी और मुस्तैदी से और मेहनत से काम करना होगा। हर किसी

को पैदावार बढ़ानी होगी। अगर मुल्क की पैदावार बढ़ेगी तो मुल्क सैल्फ सफिशेंट होगा और हमारा जो फ़ारेन एक्सचेंज इन चीजों को इम्पोर्ट करने में खर्च होता है उसकी बचत होगी और उस पैसे को हम यहां अबाम की बहबूदी के लिए खर्च कर सकेंगे जिससे अबाम खुशहाल होंगे।

बटवारे का मसला बहुत संगीन है। डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन का मसला बहुत संगीन है। कुछ चीजें हैं जिन से खेती की पैदावार बढ़ सकती है लेकिन यह तभी हो सकता है जब वक्त पर और ठिकाने पर वे चीजें पहुंच जाएं। चूंकि ऐसा नहीं हो पाता है इस वास्ते खेती की पैदावार में काफी गड़बड़ी होती है। आप बीज के सवाल को लें, फ़र्टिलाइजर के सवाल को लें, किसान की दूसरी जरूरियात को ले, सस्ता कपड़ा है, गल्ला है, चीनी है, मिट्टी का तेल है, साबुन है, ये सब चीजें उसको और जनता को आसानी से सही कीमत में मिल जाएं इसकी आपको व्यवस्था करनी होगी। इस काम में आपको सब लोगों को इनवाल्व करना होगा। अफसरों को अपनी जिम्मेदारी निभानी होगी। कोओप्रेटिब्ल को आपको मजबूत करना होगा। ग्राम पंचायतों को मजबूत करना होगा। मजबूत करने का मतलब यह नहीं है कि कले में उनको आप बन्द कर दें। बल्कि उनको फ़ाइनेशल असिस्टेंस देकर उनको अपने पैरों पर आपको खड़ा करना होगा।

एक जो बड़ी साजिश चल रही है, उससे मैं आपको आगाह करना चाहता हूं। चीजों के दामों में कुछ गिरावट आई है। अब जो स्टॉकिस्ट है उन्होंने साजिश की है कि मौजूद स्टॉक जब तक हमारे पास है वह जब खत्म हो जाएगा तो हम स्टॉक जमा करके अपनी दूकानों में नहीं रखेंगे। पैदावार करने वाली जो फ़ैक्ट्रियां हैं वे कहती हैं कि हम पैदावार अपनी नहीं बढ़ाएंगी। चीजों की कीमतें जो आसमान को छू रही थी वे कुछ नीचे आई हैं। अब अगर उनको यह साजिश काम-

کوشش کو روک رہے ہیں۔ اور اس کے نقصان
یہ ۲ پانٹ پروگرام آیا ہے۔ کہ غریب
عوام جو گاؤں میں بڑی تعداد میں
رہتے ہیں ان کو کس طرح سے
راحت پہنچا سکیں۔ اور ان کو
کس طرح سے راحت ملے۔ اور کھسے
ان کی زندگی خوش حال ہو۔ کھسے
بھوسے مہلوں کو سر چھانے کے لئے
مکان ملے۔ اور کھسے چھوٹے چھوٹے
کسانوں کو ہم پانی پہنچا سکیں۔
کھسے ہم بجلی پہنچا سکیں۔ کھسے ہم
کھان پہنچا سکیں۔ سب باتوں کو کی ہیں۔
اور یہ سب باتیں ہمیں پوری کرنی ہیں۔
تو میں عرض کر رہا تھا۔ ملک میں
یہ حالت ہے اور ہمیں بنیادی طور
پر اس کو دیکھنا ہوگا۔

جہاں تک اس پروگرام کا تعلق
ہے اس کا بہت بڑا انگ، بہت بڑا
حصہ افسروں کی ذمہ داری ہے۔ اور
وہ شانے بہ شانے ملا کر ہمارے ساتھ
ملکر اس پروگرام کو کامیاب بنائیں۔
کہونکہ وہ بھی بھارت کے انگ ہیں
اور وہ بھی بھارت کے اٹوٹ حصے ہیں۔
ان کی ذمہ داری اور بڑے جاتی ہے۔
کہونکہ وہ ان عہدوں پر ہیں جہاں
سے ان کو اس کی اہمیت ملتی ہے۔
اس پروگرام کو نافذ کرنا ہے۔ اس
لئے ان کو اپنے کو عوام کے ساتھ
اور سماج کے ساتھ ڈھالنا ہوگا۔
اگر اس میں وہ اپنے کو نہیں ڈھال
پائیں گے تو جس طرح سے مزدور عمارت

بنا سکتا ہے اور اس کو توڑ بھی سکتا
ہے، گرا بھی سکتا ہے۔ اس طرح سے
حالت ان کی ہوگی۔ ہر آدمی کو
اپنے اپنے دائرے میں ایسائی کے ساتھ،
مستعدی کے ساتھ کام کرنا ہوگا۔ چاہے
کھیت مزدور ہو، مل کا مزدور ہو، افسر
ہو، بزنس میں ہوں، تجارت کرنے والا ہو، ہر
کسی کو اپنے اپنے دائرے میں ایسائی
اور مستعدی سے اور مصلحت سے کام کرنا
ہوگا۔ ہر کسی کو پیداوار بڑھانی
ہوگی۔ اگر ملک کی پیداوار بڑھتی
تو ملک سہل سہل سے ہوگا اور
ہمارا جو فارن ایکسچینج ان چیزوں کو
امپورٹ کرنے میں خرچ ہوتا ہے اس کی
بچت ہوگی اور اس پیسے کو ہم
یہاں عوام کی بہبودی کے لئے خرچ کر
سکیں گے۔ عوام خوشحال ہوں گے۔

بتواریے کا مسئلہ بہت سنگین ہے۔
ڈسٹری بیوٹیشن کا مسئلہ بہت سنگین ہے۔
کچھ چیزیں ہیں جن سے کھیتی کی
پیداوار بڑھ سکتی ہے۔ لیکن یہ تبھی
ہو سکتا ہے جب وقت پر اور ٹھکانے پر
یہ چیزیں پہنچ جائیں۔ چونکہ ایسا
نہیں ہو پاتا ہے اس واسطے کھیتی کی
پیداوار میں کافی کمی ہوتی ہے۔ آپ
بڈیج کے سوال کو لیں، ڈسٹری بیوٹیشن کے
سوال کو لیں، کسان کی دوسری
ضروریات کو لیں، سستا کپڑا ہے، فلو
ہے، چھیلی ہے، مٹی کا تھیل ہے،
سارے یہ سب چیزیں ان کو اور جلتا
کو آہستہ آہستہ قیمت میں مل

[شہری محمد جموں الرحمان]

جائیں۔ اس کی آپ کو روستہا کرنی
ہوگی۔ اس کام میں آپ کو سب لہجوں
کو انوالو (involve) کرنا ہوگا۔ فسروں و
اپنی ذمہ داری نبھانی ہوگی۔ کو آپ پروتوز
کر آپ کو مضبوط کرنا ہوگا۔ گرام
پہنچائیں کہ مضمون کرتا ہوگا۔
مضبوط کرنے کا مطلب یہ نہیں ہے کہ
قلعے میں ان کو آپ بند کر دیں۔ بلکہ
ان کو فائینڈیشنل ایسٹیبلیشمنٹ دیکر
ان کو اپنے پیروں پر آپ کو کھڑا کرنا
ہوگا۔

ایک جو بڑی سازش چل رہی
ہے اس سے میں آپ کو آگاہ کرنا چاہتا
ہوں۔ چیزوں کے داسوں میں کچھ
نراوت آئی ہے۔ اب جو سٹاکسٹ
ہیں۔ انہوں نے سازش کی ہے کہ
موجودہ سٹاک جب تک ہمارے پاس
ہے وہ جب ختم ہو جائے گا۔ تو ہم
سٹاک جمع کر کے اپنی دکانوں میں
نہیں رکھیں گے۔ پیداوار کرنے والی جو
فکٹریاں ہیں وہ پیداوار اپنی نہیں
بڑھائیں گے۔ چیزوں کی قیمتیں جو
آسمان کو چھو رہی تھیں وہ کچھ
نیچے آئی ہیں۔ اب اگر انکی یہ
سازش کامیاب ہو جاتی ہے تو پھر
وہی حالت پیدا ہو جائیگی۔ جو پہلے
تھی۔ وہی نقشہ پھر ہمارے سامنے آکر
کھڑا ہو جائیگا۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ
قی۔ آئی۔ آر۔ میں ایسا امپلمنٹ

ہونا چاہئے کہ جو جتنا پروتکشن
کر رہا تھا وہ اتنا کرتا رہے۔ اس میں
وہ کمی نہ آئے دے۔ اور اگر آئے دیتا
ہے تو اس کو سزا ہو۔ اسی طرح سے
جس کے پاس جتنا سٹاک تھا وہ
بھی اتنا ہی سٹاک آگے چل کر اپنے پاس
رکھے۔ یہ ہو کہ چیز سٹاک میں
نہ رہے۔ اور لوگ اس چیز کو خریدنے
کے لئے جائیں، اپنی ضروریات زندگی
کو خریدنے کے لئے جائیں تو وہ ان
کو نہ ملیں اور اگر ملیں تو زیادہ
داسوں پر ملیں۔

جو قیمت آپ مقرر کرتے ہیں۔ ان کو
بھی آپ دیکھیں۔ کھائے پیلے کی
چیزوں کے بارے میں میں کہہ رہا
ہوں۔ اور کوئی چیز آپ نے بہ طے
کہا ہے کہ چار روپے کلو ملتی
چاہئے تو آپ او یہ بھی دیکھنا
چاہئے کہ کیا چار روپے اسکی
قیمت واجب ہے۔ کنسی۔ شہری ہے
جو چیزوں کی قیمتیں مقرر کرتی ہے
اور دیکھتی ہے کہ واقعی میں یہ
صحیح قیمت ہے۔ میں ابھی کی
بانہ بتانا ہوں۔ چینی کی قیمت
بہت نیچی ہے۔ کھٹی ہے۔ لیکن
نارتھ اے ویلوم میں ابھی تک چینی چار
روپے پچاس پونے کے بہو سے ملتی
ہے۔ اس کا چہرہ میں صاحب آپ کو
بھی تلخ تجربہ ہوگا۔ میں چاہتا
ہوں گا کہ پرائس کو مقرر کرنے کے
لئے کوئی اہمیتی ہو اور اس کے

یہ کام ہونا چاہئے - کہ وہ قیمتوں کو
 مقرر کریں - اور دیکھیں کہ جو قیمت
 مقرر کی گئی ہے - اور اس پر
 وہ چیز بک رہی ہے - وہ واجب
 قیمت ہے یا نہیں -

THE MINISTER OF WORKS AND HOUSING AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH): In view of the desire of many members to extend the discussion, I consulted the Finance Minister and he has agreed that this may be continued on Monday after the disposal of any other urgent business.

श्री मूल चन्द डागा (पाली) : गरीबी, बेकारी और पिछड़ेपन से अगर हम को लड़ाई करनी है तो यह लड़ाई हम को युद्ध स्तर पर करनी होगी, वार फुटिंग पर करनी होगी। अब वार फुटिंग पर अगर यह लड़ाई लड़नी है तो हम को देखना होगा कि हमारी मशीनरी कैसी है और इसका कैसा होना चाहिये। यह एक बहुत बड़ा मवाल है। अब अगर यह लड़ाई लड़नी है तो इसका जादुई हल यही है कि कठोर अनुशासन में लोगों को रखा जाए, लोग परिश्रम करें, कड़ा परिश्रम करे, ईमानदारी से काम करें और इस में सख्ती बरती जाए। काम करवाने वाले जो लोग हैं उनका चरित्र भी साफ होना चाहिये, वे दूध के धुले हुए होने चाहिये। अगर ऐसा होगा तो उन में जनता का विश्वास जागृत होगा। पन्त जी ने ठीक ही कहा है और उसके लिए मैं उनको धन्यवाद भी देता हूँ कि प्रशासन तंत्र ठीला नहीं रहना चाहिये,

निकम्मा न हो और इसकी हम कोशिश करेंगे कि वह चुस्ती से काम करे, वह गतिशील हो। अगर ऐसा होता है तो मेरा विश्वास है कि बीस प्वाइंट का प्रोग्राम है इसको आसानी से हम अमल में ला सकते हैं और हिम्मत से हम आगे बढ़ सकते हैं। फूलों को अगर कोई प्राप्त करना चाहता है तो उसको कांटों के रास्ते में गुजरना होगा। अब कांटे कौन से हैं जिन को हटाना है? मैं समझता हूँ कि शासन और जनता के बीच में जो नीकरशाही की दीवार है, उसको तोड़ने की हम को कोशिश करनी होगी। एक कदम हमने उठाया है। गृह मंत्री जी ने थोड़े दिन पहले एक स्टेटमेंट दिया था कि हमारे यहां 35 परसेंट स्टाफ फाल्टू है। उन्होंने यह भी बताया था कि प्रशासन में गति लाने के लिए हमें कुछ कदम उठाने होंगे। उन्होंने कहा था कि योग्य तथा कर्मठ व्यक्तियों को हमें प्राथमिकता देनी होगी, कार्य क्षमता के आधार पर प्रमोशन दिए जाएंगे। यह बिल्कुल ठीक बात है। हमने जो भी आर्थिक योजनाएँ बनाई हैं, जो बीस प्वाइंट प्रोग्राम दिया है देश को ...

सभापति महोदय : आप मंडे को जारी रखें। अब हम उठते हैं। यह हाउस मंडे को ग्यारह बजे फिर मिलेगा।

18 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, August 4, 1975/Sravana 13, 1897 (Saka)