

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty-three minutes past two of the clock.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) in the CHAIR.

**RESOLUTION REGARDING SETTING UP OF A CENTRAL CO-ORDINATING AGENCY FOR SPEEDY, EFFECTIVE AND PURPOSEFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TWENTY POINT ECONOMIC PROGRAMME OF THE PRIME MINISTER.—contd.**

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU). Let us now resume the debate on the Resolution. Shri Viswanatha Menon.

SHRI VISHWANATHA MENON (Kerala) : Sir, after six months of emergency, now we are discussing the twenty point programme. The Resolution has been brought forward by my learned friend on the other side with *bona fide* intentions. The emergency was declared and at the same time this twenty point programme was also declared. But the framers of this twenty point programme had no idea of implementing it. That is why, after six months, every speaker who spoke before me was complaining that nothing has been implemented.

SHRI KAMESHWAR SINGH (Bihar) : You did not hear the speeches properly.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON : If you look at the points mentioned in this programme, you will see that almost all these points had been discussed even before independence by the Congress itself. For instance, land legislation and excess lands were all discussed. They were only slogans for them.

Even now it is only a slogan for them. Sir, at the time of the last general election, all over India the slogan of *garibi hatao* was given and it has been kept as a slogan for the last five years or so. Now, the slogan of this 20-point programme has been brought. Sir, my humble submission is that the only programme that is being implemented in this country is the programme of repression. Even in today's papers you can see that the article relating to the fundamental rights of the citizens has been suspended. This is what is happening now. When Shri Sardesai was speaking, he was

complaining about the happenings all over India. In my own State, where his own comrade is the Chief Minister, the same thing is happening. There was a strike on a particular day in my State by the AITUC. The Chief Minister there is the comrade of Mr. Sardesai. In that there were also workers belonging to the AITUC, the CITU and other trade union organisations and they were arrested. Sir, everywhere repression has become the order of the day. Not only that. We cannot even agitate these things in the courts. We cannot say anything about these things. Sir, I would like to quote an example.

One MLA of the Kerala Assembly was arrested and he was beaten up and he was put in the jail. He moved a petition before the honourable High Court of Kerala. The Kerala High Court said, "We cannot go into the matter of detention. But this kind of maltreatment is very bad, if it has happened." So, the Court ordered, or gave the directive to the Government to conduct an inquiry. The judgment was not given on the floor of the Court; it was given in the chamber. Nobody appeared for the person under detention. When that judgment was delivered in the chamber. When we got a copy of that judgment, the censorship came and we could not even publish that judgment of the Kerala High Court in our daily journal. So, repression has become the order of the day. In the name of smashing the rightist forces, actually the attack is made by the Government on the working class. I was patiently hearing when the INTUC leader, Shri Bhagawati, was speaking the other day here pleading for the bonus to be paid to the workers. Who is benefited by the previous ordinance. The Capitalists. Actually, they have not taken any action against the big monopoly group. Have they taken any action against the big monopoly group? Have they taken any action against the multi-national corporations? No; they have not taken any action against these people. But they have taken action against the working class and they have taken action against the people who are agitating for democratic rights. Nobody is there to question this. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Mr. Menon, I think this point has already been mentioned during the debate on the President's Address. Now, the subject before us is the 20-point economic programme and you have to speak on that.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON : Sir, I am speaking about the 20-point programme only. After all, Sir, what is the background of this 20-point programme? I am making only relevant points. What is this 20-point economic programme for? It is said that it is for the economic emancipation of the people and for the economic emancipation of the workers the basic thing is that they should have taken action against the multi-national corporations and the big monopoly groups. Have they done it? They have let them off. But they are taking action against the working class and are not giving them their bonus and are acting against the trade union rights and other fundamental rights. So, Sir, this 20-point programme cannot be taken out of this context and discussed and it is impossible to do so and if you try to do, you cannot deal with this programme properly. I say this because the slogan of 20-point programme is there only now. But most of the items in that were taken up and agitated by the Opposition during the last 28 years and there is nothing new in this 20-point economic programme.

Actually, the framers also did not want it to be implemented. That's why, Sir, when you yourself were speaking you were complaining about a lot of things. Mr. Sardesai was complaining about a lot of things, and others were complaining about a lot of things. My humble submission is that I have no illusion that these points have been put in for implementation. This programme is not for implementation. It is only a slogan to catch votes, otherwise if they were sincere in these issues, if the ruling party was sincere in these issues, they would have taken action on the basic points. They have not done so. Even yesterday when the Prime Minister was speaking, I was hearing with all attention. What was her reply?

She said that they stand for mixed economy. Do you mean that mixed economy is the solution for a poor nation like India—saying that we are standing for mixed economy and we are not going to touch anybody? Even after the declaration of emergency, the next statement that came from the Prime Minister was that there would not be any more nationalization. Are you going to argue that with all these declarations you are going to bring socialism in this country? Actually, in the name of 20-point programme, in the name of emergency, in the name of fighting the right reaction, the fight is put against the democratic forces, left forces and trade unions. My friend, Mr. Sardesai's party may have an illusion that these things some day will do some good to the workers. But my humble submission is that these kinds of illusions the Congress Party has a tradition to create always, and to a certain extent they were successful also; I am prepared to agree to it. Whenever election comes, some slogan will be put and the people will flock behind that. After the election, the Congress will get majority. And who will get the benefits? Big monopoly groups, multinational corporations, and so on. Sir, even by the latest agreement signed by Mr. Subramaniam in America who is going to be benefited? Is it not giving a clean chit to neocolonialism to get into our own country? Sir, such is the position. Simply saying that excess land has been taken, so many huts have been built, so many buildings have been constructed, is not going to solve the problem, because even if excess land is taken it will not be distributed. My friend, Mr. Sardesai, was telling about the Bengal Government saying that everything has been implemented. If you seriously want to do something for poor and the ordinary man of this country, you can do it by first touching big monopoly groups, by touching multi-national corporations. If you are not going to touch all these and simply go on saying, "we are doing this and we are doing that", it will be only a political *tamasha* in this country. My humble submission, in the circumstances, is that whenever people begin to

agitate, whenever they want some trade union rights, there comes an Ordinance or something. For instance, in Kerala we were to conduct a Civil Liberties Conference. We were not given permission. Comrade Namboodripad went to the High Court with a writ. The writ is pending. Now, today it has been published in papers that Article 19 has been suspended and some other Articles have also been suspended. What is then the remedy, Sir ? These things have to be agitated.

Sir, I want to say a few words more about the prisoners or detenus who have been detained. They are not brought before the court. According to law they cannot be brought before the court. No court can go into the merits and demerits. But you are not doing justice even to their families. You are not paying a single pie as family allowance. You are not at all concerned how their families are being fed during these days. You want to pressurise their opinion by starving their families. This is what is actually happening. I know many of you have gone to jail along with us during independence struggle. I want to ask you : Was this the treatment that was being meted out to you by the British ? You were being treated properly. Even in 1964 when we were put in jail, we were treated better. But now we are being treated just like criminals.

SHRI RANBIR SINGH (Haryana) : It is a big lie.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON : It is not a lie. You appoint a parliamentary committee to inquire into it. Except in Rajasthan, nowhere a single pie has been given as family allowance for the detenus. In Rajasthan also, it was given after the prisoners had gone on hunger strike. Is this the way you have to treat the opposition ? You have got majority. That does not mean that you can crush the minority. You have got majority in the Assemblies and Parliament. But we are prepared to face elections and you are not prepared to face elections. (*Time bell rings*). You

have extended the life of the Parliament. You may extend the life of the Assemblies. In Kerala also, you have extended the life of the Assembly by another 6 months. Is this democracy ? Yesterday, Madam Prime Minister was trying to teach us what democracy is and all that. Is this democracy to crush the opposition ? There is a terminology in political science. It is called dictatorship. When we say that, you become angry. Somebody was trying to say that J.P.'s movement was mobocracy. If I may put a word for your democracy, it is not democracy, it is Indiracracy. If I say it, you don't like that. You are not giving any chance to the opposition to say this in public. Let the public decide. Let us go to the public. (*Time bell rings*) Are you prepared to face elections after March ? You are not prepared to face even your own party elections. Both the elections have been postponed. That is what I read in the newspapers from Chandigarh.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Your time is over.

SHRI VISHWANATHA MENON : I am concluding. I do not want to take any more time. I would request that this kind of cancelling the fundamental rights must be stopped. I request that the prisoners who are in jail, the detenus who are in jail, must be treated like human beings. Thank you, Sir.

श्री रणबीर सिंह (हरियाणा) : महाध्यक्ष जी, अभी मुझ से पहले वक्ता श्री विश्वनाथ मेनन जी ने हमारा ध्यान दिलाया इस बात पर कि 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम क्या है। उन्होंने इस बात के ऊपर चर्चा नहीं की कि 20 सूत्री प्रोग्राम कैसे जल्दी से जल्दी क्रियान्वित किया जा सकता है। हमारे प्रस्तावक महोदय ने जो प्रस्ताव रखा उसमें उन्होंने यह रखा है कि "प्रधानमंत्री के 20 सूत्री प्रोग्राम की प्रभावी और उद्देश्यपूर्ण कार्यान्विति के लिए एक केन्द्रीय समन्वय अधिकरण की स्थापना करें।" महाध्यक्ष जी, मैं यह मानता हूँ कि शायद कोई नई समिति बनाने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। क्योंकि हमारे देश में प्लानिंग कमिशन पहले ही मौजूद है। योजना आयोग का काम यही है कि सारे

[श्री रणवीर सिंह]

प्रदेशों के अन्दर जो तरक्की हो रही है उसका समन्वय करें और यह काम वह बड़ी तेजी के साथ कर रहा है और आगे भी करना रहेगा, इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं हो सकता है। 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम क्या है, और क्यों लागू किया गया है, यह एक बहुत बड़ा प्रश्न है। उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, आप जानते हैं कि जब मई 1971 में चुनाव हुए तो विरोधी दल वालों ने यह नाग लगाया था कि इन्दिरा हटाओ लेकिन हमारी प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी जी ने नाग लगाया था कि गरीबी हटाओ। चार साल तक ये लोग प्रधान मंत्री को हटाने की बात कहते रहे और इन लोगों ने रेल का पहिया जाम करने की कोशिश की। आप जानते हैं कि देश की आजादी के आन्दोलन में हम भी नजरबन्द हुए थे। अंग्रेजों के राज में हम लोगों को जो सुविधा मिलती थी उससे कहीं ज्यादा सुविधाएं आज जेलों के अन्दर मिल रही हैं। रोहक जेल के अन्दर बहुत सारे नेतागण मौजूद हैं। वहां पर टेलीविजन देखने की भी सुविधा है। लेकिन आप जानते हैं कि देश की तरक्की का नाम श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी की तस्वीर है और श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी की तस्वीर देखना और देश की तरक्की को देखना इनकी आंखों को पसन्द नहीं है। इसलिए ये लोग समझते हैं कि कोई सुविधा नहीं है। इसके साथ साथ अगर आप रेडियो सुनें तो उसमें देश की तरक्की के साथ श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी का नाम भी जुड़ा होता है। रेडियो सुनने में भी इनके कान बहरे हो जाते हैं। इनकी आंखें देखती नहीं और कान सुनते नहीं। इन चार सालों के अन्दर जब हमने संविधान को बदलने की कोशिश की या गरीबी के हित के लिए कोई बिल पेश किया तो हर चीज को ये लोग बेल्टेज करने चले गये। इन लोगों ने इस बात की भी कोशिश की कि हमारी प्रधानमंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी हिन्दुस्तान की गरीबी को हटाने के लिए जो लड़ाई शुरू करना चाहती थी उसको वह न कर सकें और जो इमरजेंसी या आपातकाल की घोषणा की गई है और जिसके संबंध में इन लोगों को गिना है, वह भी मैं मानता हूं कि गरीबी हटाने की एक योजना है। इस देश के अन्दर गरीबी हटाने के लिए इतिहास लिखने वाले इस बात को साबित करेंगे कि देश की स्थिति को देखते हुए इमरजेंसी लागू करना आवश्यक था और जो लोग देश की गरीबी हटाने में रोड़े बन कर सामने आ रहे थे उनको जेल में रखना आवश्यक था। हमारे जो भाई जेलों के अन्दर भेजे गये

हैं जो कार्यवाही कर रहे थे वे वह देश के हित के लिए नहीं कर रहे थे। देश के हितों के खिलाफ काम कर रहे थे। यह बात अब साफ हो चुकी है कि देश की जनता का समर्थन इनको प्राप्त नहीं है। हमारी तादाद ज्यादा भी हो सकती है और कम भी हो सकती है। जब हम अंग्रेजों साम्राज्य के खिलाफ लड़ रहे थे तो हमारे देश के जो भाई जेल में नहीं गये थे और वे लोग मर्यादा नहीं कर सकते थे। लेकिन उनकी हमदर्दी हमारे साथ थी। हमारे जो राजनैतिक मुखालिफ थे वे भी हमारे साथ थे। आज ये लोग आवाहन करते हैं कि अभी चुनाव होने चाहिए। हम यह जानते हैं कि अगर ये लोग इस बात का आवाहन पहले करते तो इनको वास्तविक स्थिति का पता चल जाता। हमारे देश की गरीबी को हटाने के लिए चूक कुछ वक्त लगना था, इसलिए इस बारे में हमारी योजना भी आगे चलती रही। हमने इसके लिए कोई ज्यादा समय को खर्च नहीं किया है। जनता ने हमारी प्रधानमंत्री का और कांग्रेस दल को पांच साल का समय दिया था।

उन्होंने हमारे साथ 4 साल कुश्तकृष्णा, हाथ पांव खींचने में, लगा दिए। देश की जो क्षमता की लोहा पैदा करने की, बिजली पैदा करने की, रेल के अंदर सामान ढोने की, सीमेंट बनाने की, उन सब को इन्होंने पीछे खींचा, और सब मजदूरों की हड्डाई देते हैं। मजदूरों के साथ हमको भी हमदर्दी है और जो मजदूरों के साथ हमदर्दी रखता है वह यह चाहेगा कि देश के अंदर पैदावार बढ़े क्योंकि देश की पैदावार बढ़ेगी तभी मजदूरों को कुछ मिलेगा। लेकिन इन्होंने तो देश की पैदावार खत्म करने की कोशिश की और आज कर्ना—न्डस का भी मुझे याद है—मेनन साहब भूल गए कि—1974 में मेनन साहब के करीब उठने हुए डा. फुल्ले—यन ने कहा था इस सदन में फिर दोबारा हम नहीं बैठेंगे। मेनन साहब, आपका चैलेन्ज हुआ, साल डेढ़ साल बीत गए, यह सदन बैठा हुआ है, यह सदन की कार्यवाही शांति से चलती है, आपकी पूरी कोशिशों के ताजबूद हम आगे बढ़ रहे हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, ये कहते हैं कि अभी छ महीने में यही नहीं बताया कि कौन कमेटी (ममिनि) बने। तो जैसा मैंने कहा, ममिनि बनाने की आवश्यकता नहीं है और अभी कल परमां हमें, सारे सदन के सदस्यों को, जो कागज दिया है उससे यह साबित होता है कि फोयले की पैदावार 1974 में 56,690 टन थी और

वह 11.6 परसेन्ट बढ़ कर 63.214 हजार टन हुई; इसी तरह से पेट्रोलियम की पैदावार जो 5,022 हजार टन थी वह 5,570 हजार टन हुई, जो 10 परसेन्ट बढ़ी; और तांबा जिसकी पैदावार 6.4 हजार टन थी आज वह 12.9 हजार टन है, जो 101.6 परसेन्ट बढ़ी, और अल्यूमिनियम की पैदावार 81 हजार टन से 115 हजार टन हुई जो पिछले साल के मुकाबले में 42 परसेन्ट अधिक है। इसी तरह से फौलाद-लौहे की पैदावार 3114 हजार टन थी, उसके मुकाबले में 3625 हजार टन हुई जो 16.4 परसेन्ट अधिक है और लोह की 2.6 हजार टन थी, अब 3.3 हजार टन है, जो 26.9 फी सदी ज्यादा है। इसी तरह से सीमेंट है, बिजली है। आप जानते हैं कि 1974 के अंदर और 1975 के पहले छ महीनों में इस सदन के सदस्यों को भी याद नहीं मिलता था, इस सदन के सदस्यों को रेजर का ब्लेड नहीं मिलता था, देश के अंदर सीमेंट नहीं मिलता थी, लोहा नहीं मिलता था, ब्लैक में भी नहीं मिलता था, किसी भीमन में नहीं मिलता था, कपड़ा नहीं मिलता था और आज यह 20-मूवी कार्यक्रम की योजना की क्रमगत है नैनन साहब, कि हर चीज आज आपके पीछे हम बांध सकते हैं।

3 P.M.

आपकी पार्टी सी० पी० एम० जितना अनाज उठाना चाहती है उतना हम आज दे सकते हैं। आज अनाज की कोई कमी नहीं है। सीमेंट की कोई कमी नहीं, बिजली की कोई कमी नहीं। क्या नहीं है: वह इसलिए कि हमारे जा विरोधी पार्टी के भाई लोग थे, वे मजदूरों को बहकाते थे और काम पर जाने से रोकते थे। अब हालत यह है आज वे उन्हें काम पर जाने से रोक नहीं सकते हैं। यही आपको आज गिला है कि जिन लोगों को आप काम पर जाने से रोक देते थे उनको अब नहीं रोक सकते। यही आपनकालीन स्थिति है।

इस सदन के अंदर हम ने देखा था कि जब श्री कृष्ण-रान्त इधर बैठते थे और बोलते थे, तो बोलने समय सभापति या उप-सभापति की तरफ नहीं देखते थे बल्कि उधर प्रेस की तरफ देखा देखते थे। इसी तरह से मैथ्यू कुरियन साहब जब सदन में बोलते थे तो सभापति या उप-सभापति की तरफ देखकर नहीं बोलते थे बल्कि प्रेस की तरफ देखते थे। इसी तरह से जितने भी हमारे ऐसे भाई थे जो देश में इस तरह की फिजा पैदा करना चाहते थे जिससे देश की पैदावार घट जाय, वे मजदूरों को बहकाते थे। ये ही सारे भाई और पार्टिया मिलकर

करनाय गई। इन लोगों ने हरियाणा में करनाल में किसानों को कहा कि आप लोग और पंजाब के लोग गेहूँ पैदा करने हों, लेकिन आप लोगों को गेहूँ के उचित दाम नहीं मिलते। जब ये भाई लोग दिल्ली में आते हैं तो फिर महगाई की बात करने हैं।

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN (Tamil Nadu) : If he talks very loud, we cannot get the translation. This is my humble request.

श्री रणवीर सिंह अगर मेरी आवाज मंटी है और ट्रान्सलेशन नहीं हो रहा है तो यह बात समझ में नहीं आती है। हा, अगर मेरी स्पीड ज्यादा है और आपका ट्रान्सलेशन समझ में नहीं आ रहा है, तो यह बात समझ में आ सकती है और मैं आगे कम रफ्तार में बोलूंगा।

इस समय मैं ज्यादा तेजी या जोर में नहीं कहता। जैसा मैंने शुरू में कहा था कि हमारे ये भाई कहते हैं कि कांग्रेस ने यह 20 मूवी तमाशा किया है। 'लेकिन मैं अपने भाईयों से कहना चाहता हू कि वे जो तमाशा करना चाहते थे वे अब नहीं कर सकेंगे और इस तरह की कोई बात आपनकालीन स्थिति में नहीं की जा सकती है।

यह कहते हैं कि हम आपनकालीन स्थिति में कोई खाम बात नहीं कर रहे हैं। हमारे भाई पहिले लोगों को बहकाते थे, उनको काम में जाने से रोकते थे और ये सब बात पहिले नेडियो, टेलीविजन और अखबारों में आती थी। लेकिन अब हमारे भाई लोगों की कोई खबर नहीं आ रही है और न ही कोई खबर अखबारों में इस तरह की छपी जाती है। हमारे देश ने इस बीच काफी तरक्की कर ली है और हमारे विरोधी भाईयो को वह नजर नहीं आता है। हमारे विरोधी दल के भाईयो को यह गिला है कि आज उनकी बात नहीं सुनी जा रही है। लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हर एक पंचायती राज्य में अपने-अपने मुझाव देकर इकट्ठा मिलकर समस्याओं का हल किया जा सकता है और उनको कार्यान्वित किया जा सकता है।

उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, 1966 में हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी इस देश की प्रधान मंत्री बनी थी। चाहे सरकारी कंपनियाँ हों, चाहे सरकारी फाइनेंस इंस्टीट्यूशन हों, चाहे दूसरी कंपनियाँ हों चाहे डिफेंस सर्विसेज इन्वैस्टमेंट से सम्बन्ध हों और चाहे

[श्री रणवीर सिंह]

इंवेस्टमेंट फाइनेंस से सम्बन्ध रखता हो या खेती की तरक्की से सम्बन्ध रखता हो, इन सबके अन्दर हिन्दुस्तान में 6584.65 करोड़ रुपया लगा हुआ था। 1975-76 में यानी इस साल तक इस मद में 16203.57 करोड़ रुपया लगाया जा चुका है।

इसी तरह से, उपसभापति जी, इस देश के अन्दर बिजली से पहले चलने वाले पम्पों की तादाद दस लाख थी। अब प्रधान मंत्री के जमाने में 25 लाख हुई, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों का हौसला तोड़ने के लिए गली-गली, कूचे-कूचे के अन्दर कहा गया कि हिन्दुस्तान में कुछ नहीं होता, हिन्दुस्तान की तरक्की नहीं हो रही है। तो ये जो हौसला तोड़ने वाली बातें हैं वे तो देश के दुश्मन ही किया करते हैं। आज हथियार की लड़ाई इतनी तेज नहीं है, हथियार से आदमी नहीं मारे जाते, हौसला तोड़ कर हराया जाता है। हमने पाकिस्तान की फौज को मार कर नहीं हराया, उनका हौसला तोड़कर 90 हजार फौजियों को कैद किया था। ये हमको कहते हैं कि हम बड़ी-बड़ी विदेशी कम्पनियों का रुपया यहां मंगा कर इस देश को गुलाम बनाना चाहते हैं। बीस-सूत्री प्रोग्राम आर्थिक आजादी की लड़ाई के लिए शुरू किया गया है और गरीब भाईयों को 70 लाख मकान बनाने की जगह दी गई हैं जिनके पास मकान नहीं थे। पंजाब, जिस प्रदेश से मैं पहले आता था, मैं 1954 में जमीन बांटने के लिए किसानों ने जमीन दी लेकिन सरकारी महकमों ने 21 वर्षों तक उसको बांटने नहीं दिया और वह अब चन्द महीनों में बटी है। इसी तरह से जो भाई बेगार लेते थे वे अब बेगार नहीं ले सकेंगे। हां, यह बात जरूर है कि कुछ भाई हैं जो बीस-सूत्री प्रोग्राम को कार्यान्वित करने के नाम पर उल्टी गाड़ी चलाना चाहते हैं ऐसे सरकारी अफसर या जो ऐसे भाई हैं उन से बचना चाहिए

(Time Bell rings)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बी०बी० राजू) : कूल के मुताबिक 15 मिनट है, 17 मिनट हो गए।

श्री रणवीर सिंह : दो मिनट में खतम कर दूंगा।  
भाव अभी गिरेगे जब किसान पैदावार बढ़ा सकेंगे।

मुद्रास्फीति की बात की जाती है। यह पता नहीं किसके लिए है। कपास पैदा करते हैं। पिछले साल की कपास का पैसा आज तक नहीं मिला। गन्ना पैदा करते हैं, गन्ने की कीमत नहीं मिली, दूसरी चीजें पैदा करते हैं, उनकी कीमत नहीं मिलती। गन्ने का भाव 14 साइं 14 रुपए की क्विन्टल पिछले साल मिली थी लेकिन आज 11 रुपए देने का प्रस्ताव है। जो भाई बीस-सूत्री प्रोग्राम के नाम से किसान-विरोधी बात करते हैं उनसे बचना चाहिए। ये बड़े पढ़े-लिखे हो सकते हैं, बड़े विशेषज्ञ हो सकते हैं, लेकिन ये हिन्दुस्तान की नब्ज को नहीं समझते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान की नब्ज समझ कर बीमारी समझनी होगी और बीमारी समझ कर उसके लिए योजना बनानी होगी। तो मैं गुजराल साहब से प्रार्थना करता हूं कि किसान को जितना रुपया आप देंगे वह छिपायेगा नहीं, वह चोरी नहीं करेगा, चोरी से जायदाद नहीं बनायेगा, वह हिन्दुस्तान के लिए उत्पादन करेगा।

बिजली पैदा करने की बात है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय हमारे यहां पानीपत में थर्मल प्लांट लगना है, जितना रुपया चाहिए वह नहीं मिलता। पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू नहर की योजना है उस पर जितना रुपया साल में खर्च कर सकते हैं वह नहीं मिलता। तो मुद्रास्फीति कहां जाती है हमें नहीं मालूम। तनखादारों की तनखाह या भत्ता पांच महीने के बाद दे तो झगड़ा उठता है। और जिस से देश की पैदावार बढ़ती है, मुद्रास्फीति के नाम से उन पर रोक लगाना यह इस योजना और बीस-सूत्री प्रोग्राम के विरुद्ध है। इस लिये मैं गुजराल साहब से प्रार्थना करता हू कि खेती की पैदावार बढ़ाने के लिये, बिजली की पैदावार बढ़ाने के लिये वे अपने खजाने का मुंह खोल दें। जितना रुपया जो प्रदेश भी खर्च कर सकता है वह उसे करने दें। अगर बाढ़ का पानी इस्तेमाल करने के लिये कोई प्रदेश पैसा मांगे तो वह उस को दें। यही मेरा आखिरी निवेदन है।

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA (Karnataka) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am very happy my friend Mr. Nagaraja Murthy has brought in this Resolution here

today which concerns itself with the discussion with regard to 20-point programme and the coordination of it within the whole country. Sir, it is very commendable that he as a member of the ruling party has brought in the subject but while moving the subject he also stuck to the same position of bringing into the chorus about emergency. It was not necessary because what he tried to establish when he started moving the Resolution was that but for the emergency any of these programmes could not have been brought up. He also brought in so many small excuses for the Congress Government which has been in this country for the last 27 years for not having brought in all these progressive changes.

Before I go into the 20-point programme which I fully support and I am very happy to take part in the discussions with regard to that, but since he prefaced his speech with regard to emergency to do this, I would like to ask here, was it necessary for emergency to be brought in to bring in this item No. 12, i.e. raising the income-tax exemption limit from Rs. 6000 to Rs. 8000 ? (*Interruptions*). You listen to me for one minute. In this very House, everytime the Finance Bill has come in for discussion, members from both sides, including Mr. Ranbir Singh, have said that the limit should be raised from Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 10,000, but nothing was done. As soon as emergency was promulgated in the month of June, this was the first practical implementation of one of the points of the 20-point programme. What about the other points ? And I would like to mention in passing, was it necessary that emergency should be here to have revision of agricultural wages under the Minimum Wages Act ? Every State has a minimum wage legislation. Every three years that has to be revised and many states have done so. I am only trying to make out that my friend need not have gone into the chorus and blamed every one of us, that none of these things could be implemented because either Shri Viswanatha Menon was there or some other opposition party was

there, that they came in the way of implementation of all this programme. And to add to it, to my surprise, my friend Shri Ranbir Singh who generally confined himself mainly to agriculture, he also went on to say that the opposition came in the way of abolition of poverty. This is the biggest joke I have heard in this House for the last so many years. Anyway, Sir, he made out a case for perpetual emergency, that if it is there everything will be all right.

Apart from that, I fully support this 20-point programme and many people who are in the Opposition, representatives of many of whom are under detention, have said that that is a national programme. Even Mr. Goray went on to say that Shri Jayaprakash Narayan in his letter to the Prime Minister had said that these 20 points could be a national programme. I am happy that nobody has opposed this programme. So, as Mr. Ranbir Singh I am also an agriculturist. Of course, I have other plantation interest which is also part of agriculture. (*Interruptions*). Mr. Schamnad, why do you try to separate it ? With regard to increasing the agricultural production, I fully share his ideas. Now the crops this year have been better not because of inputs and other things but because of the weather conditions. The prices of fertilizers and pesticides which went up by about 300 per cent during the last two years have marginally decreased. Where subsidies have been provided for the agricultural sector, the subsidy element, according to me, is very low. That is one point I would like to bring to the notice of my friend Mr. Gujral in the Planning Commission, that they should bestow a little more attention to see that a higher subsidy will be available with regard to the supply of fertilizers. Now, we were talking about mechanising agriculture and other things. To the tiller, let alone the tractor which costs Rs. 65,000 (along with equipment and other things it comes to Rs. 80,000), the loan from the land development bank is available at 10 per cent interest. The loan rate of interest is so heavy that very few agriculturists can

[Shri U. K. Lakshmana Gowda] afford it. If you take a tiller, it costs Rs. 20,000. I am told there is even Customs and Excise duty on these items. If you want to mechanise agriculture, these must be available to the agriculturists at lower prices.

Then take the question of supply of electricity. On paper it is stated that in such and such State every village is electrified. In my State there are a large of electrical units, but in actual working, supply of current for pumps and other things as so costly. And also the tariff with regard to the irrigation pumps should be reviewed. It is very necessary that you go into that question and see that sufficient inputs and all these means are made available to the agriculturists so that proper agricultural production is maintained.

Even if this year we are expecting agricultural production to the tune of 115 million tonnes, there is no room for complacency. Even previously when we had good crop, we have said that next year we will be able to export food grains, but we know what happened subsequently. A United Nations expert has said that India being largely an arid country, one or two more failures of monsoon might again bring in famine conditions. We must be prepared for that. We must see that more underground water resources are found, irrigation facilities are improved, inputs are made available at very reasonable prices so that agricultural production is maintained. In view of the fact that many of the units after the land legislations have become uneconomic units, unless additional inputs are made available to them, they would not be able to produce enough. There has been such fragmentation in this country already by the normal divisions in the Hindu joint family—partition took place for income-tax and so many other purposes. If my friend Mr. Gujral makes a study of it, he will see to what extent uneconomic holdings have increased in this country, particularly in dry areas. And how we have to prevent it. (*Interruption.*) That is my point.

Unfortunately, in our enthusiasm for implementing the land reforms, nobody looked into the question of the economic holdings when the ceilings were fixed. But that is a different matter. I have spoken about it in the previous session.

AN HON'BLE MEMBER : What about the agricultural price fixation ?

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA : That is another point. Even today nobody goes into the question of cost of production of these items. Half a dozen Chief Ministers sit and decide the price. Somebody says Rs. 85, another says Rs. 75, and then some via media is found, but no cost of production study is made. That is a matter which the Planning Commission should take up in earnestness.

Then I will come to certain other matters with regard to speedier implementation and distribution of surplus land. Sir, every State is unhappy with this state of affairs. My friend Mr. Sardesai said that certain steps have already been taken for distribution of surplus land. Sir, I do not rely so much on the statistics which are provided to the government. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, as you have also been in the Government in Andhra Pradesh, you know how statistics are collected. The Revenue Inspectors send some figures that are collected by the tehsildars. These come to the District Collector and then the State. Then you get the whole position, how much land has been brought under cultivation, and all that. There is an element of doubt or exaggeration in it.

What I am trying to put forward here is, during the distribution of the surplus land, it is better to distribute it to an uneconomic holder and make it an economic unit instead of distributing it as half an acre and one-fourth of an acre because according to the legislations in the different States, the land is to the landless. For all other things a man has to have some qualifications. But for land, the only qualification is to be



given that he has to be a landless person. What happens ? If there are five acres of surplus land taken from somebody and if it is to be distributed to five people at the rate of one acre each, you will create five one-acre uneconomic holdings. But if preference is given to one who is already an uneconomic holder, he becomes an economic holder in the area and it will definitely improve the set-up and the economy of the village. This point I have made earlier, and I would like this to be looked into. Of course, for propaganda purposes, for electioneering purposes and others, the distribution of land to the landless will be better. But in the genuine interest of improving the economy of the village it is better to make the uneconomic holdings into economic holdings rather than create more uneconomic holdings. If the population is more in the rural areas, it should be siphoned off into other productive purposes, and not making them live at perpetually a subsistence level.

Then I come to the question of bonded labour. It is surprising even after 27 years of Independence, we still have bonded labour. I do not know in what manner it exists. I am told that it exists in many places. This legislation is welcome. But one has to be very careful in implementing this because as the Mover of the Resolution has said, many malpractices have taken place. So, there is harassment to a person saying that you have got bonded labour. And the labourer is also harassed; the employer is also harassed. And in the bargain the labourer will never get any other alternative employment. So, when this bonded labour is abolished and when these people are made free, other avenues of employment must be made available to them, and it must be seen by the authorities that the labourer is absorbed in some other avocation. Otherwise, it will mean a great hardship for him. I never say that this bonded labour should continue; it should have gone long ago. It is good that a legislation is there. But the implementation should be on that line.

Then about the liquidation of rural indebtedness, this is sought to be done by legislation. Merely passing a legislation does not help. We should see that the measure really benefits the people. If we say that a person who lends money to a person below a certain income, will not get it back, he will never lend. What will happen to the people. Where will that man get money from ? What is the alternative means provided ? If you go to the bank, they want security. In most of the villages you will not have such facilities. The banker will ask for surety. Let me give an example, Take an uneconomic holder. What does he do ? From the local shops he goes on borrowing, goes on getting whatever daily consumer goods he needs for a whole year. At the end of the year he clears up that account by giving his produce. So, now if the shopkeeper is barred from advancing the person money or giving goods, what is the other facility which is available ? So, it is very necessary that a certain particular infrastructure is built so that when a private money-lender is barred from lending money, he must be in a position to get money from other institutions, from either a cooperative society or a bank. Otherwise, the purpose will not materialise. People will say it has been abolished but in actual practice, you will not find it. (*Time-bell rings.*) I have taken only 10 minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : You have taken 15 minutes. The clock is correct.

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA : I would request you to give me a few more minutes.

Then there is socialisation of urban land and urbanisable land. Let me hope that this will see the light of day because as I have said earlier this ceiling on urban property has been biggest joke of the 20th century. Because there was a ceiling on agricultural land and agriculturists like, Mr. Ranbir Singh protested, they said, "All right, there will be a ceiling on urban

[Shri U. K. Lakshmana Gowda] property". It was a ceiling on urban property to start with. Then discussions took place. I know the persuasive power of the urban people with the powers that he is more than ours. So 'urban property' is dropped and 'urban land' is introduced. Let me hope it comes in some way to help the growth of the economy and make space available for poorer people to build houses in urban areas. Otherwise, if there was any serious idea that big houses should be taken away—this has been talked of for the last six years—buildings worth Rs. 5 lakhs, Rs. 10 lakhs and Rs. 20 lakhs are continuing to come up, and even Ministers go to open them. If there is a hotel on a Rs. 5 lakh building, Ministers go to open it. This ceiling on urban property has come to that stage! And now it has come as 'ceiling on urban land'. Let me say that I would speak about it only when it comes as a Bill. Let me hope that it will bring some benefit to the poorer sections.

(Time bell rings.)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : All points you cannot cover.

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA : Again I would like to say that I am fully for the implementation of this programme.

Before I conclude, my friend Mr. Nagaraja Murthy has suggested that a co-ordination committee is necessary. I think I am inclined to agree with him even though my friend, Mr. Ranbir Singh, said that the Planning Commission could do the job. I know the Planning Commission is there and that it has connection with the State Development Councils as well. But I do not know whether the Planning Commission has any such committees now constituted to review the progress of the implementation of this 20-point programme. For that, I think a co-ordination committee should be appointed in addition to these smaller rural committees which you yourself mentioned while speaking on the subject, to see that the actual implementation takes place at the village level and the whole thing is

co-ordinated at the centre and from State to State, and also to see that exaggerated statistics are not just provided for circulation but actual implementation takes place. I think it is very necessary and I fully support the Resolution.

SHRI B. RACHAIAH (Karnataka) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you for calling me to speak on the Resolution moved by Mr. Nagaraja Murthy. The Resolution urges upon the Government to constitute a co-ordination committee, particularly at the Central level and at the State and district levels. To this question, an answer has been partially given by Mr. Ranbir Singh, who has experience of handling the administration in a State Sir, from my little knowledge I also know that in the Planning Commission, they have got a review committee, they have a steering committee and task force committees are there. They do the job of reviewing how progress has been made. But here the words used are "for speedy implementation". That means, he wants the close association of the non-officials, particularly the MPs and the MLAs and MLCs at the State level. Most of the States have also constituted some committees at the State level. Even at the Central level, the Prime Minister, who is heading the Planning Commission and also the administration, has got some co-ordination committee at the ministerial level. If Mr. Nagaraja Murthy's argument is that the MPs have to be associated, I think it is for the Government to see that such of the MPs who have an intimate knowledge of the rural areas are associated with such a co-ordination committee.

Apart from that, one other objection raised by some of the hon. Members of the opposition who participated in this debate was why emergency alone has been made use of for bringing this twenty point programme for implementation. If you look into the history of this nation or any other nation, you will see that it is only during crises the poorer section get something from the administration. Similarly, the present situation has accelerated this

programme and for that alone I take this opportunity to thank the Prime Minister and the Government for having come forward with this package of programmes for the uplift of the poor sections of our society. Even these programmes are met with lot of difficulties. Though many in the opposition outwardly pose themselves as supporters of this programme, inwardly I have heard them speaking against some of these on the ground that they take away some of their privileges and rights. So they are not wholeheartedly supporting the programme. Therefore I request the Government to go ahead with the programme with firmness.

So far as bringing down the prices is concerned, naturally it depends on the internal production. This year has been favourable to us and we had timely and adequate rains and we have about 114 million tonnes of foodgrains in the kharif season. We should not be complacent about this because every alternate year we have drought conditions in one part or other of the country. This year also we had heavy floods in some parts of the country causing considerable loss. Vast areas have to depend on rains and only very few areas are covered under irrigation facilities. Irrigation projects are not being executed speedily because of inter-State water disputes arising out of rivers which run between States. Now Government has thought of constituting a National Council for preparing plans for utilising those projects. I would urge that Government should give top priority to these projects. If only after independence our national leaders had concentrated on chemical fertiliser factories and irrigation projects instead of starting huge steel mills and other factories which consumed most of our wealth, I think by this time we would have been a surplus country in foodgrains and would have even exported foodgrains. I would, therefore, appeal to the Government to complete all our irrigation projects, be it the Nagarjunasagar project or Cauvery project or Narmada or any other project and to start more and more fertiliser factories. More and more funds

have to be allotted to these projects so that all the unutilised water can be stored and utilised.

Sir, our concentration has been mostly on providing irrigation facilities in the areas which have got irrigation facilities. New seeds have been evolved of paddy and wheat and researches have been conducted well and I congratulate the people engaged in these researches. But, so far as the question of dry farming is concerned, good efforts have not been made at all. Unless we set apart and earmark a considerable amount for dry farming purposes and for research, I do not think we would be able to cope with the vast areas of this country to come under the plough.

Sir, I was speaking yesterday about the agricultural production. We have got a very favourable year and the prices are coming down. But, so far as the agricultural people are concerned, it is really alarming for them. On the one hand, we want to help the labourers in the field and factories and, on the other hand, we want the prices also come down. In order to see that production goes on unhindered, we have to give some incentives also to the farmer who produces our foodgrains against the vagaries of nature. Therefore, the procurement prices is not the support price and it should be a little above that. When the prices are falling down, why should the farmer alone contribute to higher production? There are other commodities, essential commodities, which the farmer and the rural people require like kerosene oil, cloth and such other things. But they are not supplied to the farmers at cheaper rates. So, attempts have to be made to see that these essential commodities also are made available to the population at cheaper rates. Nearly eighty percent of the rural population is suffering for want of these essential commodities and they have to pay a higher price for these commodities. Therefore, unless the Government makes efforts to provide these essential commodities at cheaper and reasonable prices, the Government cannot legitimately ask the farmers to give foodgrains at cheaper rates.

[Shri B. Rachaiiah]

Sir, my friend, Shri Lakshmana Gowda, mentioned about fertilizers. The cost of fertilizers was raised last year by 80 per cent. But the recent reduction was only 20 per cent. Again, if you want to import some machinery from other countries like tractors and power tillers, we have to pay 54 per cent customs duty. Sir, after the land reforms have been started, we do not have many more big landlords. There are people who are holding only less than 10 acres of irrigated land and they would require this machinery for the development of agriculture. Moreover, agricultural labour also will not be cheaper hereafter. Therefore, these things will have to be looked into by the Government when they think of production. Unless these inputs are given, we will not be able to achieve our targets and we will again depend upon other countries for imports.

Sir, with regard to land ceiling, I would like to mention one thing. As you are aware, I was in charge of land records in the Karnataka Government. The updating of these land records has been delayed almost in every State and these States have not been able to update these land records till now. Therefore, most of the disputes are only due to the records not being up-to-date. A directive has to be sent to all the State Governments to see that the land records are updated and are brought up-to-date.

Then, Sir, with regard to the distribution of surplus lands and the distribution of sites, each State has been trying its best to see that surplus land is distributed and for this purpose committees are being appointed. Landless people are getting house sites also. But the only suggestion made by my honourable friend was that the sites which are being distributed are not suitable for construction of houses. So, these people should be given sites which do not involve a heavy expenditure since the people are given only five hundred rupees or so for the construction of houses. Sir, I fully agree with him and I request him also to associate himself in his own district to see

that the big landlords whose lands are proposed for giving house-sites part with these. . .

*(Time bell rings.)*

Sir, I am a little slow. One more point that I want to stress is that the Government should see that workers are associated with management. If a worker is associated with the management by nomination in the management, that does not mean that the worker is associated with the industry. I have a feeling, Sir, that unless the worker is made a shareholder in the company or the industry, he cannot equally fight with the management. If one paisa contribution is taken from each worker every month out of his earning, then in course of years he will really become a shareholder in that particular industry or company and that money will be available for further development or for expansion of the industry. If such a stand is taken we will find that many of the workers will also have satisfaction that the company or industry or the factory belongs to him and he will not allow any excess expenditure or wasteful expenditure or any such thing.

Then I have to make one more suggestion so far as voluntary disclosures are concerned. I feel, Sir, that there is a large amount of money still concealed and wealth has not been disclosed. Sir, people may not agree with my views at this moment. If all the people are allowed to invest their concealed money, without being questioned as to wherefrom the money has come, then, I think we will be getting such money converted into white money. . .

*(Time bell rings.)*

Sir, last time when I was speaking, I had suggested that 8.4 per cent bonus, whether the industry makes profit or not, was not in the interest of the industry and in the interest of the workers also. Therefore, it has to be reduced. If the industry were to make profits, I have no objection if 20 per cent of these profits goes to workers. Then alone will a worker feel his duty towards the in-

dustry. Such an atmosphere is very essential, and also there will be no need for nationalization of any monopoly houses. . . . (*Interruption*). I have done it in my own humble way in the agricultural industry.

Therefore, Sir, this Resolution has been brought by my friend, Mr. Nagaraja Murthy, with a good intention of focussing the attention of the Government for speedy implementation of this programme for bringing about a social change and economic change speedily.

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE (Mahastra) : Sir, I rose to support the Resolution suggesting that there should be a central coordinating agency for speedy, effective and purposeful implementation of the 20-point economic programme of the Prime Minister.

After the declaration of the Twenty Point Programme, the poor in the country feel that something substantial is coming in a big way. The poor of the country have an impression that now some substantial steps will be taken to give them some relief in some way. After the announcement of this Twenty Point Programme, I think there can be no doubt that the need of the day is to secure its effective implementation. Therefore, the prime need is to set up a machinery by which it will be possible to see that the Twenty Point Programme is fully and faithfully implemented. As I said, Sir, the poor do carry the impression that they will get some relief in some way. No doubt, about 30 or 35 per cent people in the country live below the poverty line. They do not get even a bare subsistence. They do not get even one square meal a day. Therefore, it is necessary to locate and identify the areas of poverty.

According to me, there are three categories of persons who suffer on account of abject poverty. The first category is the marginal farmer. Even if he works hard, he does not get sufficient return from the land. The second category is the worker. Even if he works hard, his wages are so low

that he does not get sufficient return and even wage of bare subsistence. The third category is the worker who is unemployed. Therefore, we have to deal with these three categories of people. So far as the marginal or the small farmer is concerned, the time has come when we must give him substantial help. In this connection, I have to make a suggestion. Unless we provide them with some sort of irrigation facilities, their condition cannot improve. If a farmer has no well, the well should be dug at the cost of the Government. Therefore, my suggestion is that all the money that is recovered from the black-marketeers, tax-evaders, smugglers and hoarders should constitute a separate fund and that separate fund should be utilised to help the marginal farmer. Let there be a separate scheme drawn for them so that all the marginal farmers are given all the monetary help that is needed by them. If this is done, then the people will feel that the amount which was with the tax-evaders, smugglers, black-marketeers and hoarders has now come to the relief of the needy people and those needy people are the marginal farmers of the country. The other problem is that of workers. One of the points suggests that the labour should be given a fair deal by giving them increased wages. Only yesterday, I had pointed out that in spite of the announcement of the Prime Minister, all the State Governments have not taken steps to enhance the minimum wage and here comes the need for co-ordination.

No doubt, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, you know very well that labour is a concurrent subject and the Central Government has the power to enact laws with regard to labour. When we see that some of the State Governments are reluctant to give a suitable wage to the workers, in that case my suggestion is, the Central Government should itself notify a wage and that wage shall apply to every State. The problem is, what should be the wage ? This is the time when a worker must get a need-based minimum wage. And I have said yesterday that unless you give a need-based wage,

[Shri N. H. Kumbhare]

it will not be possible for a worker to get a square meal a day. What should be the wage? It will not be possible to give a higher rise; it may be done in a phased way. To start with, the Central Government should play a more positive role by fixing at least Rs. 6 as the wage so that a farmer, whether in the North or in the South, will get Rs. 6 per day as a minimum wage. But, in this connection, my submission is that the problem of wages is not a problem of agricultural labour alone. There are in the country lakhs of un-organised workers who are also not getting a reasonable wage rate. I can give an example of even Government Undertakings. I know of a case in the Air India. Probably, everyone of us goes to the Bombay Airport. There we see boys engaged in sweeping and cleaning the floors. They are not directly employed by the Air India. They are employed by the contractor. And how much do they get? They get only Rs. 100 a month, for 30 days work. They do not get any leave. And there is a middleman who holds the contract from the Air India. Probably, he may be taking Rs. 300; he pockets Rs. 200 and gives Rs. 100 to the worker. The problem is, when we speak of giving a fair deal to the worker, is it not the duty of the Government to ensure that a worker working with them—he is essentially working with the Air India, he is working under the roof of the Air India—gets a fair wage? He gets Rs. 100/-. We speak of a fair deal to the worker. In fact, the Government is supposed to be an ideal employer. Whether a worker is employed directly or through a contractor, it is the duty of the Government to ensure that a person who is working for it, whether through the contractor or somebody else, is given a fair deal. Therefore, I am saying that it is not enough to fix the wages for agricultural labour. Now the time has come when we must go in for a national minimum wage. Let there be a will and determination on the part of the Government that whosoever works will not be subjected to exploitation, and that the Government will come for-

ward and gives him protection in the matter of wages. If after 26 or 27 years of independence, if we cannot protect a worker from this exploitation, I think this will be treated as nothing but tall talk. Therefore, the duty of the Government is to locate where the poverty is and see what should be done to tackle it. Otherwise, it will be only speaking in the air. Let the charity begin at home. Let the Government make of a declaration that whosoever is working for the Government, directly or indirectly, through a contractor or otherwise, will not be paid less than this wage, and this can be ensured only when a national minimum wage is announced. You are only looking to one section, the agricultural labour. Yes, that also represents a substantial number. If they are given a fair deal, it will create a climate. But that is not enough. Instead of thinking in terms of agricultural labour, let me think in terms of other workers also, in terms of workers who toil and work.

Therefore, my submission and suggestion is that it is high time that we must go in for a national minimum wage. I know Mr. A.P. Sharma was very much concerned with the Railway employees when the Railway employees went on strike. But we all said; 'no, we will not give you any increase because there are workers who do not get even half of what you get.' Then, again, the Railway employees were alleging that government were giving so much to the staff of the L.I.C. and the Reserve Bank of India. The Government itself had made an announcement at that time that it will be their policy to rationalise the wage. I think a period of one year has passed since then but the Government had not taken even a single step in that direction in spite of our suggestions that to begin with at least a fair deal may be given to those who are the lowest paid or to those who are most exploited. If you cannot ensure a fair return, this is nothing short of exploitation. Should we not stop this exploitation? You can certainly stop it. But, I cannot understand why there is lack of will in implementing this policy. So, my suggestion is that it is not

enough. Of course, the Prime Minister herself has spoken about the 20-point programme. I think we have to do much more than that. And, then, when we speak of socialism, it cannot be—as I said—a one-way traffic and it should be a two-way traffic. Those who are at the top should be brought down and those who are at the bottom should be helped to rise. It should be like that.

Therefore, what is needed is to have something more than a ceiling on urban property. I do not think that merely having a ceiling on urban property is enough. There should be a ceiling on earnings also. Social justice demands that there should be a ceiling on earnings also. To me it seems that a person is entitled to receive only the equivalent of what he gives to the society. If I render service in any form or in any way, I should receive only the equivalent of that service which I render. I should not take more. But when anybody by virtue of the fact that he is born in the family of a millionaire and makes a profit of Rs. 1,000 a day, takes away Rs. 1,000 per day and does not give anything to the society, that is not social justice. What I am saying is that you should ensure not to allow anybody to take more than what he gives to the society. (*Time bell rings*) That will be real socialism. If you really want to create a proper climate, you will not only have to restrict the urban property but you will also have to declare that you will not allow anybody to take anything in excess of what he gives to the society. Therefore, it appears to me that the need of the day is also to impose a ceiling on earnings. That is my suggestion. (*Time bell rings*)

Sir, one or two more points I want to say. Then, coming to workers' participation. I endorse and fully support the suggestion made by my colleague and friend Shri Rachaiiah. Yes, it is true that employers have invested capital. Why should we not return capital to them in a phased manner when workers are willing to contribute and create a fund from which they will be able to return the capital? If it is

Rs. 5 lakhs, take Rs. 5 lakhs. This is the only way to secure effective participation of workers in the management of industries.

Then, the last point about which I would like to make a reference is bonus. 4 P.M. It is true that the industry which does not earn profit should not be compelled to pay bonus. The principle is all right but the position is entirely different. You pay a minimum bonus of 4 per cent. What does it represent? It represents only 15 days' wages. There are workers who in spite of their 8 hours hard labour do not get Rs. 75 per month. The whole idea of the payment of bonus is that the workers whose earnings are very low, should get a little extra money to make up the deficiency in their earning. That is the whole idea. The Supreme Court said that it is nothing but a deferred wage. It is only a wage in the sense that the worker does not get it immediately but gets it after a period of one year's service. Though it is termed as "bonus" it is, in fact, a wage. When you pay this to the worker, it gives him some relief. The Supreme Court also observed that in a given year even if you might not have earned that much profit, you can certainly adjust it in the next year's profits. Supposing next year the management earns some profit, it can certainly make an adjustment. In other words it will not be called upon to pay bonus when there is no profits. So, let there be a correct understanding of the whole scheme of bonus and, therefore, my submission is, it will be rather harsh and unjust if we take away the right of payment of bonus to the workers.

With these words, Sir, I conclude.

श्री गुणानन्द टाकूर (बिहार) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, श्री नागराज मूर्ति जी प्रस्ताव मदन के समक्ष लाये हैं, उसका समर्थन करने के लिये मैं खड़ा हुआ हूँ। यह प्रस्ताव हमारा ही नहीं बल्कि पूरे राष्ट्र का समर्थन प्राप्त कर चुका है। चूँकि यह प्रस्ताव

राष्ट्रीय नेता, भारत के प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमति इन्दिरा गांधी ने इस देश के समक्ष बीम सूत्री कार्यक्रम के रूप में दिया है जब कि मुल्क में एक अजीब स्थिति पैदा हो चुकी थी। उस समय चारों तरफ एक निगशा का वातावरण फैलाने की लोभों द्वारा कोशिश की गई थी, यहां तक कि हमारे लोगों ने सेना तक को भड़काने का प्रयास किया था। उस समय ऐसा लगना था कि देश में ऐसी स्थिति हो गई है कि इस देश में प्रजातंत्र टूट जायेगा। एक तरफ तो श्रमीरों की हिफाजत की बात की जाती थी और दूसरी तरफ गरीबों को उकसाया जाता था। इस तरह से सारे देश में कन्फ्यूजन और केओम का वातावरण पैदा करके इस देश की आजादी को खत्म करने की बात की जा रही थी।

उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं इस पृष्ठ-भूमि में यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि पिछले दो वर्षों से इस बात की चर्चा शुरू हो चुकी थी और एक आन्दोलन ने रूप ले लिया था। यह आन्दोलन यह था कि चुने हुये प्रतिनिधियों को निकाल दिया जाये और उन पर अविश्वास पैदा किया जाये और उन्हें अपने पदों से जबरन निकाल दिया जाये तथा उन पर अविश्वास पैदा किया जाये। दूसरी ओर जो बड़े बड़े पूंजीपति थे उनको बढ़ावा दिया जा रहा था। तीसरी ओर देश में जगह जगह हड़तालें करायी जा रही थी। चौथी बात देश की जनता के दिल में से जनतंत्र के प्रति अविश्वास की भावना पैदा की जा रही थी और उसका विश्वास उमसे हटाया जा रहा था। इस तरह का वातावरण सारे देश में और विशेषकर राष्ट्रीय नेता श्रीमति इन्दिरा गांधी के खिलाफ दूषित वातावरण पैदा करने का प्रचार किया जा रहा था। हमारे विरोधी पार्टियों के लोग न्यायालयों के निर्णयों को भी मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं थे ऐसी विषम स्थिति में हमारे देश की नेता श्रीमति इन्दिरा गांधी ने देश के सामने यह बीम सूत्री कार्यक्रम पेश करके देश की जनता में एक नई भावना और एक नई जाग्रति पैदा कर दी। इस कार्यक्रम को जनता के सामने पेश करके उन्होंने एक स्थायी दवा उनके सामने पेश कर दी है। आज यह प्रश्न उठता है कि जो बीम सूत्री कार्यक्रम प्रधान मंत्री ने देश के सामने पेश किया है, इस

मदन के मामले जो यह प्रस्ताव आया है, वह आज देश का और इस मदन का सर्वश्रेष्ठ प्रस्ताव है और हम सब लोगों का यह कर्तव्य है कि इस कार्यक्रम को पूरे लगन के साथ पूरा किया जाना चाहिये। आप यहां गरीबों के लिये चिल्लाते हैं, देश के विकास की बात करते हैं, मजबूत हिन्दुस्तान की कल्पना करते हैं और प्रजातंत्र की हिफाजत की बात करते हैं तो आज सभी दलों को चाहिये कि अपने मनमोहों को भुला दें और श्रीमति इन्दिरा गांधी के कदम से कदम मिला कर चले और देखें कि जो बीम-सूत्री कार्यक्रम है वह मजबूत कार्यान्वित हो रहा है या नहीं हो रहा है। मैं तो अपने विरोधी मित्रों से निवेदन करूंगा कि आप गांवों में चले, कस्बों में चले, शहरों में चले और इस कार्यक्रम को मजबूती से लागू करने के लिये मरकार और प्रधान मंत्री के हाथों को मजबूत करें। जब मुल्क रहेगा, जब आजादी रहेगी तब हम और आप सब रहेंगे। अगर मुल्क नहीं रहेगा, मुल्क कमजोर रहेगा, आजादी कमजोर रहेगी तो फिर हमारा, आपका क्या भविष्य रहेगा। इसलिये दलगत भावनाओं को भुला कर यह जो बीम-सूत्री कार्यक्रम है, अमाध अस्त्र है, इसका प्रयोग करें, गांवों तक जाये, शोपड़ियों तक जाये, गरीबों से कहें, उनमें जागृति लाये, उनको आगे बढ़ाये। इससे मैं समझता हूं कि हमारा भी कल्याण होगा, आपका भी कल्याण होगा और इस राष्ट्र का भी कल्याण होगा।

उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, आज जमीन के बटवारे की बात है। यह मुल्क गांवों में बसता है। आपको स्मरण होगा हमारी नेता प्रधान मंत्री से एक विदेशी पत्रकार ने कहा कि आप मुनते हैं, कि वह शहर की बड़ी विरोधी हो गई है। जब गांवों के विकास की बात चलती है तो कहते हैं कि वे शहर की विरोधी हो गई हैं और जब शहर की सफाई करवाना चाहते हैं तो कहते हैं कि शहर के विरोधी हो गये हैं। इस तरह का गन्दा और घटिया किस्म का प्रचार करके लोग चाहते हैं कि वस्तुस्थिति से लोगों का ध्यान मोड़ दें। इस मामले में बहुत हिम्मत से काम लेना होगा। प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा है कि इस कार्यक्रम को लागू करने के लिये हमें जो भी कुर्बानी करनी होगी उसे करने के लिये तैयार रहेंगे, जो भी कठोर से कठोर सजा देने की जरूरत होगी देंगे। मैं तो गांव का रहने वाला



एक साधारण कार्यकर्ता हूँ। गावों में घूमता हूँ। पिछले 6 महीनों में दो-तीन महीने गावों में घूमने का मौका मिला है, इन्टीरियर में जाने का मौका मिला है। जब कस्बों में, शहरों में जाकर गावों के लोग देखते हैं कि वे लोग, जो सत्याग्रह करने के लिये जाते थे, जो आन्दोलन करने के लिये जाते थे, सरकारी जमीन को एनक्रॉच किये हुये थे, जब उनके घर टूटते हैं तब गाव के लोग कहते हैं कि अब पता चल रहा है कि कौन असली चोर है। जिनके महलों से विदेशी वायरलेस सेट निकलते हैं उनको देख कर अब लोग समझते हैं कि कौन देश का असली दुश्मन है। जिनके पास गांव में पांच सौ एकड़ जमीन रहती थी वे लोगों से कहते थे कि हमारे पास 25 एकड़ है। आज जिनके पास 500 एकड़ है कुना बिल्ली के नाम से आप जैसे लोगों का भंडाफोड़ हो रहा है। मैंने कल भी प्रधान मंत्री जी से कहा कि चम्पारन की जमीन की, जहाँ राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी ने सत्याग्रह किया था, जांच होनी चाहिये। आज वह जमीन किसके हाथ में है? इस तरह की जांच होनी चाहिये, मारे देश में होनी चाहिये। प्रधान मंत्री चल चुकी है, आगे बढ़ चुकी है इस देश को जमाने के लिये। इस रास्ते में जो भी जायेंगे जो भी प्रगति के मार्ग में बाधक बनेंगे, जो जनतंत्र को बनाये रखने के प्रयास में बाधक बनेंगे उनसे फैसला किया जायेगा, फिर चाहे वे देशी तत्व हों या विदेशी तत्व, इसकी चिन्ता नहीं की जायेगी।

एक बात मैं अपने विरोध के मित्रों से कहूँगा। कल बहुत लोग बोले। हमें बहुत कष्ट हुआ, दुख हुआ—एन०जी० गोरे की मैं बहुत इज्जत करता हूँ, वे हमारे पुराने नेता भी रहे हैं—जब देखा कि गोरे जी जनसंघ का नेतृत्व कर रहे हैं। मुझे बड़ी लज्जा आयी, बड़ी शर्म आयी। इसलिये कि मैं भी उस वंश से आता हूँ, उसी गांव से आता हूँ। समाजवादी गांव से आता हूँ। आज हमारा इतना ह्रास हो गया कि हमारे नेता आर एस एस और जनसंघ को नेतृत्व देने जा रहे हैं। इस से बड़ा दुर्भाग्य और क्या हो सकता है। लेकिन सभी लोगों ने कहा कि हम कोआपरेट करना चाहते हैं, कोआपरेट करने के लिये तैयार हैं। तो फिर कोआपरेशन किस बात का है।

आप लिखिये प्रधान मंत्री जी को। हर स्टेट की यूनिट को आप सरकुलर भेजिये और कहिये कि प्रधान मंत्री जी, जो आप का यह बीस सूची कार्यक्रम है, जो एक राष्ट्रीय कार्यक्रम है, जो देश का कार्यक्रम है, हम उस को सफल बनाने के लिये हम सब आप से सहयोग करना चाहते हैं और उस के बाद देखिए कि देश का कैसे विकास होता है। इस मामले में राष्ट्रपति जी ने बहुत अच्छा कहा है कि गरीबी हटाने का काम तुरन्त ही नहीं हो सकता। उस के लिये एक रास्ता और एक समय हमें निर्धारित करना होगा। एक कार्यक्रम निर्धारित करना होगा। गरीबी मिटाने का नारा श्रीमति इन्दिरा गांधी ने 1971 में दिया था। उस को हटाने के लिये यह एक दवा है। यह बीस सूची कार्यक्रम उस गरीबी रूपी बीमारी को खत्म करने के लिये एक दवा है और अगर इस दवा का हम ठीक से प्रयोग करें तो इस से देश का बड़ा कल्याण होगा। कुछ लोग समझते हैं कि जैसा और दूसरे कार्यों में होता था वही इस में भी होगा। लेकिन जब इस पर पिछली बार बहस हुई थी तो अग्रस्त में मैंने कहा था कि कांग्रेस पार्टी में बराबर प्रोग्राम्स आये हैं लेकिन उन का पार्टी के लोगों ने ही विरोध किया है इस लिये लाचारी में उन को पार्टी को तोड़ना पड़ा। उन पर छड़ी लगानी पड़ी और अनुशासन में उन को लाना पड़ा। अब विरोधियों की बात तो छोड़िये, क्योंकि बहुतों को इस में आस्था नहीं है लेकिन आज कांग्रेस पार्टी ने एक मत में, एक राय से अपने नेता के नेतृत्व में इस को कार्यान्वित करने के लिये इरादा कर लिया है तो आज विरोधियों को भी हिम्मत के साथ आगे आना चाहिये। अगर वह गरीबी की सेवा करना चाहते हैं और हिन्दुस्तान को मजबूत बनाना चाहते हैं तो उन को आगे आना चाहिये और हमारा साथ देना चाहिये। गुजराल साहब चले गये, लेकिन एक 21वा प्रोग्राम भी है। जो नयी अपरेंटिस योजना चालू की गयी है उस के द्वारा समाज के कमजोर और गरीब वर्गों को मदद की जायेगी और उन को उस में प्राथमिकता मिलेगी और यह योजना दो, तीन साल से इम्प्लायड यूस के लिये चलायी गयी है। अनइम्प्लायड यूस के लिये सरकार कर्ज देती है उन को रिक्षा आदि के लिये कर्ज देती है। मैं सारे देश की बात तो नहीं करता, लेकिन बिहार

[गुणानन्द ठाकुर]

मैं मैने वहा के देहात के युवकों में देखा कि वह कुछ काम नहीं करना चाहते। वह चाहते हैं कि ऊपर से ऊपर ही कुछ पैसा कमा ले। मैंने वहा के सैकड़ों युवकों को लाकर यहाँ अपने योजना मंत्री उस समय श्री डी०पी० धर थे और श्री धारिया थे, उन से डिस्कशन कराया था और उन की काफी व्यवस्था की थी। लेकिन फिर जब मैं वहा गया तो किसी ने कुछ कहा, किसी ने कुछ कहा और ऐसा लगा कि वह लोग खुद ही इंटरस्टेड नहीं थे। मैं मानता हूँ कि हमारी मशीनरी में भी कुछ गड़बड़ है और उस को ठाइट करने की जरूरत है, लेकिन मैं गुजराल साहब ने निवेदन करूँगा कि वह योजना मंत्री है। जो यह अप्रेंटिसशिप की ट्रेनिंग दी जाती है उस में आप लोगों को तीन रुपये रोज देने हैं। एक तरफ तो आप ने मिनिमम वेज में 5 रुपया रोज की मजदूरी तय की है और दूसरी तरफ ग्रेजुएट और एमेज को तीन रुपया रोज देने है। तीन रुपये रोज में तो कोई आदमी अपना पेट भी नहीं भर पायेगा। तो कम से कम मिनिमम वेज के अनुसार उन को पैसा जरूर दिया जाये। कम से कम 5 रुपया आप उन को जरूर दीजिये और जहा नहीं मिलता है वहा देखिये कि वहा क्या गड़बड़ी है, क्या डिफेक्ट है। आज सवाल बीकर सेक्शन का है। आज भी गरीब तबके पर हमले कम नहीं हो रहे हैं। गांवों में उन के घर उजाड़ देना, उन को आग लगा देना, उन की पिटाई करना, खाम कर हरिजनों की और गिरीजनों की, उन को परेशान करना, माइनारिटी कम्युनिटी के लोगों को दबाना और गलत प्रचार करना, आज भी यह सब हो रहा है। और जब इन्दिरा जी ने इमरजेंसी के लिये कदम उठाया था तब बड़ी कड़ाई से काम लिया था जिसकी वजह से गरीब लोग खुशी मनाने लगे। कहने लगे कि हमने ऐसे भी दिन देखे हैं जब राजे और महारानिया शिकर्जों के अन्दर बंद थी और गरीब मिर ऊपर उठाये हुये थे। इस दिन की भी गांधी जी ने कल्पना की होगी हमने कभी सोचा नहीं था। आज वह दिन इन्दिरा जी ने दिखा दिया।

योजना मंत्री जी यहां बैठे हुये हैं हमारे बड़े मित्र हैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमने एक साल के लिये इलैक्शन रोक दिया है अगर इस एक

साल में भी हम इस 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम को इम्प्लीमेंट नहीं कर सकेंगे तो हम क्या कहेंगे गरीब लोगों के पास जा कर। यह प्रश्नवाचक है। हम कहते हैं कि आप एक साल नहीं दो साल तक इलैक्शन न कराइये गरीबों को इससे मत नत्र नहीं। उसको झडा, टोपी लेकर जूलूम निकालने का शौक नहीं उमें तो अपनी रोजी-रोटी में मसलव है। अब मवाल जो हमारे सामने है गांव के निर्माण का मवाल है। अधिक अस्पताल और स्कूल खोलने का सवाल है। गरीबों की जमीन का मवाल है, मिचाई का मवाल है। योजना मंत्री जी मूल प्रश्न यही हैं इनको आपकी देखना है। अभी चूंकि राष्ट्र नेता ने यह कार्यक्रम दिया है और संसद से इस पर मोहरला चुकी है, एक साल के इलैक्शन भी रुक रहे हैं इसी आधार पर, अगर फिर भी यह कार्यक्रम पूरा नहीं होता है तो हम उनके सामने जाकर क्या हिमाज देगे। इमलिये जरूरत इस बात की है कि हम मजबूती से प्रधान मंत्री जी ने राष्ट्र के सामने जो 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम, जैसा मैंने शुरू में कहा कि कड़वी दवा के रूप में दिया है, गरीबों को ऊपर उठाने के लिये दिया है, नया हिन्दुस्तान बनाने के लिये दिया है इनके सामने में अगर बड़ी से बड़ी हम्ती भी रोड़ा अटकाए तो उसको उठा कर फेंक देना चाहिये। उसे दूर किया जाना चाहिये। हर स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को आप कहिये, हर पार्टी को कहिये कि हम आपकी हर बात मानेंगे और अगर आप 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम के खिलाफ जायेंगे तो हम वह, बर्दाश्त नहीं करेंगे। आप अफमरों को भी कहिये कि वे इसका अच्छी तरह से पालन करें और जो नहीं करे उसको सजा दीजिये। लेकिन जो ईमानदारी से आपके प्रोग्राम को लागू करना है उसको तरजीह दीजिये। उसकी पीठ थपथपाइये। नये लोगों को, नौजवानों को आप विश्वास में लीजिये। जो स्कूल और कालेज से आते हैं उनको आप एक साल की अप्रेंटिसशिप की ट्रेनिंग दे रहे हैं। उनको कुछ तनख्वाह दीजिये। उनको गांव में भेजिये; उनको बताइये कि प्रधानमंत्री जी के प्रोग्राम को कैसे लागू करना है। यह एक प्रश्न है।

लास्ट में मैं कहूँगा कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि 1979 तक इरीगेशन के संबंध में एक आयोग गठित किया जायेगा। मैं भी कोसी पीडित रहा

हैं। कोसी योजना बनी। योजना मंत्री बैठे हैं उनको मालूम है कि इस योजना पर 40 करोड़ के बजट पर 150 करोड़ रुपये खर्च किये गये और कोसी नदी के पास रहने वाले 5 लाख लोग अपनी जिन्दगी और मौत में लड़ रहे हैं। उनके लिये बड़ा बहाना बनाया जाता है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जानबूझ कर कोसी नदी को पूर्वी तट बंध की ओर ले जाया जा रहा है। जब बारिश का समय आता है तो करोड़ों रुपये उस पर खर्च किये जाते हैं और कहा जाता है कि टेक्नीकल डिफिकल्टी है। मैं पूना गया था। जो वहाँ पर इंजीनियर बैठे हुये हैं मैंने उनसे कहा कि आप कोसी योजना दिखाइये तो इंजीनियर ने बताया कि यह इलाका नेपाल पर है। मैंने उनसे कहा कि सिक्किम तो भारत में आने को तैयार है और हम भारत की भूमि को नेपाल का हिस्सा मान रहे हैं। आप को इतना भी जान नहीं है। अपनी सीमा को नेपाल का बता कर या अपनी सीमा को दूसरे का बता कर अपने देश का भला नहीं करने वाले हैं। (Time bell rings.) लास्ट में मैं कहूँगा कि पिछड़े क्षेत्रों के विकास के लिये प्रधान मंत्री जी ने नौ-जवानों को पढ़ने के लिये किताबें दी, नौजवानों को खाने के लिये सम्मान दिया। सबसे बड़ी चीज जो अनुशासन है उसको हम भूल चुके थे, छोड़ चुके थे और सिर्फ अधिकारों की मांग कर रहे थे। हम अपने कर्तव्यों से दूर हो गये थे। इस अनुशासन को हमने फिर से रिहबिलिटेड किया है। लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो पिछड़े क्षेत्र हैं, जैसे पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश और उत्तर बिहार का इलाका है, उसकी जो दुर्दशा है...

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :** You have to conclude now. You have taken 20 minutes. And according to the rules you cannot be given more than 15 minutes.

**SHRI GUNANAND THAKUR :** Two more minutes, Sir.

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :** It is not possible because you must realise that on non-official days if you do not finish within 15 minutes, some other Member is affected because at five the whole thing is over. If you go on taking five minutes

more, that means that one or two speakers are affected. So you will have to wind up.

**SHRI GUNANAND THAKUR :** Sir, please give two more minutes only.

इसलिये मैं आपसे यह आग्रह करूँगा कि आप उत्तरी बिहार और पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश के पिछड़े क्षेत्रों के बारे में और देश के अन्य पिछड़े क्षेत्रों के बारे में एक सर्वेक्षण कराये। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इन क्षेत्रों के विकास के लिये आप अलग में एक रूप देखा तैयार करें ताकि उन क्षेत्रों का विकास तेजी में हो सके। हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने खामनौर पर देश की गरीबी और आदिवासियों की ओर हमारा ध्यान खींचा है। बिहार के अन्दर बहुत बड़े पैमाने के अन्दर आदिवासी रहते हैं। इसी प्रकार से उड़ीसा, मध्य प्रदेश और आन्ध्र प्रदेश में भी आदिवासी रहते हैं। रेडिया पर हमारे बहुत से प्रोग्राम होते हैं। आदिवासियों के बीच में प्रधान मंत्री के 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम का प्रचार करने के लिये यह जरूरी है कि आदिवासियों की भाषा में रेडियों के प्रोग्राम हों और इन प्रोग्रामों के अन्दर 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम का समावेश हो। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

**SHRI KRISHNARAO NARAYAN DHULAP (Maharashtra) :** My hon. friend Shri Nagaraja Murthy has moved a very important Resolution. He wants, through this Resolution, that there should be some sort of a coordinating agency to see that this 20-point programme is, implemented throughout the country properly.

Sir, I have heard the speeches of the Members of the Treasury Benches with rapt attention, and they have again dwelt upon the problems which have caused the declaration of the emergency. They have said that there was chaos, there was indiscipline, and because of that the Prime Minister and the President of India were forced to declare an emergency. But one important point which they miss is this that there is another reason which has been given by the Prime Minister.

[Shri Krishnarao Narayan Dhulap]

She said that she has declared and announced so many progressive schemes and policies but that because of the morchas, gheraos, agitations and indiscipline in the country created by the Members of the Opposition, she could not implement them. And after the declaration of emergency she put forth before the country this 20-point programme. She wanted the administration, particularly the Congress administration throughout the country, and the Congress workers and the Congress Members of the Legislatures to make it a point to see that this programme was properly implemented with a sense of urgency. And therefore I think that when the hon. Member moved this Resolution, he was moving it as a sort of censure against the Government, bringing this fact to its notice that six months have elapsed after the declaration of the emergency but still there is no machinery in this country to see that this 20-point programme is being implemented.

My hon. friend Shri Sardesai referred to the way in which the 20-point programme is being implemented in Maharashtra.

They have appointed a State-level committee. In the first meeting of that State level committee, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra gave a long speech of his own and the meeting ended. In the second meeting, the same thing was repeated. District committees have not been appointed up till now and there is no machinery at the tehsil level or at the village level. So merely because sermons are given by the Chief Ministers at the State-level meetings, I do not think anybody in this House will come to the conclusion that they are serious about implementing the 20-point programme. Sir, some committees have been appointed. Legislation has been passed in the State legislature asking the people to give up the surplus holdings which are with them. And committees have been appointed to enquire into cases where surplus land above the ceiling is available. And in those committees, who are the members? Those who are big landlords,

those who have submitted applications for exemption from the ceiling, are in these committees. So how are they going to implement this thing? The vested interests which are against giving their surplus land to the landless people are members of the committees which have been appointed to enquire into surplus land holdings with a view to distributing them to the landless. How are those people going to implement it? So, Sir, there must be a will to implement this programme. And we feel that the Congress Party, as it is to-day, is not a well-knit, organised party. That is my impression. There are vested interests in the Congress Party itself. If at all they want to implement this programme, then Madam Prime Minister and the Planning Minister also will have to see that there is some sort of a purging in the Congress Party itself. My friend referred to the fact that still there are some agencies which are coming in the way of the implementation of this programme. Sir, the opposition parties are not working at present. Nobody is allowed to open his mouth to say anything against the 20-point programme or the emergency. The whole machinery of the Congress organisation is there; the whole machinery of the Government is there. And in spite of that, in spite of the calm and quiet everywhere throughout these six months after the declaration of the emergency, why has this programme not been implemented properly? Why even in some States a beginning is not made? That is the question which the hon. Minister, Mr. Gujral, will have to answer. When with a sense of emergency the programme was declared, with that sense of emergency it ought to have been implemented. Therefore, Sir my suggestion would be that they should make a beginning from the village itself. Who will know who is having surplus land? Not the man who is sitting at the top in a Government office. He will simply look into the record and then he will give his judgment. So the village panchayat should be made responsible for giving correct information from the village level. Who are unemployed

in the villages, who are partially employed, who are given seasonal employment, who are having surplus land with them—all this information can only come from the lower level. The lowest officer of the Government machinery at the village level the patwari is the most corrupt officer, if he is called an officer. He is at the lowest rung of the Government hierarchy and he will always side with the vested interests. So the village panchayat should be made responsible; particularly the class which is badly in need of land—the land-hungry class, that is, the Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribes—should be represented in the village panchayat and they should be made responsible for supplying this information to the Government machinery.

How many people are unemployed in the villages and what are we going to do to them? It is said that bonded labour is being abolished. Their shackle is removed because of emergency. But is there any alternative employment available in the villages for those who have been freed from bonded labour? First, there should be a proper machinery to look into whether bonded labour is completely abolished from the face of the country. Then there should be a list prepared of those who are freed from this bad custom and such people should be given alternative employment elsewhere. After 27 years of independence, there is no record of those unemployed in villages. No statistics have been prepared. Therefore, a list of those people freed from bonded labour should be prepared. A bill on this subject is coming up. There a provision has been made that the District Magistrate will, as far as possible, try to rehabilitate those freed from this evil custom. This phrase "as far as possible" gives the District Magistrate enough scope to say that whatever he could has been done. This is how programmes are being implemented. Those people freed from this custom should be given employment in factories in that particular district. But the factories are not moving into backward and undeveloped

areas, though they are being asked to go there. Unless and until factories are located in villages, employed villages will not get any job there. So, factories should be started in undeveloped areas. Otherwise abolition of bonded labour will be achieved only on paper.

It is said that house sites are given to the poor in villages, and houses are being erected for them. It is interesting to know how many houses are being erected and what types of houses are being erected for the poor people. Will these houses be there this time next year? People are given 13 poles and huts are built with mud walls and tiles are put on the roof. These poles are dug into the ground upto half foot depth. They cannot naturally withstand rains.

This type of houses are being erected in the village side. So, this is nothing but a joke played on the poor people. This should be completely stopped. The bureaucracy which is having a hand in the implementation of these programmes is also doing this sort of thing. So, the Government should take note of this thing. Otherwise the whole money will become a waste and the whole labour will be wasted and again there will be an atmosphere of frustration.

The last point that I would like to touch upon is the question of bringing down the prices. Sir, there is a clear-cut disparity which is visible in the country. The Government, during the period of this emergency, is not touching the big people or the big money bags or the industrialists. On the contrary, they are being given all the concessions. I do not know why. There are other productive forces also in the country. The villagers are there who put in their labour, their sweat and their blood for greater production and if there is a bumper crop and if there is more production, then the prices crash down to such a level that these people find it difficult to sell their produce at a profit and find it difficult to continue the

[Shri Krishnarao Narayan Dhulap]  
 agricultural operations during the coming year. Therefore, it must be realised that this angle is there. I do not say that the Government is having an animus towards the village people or the agriculturists or that they are having some favourable attitude towards the industrialists. But they should take note of this situation when they want to bring down the prices. They must not forget that the peasantry in this country is the most important group and once the peasantry is crushed, then the whole nation will get crushed.

With these words, I support this Resolution.

SHRI IRENGBAM TOMPOK SINGH (Manipur) : Sir, I also rise to support this Resolution. This Resolution is also very important. Some Members from both sides of the House have dwelt on the 20-point economic programme and there are no two opinions about the importance and utility of this programme and the need of the hour is how to implement this programme. The crux of the problem is how to implement this programme effectively and purposefully. For implementing this programme effectively and purposefully, there should be a co-ordinating agency, and there should be a central co-ordinating agency. Sir, I do not want to deal with the 20-point programme because most of the Members have already dealt with it. In this programme, some of the items are in the hands of the Central Government and some are in the hands of the State Governments. But the important question at the moment is how to involve the Members of Parliament in the implementation of this programme. The AICC has also given some instructions or guidelines and has issued a circular to the member belonging to the Congress Party to involve themselves in the implementation of this programme. But, you see, there are the State Governments and there are Ministries at the Centre and State and the implementation of this programme is to be done at various levels at the village level,

there is the district level and State level. Sometimes these programmes are in the hands of the officers also. So, in order to co-ordinate the work of implementation at these various levels, there should be a co-ordinating agency through which the implementation of most of the items in this programme should normally be the concern of the State Governments. But how to co-ordinate? How to have a Central agency to conduct a thorough examination to see how far in this State or that State the programme has been implemented and how much is to be done and so on. This is the real problem before us. In the National Development Council discussions used to take place and the Chief Ministers of the States used to come and Plan discussions were held either at the end of the year or at the beginning of the year. Officers used to come and the Ministers used to come and they used to discuss here in Delhi. If we are sincere I would like to see that we can have some agency for the collection of data and information for the Central Government and it may give directions to the State Chief Ministers also. But, in the case of the Members of Parliament, Members of both the Houses, they are in the dark and they do not know how far in a particular State this 20-point programme has been implemented and how many of 20-points are the direct concern of the State Governments and how many of them are taken up on a top-priority basis at the Centre and State. Some States may take up some programmes on top priority and some other States may take up some other points on a priority basis. Therefore, there should be an agency to give directions. To my mind, therefore, the operative part of this Resolution is for the creation of a Central co-ordinating agency. Now, what will be the co-ordinating agency? We have to see whether it can be like the PAC or the Estimates Committee or some such Committee of Parliament. We have to see what is the purpose and what is the function of the agency for co-ordination. That sort of committee will not be possible at the moment. And at the same time this

has become a national programme. There is no doubt about it. There are no two opinions about that. At the same time, during this emergency the Government and the Prime Minister is very keen to implement this programme. Therefore, my humble submission to the Government, through you, Sir, particularly to the Planning Minister, is that at least we should have a national committee to look into the matter deeply and effectively as to how to implement this programme. The Prime Minister may be the Chairman. Chief Ministers or Ministers may be nominated and some Members of Parliament may also be nominated. There may be a central agency, a coordinating agency. We may discuss the problems. Sir, some problems may not be common to all States. Take, for instance, bonded labour. I came to know of it in the 20-point programme. Bonded labour is never known to our part of the country. Some programme may be paramount in some State, and the same may not be applicable to some other States. The Prime Minister has also said that this 20-point programme is not an end in itself.

As far as the implementation is concerned, the Chief Minister of the State has a vital role to play, because he is at the head of the administration in the State. But the Chief Minister alone will not do it. At the same time, bureaucrats are there. How far are bureaucrats committed to this programme? They also need reorientation course. Not only that, we have to involve people at the village level, at the district level and every other level where masses are there, because this programme is meant for the masses. Therefore, we have to compile all these reports up to date. After compilation of these reports regarding land, regarding handlooms, etc., when it comes to implementation actually there will be certain difficulties. Vested interests will come, and sometimes it is an irony in Indian politics, in the so-called democratic system. For example, even after 27 years of independence, we are depending so much on our bureaucrats. 'Bureaucrats' is not a bad term. They are civil servants. I do not know

much about the Centre, because I am a new man in the Centre. When one of our colleagues becomes a Minister, sometimes he is listening more to bureaucrats rather than listening to his old colleagues who happened to be his comrade-in-arms in the struggle of economic, political or others. This is an irony of fate in India.

Therefore, to have an agency is very important. It may be a small or big. Reports collected from different States should be examined by that agency and should be placed before both the Houses of Parliament. Only then will we be in a position to have discussions in an effective manner, otherwise this programme would be just like 'mantras' or slogans. Some Members, and even some Chief Ministers—I will not quote names—said that this is just like the Gita.... Lord Krishna speaking to Arjuna, and so on. If these things are correctly implemented, that will be in the best interests of the common people.

I will not deal with all the programmes because it will take valuable time of the House. I will finish within a minute. We are thinking about wages. The Members of Parliament who draw Rs. 51 per day as their wage are also wage earners. They sacrificed their lives at the altar of national movement. Now he is also a careerist, are more than the people who are ready to sacrifice for the country. The country is free and the nationalist people in different walks of life are supported to serve in different capacities in different States. After the emergency, Rs. 500 have been increased in the name of secretarial allowance. Even Members of Parliament having this as their only avocation and whose income is not supplemented by other sources, their condition is not good. If a person joins an Assembly at a young age, then even after serving for 4 or 5 terms, he will remain poor in old age. Shri Jairamdas Daulatram is our Member. When I was in the 5th Standard, he was the Governor of Assam. He is a colleague of ours now. Therefore, even the Members of Parliament should be given pensions. If

[Shri Irengbam Tompok Singh] privileged M.P. those who happen to serve the country's cause are suffering, what will be the condition of the common man? There may be 20 points or 40 points or 100 points programmes but they must be taken-up phase by phase. The life of the villagers or those who are unemployed or landless or are having fixed incomes is very miserable. For example, some of our friends referred to minimum wages of this section or that section. Why should we try to divide and rule amongst ourselves. Amongst the fixed income group, let us take from Rashtrapati Ji and come down to a peon. A peon has to maintain his family. He needs a hut, a bicycle, square meals and clothing. He has to educate his children. I won't say regarding the income gap. But at least some minimum wage or minimum salary should be given to all. We should see to it. We are talking all the time about people who remain unemployed. We are talking all the time about landless labourers and agriculturists. We talk about distribution of land all the time. It is not easy to distribute land like that. Land belongs to those people who are privileged. Therefore, while taking up these things, we should have a national co-ordination committee with the Prime Minister at the top. The State Chief Ministers and Members of Parliament should be in it.

And we may examine thoroughly as to how many out of this Programme should be on top priority basis in a particular State. A programme which is applicable to one State may not be applicable to other States. India is a vast country, the culture differs from one State to the other, the tradition differs from one State to the other. Therefore, in order to see to all these things, within this year, i.e. 1976 before it is too late, we should form a central co-ordinating agency. Only through that agency will we be in a position to open up our eye and see how many programmes are implemented.

Thank you, Sir.

**SHRI JAGAN NATH BHARDWAJ**  
(Himachal Pradesh) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the Resolution moved by my

hon. friend is really very important and is according to the need of the time. Sir, he has pointed out the anomalies that arise at the time of implementation of the 20-Point Programme. He has given a very good picture of the anomalies that crop up. So, it is very essential that to deal with those anomalies and to do away the reverse effects of those things or the hardship to certain parties, there should be proper co-ordination so that all those matters could be properly dealt with. In addition to anomalies, there are other very important aspects of the 20-Point Programme and those also need to be dealt with.

Sir, take, for example, distribution of commodities. No doubt, there is some shape of distribution system in the country. But that system is required to be improved upon very elaborately. This requires proper thinking and proper planning. To do this sort of a technical work or what you call a very complicated work, it is also essential that there should be some experienced people, people having full knowledge as to how this thing should be carried out. Then only we can be perfect in the implementation of the 20-Point Programme. For example, in the distribution system we want the involvement of co-operative societies. Now, if the co-operative societies themselves are not properly planned, then the result will be a very reverse type of thing. So, the first requirement of the time is that we should make a list of important essential commodities which are basically needed. Then there should be a price system. Perhaps, in today's List of Business, there is a Resolution moved by my friend, Mr. V. B. Raju. There, he has pointed out that there can be a differentiation between the prices of rural commodities and industrial commodities. So, a balance between these items is very essential. So, to think about all these matters, it is very necessary to have a machinery or a co-ordinating body.

Sir, another point is the workers' participation in management. The Labour



Ministry has drawn up a scheme for workers' participation in the management. But how to implement it? There is no willing co-operation from the side of employers to implement it. Now, there is the question of bonus. In the matter of bonus, there is one difficulty that the workers have no say in the matter of preparation of balance-sheets. If the worker has some say in the matter of making purchases or making adjustments and appropriations, etc. then there is no difficulty, and the workers will know themselves that this is the profit they make. The attitude of the workers is well-known; they are very co-operative. They understand the requirements of the nation. They are very liberal. They themselves are good in their attitude. But the difficulty is, they feel that they have no say in the matter of calculating the bonus. One condition is that bonus will be available subject to profits. It should be there. It is a national policy. And we must co-operate, and we have been co-operating.

The workers should co-operate at all stages.

But, it is very desirable to understand their heart and see how they feel and how they think about these things. So, for this purpose if there is a joint management system and workers are allowed into management committees and have a right and privilege to check up the balance-sheets and calculate profits, what is the harm in giving bonus subject to the condition that there are profits? These are the basic points which make it essential that there should be a co-ordinating agency or body, as my friend has demanded. Such a body should not only be at the Central level but in the States also. There should be such bodies because this is a serious step that our Prime Minister has taken. My friend has said : well, this is

just a *tamasha*. This is not a *tamasha*. Everybody knows that when something falls from above it comes to the ground. But it was Newton who codified this law of gravitation. Newton was a great scientist and this law is the result of his thinking. Take, for instance, Aryabhata; this is the projection of thoughts that Newton gave. So, our Prime Minister has given a similar thing and this is not a *tamasha*. She has pinpointed that this is the thing which is essential for poor people. She smelt the pulse of the poor people and she has brought to the notice of the public, the Government and the leaders that they will have to concentrate on these things. So, though this is a new thing, this is just like the action of Newton who pinpointed the ordinary thing which became the basis of so much development on earth that we cannot forget it. Same is the case with the programme given to us by the Prime Minister. There are not ordinary things. We are very serious and our Prime Minister is very serious and our Government is serious. Our Government has owned this programme. This is not the weakness of the Government that she has brought out. But the thing is that whatever we have done requires improvement. If we make improvements, it will be more and more useful to the people. Therefore, keeping all these things in view, I think, this Resolution deserves very careful consideration. I, therefore, fully support it and with this I sit down.

Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 11 00 A.M. on Monday, the 12th January, 1976.

The House then adjourned at five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Monday, the 12th January, 1976.