

regimes. But what Mr. Jain the Joint Secretary, did is very interesting and I have it from a person who attended that meeting. A reactionary stand was taken to soften the stand proposed by the Mozambique Government and what Mr. Jain did is that he accommodated such stand. Instead of himself doing it, he accommodated it. When it was originally recommended that support to the armed action against the racist regimes should be there, some proposals came from some quarters that the doors should be kept open to suit the interests of the racist regimes and others and to play down and ignore the demands of the armed struggle. Mr. Jain, the Joint Secretary, supported that stand. Now, this double game goes on, Sir. Mr. Vajpayee goes there and makes speeches. He makes good speeches. I don't deny that. But, when his officials are dealing at the Committee meetings, where these are processed and finalised, two things are done, one, to soften the stand, in the name of accommodating against the racist regimes and, two, to keep the doors wide open, to say that the doors should be kept open for a settlement which means that the Western powers should be given a free hand to do whatever they like. I deplore this, Sir. I think Mr. Jain's conduct should be done into I say this because, I tell you, I have got it right from a person who was at attending that Conference. Well, Sir, I demand an investigation into this and Mr. Jain should be asked to explain and the record should be gone into. What about this? This is the kind of thing that you are doing with regard to South Africa. Still, the double standard is operating. Sir, our House will adjourn today and the Lok Sabha will be there. The Government should make a statement

Sir, the Indian press report has been confirmed by the British papers. Names and numbers have been given. And these have been involved, well, Sir, is there in the report. The Minis-

ter of Parliamentary Affairs is there. Others are also there. They should* ask the External Affairs Minister to make the position clear.

श्री प्रकाश महारोत्रा (उत्तर प्रदेश) :

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, लंदन के एक प्रमुख समाचार-पत्र 'लंदन आर्बजर्वर' ने एक समाचार प्रकाशित किया है कि अभी हाल ही में सेंचुरियन टैंक साउथ अफ्रीका ने स्पेन के माध्यम से खरीदे हैं। मान्यवर, यह समाचार एक बहुत ही रिनाउन्ड कारस-पेन्डेन्ट एन्थानी सेम्सन, जिन्होंने एनाटमी आफ ब्रिटेन, और ब्रिटेन के भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री मैकमिलन की आटोबाईयाफी लिखी है, उन्होंने यह समाचार दिया है। मान्यवर, हुआ क्या है पिछले कुछ महीने पहले ब्रिटेन का एक डिफेंस जर्नल जो है उसमें एक विज्ञापन प्रकाशित हुआ कि हिन्दुस्तान के कुछ सेमी जंक—नया शब्द क्वाइन हुआ है सेमी जंक—टैंक हैं उनको बेचने का यह एडवर्टाइजमेंट वहाँ दिया गया। मान्यवर, स्पेन की एक कम्पनी जिसका नाम है "वरियर ग्रादर्थ जो नाटों के लिए आटिलरी, अम्मुनिशन और एग्सेसिव आर्म्स बनाती हैं उन्होंने ये 60 टैंक खरीदे और इन टैंकों को खरीदकर उन्होंने इनका थ.रोली रेनेवेशन किया। आज वही टैंक जो कि सेमी-जंक करके बेचे गये हैं उनको एंडवास इलाक्ट्रानिक्स एक्विपमेंट्स से एक्विप करके उनका प्रयोग साउथ अफ्रीका की आटिलरेली में हो रहा है। मान्यवर, ऐसा कहा जाता है कि यह जो डील हुआ इसमें देश के जाने माने हुए दो व्यक्तियों का हाथ है। वी० शंकर रिटायर्ड आई० सी० एस० जो कि अब प्रधानमंत्री के प्रधान सचिव हैं और दूसरे कांति देसाई के सहयोग से यह डील हुआ। मान्यवर, शंकर साहब जब रिटायर हुए उसके बाद से वह कई मल्टीनेशनल कंपनियों के एजेंट रहे हैं। यह भी कह जाता है कि उनका इलिसिट सेल आफ दि आर्म्स में हाथ रहा है। मान्यवर, प्रश्न यह है कि अभी कुछ वर्ष पहले यह सेंचुरियन टैंक जो अफ्रीका से मंगाये गये थे तो यह समझ कर

[श्री प्रकाश मंडोत्रा]

मंगाये गये थे कि वे यहाँ की क्राइमेटिक कंडीशंस और लाइस्टिक कंडीशंस, इन सब की देखने हुए उपयोगी है। यह सपन्नकर करोड़ों रुपये खर्च करके इन टैंकों को मंगाया गया था और जब पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारी लड़ाई हुई तब उन समय कुछ हद तक इन टैंकों का इस्तेमाल हुआ। उसके बाद ये टैंक बिल्कुल खड़े थे और उनका कोई इस्तेमाल नहीं हुआ। जंक कैसे हो गये? क्या इनको मैन्टेनेन्स नहीं की जाती थी? हमें जगता था कि इससे कुछ साजिश थी कि इनको बेचकर पैसा कमाया जाय।

मान्यवर, इसमें दो-तीन प्रश्न उठते हैं। एक प्रश्न तो यह उठता है, कि जब आपने उनको सेमी-जंक कह करके बेच दिया और उन्होंने टैंकों को साउथ अफ्रीका वाले उनका इंजन बदल कर उनको अच्छी तरह से रेनोवेट करके और एम्बिमेंट लगाकर इस्तेमाल में ला रहे हैं तो आपके यहाँ से जो यह रिपोर्ट हुई कि जंक हो गये हैं इसलिये उनको बेचा जाय, तो यह एक गलत रिपोर्ट दी गई है इसके बारे में इन्क्वायरी होनी चाहिए। इसको जानकारी होनी चाहिए कि रिपोर्ट के पीछे कौन लोग थे जिन्होंने इसको मेनोवर किया था, जिनके द्वारा यह हुआ। दूसरा बड़ा भारी एक प्रश्न उठता है जो इससे संबंधित है। वह प्रश्न यह है कि यह हमारे देश की नीति का प्रश्न है। हमारे देश की नीति है कि साउथ अफ्रीका जो अपार्थोइड में विश्वास करते हैं उसके खिलाफ इकोनोमिक सैन्यन होनी चाहिए। उसके खिलाफ आर्म इम्बार्गी होना चाहिए। एक तरफ तो हम यह कहते हैं लेकिन देव क्या रहे हैं। जब से यह जनता पार्टी की सरकार आई है उस और नीति शिफ्ट कर रहे हैं। एक तरफ तो हमारे पासपोर्ट में यह लिख रहे हैं कि पूरे विश्व के लिए वैलिड है केवल साउथ अफ्रीका के लिए नहीं और दूसरी तरफ इस सदन में यह प्रश्न उठा था कि एक डेनोवेशन जो साउथ अफ्रीका

गया और उन्होंने कहा कि एक्सटर्नल अफेयर्स मिनिस्टर उसकी जानकारी करेंगे। एक तरफ तो यह स्थिति है और दूसरी तरफ यह स्थिति है कि आपके देश के हथियार साउथ अफ्रीका को जा रहे हैं—दूसरे कंट्रीज के माध्यम से जा रहे हैं। तो मान्यवर, जब यह सवाल होता है तो इस तरह का विश्वास होता है, कंडीशन होता है कि यह फर्क कंट्री में ही भेजा जाएगा। तो इस तरह की कंडीशंस लागू की गई थी। तो मैं यह मांग करता हूँ कि इस पूरे डील की इन्क्वायरी कराई जाए अगर कान्तिभाई देसाई और श्री० शंकर का इससे संबंध है तो जैसे कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा इससे संबंधित जितने पेपर हैं उनको चीफ जस्टिस आफ इंडिया के पास भेजे जाएं। मैं यह फिर मांग करता हूँ कि इससे संबंधित जितने पेपर हैं चीफ जस्टिस आफ इंडिया को रेफर किये जाएं।

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU): Sir, I just rise to answer Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's question about the non-aligned meeting at Maputu. He was very harsh, I should, say rather unkind when he said that certain officers conduct should be deplored and certain action should be taken and all that. On the contrary, I think he should be very happy to know that in the Non-Aligned Bureau meeting, when the problem of armed assistance to the liberation movements came up, there was some difference of opinion among members and we struggled to bring about a consensus. The consensus did not compromise on our principled stand and Dada, Bhupesh Guptaji, would be very happy to know that that particular officer got applause or rather standing ovation for having brought out consensus, from all the delegates in that Committee because that particular officer as chahing that particular committee.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, since he has mentioned this, well I wish I could be happy. Sir, I am not entering into a dispute. My information is...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): It is all right. You have given your views.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: A person who attended that meeting informed me. I cannot prove this thing. He is not here in the country. I have heard it, I am saying it. Mr. Vajpayee's stand, I say, was good. Then when it went to the Committee. ..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): You have already said it. Yes, Shri Kalyan Roy.

REFERENCE TO THE REPORTED SALE OF NIZAMS JEWELLERY

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal) : Sir, what is happening is rather scandalous. Sir, every nation protects and preserves its ancient things like monuments, paintings, jewellery, etc. for future generations. They are priceless. They are kept in museums under guard, and lakhs of people go to these museums to see their past. But, in our country, unfortunately, now, Sir; priceless old jewellery, whose value cannot be measured in terms of money, are allowed to be sold abroad. It is a matter of utter shame and disgust.

Sir, H.E.H. Nizam's Trust of Hyderabad has announced its intention to sell 24 exquisite pieces of ancient jewellery belonging to Sahibzada Kulia Kuls urn's Trust and has invited prominent jewellery from all over the world to register their names for purpose of the sale of jewellery, which is expected to be held in Bombay shortly. Sir, the jewellery, according to the official sources, is worth Rs. 10 crores. But according to the non-official reports the value

of this jewellery will be anywhere between Rs. 200 crores and Rs. 300 crores. The foreign buyers, particularly the ultra-rich in the United States and Europe and the oil-rich Sheikhs in the Middle-East countries are reported to be ready to pay any price for getting this ancient priceless royal jewellery from India.

Sir, in early 1978 when Janata Party was in power, a similar sale of jewellery by Nizam was allowed and according to official source, it brought to Nizam a sum of Rs. 17 crores. This is the official record that I am - quoting. This is now the second sale of the royal jewellery. Is it not a sell-out of the country's past jewellery the price of which will be anywhere around rupees one thousand crores after ten years? Sir, I appeal through you to hon. Minister for Finance who is sitting here and the Prime Minister also through him to immediately intervene and ban such sale of priceless jewellery, exquisite jewellery and ancient jewellery by the H.E.H. Nizam Trust Hyderabad without delay.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): I would like to say a few words. Probably, the hon. Member is referring to the advertisement which appeared in the Times of India dated 18 th March, 1979. So far as the question of first sale is concerned. .

SHRI KALYAN ROY: I am also relying on the Statement of 18th March, 1978.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL: That is practically the same. So far as the jewellery proposed to be sold as per the above advertisement is concerned it belongs to Sahibzadi Kulia Kulsum's Trust and not Nizam Trust. That is number one. Secondly, the gross weight of items proposed to be sold is 2293 grams and the value of gold content as on

[Shri Satish Agarwal]

'23-12-1974, the date of declaration, -was Rs 50, 720; but its present value according to official appraiser is Rs. 25.30 lakhs and not Rs. 10 crores. But the hon. Member has very emphatically asserted that it is much more. I can only assure you that I will make further enquiries in the matter so far as this is concerned.

So far as the second matter is concerned, the Nizam's jewellery Trust proposed to dispose of 37 items of gold ornaments and precious stones. The highest tender received was for Rs. 14.54 crores. The sale was however challenged by one of the beneficiaries of Nizam Trust in the High Court at Hyderabad. Meanwhile, one Mr. P. J. Fernandes acting as an agent on behalf of foreign buyers intervened in the case and made an offer of Rs. 20.25 « crores for the said items on behalf of these foreign buyers. The High Court accepted his offer and the amount in question was deposited in the bank also. It is now understood that the case is being contested in the Supreme Court. Details of further developments in this case are not readily available with us. It is also understood that the foreign buyer of the jewellery has also withdrawn his offer and the items of jewellery are still lying under seal in the wards of Mercantile Bank in Bombay. As regards the sale value of paintings, absolutely there was nothing mentioned.....

(Interruptions)

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Would you allow the jewellery to go out of India?

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL: So far the fact whether they are antique or not is concerned, it is, for the Department of Culture and Education to verify about it . . . (Interruptions).

SHRI KALYAN ROY: How do you verify about it?

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL: It is not for us, as a matter of fact, in the Finance Ministry. Whatever you have mentioned here, I will convey to the Ministry that these are the allegations. I will get a copy of your speech and transfer to them.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Is it not a sell-out of ancient jewellery? Would you let these items go out of India to the Europeans? Is it the policy of the Government?

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL: Ancient jewellery is exported and we are making available gold at the international price. So as a policy, there is no prohibition that way. But if there are antiques of historical value, I shall refer the whole matter to the Ministry of Education and Culture. They are very much concerned with it and they can certify about it but not we in the Finance Ministry. Even then I will get a copy of your speech and send to the Ministry of Education.

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 176 ON CHARTER OF DEMANDS OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS VOICED DURING THEIR RECENT RALLY IN NEW DELHI

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, I am very glad even though we are at the far end of the Session.....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Mr. Bhu-pesh Gupta, there are a large number of speakers. You may kindly keep this in mind.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam): Sir, are we to understand that the next item, namely, the discussion on the proposed agreement between BHEL and SIEMENS, will be taken up in the next Session?

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal): It will be taken up in the next Session.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA (Gujarat): It has been agreed that it will be taken up in the next Session.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You can continue in the next Session.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): I do not know what the Chairman has said when the issue was raised in the morning.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: If you cannot give an assurance I am very-sorry to say, if you take up this de-bate; we shall not participate in the debate.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): What the Chairman has said, we shall see to it.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON (Kerala): In the Business Advisory Committee, when this issue was discussed, we were given to understand that this will be taken up in the next Session.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): This was raised earlier in the morning. We shall see what the Chairman has said.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: It is most unfortunate on the part of the Chair and on the part of the Presiding Officer to change the version which has already been agreed upon in the beginning. (Interruptions).

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: We have to be assured as to how long we are going to be in the House. Now, this debate will go on up to 7 or 7.30 P.M. Then, how can we take up such an important debate at 7.30 P.M.? (Interruptions)

SHRI KALYAN ROY: The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs should clarify the position.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): We can go ahead with this discussion. In the meantime we can have consultations. We can find out the position in the meantime.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, when I raised this question, hon. Members from both sides of the House immediately supported my proposal that this issue should be discussed in this Session itself because this March was organised in this very Session. This was a March to Parliament by agricultural workers from all over the country. According to conservative estimates, three lakhs of people turned up. This was on the 20th March, only eight days ago. Sir, this was one of the historic events, if I may say so. Delhi has witnessed many a march of this type organised on a national scale. But this is the first time that agricultural workers from every State, in tatters, suffering from many injustices, social and economic oppression and so on, turned up in the capital of India to voice their charter of demands. The March to Parliament was to impress upon Parliament and the nation that their grievances are long-standing, that after 32 years of Independence, they are still oppressed and that they continue to suffer in many ways, economically, socially and political^ the fact that they have got adult franchise.

Sir, those who came included not only agricultural workers men women, young and old, but also others like adivasis, tribals, Harijans, women, Christians, members of the minority communities, Muslims and so on. It was a unique demonstration from every point of view. Sir, it was disciplined. You did not see any trucks there. You did not see any tractors there. You did not see any display of wealth nor did you see anybody on the platform presenting a purse of Rs. 70 or 65 lakh's.

6 P.M.

Nor was there any one to bring bouquets of flowers as was done in the case of Mr. Charan Singh's demonstration, from Tihar Jail or from Moghul Gardens to be presented to anybody on the dias. Nothing of the kind. Those things were not there. Opportunists take overtones in the

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

shape of bouquets of flowers from supposedly political adverseries and so on. That was the display of wealth and here it was poverty that marched in the streets, but poverty defying, poverty militan^ poverty figHt-ing, poverty in a state of revolt, seeking justice, poverty damning the present society which after 32 years of unmitigated capitalist rule, monopoly of bourgeoisie power, kept so many millions, our men> women and children in the far flung villages of our country in ignorance, misery and sufferings. That was the march.

Sir, I saw in this march, as many of you did, not the march of tramping feet alone but the march of history, as it were when they advanced along the Rajpath, along the thoroughfares of this city, towards Parliament and appeared here to present the charter of demands. I have got their charter of demands here. It is a voice not only of the down-trodden millions in the villages, but of the whole nation because if these five crore agricultural workers are not uplifted to the dignity of life, from that misery and colossal abysmal poverty, there can be no remaking of rural India or even national economy and national life.

Sir, what does it say? What is the economic position today? Their 42 per cent of the physical labour in the country are accounted for agricultural workers. More than one-third of the total working force in the country is comprised of agricultural labourers. Again, these people do not work for more than 200 days.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Just resume your seat for a moment. I would like to inform the hon. Members that as desired by several Members further discussion on the BHEL and SIEMENS will not be taken up during the current session.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN (Kerala): Sir, yesterday my speech on the Railways Appropriation Bill has been terribly cut. This morning I got the manuscript of my speech and I was surprised that three parts of the speech have been cut away. I have filed a complaint with the Secretary-General. Please take note of this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): I will look into it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Agricultural workers get employment for only 200 days in a year. What does it mean? Our labour force, our man power is wasted. It is not fully utilized in production work. It is not a question of merely unemployment, idle labour and sufferings. We talk of labour intensive programmes 'and if the human asset, the human labour is allowed to go waste like this, the nation loses. You can imagine if so many millions worked for 165 days morej in addition to 200 days even as it is, what would be addition to the production? Sir, that also is a serious matter for you and for all of us to consider when We are developing our country. Therefore, the problem is one of human suffering, unemployment, denial of opportunity for harnessing the labour for raising our prouction, our wealth. This is the problem.

In the recent period the agricultural workers and the people there have suffered from many atrocities and so on. Only one or two figures I will give. There has been an alarming increase in the number of atrocities against the Harijans and other weaker sections in the past 22 months. The number of atrocities which stood at 5,969 in 1976 went up to 10,879 in 1977, and it goes on increasing. In the first six months of 1978 alone, the number of atrocities has gone up to 5,952. The Harijans and Adivasis are killed and shot dead. They are even burnt alive and their women humiliated and raped and killed. Their pro-

perty and standing crops are destroyed. You know one of our comrades—a Member of the Lok Sabha—has been killed recently in Madras. I do not want to go into this thing. These are well-known facts. The only thing I should come straightway to is: what is to be done?

The charter of demands is before the Government. The Government should make a statement as to what they propose to do. Herej Sir, I want to say one or two things. Yes, there are some Minimum Wages Acts in some parts of the country. But they are not implemented. There is no machinery for their implementation. Very low wages have been fixed in most States. In some States—like West Bengal and Kerala—it is not bad; it is good. But even these low rates are not implemented in most of the States. There is no machinery to do so. There is no provision for security of employment working conditions and the rest of it. We understand that the law here—the Minimum Wages Act 1948—applies there, and that is also not implemented. Mr. Ravindra Varma is here. Recently a special Conference on Rural Labour was called in Delhi in January, 1979. He himself was there. I think under his aegis it was called. That Conference recommended the setting up of a Standing Committee to go into this question. I understand that the Committee has been set up. That Conference also recommended that there should be a Central legislation so that the State Governments are compelled to do something in these matters of giving security of service guaranteeing conditions of service, working conditions and so on, and the employment aspect should also be looked after. Therefore, the demand has been there; the suggestion has been made there. Legislation for ensuring security of employment, machinery for settling disputes between the landlords and agricultural workers and those who employ them welfare measures—these are some of the points which have been discussed. In order to ensure these things, there

should be some legislation. That should be implemented. But nothing of that sort has been done so far.

The other thing is their condition.

I need not describe it. I know when I gave the Motion from all sides Members came and supported it. Sir, I am very glad to say that we have held many demonstrations, but this demonstration—it goes to the glory of the Bhartiya Khet Mazdoor Union and others who had organised it—received tremendous applause from all sections of the people—from that side and from this side of the House, because everybody was impressed by this demonstration—but not the All India Radio and Doordarshan. They hardly gave any publicity to it. One or two sentences were read out and a little thing was shown. The demonstration was not shown but some people loitering here and there were shown by Doordarshan in order to belittle the demonstration. Yet on the 4th of March, there was a demonstration of the RSS here which was given a lot of boost and publicity by the All India Radio and the official mass media. But when it comes to the agricultural labourers, they black it out. There was class bias plus communalism. The R.S.S. has to be boosted because it is a communal organisation and the R.S.S. is controlling the mass media as everybody knows. Agricultural workers' demonstration has to be ignored because it is a demonstration of the exploited classes. Hence those who are in power, representing the propertied classes, make common cause to ignore it. When I myself heard how the coverage was made, I felt sorry. They would not do it because it will get more publicity. When 300,000 people come from distant parts of the country we should feel ourselves honoured that they have come in a democratic and peaceful manner. Such an event should not only be welcomed it should be highlighted before the nation and the world that here is India's manhood on the march. Here are people who make our country great but still they

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are suffering, yet their patriotism is undiminished and undying; they have come here to make our highest democratic institution realise its responsibility towards them.

Sir) it is with their effort that these institutions such as Parliament and Assemblies function, and yet when they appear they are ignored by the official mass media. I must say that the Indian newspapers gave better publicity, even the monopolist press, but not the All.. India Radio. I felt like going to the All India Radio and thrashing the whole damn thing. What is the use of having such All India Radio which behaves in this manner about those people who need more attention than others in the society?

Sir, the Minister of Information and Broadcasting should have been[^] here to explain his conduct. He should be ashamed that the mass media has been so cynical in such matters. I am sorry I am using strong words against Mr. Advani despite the fact that he is a soft-spoken person. The mass media has become an instrument of perversion, an instrument of subversion, an instrument of suppression when it comes to the poorer sections of the people. Sir, I launch my strongest protest against the manner in which the television and the AH India Radio function and the way in which it covered the great march.

With regard to other things I hope[^] Mr. Ravindra Varma will say something. One thing is quite clear, Mr. Ravindra Varma. I think we have come to the conclusion that in the villages no law can be enforced, social or economic measures of a progressive type unless the power of the landlord is broken. It is not possible to implement laws in six lakh villages unless the landlord's power is broken;. It is not a Question of setting up some machinery here and there. It is a question of dismantling this greatest obstacle in the implementation of

laws that we pass. Therefore Mr. Ravindra Varma and others in the Government should take into their heads the urgency of implementing the radical land reform measures and smashing the power of the landlord class. This must be done. Emancipation of the agricultural worker is not possible unless the landlord power is broken. We told your political senior, Mr. Charan Singh, that this humbug on the part of the Finance Minister must stop. It is pure and simple humbug. While land reforms are not carried out, when agricultural labours are kept in these conditions you want to bring about the so called rural development by pumping some credits and money, some inputs and other things into the villages and to some rich peasants. Even the peasants do not get anything very much as everybody knows. Sir, the talk of rural development is a felony, is baloney, tomfoolery of the worst type. It is a deception, it is an attempt to cover up the efforts of Mr. Charan Singh and others to build up their political base in the rural areas. A demonstration was organised here by them. Why? This demonstration was organised by Mr. Charan Singh Mr. Rajnarain and others, not for improvement, not for getting the grievances redressed but for forcing his way into the Cabinet. (Interruptions). It was to bargain with Mr. Morarji Desai, "Here I am with the agricultural labour." Of course, it is not the poor agriculturists or peasants of that type but rich farmers with tractors and so on. Some poor peasants also came. I don't deny that. But it was a political bargain. That is all. Here they brought them to pit them against the urban population.

But here the agricultural labourers came. The trade union movement, workers' organisations, employees' organisations, bank employees and other industrial workers built up gates and so on, put up poster., banners and so on to receive them and welcome them. The agricultural workers came here to fight not only

for their demands but also for the demands of the working class against for example) the Industrial Relations Bill and the Bhoothalingam Committee Report. It was a solidarity of the working class and the peasantry. It was the solidarity of the town and the village.

Now I have only a few more points to make. Atrocities against the Hari-jans must stop. Deterrent punishment must be given to the offenders. Comrade Indradeep Sinha said that there should be special type of courts for dealing with the landlords also. We want some such legal arrangement. The law must be made harsher. I should say, in the case of atrocities against Harijans, apart from jail punishment, there should be an arrangement for public flogging of the landlords so that the agricultural workers and others can see that landlords who believe in this kind of thing are flogged.

There is one demand that civil rights should be given and all that. It is there in the charter of demands. Land reforms should be implemented. As I have said, vigorous implementation should take place of payment of minimum agricultural wages. A law should be passed by the Centre. Housing should be provided. They said that house grants, etc., should be given to the agricultural labourers. In the matter of wages and other things, the Kerala Government has set an example and therefore a model Bill on the lines of the Kerala legislation should be brought in with necessary modifications wherever you think such modifications/ are called for. That is very very important. The employment question should also be gone into.

About bonded labour, Government itself say that there are two million bonded labour or more than that. Actually it should be much more than that. What about them? Even after so many years of the Constitution, we have not bonded labour in the villages and nothing has been

done to eliminate it completely. It should be done. ^

Sir, now others will speak. I have spoken enough on this subject. There are other competent people who will speak on the matter and I hope the discussion will continue. At least the demands should be voiced once again.

I am grateful to this House and to all the Members of this House for making this discussion possible. It is not a party issue on which I am speaking. Sir, we all have congratulated those who brought the demonstration here, the agricultural labourers and others.

May I, Sir, from the national forum send our warmest greetings^ congratulations and best wishes to the millions who live in the villages, the agricultural labourers and their organisations, for the magnificent demonstration they have held here? This strengthens our democracy; this revitalises our life; this raises hope. It is not merely a question of meeting some demands of the people which they deserve—the demands to be met instantly—but it generally strengthens the national life and national health. Therefore, as such^ they deserve our sympathy and support. I think some steps would be taken as early as possible. Since two Ministers are here, I would like to . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Five Ministers are there.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Two or three relevant Ministers. One is the Agriculture Minister. Home Minister • is also there.

AN HON. MEMBER: The Labour Minister is also there.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am glad all of them are there. One is a full Minister and others are State Ministers. Perhaps three Or four State Ministers make one Cabinet Minister. Therefore, I said two Cabinet Ministers-

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ters were there. All the same, Sir, I think this question deserves utmost attention of the nation. Let us now try to solve this problem before we talk of rural development and Parliament should enter the picture. They should not disown the responsibility by saying that agriculture is a State subject. Much we can do. We can influence the nation, we can influence the State, we can, if necessary, make necessary amendments to the Constitution in order to give relief to them and improve their conditions. Emancipation of agricultural workers is of paramount importance—agricultural workers We are discussing now—and the upliftment of their living conditions, their cultural life and material life are all of national urgency today. As such, they must be given top-most priority, whether in planning or in other aspects of economic and social activity. Everything should be to stop ruthlessly the atrocities against the Harijans and other backward sections of the people.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Mr. Minister.

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir (we are discussing about the agricultural labour. Let the Minister, who is directly concerned with it reply after hearing the debate. If he makes his speech, what remains in the debate?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Let me ex-the procedure. The procedure is that under Rule 176, after the discussion Is raised, the Minister will reply. (Interruptions). Then other Members will speak and then at the end the Minister will again reply. That is the procedure.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: When we discuss the reports in the State Legislatures, the Minister does not reply in the beginning. All speeches are heard

and then the reply is given at the end.

That procedure must be followed I hope Mr. Bhupesh Gupta will bear me out.

श्री रामानन्द यादव (बिहार) : श्रीमान्, मेरी एक सवमीशन है। पहले आप सब मेम्बरों का बोलने का मौका दें और उसके बाद माननीय मंत्री श्री वर्मा सब लोगों की बात का जवाब दे देंगे। इसमें समय की भी बचत होगी। मेरा ख्याल है कि वर्मा जी निश्चित रूप से लास्ट में जवाब देना चाहेंगे।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Under Rule 176, that is the procedure.

श्री रामानन्द यादव : श्रीमान्, मेरा कहना यह है कि पहले आप मेम्बरों को बोलने का मौका दें और फिर बाद में मंत्री महोदय जवाब दे देंगे।

उपसदस्य : (श्री श्यामलाल यादव) : आपको बाद में बोलने का मौका मिलेगा। अभी पहले आप मंत्री जी को जवाब देने दीजिये।

SHRI S. W. DHABE: That is the practice when we discuss the reports in the State Legislatures under Rule 176.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Again he will reply. That is the Rule. What can I do?

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: But he is ready to concede our demand.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir there is one correction to make. I made a mistake when I said that the number of atrocities stood at 5,969 in 1966. It should be read as in 1976.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND LABOUR (SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA): Sir, I do not know whether the Rules makes it obligatory for me to speak at this point of discussion. But Sir....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): For the information of the Members, Rule 178 is clear on this. Mr. Minister, kindly take your seat. Rule 178 reads;

"There shall be no formal motion before the Council nor voting. The member who has given notice may make a short statement and the Minister shall reply shortly. Any member who has previously intimated to the Chairman may be permitted to take part in the discussion."

You will take part in the discussion. And then he will reply. There is no harm-

श्री श्याम लाल यादव : क्या दिक्कत है ।
मंत्री महोदय बाद में जवाब दे देंगे । समय
बचना । आप समय ही बचाना चाहते हैं ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Let him reply.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is the rule for short duration discussion.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Yes.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: Sir, I am very grateful to my hon. friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, for the observation; he has made in raising this discussion. I would like to begin by saying that I would just like to look upon this discussion as a matter that is being raised from any partisan point of view.

The condition of our rural people and our workers in the rural areas is something that should cause concern to the entire House. On this question, therefore, there is no difference of opinion between this side of the House and that. The condition of the people in the rural areas is very well known. For centuries they have been the victims of exploitation. Development decades have passed by without

the fruits of development reaching the poor people in our rural areas. I remember many years ago, when I was a student, I read an unforgettable sentence from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. My hon. friend will perhaps agree with me that this sentence is worth quoting. He said, "The mud huts and the hovels and the nakedness of our people testify to the glory of British imperialism." I could never forget that sentence. Sir, as my hon. friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, pointed out, in spite of the fact that more than three decades have passed since

this country became independent, it is very difficult to claim that the conditions of our rural poor have improved to the extent that we can feel that we have made a dent on the pro-

blem. Poverty continues, misery continues, illiteracy continues, and unemployment, underemployment and under nourishment, and all the problems, illiteracy continues, and our people in the rural areas, especially the poor workers, in the rural areas.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He is almost speaking like me.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: I wish I could speak with your gusto and your effect. I am holding a candle to the Sun. Sir, therefore, on the question of the dimension of the problem or the gravity of the problem or the national significance of the problem there can be no difference of opinion at all. In fact, Sir, I would agree with him that the test of our progress will lie not in our urban centres but in the remotest corners of our country where the exploited, the most vulnerable sections including the Adivasis and others live. Therefore, Sir, I entirely agree with him that the test of our development, the test of the success of our planning and the test of the progress that this country makes will lie in our rural areas. He was right when he said that 80 per cent of our population lives in the rural areas. Of our work force, nearly 216.16 million live in the

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rural areas, which is 82.85 per cent of the work force, as compared to 44.76 million, that is, 17.15 per cent, who live in the urban areas. Of this, 192.43 million are engaged in agriculture, and nearly 23.73 in non-agricultural operations.

My hon. friend very vividly and tellingly described the problems of our agricultural workers. Unemployment, seasonal and intermittent employment, underemployment, low incomes, expenditure remaining far higher than the household income, with the result that workers are pulled into the vortex of indebtedness, all these problems he very graphically described. Sir, these have to be tackled. I would like to go further, and say that they work for very long hours. There is no limitation or enforcement of legislation on the number of hours for which agricultural workers work in many of the areas of our country. There is no security of employment. There are no facilities of leave or gratuity, or other forms of social security.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: They do not have even drinking water.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: The poorest attention or marginal attention is available as far as housing is concerned, or health facilities are concerned, or even educational facilities are concerned. Sir, I would only add that these are national problems and, therefore, they have to be viewed as national problems that demand the paramount attention of the country, of the Government and of organisations that mould public opinion and articulate public opinion. I would, therefore, say that the rally did serve a notable purpose. And the fact that in the rally people from different parts of the country took part and the rally was conducted in an orderly fashion is all the more reason why

we should take note of the demands and the sentiments behind the rally.

Now, Sir, many suggestions were made by my hon. friend. He referred to the fact that the degree of unemployment in the rural areas is not only a human problem, and the root cause of poverty in these areas, but also an index of the degree of under-utilisation of human potential, thereby resulting in the retardation of progress, of increased production, development and all that these connote. Sir, he raised the question of what should be done, and he referred to the question of minimum wages. He is right when he says that in spite of the fact that we have legislation on minimum wages, in many parts of the country we are not able to enforce these minimum wages. I do not want to seek cover under the provisions of the Constitution, or even of the Act, and say that this is the responsibility of the States and, therefore, we have nothing to say on the subject. This is not the position, it is recognised that this is a responsibility of the State, even then the Centre has a responsibility, a responsibility to take initiative, a responsibility to invite attention and introspection, a responsibility to see that whatever assistance is required to have an effective enforcement machinery is provided. Sir, there are proposals that are under consideration for amendment of the Minimum Wages Act. It is also true. Sir, that in the fixation of the minimum wages, sometimes there has been more evidence of a desire to seek a public appeal, and less consideration about the demands of enforcing the wages that are fixed. I do not want to enter into that controversy, that polemical question, because I began by saying that I would look at it more from the national point of view than from the point of view of criticism or defence against criticism. While referring to the Minimum Wages Act my honourable friend also referred to the need for a Central legislation. I would like to tell him that the Government has informed

the State Governments that the Planning Commission would be willing to entertain any proposals that they have for strengthening the present inspection machinery. I am not claiming that strengthening the inspection machinery alone is adequate. My honourable friend referred to some fundamental and basic factors in the situation in the rural areas. Even so, I am sure he will agree with me that it is imperative to improve the efficiency of the inspecting machinery, and to that extent, therefore, we have informed the State Governments that if they have any proposals to appoint more staff or to take steps to improve the inspecting machinery, the Planning Commission has agreed to consider their proposals for assistance. As far as the question of Central legislation is concerned, this House and my honourable friends are aware that the question of Central legislation has been under discussion for long, for too long perhaps; it was under discussion before this Government came; it has been under discussion after this Government came into power.*' After we took over, we thought it was necessary, since in many States new Governments had come to power, to find out what their views were on the legislation. My honourable friend knows that the Standing Committee to which he referred, has set up a separate sub-committee to study the proposals and to make a report on the kind of legislation that we should have, whether it should be a model legislation or whether it should be a legislation which would substitute the existing legislation in the States. It is obvious as my honourable friend would agree, that it was necessary to consult those who have to implement it. My honourable friend said that if necessary we may even change the Constitution. But that is when the necessity is felt and when the sanctions are forthcoming. Pending any such amendment or a consensus on such an amendment, he would certainly agree that it is necessary to consult those who have to implement it. And this sub-committee of the

Standing Committee is seized of this question, and it is my hope that in the course of these two months it will give its report, and on the basis of that report I will come to this House and the other House with proposals for legislation, if that is the report of the committee.

He then referred to some other aspects, namely, bonded labour. In fact, he performed a miracle in dealing with a very broad canvas in a very short while and with great effect. I am one of his admirers...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Your admiration is wasted.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI (Uttar Pradesh): Congratulation to the Minister or the Member?

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: My admiration is wasted, on whom on my honourable friend? On the House or on myself? I don't say that I am flattering you. Then I would the House or on myself? I don't say that I am flattering you. Then I would have had to imitate you. I can do neither. I only said, I admire you. My honourable friend referred to bonded labour. It is a very important subject undoubtedly. On more than one occasion the question has been raised in the House and I have said that in spite of the fact that a Central law was enacted by Parliament and approximately more than three years are over since the Act was promulgated the number of bonded labourers who have been identified as such—I do not know how to describe—is very, very small compared to the estimate of bonded labour prevalent in the country. He referred to a recent estimate which gives the number as 30 lakhs or three millions. The question is one of identification. Statistical estimate is different from identification, and after identification, release, and after release, rehabilitation. He was light when he said that there are very many elements in the rural areas which make enforcement of such laws very difficult. On more

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than one occasion I have myself pointed out that the influence that feudal elements and economically powerful elements in the locality can bring to bear on the local representatives of the Administration is such that the enforcement of such Acts or identification and liberation of bonded labour becomes difficult. Now, what is the solution? We are interested in the solution. Part of the solution may lie in improving the administrative machinery which can help in the identification of bonded labour and release of bonded labour. Above all, I wish to submit for the consideration of my hon friend and the honourable House that it is only when there is a popular movement and organised action on the part of the people that we will be able to bring the pressure necessary to see that such laws are enforced. Voluntary organisations, whether they are social organisations or trade unions or any other type of organisations which are dedicated to the task of fighting exploitation, have a very key role to play because the fact is that these rural areas are far-flung and even the long arm of the law can reach there only with great difficulty. Even so, in the recent past, we have made proposals for facilitating and accelerating the process of rehabilitation by introducing a Centrally sponsored scheme of matching grants for schemes which are land-based, craft-based and non-land based, to promote the rehabilitation of those who have been released from bonded labour.

I wish I could deal with all the points that he has raised. They are fresh to my heart as they are new to his. There is not much time for me to go into all the questions that he raised. In the end he also referred to the need for publicity. He used the occasion to make a strong criticism of the All India Radio and Doordarshan. He said that he felt like going to the All India Radio and smashing it . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I felt like that.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: You felt that, but I am glad that that moment passed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What can I do? I am a frail man in advanced age. I gave my mental feeling.

SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA (Bihar): We will do it when you join us.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: He also said that the coverage was very poor and he compared it with the coverage that some other demonstration received...

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON:
R.S.S. ^

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: Of course, he said RSS. But not any RSS. He even referred to another demonstration which was organised in Delhi. I will not accuse him of being discriminatory. And, Sir, then he said. .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It was the tractor demonstration.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: He referred to more than one demonstration, Sir, and he said that this showed the influence of the class interests, and it is because of the class interest involved and the communal interests involved that inadequate publicity was given to such a historic march. Sir, I do not want to twist him on the question of class interests because it will become a major debate on theory.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You know it very well.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: I am not entirely illiterate in this subject.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You are very literate.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: But I do not think that I should use this opportunity to enter into a debate on this question.

Sir, he said that the mass media have become the instrument of perversion and subversion.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON: And also suppression.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: No. That is your addition. Sir, I must say—that this is not true. This is not true. The mass media have not become an instrument of perversion and subversion of truth. In fact, my honourable friend, Shri Advani, and the present Government have liberated the mass media ...

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON: Oh!

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA:... from perversion and subversion.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Having liberated it, you have delivered it to the RSS. It is like liberating South Africa to deliver it to Mr. Ian Smith of Rhodesia.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHAN-DARI: Delivered it to the Rajya Sabha Secretariat.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: My honourable friend is haunted by the fear that liberation may lead to further domination. I do not know whether he refers to hegemonistic domination or some other domination. But, in any case, I can say that we are committed to liberation. Now, Sir, . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You liberate the radio from the RSS. It would be all right at the moment, to begin with.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: He also referred to the task of rural development and he used some strong words, Sir, which

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What is it?

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA... shall I say, were uncharacteristic of him?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What is it?

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: Sir, he said that it is hypocrisy and tomfoolery . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: 'Humbug'.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA:...and humbug and tomfoolery and so on. These are all uncharacteristically strong words for my honourable friend, Shri Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON: Why?

SHRI LAKSHMANA MAHAPATRO (Orissa): He is that much distressed by your conduct and that is the reason for using those words.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: I agree with him. If he means by this criticism that attention to the rural areas must mean attention to the rural poor, I agree with him.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is right.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: I must mean attention to the eighty per cent of the people in the rural areas who are poor, who are exploited, who are unemployed and underemployed, and who are with low incomes. So, if and when we talk of focusing attention on the problems of the eighty per cent, of the people who live in the rural areas, we must always remember that eighty per cent of these people . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: In Mr. Charan Singh's Budget there is not the word "agricultural labourer" at all. An ocean of tears has been shed for rural development. But I cannot see this word.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: My honourable friend is a master of the language, and he knows that some times there is the case of missing the obvious. So, the obvious is missing,

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Sir, I do not want to say more except that I share the concern that he has expressed, and it will be the

attempt of the Government to tackle this massive problem as effectively, as it can and there is no lack of will. He will agree with me that this is a matter which will take some time. All that I can say in the House is that we will leave no stone unturned, and we will try our best to see that proper attention is given to this problem.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What about that demonstration?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Yes, Mr. Ramanand Yadav.

श्री रामानन्द यादव : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, जब देश आजाद हुआ था तो इस देश के ग्रामीण मजदूरों ने भी अपने घरों पर अपनी गाड़ी कमाई का कुछ अंश निकाल कर दिये जलाये थे और यह सोचा था कि उनकी माली हालत अब अच्छी होगी और उनकी प्रतिष्ठा बढ़ेगी। उनको उनके श्रम की उचित मजदूरी मिलेगी। उनके रहने के लिये आवास होगा, खेती बारी करने के लिये उनको जमीन मिलेगी, बच्चों के पढ़ने की व्यवस्था होगी, दवा-दारू का प्रबन्ध होगा और सरकारी नौकरियों में ऊँची से ऊँची जगहों पर वह जा सकेंगे। यह उनको आशा बंधी थी। लेकिन 32 वर्ष के स्वराज्य के बाद भी आज उन 90 परसेंट ग्रामीण खेतिहर मजदूरों के घरों में संध्या समय बत्ती नहीं जल पाती है। दिया नहीं जल पाता है। वह भोजन करते हैं अन्हारे में, अंधेरे में नहीं। वह जहाँ थे वहीं हैं और समाज के हर एक तबके की हालत अच्छी हुई है, चाहे वह व्यापारी वर्ग हो या गांव के बड़े किसान हों या जमींदार हों या राज-नीतिज्ञ हों, चाहे वह खेतों में काम करने वाले मजदूर हों, सब की हालत में सुधार आया है, लेकिन उन गरीबों के घर में आज वही स्थिति

है जो पहले थी। अध्यक्ष जी, 1971 की सेंसस के आधार पर इस देश में खेत मजदूरों की संख्या 47.8 मिलियन है और जितने इस देश में मजदूर हैं उनका 1/3 फोर्स यह खेत मजदूरों का है। उनका आर्थिक शोषण ही नहीं होता, राजनीतिक शोषण भी होता है और सामाजिक शोषण भी होता है और गांव में यह अछूत नीची दृष्टि से देखे जाते हैं क्योंकि यह ग्रामीण खेतिहर मजदूर उस तबके से आते हैं कि जिसको हरिजन कहा जाता है। हरिजनों में से यह सब से अधिक आते हैं। फिर आदिवासियों में से आते हैं। उसके बाद पिछड़ी जातियों में से, एनेक्सर वन से यह लोग आते हैं और फिर मुसलमानों में जो पिछड़ी जातियां हैं, एनेक्सर वन में लिखित, उनके बीच से यह लोग आते हैं और उनकी संख्या आज 45 परसेंट से लेकर किसी-किसी प्रांत में 65 परसेंट तक है और उनकी हालत जिस तरह की है वह किसी से छिपी हुई नहीं है। जैसा कि हमारे माननीय सदस्य भूपेश दादा ने बताया कि उन हरिजनों पर जनता पार्टी के आने के बाद और उसके पहले भी जितनी एट्रोसिटीज हुई हैं शायद दुनिया के इतिहास में उसकी मिसाल नहीं है। 1966 में 5968 एट्रोसिटीज हुई थी और 1977 में, जब जनता पार्टी शासन में आयी तो 10899 अत्याचार हरिजनों और खेत मजदूरों पर हुए और फिर 1978 के पहले 6 महीनों में, जनवरी से लेकर आने वाले 6 महीनों में एट्रोसिटीज में बढ़ोत्तरी हुई 5952, इतनी और अधिक बढ़ गयीं, तो इससे आप अन्दाजा लगा सकते हैं कि इन सब में उनके मर्डर्स, उन के घरों का जलाना, उन को कत्ल कर देना उनका अपहरण करना, उनकी इज्जत लेना और उनकी खड़ी फसल को जला देना, आदि इसमें शामिल हैं। आज बहुत से स्टेट्स में मिनिमम वेजेज कानून निर्धारित नहीं हुआ और किसी-किसी प्रांत में निर्धारित हुआ है तो उसके अनुसार उनको ठीक तरह से पेमेंट नहीं किया जाता, बल्कि जो वेजेज उन को पहले मिलते थे कांग्रेस के

रिजीम में उससे 12 परसेंट घटा कर उनकी पेमेंट किया जाता है। कांग्रेस के रिजीम में जितनी मजदूरी उनको मिलती थी उसमें से 12 परसेंट वह घट गयी है आज इस जनता पार्टी के राज में।

उपसभाध्यक्षजी, सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने आज तक कोई कानून ग्रामीण खेतिहर मजदूरों के लिए नहीं बनाया। यह बात ठीक है कि कांग्रेस रिजीम में 1948 में यह कानून बना था, 1976 में भी कानून बना न्यूनतम मजदूरी तय करने के लिए ग्रामीण मजदूरों की लेकिन यह कागज पर रह गया और जब यह जनता सरकार आई तो इसने भी एक समिति बनाई और उसमें तीन अंग रखे। एक रखा यह जानने के लिए कि केन्द्रीय स्तर पर कोई कानून खेत मजदूरों के लिए बनाया जा सकता है और उसकी प्रक्रिया क्या होगी, उसकी प्रवृत्ति क्या होगी, उसकी सीमा क्या होगी। दूसरी कमेटी बनी कि कौन से कानून खेत मजदूरों के लिए बनाये जायें और उनका इम्प्लीमेंटेशन का कौनसा तरीका हो। तीसरी समिति जो बनी उसका यह काम था कि बंधूवा मजदूरों का पता लगाये और उनकी आर्थिक हालत क्या है, उनकी संख्या क्या है, कितनों को रेखांकित किया गया है, उनको किस तरह से बसाया जा सकता है, उनको समस्या को कैसे हल किया जा सकता है। लेकिन उसकी रिपोर्ट आज तक घोटालखाने में पड़ी हुई है। बर्मा जी बतायेंगे कि वह कमेटी काम करती है कि नहीं?

श्री रवीन्द्र वर्मा : कौन सी कमेटी ?

श्री रामानन्द यादव : आपकी जनता पार्टी ने एक स्टैंडिंग लेबर कमेटी बनाई है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, खेतिहर मजदूरों की समस्याएँ अनेक हैं और वह फैंक्ट्रियों में काम करने वाले मजदूरों से भिन्न हैं। ये असंगठित हैं, गांवों में फैले हुए हैं और भारत सरकार ने भी आज तक चाहे वह कांग्रेस की सरकार हो या जनता पार्टी की सरकार हो, कभी कोई

अपनी तरफ से प्रयास नहीं किया कि इसके सम्बन्ध में कोई लेजिस्लेशन करें, कोई कानून बनाया जाए जिससे इनके स्वार्थों की रक्षा हो सके। इन्हें कानूनी सुरक्षा भी नहीं मिलती क्योंकि वे गरीब हैं वह कानून नहीं जानते। पैसे नहीं हैं कि कोर्ट में जायें और जिन प्रान्तों में कानून बने भी उनका भी उपभोग ये ठीक से नहीं कर सकते क्योंकि ये गरीब हैं और कोर्टों में नहीं जा सकते। ये अशिक्षित हैं। इसलिए बड़े लोग इनकी मदद नहीं करते हैं। पढ़े लिखे कम हैं, इसलिए इनको यह जानकारी भी नहीं होती कि किन-किन प्रान्तों में सरकार ने न्यूनतम मजदूरी क्या तय की है। वह कितनी है। उनको संगठित करने वाले जो लोग हैं उनको भी आर्थिक कठिनाई हो जाती है और साथ-साथ समाज के बड़े लोग, जब उनको कोई संगठित करने के लिए उनके पीछे उभरता है तो या तो उसे कत्ल कर दिया जाता है, नहीं तो उसे तरह-तरह के मुकद्दमा में फंसा कर कोर्ट में परेशान किया जाता है ताकि वह इनको संगठित न कर सके। इस प्रकार नक्सलाइट्स के नाम से हमारे बिहार में दो सौ लोगों को गोली से उड़ा दिया गया। वह नक्सलाइट्स नहीं थे, वह गरीब लोग थे, वह गरीबों को जगाने वाले थे।

गृह मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री धनिक साहू मंडल) : आज सही बात बोले आप इतने दिनों बाद।... (Interruptions)

श्री रामानन्द यादव : मैं तो बराबर सच बोलता था। आप आज झूठ बोले हैं।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही (उत्तर प्रदेश)
जबरा संसदीय भाषा में बोलिये।...

(Interruptions)

श्री रामानन्द यादव : जमीन वाले हो।
चार सौ एकड़ जोतते हो।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : इन गरीबों पर अत्याचार क्यों कर रहे हो।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : ये लोग गांवों में हजारों के कर्ज से दबे हुए हैं। अध्यक्ष जी, ये खुद शाही अपने गांव में मजदूरों को अनाज देकर, एक पैसेरी देते हैं और साल में एक मन लेते हैं। और उसका सूद पर सूद जोड़ कर देखें...

श्री नमोश्चर प्रसाद शाही : मैं चैलेंज करता हूँ कि ये चारो कांग्रेस (आई) के सदस्य मेरे गांव चले और उसको देखें। बड़ा असत्य और झूठ संसद में बोलना इनकी इन्दिरा जी ने सिखा दिया है।

7 P.M.

श्री रामानन्द यादव : मेरा समय क्यों खराब कर रहे हैं। कृपया शांत रहिये। इनके जैसे सूदखोरों ने गांव के गरीबों को अधिक रेट पर सूद देकर उनका शोषण किया है और कर रहे हैं। गांवों में आपने बैंक खोल दिये लेकिन 9 परसेंट भी उनको नहीं गया होगा। जितने बैंक गांवों में खुले हैं उनका सभी पैसा बड़े किसानों के पास गया है। गांव के सम्पन्न लोगों के पास गया है। गांव के बन्धिये जो शोषण करने वाले हैं उनके पास गया है। ये गरीब लोग जो गांव के साहूकार उनके कर्ज से दबे हुए हैं। इनको इज्जत और प्रतिष्ठा की कोई गारण्टी नहीं है। आपने देखा कि इनकी इज्जत, प्रतिष्ठा और इनको स्त्रियों की इज्जत और प्रतिष्ठा की कोई गारण्टी नहीं है। आपको मालूम है कि मास रेव हुआ मुंगेर में और कहाँ-कहाँ हुआ यह भी हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब को मालूम होगा। इस बात से कोई इंकार नहीं कर सकता। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इनके आवास की समस्या भी बड़ी विचित्र है। इनके पास रहने के लिये कोई मकान नहीं है। आपको सुन कर ताज्जुब होगा कि एक छोटे से घर में स्त्री, पुरुष, उसकी पोतेह उसकी लड़की और उसका लड़का रहते हैं। केवल बाहर एक छोटा सा आंगन है। बाहर एक छोटा सा दालान है। आप जरा सोचें कि किस तरह से वे अपनी प्राइवसी मैनटेन करते होंगे और उनकी क्या दुर्गति होती होगी। आज उनकी आवास

की समस्या बड़ी जटिल है जिसको आपको हल करना है। कोई ऐसा हरिजन और खेतिहर मजदूर नहीं होगा जिसके पास दो-तीन कमरे का घर हो।

श्री नमोश्चर प्रसाद शाही : जो मजदूर करना चाहते हैं ...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : इनको समाप्त करने दीजिए।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : यह तो कुलक के प्रतिनिधि हैं। यह तो बोलेंगे ही। नया मुल्ला रोज दस दफा तो नमाज पढ़ेगा ही। जो न्यूनतम मजदूरी कई प्रांतों में तय हुई है वह न्यूनतम मजदूरी भी उनको नहीं मिलती है। अगर वह किसी कारण से काम पर नहीं जा पाते हैं या बीमार होने के कारण काम पर नहीं जा पाते हैं तो उनको जबर्दस्ती ले जाया जाता है। अगर वह नहीं जाते हैं तो उनको पीड़ित किया जाता है, उनको तबाह किया जाता है। उनको तरह तरह से तंग किया जाता है। आज खेतिहर मजदूर 80 फी सदी ऐसे हैं जो गरीबी रेखा से नीचे हैं। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि कांग्रेस के रिज्जीम में नहीं थे। उस वक्त से यह लोग चले आ रहे हैं लेकिन आपने भी कोई इम्प्रूवमेंट नहीं किया बल्कि बारह परसेंट उसमें और जोड़ दिया उनकी गरीबी रेखा के अन्दर। आपने उनको 12 परसेंट और नीचे कर दिया। आपको मालूम होना चाहिए कि इनके पास खेती लायक कोई जमीन नहीं है। इनके पास अगर अधिक से अधिक एक एकड़ जमीन होगी तो यह समझिये कि इनके पास कुछ जमीन है। गांव के 15 फी सदी बड़े लोग जो हैं काश्तकार हैं वे गांव की 60 प्रतिशत जमीन जोतते हैं। यह जमीन एक ऐसी ताकत है जो इन 15 फी सदी लोगों को प्रतिष्ठा देती है, इज्जत देती है, बल देती है, धन देती है। उत्पीड़न का एक बहुत बड़ा साधन बनी हुई

है। इसलिये इस जमीन की विषमता को घटाने के संबंध में सोचना आवश्यक है।

मैंने बंधुआ लेबर के बारे में भी कहा। इस देश में जो बंधुआ लेबर हैं उनकी स्थिति हालत बड़ी विचित्र है और जिस स्थान से हमारे मित्र रवीन्द्र वर्मा जी आते हैं, जीतकर आए हैं उस एरिये का इनको बड़ा ज्ञान है। यह बात अखबारों में भी आई है कि डाल्टनगंज में और पलामू जिले में कितने बंधुआ मजदूर हैं इसका सर्वे कराया गया है। उस सर्वे के अनुसार बंधुआ मजदूरों की संख्या 30 लाख से 50 लाख के बीच में सिर्फ इस जिले के अन्दर बताई गई है। लेकिन इस प्रकार की स्थिति होने के बावजूद आपने सिर्फ एक लाख लोगों को ही इस श्रेणी में रेखांकित किया है। मैं चाहूंगा कि हमारे देश में कितने बंधुआ मजदूर हैं इसका मुस्तैदी के साथ सर्वेक्षण कराया जाना चाहिए और अच्छी प्रकार से जांच करके इन लोगों को रेखांकित किया जाना चाहिए।

श्रीमन्, मैं आपका ध्यान इस बात की तरफ भी दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि बंधुआ मजदूरों के कई प्रकार हैं। गांवों के अन्दर बाँहूँ लेबर के कई तरीके हैं। किसी मजदूर को चार या पांच सौ रुपये कर्ज के रूप दे दिये गये तो वह कहीं दूसरी जगह नहीं जा सकता है और न ही कहीं दूसरी जगह मजदूरी कर सकता है क्योंकि उसने एक निश्चित आदमी से कर्ज ले रखा है। इस प्रकार की इन लोगों की बड़ी दयनीय स्थिति है। श्री वर्मा जी हमारे मजदूरों के मिनिस्टर हैं। वे इन गरीबों के बड़े शुभ-चिन्तक हैं, यह मैं अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ। उनके दिमाग में इन लोगों के लिए बहुत चिन्ता है। मैं निश्चित रूप से जानता हूँ कि वे इन लोगों की भलाई के लिये प्रयास करेंगे।

श्रीमन्, हमारे आई० एन० टी० यू० सी० की तरफ से और ग्रामीण मजदूर कांग्रेस की तरफ से श्री बी० भगवती के नेतृत्व में सरकार को एक मेमोरेण्डम दिया गया था और उसमें

हम लोगों ने कुछ मांगें रखी थीं। उन मांगों का जिक्र मैं बाद में करूंगा। लेकिन मैं इस बात का जिक्र करना चाहता हूँ कि इस सम्बन्ध में हमारे देश में जो कानून बने हुए हैं और उनका ज़िन्दा प्रकार से इम्प्ली-मेंटेशन हुआ है उसके संबंध में मैं थोड़ी सी बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। आप जानते हैं कि हमारे देश में सीलिंग का कानून बना। लेकिन इस सीलिंग के अन्दा जो जमीन निकली वह गरीबों में नहीं बाँटी गई। हम कांग्रेस वालों ने इन लोगों को आवास के लिए भूखण्ड दिए थे और उनके लिए जमीन निकाली थी, वह भी इन लोगों को नहीं मिली है। सीलिंग कानून के अन्दर जो जमीन निकली थी, यह जनता सरकार उस जमीन को इन लोगों में वितरित नहीं कर रही है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस कानून के अन्दर अधीन जो जमीन निकली है उसको जल्दी से जल्दी गरीब लोगों में बाँट दिया जाय, वितरित कर दिया जाय। गांवों में जो परती जमीन, जंगलों की जमीन और दूसरी जमीनें सीलिंग एक्ट के अधीन निकली है उसको शीघ्र गरीब लोगों में बाँट दिया जाना चाहिए।

जहाँ तक इन लोगों की आवास की समस्या का सवाल है, इनके पास अपना कोई घर नहीं होता है। वे लोग जब मरते हैं तो दूसरों की जमीन पर मरते हैं। उनको अपनी जमीन पर मरने तक का हक नहीं होता है। मैं इस जनता सरकार से यह कहूंगा कि वह इन लोगों की आवास की समस्या पर विचार करे और इन लोगों को बसने के लिए शीघ्र जमीन दे। जैसा मैंने कहा है; न्यूनतम मजदूरी के कानून का कड़ाई से पालन किया जाना चाहिए। एक बात मैं यह भी बता देना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश के न्यायालयों में भूमि सुधार कानून के अन्तर्गत लगभग 23 हजार 58 मुकदमे पड़े हुए हैं। ये मामले हाई कोर्ट्स और लोअर कोर्ट्स में पड़े हुए हैं।

[श्री रामानन्द यादव]

इन सब मामलों का संबंध पूंजीपतियों से है क्योंकि ये कानून यद्यपि हमारे जमाने में भी बने हैं, लेकिन बड़े-बड़े लोगों से संबंधित मुलाजिमों ने बनाये हैं। आप जानते हैं कि ये कानून बनाने वाले लोग बड़ी-बड़ी तनख्वाहें लेते हैं और लैण्ड एरिस्ट्रोकेट परिवारों से आते हैं। ये लोग कानूनों में इस प्रकार का कोई नुकता रख देते हैं कि हाई कोर्ट और लोअर कोर्ट में अड़चने पैदा हो जाती है। बिहार में यही सब हुआ है। मैं चाहूंगा कि आप इस बात पर गम्भीरता पूर्वक विचार करें कि इन अड़चनों को कैसे आवर-कम किया जाय।

उपासभाध्यक्ष जी हमारे गांवों के अन्दर जिन लोगों के पास दोहेक्टर से कम जमीन होती है और जो छोटे किसान होते हैं उनको बीज नहीं मिलता है, कर्ज नहीं मिलता है, पानी नहीं मिलता है और अन्य दूसरी सुविधाएँ भी नहीं मिलती हैं। हमारे छोटे किसान मजदूर इसी तबके में आते हैं। इनके साथ-साथ गांवों के अन्दर जो लोहार, बुनकर बढ़ई, कुम्हार और हज्जाम आदि होते हैं उनको भी किसी प्रकार की सहायता नहीं मिल पाती है। आपने इस साल के बजट में इस संबंध में कुछ प्रावधान किया है, लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस पैसे को बड़े किसान हड़प जाएंगे। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इन लोगों के लिए आपने बजट में जो प्रावधान किया है वह सब गांवों के डबलप-मेन्ट और गरीब लोगों को भलाई में खर्च किया जाना चाहिए। यह आप देखिये कि यह पैसा उनकी उन्नति पर खर्च हो।

मैं सरकार के सामने कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ। मेरा अपना ख्याल है कि रवीन्द्र वर्मा जी इन बातों पर विचार करेंगे।

मैं मंत्री महोदय से कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं चाहता हूँ कि ग्रामीण मजदूरों के

लिए एक व्यापक कानून बने जिस तरह का कानून इंडस्ट्रियल लेबर के लिए है ताकि ग्रामीण मजदूरों का किसानों के साथ जो झगड़ा होता है उसको निपटाने के लिए एक मशीनरी बनाई जा सके और इसमें से झगड़े निपट सकें। इंडस्ट्रियल वर्कर्स के लिए इंडस्ट्रियल ट्रिब्यूनल होते हैं जहाँ कि मजदूर जाते हैं और वहाँ पर अपना फैसला करा लेते हैं। लेकिन गांवों में जो झगड़े होते हैं मजदूरों के बड़े किसानों के साथ, उसके लिए कोई मशीनरी नहीं है। इसलिए मेरी सरकार से मांग है कि इस तरह की मशीनरी बनाने की व्यवस्था करें। गांवों में जो भी उपलब्ध भूमि है, अतिरिक्त भूमि है (Time bell rings) दो मिनट का समय और दीजिए।

उसका वितरण जल्द से जल्द कर दें। भूमि सुधार के सम्बन्ध में भूपेण दादा ने बिल्कुल ठीक कहा कि भूमि सुधार इस तरह से किया जाय ताकि जो गांव के सामंत है उसकी रीढ़ टूट जाय, उसकी हिम्मत न रहे कि वह गांव में गरीबों के उपर अत्याचार कर सकें। यह कैसे होगा? इसके लिए आप गांवों में जमीन का वितरण कर दीजिये। श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण आपके गुरु हैं। उन्होंने कहा था कि गांव की जमीन खेत को जोतने वाले की नी चाहिए जो कि हल की मूठ पकड़ता है जो कि एकचुली टिलर आफ दि स्वायल है, उसको जमीन जोतने का हक है। उसको हक नहीं है जो दूसरों से जुताता है, खुद बैठा रहता है, दूसरों से प्रोड्यूस करवाता है, दूसरों से काम लेता है और खुद खाता है। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि ऐसा कि श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण ने कहा था कि जितनी जमीन है वह गरीबों में बांट दी जाय, मैं भी चाहता हूँ कि कोई एक ऐसा आदमी न रहे, कोई खेतिहर मजदूर ऐसा न रहे जिसके पास कम से कम दो एकड़ जमीन

न हो, ताकि वह अपने भूट्टे लगा सके अपनी कुछ नई चीज लगा सके और अपनी साग सज्जी पैदा कर सके।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री इयाम लाल यादव) : कृपया समाप्त कीजिए। काफी हो गया।

रामानन्द यादव : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, जमीन का आवंटन तो हम लोगों ने, कांग्रेस वालों ने कर दिया था। लेकिन जैसे ही जनता पार्टी रक्षा में आई, सारे लोग जो बड़े थे, भूमिपति आदि थे वे समझ गये कि अब उनके रक्षक आ गये हैं इसलिये जो आवंटन हम लोगों ने किया था, जो जमीन बांटी थी उस जमीन को छीनना शुरू कर दिया और अधिकांश जमीन छीन ली। हम लोगों ने बड़े-बड़े महुन्तों से जमीन लेकर जमीन बांटी थी वह वापस ले रहे हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जो जमीन आवंटित की गई थी और जिसको बड़े लोगों से लेकर गरीब लोगों को बांटा गया था उसको जो छीना जा रहा है आप पुनः उनकी रेस्टोर कर दें।

जंगलों में रहने वाले जो मजदूर हैं उनको परमानेंट बनाया जाय। उनकी हालत सुधारने के बारे में आप सोचिये कि उनका किस तरह से सुधार किया जाय। यहाँ पर माननीय भानु प्रताप सिंह जी बैठे हुए हैं, मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो एफ० सी० अ इ० के मजदूर हैं, जो गोदामों में काम करते हैं, वे किसी बड़े खादवान से आये हुए नहीं हैं, वे गरीब हैं, उनको...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री इयाम लाल यादव) : अब आप समाप्त कीजिये।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : उनको आप परमानेंट कीजिये और जिस तरह से रवीन्द्र वर्मा जी ने आश्वासन दिया है आप भी आश्वासन दें कि आप उनको परमानेंट कर देंगे, उनको डेली

वेजेज पर ही नहीं रखेंगे। मैं चाहता हूँ कि खंगल के जो मजदूर हैं, एफ० सी० अ इ० के जो मजदूर हैं अगर जो एग्जीक्यूटिव मजदूर हैं उन्हें परमानेंट किया जाए और उनकी मजदूरी निश्चित की जाए और जो कान्ट्रैक्ट सिस्टम है उसको समाप्त किया जाए।

अमला सुझाव मेरा यह है कि

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री इयाम लाल यादव) : कृपया समाप्त कीजिए।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में स्त्रियों को कम मजदूरी मिलती है और पुरुषों को अधिक मिलती है। यह जो भेदभाव है इसको आप दूर करें ताकि दोनों को बराबर मजदूरी मिल सके। मैं सरकार से यह भी चाहूंगा कि गांव में इन खेत मजदूरों को जो संगठित करने वाले लोग हैं उनके लिये प्रशिक्षण की व्यवस्था की जाय। हमने कांग्रेस के रिजीम में भी किया था और वर्मा जी के रिजीम में भी हो रहा है। लेकिन जिस बड़े पैमाने पर काम होता चाहिये उन्हीं बड़े पैमाने पर नहीं हो रहा है। आपके टाइम में हुआ है और ऐसे लोग जो खेत मजदूरों से सम्बन्ध नहीं रखते हैं, आपने 52 आदमियों को जगह-जगह से बुलाया था। वे कौन थे? वे ऐसे लोग थे जिनका खेत-मजदूरों से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं था। कोई वकील था, कोई डाक्टर था, गांव से उनको लाकर प्रतिनिधि बना दिया गया। हर पार्टी से और जो लेफ्टिस्ट पार्टियां हैं उनकी अपनी आर्गनाइजेशन है उस आर्गनाइजेशन से लोगों को आप मांग लेते। मैं चाहूंगा ऐसे लोगों के प्रतिनिधियों को बुलाइये जो सचमुच गरीबों के शुभचिन्तक हों। आप उनको ट्रेनिंग दीजिए ताकि उनको वे संगठित कर सकें। मेरा एक सुझाव और है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि गरीब लोगों की जमीन को ठग कर के, धोखे में इन गांवों के बड़े लोगों ने खेपा लाकर आदिवासियों को और हरिजनों का जमीन से बेदखल कर दिया। 50 रुपये दिए, एक बोतल शराब पिलाई और बेदखल कर दिया। छोटा नागपुर में सारे आदिवासियों की जमीन

[श्री रामानन्द यादव]

बेवखली कर दी है। मैं चाहूंगा कि आप ऐसा कानून बनाएं कि वह जमीन गरीबों को ही रेस्टोर कर दी जाए। उनके बच्चों के विषय में भी आप जानते हैं। चाहे किसी प्रान्त का सचिवालय हो या केन्द्रीय सचिवालय हो, रेवेन्यू विभाग बहुत ही मशहूर विभाग है। यदि आप गरीबों का, जमीन पर रहने वालों का, गरीब मजदूरों का और इससे सम्बन्धित लोगों का भला करता चाहते हैं तो इनके लिए एक सेपरेट सचिवालय खोला जाना चाहिए। उनके लिए सेपरेट रेवेन्यू डिपार्टमेंट खोला जाए। बड़े-बड़े अधिकारियों के बच्चे जो ऊंचे ग्राहदों पर हैं उनको शंट करके दूसरी जगहों पर रखा है ताकि इम्प्लीमेंटेशन में दक्षता के साथ काम करें। बिहार में देखा गया है, मैं ग्रामीण खेतीहर मजदूर यूनियन का जनरल सेक्रेटरी था। मैंने देखा था कि जो 400 बीघा रखने वाला बनिया था वह रेवेन्यू का सेक्रेटरी था। जब इम्प्लीमेंटेशन के लिए मीटिंग करते थे तो वह इस तरह से आना-कानी करता था, व्यवधान पैदा करता था। जब भी न्यूनतम मजदूरी लागू करने की बात आती, सीलिंग बिल के अन्तर्गत बटवारे की बात आती थी तो वह उसको इम्प्लीमेंट नहीं होने देता था। जिसका फल हुआ कि हम तबाह हो गए। मैं आपसे...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) :
कृपया स्थान ग्रहण करें।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : एक चीज और कहना चाहता हूँ...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) :
आपने बहुत कह दिया है। अब समाप्त करें श्री धाबे।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : मैं एक चीज बैंकों के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। बैंकों द्वारा दिया गया करोड़ों रुपयों का लोन पता नहीं कहाँ चला जाता है। इसकी बैकडेट में एंट्री कर

देते हैं। लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कि गरीब आदमी जो लोन लेता है उस कर्ज को भी आप माफ कर दीजिए। साथ-साथ जो व्यक्ति विशेष से कर्ज लेते हैं उनके लिए भी आप ऐसा कानून बनायें जिससे उसका कर्जा माफ हो सके। कांग्रेस के राज्य में हमारे बिहार में ऐसा कानून बना था।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) :
श्री धाबे प्लीज।

(Interruptions)

श्री रामानन्द यादव : मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि ऐसा कानून बनाया जाए ताकि इसका निपटारा हो सके। इन्हीं मांगों के साथ मैं यह आशा करता हूँ कि रवीन्द्र वर्मा जी जो मैंने सुझाव दिए हैं उन पर ध्यान देंगे और गरीबों की भलाई के लिए कुछ करेंगे।

SHRI S. W. DHABE: Mr. Vice-chairman, Sir, I consider it an historic occasion that the subject of rural workers is being discussed in Parliament at length. Having been concerned directly as the General Secretary of the Indian National Rural Labour Federation, I know what priority is given to the problems of rural workers to our country. It is not merely by having a desire or giving statistical figures that the rural workers are going to get justice in our land. I must congratulate the rural workers who came here on the 20th March and held a massive demonstration. There are many organisations working for the rural labour. On the 5th of December, under the leadership of Mr. B. C. Bhagwati, we had a dharna before Parliament for solving the problems of the labour. As per the statistics, the figures for 1971 show that there were 126 trade unions in our country for the agricultural labour and the labour organised was about 100,000.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) :
महोदय, आप मेरे प्रश्नों का जवाब क्यों नहीं दिलवाते ?]

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : अब सभी सदस्यों के बोलने के बाद . . .

श्री रामानन्द यादव : आपने पहले तो मन्त्री महोदय को जवाब देने के लिए कहा था . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : आप नियम पढ़ लीजिए। इस तरह से काम नहीं चलेगा कि हर सदस्य के कहने में हूँ।

SHRI S. W. DHABE: And the labour organised was about 100,000, from 1971 to 1979, in the last seven years unionisation has gone up. It is also regrettable that international trade union movement and the world agencies were not much aware of the problems of rural labour. They were mainly organised in the industrial workers sector. The organised sector was given relief from 1919 since the inception of the I.L.O. it was only in 1973 that for the first time that the I.L.O. passed a Convention 141, where they have said that if justice is to be given to rural workers no government can give it, no society can give it. The only solution for this problem is that rural workers organisations must be built, must be promoted, must be voluntary. What is the principle involved? The National Labour Commission has laid down the criteria for a free democratic trade union movement. Three criteria are there for good industrial relations. One is enlightened employer. Then, no intervention from the Government and a strong trade union organisation. It is difficult to believe that in the next 25 years landlordism in India, the big cultivators will become enlightened employers. Therefore, Sir, if minimum intervention is to be by the Government the only alternative available to the rural workers in our country is to build a strong trade union organisation.

The hon'ble Labour Minister may agree that during the last eight years or as my information goes, about 2 million workers are now organised

under the rural sector under different organisations. Sir, for the first time the I.L.O. has defined rural labour. It is not restricted to agricultural labour. It covers also forest labour. It covers rural artisans. It covers workmen in the fisheries. Therefore, when we consider all the agricultural workers we are to go at a larger canvas and find out what relief is to be given to rural workers. This Government and the previous government were very poor that minimum wages have been fixed for agricultural workers; they are revised also. They deserve compliment. But what about other workers. The forest workers are in such big numbers in India, as admitted by the Government, but there are no statistics for them nor the minimum wage fixed.

Therefore, I will now come to the statistics point with which the Government is concerned, I will like the hon'ble Minister to take steps to give the data pertaining to forest labour and they should fix the minimum wage for the forest labour all over the country.

As regards data this is what has been said by the report of the National Commission on Agriculture. The Agriculture Labour Inquiry Committee was appointed in 1951. It was called the Agricultural Labour Inquiry, 1950-51. The second Agricultural Labour Inquiry was appointed in 1956-57. Then the nomenclature changed and the new nomenclature is the Rural Labour Inquiry Committee which was appointed in 1964. It may, however, be noted that the data for the year 1950-51 are not comparable with those relating to 1957 and 1964. I quote from the report of the National Commission on Agriculture Pt. IV, Agrarian Reforms. It is said on page 247:—"The data on agricultural wages according to nature of employment (casual and attached) of agricultural labourers are not available on uniform basis for the different States." That day, the Prime Minister made a statement here that

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about the number of the unemployed people in the rural areas, statistics are not available; statistics which are given are ad hoc. Therefore my suggestion to the Government and the Labour Ministry is that the statistical information about the rural workers in all sectors as mentioned by ILO should be made available. So that we know the dimensions of the problem. In this connection, when the Labour Minister has said that we want the support of the State Governments and others, and without that we cannot make any progress in some matters, I would like to remind him that the subjects with which he is concerned and his Ministry is concerned are not taken up. Sir, only Indian Trade Union Act, 1926 is applicable to the rural workers' organisations; the Industrial Disputes Act of 1947 is not applicable to them—it is applicable only to the industrial workers. Sir, the Industrial Relations Bill of 1978, which is still to be brought before the House, speaks only of the registration of the trade unions of the agricultural workers but no machinery has been provided like in the case of the industrial workers, how the rural disputes could be solved. Will there be a conciliation? Will there be a panchayat samiti? Or, will there be some other method? The most important thing which I would request him to do is to immediately amend the Trade Union Act. Under the Industrial Disputes Act, why could the workers organise and make progress? Apart from their strength, the employees become the office-bearers of the trade unions because the law provides for it; the protection to the office-bearers of trade unions is statutory; they are called protected workmen. And every union that elects the office-bearers can notify to the Labour Commissioner that so and so are the office-bearers and they be declared protected workmen. Once the Labour Commissioner declares them as protected workmen, they get the protection

under the law and they can fight the management. Sir, in the case of the rural workers, who are experiencing difficulties. If the organised rural workers and employees become the office-bearers, they are suddenly sacked. There is also no law for protection of their service conditions like under the Standing Orders Act. Therefore, my suggestion is that the Central Act should immediately be amended to provide protection to the office-bearers of the trade unions. Secondly I want to suggest that there must be a monitoring cell. I may say that the time has come, when if we really want to solve this problem, a Ministry for Rural Labour should be there at the Central level. Without that, you cannot solve the problem. A monitoring cell is very essential to find out 'from time to time what implementation has been made, why implementation is not possible.

Sir, in this connection, I will take up two or three problems. As regards the surplus land, my suggestion is that 21 million hectares of land which is not distributed be acquired under the Land Acquisition Act. Instead of leaving it to the land-owners, let it be taken over and distributed by Government directly to the workers so that the question of surplus land and its distribution is solved immediately. Sir, why is it important? It has been stated that unless land is distributed to the rural workers the landless labourers and the Harijans, rural development is not possible. This Government thinks that rural development means only the development of the farmers, when they think of bonus, they think of it being given only to the farmers, not to the rural workers. The rural workers are an important factor. This human agency should be accepted as a principal thing for rural economic programmes. Therefore, Sir, it is very essential to find out what the status and the problems are at the rural level. Sir, the National Labour Commission says about the agricul-

tural labour and its place in" the economy in its 1969 report at page 393, para 28.5:

"Agricultural labour occupies the lowest rung of the rural ladder. Social stratification in a village is linked with land and caste which govern status, economic power and political influence as much as the level of living which is their consequence. Owner cultivators with large holdings are at the apex. Agricultural labour is provided mostly by economically and socially backward sections; poor sections from the tribes also swell their ranks."

Therefore, the rural labour who is the real producer in the lowest rung has no place in the economy. And, therefore, as a trade unionist, I also feel Sir, that there are limitations to trade union movement in the rural areas because of the conflicts or confrontations which we find there, and therefore, the trade union movement as such on class conflict theory will not succeed in the rural areas in present conditions. A Gandhian method will have to be adopted for peaceful movement which alone can give relief to the rural workers.

Sir, in this connection, I would like to say one thing. Dispossession of lands have taken place. The ex-Home Minister had stated that for tackling the dispossession of land and taking possession of land, the only law today was either section 145 of the Criminal Procedure Code for action against both the parties or the section of criminal trespass. I would suggest that if this has to be stopped, it should be made a cognizable offence highly punishable with rigorous imprisonment should be provided for by amending the Indian Penal Code. If the Act is not amended, whatever we may say, there is no provision in the law today. The situation was never contemplated that landless labour would be dispossessed in such a large way and that the poor people would suffer.

Regarding the implementation, I would only point out two or three points. What is the use of saying that we have sympathy for the poor people and the poor workers? Justice Bhagwati has recommended one-and-a-half years back a comprehensive scheme for legal aid to the poor. For legal aid to the poor, he has suggested that a legislation should be made so that legal aid is available at the panchayat level, the land tribunal level, the High Court level and also the Supreme Court level. But what is the approach? The Law Minister said that we have set up a committee. For one-and-a-half years its report has not come. In 1978-79 when the question was asked, it was replied that Rs. 1 lakh were provided for the legal aid to the poor all over India. And when the question was asked this year, it was replied that no money was spent out of that Rs. 1 lakhs. The provision itself made was very small and implementation is nil.

श्री कल्प नाथ राय : (उत्तर प्रदेश)
खत्म करिये भाई ।

SHRI S. W. DHABE: Mr. Kalp Nath Rai, you have this habit.

The legal aid to the poor is very essential. If they really want the trade unions to succeed there, I would suggest that a legislation for legal aid to the poor should be brought so as to provide that the trade unions and workers can get it directly. It is not a new thing. Under the Bombay Industrial Relations Act there is a provision for legal aid to the trade unions.

There are two other points which I would like to make. {Time bell rings} I am finishing. When a survey was made about the working of the Small Farmers Development Agencies—these were started in 1969-70 and they are there up till now—the investigation report gives the picture that the people for whom the benefit

[Shri S. W. Dhabe]

was to be given, the landless labourers the Harijans and the landless tribal people did not get the benefit.

I will just quote the figures. The beneficiaries under a minor irrigation, one of the main plans of SFDA, since the inception until the end of 1978 or 7,28,000, of whom only 94,477 were Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Under dairying subsidy for buying milch animals, out of a total of 4,61,000 beneficiaries, only about 82,000 belonged to the landless labour. The scheme under poultry development provided subsidy to 18,203 families of whom only 2,452 families belonged to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The number of beneficiaries under animal husbandry is 1,99,000 of whom only 36,707 are from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The total amount spent for SFDA schemes is Rs. 174 crores, of which not even 20 per cent is given to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Therefore, the priorities for the SFDA grants should be changed so that the poor people and landless labour get benefit. One of the reasons why the benefit is not going to them is that it is laid down that subsidy can only be given to farmers whose land holding is 2.5 acres and for irrigated land, 5 acres (Time bell rings). I am finishing. I am not taking as much time as Mr. Yadav took.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Please conclude.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: Therefore, Sir, I will suggest to the hon. Labour Minister that this scheme of giving benefit under the SFDA should be radically changed so that the agricultural workers and the landless labour can get the benefit. Only one small thing, and I will finish, it is about implementation. Sir, about house sites, my friend, Vft. IRimanand Yadav gave the figure*. House sites

are not given to the workers. Sir, in the Lok Sabha on the 12th March' 1979, a question was asked about house sites to the landless labour and possession of house sites. The figure for All India during Emergency was 38,52,257. After Emergency, for those two years the figure is 5,59,746. But the next question was very important and that was how many people had been given possession, and the reply is: "The information is not available". That shows that though house sites are allotted, they are not given to the rural workers for construction of houses. Secondly, even if sufficient number of house sites are given, they must be given subsidy for construction of houses. "But the Central Government has not provided any subsidy to the State Governments.

Lastly, I would like to say that I consider it to be a privilege to have participated in this debate which we are having on a very auspicious day, on the New Years Day, "Gudi Padava". I hope all the Members of Parliament of both the Houses and the nation will join together in giving an important status to the rural poor which they deserve and in giving justice to them so that posterity may say that we have done our job. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Mr. Bagaitkar, Kindly do not repeat what has already been pointed out.

श्री सदाशिव बगाईतकर (महाराष्ट्र):

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जिन सवालों को लेकर यहाँ बहस चल रही है उस के बारे में मैं दो चीजें आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। श्री भूपेश गुप्त जी ने जो सवाल रखा है और जिस के बारे में मंत्री महोदय ने यह कहा है कि यह राष्ट्रीय सहमति का सवाल है। इस में दो रायें नहीं हैं कि खेतिहर मजदूरों की जो आज दर्दनाक हालत है उस में सुधार करने के लिये कदम उठाने चाहिए। असल में यह आज की

बात नहीं है। हम समझते हैं कि जब से अंग्रेजी जमाने और उस के बाद भी इस मसले की चर्चा-जहाँ जहाँ भी हुई हो लेकिन गये 40 साल में इस मामले में जो कदम उठाने चाहिए, वह उठाये नहीं गये और इसीलिए यह जो सहमति का मामला है उसका मुझे डर लगता है। हम सहमति के स्वरूप को लेकर चले लेकिन सवाल कैसे हल करना है, किस किस रीति से हमको जाना है उसको करने के लिए यदि सहमति या एकमत नहीं रहेगा तो यह निरर्थक है। सहमति रह जाती है और यहाँ हुआ है। मैं मानता हूँ कि इस मामले को लेकर अभी भी मैंने सुना और उसको अगर गौर से देखा जाए तो वह मार्क्स का मशहूर वाक्य है—

The philosophers have explained it:
The question is to change it.

आज ऐसी स्थिति है। इसलिए जो आंकड़े गिनाये गये हैं उनको दोहराने की जरूरत नहीं है। सब लोग चूँकि इस सवाल के साथ दिलचस्पी रखते हैं और समझते हैं कि पूरे राष्ट्रीय तरीके का एक ऐसा पिवटल है, जब तक उसमें सुधार नहीं होगा, राष्ट्र की अर्थ-व्यवस्था में, सामाजिक व्यवस्था में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं होने वाला है। अभी जिन लोगों का खयाल रखा है वह सब इससे अवगत हैं। इसमें आंकड़ों में मैं नहीं जाना चाहता।

अभी घोष जो ने आई० एल० ओ० के कंफ्रेंस की बात उठाई। एक चीज हम मानकर चलें कि अमरीका या यूरोपीय देशों में जो स्थिति है उसकी चर्चा करना हमारे लिए निरर्थक है। अमरीका में प्रति घंटा 5 डालर अग्रि-कल्चरल लेबर की इनकम गिनाई जाती है। ऐसी स्थिति को हम कल्पना नहीं कर सकते जहाँ ऐसी स्थिति है। जहाँ दो वक्त भी खाना खेत मजदूर को नहीं मिलता वहाँ इसकी चर्चा करना फिजूल होगा। इसलिए सवाल यह है कि इसके बारे में 27 फरवरी को बरनाला साहब ने लोक सभा में इसके तथ्य बताये। उन्होंने बताया कि जो जमीन उपलब्ध हुई डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन के लिए 2347 मिलियन एकड़ उसका भी अभी तक बंटवारा नहीं हुआ

और फिलहाल 1 मिलियन 6 लाख एकड़ का ही बंटवारा हुआ है। तो मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐसे कुछ दायरे हैं, क्षेत्र हैं जिनमें हम जल्दी से कुछ करें तो इसका उपाय भी हम बहुत हद तक ढूँढ़ सकते हैं। तो जमीन का बंटवारा कोई मामूली चीज नहीं है और इसे बहस पर रखने से कोई फायदा नहीं। खेतिहर मजदूरों के सवाल को लेकर जो आपके सामने आया वह मैं रखता हूँ। यह मामला अकेला आर्थिक नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तान के समाज में जाति का और अर्थ का मेल है, दोनों जुड़ जाते हैं और जो भी आप कानून इसमें बनायेंगे, उसका अमल इसलिए नहीं हो रहा है कि ज्यादातर जो नीकरशाह हैं, जो तहसील के नीचे के स्तर पर हैं, आप जायेंगे तो जाति का मामला इतना बढ़ा चढ़ा है कि वहाँ का जो धनी खेत का मालिक होता है, जो जमींदार होता है और सारी अफसर शाही चूँकि एक संस्कृति से बंधी हुई है, वे एक संस्कृति के लोग हैं, वह मिल जाते हैं। वह पसन्द ही नहीं करते कि कोई अछूत या आदि-वासी जमीन का मालिक बने और उसकी प्रतिष्ठा समाज में बढ़े। यह उनको गंवार नहीं होता। इसलिए मैं नहीं मानता कि हम लोगों के दिमाग में जो ट्रेड यूनियन की चीजें निकलती हैं उनकी वजह से यह मामला हल होगा, ऐसा मैं नहीं मानता।

इसमें गुंजाइश एक चीज की है और वह यह है कि सरकार को चाहिए कि अगर इन लोगों के लिए जमीन नहीं दे सकती तो कम से कम इनके लिये रोजगार उपलब्ध कराये। जिन चीजों की चर्चा चली है लेकिन अमल नहीं हो रहा है तो उसके लिये लैंड आर्मी, भूसेना बनाई जाए। इस तरह का प्रोग्राम बना करके अगर रोजगार तीन रुपया, पांच रुपया तनख्वाह मिलने की सुविधा उपलब्ध हो जाए तब मैं मान सकता हूँ कि उनके हितों को रखा हो सकता है। उनका समाज में कुछ प्रतिष्ठा मिल सकती है। जो अधिकार आप उनको देना चाहते हैं कानून से उसको भी वसूल करने की क्षमता उन लोगों में आ सकती है। वरना आज स्थिति यह है कि कानून से आप उनको जो भी देंगे उसको

[श्री सदा शिव बगईतकर]

हासिल करने के लिये क्षमता और ताकत इन वर्गों में नहीं है। जो एग्रीकल्चर मीनिमम वेज का कानून है उस पर अमल नहीं हो रहा है। उनके पास अमल करने की ताकत नहीं है और जो ब्यूरोक्रेसी वह भी उसकी रक्षा करने के लिये सज्ज नहीं है। इन बातों को आपको समझना चाहिये। इन बातों को आपको समझना चाहिए। हमें इन पर अमल कदम उठाने चाहिये।

इसके साथ ही मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि जो लैंड डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन का मामला है उसको एक मुद्द के अंदर पूरा कर दें। हाऊस होल्ड लैंड का जो सवाल है उसके लिये भी आपको एक मुद्द में पूरा करने के लिये कदम उठाने पड़ेंगे अगर इसमें आर्डिनंस निकालने की गुंजाइश हो वह भी निकालिये।

जो खेतिहर मजदूरों के कर्ज के बारे में बात है उसके बारे में बहुत सारे आंकड़े उपलब्ध हैं। चाहे बाऊंडिड लेबर का मामला हो, खेतिहर मजदूर का मामला हो उनके कर्ज के बारे में किसी को सच्चाई का पता नहीं है। अगर उन्होंने 100 रुपये लिये तो पचासों साल तक वह उसका मुद् ही देता रहता है। जो भी इन लोगों का कर्जा है उसको खारिज किया जाए। सरकार को चाहिये कि एक मुद्द के बाद कोई कर्ज देने की ज़िम्मेदारी उन पर नहीं रहने देनी चाहिये। अगर इस तरह के कदम उठाये जायेंगे तो मैं मानता हूँ कि इस मामले पर हम कुछ आगे बढ़ने की कोशिश कर सकते हैं। अगर यह नहीं होगा तो जो स्थिति चालीस साल तक रही है वही आगे वे 40 साल तक बरकरार रह सकती है। कालेक्टिव बारगेनिंग की बात की जाती है तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इसके लिये अपना दिमाग खुला रखना चाहिये। जो ऊंची जाति के लोग हैं, जो मामला उनसे जुड़ा हुआ है उसको ध्यान में रख कर कोई उपाय हम खोजना पड़ेगा। इसके लिये एक ही उपाय हो सकता है जो खेतिहर मजदूर हैं आदिवासी

लोग हैं अछूत हैं सब को मिलजुल संगठन बना करके इसके खिलाफ लड़ाई चलानी होगी।

रेडियो का उल्लेख भी किया गया है। मैं एक चीज कहना चाहता हूँ कि आल इंडिया रेडियों पर जो किसानों के लिये देहाती प्रोग्राम होता है मैं समझता हूँ वह पुराने जमाने से ग्रोमोरफूड के नजरिये से चलता है। उसमें फसल की चर्चा होती है कि किन दिनों में कौन सी फसल लगे और किन दिनों में कौन सी फसल से अच्छी उपज हो सकती है। इस तरह की बातें आज हमारे रेडियों से आती हैं। मैंने कभी यह नहीं पाया कि खेतिहर मजदूर के बारे में जो कानून बनाये हैं, खेतिहर मजदूरों के लिये हम लोगों ने अपनी जो नीति बनाई है उसको ध्यान में रख कर रेडियों का इस्तेमाल हुआ हो।

इसमें मोटिवेशन का सवाल भी आया है। जब तक आपकी ब्यूरोक्रेसी यह नहीं जानेगी कि सरकार की निगाहों में, सरकार की दृष्टि में इसकी कुछ अहमियत है और इसको प्रियो-रिटी दी है सरकार ने, यह मान लें तो इसका एम्पेक्ट खासकर जो तहसील का एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन है, गांव का जो एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन है उस पर होगा। इस बात को आप मान कर चलेंगे कि प्रोविस और राजधानी का एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन इन मामलों में उदार रहता है या भयंकर रहता है और कॉंशिस में रहता है। उससे जितना आप नीचे चले जायेंगे तो आप को पता चलेगा कि यह सारा एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन तकियानूसी रहा है और सारी विचार धाराएँ जो रही है वह पुराने जमाने की रही है।

इसलिए मोटिवेशन की अगर कोई बात है तो रेडियों पर भी इसके लिए एक पोजिटिव एंगल लेकर कोई प्रोग्राम रखना चाहिये और इसी तरह से दूरदर्शन का भी इस्तेमाल हम कर सकते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि ग्रोमोरफूड का 50 साल पुराना जा सिलसिला रेडियों पर अभी भी चल रहा है उसके बजाय खेतिहर मजदूरों के लिए कोई प्रोग्राम रखा जा सकता है। अभी तक

इस तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रकार के उपायों के बारे में हम लोग सोचें और खेतिहर मजदूरों के लिए इस तरह के कोई प्रोग्राम रखें तो अच्छा रहेगा।

आखिर में मैं एक चीज और कहना चाहूँगा इस बारे में जो कानून की स्थिति है और जो राज्यों के कानून हैं उनसे एक बात साफ है कि अगर इस संबंध में सभी राज्य सहमत हैं तो हमें बहुत जल्दी कानून बना देना चाहिए। इस संबंध में ज्यादा समय न बिगाड़ कर हमें कोई उपाय करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए। इतना ही कह कर मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI SYED SHAHEDULLAH (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, if I am not going to describe in detail again all the sufferings of the poor peasants, of the rural poor, it is because it would be only redundant and it would be a repetition. The honourable Minister has stated that the concern for the rural poor is of the entire House. But, in so far as I have seen the Government's attitude, as it has been reflected in this House, it has never risen above mere benevolence and philanthropy and, what has been revealed in actual practice in the rural areas, what has happened, has been stated by the Members of the House and has been admitted by the honourable Minister himself and it has been admitted that the lower echelons and the lower rich have been joined together and all these mischievous activities and brutal activities have been there. But putting the blame on the lower echelons and not on the bigger ones and finally on themselves as something that has been the fashion all through. Now, Sir, I may recall what the great Persian poet, Saadi, said as early as the 12th century. He said it would not do for a Government to put the blame on officials. As he said "A stranger in a village, when he is bitten by a dog, does not abuse the dog, but he abuses

the farmer who maintains the dog.

जो उन सबों की परवरिश कर रहे हैं।

देहकाने नारा के भग परवरद

So, it is like this. These are to be blamed for what has happened. For the Government to say that their officers have done this reminds me of what the poet has said. These people are to be blamed. The Government of India has not so far enabled the State Governments to control the ICS and IAS officers and they can do anything they like and they have the shelter and the succour and direct help and aid of the Government of India in maintaining their own position as against the State Government and they help the landlords more than the people in the lower echelons and sometimes the lower subordinate staff are helpless against them also though most of them also are partly responsible. But there are also occasions when we have found that these subordinate officers are helpless because the higher officers who are under the control of the Central Government more than under the control of the State Governments have come to the aid of the landlords.

Now, Sir, it is not a mere accident, it is not accidental, that the Minister was speaking of security of jobs, of security of employment, of minimum wages and all those things. But he never mentioned the security of life and person which is due to every citizen of this country.

The minimum Government responsibility is not being carried out. Security of life and person of these agricultural workers is not there. And everywhere, they have been most brutally treated. He has quoted the mud huts of Jawaharlal Nehru. But these mud huts with live human flesh are being allowed to be burnt by the Governments that be. The Government has the minimum responsibility to protect the life and person of these helpless workers. He has not mentioned, about the right to combine. If we analyse the situation of these atrocities, you see that some are due to the forcible possession of land by the

[Shri Syed Shahedulhah] landlords and combined opposition to it, and some are due to the combined fight for the wages and all that. So, the main question is whether this right should be accorded to them, whether it should be given to them. Now, the Government should frame their attitude whether these officers should be liable for the defence of the rights given under the Constitution or not. If they have not been able to maintain law and order in such cases, it means that they failed to defend the rights given to the citizens under the Constitution. The Army is maintained to protect the boundary of the country. But some people have also to protect the rights enshrined under the Constitution for the citizens, and it is expected that the Government and the Administration should also share at least these rights. But when they fail, should it be taken as a positive offence or not? In my opinion, the officers directly concerned should be taken equally responsible as those who perpetrate these crimes. It should be taken so because it is not only an offence against certain individuals but it is an offence against the very character of the State, the Constitution that has given the rights, the right to life and property. Whatever property they have got, their huts are burnt and their bodies are also burnt.

Now, the question of bonded labour and how much degree of bondage is there. These are the extreme cases of bondage. But the question of bondage arises from the very compulsions of the situation, compulsiveness due to the monopoly of land, monopoly over employment and also the help of the Government administration accorded to those in power in the villages. Now, we have got only the extreme cases in notice. But there are degrees of this bondage that exist. How can this be remedied? As has already been stated by the previous speakers, it is by breaking the monopoly of the landlord, and by distributing the land to the poor which at the same time cuts at the bottom of the monopoly of land and the monopoly over employment that the landlord has. And it also

gives some succour to the poor. But the Government must also come forward by providing work as we have found in West Bengal. There the food for work has been given extensively and the agricultural worker has found other means of livelihood instead of being forced to go to the landlord and agree to serve under any vigorous terms. So, these rigours, this oppression has been softened and relieved to a great extent.

8 P.M.

The agricultural worker in West Bengal can now raise his head like anything, particularly when the attitude of the Government is that it is behind the working class and the peasantry in all the fights against oppression and that has raised his status. It is not a question of asking the people to raise their opinion. It is a question, as the previous speaker, Shri Bhupesh Gupta stated clearly, of classes and whether the Government are in favour of the toiling classes and exploited classes. That is the question and the Government here stands accused in the dock because they have not done anything and they have failed to take steps on this particular question. They have not done anything to protect their rights given by the Constitution and stand by the side of the toiling classes and exploited classes. Thank you.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: Sir, I am grateful to the hon. Members who have participated in the discussion and dealt with the various aspects of this very vast subject. The procedure that we are following in this discussion—is such that it is very difficult to altogether avoid repetition. I am not, therefore, surprised that many hon. Members who participated in the discussion after I spoke last had to deal with many of the questions which had been raised earlier by my hon. friend Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, and to which I had made response earlier.

Sir, I understand that hon. Members from their experience and their points of view wanted to draw the attention of the House to the various aspects of

the question and to lay emphasis on various difficulties and solutions. I do not think, Sir. It is therefore necessary for me to cover the entire ground again and deal with all the main points that were brought up once before and subsequently by other hon. Members. Sir, I wish, therefore, only to deal with some points which were such that I did not refer to or hon. Members.

SHRI KALP NATH RAI: Do something concrete and time bound.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: Time bound b very important at this hour.

Sir, I shall first deal with some of the points that my hon. friend, Mr. Yadav, referred to. He undoubtedly painted a picture of the situation that he has witnessed in parts of the State from which he comes and referred to the difficulties that the workers are experiencing in rural areas, the problem of bonded labour, the problem of alienation of land, the memorandum submitted by the INTUC organisation, the problems experienced by craftsmen in villages and then he went on to make a few suggestions in which he referred to the need for special legislation for agricultural labour, the need to ensure equal remuneration for the same work in rural areas and the need to train workers of rural organisations.

Sir, I did refer to the question of bonded labour when I answered my hon. friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and I do not think that I must cover the ground again.

Sir, my friend referred to the enforcement of the ceiling and the distribution of surplus land.

Unfortunately, Sir, he gave an impression as though in the last two years, there has been some deceleration, some lukewarmness in implementing this programme. Sir, I would like to say in the area of sur-

plus land acquired that after the enforcement of ceiling, 23.47 lakh acres of land has been acquired since 1972. Of this, 16.07 lakh acres have been distributed. Of these 16.07 lakh acres, 4.79 lakh acres have been distributed since 1977. I leave it to the hon. Members to work out the proportion and see whether there has been any deceleration.

Then, Sir, the total land acquired upto March 1977 was 17.47 lakh acres. Today it is 23.47 lakh acres which means that in the last two years approximately, 6 lakh acres have been acquired as against 17 lakh acres till 1977. Here again, Sir, the figures speak for themselves.

Then, a reference was made to the land that has been distributed. Upto 1977, 11.73 lakh acres were distributed. After 1977, in the last approximately two years, 4.79 lakh acres have been distributed. Here again, the figures speak for themselves.

Then comes the question of beneficiaries. Upto 1977, since 1972, 7.54 lakh persons benefited from redistribution of land, that is, surplus land. In the last two years, approximately 3 lakh additional persons have benefited from distribution of surplus land. Does it show any deceleration in the pace of distribution of surplus land? I would also like to add for his information that of these 10.69 lakhs of total beneficiaries, 5.65 lakhs of beneficiaries belong to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA (Orissa): I would invite the attention of the hon. Minister to the chapter on agriculture in the 'Economic Survey' where it has been admitted that there is some luke-warmness, some tardiness in the matter of distribution of surplus land. It is the Government document where it has been admitted and now you are giving some other facts trying to establish