

3.00 P.M.

SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION—

On the condition of rural labour in the country

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal): Madam, rural labour is not an unknown category in this country or to this House. It constitutes 70 per cent of the national labour force and in terms of statistical magnitude it is around 23 crore in a population of 87 crore. The striking feature of... (*Interruptions*). Madam, I beg to draw your attention.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): I would like to have order in the House. Please, Mathur Sahib,

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: The striking feature of rural labour population is that 82 per cent of the rural labour are associated with agricultural activities, accounting for 70 per cent of national income generation. 46 per cent of the rural household belong to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The low asset base, irregular income, uncertain employment situation, unorganised character, dispersed location of their livelihood and earning, living below the poverty line, have really denied this leading segment of India's workforce the required volume of bargaining power as we see in case of industrial labour and they have made them totally dependent on the land-owning propertied section of the economy. Unfortunately, this vulnerable section never received any support from the nation and the Government. *Garibi hatao*, Jawahar Rozgar Yojna and Mandal Commission have not been able to alter the pattern of life of the rural labour force. The trickle-down mechanism of the Indian planning has failed over the last 40 year. The direct anti-poverty schemes and employment generation programmes have also not been able to make any appreciable dent in the hunger pockets of the country.

Madam, if you believe, the state of affairs is like this. There is almost no minimum wage, no accident benefit, no

maternity relief, no old age pension for this section of the labour force of the country. And let me add, there is no State mechanism whatsoever till now attached with any Department of the Government to look after the welfare of this biggest labour force of the country. If the rural workers go on strike, they are just thrown out of employment and unemployed labour from any other part of the countryside is brought to work in their place. If the rural workers decide to go a little farther, turn a little militant, then it is the armed land army raised by the land owning class in different parts of the country who take care of them and the custodian of law and order, the police force, only stand by as a reserve category of armed constabulary.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta, I know you are initiating at but you are allotted only 4 minutes. Be very brief.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Yes, I will be short.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Be very brief.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): How much is the time given?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): He has been allotted four minutes. I am just reminding him to be brief. Four minutes are over.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: How much is the time allotted for the debate?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Two hours and thirty minutes.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: He has not even initiated it... (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): I am just bringing it to his notice. I don't make the rule. It is my duty to remind him.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Madam, that is true, but while in the case of a person initiating a debate—because we are not strangers to the House...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Because your four minutes are over...

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Madam, none of us is a stranger to this House. Always in the past, under your Chairmanship also, Members were allotted, to initiate a discussion...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): But you can go ahead... (Interruptions)... I am just reminding him so that he could be brief.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Madam, what is the reason that the rural labour force is left totally uncared for? The reason for this is, the balance of power, the equation of political power in the country, is heavily tilted against this section of the labour force of the country. Madam, if you permit me, the voice of the rural labour is seldom heard in the House. The media focus takes place only at that point of time when there is a casualty, a carnage, an atrocity.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA (Karnataka): Even by the champions of labour!

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Madam, there have been reports, one after another, drawing the attention of the successive governments. There has been overlapping of sub-committees and commissions and this item has been on the national agenda for decades but, let me tell you, not a single government that occupied power in Delhi had dared to come out of the shell of inaction and initiate legislative measures for the improvement of their material living conditions because, if you permit me to say

so, the governments have been held in hostage by the kulaks and propertied sections in the countryside. It is well known that our civil life and political life are dominated by elitist bureaucrats and politicians living in the urban areas, and that is the reason why the problems of the rural labour force could not engage the attention of the Government. Therefore, Madam, the main point before us is whether the Government shall come out of the state of paralysis and dare to take legislative measures initiating a process for the improvement of the living conditions of the working people.

Madam, the Congress Party has been swearing in the name of Rajiv Gandhi. I don't mind it, he is a martyr. But do you still remember that it was Rajiv Gandhi who had appointed, in the year 1987, the National Commission on Rural Labour to look into the problems of this vulnerable section of the community? And do you still remember, Madam, that this Commission, after four years of hard job, had submitted to the Government a full-fledged report suggesting a number of measures to be taken by the Government? Madam, I understand the problem. You were under the strain of the Mandir and the Masjid and you were living in a period of unfolding of scandals. But, even then, how is it that you have totally forgotten the promise made by Rajiv Gandhi after this Commission was appointed? Not a page has been turned, not a file has been opened, not a man has moved and not a single utterance has been made by any Minister representing the Government, least of all, by the Prime Minister, with regard to the recommendations that this Commission has made.

What is the situation that the rural labour is living in? Let me give one or two instances. In case of employment, the employment generation has declined severely in the rural sector. The growth rate of employment in agriculture was 2.32 per cent between 1972 and 1978: now it has come down to 0.65 per cent. Therefore, the paucity of employment opportunity constitutes the biggest problem of the rural labour force of the country.

Madam, what about the poverty? The Government has been investing massive funds in direct anti-unemployment and anti-poverty schemes. In 1980-81 the total investment in this regard had been Rs. 1,238 crores. During the Seventh Five-Year Plan the investment so far as the anti-poverty schemes are concerned, had been Rs. 15,757 crores. But what has been the effect? The effect has been that even today 33.4 per cent of the rural population is living below the poverty-line. In a country of 87 crores nearly 23 crores are living below the poverty-line.

What about pauperisation? Despite the economic trend and the prosperity that the Government has been talking about, there is an uninterrupted downward mobility of the poor and marginal farmers, and the process of pauperisation has been at the rate of 3.2 per cent.

Madam, what has happened in land reforms? The Congress manifesto at the dawn of India's independence had promised radical land reforms in favour of the peasantry. The situation at the present moment is that those who have no land or have less than 1 hectare of land, constitute 66 per cent of the rural households. On the other hand, 2 per cent of the land-holders operate over 20 per cent of the total area. This is the wide contrast between landlessness and concentration of land in the country. Only 2 per cent of the cultivable land has been declared to be surplus, and less than 1 per cent has been distributed among the landless poor.

Madam, with 70 per cent of the irrigated area still depending on rain-fed irrigation, the employment situation in the countryside is like this: One agricultural worker is assured of only 100 days of employment in a year. This is the situation the labour force, the rural labour force, is faced with. Therefore, what is needed to be done? Since we have no time to discuss the problem of rural economy and since the vicissitudes of fortune of the rural labour force depend on the rural economy, we cannot discuss the problem of the rural labour without discussing the problem of agriculture. Therefore, it is quite well known that if

India would like to maintain the improvement in the agricultural production, if we are not to spend our hardearned foreign currency on import of foodgrains, if the so-called green revolution is still to persist, you have to give a fair share to the rural labour. Without giving a fair share to the rural labour, you cannot advance. Just see what is happening in Punjab. The green revolution is tapering off. The green revolution the country has been boasting of, is tapering off. You have always held out the promise of a fair share to the rural labour. Without land reforms, without a fair share of the fruit of development reaching the rural work force, without structural change in the agro-economics, there can't be advancement. See how the fruits of the green revolution are tapering off.

Secondly, Madam, there is an element of impatience, element of impatience in the countryside. If the armed forces raised by zamindars would let loose terrorism, the time has come to believe that the people are not going to take it lying down. Therefore, it is not a question of tapering off of the green revolution, but it is a question of the impatience in the agricultural sector that the country has to take note of. Therefore, in conclusion I must say that the Government had been dithering for long, had been delaying for decades, had failed to take a decision on the rural labour force for a pretty long time. The time has come to decide on it or face a different situation. If the industrial workers can get the benefit of industrial labour laws, if the industrial workers can get the benefit of a Labour Directorate, if the industrial workers can get the benefit of a working labour department, which, of course, they could by dint of their sheer strength of movement, why has the State not come forward to give protective cover of social security to this unorganised labour force, which is so vulnerable and has got little bargaining power? In the matter of social security India is investing the minimum amount. Only 2 per cent of the G.D.P. is being spent on social security. This is lower than what is being spent even by many of the Latin American countries. How long can things go on like

[Shri Gurudas Das Gupta]

this? Therefore, I would like the Government to spell out its policies so far as the report of the National Rural Commission is concerned. I would like the Government to say what they would like to do to give protective cover to the biggest army of the Indian national labour force. I would like the Government to tell us in what way they are going to support this movement of the rural labour force for a better life. Without giving them a better life, don't imagine that the nation can advance; without a fair deal to them the nation cannot advance. Therefore, the time has come for the Government to spell out its policies. It is not just enough to say that Rajiv Gandhi had set up this commission. Actually the country had demanded it. Therefore, it is not a question of political acrimony. Nor is it a question of party partisanship. I believe it is time for the Government to declare in unambiguous terms its attitude towards the rural labour force, which constitutes 70 per cent of the national labour force.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): The problem faced by the rural labour can be categorised into two—agricultural labour and non-agricultural labour. The agricultural labour comprises of those who have got small holdings. In those fields they work for a period of only three to four months. For the remaining period they have to seek employment elsewhere in other States. The other category of farm labour comprises the persons who are landless. They are dependent upon the land of the others. In their land they contribute their labour.

Other categories of the non-agricultural labour are the rural artisans, the persons who have got house-hold as small industries and also the persons who go for employment for the purpose of manufacturing rural-oriented goods.

It is acceptable to everyone that it is only the rural economy that contributes heavily for the development of the country. It is ultimately the farm goods that are produced by the farmers and the rural labour that go to the industrial produc-

tion. But ultimately in our country the agricultural labour force and the farmers and also the persons who are involved in the village industries have been a neglected lot. In our country for the urban labour, who are in the organised sector, umpteen number of labour legislations have been brought in by the Central Government and they are being implemented in various States. But whether it is the Government or the trade unions, they have not taken pains to see that the welfare of the people who are in the unorganised sector is taken care of. I am saying this cutting across party lines. This is a major problem facing this country. When land reforms were brought forward by the Government we decided that the agricultural labourers who will be tilling the soil will be given the benefit. But to my surprise only two States, West Bengal and Kerala, were able to implement the land reform laws successfully. I can say before this House, in other States, the land reform laws have been partially implemented. In some of the States, it has not been implemented. In some States it has become a *benami* transaction and the worst sufferers are the agricultural labourers who could not get the benefit. The rich landlords who have got a thousand acres of land or 500 acres of land have diverted the surplus land in the name of several persons. So, they have deprived the real beneficiaries who were to get the land.

The then successive Prime Ministers, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Shri Rajiv Gandhi, took steps and issued directions to the various State Governments to see that land reform laws were effectively implemented. Our hon. Prime Minister, when he took over the office, called a meeting of the Chief Ministers of various States and categorically issued instructions to them to see that the Land Reforms Act is implemented in letter and spirit. But unfortunately the land reform laws have not been given importance by the various State Governments. If we go through the records, not even 50 per cent of the excess land which has been declared by the various State Governments as surplus has been distributed to the landless labourers.

In the last week hon. Members from this House raised as issue before the

Labour Minister the bonded labourers. There are bonded labourers working not only in quarries, but also in the agricultural sector. The big landlords employ the families of the poor people and the down-trodden people and give Rs. 1000 or Rs. 500 as loan and get their signatures on bond papers. The poor labourers have to work in the fields for years and even their children have to offer their services for the interest that accrues on the principal amount. This is also a kind of bonded labour system. There is a machinery for controlling this bonded labour system. There is a machinery to free these people from the clutches of the big landlords. Madam, bossism and landlordism has not gone out of this country so far. I can tell you frankly the labourers employed by the big landlords for years together have not known freedom, they have not seen the development of their families, of their children. The children of the bonded labourers have not received education. Even after so many years of independence we see the same plight for the people who are living there.

Let us take women labourers. Women labourers are the worst sufferers. I can frankly say that 80 per cent of the people who are working in the agricultural fields as labourers are women, especially in big States. It is the women who contribute for the agricultural sector. But for the development of their lot, nothing has been done.

So far as child labourers are concerned, they are being exploited even in the rural areas. Even a small child of 12 years or 13 years goes to the fields and work there. Their welfare is not being taken care of. Their services are being exploited by the big landlords in the agricultural sector.

Madam, I go one step further and say that the machinery that has been set up by the various State Governments for the purpose of ensuring payment of the minimum wage—Rs. 20 fixed by the Government which was originally Rs. 14—to the rural labourers have not seen to it, none of the State Governments has taken pains to see to it, that the amount of Rs. 20

per day as wage is paid to them by the authorities concerned. I would like to point out this to the hon. Minister. As far as the industrial sector in the urban areas is concerned, there is a machinery for the purpose of checking and controlling, for the purpose of implementing the Act. But the same Minimum Wages Act is applied to all the labourers, industrial and agricultural. The hon. Minister may kindly take note of this. Unfortunately, as far as the rural labourers are concerned, the Minimum Wages Act is only on paper and has not been implemented. For example, the provision by which Rs. 20/- is fixed as the minimum for the purpose of wages to labourers has not been implemented by the State Governments. Where is the machinery to check that? Where is the machinery to see that the Act is implemented? It is a sorry state of affairs, Madam. In 1987, in the Ministry of Labour, a Consultative Committee... (Interruption).

श्री शिव चरण सिंह (राजस्थान) :
अभी तो रजिस्ट्रेशन ही नहीं है, माननीय रजिस्ट्रेशन होगा तभी मिनिमम वेजेज का होगा ।

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: They will have to compulsorily register. They have to bring an amendment in the Act. They have to rope in the big landlords who employ 300 to 400 people every day in agricultural fields, doing nothing for the labourers. Let them amend the Act. I am asking the Minister to amend the Act to provide a minimum wage to them.

Madam, now I come to the other aspect of providing social security. No facilities have been given for these people. The worst-affected people are the Scheduled Casts and the Scheduled Tribes; especially in winter. If you go to the southern parts of the country, these labourers, their families, starve for three months. Their children have no food. Every day, they have to work to provide for their families. In winter, these families living in Harijan 'bastis' and colonies starve. Keeping this in view, Smt. Indira Gandhi brought the 20-point programme. And, our great leader Rajiv Gandhi brought the

[Shri V. Narayanaswamy]

Jawahar Rozgar Yojana. These social welfare schemes, whether it is the 20-point programme or the IRDP or the NREP or the Employment Guarantee Programme, are not being implemented. The Central Government provides funds for these schemes. The State Governments also provide funds. But while implementing, the benefits really do not go to the needy. The State Governments are diluting them. When Shri Rajiv Gandhi was the Prime Minister, the percentage of people living below the poverty line was 51 and it was brought down to 27 per cent during that period. This has been stagnant for the past more than three years. Thereafter, there has been no improvement. The reason is, there is no effective implementation of the 20-point programme in various States. Therefore, I would like to know from the hon. Minister what steps the Central Government is taking. Even yesterday, I raised the issue in the House. A part of the money that is provided by the Central Government is taken away by the State Governments for various other schemes not provided for in the 20-point programme. In some other States, out of the money that is being given, only 15 to 20 per cent goes to the poor and the downtrodden and the rest is eaten away by middlemen. This is the 20-point programme that is being implemented in various States. The State Government machineries have not been effectively implementing the schemes. Therefore I would like to know from the hon. Minister what steps he is taking as the Minister for Labour to see that these people are being protected from the clutches of middlemen, big landlords and people who are living an affluent life at the cost of the poor and the downtrodden.

I then come to the condition of rural industries. The condition of our rural industries, wherein most of the rural women are employed, apart from the people who do work in houses for the purpose of production of small items, is pathetic. These people are not taken care of. Another aspect is, khadi and village industries have become sources of

employment in rural areas to the people who are living in villages, the people who are not involved in agriculture and the people who are involved in agriculture but, naturally, all the people who are involved as agricultural labourers cannot get employment for the whole year. They have to have other avocations for their employment. Therefore, the Cottage and Village Industries Commission was brought into force in various States. What is the state of affairs in the Cottage and Village Industries Commission in this country? According to this Commission, the people will have to be given job orientation training in respect of the items that are being produced by the agricultural sector, that is the raw material for the purpose of producing the khadi items, but ultimately we find that the people who are working in this field are being exploited by the management, who is just managing the show in the cottage and village industries. I know about the cases where the fund provided for the purpose of keeping the swindles by the poor people, has not gone to them, the fund provided to extract oil has not been given to them. The fund provided by the Central Government and the Khadi and Village Industries Commission is not reaching them. That is how the rural labour has been exploited by the middlemen and the people who are at the helm of affairs. In 1987, the Ministry of Labour appointed a Sub-Committee to go into the question of agricultural labour. They submitted a report also, Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta was the Convenor of the Sub-Committee. I am referring to a Sub-Committee. This Committee was constituted to look into the problems of agricultural labour and suggest ways and means to improve their conditions. After a report was submitted by the Sub-Committee, the matter was raised in the House. The then Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, thought it fit to appoint the National Commission on Rural Labour. (Interruptions)

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: It was the commitment of Shri Rajiv Gandhi while presenting the Budget in February 1987.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: It was mentioned by Shri Rajiv Gandhi in his

Budget speech in 1987 and it was on the basis of this commitment of the then Prime Minister that this Commission was appointed. The Commission, after a long ordeal, went to various States and after conducting a complete survey, submitted a very good report. I went through the entire report. They have given very good suggestions for improving the conditions of the rural labour. Unfortunately, till this day, the hon. Labour Minister, who is sitting here, has not taken any decision on those recommendations.

The agricultural labourers, the people who are toiling in the fields, are being exploited and the hon. Minister is watching this quietly. A very important aspect is that to improve the conditions... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Mr. Narayanasamy, the Labour Department is so dear to him that even if he doesn't want, it comes in search of him. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: There are ways and means suggested by the National Commission on Rural Labour for improving the conditions of the rural labour. I would like to know from the Minister whether they have taken any decision on that and whether they are going to implement the suggestions given by the National Commission on Rural Labour.

Another important aspect is that the rural people, especially the agricultural labourers and the people who have small holdings, are being exploited by the big money-lenders and they have got into the debt trap. They have taken loans from banks and they are not in a position to pay off their debts. When Shrimati Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister, she brought forward a scheme by way of which the people who obtained loans up to Rs. 10,000/- were allowed a moratorium—moratorium in the sense that they were to pay the principal amount and not pay the interest which is equal to the principal amount. In fact, that is wiped out under the Debt Relief Act. That is call-

ed moratorium. That scheme was implemented. But thereafter, the Janata Dal Government came into power and with much fanfare they made an announcement that debt up to Rs. 10,000/- would be wiped out, and they selected some States. They had provided some funds. Even in that, till this date, some of the people who are the beneficiaries... *(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI MIRA DAS (Orissa): This is absolutely a wrong allegation made against the Janata Dal Government.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: When your turn comes, you can say all that. When I speak, I own the responsibility.

SHRIMATI MIRA DAS: I also take the responsibility. Don't say like that.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: I am not making irresponsible statements. I am making very responsible statements... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI (Tamil Nadu): Rs. 67,044 crores were allotted for that and were disbursed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Each Member can speak when his turn comes. Whatever the Members are saying, they are taking the responsibility for it.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Madam, they have selected some States and they have provided relief to some of them... *(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): You continue. Don't listen to Mr. Gopalsamy... *(Interruptions)*... No, we are not discussing Tamil Nadu. I request all the Members from Tamil Nadu to please sit down... *(Interruptions)*... Members from Tamil Nadu will not speak. Please sit down... *(Interruption)*...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I know that. I take the responsibility for the statement... *(Interruption)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): No, I am not allowing you to make it... (*Interruptions*)... I am not allowing the Members from Tamil Nadu. I am not allowing you to make it... (*Interruptions*)... No, I am not allowing the Members from Tamil Nadu to speak. He is speaking because he is from Pondicherry... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKAT RAMAN (Tamil Nadu): Madam, let him confine himself to rural labour.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): He is confining himself to the rural labour.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: I am speaking specifically about the rural labour. They are provoking me, Madam... (*Interruptions*)...

श्री शिवचरण सिंह : रूरल लेबर की सबसे ज्यादा खराब स्थिति तमिलनाडु में है ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Please continue, Mr. Narayanamy.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Madam, I have been speaking about the indebtedness. The benefits accruing from the schemes that were implemented by the Janata Dal Government did not reach the people who were the real beneficiaries... (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Mr. Gopalsamy, please let him speak. (*Interruptions*)

श्री शिवचरण सिंह : अब अपनी सरकार से पहुंचवा दो । ... (व्यवधान)

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: No, you take interest in Tamil Nadu. I take interest in Pondicherry... (*Interruptions*)... Since he has been removed from Tamil Nadu, he is coming to Pondicherry... (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): You are

also going to speak; you can respond to it then. Let him speak. Your turn will come. Your turn is coming, you can answer at that time. It is up to him to speak what he wants.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Some schemes have been brought for helping the people who are indebted. The amount allotted for them under those schemes was not provided to them. That is my charge. Some of the people who have been declared the real beneficiaries could not get the benefit through the banks. That was my charge. Therefore, I said that the indebtedness of the poor sections of the rural people could not be removed. For that, what is your suggestion? That is for land reforms. The specific and basic thing is land reforms. That will definitely give employment opportunities to the rural people who are involved in the agricultural operations. Then, for rural indebtedness, for women and child labour and for streamlining the agricultural labour and non-agricultural labour who have been involved in the regular course of work, what are you going to do? What are you going to do for providing more help and assistance to the people who are living in the Harijan basties and colonies? They are the most affected people. The rural labourers, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes who constitute one-fifth of the population of this country are the most affected people. I would like to know from the hon. Minister what the schemes are because the 20 Point Programme has not been implemented in full swing. The Jawahar Rozgar Yojna that has been brought has not been taken care of and, therefore, the rural indebtedness still remains and the rural people are suffering. Most of the people are migrating from the rural areas to the towns. I think they are leaving the rural areas because they could not get alternative employment. All the people cannot depend upon the agricultural operations because of the mechanisation and modernisation. What steps are you going to take for giving more employment opportunities to the people living in the

rural areas so that their cost of living can improve, their health conditions can improve, they can get better nutrition and they can get the minimum assured wages for the work they do? Therefore, Madam, the hon. Minister, as I said here itself last time, must take keen interest in the welfare of the labour and the poor and downtrodden. I expect from the hon. Minister some announcement with regard to giving help to the poor and downtrodden people of this country, the rural labour of his country, the agricultural and non-agricultural labour of this country and also the rural artisans of this country, who are leading a hand-to-mouth life in this country. Thank you.

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम (उत्तर प्रदेश) :

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, ग्रामीण श्रमिकों की दयनीय स्थिति पर हम अल्पकालिक चर्चा कर रहे हैं लेकिन इस चर्चा का एकमात्र उद्देश्य केवल चर्चा करना ही नहीं है बल्कि इस चर्चा के माध्यम से कुछ ठोस सुझाव हम अपने राज्यों की सरकारों और केन्द्रीय सरकार को देना चाहते हैं और उन पर दबाव बनाना चाहते हैं जिससे कि इन श्रमिकों की स्थिति में सुधार आ सके। यही इस चर्चा का एकमात्र उद्देश्य है।

महोदया, मैं आपका ध्यान चाहूंगा। हमारे देश में उद्योगपतियों, बड़े-बड़े काश्तकारों, सरकारी अधिकारी और कर्मचारी और व्यावसायिक व्यक्तियों को छोड़कर (जो बहुत कम संख्या में हैं) अधिकतर संख्या हमारे देश में श्रमिकों की है चाहे वह फैक्टरी मजदूर हों, चाहे वह छोटे-मोटे कल-कारखानों में काम करने वाले हों, चाहे वह खेती में काम करने वाले हों निर्माण कार्यों में काम करने वाले हों अथवा अपने घरों में छोटे छोटे दस्तकारी के काम करके मजदूरी करते हों। महोदया, वैसे तो हमारे देश में ग्रामीण संख्या लगभग 70 प्रतिशत है पर इन मजदूरों की संख्या भी अधिकतर ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में ही है। हमारे देश में जितने भी श्रमिक हैं, उन श्रमिकों में लगभग 70 प्रतिशत संख्या भूमिहीन खेतिहर मजदूरों की है। उन मजदूरों की, जिनके पास पास अपनी भूमि नहीं है लेकिन दिन-रात

दूसरों की भूमि पर काम करते हैं और महोदया आपको यह जानकर ताज्जुब होगा कि जितनी हमारी ग्रामीण जनसंख्या है, उस जनसंख्या का 30 प्रतिशत भाग इन भूमिहीन खेतिहर मजदूरों का है। लेकिन इन की स्थिति क्या है? ये धन से गरीब हैं, शरीर से कमजोर हैं, समाज में हेय हैं, शिक्षा में अशिक्षित हैं, शासन में इनकी भागीदारी नहीं है और प्रशासन में इनकी भागीदारी नहीं है। इसलिए इनके अधिकारों की लड़ाई सिर्फ होटों की लबालबी से लड़ी जाती है। यह लड़ाई दिल से नहीं लड़ी जाती है।

मैं ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ नारायण स्वामी जी का श्रीर कांग्रेस के दूसरे सदस्यों का। मैं अपने कांग्रेसी साथियों की बहुत इज्जत करता हूँ। जब 1969 में कांग्रेस का बंटवारा हुआ तो श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने चार नारे लगाए थे—मैं गरीबी दूर करूंगी, ये सिडीकेटिए मेरे रास्ते में बाधा पैदा कर रहे हैं, मैं तो पहले ही करना चाहती थी। मैं खेती योग्य भूमि का बंटवारा भूमिहीन खेतिहर मजदूरों में करूंगी, कृषि भूमि की सीमा बाधूंगी और साढ़े 12 एकड़ से ज्यादा जमीन किसी के पास नहीं होगी। मैं शहरी जमीन को भी सीमा बाधूंगी और इसके अलावा राजाओं के बटुए, प्रिवी पर्स समाप्त करूंगी।

घोषणाएँ बड़ी उत्तम थीं। गरीबों का मन भी मोहा गया और 1969 में सत्ता हथिया ली। लेकिन इस प्रचार में 5-7 साल लगा दिए गए।

श्री हेच० हनुमन्तप्पा : आपका रिएक्शन कैसा था ?

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM : I was an admirer of Shrimati Indira Gandhi for these actions. I am telling you honestly. I am a nationalist first; the party comes after that.

मेरा आऊटलुक पहले नेशनल है। श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने जब यह घोषणा की, तो इस दौरान हुआ क्या कि जितनी जमीन गांव की परती पड़ी हुई थी, उस पर

[Shri Sangh Priya Gautam]

तो दादाओं ने कब्जा कर लिया। जो बड़े-बड़े काश्तकार थे, जिनके बड़े-बड़े फार्म थे उन लोगों ने उस पर अपने नौकरों के नाम, अपने कुत्ता-बिल्ली-भैंसों के नाम फर्जी पट्टे करा लिए और जमीन हथियाली या स्वयं अनाधिकार कब्जा कर लिया।

उन्होंने कहा कि हम राजाओं के प्रिवी-पर्स, राजाओं के बटुए खत्म करेंगे। लेकिन मुझे क्षमा करेंगे कांग्रेस के लोग, मैं नाम गिना सकता हूँ, चूंकि मैं यहां पर एक्स टम्पोर बोलता हूँ जो भी बोलता हूँ, परन्तु समय का अभाव है। एक अखबार में हैडिंग निकला था कि अब तो राज करेंगे राजे। वही जमींदार जिनको सरदार पटेल ने खत्म किया था, वही जमींदार जिनके बटुए खत्म करने के नारे लगाए, वही राजे जो जमींदार थे कांग्रेस के मिनिस्टर, एम०पी० और एम०एल०ए० बने हुए थे। भला जलेबी की रखवाली कुतिया कैसे कर सकती है, हमारे गांवों में यह कहावत है। जो जमीन बांटेंगे वे राजा मिनिस्टर बन गए, वे एम०पी० बन गए, एम०एल०ए० बन गए, ब्लाक प्रमुख बन गए क्योंकि पैसे के बल पर वोटों को खरीदकर या बूथों पर कब्जा करके वे बनते हैं। तो महोदया, हमारे देश के गरीबों को भूमि इसलिए नहीं मिली।

महोदया, इन गरीबों की हालत क्यों खराब हुई? मुझे क्षमा करेंगे, मैं भी गरीब घर से आता हूँ, मैं बताता हूँ कि इनकी हालत क्यों खराब हुई। एक तो इनको सिला नहीं मिला। दूसरे काम पूरे साल नहीं मिला। इनके पास पाटें टाइम का भी जो काम था वह भी नहीं रहा। चूंकि मैं टीनेसी ऐक्ट को पढ़ा भी हूँ और मैंने सिविल, क्रिमिनल और रेवेन्यू में 30 साल वकालत भी की है, इसलिए मुझे तजुर्बा है। पहले जो बड़े काश्तकार थे वे खुद जमीन नहीं जोतते थे। वह इन गरीबों को अपनी जमीन लिमिटेड पीरियड के लिए लगान पर दे देते थे। 6 साल के बाद उनको उस जमीन में राइट्स पैदा हो जाते थे, अधिवासी या

आसामी हो जाते थे। इसके बाद कुछ काश्तकार इनको बटाई या चौथाई पर जमीन दे देते थे। लेकिन भूमि सुधार के नाम पर इन लोगों से जमीनें छीन ली गईं। अब अपनी जमीन बटाई या चौथाई पर देना उन्होंने बंद कर दिया और लगान पर भी जमीन नहीं देते। इसलिए चौबे जी छब्बे होने चले थे, दूबे रह गए। जो थोड़ा काम था वह भी खत्म हो गया है।

महोदया, इनके और भी काम थे। ये बट्टई का काम करते थे 6 महीने बाद किसान से गल्ला ले लेते थे। ये लोग कुम्हार का काम करते थे और बर्तन देते थे, 6 महीने बाद उसके लिए किसानों से अनाज लेते थे। ये लोग लोहार का काम करते थे। मुर्दा मवेशी उठाकर उनके सांटे व नारे व चर्स (पुर) किसानों को दे देते थे आप शायद मेरी भाषा न फोलो कर सकें, पानी पहले पुर से नीचे से निकालते थे कुएं से इसलिए यह पुर बनाकर किसान को देते थे तब इनकी आजीविका चलती थी। लेकिन इनके ये काम भी कांग्रेस के राज में इन लोगों से सब ने छीन लिए। और जो सबसे महत्वपूर्ण चीज थी, महोदया, मैं आपका ध्यान चाहूंगा कि जो खेती इनके पास थी खेती में ये छोटे छोटे उद्योग और हस्तकला के काम करते थे। आप कहेंगे क्या? वन (कपासी) बोले थे, वन की लकड़ी से और ग्रहर बोले थे, ग्रहर की लकड़ी से डलिया और टोकरी बनाने थे। उससे से जो छाल निकलती जिसे सन, सनई जिसे बोलते हैं, उससे रस्सी बनाते थे जिससे चारपाइयां बनती थीं, पानी कुएं से खींचा जाता था, खींचने के रस्से बनते थे वह भी सब खत्म हो गया वह नाइलान फैक्टरी ने ले लिया। वह भी उनका काम खत्म हो गया जिसको हम ऐग्री वेस्ट इंडस्ट्री कहते हैं कृषि पर आधारित धंधे जो गांवों में थे वे भी खत्म हो गए।

इसके बाद महोदया, इनके पास जंग अपनी जमीन थी, यद्यपि कानून बने कि बगैर परमिशन डिस्ट्रिक्ट मजिस्ट्रेट के कोई भी अनुसूचित जाति, जनजाति क

व्यक्ति अपनी लैंड का ट्रांजेक्शन नहीं कर सकेगा। लेकिन फर्जी नामों से ट्रांजेक्शन कराए गए और उनकी जमीनें भी उनसे छिन गई। मंडम, अब स्थिति यह है कि न गांव में काम है, न गांव में धंधे, न गांव में हस्तकला है और सबसे बड़ा मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि ये घड़ियाली आंसू बहाने वाले केन्द्रीय सरकार में कांग्रेस के लोग ईमानदारी से सामने नहीं आते। आपकी जो नई उद्योग नीति है ये एंशो बेस्ड इंडस्ट्री को खत्म कर रही है।

आप जो बड़ी इंडस्ट्री लगा रहे हैं उस से गांव से एंशो बेस्ड इंडस्ट्री खत्म हो गई। सबसे बड़ी बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि मैं किसान का बेटा भी हूँ। पहले किसान बैलों से अपनी खेती करता था, बैलों को मजदूर चलाता था, उससे रोजी मिलती थी, मजदूर हल जोतता था। उससे मजदूरी मिलती थी। वह हार्वेस्टिंग करता था, कटाई करता था, उससे मजदूरी मिलती थी। लेकिन जिस तरह से उद्योग मशीनों से चलने लगे हैं मैन पावर को खत्म कर दिया गया है, बेरोजगारी बढ़ा दी गई है। ठीक यही नकल बड़े-बड़े काश्तकारों ने कर ली है। उन्होंने मजदूरों को हटाकर कृषि उद्योग, मशीनों से करना शुरू कर दिया है। विदेशों से हारवेस्टर इम्पोर्ट करने लग गये हैं। जो यह सरकार बंठी है इसी ने इजाजत दी है हारवेस्टर इम्पोर्ट करने की। खेत को जोत रहे हैं ट्रैक्टर, बो रहे हैं ट्रैक्टर, काट रहे हैं ट्रैक्टर, हारवेस्ट कर रहा है हारवेस्टर इसलिए आदमी के पास कोई काम नहीं है खेत में। किसान का यहां से काम खत्म हो गया है। गांव में मजदूर के लिए कोई काम नहीं है। मैं लम्बी बात न कह कर, उन बातों को न दोहराकर कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ। सुझाव मैं इसलिए देना चाहता हूँ कि प्रिवेशन इज बैटर दैन थॉर। अगर आज चेत गए तो देश का भविष्य उज्ज्वल होगा और अगर नहीं चेतें तो भविष्य अंधकारमय होगा। कितना ही आप यहां पर हारवेस्टर ले आयें, कितने ही विदेशी उद्योग ले आयें, कितनी ही बहुराष्ट्रीय कम्पनियां ले आयें, अगर इस देश के नौजवानों को काम नहीं मिले

और जनसंख्या इसी तरह से बढ़ती गई तो वे इन उद्योगों को आग लगा देंगे। इन दफ्तरों को आग लगा देंगे। नेताओं को चौराहे पर पकड़-पकड़ कर मारेगे और लोगों का जीवन दूभर हो जायेगा। ये उन आदमियों के हाथों में फंस जायेंगे जो आतंकवादी हैं या उग्रवादी हैं या जो स्मगलिंग का काम कर रहे हैं। इससे इस देश का भविष्य बिल्कुल डूब जायेगा। इसलिए वक्त रहते चेत जाइये। वही नीति जो पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू की थी, वही नीति जो श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी की थी, अगर उनका नाम लेते हों तो उनकी नीति पर चलिए बरना उनका नाम लेना छोड़ दो। यह बदनामी है उनके नाम की। आप उनकी नीति पर दुबारा आ जाइये। अपने देश की स्थिति, अपने देश की उपज, अपने देश के प्राकृतिक संसाधन और अपने देश के लोगों की जन आकांक्षा को उद्योग और अर्थनीति का आधार बनाइये। हमारा देश चाहता है खेती, हमारा देश चाहता है काम, हमारा देश चाहता है कल्याण। इसलिए हमने कहा

India is a developing country
and ours is a welfare State.

मगर वेलफेयर कहां हो रहा है आप चापलूसी छोड़ दीजिए प्रधान मंत्री की। बुद्ध ने कहा था बुद्ध मेरे पहले भी हुए हैं और बुद्ध मेरे बाद भी होंगे। नरसिंह राव पहले भी हुए हैं और बाद में भी पैदा होंगे। इसलिए चापलूसी छोड़ दो। अपने विवेक का इस्तेमाल करो अपनी बुद्धि का इस्तेमाल करो। श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री की तरह देश के सभी लोगों को पूछो। उनके साथ मंत्रणा करो। उनकी राय लो। देश की ठेकेदारी अकेले तुम्हारी नहीं है, हमारा भी हिस्सा है। हम भी इस देश के नागरिक हैं। हमने भी इस देश की लड़ाई लड़ी है। मुझ जैसे व्यक्ति ने आजादी-आंदोलन में अपने गांव में कांग्रेस का तिरंगा झंडा उठाकर गोविन्द वल्लभ पंत का स्वागत किया था। इसलिए मैं आप से कहना चाहूंगा और कुछ सुझाव देना चाहूंगा मगर मैं आप से पूछना चाहता हूँ, आप से प्रश्न है कि आप उनको लागू करेंगे? यह मेरा फर्स्ट एण्ड फारमोस्ट क्वेश्चन है कि क्या आप अपनी उद्योग नीति को स्पष्ट करेंगे?

[श्री संध प्रिय गौतम]

क्या इसे परिवर्तित करेंगे? क्या आप कृषि पर आधारित केवल कृषि पर आधारित उद्योगों को ही गांव के अंदर लगायेंगे और बाकी उद्योगों को गांवों से भगायेंगे। This is my first and foremost question. अगर आपको ग्रामीण श्रमिकों से मोहब्बत है तो आप यह कीजिये।

मेरा दूसरा प्रश्न यह है कि क्या आप भूमिहीनों को वास्तव में भूमि देंगे? मुझे आप क्षमा करें, आप हमारी पार्टी के घोषणा-पत्र को पढ़ते ही नहीं हैं और हो सकता है कि हमारे कुछ साथी भी न पढ़ते हों। इसके लिए मैं क्षमा चाहता हूँ। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि दुनिया में The tiller of the soil must be the owner of the soil.

साम्यवादी भी है और न्याय भी वाद होंगे इसलिए गौतमवाद भी हो सकता है। I never copy anybody.

मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि जो जमीन को जोतता है वह जमीन का मालिक होना चाहिए। इसके दो फायदे होंगे। वह ईमानदारी और मेहनत से अपनी खेती करेगा और जिस जमीन का वह मालिक होगा उसकी पैदावार भी बढ़ाएगा। इससे देश की उपज बढ़ेगी, देश अल्पनिर्भर बनेगा। तीसरी बात यह है कि इस देश में जो बंजर, परती, पठारी और खेती के लायक जमीन है, वेस्टलेण्ड है, क्या उस भूमि को आप भूमिहीन खेतीहर मजदूरों को एक टाइम बाउण्ड प्रोग्राम के अन्दर आवंटित करेंगे? यही नहीं जो जमीन जंगलाल के नाम पर रिजर्व है, जहाँ पर जंगलाल नहीं लगाये जा रहे हैं उसको एक समय सीमा के लिए जब तक जंगल नहीं लगते हैं तब तक इन खेतीहर मजदूरों को देंगे? क्या सरकार यह जमीन इन लोगों में बाँटेगी? आप जानते हैं कि न्यूनतम मजदूरी का इम्प्लीमेंटेशन नहीं होता है। इसके लिए अभी तक रजिस्ट्रेशन भी नहीं हुआ है। यह कानून लागू नहीं होता है। मुझे खुशी है कि महाराष्ट्र के अंदर आपको पार्टी की सरकार है, वहाँ पर इम्प्लीमेंट

गारन्टी स्कीम है और सफलतापूर्वक चल रही है। क्या आप इस न्यूनतम मजदूरी के कानून को सभी राज्यों में लागू करेंगे? सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि आप किसानों को मुआवजा देते हैं। ओला बृष्टि होती है तो किसानों की फसल नष्ट हो जाती है। बाढ़ आती है तो किसानों की फसल नष्ट हो जाती है। सूखा पड़ता है तो किसानों की फसल नष्ट हो जाती है और आप किसानों को मुआवजा देते हैं। लेकिन इन मजदूरों को जिनकी जिन्दगी किसानों से जुड़ी होती है उनको मुआवजा क्यों नहीं दिया जाता है? इसलिए मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या आप उक्त परिस्थितियों में इन मजदूरों को भी मुआवजा दिलवाएंगे?

मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आप कल्याणकारी योजनाओं की बात करते हैं। कल्याणकारी योजनायें हैं—रोजी, रोटो, कपड़ा, मकान, शिक्षा और दवा। ये इन लोगों को नहीं मिल रही हैं। क्या इनकी आवादी में आपने स्कूल खोले हैं? क्या पेयजल के लिए ट्यूबवैल लगाए हैं? क्या इनके यहाँ अस्पताल खोले हैं और क्या उनके यहाँ बांटी जाती है? जैसी इम्प्लायमेंट गारन्टी स्कीम आपने महाराष्ट्र में खोली है वैसे स्कीम आप दूसरे राज्यों में क्यों नहीं लागू करते हैं?

An industrial training centre must be organised everywhere, in every State. There are hundreds of trades for which the illiterate people can be trained.

जब उनको ट्रेनिंग मिलेगी, सरकार की तरफ से पैसा मिलेगा, रा-मेटिरियल मिलेगा तो गांवों के अन्दर उद्योग-धन्धे स्थापित होंगे और लोगों को रोजगार मिलेगा, उनकी हालत बेहतर होगी। इस प्रकार से बहुत-सी बातें हैं। जंगलाल के बारे में आखिरी बात कह कर मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करूंगा। जिनको आप आदिवासी कहते हैं, जो जंगल की खेती करते हैं, आज वे बेकार हो गये हैं। पहले जंगलाल की लकड़ी उनकी थी, जंगल के फल उनके थे, फूल उनके थे जंगल की परती उनकी थी, जंगल की खाली जमीन उनकी थी और जंगल ही उनकी रोजी-

रोटी थी और जंगल ही उनके जीवन का आधार था। ये सब चीजें उनसे छीन ली गई हैं। आपने इनको ठेकेदारों को दे दिया है। क्या आप ये चीजें उनको अब वापस दिखाएंगे? अगर आप ऐसा नहीं करते हैं तो यह चर्चा केवल चर्चा मात्र रह जाएगी।

4 00 P.M.

जैसा हम अब तक करते आये हैं, उससे इन श्रमिकों का कल्याण होने वाला नहीं है। इसलिए मंत्री महोदय, मैंने ये जो सुझाव आपके सामने प्रस्तुत किये हैं, इस बात का पुनः अप्रह्न करते हुए कि आप इसको लागू करें और करवाएं, कठिनाई तो आती है तो हमारा सहयोग लें, हम आपकी मदद करेंगे, यह राष्ट्रीय मामला है, यह राष्ट्रीय योजना है तभी आप इस चर्चा को सफल बनायेंगे? धन्यवाद।

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Madam Vice-Chairman, I thank you for this opportunity to speak on the problem of the rural labour in this country. While initiating the discussion, Shri Gurudas Das Gupta charged that for the last forty years, the Government has not done anything for the rural labour class. In my own way, I interrupted him that even the so-called champions of the labour movement also have not done anything tangible for this class. It is for the first time our late Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, who had been able to go to the villages personally, after looking into their problems and after making a survey, was able to bifurcate the labour into the organised, in regard to whom the so-called champions claim that they are responsible for whatever they are getting today, and the unorganised and rural labour. In his budget speech in 1987, he made an announcement: "Here is a class which needs the attention of the Government, the attention of the society" if not the attention of the so-called champions of the labour movement. So, in his budget speech in 1987, he promised that he would constitute a Labour Commission which would go into the problems of the rural labour and in pursuance of this promise, on 11th August, 1987, he constituted a Commission to go into those problems.

Madam, Mr. Sangh Priya Gautam was elaborating the problems of the unorganised and the agricultural labour. The only thing, I feel, is that he has not looked into the Report of the Rural Labour Commission which is kept in the Library. If he had just gone through that Report, for many of the questions which he has raised, he would have got answers in that Report. The Commission has, after visiting various States and studying the problems, come out with wonderful suggestions, valuable suggestions right from defining the rural labour, identifying the problems and the trends of the rural labour, problems of the agricultural labourers and the differentiation between the agricultural and the non-agricultural labourers such as beedi workers, construction workers, brick workers, today tappers, fishermen, leather workers, sweepers, scavengers etc. Whenever we talk about the agricultural sector, we think only of agricultural labour. But it was the wisdom and capacity of Rajivji that he widened the scope or spectrum of this Commission to include the unorganised labour also instead of confining it to agricultural labour. The credit goes to Mr. Sangma, the then Labour Minister who inaugurated the Commission

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Shankar Dayal Singh in the Chair)]

and gave his guidelines as to how the Commission was to function. As I said, this Commission has not only gone into the rural labour, agricultural labour, but also the unorganised labour such as beedi workers, today tappers, fishermen, construction labour and even the kitchen workers' problems were also studied, analysed and various suggestions were made to the Government. The problem of the bonded labour also was studied and proposals for their rehabilitation have been made. The responsibility of the State Governments the responsibility of the Central Government and the responsibility of the society as such have also been analysed and suggestions have been made.

Sir, you come from an area from where labour migrates. Migrant labour

[Shri H. Hanumanthappa]

is a bigger problem. Many people are migrating every year. There are permanent migrants and there are temporary migrants and their problems also have been gone into in depth. The problems of the migrant labour like temporary shelter, the education of their children, not only in their own States, but also in the States to which they are migrating, the question of their language, the problem of their schooling—all these problems have been studied and analysed and various suggestions have been made. Woman and child labour was the special subject of the Commission including kitchen servants and their problems have also been studied and suitable recommendations have been made. As Mr. Gautam has put it, the problems of the tribals and the people in the forest areas have also been studied.

The Commission has also dealt with the land-based labour laws and tenancy laws and has suggested modifications in the existing laws and the proposed future legislation for the benefit of the rural agricultural and unorganised labour. More thrust has been given to the tenancy Acts and their implementation. Land ceiling question and surplus land distribution and common property resources have also been studied. Certain properties have to be managed by the community for the benefit of the community whereby the agricultural labourers or the unorganized workers, who cannot own any property, can also get benefits from the common property. Even this was also the subject of study by the Commission and they have studied this and have made certain suggestions which have been placed before the Government. Some of these common properties have to be owned, managed and supervised by the community for the benefit of the whole community. The decentralised village panchayats should shoulder this responsibility. This suggestion also has been made. With regard to agrarian laws which have not been implemented and with regard to maintenance of land records also the Commission has given suggestions. Not only this. The question of

employment generation also has been dealt with by the Commission.

Employment generation is the main problem for the rural labour class. They are at the mercy of the landlords as they are at the mercy of the big farmer. The labour market will be fluctuating every day and they suffer quite often. So, the Commission has come out with certain suggestions and proposals for employment generation and come up with a strategy for generating employment in the rural areas so that the rural labourers can be engaged throughout the year and can avoid starvation.

Minimum wage is one aspect which everybody speaks about and which nobody follows up. Nobody implements the provisions of the legislation in this regard. The Commission took up this issue first and an interim report on minimum wages has been given. The Government of India also has made its own efforts in revising the minimum wages at the moment. But, as you know, ours being a federal State, the Government of India has to take the State Governments into confidence. So the Labour Ministers' conference has been held and certain proposals have been made. Many of the States have their own reservations about certain things. But the Government of India, since it cannot force its decisions, after dialogue with the States and after arriving at a consensus, has to implement the recommendations.

The Commission also has identified the basic needs of the people which are, as Mr. Gautam put it, *roti, kapra, makan* and education. There are various suggestions which have been given as to how we should go about in this matter. On social security measures such as old age pension, life insurance, maternity benefits, disability and accident benefits, minimum health care and sickness benefits, the Commission has not only identified the problems, but also has come out with many suggestions. Finally, they have given their suggestions on how to manage, as to who should be the participants. For example, if it is insurance for rural labour, they have said

as to what the responsibility of the State Government and that of the Central Government is. If it is a health scheme or an accident benefit, it has come out with practical suggestions as to who should take care of this expenditure, what the responsibility of the society is, what the responsibility of the State and the Centre should be. These suggestions are given. Even about the organisational wing also, the Commission has made an in-depth study, and met various organisers.

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM: Mr. Hanumanthappa, you are referring to the Commission and its recommendations. We are concerned that no recommendation has yet been implemented at all. So, we are going to suggest ways and means.

उपसमाध्यक्ष (श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह) :
गौतम जी आपका भाषण हो गया ।

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Unfortunately, when...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH): He was one of the Members of the Commission.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Sir, unfortunately, when I referred to Mr. Gautam, he was speaking to Mr. Mathur. That is how he could not listen to what I said. Many of the points which he raised in his speech could have been answered if he had just gone through the Commission's Report. That was my initial remark. He has not read that. I agree, we have to go a long way. I am coming to that aspect. That is why I, a Member of the Commission, am standing here. I am asking the Government. The Government has to do something. Rome is not built in a day. Don't forget it. Mr. Gautam, overnight, don't expect miracle. Whether it is the BJP Government or the Congress Government, overnight, we cannot even build the Ram Mandir. Don't forget it. It requires time. So, don't expect results overnight.

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM: You are in power since independence.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: I know because you had no opportunity and you could not do it. It is not that we have taken it. You were not in a position. It is not my misfortune. It was your misfortune.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH): Hanumanthappa, you are an expert on the subject. Please centralise on the subject.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Sir, these interruptions are the life of a parliamentary debate.

Sir, I come to what Mr. Gautam has said. Equally, I am also interested. And I request the hon. Labour Minister one thing. Sir, I once said that this was his brain child under the direction of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, the late Prime Minister. It was Mr. Sangma as Labour Minister who drafted the terms of reference, who constituted the Commission, who announced the Commission on the floor of this House and the other House. And he finalised the terms of reference. And I should thank him for all the co-operation and help given in starting the work of this Commission. Now, the Commission's Report is on his table. Labour is the subject which is dearest to Mr. Sangma. As I already said in his absence, Sir, even though he is running away from the Labour portfolio, somehow or the other, the Labour portfolio is after him, it is coming back to him, in search of him. At least for that purpose, he has to do something. That is what I am urging upon him. Of course, he told me that a Committee has been constituted under his Chairmanship and that two or three meetings were held. They have gone through the Report, and they have identified the areas which they can straightway implement. This is one Report which cannot be straightway implemented by the Government of India. Let me tell you, Sir, that there are certain suggestions which the Government of India has to initiate, and there are certain suggestions which the State Governments at their level have to implement. So, the Government of India, sitting in Delhi, cannot straightway order, "you do this or you do that." Then, Mr. Gautam will stand up, in spite of his love for the sub-

[Shri H. Hanumanthappa]

ject of labour, and say, "How can you dictate sitting in Delhi? I have a separate Government in Lucknow." And whether Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta may argue here, he will again say, "Give me the freedom to implement in my State." So, there are certain things which the Government of India or Mr. Sangma sitting here, cannot directly order. That is why I am requesting the hon. Minister that as a policy, they can accept some of the things like the social security measures, old age pension, health, insurance, etc. I think, they can straightaway accept some of these things. The acceptance itself will go a long way in sending a message to the State Governments that they should implement some of these measures. Certain State Governments are already implementing these measures; some others are still waiting for the outcome of the report. The report has already passed through the Janata Dal Government, then the BJP Government and ultimately the report was finalised under the Congress Government. This is your own baby and you have to take note of these things. I request the Minister that wherever it is possible, he should accept the proposals. The State Governments and various other institutions and agencies can take note of it and wherever possible, we should follow it up with them. Where there are complications, where there are some financial constraints, in respect of some of the measures, these can be postponed. All of a sudden we cannot take a decision sitting here, on our own, because if we are not able to implement those things, it would not look proper. So, wherever possible, we can take a policy decision and follow it up with the State Governments in respect of those measures, and I request the hon. Minister to state here and now that the Government will devote its mind to this aspect and that he is inclined to accept some of these things. But in case of those measures where huge resources are needed, where some consultations are required, where there is a likelihood of a confrontation coming up between the Central Government and the State Govern-

ment or among various organisations and various agencies, such of these problems can be looked into by a discussion across the table and settled, and a positive decision arrived at finally.

Rajivji first of all thought of separating rural and unorganised labour from the organised labour force, because all the benefits available under various labour laws like the Industrial Disputes Act, were taken away by the organised labour, even though these laws are equally important for the unorganised and rural labour also. I am talking of the laws which could not be enforced at the rural level. Even the organisations which championed the cause of the rural labour could not enforce these labour laws so far as unorganised and rural labour was concerned. This was because of peculiar circumstances and conditions of the labour which prevented this unorganised rural labour to avail of the right of conciliation, etc. It is now the duty of the society, it is the duty of the Government, to take note of the incapacity of the rural and unorganised labour to have the right of conciliation, the right of going on strike, the right of stopping work, etc. There is a rural labour force of 150 million in the country. What will happen if they decide to strike work even for a week during the rainy season? What will happen if they refuse to go to the fields to sow seeds? We have to take note of such an eventuality. We have to take note of such problems. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the society and also the Government to look into that aspect.

I request the hon. Minister to accept the recommendations with regard to the social security measures, like old-age pension, maternity benefits. The Government should straightaway accept these recommendations as a matter of policy. Guidelines can be sent to the State Governments in this regard. The hon. Minister should call the State Government representatives and have a discussion with them. Let a consensus emerge. He should initiate action on the Commission's report which will go a long way in

taking care of the welfare of the rural and unorganised labour including the construction workers, fishermen, beedi workers, kitchen servants, etc. I hope the Minister will, in his reply, come out with a positive acceptance of the report and an assurance to initiate action on the recommendations made.

*SHRIMTAL MIRA DAS (Orissa):
Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity to participate in the Short Duration discussion on the condition of Rural Labour in the country. While we are discussing the problem of about 70 per cent of our population, we should have been given more time for it. Unfortunately, we sometimes give more time in discussing the Problems of the rich and well-to-do section of the society. Our policies have only helped in providing more benefits to the rich people.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am reminded of a proverb in Oriya which says that we should speak from our own experience. In the light of this proverb, I would like to speak a few words about the performance of different governments since independence. Most of the time the Congress Party has been in power at the central level. I know my friends in the treasury benches would not tolerate the truth that Jawaharlal Nehru could never realise the problems of the rural masses. He was totally unaware of the sorrows and miseries of the people in rural areas. His daughter Mrs. Indira Gandhi who came to power with the slogan "Garibi Hatao" equally ignored the hopes and aspirations of the rural people. People of India were carried away by the hollow slogan of the "Queen of Delhi" Mrs. Indira Gandhi and returned her to power again and again. She could never materialise the promises she gave to the toiling masses. Mrs. Indira Gandhi remained in power for quite a long time. As my friend Mr. A. P. Gautam has said, She did nothing for the upliftment of the rural poor. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi took over from his mother

Mrs. Indira Gandhi as the Prime Minister of India. I would like to thank him for his concern for the rural poor. He set up the National Commission for Rural Labour. My colleagues Mr. Hanumanthappa and Mr. A. P. Gautam have already referred to this Commission. I don't want to go into the details of the Report. Every speaker has said that the rural labourers are unorganised. All of us feel that government can not organise the rural labourers because the condition of rural labourers is totally different from that of the industrial labourers. These landless agricultural labourers can not go on any strike. They can not resort to any demonstration against the government. They cannot go on strike only against them selves. The outcome of their going on strike will be starvation for them. The industrial workers are organised. They can go on strike against the factory owners. The task of organising the rural labourers is as impossible as building a ladder to heaven.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to refer to the existing disparity in paying the minimum wages to the labourers in different States. In my opinion there should be a parity in the payment of minimum wages to the labourers all over the country. The government of Orissa has taken the decision to pay a minimum of Rs. 25/- to the labourers in the State. But unfortunately the vested interest at the behest of Congress Party opposed this decision. I wonder how they oppose this when crores of rupees of the people are being looted in the recent securities scam. The loan-waiving scheme was implemented by Janata Government. Lakh and lakhs of small and poor farmers get the benefit of this loan-waiving scheme. The critics of this scheme alleged that the banking system has lost credibility. I strongly deny this allegation.

In my opinion the Congress Party is responsible for the present economic crisis facing the nation. At present the poor labourers in the rural areas are facing hardship due to the wrong economic policies of the government.

*English translation of the original speech delivered in Oriya.

[Smt. Mira Das]

Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir, no commission can help the rural people. The members of the commission have themselves not realised the condition of the villagers. The people who are formulating the policies and plannings of the government are themselves not aware of the causes of the misery of the rural labourers. I doubt whether the planners have at all seen the condition in the villages. We should not follow the ideas of Jawaharlal Nehru or Indira Gandhi but that of Sardar Patel and Lal Bahadur Shastri to help the rural labourers in the country. The different theories written in books can not uplift the rural labourers. We should take effective steps for providing employment to them. The exploitation of child labour is rampant in rural areas. Steps should be taken for eliminating this evil from society. Better transportation, road, medical, health and education facilities should be provided to the people living in rural areas. Otherwise we can do very little for this unorganised labour forces in the country. There is no use blaming Congress Government or Janata Government for the misery of the rural labourers. This is not going to help the seventy per cent of the labour force in the country.

In my state of Orissa about 80 per cent of the population are living below poverty line. Out of this, 40 per cent are tribals and Harijans. Many programmes have been implemented for uplifting their economic and social condition. But there are still enough left to do for them. The planners should take the typical condition of the labourers in different States, while formulating policies of the government. I am sure, government will implement the Report of National Commission for Rural Labour in letter and spirit.

Thank you.

SHRI DAVID LEDGER (Assam):

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the condition of rural labour in this country is indeed deplorable. Be it in the agricultural sector or in the non-agricultural sector the situation is this same.

The labourers who are engaged in the rural sector continue to live below the poverty line. And, Sir, there cannot be any doubt that the labour class in the rural sector constitute the most vulnerable section in our society. Yet, there is partially no relief in this country which is available to them. They remain ignored and neglected, and I fully agree with Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta when he says that the rural labour continues to remain totally dependent on the employers who are exploiting them to the hilt.

Sir, we have labour laws in this country. We have various types of legislation which cover approximately 26 million labourers employed in the organized industrial sector, both public and private. But these legislations, we have seen during the past so many years, have not been able to cover and protect the small-scale and the unorganized sector. In this sector the work force continues to be exploited.

Sir, we have the Directive Principles of State Policy, Chapter IV of the Constitution of India clearly enunciates these Directive Principles. We have Article 41, we have Article 42. Article 42 of the Constitution clearly says:

"The State shall make provision for securing just and humane conditions of work..."

This provision is very clear and specific, but we have seen that the State has not provided just and humane conditions of work, especially in the rural areas, and yet there is no remedy available to them because these rights are not justiciable. A workers cannot go to the court of law, seeking legal redress to get his right enforced because, as I said, these rights are not justiciable.

Sir, the other day we were discussing the Plantation Labour (Amendment) Bill in this House. While participating in the discussion various Members including myself tried to highlight the plight of the workers in plantations, in tea gardens, in coffee gardens of this country. Sir, the plight of garden workers in this country has to be seen to be believed. They still continue to live in utterly

deplorable conditions. One has to see the housing facility; one has to see the health-and-sanitation provision, one has to see the educational facility given to the labour class in the gardens to believe them. This incidentally is the condition of one of the largest work force in this country in the rural sector because the gardens are situated in the rural sector, in the villages.

Sir, we also have the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986. This Act prohibits engagement of children in certain employments and processes and is supposed to regulate the conditions of work of children in certain other employments. This Act says that a child who is below the age of 14 years, shall not be employed in certain employments, certain processes. Section 3 is very clear and specific in this regard. These occupations and process have been specified and laid down in Part A and Part B of the Schedule to the Act. Section 7 of this Act specifies the hours and the period of work, and it clearly says that the hour of work, the period of work for a child shall not exceed three hours and after three hours he shall be given a break for one hour. It also says that no child shall be permitted to work between 7 p.m. and 8 a.m. Section 11 clearly lays down that the employer shall maintain a register showing the names and the dates of birth and the hours and period of work of the children who have been employed. These provisions have been openly and blatantly violated. And we know that children constitute a sizeable chunk of the rural labour.

Sir, before I conclude, I would only like to say one thing that while we have been—when I say “we”, I include the Government also—preoccupied with legislations with a lot of formalities, with laws, with regulations, with restrictions, with controls, it seems that we have lost sight of the humane priorities. In the mean time, the condition of the rural labour has continued to deteriorate in this country.

Sir, my only suggestion to the hon. Minister who is present in the House,

would be that the legislation related to labour be modernised and its scope be broadened and widened so as to protect the interests of the rural labour and to provide them the much needed social security.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI MOTURU HANUMANTHA RAO (Andhra Pradesh): The condition of the rural poor is being discussed now. Many of my colleagues have described the actual misery that rural India is facing. But the question arises what is it due to? So many schemes, so many commissions, so many policies and so many slogans had been there. I witnessed all of the *Sarvodaya*, *Sreyaraj*, socialist pattern of society, *Garibi Hatao*, socialism itself, land reforms and *Jawahar Rozgar Yojna*. All these things are there. I ask my friends who have already spoken, though they appraise the deteriorating position that is in existence, what is it all due to? Even today, despite all the schemes, rural India is suffering the most. Most of the 80 per cent of our people living in the countryside are the most down-trodden, oppressed and suppressed socially and economically and by the Police Raj *zulm*. These things are continuing. Why? Yesterday our hon. Planning Minister was saying that 41 crores of the people are poor, according to the anti-poverty data of 1990. Out of 85 crores of populations, 41 crore population is poverty-stricken. Though they given a different definition for the poverty line and other things, 41 crores means 34 per cent of the world poor population is living below the poverty line in India. That is the present situation. Why is it happening? It is happening because of the policies adopted. Because of the textile policy adopted handloom weavers are facing starvation deaths. Last year between August and November almost 100 handloom workers in Andhra Pradesh died of starvation. What is it due to? Poverty is growing everyday. Their condition is deteriorating everyday. Their annual family income comes to Rs. 3700 or so, whereas the State itself has prescribed Rs. 4,819 as the poverty line criterion. These people were getting much lower than that. Not only that,

[Shri Moturu Hanumantha Rao]

if you take the national criterion, it was Rs. 6,400 income per family per annum. Because of the rising prices, what is the criterion now? I remember in the last Session the Planning Minister had stated here that according to the latest estimation Rs. 11,060 must be taken as the family income per annum as a criterion to assess the poverty line. If that is so, what is the use of your saying that 30 per cent of the population is under poverty line. Despite all these schemes, their incomes have not grown. Unemployment is more now. Their condition is deteriorating. By means of paper estimate we may say from 40 per cent it has come down to 30 per cent or 27 per cent. But all these are hijacked by the rising prices. They do not want to calculate that at all. So what does it mean? This poverty line is bogus. All these schemes are not helpful to most of the population. That is why their conditions are deteriorating. Rural India means mostly agricultural labourers living there. Now their ranks are swelling because of toddy-tappers, handloom weavers and so many other people who have been retrenched also joining them. They find no work there and they go to the fields only. That is why their ranks are swelling and poverty is growing like anything. Their life is really horrible and miserable. They are facing drudgery in the rural areas. Why to talk of land reforms. I am glad that our hon. colleague, Shri V. Narayanasamy, has said that West Bengal and Kerala have implemented the land reforms. At least he has been fair that way. I ask, where is the will power to implement the land reforms? A date in the month of June was selected for the purpose of implementation of land reforms. The month of June is over. The month of July is over. Now we are in the month of August. A date in the month of September has been set as the target date and that also would be over. In the meanwhile, I have no illusion that anything is going to be done. On the other hand, drought conditions are prevailing in most parts of the country. In my State of Andhra Pradesh, there are dry areas and there are delta areas. Delta areas are far better than the dry

areas. But this year up till now there are no rains in the delta areas. Only 1 per cent of the irrigated land is under going transplantation up till now and the remaining land is yet to be transplanted. Under these conditions, the rural poor are not able to get any work at all. If there are rains this month, then most of them would find some work in this month. All of them gather together to do some thing besides contract labour itself. They are paid less wages. Because of the pressure of work, more wages also might be paid but that will be only for a month. So three or four month work is reduced to one month's work. Later what is going to happen? According to a Sample survey, on a particular day in Tamil Nadu, 77 per cent of women and 44 per cent of men have no work at all. So conditions are deteriorating. The number of cultivators is also decreasing. The number of agricultural labourers is increasing. Their number is going up. From 1971 to 1981 itself, the number of cultivators has come down by 12.6 per cent. But the number of agricultural labourers has gone up from 21 per cent to 38 per cent. These are 1981 figures. By 1991 it has advanced further and almost 50 per cent would be number of agricultural labourers. Unless basic reforms are attended to, with will power which is necessary for it, nothing is going to be done. Some simple schemes or repeating the old schemes and promising this and that would not help the rural India. So all these things must be seriously attended to. What have they done with regard to land reforms? Only 1.25 per cent of the cultivable land is distributed up till now, since 1972 onwards. The slogans had been there. What is the net result? The net result is, most of the land is concentrated in larger farms, larger holdings. While 75 per cent of the cultivators are holding less than five acres, they are having 26 per cent of the land with them. But 2.4 per cent big farmers hold 22.6 per cent of land in their hands. When the concentration of land is like this, how can the poorer sections of the country be helped? I do not know. That is why it is high time we thought seriously about it. The basic understanding must

be there; the will power must be there. There must be a change in the attitude of the Government. Simple palliatives do not help us at all. Land reforms are to be implemented with the necessary will immediately. If there is no land distribution, there will be no employment in rural India at all; there will be no income; nothing will be there. So that should be attended to. And, the provision of minimum wages are never implemented at all. Man-power is the largest resource we have. It can be used to build big projects. But no such project is attempted at and so, man-power is wasted.

In addition to implementing the provisions for minimum wages and land reforms immediately, we should eliminate social oppression also because most of the downtrodden people come from the Scheduled Tribes, the Scheduled Castes and the backward communities. If this problem is contained or solved, this caste-ridden society would find some solution to unite and to fight for a better standard of living. But that is not done. On the other hand, caste solutions are sought. Under these conditions, I think some serious thought must be given to this problem. Unfortunately, we go on discussing other issues. We make allegations and counter-allegations. We do these things for hours together and this serious problem which is faced by the entire rural India is not finding much time at all in our Houses. This is the hopeless situation. Legislation must also be attended to. There is no protection for the rural poor. There is no legislation for that. So many small things like the widow pension, old-age pension, etc. are promised. But they do not solve the basic problem at all. That is why I honestly plead with my colleagues of all parties to urgently think seriously about this problem and come to proper solutions. Thank you.

SHRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak on this occasion. At the outset, I would submit that our Government are more interested in the salaried

sector and not so in the self-employed sectors. That is why the suffering of the self-employed sectors. That is why the suffering of the self-employed sectors is there in the country. My learned friend, Mr. Hanumantrappa, has referred to the report of the Commission and also its recommendations. Even Dr. Rajendra Prasad, while he was the President of India, constituted a Commission under the Chairmanship of Kaka Kalelkar. They had made several recommendations to improve the lot of backward classes particularly by recommending protection to their industries. But, unfortunately, that report was kept in cold storage. On several occasions, several Committees were appointed not only for the rural labour but for the textile labour, for the handloom weavers and others. Today, the subject-matter under discussion is to be dealt with by four or five departments but unfortunately, only Mr. Sangma, who is the in charge of the Labour Department, is here. The Minister of Industry should have been present, the Minister of Textiles should have been present, the Minister of Agriculture should have been present and the Minister of Planning should have been present. But none of them is present to know what the Members are speaking about the rural labour. With regard to land reforms... (Interruptions)

Sir, there are several segments of self-employed people in this country. It may not be possible for the Government to improve their lot overnight. But let us see the big segments of rural labour. What are they? The agricultural labour comes first. The minimum wages under the provisions of the Minimum Wages Act have been fixed for them but are they being implemented? Is there any machinery to implement the minimum wages for the agricultural labour? It is not being done.

Coming to land reforms, several laws have been enacted and several issues are being discussed. But, what we find in the rural areas is that the landlord continue to be a landlord. I do not know in what form the land reforms are be-

[Shri Pragada Kotaiah]

ing implemented because I have no experience in that field.

The next segment is the fishermen—not the inland fishermen but the fishermen on the coastal belt. In Andhra Pradesh, there is a coastal belt of more than 700 kms.

At every place, we find thousands of fishermen on the coastal belt living on fishing. What is being done now? The fishing industry has developed but the fishermen are going down. That is what is happening because we have introduced mechanised boats. The mechanised boats instead of confining themselves to deep-sea fishing, are coming to the coasts for catching the fish. How does the Government expect lakhs and lakhs of fishermen to live on fishing when it is encouraging middlemen, when it is encouraging the capitalists who are having mechanised boats costing lakhs and lakhs of rupees for which it is spending money from the exchequer? Is it possible? I would like to know from the Minister what the Labour Department has done for them. It is under the Agricultural Department. They must know what is being done for the fishermen. A social security fund of Rs. 1,000 crores is kept with the LIC. I want

5.00 P.M. to know in what form it is being utilised, for whose benefit it is being utilised, and what schemes have been formulated for the benefit of the so-called security of the people living in the rural areas. I know the condition of the agricultural labour there. If one dies when local Mandal Officer recommends his family is getting Rs. 3,000/-. What benefits is each category of rural labour is getting out of the total Social Security Fund of Rs. 1,000 crores which is stuck with the LIC.

Let them come forward and see for themselves that whatever they do labour is benefiting the middlemen, not the labourers.

Now I come to the Renewal Fund. Already you have created a Renewal Fund of Rs. 200 crores. It is not clear as to how the Renewal Fund is going to be utilised for the benefit of the la-

bour displaced in industry, but according to my knowledge, I understand that the Renewal Fund is going to be utilised for the benefit of organised labour who are to be displaced in the mechanised sector. What about the people who are to be displaced in the cottage industries on account of the unchecked and growing competition of the mechanised counterparts? Due to the sudden spurt in the yarn prices the handloom weavers were unemployed, and ultimately they had died out of starvation. More than a hundred weavers died, particularly in Andhra Pradesh. Neither the Government of India nor the State Government had come forward to help them, but here in Delhi, Sir, when two hundred or more people died after consuming illicit liquor, the Government was very kind to find funds from the Exchequer to provide an ex-gratia payment of Rs. 10,000 to their families—perhaps, it is intended that the other members of the family also should drink and die but nothing to the handloom weavers. What can they do? We are always saying all the political parties, also those persons in power say that we want dignified employment for women. Are you looking into this aspect? ... (interruption) ... Sir, in our areas there are 50,000 women, particularly in Krishna, Guntur districts, West Godavari district and East Godavari district. They depend upon weaving of cotton Nawai tape. They carry on their household duties but at the same time with simple implement they will be carrying on weaving of this cotton tape. The Government has permitted the capitalists to have some powerlooms and produce plastic tape. With that, more than 50,000 women have lost their employment. For the benefit of two or three capitalists, we have owned tea powerlooms to produce cotton tape. Is this the Industrial Policy we are having? Is it going to help this country? I would like to know whether this is the way to praise Gandhiji. We are always praising the preachings of Gandhiji, but we never practise the philosophy of Gandhiji. We know to praise Gandhiji, we know to praise the preachings of Gandhiji, but we never practise the philosophy of Gandhiji. Is

it possible for the Government to provide employment through establishment of mechanised industries. It is never possible, not possible for this Government. Millions of our people are unemployed. They are struggling for survival. We are not ready to recognise them because we are always for salaried class. For salaried class, whether they are in administration or in factories, public or private or cooperative sectors, we are providing all facilities. Whatever we find in the entire world we get them here—insurance, maternity, education, medical facilities, travelling allowance, leave travel allowance, provident fund, pension scheme etc. and what not. I don't know; there are several things in which we are interested. Where are we finding money for all these things? Is it not from the public exchequer? When people are dying in rural areas on account of the competition from their mechanised counterparts, are we able to look into their misery and mitigate the misery? We are here to mitigate the misery of millions of people in rural areas also. What did Gandhiji say when *swaraj* was acquired. But this Raj is not *swaraj*. Where are we? The *swaraj* we are having is not that. Today we are suffering a lot. How many committees have they appointed? Mr. Hanumanthappa referred to one committee. A fact-finding committee was appointed in 1941 when the Britishers were there. Ramaswami Mudaliyar was in charge of Commerce when the Britishers were there. They appointed a committee, then a fact-finding committee, under the chairmanship of Shri P. J. Thomas, an academic member of Madras University. They recommended to protect the handloom industry. Then the Vivaraman Committee was there, your own IAS officer, your own Planning Commission Member. What had he recommended? Did you do what he had recommended? He had recommended that you should make yarn available at a reasonable price to handloom weavers; you should see that there is free flow of working capital to the handloom workers to have continuous employment during periods of slump also. We must improve the competitiveness of the handloom sector and steps ought

to be taken to remove the price handicap of the handlooms in the face of competition from powerlooms by suitable fiscal measures. Are you able to look into it and to have protected market for handloom products by enforcing the reservations? Which of these things have you done? Let the Government come forward and say that these are the just demands which have been accepted by them as recommended by the committees, including the Abid Hussain Committee. Recently they appointed that committee, after 1985 textile policy. The Abid Hussain Committee which reviewed the implementation of the textile policy have recommended that reservation must be there. For that purpose you will have to include the Handloom Act in the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution. The Janata Dal Government on August 16, 1990, introduced a Constitutional Amendment Bill, 73rd, for the purpose of including the Handloom Reservation Act in the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution. But unfortunately before it was taken up by the Janta Dal Government, there was a change in the Government. Then Chandra Shekhar Government came in. That was also short-lived. They could not do anything. But in June the Congress Government has come under the leadership of a line Gandhian, a known Gandhian, Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao. We thought they would process the bill and get legislation enacted. But now they say that the stay given by the Supreme Court of India on 30th November 1986 will have to be vacated to proceed further in the matter. Are we responsible for that? The Governments which ruled the country from 1986 onwards were responsible for keeping the stay granted by the Supreme Court on 30th November 1986 to continue as it is. We are not responsible for that. We, the handloom weavers, are not responsible for that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH): Mr. Kotiah, please listen.

श्री ओ.ए. नारायण (गुजरात) : जब दर्द भरी धावाज सुनने का मौका मिला है तो कम से कम सुनने का मौका दीजिए।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH): Mr. Kotiaiah, you know that the House is discussing the condition of the rural labour, not the handloom weavers.

श्री छोट्टाई पटेल : जो मेम्बर बार-बार नहीं बोलते उनको कम से कम बोलने का मौका दीजिए

SHRI PRAGADA KOTIAIAH: Now coming to renewal fund, I have written to the Labour Minister on several occasions, as to how they are going to utilise the renewal fund. Even today I had a discussion with the Deputy Labour Minister. He categorically stated, that "This issue is in the Department of Industry. We are not concerned with it". That is what he has stated. I don't know how the Department of Industry is going to utilise the renewal fund. Is the renewal fund intended only for the organised labour or for the rural labour also who are to be displaced or who are already displaced or who are unemployed on account of the competition from their mechanised counterparts? Mr. Sangma will be able to throw some light on that also. I would also like to ask about the *bidi* workers. There are two categories of *bidi* workers—one section working in factories and the other section working in their own houses. They get the raw material from the manufacturers. They role the *bidis* and make them available to the manufacturers and get wages. Under law they are given employees' Provident Fund. Apart from that, constitution of a Welfare Fund is also there. Why not similar facilities be provided for all the rural labourers who are working in the rural part of the country? You enact some legislation by which both the employers and the employees are registered and are under control and also see that the welfare fund and the Provident Fund are constituted for the benefit of the rural labour. I may not be able to cover, within a short time, thousands of segments of self-employed sectors. But you kindly see what we can do for the fishermen who are in a large number and what can be done for the handloom weavers. Sir, we talk of art, we talk of culture, we talk of civilization. Sir, Kalamkari is a known

art. It is a very good art. But this has been copied by chemical colours. Are you going to stop it, not for us, not to maintain culture, but to see that employment is secured for those large number of people who are engaged in Kalamkari and similar tie and dye, block printing and several other things? Therefore, I would hope, I urge, I humbly request the Labour Minister to see that, at least, large segments of self-employed labour are covered by labour laws to have adequate benefit on a par with the organised labour.

श्री अनन्त राम जायसवाल : (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, यह संयोग है या हमारी खशकिस्मोही है कि आज फिर आप पीठासीन हैं ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह) : लेकिन आपका समय 9 मिनट का है इसका ध्यान रखिएगा ।

श्री संघ प्रिय गीतम : इसलिए तो आपको बता रहे हैं ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह) : 9 मिनट में आप अपनी बात कहेंगे । मेरी ओर से केवल एक मिनट रहेगा ।

श्री अनन्त राम जायसवाल : आप तो जानते ही हैं कितना मुश्तसर हम बोलते हैं । मान लीजिए एक दो मिनट ज्यादा लग जाए तो उसके लिए आपकी इंडलर्जेंस चाहेंगा ।

मान्यवर, अगर किसी बीमारी का इलाज वक्त से नहीं किया जाता है तो वह बिगड़ते बिगड़ते लाइलाज हो जाती है । वही हाल हमारे देश के मन्त्राल का है ।

अगर समय पर उनका हल नहीं निकाला जाता है, तो वह भी घसीटते-घसीटते उनका हल न केवल मुश्किल हो जाता है, बल्कि नामुमकिन हो जाता है । यही स्थिति आज ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों की है । जब गर्म वक्त था आजादी मिलने के

वक्ता, जब अगर इस समस्या पर ध्यान दिया गया होता, तो मेरा ख्याल है कि यह समस्या आज इस रूप में न होती, जैसी आज है।

आपको बताने की जरूरत नहीं है, मान्यवर, यह समस्या खेती के सुधार से भी जुड़ी हुई है, दाम नीति से भी जुड़ी हुई है और अन्न को पैदावार से भी जुड़ी हुई है, चाहे जिस नाम से उसको पुकारें, लेकिन यह समस्या अपनी जगह पर है।

आपको याद होगा कि आजादी के तुरंत बाद सोशलिस्ट पार्टी ने खेती के सुधार के लिए और ग्रामीण मजदूरों के लिए एक कार्यक्रम पेश किया था। उसका कारण यह है कि जमींदारी का उन्मूलन बगैर मृदावृद्धि किया जाए, जमीन का पुनर्वितरण किया जाए और ग्राम सेना भर्ती की जाए। उसी के साथ देश के लिए श्रम किया जाए, यह चारा दिया गया था सोशलिस्ट पार्टी की तरफ से, लेकिन उस पर उस वक्त ध्यान नहीं दिया गया।

अगर ध्यान दिया गया होता, तो हमारे देश में इतनी जमीन थी, खेती के अंदर और खेती के बाहर भी कि अगर दोनों को मिलाया जाता, तो जितने भी लोग खेती से जुड़े हुए हैं, उन सब को जमीन मिल जाती। लेकिन उस वक्त इस पर ध्यान नहीं दिया गया।

जहां तक कि सेना की भर्ती का सवाल है, उसके पीछे विचार था कि अगर नई जमीन तोड़ी जाएगी, तो साधारण आदमी उसको अपने साधनों से नहीं तोड़ सकता। उस पर सरकार खर्च करे और जब वह खेती के लायक बन जाए, तो जो अपने देश का कानून होगा कि किसकी जमीन किसके हिस्से में रहेगी, उसी हिसाब से उन तोड़ने वालों को उस पर बिठा दिया जाएगा। उस से एक नया समाज बनता। उस अवसर को भी हमने गंवा दिया और समस्या यहां की तहां है।

आप इसकी तरफ देखें, वह वातावरण भी मिट गया जो यह था कि देश के

निर्माण के लिए लोग मेहनत करें, अपना श्रम दान करें—अब वह वातावरण भी खत्म हो गया।

इन मजदूरों की हालत क्या है? मान्यवर, इनका हाल यह है कि एक तो यह संगठित नहीं हैं और दूसरा यह है कि इनके काम करने का स्थान और समय भी एक नहीं रहता है। कोई किसी खेत पर आया काम कर रहा है, तो कल दूसरे खेत पर और परसों तीसरे खेत में।

तो जो संगठित मजदूरों की सुविधा होती है एक साथ काम करने की, उनको उनकी पुरानगी मिल जाती है, उनमें नेतृता आती है, उनका सोशलाइजेशन होता है, उसमें भी यह वंचित रहे।

तो इनकी बेहतरी के लिए अगर कोई कानून भी बनाया जाता है, जैसे मान लीजिए कि न्यूनतम मजदूरी का कानून बना, लेकिन उसकी जानकारी न इन मजदूरों को नहीं है और जो मालिक है इनकी जानकारी कराने के लिए वह शायद ही कभी गांव में जाती हो तो जो इनको मजदूरी मिल जाती है, उस पर इनको गुजर करना पड़ता है।

आप देख लें कि इनको पूरे साल काम नहीं रहता। कहीं पर दो महीने, कहीं पर तीन महीने, किसी रियासत में चार महीने, पांच महीने और मैं निश्चित रूप से कहूँ कि कभी पूरे साल भर के लिए इनको काम रहता ही नहीं है।

तो इनकी बेकारी की हालत रहती है और उस बेकारी में जहां जितनी मजदूरी होगी, उस पर यह काम करने को राजी हो जाएंगे। तो इस तरह से इनका जोषण होता है और मान्यवर, यही वह तबका है, जो योजनाकारों ने न्यूनतम आवश्यकताओं को पूरा करने के लिए आय नियंत्रण की है, उसकी भी आधी, तिहाई आय मुश्किल में इनकी होती है और यह लोग यह हैं कि गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे रहने वालों में भी सब से ज्यादा बुरा हाल इनकी का है और गांव में, जहां यह रहते हैं

[श्री अन्तराम जायसवाल]

वहाँ पर जो सब से ज्यादा गंदी जगह होगी, वहाँ पर इनकी बस्ती होगी और ज्यादातर इसमें अनुसूचित जाति के या और लोग होंगे और फिर इनकी ताबाद बराबर बढ़ती जा रही है। शायद उसके बारे में लोगों ने बताया होगा कि आज अपने देश में 8-9 करोड़ के आसपास खेत मजदूर होंगे ...

और इनको कहीं पर काम मुश्किल नहीं मिलता है और अपने यहाँ पर ये रहते हैं वहाँ पर इनको काम के अवसर भी नहीं हैं तो इसलिए ये दूसरे प्रदेशों में उत्तर प्रदेश के, बिहार के, और मध्य प्रदेश के जो खेत मजदूर हैं, वे पंजाब में काम करने के लिए जाते हैं। लेकिन जब पंजाब में अशांति आई और वहाँ पर इन मजदूरों का सामूहिक रूप से नरसंहार होने लगा, मारे जाने लगे तो वहाँ पर भी इन लोगों ने जाना बंद कर दिया। खुद सरकार ने बिहार की सरकार से, उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार से, मध्य प्रदेश वगैरह की सरकारों पर दबाव डाला, कि इनको पंजाब नहीं जाने दिया जाए। आज स्थिति यह है कि इनको अपने यहाँ पर काम नहीं और दूसरी जगह भी जाने में जान का खतरा है। इसलिए इनकी हालत और ज्यादा बिगड़ रही है। इसके बारे में, अभी हम से पहले कोर्टया जी बोले रहे थे तो उन्होंने बताया कि किसी सरकार ने इनके बारे में शायद ही कोई काम किया है, हालाँकि इनकी बेहतरी की बात रोज होती है।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष श्री हेम० हनुमन्तप्पा
पीठासीन हुए]

मान्यवर, इसमें एक सरकार का कोसना काफी नहीं है। जब सरकारें बदली, जनता सरकार आई सन 1977 से 1980 तक और उसके बाद अभी जब जनता दल की सरकार आई थी तब श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह जी ने इसकी तरफ ध्यान तो देना शुरू किया, किसानों का एक प्रतिनिधिमंडल उनसे मिला

और संगोष्ठी हुई कुछ उसमें मुझाब आए। लेकिन जहाँ तक उस पर अग्रम का सवाल है, वह अमल नहीं हो पाया मैंने शुरू में कहा कि इस मामले का हल किसान से भी जुड़ा हुआ है। किसान को उसकी उपज का अच्छा दाम आज नहीं मिलता। सारी जगह माँग हो रही। और हमारा ख्याल है कि जब से हम आजाद हुए और उसके पहले से यह माँग हो रही है कि किसान को उसकी उपज का ठीक-ठीक मूल्य दिया जाए और ऐसे मूल्य दिया जाए जो कारखानों की चीजों के मूल्य से मेल कराए। लेकिन इस तरह का मूल्य किसानों को नहीं मिला। उन्हे दाम बाधने की बात उठाई जाती है जब कच्चेसी-लोग गाँवों में जाकर किसानों से कहते हैं कि ये लोग देखो ऐसे आदमी हैं कि अन्न के दामों का बढ़ना इनको वर्दाश नहीं होता। ये तुम्हारे दोस्त नहीं हैं, हितैषी नहीं हैं। लेकिन यह नहीं जानते हैं कि किसान इनके बहकावे में इसलिए नहीं आ पाता है कि किसान का खाली अन्न से ही काम नहीं चलता है बल्कि उसको दूसरी चीजों की भी जरूरत होती है। वह कपड़ा खरीदता है, जूता खरीदता है, दबाई खरीदता है, खेती के औजार खरीदता है, खाद खरीदता है, बीसों चीजें खरीदता है। नतीजा यह है कि उसको, जितना पैसा मिलता है उससे ज्यादा पैसा निकल जाता है और खाली निकल कर गाँवों में नहीं रहता है बल्कि वह शहर की तरफ चला आता है। तो गाँव भी गरीब होते हैं। जब किसान की हालत ठीक नहीं रहेगी तो खेत मजदूर की हालत ठीक रह ही नहीं सकती है। इसलिए मैंने शुरू में कहा कि यह मामला दाम नीति से जुड़ा हुआ है। अगर किसान को उसकी उपज का अच्छा दाम मिलेगा, किसान की जेब भरी रहेगी तो खेत मजदूर को भी अच्छा दाम मिलेगा, अच्छी मजदूरी मिलेगी। लेकिन उसको यह मिल नहीं रही है। जनता दल शासन-काल में गाँवों के सुधार के लिए सोचा गया था कि योजना की राशि का 50 प्रतिशत गाँवों को दिया जाएगा, मालूम नहीं अब सरकार उस पर अमल कर रही है या नहीं? दूसरी रोजगार गारंटी योजना सब बनाई

गई उसके पहले नेहरू रोजगार बीजना आई। लेकिन इनसे जो आशा थी वह पूरी नहीं हुई। तो अब, मतलब जो मांग हम कर रहे हैं वह यह है कि गांवों के विकास के लिए या वहाँ पर रोजगार के अवसर बढ़ाने के लिए जितनी भी ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में योजनाएँ जाली हैं, उन सब को एक जगह कर दिया जाए, अलग-अलग एजेंसियों से इन पर काम न कराया जाए।

उपप्रधान्यध्या (भी हेच हनुमन्तपा) :
स्वीज, कनकलूड उ अब आप खत्म करिए !

श्री अनन्त राम जायसवाल : बस खत्म करता हूँ। तो उससे यह काम चलने वाला नहीं है। उनको एकीकृत किया जाए और गांव पंचायतों पर जिम्मेदारी डाली जाए कि इसका कार्यान्वयन करें। दूसरी चीज इस सिलसिले में कहना चाहता हूँ कि अब तो सब इस राय के हो गए हैं कि बड़े पैमाने पर निवेश से इन असंगठित मजदूरों की दशा में कोई सुधार होने वाला नहीं है। यह पूरा देश मान रहा है, राजनीतिक में मान रहे हैं। और हमारे यहाँ जो ग्रंथशास्त्री विद्वान हैं, वे लोग भी मान रहे हैं कि इससे कोई सुधार होने वाला नहीं है। इसलिए आज जो नीति चल रही है, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो आपने उदारोकरण की नीति चलाई है, बड़े उद्योग के हित वाली नीति चलाई है, इससे कोई इनका सुधार होने वाला नहीं है। इसको आपको बदलना पड़ेगा और फिर से गांधी के बताए रास्ते को पकड़ना पड़ेगा। उसके लिए लघु उद्योग है, कृषि आधारित उद्योग है और कुटीर उद्योग है, जिनका आपको सहारा लेना पड़ेगा और तभी जाकर इनकी हालत में सुधार होगा।

इन्हीं मुद्दों के साथ मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ, कि आपने मुझे बोलने का समय दिया। धन्यवाद।

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you very much for this opportunity to speak on this very important discussion. Sir, according to

the Report of the National Commission on Rural Labour (Volume-I), at the very outset, it has pointed that forty years of planning in India has not made any sizeable dent on the poverty and deprivation among rural labour. The Plan priorities themselves got distorted, both at the formulation and at the implementation stages under the impact of the prevailing socio-economic structure. Of course, agricultural labour forms seventy-three per cent of the total rural labour i.e. 110 millions. Apart from agricultural labour, there are handloom weavers, beedi workers, toddy tappers, construction workers, brick workers, fishermen, leather workers, sweepers, scavengers etc. Sir, I was listening with rapt attention to the most valuable deliberation of Mr. Kotiaiah. I heard his anguished voice. Forty-five years have passed since the tri-colour with Ashok Chakra was unfurled after bringing down the Union Jack on Red Fort. Plan after Plan has been implemented—Five-Year Plans, very grandiose Plans. Crores and crores of rupees were spent. But has it provided the basic, fundamental needs to the people, to the poor? Has it guaranteed food, clothing and shelter? Of course, Mr. Kotiaiah himself admitted the fact that more than a hundred people, more than a hundred handloom weavers died due to starvation. We saw the most pathetic, tragic event of starvation deaths in Kalahandi in Orissa. This happened in India, not in Ethiopia. We have spent crores and crores of rupees. Now, today here is a debate about the rural labour. I thank Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta, Mr. Narayanasamy and others for bringing this debate. Due to lack of guaranteed work, food, clothing and shelter, the people living in the remote rural areas have migrated towards urban areas. This is a problem of migrated labour and they, in the urban areas, dwell on pavements. And here again we shudder to read the most painful news that at times in winter these people die for want of clothing in the killing winter. Sir, many programmes have, of course, been launched in order to raise incomes through self-employment and wage employment. The Central Government launched special employment programmes such as the IRDP, the NREP and the RLEGP and, again, the Jawahar

[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

Rozgar Yojana. But have all these programmes, which have been launched with much fanfare, benefited the poor? We pass laws and enactments under the high dome of the Parliament. We allot money, the Government allots money. But does this money reach the poor? This was the charge made by Shri Kotaiah. The middle men, the contractors, the parasites of the society, loot this money and, therefore, the officials, the contractors and the middle men are the beneficiaries. So, the ultimate purpose for which these programmes have been launched has not been served at all. Therefore, the Commission itself has admitted this fact, not I would like to quote it:

"Both official and unofficial evaluations have revealed several inadequacies and shortcomings in the designing as well as the implementation of these special employment programmes. The benefits derived from these programmes by the rural poor have been meagre and fall short of the requirements."

Sir, what about the much-promised land reforms? Some years back, the Congress (I) Party was boasting of land reforms, of socialism and of socialistic pattern of society. Now, everything has been forgotten! What happened to these promised land reforms? These land reforms have not been implemented at all and they have simply been forgotten. In my own State, in my home State of Tamil Nadu, it is only after 1967, when my leader, Dr. Kalaignar was the Chief Minister, that a ceiling of 15 acres was fixed and more than a hundred thousand acres of land was distributed to about one lakh and sixty thousand families. We implemented such land reforms.

Sir, forty-five years have passed by since Independence. Who have been ruling this country from Kashmir to Kanyakumari? It is the party which today is in power, in the saddle. Who have put them in the saddle? It is only the rural poor, the rural labour, the rural folk, who have put them in power. During these forty-two years, what have you achieved? The people were

dreaming that milk and honey would flow in India once they got freedom. But we hear of starvation deaths, deaths due to lack of clothing. There is a couplet in the Bible:

"Birds have their nests, animals have their bushes. But man has no place to lay his head on."

This is a fact in India. Millions do not have a piece of land to lay their heads on. They do not own houses.

I now recall the great revolutionary in Tamil Nadu who later became a communist, Manali Kandasamy, the hero of the 1942 movement. He congratulated our Government when my leader was the Chief Minister. With one stroke of pen he passed an order by which 1,75,000 agricultural labourers and casual labourers were given ownership of house sites for which they have been longing for decades together. If there is a will, definitely these programmes can be implemented.

Then, Sir...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): I think, lastly!

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, regarding the handloom weavers, he was very correct. When more than 100 handloom weavers died of starvation, there was no mention of *ex-gratia* payment for the bereaved families. But here in Delhi, when people died consuming illicit liquor—I do not find fault with giving *ex-gratia* payment to those bereaved families; that is not my point because I should not be mistaken—the Delhi Government came forward for publicity purpose granting Rs. 10,000 to those families who have lost their bread-winners, because they took some illicit liquor. What prevented the Government from sanctioning such an amount to those bereaved families, the handloom weaver families who have lost their bread-winners? Was it due to their fault? Was the hike in the yarn price and the non-availability of yarn their fault? And we speak about social security and the Minimum Wages Act, and everything in the statute book. What about

child labour? Article 24 of the Constitution is very clear that no child under the age of 14 shall be employed in any factory or mine or in any hazardous employment. What is happening today in the remote areas? Sir, you will be shocked to hear that children below the age of 10 are taken to the factories like cattle. From dawn to dusk, they are employed there. After sucking the blood out of these budding flowers, they are given at the most Rs. 2 or Rs. 3. This is happening today before the eyes of the Government, before the Factory Inspectors. Our hon. Minister knows the fact of what is happening in Sivakasi. He tried his best. I know. We don't find fault with the Minister. I know he is sincere. But he was helpless. This is happening every day. Then, you scrap this Article 14 in the Constitution. What for are you keeping it in the Constitution? In the Directive Principles of State Policy, you promised free compulsory education for children up to the age of 14 years. Are we implementing that? It is highly ridiculous, Sir, these people, these rural labour coming under so many categories—the bidi workers, the toddy-tappers, the fishermen, the country-boat fishermen, the catamarans—are not covered by the social security system and the social security legislation. So, what is happening to them? But, when these teeming millions are suffering and are unable to get their bread, earn their bread, the Harshad Mehtas flourish. This is the India that we have created, Sir, the real India exists in the rural areas. The real India exists in villages—Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, described that this is the real India. The real India does not exist in New Delhi with all its palatial buildings, the most magnificent, huge Parliament building which was built by the British with the French architects, the North Block, the South Block and the Rashtrapati Bhavan. You could see real India in the sweat, blood and tears of those teeming millions in those rural areas. But we have created such an India with Harshad Mehtas and Vin Chadhas and Quattrochis. This is the India that we have created. Therefore, unless you take very stern measures to erase the tears of the rural labour, the flood-gates of the revolution will in

some form or the other, definitely be opened. Then, there is no question of telling about the frustration of the youth who look towards extremism.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Please conclude now.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, why does extremism prevail in some parts of the country? This factor should be definitely looked into. When the unemployed youth, both educated and un-educated unemployed youth, particularly in the rural areas, lose faith in the system, when they lose faith in democracy, when they see that in the name of democracy they are cheated before their own eyes and they are taken for a ride, they lose faith in the system, in the democracy. Therefore, Sir, I know, all our deliberations are not going to improve matters even by an inch; I know; but at least to satisfy our conscience, we are speaking. Thank you.

श्री मोहम्मद खलीलुर्रहमान (आंध्र प्रदेश) : श्री जनाब वाइस चैयरमैन साहब, दस्तूर बनाने वालों ने ख्वाब देखा था कि हिंदुस्तान में सोशलिस्टिक पैटर्न आफ सोसायटी बनाया जाएगा। आज 45 साल हो गए मगर वह ख्वाब अभी तक भी तर्फीदाएतावीर नहीं हो सका। हमारे मुल्क की जो इस वक्त 86 करोड़ आबादी है उस आबादी का 70 फीसदी हिस्सा अभी भी देहातो में रहता है और हमारा जो देहाती लेबर है वह कुल देहातो आबादी का 73 फीसदी है। कुल ये जो 73 फीसदी रूरल लेबर है इसमें करीब-करीब 80-82 हिस्सा एग्रीकल्चरल लेबर से ताल्लुक रखता है। अब हमारे मुल्क के रूरल लेबर और खास तौर पर एग्रीकल्चरल लेबर का जो स्टेटस है वह अजहरमिनेशंस आप सब अच्छी तरह जानते हैं कि क्या हालत है। जतने भी मुकररीन ने इस पर अपने ख्यालात का इजहार किया, सबकी यही राय थी कि इंतहाई खस्ता और नाकिस हालत है और इसके लिए मरकजी हुकूमत और रियासती हुकूमत जिम्मेदार हैं, थी

[श्री मोहम्मद खलीलुर्रहमान]

कई खवामीन इनके लिए बनाए गए मगर उन खवामीन को सही स्पिरिट में इम्प्लीमेंट नहीं किया। मैं तो यह कहूंगा कि इन 45 सालों में सिवाय 4 साल के, 41 सालों तक किस पार्टी की हुकूमत रही? 41 साल तक कांग्रेस की हुकूमत मरकज पर रही। क्या कांग्रेस की मरकजी हुकूमत जिम्मेदार नहीं है इस खस्ता हालत की? यकीनन वह जिम्मेदार है। हमारे कांग्रेस के आनरेबल मेंबर्स अपोजीशन पार्टियों पर और उनकी हुकूमतों पर ऐतराज करते हैं कि वह इसके जिम्मेदार हैं हालांकि वह बड़ी मुश्किल से चार साल तक मरकज में इस्तेदार पर रहे हैं जो वक़्ते-वक़्ते से रिश्तासतों में वह लोग इस्तेदार पर रहे हैं। यह सब जो भी काफी बड़े अर्से तक हुकूमत रही है, यह उसकी जिम्मेदारी है कि उसके गैरमौअस्तिर रोल ने हमारे रूल लेबर की इस तरह से नाकिस हालत बना दी है। हमारे रूल लेबर के लिए कोई हाऊसिंग स्कीम नहीं है, उनके लिए कोई ग्रुप इश्योरेंस स्कीम नहीं है, उनके बच्चों को कोई एजुकेशन, खातिरखा एजुकेशन फैसिलिटीज नहीं हैं। उनके लिए कोई मिनिमम वेजेज नहीं हैं। उनके लिए कोई एक्सीडेंट रिलीफ नहीं हैं। उनके लिए कोई ग्रेड एज पेंशन नहीं है। उनके लिए मैटरनिटी रिलीफ नहीं है।

जब तक इन तमाम चीजों के ताल्लुक से कानूनसाजी न की जाय, अगर कानूनसाजी है भी तो उतनी जामे नहीं है। उसके लिये एक जामे कानूनसाजी बनाने की जरूरत है और फिर सही मानों में, सही स्पिरिट में उसको इम्प्लीमेंट करने की जरूरत है। लिहाजा

में मकरजी हुकूमत से बगैर तफसील में गये यह दरखास्त करूंगा कि वाजे तौर पर वह सामने आये और यह कहे कि मुल्क की इंडस्ट्रियल पालिसी क्या है और इस वजह से यह जो रूल लेबर का स्टेटस है यह उस वक़्त तक बुलन्द नहीं होगा जब तक कि हमारे मुल्क की इंडस्ट्रियल पालिसी को बेहतर से बेहतर न बनाया जाय और फिर खास तौर पर देहातों में जो एग्री वेस्ट इंडस्ट्री है, जब तक उनकी तरक्की न की जाय, उस वक़्त तक रूल लेबर की हालत बेहतर नहीं हो सकती।

آشرفی محمد خلیل الرحمان

(آندھرا پردیش) : جناب وائس

چہر من صاحب دستور بنانے والوں نے خواب دیکھا تھا کہ ہندوستان میں سوشلسٹک پیپٹون آف سوشلسٹی بنایا جائیگا۔ آج ۲۵ سال ہو گئے مگر وہ خواب ابھی تک وہی شرمندہ تعبیر نہیں ہو سکا۔ ہمارے ملک کی جو اس وقت ۸۶ کروڑ آبادی ہے اس آبادی کا ۱۰ فیصدی حصہ ابھی بھی دیہاتوں میں رہتا ہے۔ اور ہمارا جو دیہاتی لیبر ہے - وہ کل دیہاتی آبادی کا ۳ فیصدی ہے۔ یہ جو ۳ فیصدی رول لیبر ہے - اس میں سے قریب قریب ۸۲-۸۰ حصہ ایگریکلچر لیبر سے تعلق رکھتا ہے۔ اب ہمارے ملک کے رول لیبر اور خاص طور پر ایگریکلچر لیبر کا جزو تھیمس ہے۔ یہ اظہر من الشمس آپ اچھی طرح سے جانتے ہیں کہ کیا حالت ہے - چاہے بھی مقرریں نے اس پر ایچ خیالات کا اظہار کیا۔

[] Transliteration in Arabic Script.

سب کی بھی رائے تھی کہ انتہائی
خستہ ناقص حالت ہے - اور اسکے
لئے مرکزی حکومت اور ریاستی
حکومتیں ذمہ دار ہیں -

کئی خواہشیں انکے لئے بلنائے گئے
مگر ان خواہشوں کو صحیح اسہرت
میں امپلیمینٹ نہیں دیا - تو میں
نہونگا کہ ان ۳۰ سالوں میں سوائے
چار سال کے - ۲۱ سالوں تک کس
پارٹی کی حکومت رہی - ۲۱ سالوں
تک کانگریس کی حکومت مرکزی پر
رہی - کیا کانگریس کی مرکزی
حکومت ذمہ دار نہیں ہے اس
خستہ حالت کی - یقیناً وہ ذمہ دار
ہے - ہمارے کانگریس کے 'آئریبل
ممبرس ایوز' ان پارٹیوں پر اور انکی
حکومتوں پر اعتراض کرتے ہیں کہ
وہ اسکے ذمہ دار ہیں - حالانکہ وہ
بڑی مشکل سے چار سال تک مرکز
میں اقتدار پر رہے ہیں اور واقعہ وقت
سے ریاستوں میں وہ لوگ اقتدار پر
رہے ہیں - یہ سب جو بھی کافی
بڑے عرصے تک حکومت رہی ہے -
یہ اسکی ذمہ داری ہے - کہ اسکے
فہر موثر رول نے ہمارے رول لیڈر
کی اس طرح کی ناقص حالت بلادی
ہے - ہمارے رول لیڈر گھٹائے کوئی
ہاؤسنگ اسکیم نہیں ہے - انکے لئے
کوئی گروپ انشورنس اسکیم نہیں
ہے - انکے بچوں کو کوئی ایجوکیشن

خاطر خواہ ایجوکیشن کی فیسولٹی
نہیں ہے - انکے لئے کوئی منیجمنٹ
ویجز نہیں ہیں - انکے لئے کوئی
ایکسیڈنٹ ریلیف نہیں ہے - انکے
لئے نوٹر ایکسیڈنٹ ریلیف نہیں
ہے - انکے لئے کوئی اولڈ ایج پنشن
نہیں ہے - انکے لئے میٹرنٹی ریلیف
نہیں ہے -

جب تک ان تمام چیزوں نے
تعلق سے قانون سازی نہ کی جائے
اگر قانون سازی ہے بھی تو انکی
جامع نہیں ہے - اسکے لئے ایک
جامع قانون سازی کی ضرورت ہے -
اور پھر صحیح معلوم میں - صحیح
اسہرت میں اسکو امپلیمینٹ کرنے
کی ضرورت ہے - لہذا میں مرکزی
حکومت سے پتھر تفصیل میں گئے
یہ درخواست کرونگا کہ واضح طور پر
وہ سامنے آئے اور یہ کہے کہ ملک
کی انڈسٹریل پالیسی کیا ہے - اور
اس وجہ سے یہ جو رول لیڈر کا
استیلاس ہے - یہ اسولت تک بلند
نہیں ہوگا - جب تک کہ ہمارے
ملک کی انڈسٹریل پالیسی کو
بہتر سے بہتر نہ بنایا جائے اور پھر
خاص طور پر دیہاتوں میں جو
ایگرور ہیڈ انڈسٹریز ہیں - جب
تک انکی ترقی نہ کی جائے اسوقت
تک رول لیڈر کی حالت بہتر
نہیں ہو سکتی -

श्रीमती कमला सिन्हा (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, बात बहुत हो चुकी है। सुनने वाले भी थक गये और प्रैस गैलरी वाले भी सो गये। मैं केवल मुझाब के तौर पर दो चार बातें कहना चाहूंगी, कोई लम्बी चौड़ी बात मुझे नहीं करनी है। मैं इतना ही कहना चाहती हूँ कि यह तो निश्चित बात है कि ग्रामीण अंचलों में जो काम करते हैं वह भूमि के साथ जुड़े हुये हैं या हमारे जो दूसरे आर्टिजन जिनको हम कहते हैं कारीगर, रूरल लेबर भी उनको कहा जा सकता है यानी ग्रामीण श्रमिक। तो आर्टिजन की संख्या क्या थी सरकार उसको बता सकती है। खेत मजदूरों की संख्या तो सामने आ गई। मैं केवल दो तीन बातें ही करना चाहती हूँ।

महोदय, इस सदन में कई बातें कही गईं। एक बात कही गई उनकी शिक्षा के बारे में। एक बात कही गई गरीब मजदूरों के बारे में, बीड़ी मजदूरों के बारे में, ताड़ी तोड़ने वाले मजदूरों के बारे में, मछुबारों के बारे में। मैं अपने प्रान्त बिहार के बारे में दो चार बातें कहना चाहती हूँ। एक तो यह कि इसकी हमारी बिहार सरकार ने, वर्तमान सरकार ने, कुछ कार्यक्रम बनाया है। **(व्यवधान)** ... श्रम मंत्री महोदय, मैं आपका ध्यान चाहूंगी। अगर पोलिटिकल बिल हो तो काम किया जा सकता है। नेशनल रूरल लेबर कमीशन आपने बनाया उसकी रिपोर्ट सामने आई, एक साल हो गया, उसका इंप्लीमेंटेशन नहीं हो रहा है। आपने भी कहा, आप उसके मैबर थे, और कई लोगों ने कहा। तो पोलिटिकल बिल गवर्नमेंट की हो तो कुछ न कुछ काम कई कठिनाइयों के बावजूद हो सकता है। बिहार सरकार के सामने बहुत कठिनाइयां थी, लेकिन बिहार सरकार ने कई काम किए हैं। मैं उदाहरण के तौर पर आपके सामने रखना चाहती हूँ और केन्द्रीय सरकार मुनासिब समझे तो यह काम राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर भी कर सकती है। एक काम तो हमारी सरकार ने यह किया कि बिहार में नदी, नाले, तालाब, पोखर बहुत हैं। उनमें मछली मारने का अधिकार बड़-बड़े जमींदारों को मिलता था। वे लोग ठेके से मछली मारकर बाहर भेजते थे। हमारे वर्तमान मुख्य मंत्री ने यह ठेका समाप्त कर दिया। उन्होंने यह कहा कि जो मल्लाह

जाति के लोग होंगे, मछली मारने का अधिकार उन्हीं को होगा। फ्री, कोई ठेका नहीं, लीज नहीं लेकिन उनको यह सर्टिफिकेट लेना होगा कि वह जाति के मल्लाह हैं, यह उनका पेशा है। जो उस पेशे के साथ जुड़े हुए हैं, यह काम करते हैं। इस तरह फिशरमैन कम्युनिटी के लोगों को, मछुबारों को शोषण से मुक्ति मिली।

दूसरे, इसी सदन में कहा गया, ताड़ी आप जानते हैं कि ताड़ के पेड़ से निकलती है। ताड़ी तोड़ने वाले, ताड़ी जिसको हम कहते हैं, उसकी बहुत बिक्री होती है। ताड़ के पेड़ से ताड़ी निकलाने पर एक्साइज डिपार्टमेंट का कंट्रोल होता है। एक्साइज डिपार्टमेंट से उसको लीज लेनी पड़ती है। बिहार सरकार ने उसको फ्री कर दिया। पेड़ पर चढ़कर ताड़ी तोड़ने का काम एक जाति विशेष करती है जिसको हमारे यहां पासी कहा जाता है, जो हरिजन जाति के हैं। ताड़ी बेचने का काम भी वही करते हैं। ये अत्यंत गरीब लोग हैं। तो हमारी सरकार ने ताड़ी तोड़ने का काम फ्री कर दिया। जिसका वह पेशा है वह ताड़ी तोड़ेगा और वही उसको बेचेगा। इससे उसकी जीविका चलेगी, निर्वाह होगा। दूसरा काम लालूजी ने यह किया जिसके बारे में यूनेस्को, इंटरनेशनल लेबर ऑर्गेनाइजेशन ने भी प्रशंसा की थी कि, भारत से गरीबी मिटानी है, इस देश की साधारण जनता को, नीचे तबके को ऊपर उठाना है, यह सर्वोत्तम उपाय हो सकता है। इसको हमारे मुख्य मंत्री ने किया है। इसका नाम रखा है—चरवाह विद्यालय। आप लोग हंसे हैं कि यह क्या है। लेकिन हंसी की बात नहीं है। 500 एकड़ जमीन में एक कलस्टर की तरह बनाकर 500 से 1000 सीसम के पेड़ लगाये जा रहे हैं। जो गांव के बच्चे होते हैं जो दूसरे के खेत में काम करते हैं और जिसन कभी स्कूल का दरवाजा नहीं देखा, वे बच्चे गाय चराते हुए वहां पढ़ने जायेंगे। दो घंटे, तीन घंटे उनकी प्राथमिक तालीम होगी।

औरतों जो घास छीलती हैं दूसरे बड़े लोगों के घर में बेचने के लिए, जो दूसरे के खेत में काम करती हैं ऐसी औरतों को हाथ का काम सिखाने का काम हो रहा है। सिलाई, कढ़ाई, बुनाई तरह-तरह के आर्टिजन का काम हो रहा है। बढाई, कारपेंटरी का काम सिखाया जा रहा है छोटी उम्र के लड़कों को। इस तरह में वोकेशनल ट्रेनिंग सेंटर की तरह काम हो रहा है। चरखाहा विद्यालय में औरतों को 20 से 25 रुपये जो काम सीखने आती हैं इन्वेटिव के तौर पर दिलाया जा रहा है। जो घोबी है, कपड़ा धोने वाला है वह भी हरिजन है। उनके लिए तालाब बनाया गया। उस तालाब में मछली भी है। घोबी कपड़े धोकर मुखाने के लिए डालता है फिर पढ़ने के लिए जाता है। एडल्ट education has proved to be an absolute failure.

एजुकेशन का काम वहां हो रहा है। मैं इसलिए उदाहरण के तौर पर कहना चाहती हूं अगर पालिटिकल दिल् हो तो करल लेबर को ऊपर उठाने का काम हो सकता है। (समय की घंटी) मैं भी खत्म कर रही हूं। लोकनायक जयप्रकाश नारायण का नाम आपने सुना होगा।

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : देखा भी है।

श्रीमती कमला सिन्हा : बड़ी खुशी की बात है। हमें उनकी छत्रछाया में काम करने का अशीर्वाद प्राप्त हुआ, सुविधा प्राप्त हुई। हमारे बिहार में कोइमूर विध्या पर्वत का एक हिस्सा है। वहां 67 में जो अकाल पड़ा था उस वक्त उन्होंने अपनी पत्नी को भेजा कि जाकर उनकी देखभाल करे, सेवा करें। प्रभावती ने आकर कहा केवल खिचड़ी खिलाने से काम नहीं चलेगा। उनके आर्थिक विकास का भी काम करना होगा। आदिवासी पिछड़े गरीबों के बीच में वनवासी सेवा केन्द्र खोले गये। उसमें ड्राई फार्मिंग की शिक्षा दी जाती है। जंगल से रेशम का कटुन चुनकर लाते हैं। उससे कपड़ा बुनने का सिल्क बीनने का काम और तरह-तरह के सिखाने के काम हो रहे हैं। जो वालियंटर ऑर्गेनाइजेशन कर सकता है तो सरकार क्यों नहीं कर सकती है यह काम। इसलिए मैंने कहा अगर पालिटिकल दिल् हो तो कर सकते हैं। पालिटिकल दिल्... (समय की घंटी)... मैं अभी समाप्त कर रही हूं आप चिंता नहीं करिये मैं अपने समय में खत्म करूंगी।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री हेच० हनुमन्तप्पा) : मैं चिन्ता नहीं कर रहा हूं। बिहार पर रिपोर्ट आई है।

श्रीमती कमला सिन्हा : एक तो जो मिनिमम एम्प्लायमेंट गारन्टी स्कीम महाराष्ट्र में चली है उसका आल इंडिया एक्ट बनना चाहिये। दूसरे रिवालिंग फंड बनाना चाहिये खेत मजदूरों के लिये। जिसमें केन्द्रीय सरकार और प्रांतीय सरकार बराबरी का हिस्सा दें। जो फाइनेंशियल इंस्टीट्यूशंस हैं इस देश के अन्दर उनकी भी इसमें भागीदारी होनी चाहिये। बड़े-बड़े फाइनेंशियल इंस्टीट्यूशंस बड़े पंजीयतियों को तो पैसा दे देते हैं लेकिन गरीबों को नहीं देते हैं। उनकी भी देना चाहिये। नेशनल रिवालिंग फंड फार द करल भुअर बनना चाहिये। यह सरकार को बनाना चाहिये।

आबिरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहती हूं कि यह अच्छा है कि हमारे इजराइल के साथ संबंध सुधरे हैं और इजराइल में जो कोआपरेटिव सिस्टम है गांव का, मुशाब जिसको कहते हैं, मंत्री जी इसे अच्छी तरह से जानते होंगे, मुशाब में इलेक्टिव फार्मिंग है। जो छोटे किसान हैं, जो गांव के गरीब हैं, मार्जिनल फार्मर हैं जिनके लिये खुद की जमीन पर खेती करना मुश्किल हो गया है इस वक्त, उनको जमीन देगे। सरप्लस लैंड अगर उनको मिलता भी है तो वे उस पर खेती नहीं कर सकते हैं। इसलिये ऐसे लोगों का कलस्टर बनाकर, ऐसे विलेजज को एक करके कोआपरेटिव बनाना चाहिये जिस कोआपरेटिव में उनके लिये सीड का प्रावधान होना चाहिये, एग्रीकल्चरल इम्प्लीमेंट्स उनके लिये रहने चाहिये। सरकार को उनके लिये इन्पुट्स मोइयूया करने चाहिये। अगर आपको इस संबंध में कोई टेक्नीक सीखनी हो तो इजरायल जाकर एक चक्कर लगा आइये, मोसाद का फंक्शनिंग देख कर यहां सुविधायें दीजिये। मुझे इतने ही सन्नाह देने थे।

श्रीमती सत्या बहिन (उत्तर प्रदेश) :

मान्यवर, हमारे देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था में ग्रामीण मजदूरों का बहुत बड़ा योगदान है। हमारे देश के कर्णधारों ने चाहे पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू हों, इंदिरा जी हों, या गांधी जी हों, उन्होंने ग्रामीण स्वराज्य की कल्पना की थी.. (व्यवधान)। शारदा जी भी हमारे देश के कर्णधार थे। इन लोगों ने हमारे देश को समाजवाद की दिशा देने की कोशिश की थी, ग्रामीण स्वराज्य की कल्पना की थी। उन्होंने देश की अर्थव्यवस्था का विकेन्द्रीकरण कर उसको ग्रामों तक पहुंचाया था। कांग्रेस सरकार ने पूरी इच्छा शक्ति के साथ, संस्थागत शक्ति के साथ योजना बनाई थी। मैं गर्व के साथ कह सकती हूँ कि हमने जमींदारी प्रथा को खत्म किया। ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में सुविधायें प्रदान कीं और इसके साथ ही बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया। भूमि सुधार के कानून लागू किये। लेकिन उसमें जो कमियाँ थीं, यूरोपेसी की और नौकर-शाही की, उनकी वजह से जो योजनायें केन्द्रीय सरकार बनाती है या राज्य सरकार बनाती हैं, वह गांवों तक नहीं पहुंच पाती हैं। ग्रामीण श्रमिकों में ज्यादातर अनुसूचित जाति और जनजाति के लोग होते हैं, वे चाहे खेती का काम करते हैं या बोड़ी बनाने का काम करते हैं या मछली पालने का काम करते हैं उनमें ज्यादातर महिलायें होती हैं। इनके उद्धार के लिये, उनके विकास के लिये और कल्याण के लिये जो योजनायें बनती हैं उनमें परेशानियाँ हैं, कमियाँ हैं। मैं चाहती हूँ कि इसकी समीक्षा की जानी चाहिये, आंकलन किया जाना चाहिये ताकि उन योजनाओं का लाभ लोगों को मिल सके। मुझे यह कहने में कोई संकोच नहीं है कि इंदिरा जी ने जब बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया तो बैंकों पर बड़े उद्योगपतियों का एकाधिकार था। इसके बाद आम लोगों के लिये और ग्रामीण लोगों के लिये बैंकों के दरवाजे खुले। लेकिन समस्या क्या है कि आज भी बैंक कुछ लोगों के लिये स्वास्थ्य केन्द्र बन गये हैं। बड़े बड़ लोग करोड़ों रूपयों का कर्ज लेते हैं, लेकिन गरीब आदमी एक सैंस के लिये पांच सौ रुपये का या हजार रूपयों का

कर्ज लेता है तो उस कर्ज को शर्त करने में उसको परेशानी होती है आप जानते हैं कि ग्रामीण मजदूरों का कोई संगठन नहीं होता है। बड़े शहरों में जो कारखाने होते हैं उनके तो संगठन होते हैं। ग्रामों में जो मजदूर काम करते हैं वे अर्ध रोजगार वाले होते हैं। उनका कोई संगठन नहीं होता है। इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि ऐसे लोगों के लिये ग्रामीण श्रमिक कल्याण कोश की स्थापना की जाय। उनके लिये स्वास्थ्य केन्द्रों की सुविधा दी जाय और साथ ही उनके लिये प्रशिक्षण केन्द्रों की सुविधा प्रदान की जाय। उनके लिये आवास की व्यवस्था की जाय और उनकी आने वाली पीढ़ियों के लिये, उनके बच्चों के लिये, स्कूल खोले जायें। उनके लिये कृषि और कृषि से उत्पादित छोटे उद्योगों की स्थापना की जाय और उनके द्वारा उत्पादित वस्तुओं के मूल्य ठीक से मिल सकें इसके लिये सरकार को व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री हेच. हनुमन्तप्पा) :
श्री छोटुभाई पटेल। सिर्फ दो मिनट।

श्री छोटुभाई पटेल : महोदय, मैं आपका शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ। मैं चाहूँगा कि हमारे आदरणीय मंत्री जी के दिल और दिमाग में ग्रामीण श्रमिकों का कल्याण है और श्रमिकों के प्रति उनका स्टेप विलयर है और काफी परिश्रम इस क्षेत्र में आदरणीय मंत्री जी ने किया है। इसलिये मुझे आशा है कि इस सदन में ग्रामीण श्रमिकों के बारे में जो भावनायें उठी हैं, उन पर विचार करके उनको वे जरूर न्याय देंगे।

सर, मैं आपके माध्यम से यह कहना चाहूँगा कि ग्रामीण अर्थ-तंत्र, जो ग्रामीण एकानामी है, उसमें अगर हम ग्रामीण श्रमिकों के बारे में बात नहीं करेंगे तो मुझे लगता है कि इससे सामाजिक असंतुलन ज्यादा होगा। इसके बारे में मैं दो तीन बात कहना चाहूँगा।

आजादी के बाद से अब तक, चाहे कोई भी सरकार हो, स्टेट की हो या

सेक्टर की हो, उसके द्वारा आर्गनाइज्ड सेक्टर के बारे में बहुत कुछ किया गया है। क्योंकि जो भी सरकार आती है उसके सामने ये मेमोरेण्डम पेश करते हैं, डेलीगेशन ले जाते हैं। यह सब आर्गनाइज्ड सेक्टर की ओर से होता है। मगर जो लोग बोल नहीं सकते, मरु-बधिर हैं, जिसका कोई सहारा नहीं है वह अन-आर्गनाइज्ड सेक्टर है। न इन की ओर से कोई डेलीगेशन जाता है और न इनकी ओर से ज्यादा कहने वाले लोग हैं। कुछ हैं, गुरुदास दास गुप्ता जैसे कई लोग हैं, बिल्कुल नहीं हैं, मैं ऐसा नहीं कहता। इसलिये अन-आर्गनाइज्ड सेक्टर के बारे में कुछ करने के लिये मैं आपके माध्यम से मंत्री महोदय से गुजारिश करूंगा।

दूसरा, जो लोकसभा में नेशनल कमिशन ऑन रूरल लेबर के बारे में 4 दिसम्बर 1991 में रिप्लाय दिया गया था उसमें एक से नौ तक जो रेकमंडेशन हैं, मेजर रेकमंडेशन हैं, उन्हें हम स्वीकार कर सकते हैं। उन को स्वीकार करने के बाद हम इस दिशा में आगे बढ़ सकते हैं। तो मैं मंत्री जी से गुजारिश करूंगा कि ये जो नौ प्वाइंट्स हैं, रेकमंडेशन हैं, उसमें दः कैंटेगरीज हैं, लेजिस्लेटिव मेजर्स और इस्टीमेशनल मैकेनिज्म फार इम्प्ली-मेंटेशन। मैं चाहूंगा कि आप इस सदन को आश्वासन दें कि ग्रामीण श्रमिकों के बारे में गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया क्या कुछ करने जा रही है।

लास्ट में जो हमारे देश में कई सालों से पटिक्युलरली 1980 से जो एंटी-पावर्टी प्रोग्राम चल रहा है, उसके बारे में भी सपीका करने की आवश्यकता है। क्योंकि एंटी-पावर्टी प्रोग्राम के साथ हम कई सालों से जुड़े हुये हैं, इसलिये इसका बेनिफिट ग्रामीण श्रमिकों को मिला चाहिये। लेकिन जितना बेनिफिट उनको मिलना चाहिये उतना नहीं मिल रहा है। इसलिये यह बारा मैं कह रहा हूँ कि इसकी समीक्षा करने का भी समय आ गया है। मैं चाहूंगा कि माननीय मंत्री जी इसके बारे में विचार करें और हमारे

समाज में जो इम्बैलेंस हैं, जो एकानामिक इम्बैलेंस है, उसको दूर करने के लिये कुछ न कुछ करें। धन्यवाद।

6.00 P.M.

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF COAL WITH ADDITIONAL CHARGE OF THE MINISTRY OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR (SHRI P. A. SANGMA): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta who has initiated the debate and all the other hon. Members who have participated in this debate on a very important topic. It is customary to thank the hon. Members for their participation, but today I am not thanking the Members merely because it is customary, but, I think, it was really a good occasion because I can confess as Minister of Labour, that we get very rare occasions to hear about the problems of the unorganised labour, very rare, I tell you. As Labour Minister, Sir, I receive 15 to 20 delegations every day, and all the delegations are pertaining to the problems of the organised labour. I receive more than 200 letters a day and all the letters are pertaining to the problems of the organised labour. "Some people have not got their salaries. Some people have been suspended. So and so has been transferred from one place to another. Therefore, it should be cancelled. So and so should be transferred from one place to another. So and so should be given promotion." These are the types of letters we get. I am speaking it from the bottom of my heart. It is very rare that a Labour Minister gets a letter from anybody pointing out that in such and such a place, minimum wages to the agricultural worker have not been paid. It is very rare, Sir, I am confessing. That is the reason why it is not only customarily that I am doing it. I am sincerely thanking the hon. Members for initiating a debate on rural labour.

According to the 1991 Census, the work force in our country is 317 million. Out of the 317 million work force, 30 million are in the organised sector. They have unions. I have tried to survey it in 1986-87 in my previous tenure as Labour Minister our survey shows that there are more than 50,000 trade unions to look after

[Shri P. A. Sangma]

the organised workers, who are only 30 million. What about the remaining 276 million work force who are agricultural workers, who are child labourers, who are beedi workers, who are handloom workers, who are construction workers? There are almost no unions for them. I agree with all the views expressed on the floor of the House by the hon. Members that we have neglected the unorganised labour in our country.

The then Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, when he addressed the International Labour Conference at Geneva, was the first person to raise this very question. He said: "In my country it is only 10 per cent of the organised labour who are being looked after properly and 90 per cent are not being looked after. I do not know what is happening elsewhere. Therefore, the ILO should do something about it. The trade union leaders should be something about it." This is what Shri Rajiv Gandhi had stated in Geneva.

When I was given independent charge of Labour, we have discussed this issue in the Consultative Committee on several occasions. We have decided to constitute a Committee of the Consultative Committee under the Chairmanship of Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta to specifically go into the problems of the agricultural labourers in our country. The Committee went all over our country. They gave a report. They have collected very, very revealing information.

We have also constituted another Committee under my own chairmanship to go into the problems of the child labour. We went round. I had been to Sivakasi more than half-a-dozen times. I went to Surat. I went to Ferozabad. I went to many places where from prevalence of child labour is reported. Then, I had the privilege of briefing the then Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi about the plight of the unorganised labour. On the basis of these reports Shri Rajiv Gandhi, when he was holding the portfolio of Finance, while introducing his Budget in 1987, announced the constitution of the National Com-

mission on Rural Labour. That is how this Commission came into existence. I must thank and congratulate this Commission for having done an excellent job. I had gone through the report and it has been excellently done. As many as nine hon. Members, including you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, had the privilege of being Members on this Commission. We had Mr. R. P. Panicker, Mr. Keyur Bhusan, Ms. Geeta Mukherjee, Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta, late Mr. P. K. Kunjachen, Mr. Chang Ram, Mr. P. R. Kumaramangalam and Mr. J. D. Paswan. These are the hon. Members who had served on this Commission and done a very good job.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: It is also interesting that we were discussing these problems.

SHRI P. A. SANGMA: In fact, Sir, I would suggest this hopefully. I do not know for certain, but hopefully I say this. I would assure you on the floor of the House today that the report of the National Commission on Rural Labour with the 'action taken' report will be laid on the Table of the House during the Winter Session. I would make this request to the House. After the report is laid on the Table of the House with the 'action taken' report of the Government, we could have a fullfledged debate on this report.

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM: It is a good assurance.

SHRI P. A. SANGMA: Coming to what has been done so far on this report, I beg to differ with Mr. Gautam the hon'ble Member who has said that nothing has been done and no recommendation of this Commission has been so far implemented. It is not so. This Commission has given more than 300 recommendations. Of the recommendations totalling more than 300, the main recommendations have been made in about 12 recommendations. I will briefly deal with the main recommendations of the Commission because I do not want to take much time now.

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM: You are giving an interesting reply.

SHRI P. A. SANGMA: The first recommendation of the Commission is about strengthening the land base and land reforms. Sir, I have got a communication. But, before that, I should say this. Meetings at my level with all the secretaries to the Government of India had taken place twice to see the implementation of the various recommendations. On that basis, I am saying this. I have a communication from the Department of Rural Development. The Department of Rural Development says that practically all the recommendations of the National Commission on Rural Labour are acceptable to them. This is what they have communicated.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Acceptable?

SHRI P. A. SANGMA: Yes, acceptable. They have said it. They accept it. I even have point by point why they are accepting and what they are doing. But there is no time to go into them. I am only summarising that the Department of Rural Development has accepted practically all the recommendations of the National Commission on Rural Labour. I will outline the main points where they have already taken decisions allowing such projects as permissible IRDP activities. They have also accepted the recommendation about conducting skill surveys in rural areas for the purpose of drawing up TRYSEM programmes. Also, the recommendations about consolidation of holding and survey of common property rights, preparation of up to date and correct land records and establishment of land tribunals have been accepted by the Department of Rural Development.

Secondly, connected with this, come land reforms and distribution of surplus land. Sir, at the first instance, the Minister of State of Rural Development convened a conference of the Revenue Ministers of all the States to discuss this

problem. That was a preliminary meeting. After that was done, the Prime Minister convened to meeting of the Chief Ministers on 4th and 5th October 1991, and in that meeting they have taken certain decisions. As a result of that meeting of the Chief Ministers—the latest information that I have is—out of 2,98,538 acres of surplus land identified from October till date, the State Governments have been able to distribute surplus land to the tune of 1,45,308 acres to the landless labourers. I have got the Statewise figures, I don't think I should read it. Therefore, it will not be correct to say that the Government has done nothing about it. I will go quickly to the third recommendation.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: In how many years has this land been distributed?

SHRI P. A. SANGMA: It is going on. As you yourself said that when your Government was there in Tamil Nadu, you religiously followed the Congress policy and implemented that. You have yourself said that. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: I want a small clarification. I wish the hon. Member had expressed his concern at the slow rate of distribution of land in the country. The Commission has categorically stated that only 2 per cent of the cultivable land has been found to be surplus. This slow development must be a major concern. I wish the hon. Minister would express his concern about this. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Minister, would you yield for a minute, because you said it? Is it a fact that 3,65,000 acres of land has been distributed over all these forty-five years?

SHRI P. A. SANGMA: No, no. It is October onwards, from the date the Chief Ministers' conference took place.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: My question is: What is the total area of land which has been distributed all these years throughout India?

SHRI P. A. SANGMA: I don't have that figure, I am concerned with what actually has been done after the report of the National Commission on Rural Labour. Therefore, I have got these figures with me.

Coming to employment generation, the Commission has recommended an Employment Guarantee Scheme. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Will you express your concern about the slow progress?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Don't try to put your words upto his mouth.

SHRI P. A. SANGMA: I am a small man. The Prime Minister has expressed his concern and that is why he called the Chief Ministers' conference. Coming to the Employment Guarantee programme...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It is difficult to score a point with you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Do't try for that.

SHRI P. A. SANGMA: Yours was such an eloquent speech that I almost got nervous as to what I would reply. (*Interruptions*) The objective of the Eighth Five Year Plan is very, very clear. I am reading from the document. In para 1.35 it says, and I quote: "Generation of adequate employment to achieve near full employment level by the turn of the country". Well, the hon. Members may ask whether we are going to achieve that. I will not be able to say that. But then our objective during the Eighth Five Year Plan is employment generation. The National Development Council in its last meeting discussed the unemployment problem and decided to constitute a Sub-Committee, headed by the Chief Minister of Assam, where I am also a Member. Just now the meeting is going on. That will be our third meeting. I am not able to attend that meeting and employment generation is very much on the priority-number one priority of the

Government—and unemployment has always been the most important concern of the Government of India.

Coming to the Employment Guarantee Scheme, you see, I am happy to inform that the Secretary to the Planning Commission on 8.11.91 had addressed a letter to all the Chief Secretaries of the States, suggesting that they may consider adoption of the Employment Guarantee Scheme as it prevails in the State of Maharashtra because Maharashtra says that this has been a good scheme and, therefore, the State Governments have been addressed to that and it is for the State Governments to decide whether they would like to go in for that. (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI KAMLA SINHA: Mr. Minister, what about bringing forward a Central legislation about it?

SHRI P. A. SANGMA: We will discuss about it. I think you get ready for more supplementaries from now on... (*Interruption*)... If the House is prepared to sit for six hours, I can give all the information. ...(*interruption*)...

SHRI NARAYANASAMY: Giving the theory part of it, we want the practical implementation. I raised a specific point on that. We want the practical implementation by various States. Funds are being diluted by them. For that, what are you going to do?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): No; he is still yet come to that point. You should wait for your chance.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: He has completed it...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): No; he is still on the third recommendation. There are twelve more..

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: O. K. Sir.

SHRI P. A. SANGMA: Sir, it is true that we all feel that we have not been able to adequately invest in that rural areas for rural development. We have accepted that fact. While the Eighth Five Year Plan was being formulated, the initial allocation contemplated by the Planning Commission for rural development was Rs. 14,000 crores. Before it was finalised, the Prime Minister had taken a meeting at his level and when he found that rural development had got an allocation of Rs. 14,000 crores, this allocation was raised to Rs. 30,000 crores. It was done only at the initiative of the Prime Minister. And this rise from Rs. 14,000 crores to Rs. 30,000 crores is not a small jump. While replying to the debate on the No-Confidence Motion in the floor of the Lok Sabha, the Prime Minister said—I could quote it because I have got all the proceedings with me—"I wish this 30,000 figure would go up to 50,000 crores." And he added. It is not impossible. It is possible to make this 30,000 crores into 50,000 crores." How? The Prime Minister said, "We have a number of major projects in our country: investments are made up to 2,000 crores, 3,000 crores, be it in the power sector, oil sector, telecommunication sector. We are trying to get assistance, bilateral and multilateral. Since we have not multilateral and bilateral assistance for those projects, whatever money is available, that much of money will be substituted by the multilateral and bilateral assistance and the entire amount of money will go for the rural development." That is what the Prime Minister has committed on the floor of the House. I am quoting it only to emphasise my point that we are equally concerned as the hon. Members of this august House are for the upliftment and the development of the rural areas because unless we are able to bring up the rural areas, as Gopalsamy has rightly said, India will not be a real India. India means the Indian villages. This is what the Father of the Nation had said and I think everyone of us should try to contribute our best to achieve that goal.

Coming to the Minimum Wages Act, we had a meeting. The National Commission on Rural Labour has recommended that the minimum wages should be raised to Rs. 20/- per day.

SHRI PRAGADA KOTALAH: I want to know what measures are being taken to...

SHRI P. A. SANGMA: I am coming to handlooms... (Interruption)... I will come to handlooms and fisheries, of course. I am very particular. You are my old friend. I am coming to your point. I will reply to your specific points. I was speaking about the Minimum Wages Act. We had the meeting of the Labour Ministers on the 6th February, 1992 and on that day the Labour Ministers' Conference unanimously decided to increase the minimum wages to Rs. 20/- per day as recommended by the National Commission on Rural Labour. The official communication has gone to the State Governments and I myself have also communicated this decision to the Chief Ministers of all the States.

Sir, decentralisation of the planning process is a very important recommendation made by the National Commission on Rural Labour. The House is aware that the Congress Party is absolutely for the decentralisation of the planning process and it is with this intention that the Panchayati Raj Bill or the Seventy-Second Amendment to the Constitution has been introduced in the Lok Sabha... It has gone to the Joint Select Committee. I am told the Joint Select Committee Report has been completed and it is before the House. So we are for decentralisation of the planning process. That way I can say without any hesitation that we fully accept the recommendations of the National Commission on Rural Labour.

[Shri P. A. Sangma]

Then comes the strengthening of the public distribution system. The National Commission on Rural Labour has very elaborately dealt with this I am happy to inform you that the Government has taken a number of steps. I have got the figures. We have got 3.96 lakh ration shops all over the country as of 31st July 1992. Out of this, from 1st July 1991 till 31st July 1992, that is, during the period of the new Government, 8,935 ration shops have been added by us. In fact, the House is aware that public distribution system is a favourite subject of the Prime Minister and he himself is taking so much interest in improving the public distribution system. Therefore, I can again say that we fully accept the recommendations of the National Commission on Rural Labour and we will try to implement whatever steps are required to improve the public distribution system.

Now, let me come to Mr. Kotaiah, before I forget his points because I am hurrying up the weavers' problem. Let us speak on fish. Otherwise if I speak last I might feel hungry. So, let us speak about it and forget it. Now, as far as the fishermen are concerned, we are going to introduce for the first time a Centrally sponsored scheme for fishermen. The Centrally sponsored scheme will be started during the Eighth Plan and we have provided an outlay of Rs. 20 crores. I don't think that it is a very big amount. But the fact remains that a Centrally sponsored scheme is being introduced for the first time for the fishermen. Simultaneously, we have also decided to introduce a subsidy scheme of Rs. 10,000 which will be shared fifty-fifty by the Centre and the States for modernisation of fishing boats. I think, these two schemes will go a long way in helping the fishermen.

SHRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH: How are you going to protect the fishermen from the mechanised boats? Are you going to protect them by giving Rs 5,000 or Rs 10,000?

SHRI P. A. SANGMA: I am aware of that problem. Earlier I was dealing with that subject. But I don't know whether I can go on from one topic to so many other things. Mr. Kotaiah, I will invite you one day to come to me and we will discuss about the fishermen and the handloom weavers also. *(Interruptions)*... Mr. Kotaiah is a very old friend of mine. When I was the Textiles Minister for four years I had a very close association with him. I really admire his concern about the conditions of the weavers in the country. I must say that Mr. Kotaiah has been a pioneer in championing the cause of handloom weavers. Hats off to him. I assure him whatever assistance is possible from my side I must always be willing to offer.

Development of infrastructure in the rural areas is one point which the National Commission has very strongly recommended and this House has been told a number of times that the Ministry of Industry has decided in principle to set up 100 growth centres. Out of this, 70 schemes have been sanctioned and the financial pattern of these growth centres is, the Central Government will give Rs. 10 crores and the State Government will give Rs. 20 crores and each of these growth centres will have Rs. 30 crores. If the State Governments want to give more they can give it. Therefore, as far as the Central funding is concerned, a sum of Rs. 700 crores has already been sanctioned to set up 70 growth centres for infrastructural facilities to be created in the rural areas. I have just mentioned a few things. I would like to mention one more thing...

AN HON. MEMBER: How many mini-growth centres?

SHRI P. A. SANGMA: No mini-growth centres. I don't think there is any scheme for mini-growth centres. We are going for full, not mini. One more important recommendation of the Commission is that in the rural areas it is very

difficult to get doctors for the Government dispensaries, health sub-centres, primary health centres. The National Commission has recommended that the private practising doctors in the rural areas could be appointed as part-time doctors by the Government to man these primary health centres. This recommendation of the National Commission has also been accepted. I am not elaborating everything because during the Winter Session we will have the opportunity of discussing the report of the Commission fully and by that time I am sure I will also be more equipped to deal with the questions of Members of Parliament. I know Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta is waiting for one recommendation and without that this debate will not be over. That recommendation is about the legislation, Central legislation for the agricultural workers. That is the crux of the matter as far as Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta is concerned. I am sure he has been waiting for it. There are two aspects of it. One is legislation to deal with their grievances and to provide a grievances redressal mechanism. This

is one aspect. The second aspect is, legislation for social security and welfare. I am not yet in a position to say about the first part of it, about the grievances redressal mechanism. I have yet to apply my mind on that. But as far as social security and welfare scheme for the agricultural workers is concerned, we are actively considering the possibility of bringing a legislation on that. With these words, I once again thank the Members.

श्री संघप्रिय गौतम : मंत्री जी, एक प्रश्न केवल ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री हेच० हनुमन्तप्पा) : नहीं गौतम जी, नहीं ।

The House is adjourned till eleven of clock tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at thirty-three minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 5th August, 1992.