

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B., RAJU): Mr. Dhabe, you can continue after 2.30.

**SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS
FOR GRANTS FOR
EXPENDITURE OF THE
GOVERNMENT OF NAGALAND FOR
THE YEAR 1975-76**

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a statement (in English and Hindi) showing the Supplementary Demands (January, 1976) for Grants for Expenditure of the Government of Nagaland for the year 1975-76.

**SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR
GRANTS FOR EXPENDITURE OF
THE GOVERNMENT OF PONDICHE-
RRY FOR THE YEAR 1975-76**

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a statement (in English and Hindi) showing the Supplementary Demands (January, 1976) for Grants for Expenditure of the Government of Pondicherry for the year 1975-76.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 2.30 p. M.

The House adjourned for lunch at one minute past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty-two minutes past two of the clock. The Vice-Chairman (Shri Lokaoath Misra) in the Chair.

**RESOLUTION REGARDING SETTING
UP OF A CENTRAL CO-ORDINAT-
ING AGENCY FOR SPEEDY, EFFEC-
TIVE AND PURPOSEFUL IMPE-
MENTATION OF THE TWENTY
POINT ECONOMIC PROGRAMME—
contd.**

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKA-NATH MISRA): Mr. Dhabe will kindly continue.

SHRI S. W. DHABE : Sir, I was saying that an important convention had been passed in 1975 called the Rural Workers' Organisation Convention. This Convention assumes great importance in the matter of organisation of workers because of so many programmes being undertaken on the social and economic plans in the rural areas. Sir, in 1951 we had 27.49 million agricultural workers, which figure rose to 31.51 million in 1961. In the 1971 Census, the number is 47.48 million. The rise is so steep. One of the reasons is that share-croppers and tenants have lost their rights and the small peasants have also become agricultural workers. If these workers are organised, I am certain that they will be able to acquire all the benefits as the urban working class in India has acquired by struggle and organisation. But the necessary conditions should be created for them to organise themselves into a well-knit union. Sir, in this connection, the ILO Convention says that the legal impediments or legislations which hinder the development of such organisation should be immediately removed and necessary amendments or improvements should be made. I will quote only two instances at this juncture. One is the Indian Trade Union Act, 1926. It does not allow other persons to be organised except the workers. The definition of "rural workers" in this Convention is that it should include small tenants, share-croppers and those who are self-employed. But now the tenants, small peasants or share-croppers cannot become members of any union because of the definition of the word "Trade Union" in that Act. Another protection which the industrial workers have got is that the Industrial Disputes Act has given protection to the office-bearers of unions. They are called protected workmen under section 33(4), rule 61. But there is no law governing the service conditions of the rural workers and there is no such law giving protection to the officebearers of unions in the rural areas. Therefore, some law will have to be made. Otherwise, if anybody asks for minimum wages in the rural areas, he will be sacked'.

[Shri S. W. DHABE]

Office-bearers of unions in the rural areas will be without employment. Therefore, it is necessary to have a law for the rural areas for speedy implementation of this economic programme so that office-bearers of the rural workers' organisation get some sort of protection.

The third thing is, the Land Ceiling Act has been passed in various States but it has been provided in the legislation that lawyers cannot appear before the land tribunals or the tenancy courts. On the one hand, we say that legal aid should be given to the poor. On the other, we say that lawyers will not be allowed to appear. How is legal aid to the poor possible without the assistance of lawyers? Therefore, the Government must make up its mind to have a policy decision. If legal aid is to be effective to the workers in the rural areas, where the landlords are very powerful, then lawyers should be allowed to appear in the tenancy courts. Today the experience is that in view of the present legal position, it is the landlords who get the benefits and the tenants lose their cases. If a survey is made, it will be found that the tenants have lost so much because there is nobody to plead their case. Legal aid and legal advice is very essential for the proper implementation of this economic programme.

Another thing which I would like to suggest at this stage is unless both industrial production and rural production go up hand in hand, there is no possibility of providing more funds for the economic upliftment of the rural poor. Therefore, it is essential that the economy should be growth-oriented and the working-class should be duty-oriented. When agitations and other things are not possible during this emergency, is it not necessary to see that there must be provided a machinery for solving their disputes and making collective bargaining successful? In this connection the Industrial Disputes Act has become out of date. Many undertakings

are taken out because they do not come under the definition of industry. There are conflicting decisions of the Supreme Court and it is difficult to understand what is an 'industry' and what is not. If the law does not apply and collective bargaining and adjudication is not possible, the alternative is agitation. In this connection the National Herald in today's edition has quoted the Supreme Court's decision in the Bangalore Water Supply and Sewerage Board's case. It has said and I quote:—

"...that there should be a "comprehensive, clear and conclusive declaration" by Parliament as to what is an industry under the Industrial Disputes Act as it now stands.

An order passed on these appeals by a division bench of the court says that long years of judicial attention by the Supreme Court and the High Courts had not happily resulted in a harvest of rulings or harmony of pronouncements on the question whether a club, a hospital, a university, electricity board or water supply and sewerage board or other public utility concerns or even a solicitor's firm is an "industry".

These rulings did not help the two wings of the industry, namely, management and labour to understand and apply the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Act.

The order said, "the judges have been baffled by the absence of a consistent line or clear ratio even after a decision on the hospital case where a bench of six judges of this court ruled on what is an industry vis-a-vis the three hospitals which came up in that case.

The order said "it is indisputable that this is an area of law which affects a vital, vast and expanding segment of economic activity and concerns considerable numbers of workers for whom

the Constitution shows special care. It is an unhappy state of affairs if the law in this matter should remain in the state of uncertainty and result in ad hoc adjudication in particular situations.

It is therefore very essential that it must be made very clear and it to be radically changed so as to suit new conditions. If this is done, then the collective bargaining process will be useful.

My last point is this. So far as giving sites and land is concerned, one of the conditions for giving the landless labourers credit is that they should be credit-worthy. Today it is a condition that they get loans by banks. This will be useful in the rural areas where the landless labourers and bonded labourers will have no means of giving security for loans. Liberal financial help is essential if these persons are to be rehabilitated. A massive programme should be organised for the rehabilitation of these workers.

I would like to suggest one thing more. The coordinating agency suggested in the Resolution may not be very useful. I think the Planning Commission should have a cell to implement this programme effectively and this House should be informed from time to time how much progress has been made in its implementation. The Resolution which is speedy enactment of the programme is very essential that such a programme should be effectively implemented immediately. For these things infrastructures are necessary which should be created so that, in the new economic era the working class people remain content, their problems are solved peacefully and they become equal partners in the industry. I have given some suggestions for this purpose and I hope the honourable Minister will give them due consideration.

With these words, Sir, I conclude. Thank you.

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डा० रामकृष्ण सिंह (बिहार): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज जो सदन के सामने संकल्प रखा गया वह संकल्प तो बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है, लेकिन आज देश में इस संकल्प के बारे में कितनी गंभीरता है, इस पर भी विचार करना चाहिये। आपको स्मरण होगा कि अपने देश में कई नारे निकले। एक जमाने में कोषापरदेष्टा कामन वेल्थ का नारा निकला, फिर वेलफेयर स्टेट का नारा निकला, फिर सोशलिस्टिक पैटर्न आफ सोसाइटी का नारा निकला और पिछले साल नरेंद्रा में 11-सूत्री कार्यक्रम का नारा निकला और उसके बाद, इस घोषणा-कार्त्तवीन स्थिति की घोषणा के तुरन्त बाद 21-सूत्री कार्यक्रम की घोषणा हुई और एक मूव कहीं खी गया। अब यह 20-सूत्री बन गया...

श्री नन्दकिशोर भट्ट : वही इम्प्लीमेंट होगा।

डा० रामकृष्ण सिंह : अब मैं इतना ही निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यह कोषापरदेष्टा कामनवेल्थ हो या वेलफेयर स्टेट हो, या सोशलिस्टिक पैटर्न आफ सोसाइटी हो या डेमोक्रेटिक सोसाइटी हो या 11-सूत्री नरेंद्रा टाइप हो या 20-सूत्री प्रधानमन्त्री जी का कार्यक्रम हो, इन कार्यक्रमों में देश की कामेंस कहीं है? देश में लगभग सभी लोगों ने इन कार्यक्रमों को स्वीकार किया और इन सब कार्यक्रमों को नेशनल कामेंस प्रोग्राम यदि घोषित करत तो इसमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं होती। लेकिन यह सारा कार्यक्रम नारे की तरह धाया और नारे की तरह चला गया, धांधली की तरह धाया और तूफान की तरह चला गया। लोग उनको भूल गये।

मैं चाहूंगा कि आज ही सदन इस पर गंभीरतापूर्वक विचार करे कि ये 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम और जितने भी कार्यक्रम हैं, मैं समझता हूँ कि इन देश के जितने भी राजनैतिक दल हैं उनके घोषणा पत्रों को इनके सामने रखा जाये और उनमें से छान-बीन की जाये तो दिखाई यह पड़ेगा कि शायद ही कोई राजनैतिक दल होगा जो इन 20-सूत्रों से अपने को झलक रख सके हो या जिन्होंने इन सूत्रों को लागू करने की घोषणा अपने चुनाव घोषणा पत्र में न की हो। किन्तु मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा और मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ तद्दिल से कि आज जो यह प्रोग्राम है, पंचायत स्तर के मुखिया सम्मेलन से लेकर कांग्रेस संसदीय दल, कार्य समिति, रेडियो और प्रखबारों से सभी

[डा० रामकृपाल सिंह]

लोग इसका गुणगान कर रहे हैं। इसलिये मुझे भय हो रहा है। भय इसलिये हो रहा है कि क्या यह गुणगान करना वास्तव में 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम के प्रति आस्था प्रकट करना है या किसी व्यक्ति के प्रति आस्था प्रकट करने के लिये यह एक तरीका हो गया है। यह समस्या मेरे सामने है। आज मुझे यह लगता है कि अधिकांश लोग जो दल शासन में हैं उसमें बड़े बड़े व्यापारी, सेठ, साहूकार, स्मगलर्स और जो फारेन एक्सचेंज में रीक्रेटर्स हैं ऐसे लोगों द्वारा मंच और मंच से 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम की घोषणा की आवाज सुनाई पड़ती है, स्वागत की आवाज सुनाई पड़ती है तो मुझे एक शंका होती है कि क्या इस 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम को किसी व्यक्ति विशेष के प्रति राजनैतिक दृष्टि से आस्था व्यक्त करने के लिये तो लोग बोल नहीं रहे हैं क्या? मैं चाहता हूँ, इस स्थिति की सफाई होनी चाहिये। तो प्रोग्राम में और प्रोग्राम को एक हथियार बना कर जनता को गुमराह करने में—इसमें अन्तर होना चाहिये।

श्री कल्याण चन्द (उत्तर प्रदेश) : गलत है।

श्री कामेश्वर सिंह (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जितने भी विरोधी दल हैं सब गलतफहमी में रहते हैं। आपकी गलतफहमी का कोई इलाज नहीं है, उसकी कोई दवा नहीं है। आई कैन ओन्ली सिम्पेथाइज विद हिम।

डा० रामकृपाल सिंह : हमारे मित्र गलतफहमी से और गलतफहमी में चले गये। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि यदि उनकी मन्शा इन कार्यक्रमों को लागू करने में है तो देश के जितने भी राजनैतिक दल हैं सबों को एक साथ बैठाये उनके सामने एक प्रोग्राम रखें, उसको नेशनल प्रोग्राम डिक्लेयर करें। नेशनल प्रोग्राम कोई एक-पक्षीय डिक्लेयर करने से नहीं हो सकता है। जब तक सभी दलों के लोग, सभी राजनैतिक पक्षों के लोग एक साथ बैठकर—और ऐसे लोग जो राजनैतिक दल में नहीं हैं जैसे विनोबा जी, जयप्रकाश नारायण आदि हैं, और भी कई हो सकते हैं उन लोगों को भी बैठाया जाये—फिर इसमें जो और जोड़ना हो उसको जोड़ कर इसको एक नेशनल प्रोग्राम के नाते लागू किया जाये। मेरा एक सुझाव है : इसको राजनीति की हवा से दूर रखा जाये।

हम और आप सब जिस तरह से संसदीय प्रजातंत्र में विश्वास करते हैं, जिस तरह से कुछ मूलभूत सिद्धान्तों में देश की एकता में विश्वास करने हैं, उसी तरह एक धार्मिक कार्यक्रम जिसको सारे देश का वसिन्धम मानें, और मैं समझता हूँ यह 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम उसका आधार हो सकता है, इस तरह का एक कार्यक्रम बना कर और फिर इसको लागू करने में बिना राजनैतिक उद्देश्य के एकजुट हो कर काम करें तो सही मतों में राजनैतिक उद्देश्यों की पूर्ति हो, ठीक ढंग से वह राष्ट्रीय उद्देश्य की पूर्ति हो। हमारे देश में राजनैतिक दलों ने ऐसे भोकों पर सहयोग का हाथ बढ़ाया है, उसमें नाथ दिया है। मैं बंगलादेश की घटना का जिक्र करता हूँ जिसमें हमारे नेता ने और हमारे दल ने जिस तरह सरकार का साथ दिया, सहयोग किया, वह एक उदाहरण है। तो फिर कोई कारण नहीं है कि इकानामिक रीकंसट्रक्शन के लिये जो कुछ सहयोग भांगे उसमें कोई पीछे नहीं रहेगा? लेकिन आपकी मन्शा साफ होनी चाहिये आपका उद्देश्य राजनैतिक न होकर सही मतों में देश के पुनर्गठन, देश के पुनर्निर्माण का उद्देश्य होना चाहिये। यह मैं कहना चाहूंगा।

अब 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम में एक महत्वपूर्ण बात है कि मूल्य-वृद्धि बहुत अधिक हो गई है, इसको कम किया जाये। क्या सारे देश में मूल्य-वृद्धि को कम करो, इसका आंदोलन नहीं चला? और जब हमने आंदोलन चलाया था कि मूल्य-वृद्धि कम की जाये उसके लिये ठोस कार्यक्रम लाये गये, तो फिर कोई कारण नहीं है कि उसमें हमारा दल आपका साथ नहीं देता। आखिर आंदोलन के उद्देश्यों में यह भी था कि जो मूल्य-वृद्धि हो रही है उसको रोका जाये और प्रायः यदि मूल्य-वृद्धि को रोकने के लिये कुछ कदम उठाये हैं तो हम उसका स्वागत करेंगे। और कदम भी उठाये तो हमसे बिचार करके उठाये और हमसे साथ काम करने के लिये कहें तो हम साथ देंगे। (interruption) मूल्य-वृद्धि को रोकने के लिये सारी बातें हुई...

श्री कामेश्वर सिंह : अब आपको पछतावा हो रहा है। अफसोस करो, कोई बात नहीं।

डा० रामकृपाल सिंह : अरे भाई, आपका नाम रिकार्ड में चढ़ गया, हो गया, काफी हो गया। रिकार्ड हो गया

आपका नाम। उचित समय पर विचार किया जायेगा। तो मुझे कहना है कि आज जो मूल्य-वृद्धि में कमी हुई है तो किन वस्तुओं का मूल्य घटा है? इंडस्ट्रियल सामानों के मूल्य नहीं घटे और जो खेतीबाड़ी की उपज है उसकी कीमत बहुत अधिक गिर गई है। आज हमारे देश में खेतीबाड़ी की कीमत घटकर देश की आर्थिक स्थिति आगे नहीं बढ़ सकती है। आलू की कीमत अवश्य घट गई है। अब आलू 40-50 पैसे प्रति किलो बिक रहा है, लेकिन आम्र से जो समोसे बनते हैं उसकी कीमत नहीं घटी है। गेहूं की कीमत घट गई है, चावल की कीमत घट गई है, लेकिन ट्रेक्टर की कीमत तिगनी और चौगुनी हो गई है। इतना ही नहीं अगले माच से बिजली की कीमत भी बढ़ जाने वाली है। हमारे बिहार में पानी के श्रीर सिंचाई के जो रेट्स थे वे बढ़ा दिये गये हैं। किसानों की जो जमीन है, उसका जो लैंड रेवेन्यू है और उसके ऊपर जो तरह-तरह के सैम है, वे सब बढ़ा दिये गये हैं। किसानों की जो हमपुट थी, उसकी कीमत तो बढ़ गई है और किसान जिस चीज को उत्पन्न करता है, उसकी कीमत घट गई है। इसका असर यह हुआ है कि हमारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था पर बोझ पड़ा है। इसलिये मूल्य-वृद्धि रोकने के लिये जो कदम उठाये गये हैं उन कदमों को उठाने से पहिले उन पर जरूर विचार कर लिया जाना चाहिये।

हमारे जो वाइसल सेक्टर हैं, जो हमारे रा-मैटिरियल्स हैं, जहाँ वे पैदा होते हैं, जहाँ खाद्यान्न पैदा होते हैं, वे प्रभावित नहीं होने चाहिये और इन चीजों को उत्पादित करने का दृष्टिकोण होना चाहिये। मैं यहाँ पर एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ कि बीम मूली कार्यक्रम में काटेज इंडस्ट्री के सम्बन्ध में जो कार्यक्रम रखा गया है, उसको देखकर मुझे बड़ी खुशी हुई है। मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जो स्पिनर्स हैं, जो वीवर्स हैं, उनकी भलाई के लिये कोई एक प्रोग्राम बनाया जाना चाहिये। मैं एक साधारण घर में पैदा हुआ हूँ। मेरी गाँव में लगभग 80-85 चर्खे चलते थे। मेरी माँ चर्खा चलाती थी, मेरी दादी चर्खा चलाती थी और उस गाँव में छोटे-छोटे किसानों के घर में चर्खा चलता था। लेकिन आज हालत क्या है? आज समूचे चर्खे बन्द हैं। उन चर्खों के लिये कातने के लिये रुई की सप्लाई बन्द हो गई है। जो लोग

सूत कातते थे, उनके सूत खरीदने वाला कोई नहीं है। गाँव के किसानों ने ही गांधी जी के चर्खों को याद रखा था। कांशेम ने अपने मदर्यों की इस बात की गूट वे दी है कि उनके लिये अब खादी पहिनना अनिवार्य नहीं रह गया है। इसलिये मैं चाहूँगा कि जो सूत कातने वाले हैं, जो कपड़ा बनाने वाले हैं, उनकी हर तरह से मदद की जानी चाहिये क्योंकि हर गरीब घर के लिये यह चीज उसको सहारा देने के लायक बनेगी। इस चीज के लिये कोई रोस कार्यक्रम बनाया जाये और इस तरह के कार्यक्रम के बनाये जाने के बाद सही मानों में हमारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था को मदद मिल सकती है।

इसी तरह से गांधी जी ने हमारी ग्रामीण अर्थ-व्यवस्था को मजबूत बनाने के लिये स्वदेशी का नारा दिया था। इस नारे में हमें विचार करना चाहिये क्योंकि आज हमारे देश में विदेशों से कई तरह की चीजें समगल होकर आती हैं। आज हमारे देश में घड़ियाँ, विदेशी कपड़ा, विदेशी साज-सामान, टेप-रिकार्डर और दूसरी अनेक चीजें आती हैं। इसकी जरूरत क्या है। यदि शासक दल के लोगों और सरकारी पदाधिकारी लोगों में और देश के अन्दर एक बानाबरण बने कि हम स्वदेशी चीजों का ही उपयोग और उपभोग करेंगे तो यह बात ही हमारे देश के राष्ट्रीय अर्थतंत्र को एक बहुत बड़ा बल प्रदान करेगी और इसलिये हम को स्वदेशी का प्रचार करना चाहिये।

जहाँ तक ग्रामीण ऋणों के बारे में चर्चा है, मैं बिहार के बारे में बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ पर सूद भरमा पर जमीन ली जाती थी। उस प्रथा को समाप्त कर दिया गया, लेकिन सूद भरमा के बदले में कौन सी व्यवस्था होगी नाकि गरीब किसानों को ऋण उपलब्ध हो सके इस की कोई चर्चा नहीं है और न इसके लिये कोई स्टेप्स ही लिये गये हैं। हमारे कामेश्वर भाई जैसे बड़े जमींदार जो थे उन्होंने जब देखा कि सीलिंग का कानून आ रहा है तो उन्होंने अपनी जमीनें छोटे किसानों को सूद भरमा पर दे दीं और रुपया उन से ले लिया। अब परिणाम यह हुआ कि इस कानून से जो बड़े किसान थे जिन्होंने अपनी जमीनें छोटे किसानों को दे रखी थीं और उन से रुपया ले लिया था उन की जमीन फिर उन की वापस आ जायेगी। मैंने इस संबंध में अपने यहाँ के मुख्य मंत्री जी से कहा था कि यह कौनसा प्रोपेसिव ऐक्ट है।

[डा० रामकृपाल मिश्र]

जमीन वह छोटी किमान वाले किमान ने ली है और उस के लिये पैसा दिया हुआ है तो वह जमीन उस की तरफ ही मँटल कर दी जानी चाहिये। उस को ही उस का स्वतन्त्रत्व मिल जाना चाहिये। यदि वह जमीन ऐसे लोगों को है जिन के पास सीलिंग से ज्यादा जमीन है तो उस जमीन को छोटे किमान ने लिया हुआ है तो उस के पास ही उसको मँटल कर दीजिये। अगर ऐसा किया गया होता तो वह एक प्रोपेसिव बात होती। लेकिन बिहार में ऐसा नहीं हो रहा है। वहाँ मैंने देखा कि छोटे किसानों ने बड़े जमींदारों से जमीन ले रखी है और इस कारण बड़े जमींदारों को बड़ी मोज हो गयी। उन की जमीन उन को वापस हो गयी और उन को पैसा नहीं देना पड़ा। इन बैबस के बारे में मैंने प्रश्न किया था कि हमारे मजदूरफरार जिले में एक मान में बैंक ने कितने किसानों को कृषि दिया...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री लोकनाथ मिश्र) : आप के १४ मिनट हो गये हैं। अब समाप्त करिये।

डा० रामकृपाल मिह० तो उम्हने बताया कि 4100 गांव बहा है और 1974-75 में उन में केवल 1142 किसानों को कृषि दिया गया है। गांव पीछे एक छादमी तो भी नहीं है और मैं निश्चयपूर्वक कह सकता हूं कि यह जो कृषि दिये गये वह ऐसे किसानों को दिये गये कि जो चारने फरने किसान थे, जो बड़े और ट्रैक्टर वाले किसान थे। वह गरीब किसान नहीं थे। और हम निये में बाहंग्या कि साल्टस्टेटिव प्रोग्राम जो हो उस में कृषि देने की व्यवस्था, उचित व्यवस्था मोत्र की जाय।

एक घोर बात मैं कहना चाहूंगा। आज इस समय जो प्रोग्राम है उसमें एक घोर प्रोग्राम जोड़ा जाना चाहिए। तथा घोर बह होना चाहिए, साक्षर गांव का। हमारे संविधान का नाम हूँ 25 साल हो गये घोर हमारे गांव आज भी निरक्षर है। शहरों में भी निरक्षरता है और गांवों भी है। शहरों में तो स्वयं क्लियरेंस हो रहा है, मेथिन देहातों में कुछ नहीं है। नुमायशों और पर कहीं-कहीं हरिजनों के लिये दो चार मकान बना दिये गये हैं। तो मैं चाहूंगा कि एक नेशनल प्रोग्राम साक्षर गांव, साक्षर गांव, नाम मोहल्ला, साक्षर मोहल्ला का इस में जोड़ा

याय घोर उस को क्षीरयमली लामू किया जाय । मैं फिर निवेदन करूंगा यदि वास्तव में घ्राप इस प्रोचाम के द्वारा देश को रिकस्ट्रक्ट करना चाहते हैं तो घ्राप सभी पक्षों को मित्र कर नेशनल कोसिल से इस को मतवाइये घोर इस को नेशनल प्रोचाम बना कर देश के अर्थतंत्र को एक नयी दिशा दीजिये । इतना ही मेरा निवेदन है ।

3 P.M.

श्री बुरगोद श्याम खान (दिल्ली) : डिप्टी चैयरमैन साहब मैं इस रेजोल्यूशन को घोर जो पोसे भावना है उसके जखबे घोर खुल्लूग की भी दिल से कद करता हूँ। श्री मूर्ति को मुबारकबाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने इस प्रकार का रेजोल्यूशन पेश किया। मैं समझता हूँ यह काम इतना बड़ा है, इतना फैला हुआ है कि इस को कोई ऐसी एजेंसी, जिसकी उन्होंने तबदील की है, सर-ख़ात्राम नहीं दे सकती। कथन इसके कि मैं किसी मामले पर कुछ कहूँ मैं डा० रामकृपाल सिंह जी से अर्ज करूँगा कि सिर्फ़ उनका अपना गांव ही हिन्दुस्तान नहीं है उनके गांवों में जो समस्याएँ हैं वे दूसरे गांवों में भी हो सकती हैं लेकिन पूरे मुल्क का ज़न्दाजा लगाना सिर्फ़ अपने गांव पर मतान्वित नहीं है।

दूसरी चीज मैं यह अंग करना चाहता हूँ कि यही प्रादमी शुद्धता करना है जिसकी धृष्ट की नीयत माफ नहीं होती। पहले आप अपनी नीयत माफ करें। फिर हमारे इरादों की कद्र करें, फिर हमारे इरादों की अच्छाइयों का आप यथाशक्ती लक्षण। जब तक आपकी नीयत माफ नहीं है आप अच्छी से अच्छी चीज को पसन्द नहीं करेंगे। अन्तिम बात है कि कोई अच्छा काम करने तो आप की उस पर भी अफसोस होता है।

दूसरी चीज आप चाहते हैं कि आप से मजबूरा किया जाये । आप को क्या ये बातें याद नहीं हैं जब हमारे हुकूमत ने, हमारी बजीरे शाजम ने कोसिज कि किसी न किसी तरह से बिरोधी पक्ष के लोगों से मिल कर उनकी राय मानूस की जाए, गुफ्तगू की जाए, बात की जाए । बात कहाँ तक चली, वह बात किस तरह से खत्म हुई । यह आप मन से ज्यादा अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं ।

अब मैं यह अज्र करना चाहूंगा कि दुनिया में इन्कलाब आते हैं। हमारे देश में भी इन्कलाब आया है दो तरह

का इन्कलाब होता है एक खूनी इन्कलाब और दूसरा हुल्लड़बाजी का इन्कलाब। हमारा इतकाद हमारा यकीन न खूनी इन्कलाब में है और न हुल्लड़ बाजी इन्कलाब में है। हमारा इतकाद तो खामोश इन्कलाब में है। यह खामोशी इन्कलाब हमारी तकदीर ही बदल दे रहा है। हमारे हालात ही बदल रहे हैं। यह जरूरी है कि इसके लिये ऐसी मुकदर की जायें। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह काम सबसे अच्छा और सबसे बेहतर मूरत में खुद प्लानिंग कमीशन कर सकता है। जैसी मेरे दोस्त ने अभी तजवीज दी कि प्लानिंग कमीशन के अन्दर एक सैल कोयम होना चाहिये मैं भी समझता हूँ कि यह बहुत ही माकून तजवीज है।

इसके अलावा मैं दाद दूंगा यू०पी० गवर्नमेंट की जिम्मे एक नई तजवीज दी है। उन्होंने अपने यहां के हरेक बजौर को एक-एक जिला सौंप दिया है ताकि वह पूरी तरह से देखभाल कर सके और हमारा जो 20 नुकानी प्रोग्राम है वह हमारे गरीब लोगों तक, हमारे गांवों तक, हमारी जनता तक पहुंच सके। अब यह कहना कि यह प्रोग्राम कितो हकूमत का प्रोग्राम है या किसी पार्टी का प्रोग्राम है बिल्कुल गलत है। यह प्रोग्राम जनता ने इस तरह से अपनाया है जैसा कि यह उनका अपना प्रोग्राम है। अब इसमें अने और पैर का फर्क मिट गया है। हमारी यह बदकिस्मती है कि अभी भी कुछ लोग ऐसे मौजूद हैं जो अने प्रोग्राम की अच्छी चीज की मुखालफत करते हैं। वे मुखालफत सिर्फ इसलिये करते हैं कि उनको मुखालफत करनी ही है। उनके नसीब में मुखालफत करना ही लिखा है। वे इसमें अपना फर्क समझते हैं लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ यह उनकी सबसे बड़ी बदबकली है। इस प्रोग्राम के अन्दर जो देहात के दल लिये गये हैं मैं समझता हूँ वह हमारे देहात की तरबकी के लिये, हमारे देहात की बेहतरी के लिये एक ऐसा दस्तावेज है, एक ऐसा तारीखी दस्तावेज है जिसकी मिसाल मिलना पहली तारीखों में या आइन्दा भी दुखवार हो जाएगा। अगर आज हम इसे समझ कर, इसे अपना कर कन्धे से कन्धा मिला कर, कदम से कदम बढ़ा कर चलें तो मुझे यकीन है कि मुल्क की हालत ही बदल जाएगी। आज हम एक ऐसी मंजिल पर पहुंच गये हैं, आज हम एक ऐसी मंजिल पर खड़े हैं जहां से हम अपने गूजरे हुए वकत पर, जो इनाइती गर्मनाफ वकत था, नजर डाल सकते

हैं। आज हमारे सामने तरबकी की बे-इन्ताह शाह राहें खुली हैं। वे सारी राहें खुल गई हैं जो इशारा कर रहीं हैं कि हमारी मंजिल क्या है। हम अपनी मंजिल की तरफ देख रहे हैं कि यह मंजिल कौन-सी है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह मंजिल वह है जो आज से 34 साल पहले 14 और 15 अगस्त के दरमियान की रात को सन् 1947 में जब हमको आजादी मिली थी तो उस वकत यह आवाज सारे हिन्दुस्तान में गुंजी थी कि अब हिन्दुस्तान की तकदीर जाग उठी है। उस वकत हमने अपनी गुलामी से निजात पाया था। लेकिन आज हमारे देश में इन्त-साजी और आर्थिक गुलाम से निजात हो रहा है।

इसके साथ-साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि किसानों की भलाई के लिये हमें हर मुमकिन कोशिश करनी चाहिए। यह भी सही है कि उनको सिंचाई और खेती के साधन दिये जाने चाहिए। इस लिहाज से अगर आप इस प्रोग्राम को देखें तो आपको अन्दाजा होगा कि इसके अन्दर ये सांगी चीजें हैं। इसके अन्दर वह सभी चीजें हैं जिनसे किसानों का भला हो सकता है। तबाल सिर्फ इस बात का है कि इसको इम्प्लीमेंट किया जाय, इसको अमल में लाया जाय। इसलिये आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि इस प्रोग्राम को सब तरफ से सहयोग दिया जाये। अगर ऐसा किया गया तो आप यकीन मानिये कि जो लोग यहां पर गला फाड़ फाड़ कर तकरीरें करते हैं उनको यह मालूम हो जाएगा कि गरीब जनता की सच्ची तरबकी इसमें है, सच्ची भलाई इसमें है।

लोगों को आज कपड़ा, मकान और रोजगार चाहिए। जो आदमी काम कर सकता है उसको काम मिलना चाहिए। हमारी हकूमत की यह मंशा है कि लोगो को काम मिले, लोगों की खुशहाली हो, उनकी बेहतरी हो। ऐसी हालत में यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती कि कुछ लोगों को इस प्रोग्राम पर एतराज क्यों है? हमारे मुल्क के तालिब हलमों की मदद करना हमारा फर्ज है। इसके लिए इस प्रोग्राम में काफी गुंजाइश रखी गई है। लेकिन यह भी जरूरी है कि तालीमवाफूना लोग खुद अपनी मदद करें। हमारे देश का नौजवान हमारे देश का सरमाया है, हमारी कौम का धन है। इस देश का मुस्तकबिल उसके हाथ में है। हम सब की मिल-

[श्री खुरशीद जालम खान]

कर इस देश को संवारना है, ऊपर उठाना है और समाज को आगे बढ़ाना है। हमारे देश के नौजवानों ने इस देश को आगे बढ़ाना है और आने वाले दिनों में इसमें उनका बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा होगा। वह हिस्सा ऐसा होगा जो देश की तरक्की के रास्ते पर ले जायेगा और उसका इतिहास सुनहरी लफ्जों में लिखा जायेगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर ऐसा किया गया तो यह प्रोग्राम हमारी कौम और समाज की जिन्दगी में एक अहम दस्तावेज के रूप में याद किया जायेगा। इस प्रोग्राम के संबंध में किसी को शुबहा नहीं होना चाहिए और किसी को हमारी नियत पर शुबहा भी नहीं करना चाहिए। मैं तो कहूँगा कि जिनको शुबहा है उनको अपनी नियत दुस्त करनी चाहिए। आज हम उस मंजिल के लिए निकल गये हैं जिस मंजिल के जरिए न तो इस देश में गरीबी रहेगी और न ही किसी किस्म का कोई मतभेद रहेगा और ऊंच-नीच का कोई फर्क नहीं रहेगा। ये भेद सब मिट जाएंगे। हिन्दुस्तान के सब लोग एक होंगे और जो उनका अपना मजहब है, जो फिरका है वह सिर्फ ऐसी चीज होगी जो उनको निजी चीज होगी और उससे किसी का कोई ताल्लुक नहीं होगा। हमने जो मंजिल तय की है और जो एक प्रोग्राम मुल्क के सामने रखा है वह दरअसल हमको सेकुलरिज्म, सोशलिज्म और डेमोक्रेसी की तरफ ले जाता है। ये सिर्फ तीन लफ्ज नहीं हैं, इनके अन्दर खुशहाली का एक समुद्र छिपा हुआ है। इसको हम जितना ज्यादा से ज्यादा बढ़ाना चाहें उतना बढ़ा सकते हैं। हमने अपनी कौम की जिन्दगी का एक मुस्तकबिल तय किया है और हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे मुल्क के अन्दर ऊंच नीच का कोई भेद न रहे। हम चाहते हैं कि जो लोग थके हुए हैं उनको सहारा दें, उनको ऊपर उठावे और उनकी हिम्मत बाँधें। जिन लोगों के दिल में शक और शुबहा है उनके शक और शुबहा को हम दूर करें। कहने का मतलब यह है कि अब हम तरक्की की राह पर निकल पड़े हैं और लोगों की खुशहाली और बेहतरी हमारी इकतसाजी याजादी के लिए एक जमानत है। एक मरतबा मैं फिर यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी मोहतरिमा बजोरे आज्म ने बरेवक्त फैसला करके इस मुल्क को, हमारे समाज को और हम को कौम को तबाही से बचा लिया

है। उन्होंने एक बहुत बड़ी भयंकर तबाही से बचा दिया है। अगर बरेवक्त यह फैसला न होता तो हमारे मुल्क को कितना पीछे जाना पड़ता, इसका अन्दाजा हम इस वक्त नहीं लगा सकते हैं। हमने पिछले 25 और 30 साल में जो तरक्की की है उस सब पर पानी फिर जाता।

मैं समझता हूँ, यह जो हुआ यह ऐसा अहसान है, यह एक ऐसा कारनामा है जिसको कोई दवे-भन दिल, कोई भी ऐसा इस्तान जिसको अपने बल से माहज्वत है, न भुला सकेगा न यह भुला देने के काबिल है। हुकूमत ने अपना फर्ज अदा कर दिया, हुकूमत ने एक प्रोग्राम पेश कर दिया, वह प्रोग्राम ऐसा है कि जिसको जनता ने अपना लिया और वह प्रोग्राम अब जनता का प्रोग्राम है। लिहाजा, अब जनता का और हमारा फर्ज है कि उस के ऊपर अमल करें। हम उसकी कामयाबी की जमानत दें और वह कामयाबी उसी सूरत में हो सकती है जब हर शख्स अपने हल्के में हर शख्स जहाँ जिसका अमर है, हर शख्स जो भी उसके काम का श्रेष्ठ है वहाँ अपने पूरे दिल आ जान से कोशिश करे उसको कामयाब करने के लिए कोशिश करे और उसकी कामयाबी में जो रुकावटें पैदा होती हैं उनको मिल कर, आपस में प्रेम और मोहब्बत से दूर करने की कोशिश करें। आज सबाल किसी फिरके या किसी के खूद का नहीं है, यह प्रोग्राम किसी खास फर्द के लिए नहीं, यह तो सब अवाम के लिए है और इसमें वे तमाम चीजें मौजूद हैं जो अवाम की, जनता की, भलाई के लिए हैं। अगर जनता ने इसे अपना कर और सबने मिल कर आगे बढ़ने की कोशिश की तो यकीनन उससे खुशहाली और वह बेहतरी हमको मिल सकेगी जिसका हमारे नेताओं ने एक सपना देखा था, स्वाव देखा था, और जिस स्वाव की अब बौह नाबीर देखना चाहते हैं। यह साबित हो चुका है कि काशमीर से लेकर कन्याकुमारी तक और बम्बई से लेकर कलकत्ता तक सब जगह की जनता ने एक ही तरह से इसका स्वागत किया है और उस स्वागत करने से यह साबित हो सकता है और यह साबित होता है कि यह वाकई जनता का प्रोग्राम है, यह जनता की भलाई का प्रोग्राम है और इसमें जनता ही के फायदे की तमाम चीजें हैं।

हमारे लिए फ़क है कि हम तारीखी दौर में जिन्दा हैं, यह वह वक्त है जब हमारे मुल्क में एक नयी तबारीख

बन रही है और तबारीख के बनाने में हम सब का हाथ है, हम सब का साथ है। अगर हमने समझ बूझ कर साथ दिया, समझ बूझ कर आगे बढ़े तो मुझे यकीन है जो तारीख इस वक्त लिखी जायेगी, आयेगा आने वाली नसलें उस पर फ़क्र करेंगी और वोह हमारी शुक्रगुजार होंगी कि, उनके बुजुर्गों ने उनके देश के लिए, उनकी भलाई के लिए उनकी खुशहाली के लिए सब कुछ किया जो एक बुजुर्ग को या एक अच्छे खानदान के पदों को कौम के खातिर आने वाली नसलों के लिए करना पड़ता है।

आज सबसे बड़ी ज़रूरत हमारे इकतसादी प्रोग्राम को कामयाब करने के लिए यह है कि हम अपने मुल्क की आबादी की तरफ़ तबज़्जह दें। ऐसा मालूम होता है कि हमारी प्लानिंग में, हमारे तमाम इकतसादी और आर्थिक प्रोग्रामों में, यह जो बढ़ती हुई आबादी में एक बीड़ है अगर हमने इसको नहीं रोका और इस दौर में कामयाबी हासिल नहीं की तो मैं समझता हूँ जो हमने सोचा है, जिस कामयाबी की हमें उम्मीद है, जिस खुशहाली की तरफ़ हमारी नज़रें लगी हैं उसको हासिल करना हमारे लिए दुश्वार हो जाएगा और इस वजह से हमें पहले हम बढ़ती हुई आबादी को रोकवाम करनी है।

हिन्दुस्तान की तकरीबन 80 फीसदी आबादी देहातों में रहती है और हमारी इकतसादी बुनियाद देहाती ज़िन्दगी पर मुतहसिल है इसलिए हमें देहात की तरफ़ तबज़्जह देना ज्यादा ज़रूरी है। हमने बड़े बड़े बांध बनाए, हमने बड़े-बड़े मंसूबे बनाए लेकिन अभी भी बहुत कुछ हमें करना है और वोह इस तरह से करना है कि हर छोटे से छोटे किसान को मिचाई के लिए सुविधा मिले, उसे वे साधन मिलें जिनसे वह अपना काम कर सके।

इसी तरह से हमने अपने तालीम के मुद्दाज पर बहुत काम किया हमने हजारों युनिवर्सिटियाँ खोली हैं, हमने सैकड़ों स्कूल और कालेज खोले हैं लेकिन इसके साथ कभी हमने यह भी सोचा कि हमने बड़े बड़े मंसूबे तो बनाए लेकिन नेशनल कैरेक्टर बनाने में हमने क्या किया? मैं समझता हूँ, यह एक सबसे बड़ी कमजोरी है जो हमारे प्रोग्राम में रही है। आज हमें नेशनल कैरेक्टर बनाना है। इसलिए, जब तक नेशनल कैरेक्टर नहीं बनेगा, हमारी कौम ज्यादा ऊँची नहीं उठ सकेगी और इसको उठाने के लिए नेशनल कैरेक्टर की ज़रूरत है।

यह बीस निकाना प्रोग्राम हमारी तरक्की का एक परवाना है और हर छोटे बड़े का फ़र्ज है कि वह इसकी तरक्की में हाथ बंटाये। इस प्रोग्राम को ग़हर-ग़हर, नगर-नगर, गांव-गांव तक ले जायें। अगर इस प्रोग्राम को गांव-गांव तक पहुंचा दिया, देहात-देहात तक पहुंचा दिया, तो हमें यकीन है कि हम ज्यादा से ज्यादा तरक्की हासिल कर सकेंगे।

यह जो प्रोग्राम है वह जम्हूरियत और लोकतन्त्र की बुनियाद है। इस लोकतन्त्र की बुनियाद उसी वक्त तक कायम रह सकती है जब तक कि अग्राम का सहयोग हमें हासिल हो, जनता का सहयोग हासिल हो और जनता ज्यादा से ज्यादा तादाद में हमारे साथ इस प्रोग्राम को अमलीजामा ग़िनाते में हो। हमें नारेबाजी से निकलकर हकीकत की तरफ़ जाना चाहिये। हमने बहुत से नारेबाजी के दौर देखे हैं लेकिन कोई भी ख़ास बात हासिल नहीं हुई। हमें यकीन है कि इस प्रोग्राम के जरिये से हम एक ठोस तरीके से और हकीकत के साथ और सच्चे तरीके से आगे बढ़ सकेंगे और कुछ न कुछ हासिल ज़रूर करेंगे।

मैंने पहिले भी कहा था कि मैं इस रिज़ॉल्यूशन की कद्र करता हूँ। हमें इस बात की खुशी है कि ज़िन्दगी के इस मोड़ पर हम ऐसे लोग भी पाते हैं जो मुबतलफ़ होने के बावजूद इस प्रोग्राम को सच्चाई, इस प्रोग्राम की अच्छाई और इस प्रोग्राम पर बेहतर ईमान रखते हैं, यकीन रखते हैं और उस पर भरोसा रखते हैं। अगर कोई इक्लाब ख़ामीशी के साथ आ सकता है, वह इसी प्रोग्राम के जरिये आ सकता है। आज भेदभाव, फूट, नफरत अलगाव की ज़िन्दगी का जो रुझान है, वह ख़त्म हो रहा है। जो हमारी पुरानी जंजीरें थी, जो पुराने बन्धन थे वे इस प्रोग्राम के जरिये टूट रहे हैं और नकी, अच्छाई का रुझान, प्रेम और मुहब्बत का सोता इस प्रोग्राम के जरिये फूट निकला है जिसकी वजह से सारे मुल्क में फ़िजा ही बदल गई है। आज हमारे मुल्क में एक नई ज़िन्दगी की लहर धा गई है। आज मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक हमारी कौमी ज़िन्दगी, हमारी समाजी ज़िन्दगी के जो फ़ैसले होते थे, वे फ़ैसले उन लोगों के जरिये से होते थे जो बड़ी बड़ी हवेलियों में बैठते थे,

[श्री खुरशीद जालम खान]

जो बड़े बड़े कारखानेदार थे और बड़े बड़े मरमायेदार थे। लेकिन आज मुल्क में एक नई फिजा आ गई है और एक नया वातावरण पैदा हो गया है। आज अकाम का राज है और अकाम की मर्जी के मुताबिक ही हमारे तबारीखी फैसले होंगे। जो भी हमारे समाज के अहम फैसले होंगे, वे हमारी जनता की मर्जी के मुताबिक होंगे और जनता के जरिये होंगे। अगर कभी भी इस तरह से लोगों की मर्जी के खिलाफ फैसले होंगे और अकाम को उसमें शामिल नहीं किया जायेगा, तो मुझे यकीन है कि वे फैसले पायेदार नहीं होंगे और वे फैसले हमेशा नहीं रहेंगे।

मैं इन अलफज के साथ एक बार फिर इस रिजोल्यूशन की कड़ करता हूँ और यह अज करता हूँ कि इस रिजोल्यूशन को पूरा करना एक आदमी के बस की बात नहीं है। यह तो बहुत बड़ा काम है, बहुत फैला हुआ काम है। इसमें एक दूसरे को शामिल करके, एक दूसरे को सहारा देकर हमें सब लोगों को आगे बढ़ाना होगा।

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir. before I commence my small speech here on this 20-point programme, I would request my friends in the Congress Party to understand two points. I may be a very small person, let them not take it as a sort of advice to them but I would say that this 20-point programme is a programme of the nation as a whole. In no democratic country any programme is called after a person. For instance, if there is a programme in the U. K., they do not call it as Macmillan's programme or if there is a programme in the U.S.A. they do not call it as 'Ford's programme. Therefore, I would say that instead of calling it as the 'leader of the Party's programme,' call it 'national programme'. Then all these troubles won't arise. How do we call our Five Year Plans? We do not call them as 'Jawaharlal's Plans'. When Shri Jawaharlal was alive, did we call these Five Year Plans as 'Jawaharlal's Plans'?

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA : We have never said so. We say that this is a

programme announced by the Prime Minister but we never call it Gandhi programme'.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : Please, do not call it even as 'Prime Minister'- programme'. It should be the programme of the nation.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA : You are wrongly interpreting it. We say that it has been announced by the Prime Minister and the Prime Minister is the authority to execute the programme in the GO

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : What saying is that it is not the Prime Minister's programme. It is a national programme.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA : You said that.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : It is a national programme. Why I am telling this is that it is only in dictatorship countries that any programme is called after a name, just as Mussolini's programme was there. But in a democratic country can you call a programme after the name of a person? He may be a very big person, may be the Prime Minister. Therefore, I appeal it as a national programme. And a-Tamil Nadu is concerned. I must say my Chief Minister has also stated that some of these programmes have been implemented.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA : You say 'my Chief Minister'.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : I am 'our Chief Minister'. I represent Tamil Nadu. That is why I said that, I said 'my Chief Minister' because I represent Tamil Nadu here also. When I say 'my Chief Minister', it means the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister. The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu stated that he had already implemented some items of this programme. The Orissa Chief Minister also issued a

bulletin stating that she had already implemented some of the items of the programme. But it was not being misunderstood by any person in India because she fortunately belongs to the Congress Party. But when the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu also said that he had already implemented some of the items of the programme. . .

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: We did not want your Chief Minister to be¹ involved.

SHRI C. LAKSHMANAN: You can have your own interpretation. We are not persons to give importance to personalities. You are the person who is giving importance to a personality. Because we know that in a democratic country we can have another Chief Minister. We do not say that 'India is Indira and Indira is India'. We did not even call Mahatma Gandhi is India and India is Mahatma Gandhi. But, unfortunately, now in this country we are making a leader march towards something else. This point was raised by no less a person than the Congress President himself when he said that 'Indira Gandhi is India and India is Indira Gandhi'. And till today the Prime Minister has not objected to that statement. We can never accept this. Indira has eye but India has no eye. This is the sort of thing developing in the political life of the country. This is the point. I wanted to reply to our gentleman.

Therefore, as far as the programmes is concerned, we are one with the Government because it is a national programme. As you know, ours is the only party next to the Congress which has formed the Tamil Nadu Government and we are capable of ruling this country. Ours is the only party in India which has ruled for the past 9 years and we have also established to the people. . .

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA :
I do not understand why they say they have ruled: they have governed not ruled.

SHRI C. LAKSHMANAN : There be any kind of interpretation. My friend, you must know I am from Tamil Nadu. Therefore, any kind of interpretation cannot divert my attention.

As far as Tamil Nadu is concerned, we have proved ourselves next to the Congress of course, Congress has ruled for about 28 years.

AN HONBLE MEMBER : Not on a national scale.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : Ma anything. Ours is democratic nationalism. Your nationalism may be different from mine. Your nationalism is affiliation V. Russia whereas my nationalism is affil to the Indian nation. Your nation may be affiliation both to Russia and That may be the difference.

Therefore, as far as the programme is concerned, it is a national programme > has to be implemented. Because after four Five Year plans, what do we see in this country? Therefore, it has very close struck the ruling party, i.e. the Congress Party, and that party has a programme this. As a person belonging to another party we support it provided it is in the national interest. We have supported this programme and we have in fact already implemented some of the items of the programme. Sir at the time of the Congress session at Chandigarh, when we received a letter the Chief Minister of Punjab asking put up a stall there showing how we had implemented the 20-point program though it was a party conference, we never took it as a party affair—the Tamil Chief Minister sent details of all 111 events with respect to the 20-point programme, and that stall was visited by no less a person than the Prime Minister of India.

Therefore, so far as this programme is concerned, we are one with everybody. And it may be that for political reasons they may say that the DMK believes in separatism, in fissiparous tendencies. A

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party will say all these things with regard to the opposition parties and the opposition parties will say these things with regard to the ruling party. And, Sir, as you know, throughout India anti-fascist conferences were held. Who are the fascists in this country? In Tamil Nadu also an antifascist conference was held by the Congress Party and its allies. What was spoken or discussed there was that the DMK was fascist. For the opposition, the ruling party is fascist. As far as India is concerned, to me the ruling party is the Congress and therefore it is fascist because the Congressmen came to Madras all the way under the leadership of Mr. C. Subrama-

nam and said that because the DMK is the ruling party there—forgetting that they are the ruling party in India—it is fascist, that the DMK Government is a fascist government. Therefore, I say here as an Opposition Member that the ruling party here is the Congress Party and the Government of India is fascist. Can you say that?

Therefore, a lot of confusion is going on in this country. When we have accepted a parliamentary system of government through political parties, the instrument of the political system. We must have a code of procedure as far as the political parties in this country are concerned. Until this is done, this confusion will exist. The ruling party will say that opposition party is fascist and the opposition party will say that the ruling party is fascist. Where is the end? And nobody has proved either from the ruling party or from the Opposition that these people are fascists.

Therefore this is something used politically to bring one out of power or to capture power. As far as we are concerned, I would say—we have experience 28 years of democracy and party system; 11 governments are there—that we have gone beyond that party politics. So far

as the other nations are concerned, whether that nation is America or Russia or China or England, they have a national approach to a problem and subordinate their political rights and political ambitions to the nation. Here, unfortunately, a particular personality is raised above the nation. What else is the meaning in Mr. Boroah saying of the Prime Minister of India as 'Indira is India and India is Indira'—which they did not even about Jawaharlal Nehru or Mahatma Gandhi or of Lai Bahadur Shastri—whereas Indira has age and India has no age. So, these confusions must be completely eradicated and I hope that under the leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi

SHRI N. K. BHATT (Madhya Pradesh) : Sir, how is this relevant to the main subject under discussion?

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: You are talking as if all the Congress Members always speak relevantly. For instance, I can tell you that with regard to the clandestine pamphlets being issued in Delhi when a specific question was put, the hon. Minister, Mr. Brahmananda Reddi's reply was that in Gujarat and Tamil Nadu they were being issued, or something like that. Therefore such irrelevance is there. If you consider mine as irrelevant, you can ignore it.

So, what harm are you doing to the nation by raising some personality cult in this country. It is to your own advantage, it is not in the interests of the democratic traditions that we have built up in this country. It is not for this that Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru sacrificed everything.

Therefore, Sir, with regard to the programme, I do not want to take much of your time and I have said that we have proved in India by ruling or governing, whatever the term they might use, or administering the State of Tamil Nadu which has 4-1/2 crores of people, that we can rule better than the Congress Party. We have issued a pamphlet to the people and

the nation, to those who said that we are separatists and we represent fissiparous tendencies. The Chief Minister of West Bengal, who was sent away from here to become the Chief Minister there—he then got himself elected in a democratic way—says that we are still separatists. Sir, Mr. Annadurai, the late Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, who was a Member of this House, had very clearly stated "We are giving up separatism. We are one with the Government and the nation. We are a parcel of the nation. And we will not tolerate any separatism." When he has said that so clearly, Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray goes all the way to Madras, at the cost of the Government, and states that we are separatist forces. And he again says "I said like that because there are some separatist forces." Where are the separatist forces? As a matter of fact, for information. I may say that when the Bangladesh war was there, when the war was there, Tamil Nadu was the first State in India which donated their maximum amount to the Defence Fund. As a matter of fact, we donated Rs. 6 crores for the Defence Fund. Even Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray was in the Central Government at that time. No other State contributed so much. And when did we give up the separatist movement? The Chinese aggression came, we were surrounded by enemies. We do not have disunity among ourselves. As a people, whether we are in Kashmir or in Kanyakumari, we are all brothers and sisters." That is the slogan he gave. And still people are talking about separatism. Like the holding of the anti-Fascist conference, it is only to see how to overthrow the Government in Tamil Nadu because the Government has proved to the people, to the whole of India—even Central Ministers have appreciated it—that they can rule better than the Congress Party. Tamil Nadu was the only State where the Congress came under the able leadership of Kamaraj was completely routed and the D. M. K. came to power.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: Is it the swan-song?

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : And Tamil Nadu is the only State where the Chief Ministers are not changed very often. Tamil Nadu is the only State where the Government regime was not imposed on any occasion. Therefore, we are born democrats. Even today what have we asked? We have asked that the elections should be held immediately after five years. And what do the opposition parties want? They want President's rule. Why? Because they are not capable of capturing power in Tamil Nadu, they went....

SHRI K. AMESHWAR SINGH (Bihar): Is he aware of the subject he is talking on?

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : Yes, many times you talk irrelevant things. I know, I have been watching. This has something to do with the programme. That is why I am talking of these things. Now, what do the opposition parties want in Tamil Nadu? They want President's rule. If they are bold if they are men with courage and represent decent political parties, they must ask the Government of India to hold elections immediately. Cancel the emergency and then hold elections. Let us face the people. Whomsoever they elect, we will see that they come to power and rule the country. But they do not want it. They want to capture power through President's rule. Is it correct? Therefore, those people who are talking about democracy, what harm and damage are they doing to the democratic existence of the country! It is not for the Congress alone to rule for 100 or 200 years. Then you could have brought in a Constitutional amendment for that purpose. Now Constitutional amendments are very common. You can bring it. Now we are going to have an extension of one year for Parliament. I do not know what is going to happen in Kerala and Tamil Nadu. (*Time-bell rings*) Therefore, Sir, as far as the programme is concerned, I have no time and I think the Chair will not allow

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me more time and many people are waiting. I can only tell them that they can oppose me. We are an opposition party here and, therefore, they can oppose me. But only one thing I can say is that when our Prime Minister says that the Opposition panics do not conduct themselves properly, it is not correct. It is not correct. Every political party should conduct itself in a national way, Members of political parties should conduct themselves properly. The Congress Party which is the ruling party is unfortunately the opposition party in Tamil Nadu. You know what has happened there. Immediately after the programme was announced by the Prime Minister, a censure motion was moved in the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly on the ground the programme is not being implemented in that State. And our Chief Minister gave a very fitting reply. He said : Some of the programmes have not been formulated and enacted into law and therefore your censure motion is not in order. What I say is that opposition parties should conduct themselves properly. Ruling parties should also do it. I agree. But the functioning of political parties and the conduct of persons in the political parties have to be made known to the people. Then only our political system based on democracy can exist. I would, therefore, appeal to my Congress friends here not to make this a party programme or a political programme to kill opposition parties. And then do not say that the opposition parties are opposing this programme. You have no other weapon to attack your opposition parties and therefore you use this weapon. I want this to be our national programme and not a programme to be used by the ruling party to kill the opposition parties.

With regard to this programme. I am not going to read it here. I will lay it on the Table of the House.

[The hon. Member then walked up to the Table of the House and passed on some document]

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): Shri Arvind Ganesh Kulkarni.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI (Maharashtra) : Is it being said on the Table of the House?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: No.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI : How can he do it ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA) : Anything bandied here is not automatically laid on the Table of the House. This is for your information. Therefore, there is nothing for you to be startled about.

SHRI KAMESHWAR SINGH: He has volunteered himself to lay it on the Table of the House.

SHRI MOHAMMED USMAN ARIF: The Vice-Chairman has already ruled that it is not laid on the Table of the House.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: A colleague of mine who is coming from Tamil Nadu has made a speech, which is excellent in its irrelevance, on some point of inhibition which he is facing when he looks through his own yellow eye. He has made many points which are totally irrelevant to the present discussion. I do not want to waste the time of the House by repeating his remarks. I just want to offer a few observations on the Resolution on the Twenty Point Economic Programme. This programme is primarily for those who are in the weaker sector. I think this programme is gigantic and calls for fundamental institutional reform. Many of us have also said that the present establishment and the network of the institutional infrastructure which is primarily commercial oriented cannot stand the vigour of promotional and developing investment. The success of this programme—I hope the Planning Minister will agree with me—cannot be brought about through bureaucracy. What is

riant is the fruitful participation of the Somebody suggested some com-1 may suggest that co-operative sector is best suited for rural development. such institutional framework has to be and bureaucracy can do little in this otional and developing investment of! Twenty Point Programme. The funda-reforms that are needed cannot be d reed from ideological considerations, ideology must be wedded to the people's participation.

would request the honourable Planning sler to address himself to this task and i, this 20-point economic programme can be implemented and see what institu-tii - are necessary to be created for this 'se and how they can be strengthened. ".i - is a very important point. I think the arable Minister will study these problems properly and see what institutions are ary for the successful implementation of this 20-point economic programme. In nnection. Sir there are two or three is on which I wish to offer my com-ments. In this 20-point economic prog-. land ceilings and speedier dislri-on of the surplus lands and so on have nentioned. Our parly and the Govern-have also decided that the land distri-!~ on programme has to be carried out gently. So far as the land distribution gramme is concerned, whatever success igfet have achieved so far. we must ad-i hat. the implementation has been tardy. are many difficulties. Credit facili-re to be given and infrastructures have to be created. Only then this programme of giving lands to the landless or to the weaker sections of the people will be meaningful. At this stage, I do not want to go into the question whether a small holding is good or a bigger one is better. Very recently there was an advice given by a n expert—I do not know his name; I do not exactly remember his name—and he has said that small holdings are not good for more production. But, Sir, in Japan, we have a different type of experi- There even the small holdings are

also more productive. In that country, even the small land-owners produce more and it is because of the fact that the helping hand of the administration, credit facilities and other institutional support are available to the small farmers and this has to be kept in mind by the Government. Merely pressing a Bill for establishing rural banks will not serve the purpose. I say this because there is already a large network of banking institutions in this country: Cooperative banks are there: nationalised banks are there: and. now, the rural banks are going to be set up. Again, there is the SFDA is there and the MFDA is there. With my own limited experience in this field. I can say, Sir that these organisations are business-minded and commercially oriented and. therefore, I would suggest that the Planning Commission and the Government should, once and for all, decide that the risk involved in granting loans, to the small farmers and the small entrepreneur should not have any relation whatsoever to their assets or holdings. If this is not done, these problems will not be solved and they would continue to remain unsolved. Therefore, I would draw the attention of the Planning Minister to this factor.

Then. Sir. I would like to say something about the housing programme, about providing house sites to the weaker sections of the community. In this sphere also I have my own experience, a very bad experience, and I have personally narrated this to the Planning Minister also. Out of enthusiasm and because of the atmosphere created in the country, in the district to which I belong we decided to give 800 tenements to the Harijans and the other weaker sections w'hose present houses are so bad that one has to crawl to enter them. We made this proposal to the Government and I personally wrote to the Housing and Urban Development Corporation and I was grieved to receive a reply from them stating that funds were not available. I would like to tell the Planning Minister

[Shri Arvind Ganesh Kulkarni]

one thing : Whatever he may say, whatever targets he may fix, he has to see that funds are available for these purposes ; otherwise, there will be greater frustration. I have found from personal experience that whether it is the problem of providing lands to the landless or fixing land ceilings or providing irrigation facilities, etc., the success of these programmes depend on your investment and the investment support which you give. If there is no investment support, these programmes will not be successful and there will again be frustration.

Then, Sir, there is another thing and that relates to the liquidation of rural indebtedness. The day before yesterday, Sir, I quoted certain figures in this House with regard to rural indebtedness and these are very revealing figures. The amount of rural indebtedness per household was Rs. 447 in 1951-52 and it rose Rs. 647/- in 1961-62 which means an increase of 46 per cent. These figures are from the papers published by the NSS very recently. And, Sir, this is at the price level of 1960-61 and at the present level of prices, it should be much more.

Similarly, Sir, I have stated that rural households owning less than five acres accounted for only Rs. 1759 crores of agricultural income, while their total consumption requirements were Rs. 7579 crores. Look to the gap between the two figures. You will see how far we can be successful in removing rural indebtedness. My own party, the Congress Party, is not a cadre party. There are cadre parties like the CPI or the RSS, etc. But I am proud to say (that my party belongs to all types of people. In this connection, I say that the participation of people is necessary. Whenever the Congress Party workers come to the Tehsil or Police Headquarters, there is a reluctance to take cognizance of that. Even having taken cognizance of that, arrangements must be made for granting easy loans to the needy persons. This type

of rural indebtedness cannot be immediate; removed, and it will take a long time. That is why I have brought this matter to the notice of the Planning Minister.

Then, Sir, there is the problem of investment in the industry and to create more jobs. Here also, I may say, Sir, that the economic indicators are not very encouraging. I think the Planning Minister must be knowing more than what I know. But the point seems to be that capital formation, as per the recent RBI study, has not been very encouraging. Though it shows double of what it was last year, yet it indicates that the rise is due to inventories, *i.e.* raw materials and finished products, due to demand constraints. Money spent on new capital assets was Rs. 733 crores in 1973-74. This has gone up to Rs. 971 crores in 1974-75—a rise of 32 per cent. But the average rise in the case of machinery and transport is 38 per cent and 49 per cent. This shows that the nation's fixed capital has suffered a setback. Whether you call it a recession or whatever you call it, the fact remains that investment in the industry, whether in the public sector or in the private sector, has not come through. And unless there is a massive investment even at some little risk, employment will not be generated and new industries will not be created and as such jobs will not be available for the poor.

Then, Sir, the last point which I want to make is that the Government and the Party has to take advantage of the atmosphere created in the country out of this 20-point economic programme. My friend might be feeling a little bit chicken-hearted when he said that this is the Prime Minister's programme or the nation's programme. Let him say whatever he likes. But let him co-operate with us. Let us not confront each other on this economic programme, because we want the co-ordination of all parties, all political parties, particularly in this programme, because the people outside are waiting for results. They are not interested in who does it—whether it

is the D.M.K. or the Congress or the C.P.I. or the Socialists. They are interested only in the results. And for that purpose, an atmosphere of co-ordination is necessary. Sir, I would appeal to all, and particularly to my party, to utilize this opportunity for an aggressive participation in the nation-building programme.

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): The Minister.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PLANNING (SHRI INDER KUMAR GUJRAL) : Mr. Vice-Chairman. Sir, I am grateful that due to the initiative of our friend, Mr. Murthy, we had a very purposeful debate for two days. Two weeks ago the debate was initiated, and ended with the last speech of my learned friend, Mr. Kulkarni. I think we have reasons to feel happy that the discussion has not only been confined to the orbit of the Twenty-Points Programme, but a general economic survey has also been attempted. It is important for us to realise that at the moment there is an atmosphere in the country in which much can be achieved. I am also grateful that my friends here have discussed the subject in its complete objectivity and we have seen that the Twenty-Points Programme, which the Prime Minister announced some time back, is given the correct atmosphere so that results can be achieved. The economic programme announced by her constitutes an action programme not only to galvanise the process of growth, but also to effectively involve the working classes of the community in the mainstream of development. In fact, the programme has set in motion some thinking and its translation into practice needs reorientation in our approach to various problems.

The Twenty-Point Programme is not the beginning of economic programme in this country. Thanks to the vision of Nehru, we have gained a lot through the planning

process in India. Through the planning process, results have been achieved and I will not take your time by giving you figures. I think the people sitting in this House and all of us have reason to feel happy and satisfied, that the nation's march in the course of the last four Plans and in the current Plan has been such that it has given all-round satisfaction. I think that all of us agree that the base of economy in our country is agriculture and it will continue to remain so for some time to come. Our agricultural production in the course of Plan periods has considerably improved. If I take foodgrains only, as you all know we have more than doubled our production. If I take this year, then it far exceeds the double. When the planning process started, I think the foodgrains production in India was to the order of 52 million tonnes. Now, we have come to approximately 114 million tonnes. We are, of course, very keen that this process of growth should continue. Therefore, sometimes when a criticism is made that agricultural production in India is stagnating, it is far from reality. During the planning process, the rate of growth of agriculture has been of the order of about 2.6 or 2.7 per cent compounded annually. This is an achievement which many countries have not made. Therefore, even if we look from that angle, we should feel somewhat happy that we have achieved results. Of course, results are not achieved by one or two individuals. Results are always achieved with the help, assistance and efforts of the nation as a whole. The planning process only gives the infra-structure, the background and the essential push. It is ultimately the farmer and the man who works on the land who achieves results. Even the production of 114 million tonnes this year does not meet our needs. We still need more. *Per capita* consumption of food in India still needs much improvement. At the same time, we also know that in India our population is increasing. Keeping these factors in view, we have felt that by the end of the Fifth Plan, our foodgrain pro-

[Shri Inler Kumar Gujral.]

duction should be of the order of 140) million tonnes. Now, fixing the targets | is very easy if they are meant to be unrealistic targets. But if the targets are meant to be achieved, then the whole thing has to be looked at in its totality.

I think every child in India knows that more inputs yield more results. As my friend, Mr. Kulkarni, was pointing out to us, these various inputs can be fertilizers, these inputs can be water, and these inputs can be more credit. Rightly so. I think the more important thing to which we have focussed our pointed attention is where the 20-Point Programme has a distinct personality of its own is that we have felt that unless socially we release those productive forces which are tied and bound down, till then even the production will not come up. I am not [talking only in terms of giving to our nation the social justice that many sections of our society deserve. But also, at the time, we must realise that those productive factors which contribute to production in India must be released. And, therefore, I feel that when we talk in terms of giving a new land deal or when we talk in terms of bonded labour or when we talk in terms of rural indebtedness, in totality, we must look at them from this point of view that these are the productive forces which are shackled and therefore the Programme tries to release these forces. Apart from, as I said, the social aspect, it is also equally important that unless these productive forces which have been held down are released by us, the production process will not improve. Now, I know that I am neither saying anything profound nor saying anything learned, but I do know that sometimes even the obvious has to be stated. I think one of the things which our scriptures do is that they tell us again and again that God is there. Even what is known is to be stated again and again, and that is why I feel that even in today's context when we talk that these produc-

tive forces have to be released, we have to say the obvious also to try to pin-point the factors that we are trying to emphasise. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, our base of slavery left a very sad legacy and it has many things in it. We have removed some aspects of it. Some are still with us. One of the things that has happened is what is commonly called the permanent settlement. My friend, Mr. Panda, was trying to refer to the bonded labour in his State and how degrading it is. How did the bonded labour come? It has a long history. Even it is embedded in our society. When the permanent settlement was given to some parts of India by the British, it had ghastly social implications. And one of the implications was that both men and land were enslaved to the individuals. And the individual became the master of the fate of millions. Individuals did havoc to them. Apart from many other things I am saying, one of the havoecs that we are now faced with is that there are no land records available. And whenever we talk in terms of redistribution of land and whenever we talk in terms of taking the land, the first and the foremost factor with which we are confronted in a significant part is that the land records are not reliable, or in some cases, land records are just not available. When you deprive the Adivasi of his land, when you deprive the Harijan of his land, the Harijans were made social outcastes because their land was taken away, that is the social injustice that was inflicted on our people. Now, we are trying to undo the wrong of history. We are now confronted with the fact that land records are not available. That is why the most important thing and to which we are first paying attention is that land records must be corrected. In the Plan, therefore, we are giving it a great deal of attention. Funds are being placed at the disposal of the State Governments so that the revenue records must be made clear and authentic, so that when the redistribution takes place again, it is the reliable and credible record that is available. Therefore, when

we are talking in terms of redistribution of land, I have pointed to one of the factors that we are confronted with. The 20-Point Programme rightly lays a great deal of emphasis on land ceiling and taking away the land from those to whom it does not belong, after the law has been

enacted. And, therefore, a time-bound programme has been fixed when people with surplus land must come forward voluntarily. If they do not, then the machinery must come into force and we must bring before the law those who are trying to defy this reform and trying to take away the land meant for redistribution. National consensus has already accepted it. We are all agreed that as long as the new relationship between man and (the) land is not established, the production will again suffer in this country. I am deliberately trying to draw a line between the social aspect and the economic aspect of it although they are very much wedded to each other. The moment you alter man-land relationship, a new social relationship takes birth. In India, I think, there is a national consensus, and we are all agreed and all those who have the courage to commit themselves in public agree, that a new social transformation is necessary. Now, what is that new social transformation that we are talking of? I have mentioned one part of it that the deprived must get what belongs to them, that those whose land was taken away, by the process of history and by the cruelty of those who ruled these lands, must get back their land. We are trying to create a new man-land relationship whereby we understand that as long as in India, crops sharing continues, the forces of production will not be released economic growth and regeneration will not come to the forefront. What is the essence of this sharing of crop? Crop-sharing basically means that a man who toils gives away a part of his labour to those who do not toil and, therefore, those who only had one asset to themselves, with the process of history! they were able to have some sort of in- j

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justice inflicted whereby the revenue records show that they are now the landlords. Only by this right they take away the sweat and labour of those who till the land. In this society a man who is working all the year round giving his sweat knows fully well that when his labour's fruit will come, somebody else will come and take away half or three-fourths of his share. As long as this relationship continues, how can we expect this man to work hard and produce more? Why should he produce more and for whom? That is why when we are talking all the time of land reforms, we feel that as long as in any State, in any village, this social evil of crop-sharing continues, there can be no production enhancement and there can be no basic social justice available. The most important thing, therefore, is that we must give a serious push forward to the land reforms programme.

Land reforms programme, to my mind, is a very comprehensive programme. It creates record—as I said just now—as to whom the land belongs; it creates a new man-land relationship; it creates a new society where the deprived get their just right; it creates a new urge to produce more. And it is in this context, therefore, that we talk in terms of land reforms. In the 20-point programme there has rightly been a great deal of emphasis on this and one of my friends asked a question as to the progress made in that context. I think we are to tell this House how far things have gone in the last six months particularly. I have fortunately figures available with me. These figures are up to this month. Against the column "Possession taken" I may tell you, Sir, that till January, nearly 2.96,000 acres of land has been taken from those who were holding the land.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKAR-

NI : At present, the distribution is one lakh acres and odd.

SHRI INDER KUMAR GUJRAL: Land distribution is now going on. The area distributed so far is about 1 lakh acres and we hope that from this month onwards the process of distribution will get more fillip.

SHRI SAN AT KUMAR RAH A: What is the total area not yet taken possession of by the Government ?

SHRI INDER KUMAR GUJRAL: I am giving you the figure of surplus land taken over.

SHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA : What is the total area of the land taken over but not under possession of the Government ?

SHRI INDER KUMAR GUJRAL: The figure is nearly 2,96,000 acres.

SHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA: What I mean to say is this. I am having three categories of land in my mind ; total land available, total land taken possession of by the Government and the total land distributed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): Probably, what he intends to know is about the total acreage which is supposed to have come to the Government but which has not yet been actually taken over.

SHRI INDER KUMAR GUJRAL: Would not be all right if I give you the figure of surplus, area declared ?

SHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA: What was your estimation, what actually was taken over and how much has been distributed ?

SHRI INDER KUMAR GUJRAL: I have got some figures regarding the area declared surplus, State-wise. In Andhra Pradesh, it is 34,431 acres; in Bihar, it is 40,000 acres and so on. The total area declared surplus is 6,09,659 acres. Out

of this, as I was saying just now, the area taken over by the Government already is 2,91,654 acres and the area distributed already is 1,52,728 acres and the beneficiaries number 54,112. Out of this, the number of beneficiaries belonging to scheduled castes is 14,367 and the area distributed to them already is 14,023 acres. The number of beneficiaries belonging to scheduled tribes is 5,361 and the area distributed 5,178 acres. We have not been able to work out the average. It may be that somebody who has some land already may get more land. Generalisation may not be possible out of these figures. There is another figure which may be of interest. The number of returns filed voluntarily under land reforms is 8,81,886 and the number of returns filed on Governmental initiative is 2,20,857. Approximately, this makes up a total of twelve lakhs.

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD: I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether there is any State still where tenants have not been vested with ownership rights so far. Is there any State still left where the ownership rights have not passed to the tillers of the soil ?

SHRI INDER KUMAR GUJRAL: As part of the implementation of the twenty-point programme, this much land has been distributed. If you are asking the question in the larger context, I need notice. I will not be able to tell you just now. I would like to say that all those lands where tenants are in a position . . .

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD: Whether pattas have been given ?

SHRI INDER KUMAR GUJRAL: I could only say from these figures. . .

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD: Whether landlordism is continuing in any State today?

SHRI INDER KUMAR GUJRAL: Well, I may not be able to tell straightway but I think I will try to pass on this

information to you when I can lay my hands on it.

What I was trying to say, Sir, is that the situation we are now coming to is that this gives us a hope and this also gives us a courage to feel that the land reforms programme and distribution also are moving forward. While giving these figures I might also mention that the figures that I have given do not include the Gujarat figures because we do not seem to have received the Gujarat figures as yet. . . (Interruption). . . So far as Maharashtra is concerned, the figures are there.

SHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA: Whether it is in terms of acreage or hectares ?

SHRI INDER KUMAR GUJRAL: I did not say hectares. It is acres.

SHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA: I doubt.

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH (Gujarat): Sorry, I did not hear. You said something about Gujarat ?

SHRI INDER KUMAR GUJRAL: These figures do not include the Gujarat figures because we do not seem to have received the Gujarat figures.

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH: Something wrong at the receiving end, Mr. Minister ?

SHRI INDER KUMAR GUJRAL: Well, I am not blaming anybody. I am only giving information. Let us not try to enter into controversies. I can only assure one thing, that if the figures are given to us either directly or through you, they will definitely be included.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: What about Maharashtra figures ?

SHRI DEORAO PATIL: In respect of Maharashtra you will circulate ?

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SHRI INDER KUMAR GUJRAL: I am willing to lay a statement on the Table of the House and it will give you a detailed idea about the figures that are available.

SHRI N. K. BHATT : That will be very helpful.

SHRI INDER KUMAR GUJRAL: As I have said just now, land distribution, when completed, is not an end by itself because, as some of the friends pointed out, we have a long history of deprivation. Even if a man gets land, he still needs to be supported. Poverty in India has many faces and one of the faces of poverty is that even when a man owns land, he does not know how to take advantage of it. He has not only to be told how to take advantage of it but also essential institutional support has to be given to him so that adequate inputs are available. That is why we have first given attention to the negative drags on him.

Indebtedness, we have spoken of. We have all felt that heavy indebtedness is a drag on production and I do not have to tell a House like this how people in the rural areas become indebted. What is the burden of interest on a person who unfortunately takes even a small loan sometimes ? For generations and generations he is exploited and that is why one of the things that the 20-point programme emphasised was the abolition of indebtedness, and not only in the negative sense but in the positive sense in making institutional set-ups available to the people.

A friend, I think it was Mr. Kulkarni, mentioned about house sites. The house sites programme has been there for quite sometime. In the rural side, generally speaking, we have seen that those who have the misfortune of being deprived of land—sometimes called Harijans and sometimes called Adivasis; they are mostly landless labourers—do not have even place to stay. They generally live, if I may say so, a nomadic life, on somebody else's land. Whenever the landlord gets

SHRI Inder Kumar Gujral] angry, he not only throws him out of the job hut also throws his hovel out and the in; i does not know where to go. That is why the first emphasis we placed on i. use-sites to these p -ople. I am quite conscious that house s.; c> by themselves do not solve the problem unless a person has some semblance iH : house to live in. But a beginning h to be made somewhere and I think it : not a trad beginning. Some have been given house sites and I think the tmrrber of ho. ise-sites distributed is nearly lakhs—yes, already distributed. Of course. tJfra should not be considered a?, >. n end of the programme itself. The programme shotrfd include, at some stage or the other, giving people houses of a md size.

The housing position in India as a whole is also very bad but in rural life irse a: iJ that is why unless we are in a position to do something in that sector, real rural transformation will never come. Some work has been done in this context in Kerala particularly and I am glad in my friend Brahmananda Panda's Oris', State, as I learn some very good work h is been done about hoilsiiig ...

SHRI G. 'AKSHMANAN: In Tamil Nadu ; ; instructed about one lakh, houses and distributed among Harijans free of cost. We also gave them land sites free of cost.

SHRI Inder Kumar Gujral: If I sit down without giving you credit for the work you have done, then you protest. Let me finish. You see the main point. Kindly keep in mind that I am not deliver. ical address here. I am speaking in th .conomic sense and I am not trying to it-portion blame.

SHR', VIREN J. SHAH: For the last (ive days we h ive been hearing the blames and that is w hy he is apprehending this'

thing. It is very good that you have said this.

SHRI Inder Kumar Gujral: If I say that Gujarat figures are not available, I do not think I am doing anything wrong. If I had the figures, I would have announced them. If Gujarat has done good work, it is so nice because I is as much a part of the country as any other State. If Gujarat has done good work, I would like to know it, but unfortunately, I do not have the figures with me. Tamil Nadu figures are there and I have stated the same thing about Tamil Nadu.

.SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD: According to the assessment of the Government which State of all the States in India has progressively implemented these land reforms ?

SHRI Inder Kumar Gujral: I do not think we have reached a stage, when any State could have derived comfort because land reform is a total approach and that is where I was trying to build the whole thing. Land reform to me means taking away land from those to whom socially it should not belong; it also means giving to those whom, socially, it should belong and it also means jiving a support of inputs etc. to whom land is given. It also means giving them capacity to buy fertilizers, capacity to buy water, see that well is there so that they can irrigate their land, so that their standard of living rises and total production in the country increases. Then only if you ask me which State has gone ahead Am\ if your State or any other State has really gone ahead, I would be the first to congratulate. The idea is that if competition is there, I will welcome it because competition in land reform is a healthy competition, and that is where the nation's benefit lies. I am glad that some States are taking this challenge and some States are feeling that instead of raising political slogans they must talk in

terms of economic reality and for this, I think it is a good atmosphere and we should be in a position to create an atmosphere where this type of healthy competition, even in the political parties, comes up, where we try to do more for the poor and for the backward sections of the country.

In this context, the rural credit becomes more important. Unless we are in a position to give more rural credit the situation will not improve. In terms of rural credit, some work has been done, some work has yet to be done. More-torium to rural indebtedness has to be dealt with both in position and negative sense positively by making available institutional credit. Progress has been made. The States have imposed a moratorium on recovery of debts from artisans. Some States like Assam, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Rajasthan, Tripura, U.P. and West Bengal have also taken action for complete redemption of debt of the weakest categories.

Bihar has provided for total discharge of debt of certain categories of persons. The legislations of Haryana, Tripura and West Bengal also provide for scaling down the debts. This is so far as rural indebtedness is concerned. And also so far as credit is concerned, to provide for the weaker sections with alternate source of credit, the States are gearing up the cooperative institutions. In a number of States, a large number of persons belonging to the weaker sections have been enrolled as member* and instructions have been issued providing that a certain percentage of loaning by cooperative institutions should be earmarked for the weaker sections. Along with this, 50 rural banks—as is known—each with 100 branches have been planned. Five such banks have also so far been established at Bhiwani in Haryana, at Jaipur in Rajasthan, at Malda in West Bengal, and at Moradabad and Gorakhpur in U.P. This is so far as the rural credit is concerned.

So for as the other aspects of the inputs are concerned, we also feel at the same time that the most important hump that we have to cross is to see to it that not only the rural indebtedness is removed but also social circumstances are created whereby in future also the poor section of society does not go under private debts. And that is why one of the ideas that the rural banks are going to look at is that not only should they provide the loans for productive activity but some consumption loans should also be available because in our society, being as it is, some consumption loans are needed. It is equally significant, Sir, that those who do not own land, they also are protected. And that is why the 6th point of the 20-point programme lays a great deal of emphasis on agricultural wage. And in this context also, some progress has been made. A review has been undertaken by the States—I am told almost all States have done it—and minimum wages have been enhanced in most of the States. Administrative arrangements for implementation of minimum wages are being geareci up in the States. This work, I think, is going on further.

One of my friends from Maharashtra h.id complained that the minimum wage fixed in Maharashtra was almost the same which people were already getting. While we are keen that the minimum wage should gradually rise, the main idea of having a legislation in this context is that people should get at least that much of wage. That does not mean that it is the maximum wage. That does not mean that for people in those areas where production factors are more yielding wages should not be raised. But at least this much should be assured so that nobody legally pays lesser than this wage.

I had mentioned about the bonded labour. And as ycu know, some steps have been taken in this context as well. The Central Ordinance which is now converted into law for regulation of the bonded la-' bour had betn promulgated in October,

[Shri Inder Kumar Gujral] 1975. The concerned Bill has been introduced in the Parliament and is being passed. Under the Ordinance, the district officers have been vested with appropriate powers relating to cognizance, inquiry and prosecution so that the cases are disposed of expeditiously and not bogged down in the normal methods of litigation. Action is being taken by the States for implementation and some bonded labourers have already been freed. States have been advised to prepare a scheme for the rehabilitation of the bonded labourers and this will be dovetailed into the Annual Plan also. In this context, when I am talking of the Annual Plans, I might mention, Sir, that in the Annual Plans which we are now finalizing, discussion with most of the States have already taken place and we have provided funds for implementation of the 20-point programme in all State Plans for this year. So it is not as if any State will not be able to push the 20-point programme for paucity of funds.

About the house-sites, I have already mentioned. The only thing I want to say is that while the house-sites are being made available, we are equally keen that the back-log—I wanted to give figures of this—of 18 million houses is cleared. (18 million is estimated to be the rural housing shortage at present; this is including the houses which are houses in names). Unfortunately due to rise in population, this backlog goes on increasing by 1.8 million every year. Therefore you will see that when we talk of housing programme, we will have to think in terms of a very massive push forward. Although some work might have been done, as I said earlier, in Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Orissa, faced with the gigantic size of the problem. I think in all humility all of us should feel that very little has been done. Therefore it is not as if we should achieve comfort if we build a few hundred houses. I am giving this figure so that when we think in terms of any enlightened push forward, we must keep in mind the fact that housing is a

very important factor which should receive our attention.

Basically, our economy is a rural economy, one which depends upon irrigation. And unless we are in a position to push irrigation forward, the most essential inputs will not be available. And that is why we in this country, feel that a very great emphasis must be placed on this. In the 20-point Programme, one of the points is that we should add five million hectares for irrigation. By March last year in India approximately 171 million hectares were under the plough. And out of this, about 22 to 23 per cent was being irrigated. Out of 171 million hectares, only about 45.30 million hectares were under dependable irrigation schemes. When we all admire sometimes—and I feel personally proud of it—the miracle of Punjab and Haryana, we must keep in mind that apart from the people's effort, the most important single factor is that the lands there have been irrigated in a higher proportion than elsewhere. And once we are in a position to improve our irrigation position, then our production will considerably improve and the lot of the people will also improve. That is why we feel that we must add five million hectares within this Plan, and we are pushing this forward. In 1974-75 we were able to add .85 million hectares additionally irrigated. And this means a huge investment because whenever we are undertaking irrigation plans and projects, the cost is very high. For adding .85 million hectares we have had to invest Rs. 385 crores last year. And in this current year which is going on we are trying to add another 1.1 million hectares, and the cost will be of the order of about Rs. 500 crores. Therefore, when we get impatient or ask sometimes as to why we are not fast enough, we should realise how much money is needed for pushing this forward. Our programme in 1975-76 is to add another 1.10 million hectares. And you will see that on an average we are trying to add one million or slightly more hectares every year so that by the end of this current Plan we

arc able to add five million hectares to the already existing five million hectares, which will mean adding one-ninth more. | which will be a considerable step forward.

Naturally, when we talk in terms of irrigation, minor irrigation particularly or of tubewells, much depends upon the energy that we have and the power that we generate. Now, since freedom, we have gone considerably ahead. But in the recent times, we have been able to put more emphasis on making electricity available for our rural people. And unless we are able to make electricity available for rural life, agricultural transformation will not take place. In 1974-75, we were able to energise 1,66,000 pumps, and in 1975-76, our target is to energise additionally 1,73,000 pumps. Now, when we talk in terms of Plan outlays or in terms of the investment that we are making, you know, we are laying a great deal of emphasis on what we call the core sector. In the core sector, energy has been given a more significant place. In 1974-75, for irrigation which is also a very important sector of the core, on which much emphasis has been laid, we had an outlay of Rs. 120.48 crores. And in the current year, that is, in 1975-76, the investment will go up further. We feel that we will be in a position to invest about Rs. 307 crores for irrigation only. Now, minor irrigation is being given considerably more importance than others. As I mentioned just now, we have laid a great deal of emphasis on the energy programme, on which the Prime Minister has laid emphasis in the 20-point programme. The allocation for power schemes for irrigation during the current year has been increased by about Rs. 100 crores. An additional Central assistance of Rs. 85 crores has been given to the States to accelerate work on irrigation and power projects which are in an advanced stage of construction. In regard to minor irrigation, in the Fifth Plan we are keen that there should be more emphasis on this so that the poorer sections of the society are in a position to get water for their fields. I was talking about energy because energy;

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is a core sector and the pivotal point, whether I talk in terms of agricultural growth or I talk in terms of industrial growth. In the Fifth Plan, we have been thinking of investing, if our resources permit, approximately Rs. 6,000 crores in this sector. In 1974-75, we were able to invest for energy Rs. 766 crores. In the current year, that is, 1975-76, an amount of Rs. 1,100 crores is being invested in this sector. With this outlay, the energy available is being increased considerably. In 1974-75 we were able to add 1.7 million KW and in the current year, we are hoping to add another 2.6 million KW. We are hoping that with this, the problems which we are now facing, to a large extent, will be removed.

For rural transformation and increased production, we are, therefore, emphasising on electrification of the villages. Unless the villages are electrified, the real social transformation cannot take place. Up to the end of November 1975, approximately 1,70,244 villages had been electrified. And this programme will go on. But we have a long way to go still, when we keep in mind that we have 5,50,000 villages where electricity must reach as soon as possible. Now this electrification programme is also an input for irrigation. The moment electricity reaches the rural area, naturally the first priority is for the pumps. By the end of this year, approximately 28 lakh pumps in India will have been energised.

Now I am moving away from the rural economy about which I tried to point out that we are trying to have a total deal for social transformation, a new deal to unleash productive forces. Basically we have to keep in mind the fact that our main drag in the last two or three years has been inflation. Inflation arrested our growth so much that we were not able to do anything, so much so that we were not able to finalise even the Fifth Plan. That is why we had to go from year to year to make our plans because whatever was happening outside was having

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its effect on us also. We had our internal problems of inflation, but more than that, since we imported petroleum and many other things, we were importing inflation also. Here our difficulty was that we were importing inflation and exporting it to those products which were deflated in their prices. So we have been hit both ways. But fortunately because of the national effort and thanks to the Government's strength in dealing with it, in the last year or so we have been able to manage our inflation. I will not repeat—it has been said very often—that in the world as a whole we have been able to manage our inflation. That has naturally had its effect on the prices. My friends have been talking about the prices and how far we have been able to manage them. I think I do not have to say a great deal about it but I would only like to draw your attention to the fact that the prices of essential commodities have fallen throughout the country. In the first months of the emergency, a minus rate of inflation, i.e. minus 1.9 per cent, was achieved. Between July and December, the wholesale prices have fallen by 5.4 per cent, liven the normal seasonal rise in the prices was largely suppressed this year.

I now come to consumer price. Dr. Ramkripal Sinha has been particularly talking about the price of potatoes and onions. I would only like to tell him that the consumer price for agricultural labourers who are the poorest of the poor showed a remarkable decline of 8.3 per cent between July and October 1975. There has been a marked improvement in this process and the fall further continues.

I do not want to take more of your time. I would only tell him that the consumer price index has registered a very steep fall. It was 335 in October 1974. In November 1975 it was 315. This shows that the cost of living index of industrial workers fell by 20 points. For the agricultural labourers it fell in the same period from 385 to 332. The wholesale

index fell from 324 to 303 in November. It further fell to 295 in December. Thus the consumer price index for industrial workers has registered a serious and noticeable fall. With the stabilised prices, the industrial discipline also has emerged. With this and with the Government's effort to contain anti-social activities of the smugglers and black-marketeers we have now seen that the industrial production in India has also picked up. That is why we have seen that the production of almost every major industrial commodity has gone up.

Let us take coal, for instance. In July-December we were producing 42.44 million tonnes. In the same period of 1975 we produced 47.59 million tonnes of coal. The production thus registered an increase of 12 per cent. Aluminium production rose by 44 per cent, pig-iron production rose by 15.9 per cent. Saleable steel rose by 18 per cent. Power generation rose by 12 per cent. Production of Vanas-pathi rose by 52.7 per cent. Cement production rose by 11.8 per cent. I am not deliberately giving you detailed figures because I think you might be having those figures. I am only giving you the percentages. In case you wish, I can lay this on the Table of the House so that you can see how production has gone up.

I am sorry I have taken considerable time of yours in trying to tell you how things have moved. I would also like to share with you that all this has happened because of national effort. All this has happened because this Twenty-Points Programme basically accelerated the economy. Within such a short period we are seeing the result before us.

I know I have been somewhat long. But I would also like to mention that this achievement in production would not have been possible but for the cooperation of the working class and all the trade unions. I think the credit must go to them mostly for achieving these results.

I will not take your time by speaking about the improved performance of public sector and in the field of industrial relations. I would only like to say that the result there also has been remarkable.

This Twenty-Point Programme, Mr. Vice-Chairman, is a long programme to achieve results. It also talks about hand-loom. My friend Dr. Ramkripal Sinha was worried about handloom. I would like to tell him that to clear accumulated stocks of handloom, loans totalling Rs. 4.72 crores were given to the concerned States and to the All India Fabric Co-operative Marketing Societies. Further, to lower prices and boost the sales, a subsidy of 10 per cent from the Centre along with a matching subsidy from the State Governments is being provided. These have made a good impact on the sales. A development plan for the handloom industry has been prepared providing for larger coverage of co-operatives, for the supply of all inputs, encouragements of exports, improvement of organisational arrangements, etc., and a separate Development Commissioner's organisation for the handloom industry has been set up. Similarly, in the sphere of standard cloth, controlled cloth of improved quality, conforming to the revised specifications that have been laid down, is now freely available. A number of measures have also been taken by the co-operatives and a number of retail outlets in the co-operative sector have been opened and 80 per cent of these outlets are functioning in the rural areas. Measures have also been taken to strengthen the organisational and financial capabilities of these co-operatives.

I have not given details with regard to the other points. But I would like to mention that socialisation of urban land is one of the very basic points in the 20-point economic programme and I am hoping that in the present Session of Parliament, this House will have an opportunity to discuss this question because it is only through the socialisation of urban land that we would be able to stop the

profiteering and racketeering in land and then only we would be in a position to launch a worthwhile housing programme in the urban areas also.

May I say, Sir, that this programme has given a push and boost to the economy? And, Sir, I am hoping that with this accelerated progress, we will be in a position, particularly by the end of the present Plan, to come to a stage when we would be able to push forward with a great deal of satisfaction. My friend, Shri Murthy, and his friends, when he moved this Resolution, were keen to stress that effective co-ordination should be there. At the Centre, fortunately, we have attached great importance to the task of seeing that co-ordination is there and co-ordination is done by the Prime Minister's Secretariat itself and the Prime Minister herself has set up a Cabinet Committee for this purpose and I think this should satisfy my friend, Shri Murthy, and he should know that what is being done is very satisfactory. I have also with me a detailed report about the committees that have been set up in the various States, at district level, at taluka level, at block level, at panchayat level and so on and the social committees that have also been set up to support them.

Sir, now I will not take your time in leading out the details about what has been done. But I would like to say—my friend from Gujarat is not here; I think he has gone—that I have got Gujarat's report also in this context. Therefore, what I would like to say is that committees can be set up; but these committees by themselves will not serve the purpose. It is the total atmosphere in the country which will ultimately serve the purpose. Let us keep in mind the fact that all of us, particularly those who are in public life, owe this responsibility to the nation when we say that this programme should succeed, when we say that we should not leave it to the bureaucracy and so on. Ultimately, it is not a question of leaving or not leaving it to the bureaucracy; but

[Shri Inder Kumar Gujral.] it is mainly a question of how much support we give and how much vigilance we maintain. If the public workers are vigilant and if all of us in political life are vigilant, then we would be able to see that there is not a single bonded labourer, that land is distributed equitably, that the Hari-jan has got his due and that those who lend money and are taking heavy rates of interest are not able to operate. If we are able to eliminate all these things, then, of course, we can feel happy. . .

डा० रामकृपाल सिंह : आप के माध्यम से मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से यह जानना चाहूँगा कि प्रधान मंत्री जी ने और अन्य लोगों ने इस बीस सूत्री प्रोग्राम के बारे में अनेक बार जनता से और लोगों से मांग की है कि वे इस में कोषापरेट करें। तो, जो नेशनल पोलिटिकल पार्टीज हैं—अभी जो एक कमेटी बनी है इस के बारे में, उस में जो नेशनल पोलिटिकल पार्टीज हैं, उन्होंने इस के बारे में क्या पालिसी तय की है ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKA-NATH MISRA): Mr. Gujral, I would request you to wind up now because the other Resolutions are also there.

SHRI INDKR KUMAR GUJRAL: I have only a word to say and finish and that is this: Let us not be lost in formalities; let us not be lost in this form or that form; but let us basically realise that we have to create the correct political atmosphere in this country in which a push to the economy is possible. And, Sir, I think that my friend knows that those political parties which are genuinely interested in this are working, but those which are not interested are sitting on the one side and only raising slogans and shouting. Thank you very much. Sir.

SHRI B. P. NAGARAJA MURTHY (Karnataka): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I seek your permission to speak a few words in Kannada. There is a strong reason for this. This is the history of the Department of Parliamentary Affairs a serious omission on their part. For the

Language Commission consisting of 28 members, not even one member from Karnataka has been selected, though more than 20 million people speak Kannada. Sir,...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKA-NATH MISRA): The specific point is: ! Would you like to press your Resolution or withdraw it?

SHRI INDER KUMAR GUJRAL: I would request the hon. Member to withdraw the Resolution.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: Are you desiring to withdraw it?

SHRI B. P. NAGARAJA MURTHY: Let me say something in Kannada, first. . .

(Interruption*)

SHRI N. K. BHATT (Madhya Pradesh): lie lias tlic right to reply. . .

(Interruptionx)

SHRI B. P. NAGARAJA MURTHY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, 17 persons, including the hon. Minister, have taken part in the discussion on this single Resolution. The notable feature of this discussion has been that none of the Members has opposed the 20-point programme. All have heartily welcomed it. As this historic programme is a programme of the entire nation, it is the duty of everyone to implement it. The hon. Minister has also drawn our attention to this point. The attitude of many people in the matter of implementation of this programme reminds me of the story of a sculptor who, when asked to make the statue of Ganapati, said that he would rather make the statue of Gana-paii's father. It is said that some people in their zeal are implementing even the shortcomings of the programme. For example, in our State of Karnataka, district-wise committees have been set up for the implementation of the 20-point programme and every district has been placed

> *Original speech in Kannada.

under the charge of one Minister. Yet, during the last seven months, in some districts, not a single Minister has gone and discussed the implementation of the programme with the people of the district. If even responsible Ministers show neglect, then how far will the programme succeed? This has to be considered. It is a people's plan. It is a national plan. And on the success of this plan depends the future of the country. If it fails, then it would soon take India to bad days. Therefore, whatever shortcomings we find in the 20-point programme should be removed, and in order to achieve good results we should implement the programme with foresight and wisdom. It is with this intention that I have moved this Resolution. My intention is not to waste the valuable time of the House. So far, many political parties, and even the ruling party, have in their election manifestoes and in the national forums have been announcing different plans. But all of these plans have remained on paper. None of them have been implemented. It is in this background that the hon. Prime Minister has presented the 20-point programme as a package programme. We should give practical shape to this programme and thereby bring sun-shine in the lives of the poor people who are living in the dark in 5½ lakh villages of India and bring about their all-round development. The committees that have been set up by the Centre for the successful implementation of the programme and for guidance and for proper evaluation, are dormant and are not functioning speedily. I am sorry that I have to say this. The Minister of Planning has set up some committees for this work. I wanted to draw the attention of the hon. Minister and the House to the need of working up these committees from their slumber, so that the 20-point programme may be successfully and effectively implemented.

I would want the hon Minister to direct all the committees that have been set up in the past at the village, city, district and national levels to work with speed.

With these words, I withdraw my Resolution.

SHRIINDER KUMAR GUJRAL: I will request hon. friend that in view of the fact that a Committee has been set up and at the Centre a co-ordination machinery is available, he may kindly withdraw his Resolution.

SHRI B. P. NAGARAJA MURTHY: I beg leave of the House to withdraw my Resolution.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): The question is :

That leave be granted to the Mover to withdraw his Resolution. *The motion was adopted, the Resolution was, by leave, withdrawn.*

**RESOLUTION REGARDING
BRINGING FORWARD
LEGISLATION TO AMEND THE
CONSTITUTION OF INDIA WITH A
VIEW TO ELIMINATING SOCIAL
AND ECONOMIC DISPARITIES,
REMOVING IMPEDIMENTS IN
SPEEDY IMPLEMENTATION OF
PROGRESSIVE ECONOMIC PRO-
GRAMMES AND ACHIEVING DE-
FINED TARGETS IN SOCIO-ECO-
NOMIC FIELD**

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA) : Next Resolution. Yes, Mr. Sisodia. You can speak for ten minutes.

श्री सवाई सिंह सिसोदिया (मध्य प्रदेश) : सभापति जी, मैं बोलने के लिये खड़ा होने से पहले घड़ी की तरफ देख रहा हूँ और आपसे भी मैं मदद माँगना हूँ कि आप मुझे थोड़ा समय दे दीजिये।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री लोकनाथ मिश्र) : ऐसा है शुक्रवार को टाइम ज्यादा नहीं बढ़ाया जा सकता।

श्री सवाई सिंह सिसोदिया : मेरा संकल्प इस प्रकार है :

(क) समाजवादी अर्थव्यवस्था की स्थापना करने हेतु सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक विमर्शनों का उन्मूलन करना;