

[Shri Hamid Ali Schamnad]
capitalist or industrialist, ignoring the poor landholders. So the income of the beneficiaries also should be taken into consideration when you go into the details of property ceiling.

May I also submit that as far as the Muslim minorities are concerned, it is a well-known fact they do not have their due representation in various walks of life. In the Railways alone, out of 40 lakhs of employees, not even one per cent are Muslims. The same is the case in the Government sector as well as in the private sectors. This emergency should have been made use of to see that the Muslim minorities are also absorbed and given due representation in various services. With these words, I conclude.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 2 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at nine minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at two minutes past two of the clock, the Vice-chairman (Shri V. R. Raju) in the Chair.

MOTION REGARDING THE NEW PROGRAMME FOR ECONOMIC PROGRESS—*Contd.*

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Prime Minister in a broadcast to the nation, in the wake of the emergency, has appealed to the nation to enforce discipline, encourage production and work hard to achieve a just social order. The is what we call popularly the 21 point package. I would feel that the basic task seems to be, along with enforcing discipline in the society, that the political structure should be cleaned and the corrupt elements crushed. Along with that one has to see that the overdue social and economic reforms are being implemented with pragmatism and rationality. What we have to achieve

is better economic results in terms of growth and consequently an egalitarian society.

The 21 point programme has announced certain immediate steps, particularly removing rural indebtedness. Then there are certain steps to give credit to the poor in the villages and encourage minor irrigation works and so on and so forth. What I think is that in this programme along with the removing or giving assurance as regards removing rural indebtedness, the logical conclusion will be to stabilise the rural poor who have got their resources weakened due to production apparatus not being commensurate with expenditure.

And, Sir, for this purpose, some ancillary industries also have to be started like dairy—or poultry-keeping or agro-industries which will give him more resources for his existence. I find from the 21-point programme that has been announced that it has been made clear that henceforth doles and charity for removing poverty would be banned because nowhere in the world have doles and charities created any strength in a poor person since they always create more dependence on the Government machinery. Sir, what I feel is that economic growth would be possible only when more resources are created or generated. In this connection, I would like to refer to the Economic Survey which has been published by the Reserve Bank of India and the Annual Plan for 1975-76, announced very recently, two days back. I would say that the resources or the surpluses which are to be generated have to come from different sources. In this connection, I would particularly like to draw the attention of the Government to the question of curbing conspicuous consumption and the increase in the unproductive expenditure.

Sir, the problem of curbing consumption, I mean, conspicuous consumption, is far more difficult because, for doing this, the new rich, who have a broad base among the smugglers, blackmarketeers, anti-social elements and other anti-social political operators, have to be put down with an iron

will and a heavy hand by the Government. It should be remembered that the social base of the smugglers, tax-evaders and the blackmarketeers has got a delicate organic link with the bureaucracy and the political parties as we have seen in the disclosures made by the Government recently about the connections of Mr. George Fernandes with certain foreign countries for funds. In this connection, I would like to place before the House some figures relating to unproductive expenditure which are very revealing.

Sir, it is seen that in the private sector, between 1961 and 1973, the annual compound rate of growth in services is 11.96 per cent and in trade and commerce 6 per cent as against 2.6 per cent in manufacturing and 2.4 per cent in construction. What does this show? It shows that the expenditure in services or unproductive expenditure is increasing day by day. So, if the Government wants any impact to be made by 21-point programme, such unproductive expenditure is to be curtailed. Sir, there is another set of figures with me. During the last thirteen years, income from the public administration and defence increased by 171 per cent and 61.9 per cent respectively, in banking and insurance by 134.18 per cent and in trade and commerce by 64.9 per cent. As against this, the income from agriculture increased merely by 19.9 per cent and from industry by 72 per cent.

Sir, if anybody takes a rational view after analysing these figures, it will be easy for anyone to conclude that unproductive expenditure, whatever we may say, has increased and if this package programme has to be successful, more resources are to be created by avoiding such expenditure. Therefore, some steps are necessary to curb this unproductive expenditure in the Government and in industry and trade. Sir, a point was made here—and I agree with that—that if this programme has to be successfully implemented, certain structural changes have to take place in our society and there should be radical changes in the matter of ownership of property and availability of opportunities.

Sir, instead of having a structural change, if we go on having a complacent view as we have taken long back about the implementation of such programmes which are radically necessary for eradicating poverty, they will not succeed unless we go to the logical length of touching those riches, those political forces, who have a vested interest in their own self-interest.

Sir, I am only dealing with three points. One is about the distribution of essential commodities. Sir, Dr. Z. A. Ahmad spoke about the controlled cloth. My friend, Mr. Manubhai Shah, also remarked about the controlled cloth. I feel, Sir, and my experience of the last 30 years in a co-operative sector where we produce yarn and cloth shows that we are too much trumpeting about the success of the distribution as well as the production of controlled cloth. With my limited experience, I think, this is a myth. If you are going to increase so much production and trying to force it through the throat of the common man, he is not going to purchase it, since the quality of the controlled cloth is not proper. Prof. Chattopadhyaya says that he has recently improved its quality. If I may suggest to the Government and to the leaders in the Government, the real problem can be solved only with a very drastic solution. Sir, in this country we are producing between 1200 to 2100 various varieties of cloth. And, with due respect to my female friends in Parliament, and also the men, many varieties are required for satisfying what you call the needs of the female eye for various colours, various designs . . .

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI) : If I may interrupt, may I just ask the question? Do the female friends put on such dresses only for the female eye?

(Interruptions).

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: I am referring to males also. Males also are included. I think in this country we require 10 or 12 standard varieties of cloth. Take Khadi. We find that youngsters are using coloured Khadi. We are accustomed to use Khadi, which means pure, clean,

[Shri Arvind Ganesh Kulkarni]

white Khadi, nothing else. Sir, instead of encouraging so much production of controlled cloth, there should be encouragement to the extent that is required of 8810 varieties to suit different tastes. But the basic needs of this country can be satisfied by ten varieties of cloth, which should be in different colours and designs which are manageable and which have a purpose for use. The balance capacity that has been created should be utilized for export purposes or for some other purposes. That will only solve the problem, otherwise not.

Then, Sir, while speaking on the structural changes, the suggestion to bar legal recourse against economic offences is welcome. If the Government wants to create special tribunals which might include some legal brains, I have got no objection. But the courts must be banned. Many big houses or anti-social elements have delayed the ends of justice by approaching the courts.

Then, Sir, about fixing the cost price on cost-plus basis— I am very sorry Mr. Subramaniam is not present here now— we have a bad tradition evolved by Tariff Commission. We have to do away with this. The normal efficiency is the only basis on which the cost price is to be fixed.

Sir, in his opening speech, Mr. Subramaniam said that the licensing procedure is to be streamlined and the investment has to be, what you call, encouraged or accelerated. I am sorry to say that I am hearing from Mr. Subramaniam this, ever since he was the Industries' Minister. Very recently, I have been associated with the Maharashtra Co-operative Fertiliser Society which is investing Rs. 40 crores to produce fertilisers. For the last two years, I have been moving to get a licence. Even a person like me who is a Member of Parliament is helpless and though every officer in the Ministry wants to help us the procedure is such that nobody can help and since this project is a project with foreign collaboration, it requires release of foreign exchange and all those things. I think more drastic remedies have to be evolved to streamline procedure

if big projects and the industrial investment is to be accelerated, particularly in the priority sector.

Sir, I also wanted to draw the attention of Mr. Subramaniam to his own assurance and to his predecessor's assurance when he was the Minister of Industry. We always give a fall talk and a sympathetic slogan of helping the small scale industries and encouraging them. I draw the attention of the House, though the House is very thin, and I hope that many of my colleagues will remember that we had got assurance on two counts.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : The House is not as thin as it used to be.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: The House is not so thin as it used to be. Thank you very much. What I want to say is that the small scale industries in this country do not produce the products which can stand on their own. Most of the small scale industries including the industries set up by the educated unemployed are working as ancillary units. After the Emergency and the 21-point of the Prime Minister, I wrote to the Prime Minister that proposed help to the handloom sector is welcome, however, Government have not considered genuine demands of the small scale industries. You have done something for the rural poor of the country, but the statutory protection required by the small scale industries is still denied to them because the officers in the Finance Ministry are not agreeable to the proposal of the Ministry of Industry. (*Time bell rings*). I am everyday receiving complaints. You will be surprised to hear that the ancillary units are not paid by the organised industry for one year or 1-1/2 years. Who is to protect the small scale industry? The small scale industry is not only the supplier of ancillary parts to the large scale sector, but it is also the banker. The small scale sector gets money at 18 per cent and supplies to the large scale industry without interest. This is the state of callous negligence by bureaucracy.

The second assurance given was about the equalisation of prices of raw material to the organised sector and the small scale sector. Sir, the Finance Ministry is withholding the proposal and nothing is done. Very recently, I was told by the Minister of Industrial Development that he would be going to call on the Minister of Finance. When the Minister of Finance was the Minister of Industrial Development, he had assured the same thing. So, the ball is rolling.

I have to suggest some measures to increase production. You may be aware—you also come from Andhra Pradesh—that very recently a levy on sugar was declared. Dr. Ahnrad is not here. I would request him to understand the real problem of sugar. If you want more sugar to be produced, who is to finance the new sugar factories and who is to finance the investment in the sugar factory? I ask the Finance Minister. Let him say that the finance is available with the Financial Corporation. I have been working day and night in the co-operative sector. We need about Rs. 6 to 7 crores for a co-operative sugar factory of say 250 tonnes capacity.

Sir, a Rs. 7 crore sugar factory is not a worthwhile proposition as per the study made by the Industrial Finance Corporation or some other agency. I have got a report that was published in the *Hindustan Times* which says that the raising of capital cost resulted in lower new investment. This is not only with regard to sugar but also with regard to textiles. Sir, a new co-operative spinning mill costs Rs. 3.5 to Rs. 4 crores. The capital investment has been denied by the financial institutions because there is no proper cash flow or what you call commercial attraction. Sir, with all humbleness I would say that all this tall talk and all this talk of new investment and new productive forces being encouraged will be of no use if an integrated approach is not taken. When you want more sugar and when you want more cotton yarn and cloth, who is to make the investment? I fully agree that investments are uncommercial and they are not profitable because of the usual yardstick of 15

years period of repayment. So, in the interest of making the 21-point programme a success, the Government naturally will have to come forward and the period of repayment has to be lengthened from 15 years to 30 years. Otherwise, there will be no sugar, and there will be no cloth. I hope Shri Subramaniam will appreciate what I have suggested and will give a categorical reply. Sir, in the Fifth Plan, new investment in textiles, sugar, fertilizer, paper and cement is not going to take place because, firstly, there is a paucity of capital, and secondly, the investment though small, is costly. To make it a workable proposition the rate of interest has to be cut down and the period of repayment has to be lengthened.

Sir, my third point is this. Particularly in the case of sugar, there is a report by the Sampath Committee which is still lying with the Finance Ministry. They suggested new concessions for new co-operative factories. They said that since it is found that this type of capital investment is not commercially feasible, some concession has to be given if investments have to be made.

Sir, my last point is about rural indebtedness and the seed programme. Sir, it is a courageous act on the part of the Government that they have helped the rural poor by removing the rural indebtedness in the private sector. I really congratulate them. It is logical and rational that the concession should be extended to the co-operative sector also. In the co-operative sector, the rural indebtedness has gone to 40 to 45 per cent. There were reports by Dr. Gadgil, Shri V. M. Dandekar and very recently by the Date Committee. They have gone into this problem. I suggest that the rich farmers, wherever responsible for this, should be punished and their entire property should be confiscated. But the point is that small farmers, owning a hectare of land or two hectares of land, for no fault of theirs, because of drought or because of fall in prices or because of bad seeds and no capacity to put inputs, suffered a great deal, and now they are not getting the loans. Wherefrom do you

[Shri Arvind Ganesh Kulkarni]

get these seeds? In the co-operative sector, he is not being supplied. Very recently, a friend of mine told me that he got a permit for the supply of fertilizer. But the marketing society, being in default, the fertilizer could not be supplied.

Sir, some time back, when Shri Subramaniam was the Minister for Agriculture, I brought to his notice about the adulterated seeds and he was also very much concerned about it. Sir, recently, Agmark-ed foundation seeds brought to Maharashtra from Andhrā Pradesh were found to be adulterated. The poor farmers have been purchasing the seed at Rs. 6 or Rs. 10 per kilo. If the seed is adulterated, how can that money be realized? Unless the Government goes all out for State production and power supply the agricultural production will suffer.

Sir, I say that this 21-point programme is a very laudable programme but party workers have a great stake in success.

We should all involve ourselves. I would appeal to you, Sir,—you are also the Deputy Leader of my Party—that the involvement of the party cadre in the implementation of these programmes is lacking at the district level and a way has to be found out so that the scarce human resources, valuable human resources, which we have got in this country, are involved in this process and the implementation of this programme will be a success only if the party workers are involved. I say that the bureaucracy cannot deliver the goods and not depend upon the bureaucracy.

شری سید احمد ہاشمی (اتر پردیش):

ڈپٹی چیرمین - سر میں پرائم منسٹر کے اکانامک پروگرام کی تائید کرنے کے لئے کھڑا ہوا ہوں جس کا انہوں نے پہلی جولائی کو اعلان کیا تھا - اس پروگرام میں میرا خیال ہے اور سبھی محسوس کرتے ہیں کہ اس میں تقریباً ہر غریب طبقہ اور ہر درمیانی طبقہ کا خیال و لحاظ رکھا گیا ہے - اس پروگرام میں

ایک طرف طلباء کا خیال رکھا گیا ہے و دیارتھیوں کا خیال رکھا گیا ہے دوسری طرف ان کھیتی ہر مزدوروں کا خیال رکھا گیا ہے جن کے پاس زمین نہیں ہے - اس میں ایک طرف عوام کے ان غریب افراد کا خیال رکھا گیا ہے جو بے گھر اور بے مکان ہیں - دوسری طرف اس میں چھوٹے کاشت کاروں کا خیال رکھا گیا ہے - اس کے اندر اس سدھار کا بھی خیال رکھا گیا ہے جو اسمگلنگ اور کرپشن کی وجہ سے پیدا ہوا ہے - میرا خیال ہے کہ اس پروگرام میں ان تمام طبقوں کا جن کا اس ملک میں ایکسپلائٹیشن اور استحصال کیا جاتا رہا ہے ان کا پورا خیال رکھا گیا ہے لیکن کیا اس پروگرام کا اتنا ہی فائدہ ہے کہ ہم اس ایکسپلائٹیشن اور استحصال کو روک لینے کے لئے آج سے پہلے ہوتا رہا ہے یا اس کے علاوہ بھی کچھ فائدہ ہے - میں سمجھتا ہوں اور مجھے احساس ہے اور یہ بات کہتے ہوئے مجھے پوری طاقت مل رہی ہے کہ صرف اتنا ہی نہیں ہے کہ ہمارے ملک کے کچھ غریب اور پسماندہ طبقوں کو راحت اور آرام مل جائے گا بلکہ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس ملک کے اندر آج سے پہلے جو ایک و اتاورن، ایک چلن بنا دیا گیا تھا اور اس چلن کے نتیجہ میں ایک تخریب کاری، انتشار پسندی کے نتیجہ میں ہندوستان کے عوام کے دلوں میں محرومی اور نا امیدی پیدا ہوئی تھی اور لوگ یہ محسوس کر رہے تھے - ہندوستان کی جیتا اور عوام یہ محسوس کر رہی تھی کہ جیسے ان کا مستقبل تاریک ہے اس طرح سے ان کے سامنے

بھیانک تصویر پیش کی جا رہی تھی۔ یہ ہمارے اپوزیشن کے لوگ وہ لوگ جن کا ذہن اپنا ذہن نہیں ہے جن کی فکر اپنی فکر نہیں ہے جو اسی ذہن کی سوچتے ہیں اور کسی کی ترغیب کے اوپر فکر کرتے ہیں اور نظریے بناتے ہیں وہ اس ملک میں ایک غلط تصویر ہندوستان کی کھینچ رہے تھے اور اس ملک کے باہر کھینچ رہے تھے اور ہندوستان کی جتنا نا اُمیدی کا شکار ہو رہی تھی حوصلوں سے محروم ہو رہی تھی۔ بے یقینی اور بے اطمینانی کی کیفیت اس کے اندر پیدا ہو رہی تھی۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ جہاں اس پروگرام کے ایمپلیمینٹیشن کی تکمیل کے نتیجہ میں ہندوستان کی غریب جتنا ہندوستان کے غریب عوام خوش حالی اور راحت کا سانس لینگے وہاں میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس پروگرام کے نتیجہ میں ہندوستان کے عوام کو ایک نیا حوصلہ ملا۔ امید کی نئی کرن ملی ہے اور نیا وشواس اور اعتماد اور ایک نیا بھروسہ ملا ہے۔ میں بتلاؤں کہ میں یہ بات پیش کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ کوئی قوم اور دنیا کی کوئی نیشن اگر وہ اعتماد اور بھروسہ اور حوصلے سے محروم کر دی جائے۔ الگ کر دی جائے تو وہ قوم دنیا کے اندر پنپ نہیں سکتی۔ دنیا کے اندر وہ کامیاب نہیں ہو سکتی صورت حال یہ ہے کہ اس ملک کے اندر کچھ دنوں سے مختلف دوستوں نے جو حالت پیدا کر دی تھی محض سیلف انٹرسٹ کے لئے پارٹی انٹرسٹ کے لئے اس سے عوام کنفیڈینس سے محروم ہو چکا تھا۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس پروگرام سے سب

سے بڑا فائدہ یہ ہے کہ ہندوستان کی جتنا کو ہندوستان کے عوام کو ایک نیا حوصلہ ملا ہے اس میں ایک نیا یقین پیدا ہوا ہے جو یہ محسوس کر رہی ہے کہ تاریکیاں دکھائی جا رہی تھیں وہ تاریکیاں نہیں ہیں۔ یہی تو بتایا جا رہا تھا کہ ہمارا دیش بھوکا ہے دوسرے ملکوں سے مانگتا ہے لیکن میں بتلاؤں کہ ویسٹرن یورپین کنٹریز ۴۸-۴۲ فی صدی اناج باہر سے درآمد کرتی ہیں جب کہ ہندوستان صرف ۲ فی صدی درآمد کرتا ہے۔ لیکن اس کی بھیانک تصویر اس ملک میں دیکھائی۔ کہا گیا کہ ہندوستان کے پاس غلہ نہیں ہے ہندوستان کے پاس اناج نہیں ہے دوسری ضروریات کی چیزیں نہیں ہیں۔ اس سے ہندوستان کے اندر غیر یقینی کی کیفیت پیدا ہو گئی تھی۔ ہندوستان کی قوم کو بتانا چاہتا ہوں بڑے سے بڑے کٹھن موقعے آئے ہیں کٹھن سے کٹھن مشکلات آئی ہیں لیکن ہندوستان کی جتنا نے اپنے انہیں حوصلوں کی وجہ سے اپنے بلند ارادوں کی وجہ سے ان مشکلات پر قابو پایا۔ آج میں کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ ہندوستان کی سٹائیس سالہ آزادی کے دور کے اندر اگر ہم ہندوستان کی آزادی سے پہلے ’زیر‘ پوائنٹ پر کھڑے تھے تو آج ہم نئے دور میں خلا کی تسخیر کر رہے ہیں۔ آج ہماری پروڈکشن چاہے اندرون ملک میں غلہ کی ہو زندگی کی ضروریات کی ہوں یا ڈیفینس میسرز کی ہوں ان کے اندر ترقی ملی ہے۔ ہمارے اوپر اکال بھی آیا ہے باڑیں بھی آئی ہیں لیکن ان تمام مشکلات پر ہم نے قابو پایا۔ آج جو بے یقینی کی کیفیت

[شری سید احمد ہاشمی]

پیدا ہو گئی قحطی ملک میں میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس پروگرام کے اعلان کے بعد آج ایک نئی امید کے ساتھ نئے حوصلوں کے ساتھ ہم تیار کھڑے ہوئے ہیں۔ جہاں میں یہ بات کہہ رہا ہوں اس پروگرام کے ساتھ ہم ہندوستان کے عوام کو ہندوستان کی جتنا کو نیا حوصلہ ملا ہے وہاں پر میں یہ کہوں گا کہ ہمیں اس یقین کو مستحکم کرنا چاہئے اور یہ یقین مستحکم تبھی ہو سکتا ہے جب اس پر امپلیمینٹیشن ہو۔ یہ پروگرام کوئی جذباتی پروگرام نہیں ہے کہ ہم نے کوئی بات صلاح کے طور پر کہہ دی اور اس کو نہیں مانا۔ یہ وہ پروگرام ہے جو ہم سے عمل چاہتا ہے جو ہم سے محنت چاہتا ہے جو جد و جہد چاہتا ہے۔ تبھی جا کر ہم اس ملک کے اندر وہ صورت حال پیدا کر سکیں گے جس سے یہ تصویر اچھی تصویر ہوگی ہماری تصویر ایک بہتر تصویر ہوگی۔

میں عرض کروں بقیہ لینڈ ریفارم کا کام زمینوں کی تقسیم کا کام جتنی جلدی ہو سکے کرنا چاہئے۔ بقیہ آج ہندوستان کے عوام کو کیا چاہئے — وہ یہ چاہتے ہیں کہ چیزوں کے دام ایک جگہ ٹہرے ہوئے ہوں۔ چیزوں کے دام ان کی قوت خرید کے مطابق ہوں۔ ہماری کوشش ہونی چاہئے کہ چیزوں کے دام بڑھنے نہ پائیں اور چیزوں کے دام قوت خرید کے مطابق ہوں۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ہندوستان کے ۲۸ سالہ آزادی کے دور میں ایسا نہیں ہوا ہے۔ چاہے اپوزیشن یا دوسرے مخالف حتیٰ تصویریں

خراب کریں ضرورت کی تمام چیزیں ہمارے ملک میں نہ رہی ہوں۔ ہمارے ملک میں ضروریات کی تمام چیزیں موجود رہیں۔ غذا بھی رہا۔ پروڈکشن بھی رہا لیکن ایک چیز کی کمی رہی اس کا ہمیں اعتراف کرنا چاہئے۔ وہ چیز کیا ہے جس کے کارن لوگوں میں بے چینی پھیلنی ہے۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ یہ ہمارے ملک کا ڈسٹری بیوشن سسٹم ہے تقسیم کا نظام ہے جو صحیح نہیں تھا۔ اگر یہ تقسیم کا نظام ڈسٹری بیوشن سسٹم اس ملک میں صحیح ہوتا اور ان چیزوں کو جو ذخیرہ اندوزوں کے گوداموں میں پڑی ہوئی ہیں یا بلیک مارکیٹس کے کارخانوں میں پڑی ہوئی ہیں اگر ان چیزوں کو تقسیم کے مناسب نظام سے عام لوگوں تک پہنچایا جاتا تو بے چینی پیدا نہ ہوتی۔ اس لئے آج ضرورت اس بات کی ہے کہ ہمیں مناسب تقسیم کے نظام پر زیادہ زور دینا ہوگا۔

آج عام طور پر یہ شکایت کی جانی ہے کہ ہمارے ملک میں بارش ہو گئی سیلاب آگیا یا یہاں پر اکال پڑ گیا۔ میں کہتا ہوں کہ اس پروگرام کی تکمیل ٹھیک طرح سے اور کامیابی کے ساتھ تبھی ہو سکتی ہے جب کہ اس کے بارے میں ایک ماسٹر پلان بنایا جائے کہ کس طرح سے موسم بر اکال پر اور سیلاب کے اوپر قابو پایا جا سکتا ہے۔ آج آپ دیکھ رہے ہیں کہ ہمارے اثر پردیش کے اندر سیلاب آیا ہوا ہے ساری زمین اس کے اندر ہے بہار اور آسام میں بھی سیلاب آیا ہوا ہے اور اس کے کارن کھیتی برباد ہو رہی ہے۔ یہی حالت مختلف صوبوں کے اندر بھی ہے۔

اگر سیلاب کے بارے میں ایک ماسٹر پلان تیار کیا جائے گا اور اس کے مطابق کاروائی کی جائیگی تو کھیتی کی بربادی کو روکا جا سکتا ہے اور زمین کا پورا فائدہ ہو سکتا ہے۔ اس طریقہ سے اگر نہرمل اور ہائڈل اسکیموں کی طرف توجہ دی جائیگی تو بارش نہ ہونے کے کارن جب دقت ہوتی ہے تو وہ بھی نہیں ہو سکتے گی۔ اس لئے میرا کہنا یہ ہے کہ ہمیں نہرمل پلانٹ پر زیادہ زور دینا چاہئے تاکہ جب بارش نہ ہو تو کم سے کم ہم اپنی کھیتی کا کام کر سکیں اور بجلی کی کوئی دقت کھیتی کے اندر اور انٹسٹری کے اندر نہ آسکے۔ اب جانتے ہیں کہ ان چیزوں کی کمی سے دیہاتوں پر بہت برا اثر پڑتا ہے۔ اس لئے میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اگر تقسیم کا نظام اور قدرتی وسائل جیسے بارش سیلاب وغیرہ۔ اگر ان کا صحیح انتظام کر لیں اور زمین کی اصلاح کر لیں تو ہم سمجھتے ہیں کہ بہت سے معاملوں پر ہم قابو پا سکتے ہیں۔

آج ہمارے ملک کے اندر جو رینٹ کنٹرول کا سسٹم ہے اس کے اندر بڑی کچھ خامیاں ہیں۔ مثال کے طور پر شہروں کے اندر خصوصاً جو کرایہ دار ہیں اگر ان کا انتقال ہو جاوے ہے مر جانے میں تو ان کے وارثوں کو قانوناً حق حاصل نہیں ہوتا ہے کہ وہ اس مکان میں پورے طریقہ سے رہ سکیں اور کام کر سکیں۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں آج اس خامی کو دور کرنے کی ضرورت ہے۔ یہ لوگ ہمدردی کے مستحق ہیں اس لئے اس قانون میں ترمیم کی ضرورت ہے۔

اس پروگرام کے سلسلہ میں ایک بات میں اور ہاؤس کے سامنے رکھنا چاہتا ہوں اس پروگرام کو اگر شہروں تک ہی محدود رکھا گیا اور امپلیمینٹ کیا گیا تو میں سمجھتا ہوں ابک بڑی بھول ہوگی۔ اس قسم کے پروگرام کو دیہاتوں اور قصبات تک بھی پہنچانا ہوگا اور ان پسماندہ ابریاں میں اس کو امپلیمینٹ کرنا ہوگا جہاں پر لوگ غریبی کی زندگی بناتے ہیں۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اگر اس پروگرام کو دیہاتوں کے اندر اور قصبات کے اندر امپلیمینٹ نہیں کیا گیا تو یہ ایک مناسب بات نہیں ہوگی۔ پسماندہ علاقے جو ہمارے ملک کے ہیں آج ضرورت اس بات کی ہے کہ ان کی طرف خاص ترجہ دی جائے۔ مثال کے طور پر مشرقی اتر پردیش میں غازی پور ضلع ہے جہاں پر روڈس نہیں ہیں۔ یہ میرا اپنا علاقہ ہے یہاں ایک جگہ سے دوسری جگہ جانے کے لئے سڑکوں کا انتظام نہیں ہے وہاں پر ایک پل بنانے کی بات تھی وہ بھی ابھی تک نہیں بنا ہے۔ ریلوے پل نہ بننے کی شکایت ابھی تک بنی ہوئی ہے۔ اس لئے میں چاہتا ہوں پسماندہ علاقوں کی طرف اگر خاص توجہ دی جائے گی اور اس پروگرام کو وہاں پر لاگو کیا جائیگا تو اس سے وہاں کے لوگوں میں خوشحالی پیدا ہو گی اور اس سے دوسروں کو بھی فائدہ پہنچ سکتا ہے۔ لیکن آج ان کی پسماندگی اور غربت سے ہم بھی دکھی ہیں اور دوسرے بھی دکھی ہیں۔

میں اس طرح سے ایک اور بات کی طرف توجہ دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہماری

[شری سید احمد ہاشمی]

پرائم منسٹر نے جو یہ پروگرام کے بارے میں اعلان کیا ہے اس میں انہوں نے مائنرٹیز، ہریجن اور مسلم اقلیتوں کے بارے میں بھی کئی باتوں کا ذکر کیا ہے۔ تو میں اس موقع پر یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہم سب لوگوں کا یہ فرض ہو جاتا ہے کہ ان سب لوگوں کو بھی خوش حال بنانے کی ہمیں کوشش کرنی چاہئے۔ تو میں یہ کہوں گا کہ جو ان لوگوں کے ساتھ پہلے سے نا انصافیاں ہوئی تھیں چاہے وہ ہریجیتوں کے ساتھ ہوئی ہوں چاہے مسلمانوں کے ساتھ ہوئی ہوں چاہے عیسائیوں کے ساتھ ہوئی ہوں۔ یہ جو اس ملک کے پسماندہ طبقے کے ساتھ ہوتی آئی ہیں انہیں جلدی سے دور کیا جائے۔ کیوں کہ جو فاسسٹ طاقتیں تھیں وہ موثر نہیں رہ گئیں ہیں آج ان فاسسٹ طاقتوں پر بن لگا ہوا ہے۔ یہ خوشی کی بات ہے کہ جو آر۔ ایس۔ ایس کی فاسسٹ طاقت تھی اس کو اس ملک کے اندر زبان کھولنے کی طاقت نہیں ہے اور ان کے اوپر پابندی لگی ہوئی ہے۔ اس موقع پر جب کہ فاسسٹ طاقتیں ملک کی اقلیتوں کو ڈرا اور دھمکا نہیں سکتی ہیں ان کے بیچ میں دیوار کھڑی نہیں کو سکتی ہیں۔ اس موقع پر میں یاد دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس طبقہ کے ساتھ پہلے سے جو نا انصافی ہوتی رہی ہے اس کی تلافی کر دی جائے اور ان کے نقصانات کو وقت میں پورا کر دیا جائے۔ آج وقت آگیا ہے کہ اس ملک کو جسے آپ مائنرٹی مانتے ہیں ان کی جو پریشانیاں ہیں اور ان کی جو تکلیفیں ہیں

ان کو دور کرنے کے لئے ہر طرح کی کوشش کی جائے تاکہ ہم دنیا میں ایک مثال اور نمونہ پیش کر سکیں۔ تو میں یہ گزارش کروں گا اور پھر میں ایک مرتبہ اس بات کی طرف توجہ دلاؤں گا کہ یہ جو پروگرام پرائم منسٹر نے ملک کے سامنے پیش کیا ہے وہ ہم لوگوں سے سخت محنت اور سخت جد و جہد اور سخت کوششوں کا مطالبہ کرتا ہے اگر ہم بغیر کوششوں کے اعلان پر کھڑے رہیں گے اور یقینی طور کوئی کام نہیں کریں گے اوو کوئی ان کو اچھی شکل نہیں دینگے تو ہم اس پروگرام کو کامیاب نہیں بنا سکتے ہیں اور نہ عوام کی فلاح کے لئے کچھ کر سکتے ہیں۔

میں آخر میں ایک شعر پڑھ کر اپنی بات کو ختم کرتا ہوں۔

اب یہ ارمان کہ بدل جائے جہاں کا دستور
ایک ایک آنکھ میں عیش و فراغت کا سرور
ایک ایک جسم پہ هوا طلس و کھنواہ و سمور
اب یہ بات اور ہے خود چاک گریباں ہوں میں

† श्री सैयद अहमद हाशमी (उत्तर प्रदेश). डिप्टी चैयरमैन सर मै प्राइम मनिस्टर के इकनामिक प्रोग्राम की ताईद करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूं जिसका उन्होंने पहली जुलाई को ऐलान किया था। इस प्रोग्राम में मेरा ख्याल है और सभी महसूस करते हैं कि इसमें तकरीबन हर गरीब तबका और हर दरम्यानी तबका का ख्याल रखा गया है और लाहाज रखा गया है। इस प्रोग्राम में एक तरफ तुलबा का ख्याल रखा गया है, विद्याथियों का ख्याल रखा गया है दूसरी तरफ उन खेतीहर मजदूरों का ख्याल रखा गया है जिनके पास जमीन नहीं है। इसमें एक तरफ अराम के उन गरीब अफराद का ख्याल रखा गया है जो बेघर और बेमकान है दूसरी तरफ इसमें छोटे काश्तकारों का

[†Hindi translation.]

खयाल रखा गया है। इसके अन्दर इस सुधार का खयाल रखा गया है जो स्मगलिंग और करप्शन की वजह से पैदा हुआ है। मेरा खयाल है कि इस प्रोग्राम के अन्दर उन तमाम तबकों का जिनका इस मुल्क में एक्सप्लाइडेशन किया जाता रहा है, उनका पूरा खयाल रखा गया है लेकिन क्या इस प्रोग्राम का इतना ही फायदा है कि हम इस एक्सप्लाइडेशन और इस्तेमाल को रोक देंगे जो आज से पहले होता रहा है बल्कि इसके अलावा भी कुछ फायदा है। मैं समझता हूँ और मुझे अहसास है और यह बात कहते हुए मुझे पूरी ताकत मिल रही है कि सिर्फ इतना ही नहीं है कि हमारे मुल्क के कुछ गरीब और पसमांदा तबकों को राहत और आराम मिल जायेगा बल्कि मैं समझता हूँ कि इस मुल्क के अन्दर आज से पहले जो एक वातावरण, एक चलन बना दिया गया था और इस चलन के नतीजा में एक तकरीबकारी इन्तजार पसन्दी के नतीजा में जो हिन्दुस्तान की अवाम के दिलों में महसूसी और नाउम्मीदी पैदा हुई थी और लोग यह महसूस कर रहे थे, हिन्दुस्तान की जनता और अवाम यह महसूस कर रही थी कि जैसे उनका मुस्तकबिल तारीक है उस तरह से उनके सामने भयानक तस्वीर पेश की जा रही थी। ये हमारे अपोजीशन के लोग, वो लोग जिनका जहन अपना जहन नहीं है, जिनकी फिक्र अपनी फिक्र नहीं है जो किसी जहन की सोचते हैं और किसी की तर-जोब के ऊपर फिक्र करते हैं और नजरीये बनाते हैं वे इस मुल्क में एक गलत तस्वीर हिन्दुस्तान की खींच रहे थे और इस मुल्क के बाहर खींच रहे थे और हिन्दुस्तान की जनता नाउम्मीदी का शिकार हो रही थी, हौसलों से महसूस हो रही थी। बेयकीनी और बेइल्मीनानी की कैफियत इसके अन्दर पैदा हो रही थी। मैं समझता हूँ कि जहाँ इस प्रोग्राम के इम्प्लीमेंटेशन की तकमील के नतीजा में हिन्दुस्तान की गरीब जनता, हिन्दुस्तान के गरीब अवाम खुशहाली और राहत की सांस लेगे, वहाँ मैं समझता हूँ कि इस प्रोग्राम के नतीजा में हिन्दुस्तान की अवाम को एक नया हौसला मिला।

उम्मीद की नई किरण मिली है और नया विश्वास और एतमाद और एक नया भरोसा मिला है।

[1] Hindi translation.

मैं बताऊँ कि मैं यह बात पेश करना चाहता हूँ कि कोई कौम और दुनिया की कोई नेशन अगर वह एतमाद और भरोसा और हौसले से महसूस कर दी जाये, अलग कर दी जाये तो वह कौम दुनिया के अन्दर पनप नहीं सकती। दुनिया के अन्दर वह कामयाब नहीं हो सकती। सूरत हाल यह है कि इस मुल्क के अन्दर कुछ दिनों से मुख-तलिफ दोस्तों ने जो हालत पैदा कर दी थी महज सैल्फ इंट्रेस्ट के लिये, पार्टी इंट्रेस्ट के लिये उससे अवाम कांफिडेंस से महसूस हो चुका था। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस प्रोग्राम से सबसे बड़ा फायदा यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को, हिन्दुस्तान के अवाम को एक नया हौसला मिला है इसमें एक नया यकीन पैदा हुआ है जो यह महसूस कर रही है कि जो तारीकिया दिखाई जा रही थी, वे तारीकिया नहीं हैं। यही तो बताया जा रहा था कि हमारा देश भूखा है दूसरे मुल्क से मांगता है, लेकिन मैं बताऊँ कि वैस्टर्न योरोपीयन कट्टीज 42—48 फीसदी अनाज बाहर से बरामद करती है जबकि हिन्दुस्तान सिर्फ दो फीसदी बरामद करता है, लेकिन इसकी भयानक तस्वीर इस मुल्क में दिखाई, कहा गया कि हिन्दुस्तान के पास गल्ला नहीं है, हिन्दुस्तान के पास अनाज नहीं है, दूसरी जरूरीयात की चीजें नहीं हैं। इससे हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर गैर-यकीनी की कैफियत पैदा हो गई थी। हिन्दुस्तान की कौम को बनाना चाहता हूँ बड़े से बड़े कठिन मौके आये हैं, कठिन से कठिन मुश्किलात आई हैं लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान की जनता ने अपने इन्हीं हौसलों की वजह से, अपने बुलन्द इरादों की वजह से इन मुश्किलात पर काबू पाया। आज मैं कह सकता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की मत्ताईस साला आजादी के दौर के अन्दर अगर हम हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी से पहले “जीरो” प्वाइंट पर खड़े थे तो आज हम नये दौर में खला की तमरबीर कर रहे हैं। आज हमारी प्रोडक्शन चाहे ग्रंथनी मुल्क में गल्ला की हो, जिन्दगी की जरूरीयात की हो या डिफेंस मैजर्स की हो उनके अन्दर तरक्की मिली है। हमारे ऊपर अकाल भी आया है, बाढ़ें भी आई हैं लेकिन उन तमाम मुश्किलात पर हमने काबू पाया। आज जो बेयकीनी की कैफियत पैदा हो गई थी मुल्क में मैं समझता हूँ कि इस प्रोग्राम

[श्री सैयद अहमद हाशमी]

के ऐलान के बाद आज एक नई उम्मीद के साथ नये होसलो के साथ हम तैयार खड़े हुए हैं। जहाँ मैं यह बात कह रहा हूँ इस प्रोग्राम के साथ हम हिन्दुस्तान के अबाम को, हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को नया होसला मिला है वहाँ पर मैं यह कहूँगा कि हमें इस यकीन को मुस्ताहकम करना चाहिये और यह यकीन मुस्ताहकम तभी हो सकता है जब इस पर इम्पलीमेंटेशन हो। यह प्रोग्राम कोई जजवाती प्रोग्राम नहीं है कि हमने कोई बात सलाह के तौर पर कह दी और उसको नहीं माना। यह वो प्रोग्राम है जो हम से अमल चाहता है, जो हम से मेहनत चाहता है, जो जद्दोज़हद चाहता है। तभी जाकर हम इस मुल्क के अन्दर वो सूरत हाल पैदा कर सकेंगे जिससे यह तस्वीर अच्छी तस्वीर होगी। हमारी तस्वीर एक बेहतर तस्वीर होगी।

मैं अर्ज करूँ यकीनन लैंड रिफार्म का काम, ज़मीनो की तकसीम का काम जितनी जल्दी हो सके करना चाहिए। यकीनन आज हिन्दुस्तान के अबाम को क्या चाहिये? वह यह चाहते हैं कि चीजों के दाम एक जगह ठहरे हुये हों। चीजों के दाम उनकी कुव्वत खरीद के मुताबिक हों। हमारी कोशिश होनी चाहिए कि चीजों के दाम बढ़ने न पाये और चीजों के दाम कुव्वत खरीद के मुताबिक हों। मैं समझता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान के 28 साला आजादी के दौर में ऐसा नहीं हुआ है—चाहे अपोजीशन या हमारे मुखालिफ जितनी तस्वीरे खराब करें—ज़रूरत की तमाम चीजें हमारे मुल्क में न रही हों—हमारे मुल्क में ज़रूरियात की तमाम चीजें मौजूद रही। गल्ला भी रहा, प्रोडक्शन भी रहा लेकिन एक चीज की कमी रही इसका हमें एतराफ करना चाहिये। वह चीज क्या है जिसके कारण लोगों में बेचैनी फैलती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह हमारे मुल्क का डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन सिस्टम है, तकसीम का निजाम है जो सही नहीं था। अगर यह तकसीम का निजाम, डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन सिस्टम इस मुल्क में सही होता और उन चीजों को जो जखीरा अन्दोजों के गोदामों में पड़ी हुई हैं या ब्लैक मार्केट्स के कारखानों से पड़ी हुई है अगर उन चीजों को तकसीम के मुनासिब निजाम से आम लोगो तक

पहुँचाया जाता तो यह बेचैनी पैदा न होती। इस लिए आज ज़रूरत इस बात की है कि हमें तकसीम के मुनासिब निजाम पर ज्यादा जोर देना होगा।

आज आम तौर पर यह शिकायत की जाती है कि हमारे मुल्क में बारिश हो गई, सैलाब आ गया या यहाँ पर अकाल पड़ गया। मैं कहता हूँ कि इस प्रोग्राम की तकसीम ठीक तरह से और कामयाबी के साथ तभी हो सकती है जब कि इसके बारे में एक मास्टर प्लान बनाया जाये कि किस तरह से मौसम पर, अकाल पर और सैलाब के ऊपर काबू पाया जा सकता है। आज आप देख रहे हैं कि हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश के अन्दर सैलाब आया हुआ है। मारी जमीन इसके अन्दर है! बिहार और आसाम में भी सैलाब आया हुआ है और इसके कारण खेती बर्बाद हो रही है। यही हालत मुख्तलिफ़ सूबों के अन्दर भी है। अगर सैलाब के बारे में एक मास्टर प्लान तैयार किया जायेगा और उसके मुताबिक कार्रवाई की जायेगी तो खेती की बर्बादी को रोका जा सकता है और जमीन का पूरा फायदा हो सकता है। इसी तर्क के तहत अगर थरमल और हाइडल स्कीमों की तरफ़ तब्ज़ो जायेगी तो बारिश न होने के कारण जब दिक्कत होती है तो वह भी नहीं हो सकेगी। इसलिये मेरा कहना यह है कि हमें थरमल प्लांट पर ज्यादा जोर देना चाहिए ताकि जब बारिश न हो तो कम से कम हम अपनी खेती का काम कर सकें और बिजली की कोई दिक्कत खेती के अन्दर और इन्डस्ट्री के अन्दर न आ सके। आप जानते हैं कि इन चीजों की कमी से देहातो पर बहुत बुरा असर पड़ता है। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर तकसीम का निजाम और कुदरती बसाईल, जैसे बारिश, सैलाब वगैरा अगर उनका सही इन्तजाम कर ले और जमीन की इसलाह कर लें तो हम समझते हैं कि बहुत से मामलों पर हम काबू पा सकते हैं।

आज हमारे मुल्क के अन्दर जो रेट कन्ट्रोल का सिस्टम है उसके अन्दर भी कुछ खामियां हैं। मिसाल के तौर पर शहरों के अन्दर खसूमन किरायेदार है अगर उनका इन्तकाल हो जाता है, मर

जाते हैं तो उनके बारिसे को कानूनन हक हासिल नहीं होता है कि वह उन मकान में पूरे तरीके से रह सके और काम कर सके। मैं समझता हूँ आज इस खामी को दूर करने की जरूरत है। ये लोग हमदर्दी के मुस्तहक हैं, इसलिए इस कानून में तरमीम की जरूरत है। इस प्रोग्राम के मिलसिले में एक बात में और हाउस के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। इस प्रोग्राम को अगर शहरी तक ही महदूद रखा गया और इम्पलीमेंट किया गया तो मैं समझता हूँ कि एक बड़ी भूल होगी। इस किस्म के प्रोग्राम को देहातों और कस्बात तक भी पहुंचाना होगा और उन पसमादा एरियाज में इसको इम्पलीमेंट करना होगा, जहां पर लोग गरीबी की जिन्दगी बिताते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर इस प्रोग्राम को देहातों के अन्दर और कस्बात के अन्दर इम्पलीमेंट नहीं किया गया तो यह एक मुनासिब बात नहीं होगी। पसमादा इलाके जो हमारे मुल्क के हैं आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि उनकी तरफ खास तवज्जों दी जाये। मिसाल के तौर पर मशरिफी उत्तर प्रदेश में गाजीपुर जिला है जहां पर रोड़्स नहीं हैं। यह मेरा अपना इलाका है। यहां पर एक जगह से दूसरी जगह जाने के लिये सड़कों का इन्तजाम नहीं है। वहां पर एक पुल बनाने की बात थी वह भी अभी तक नहीं बना है। रेलवे पुल न बनने की शिकायत अभी तक वनी हुई है। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि पसमादा इलाकों की तरफ अगर खास तवज्जों दी जायेगी और इस प्रोग्राम को वहां पर लागू किया जायेगा तो इससे वहां के लोगों में खुशहाली पैदा होगी और उससे दूसरे को भी फायदा पहुंच सकेगा है। लेकिन आज उनकी पसमादगी और गुरबत हम भी दुःखी हैं और दूसरे भी दुःखी हैं।

मैं इस तरह से एक और बात की तरफ तवज्जो दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी गैरमिनिस्टर ने जो यह प्रोग्राम के बारे में ऐलान किया है, इसमें उन्होंने माइनोरिटीज, हरिजन और मुस्लिम अक्लीयतों के बारे में भी कई बातों का जिक्र किया है। तो मैं इस मौके पर यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि हम सब लोगों का यह फर्ज हो जाता है कि उन सब लोगों को भी खुशहाल

बनाने की हमें कोशिश करनी चाहिए। तो मैं यह कहूंगा कि जो उन लोगों के साथ पहले से नाइन्साफियां हुई थी, चाहे वह हरिजनों के साथ हुई हो, चाहे मुसलमानों के साथ हुई हो, चाहे ईसाइयों के साथ हुई हों, ये जो इस मुल्क के पसमादा तबके के साथ होती आई हैं—उन्हें जल्दी से दूर किया जाये। क्योंकि जो फामिस्ट ताकतें थी वह मुअस्सर नहीं रह गई हैं। आज उन फामिस्ट ताकतों पर बेन लगा हुआ है। यह खुशी की बात है कि जो आर० एस० एम० की फामिस्ट ताकत थी उसको इस मुल्क के अन्दर जवान खोलने की ताकत नहीं है और उनके ऊपर पाबंदी लगी हुई है। इस मौके पर जब कि फामिस्ट ताकतें मुल्क की अक्लीयतों को डरा और धमका नहीं सकती हैं, उनके बीच में दीवार खड़ी नहीं कर सकती है, इस मौके पर मैं याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि इस तबके के साथ पहले से जो नाइन्साफी होती रही है इसकी तलाफी कर दी जाये और उनके नुकसानात को वक्त में पूरा कर दिया जाये। आज वक्त आ गया है कि इस मुल्क को जिसे आप माइनोरिटी मानते हैं, उनको जो परेशानियां हैं और उनकी जो तकलीफें हैं उनको दूर करने के लिये हर तरह की कोशिश की जाये ताकि हम दुनिया में एक मिसाल और नमूना पेश कर सकें। तो मैं यह गुजारिश करूंगा और फिर मैं एक मरतबा इस बात की तरफ तवज्जो दिलाऊंगा कि यह जो प्रोग्राम प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने मुल्क के सामने पेश किया है वो हम लोगों से सख्त मेहनत और सख्त जद्दोजहद और सख्त कोशिशों का मुतालबा करता है। अगर हम बगैर कोशिशों के ऐलान पर खड़े रहेंगे और यकीनी तौर पर कोई काम नहीं करेंगे और कोई उनको अच्छी जकल नहीं देंगे तो हम इस प्रोग्राम का कामयाब नहीं बना सकते हैं और न अवाम को फनाह के लिये कुछ कर सकते हैं।

ले आखिर में एक शेर पढ़ कर अपनी बात खत्म

करता हूँ—

जब वे अरमा कि बदल जाये जहां का दस्तूर एक एक आख में ऐशों फरागत का मरूर एक एक निम्न पे अतलसी किम-ख्वावों समूर अब यह दस्तूर और है खूद चाके गरेबों हूँ मैं।

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE (Maharashtra) : Sir, we welcome and extend our support to this 21-point economic programme. The Republican Party has already declared its support to this programme by a resolution passed by the Central Executive Committee which met at Delhi.

Sir, I would like to be very brief. In the first place, the Republican Party feels that this economic programme will go a long way in improving the conditions of the weaker sections of the society. Though we have been saying about justice, growth with justice, unfortunately it seems that no positive action was taken in the past, to ensure this social justice. The prosperity was shared only by a section of the persons at the higher level and that prosperity has never percolated to those who are at the bottom. Now we feel that certain measures are being taken to ensure that these poorer sections of the society also get their due share in the prosperity of the country.

Sir, one of the measures to be adopted is in relation to the fixation of wages for agricultural labour. The problem, according to me, is two-fold. Firstly, quantum of wage has to be fixed and secondly, there has to be enforcement of the Minimum Wages Act. In fact, the minimum wage for the agricultural labour has already been fixed under the Minimum Wages Act by almost all the States but our experience is that despite the fact that there is a statutory provision, the workers actually working in the fields have not been paid at the rates specified under the Act by the respective Governments.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) in the Chair.]

Therefore, the first problem is the fixation of a minimum wage, how much should be fixed as the minimum wage of a worker. The concept of a minimum wage is this. He must have so much that will enable him to feed himself and family. Keeping in view the existing cost of living, my

submission is that nothing less than Rs. 5 should be fixed as the minimum wage. I have referred to the problem of enforcing the minimum wage. As I have said earlier, even though the minimum wage has been fixed, it has never been paid and there is no machinery to enforce it. So, something will have to be done. We will have to set up an administrative machinery backed by suitable legislation, so that no employer can think in terms of not paying the worker the prescribed minimum wage. For that purpose it will be desirable to make a law by which any person making default in the payment of minimum wage to the worker shall be liable to be imprisoned. Unless that stringent provision is there, I do not think anybody will implement the provision. This is my first suggestion.

My second suggestion is that the minimum wage should also cover all other workers. There is the exploited class of workers who are not protected by any law whatsoever. There is no law that protects them. Therefore, it is high time that we went in for a national minimum wage. If a national minimum is fixed, then the wage should be paid to every worker, whether he works in the field, where he works in a shop or whether he works on the road. It is high time we expressed the nation's determination to see that every wage-earner is given a fair deal. Unless this is done, I do not think we will be able to eradicate poverty. Madam, my submission is that, in the first place, we have to locate poverty. I think there are three types of people who are afflicted by poverty. Firstly, there are those who are unemployed. Secondly, even though they work, they are not adequately paid. They do not get a fair return for their labour. The third category is the marginal farmer. If you cover all the three categories, I think you will be able to eradicate poverty to a great extent. It is desirable that we should not only protect the agricultural labourer but also protect all the workers. The other day I gave an example of a public sector undertaking, viz. Air-India. If a worker is employed directly, he gets Rs. 322 per month, but if the same worker, doing the same work, is employed by a contractor,

be gets Rs. 105. This is the disparity. This disparity has to be done away with. The only solution for this low payment is a national minimum wage.

My next submission would be about the homestead land. It is a good thing that the Government has come out with a scheme that every person who has no shelter of his own will be provided with at least a homestead land. There was a scheme of the Government which was initiated, I think, in the year 1971, and according to this scheme, the entire expenditure in the matter of acquisition of land and its development was borne by the Central Government. We fail to understand why that scheme has been abandoned. Unless the Central Government comes forward to finance the entire scheme, I do not think the State Government will be able to bear the additional burden of expenditure. So, it is high time that the Central Government itself financed the entire scheme.

It is true that the entire 21-point programme does not stand for radicalism because unless we go in for structural changes, it would not be possible to have equality in the economic as well as the social fields. If the Government is really sincere about eradicating poverty it cannot be done unless employment is provided to every person. It is therefore high time that the Government seriously considered an Employment Guarantee Scheme. If an agricultural labourer does not get the wage which is prescribed by the Government, he will have to starve because he does not get any alternative employment. Therefore, for the purpose of the successful implementation of the minimum wage programme, it is necessary that the Government must provide alternative employment. Speaking about the employment guarantee scheme, the Maharashtra Government has initiated a scheme, a Rs. 50 crore scheme, by which they would provide employment to as many as 30 lakhs of unemployed persons. No able-bodied person who wants to work will go without work; he will be provided with work. That is the ambitious scheme.

As I have already said, if the Government is sincere about eradicating poverty, it is its bounden duty to provide employment to every able-bodied person. I think it is high time that the Central Government came forward to help schemes like the Employment Guarantee Scheme.

With these words, I conclude.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA SHANKAR ADVAREKAR (Maharashtra) : It is almost unthinkable, one almost feels that one is under the spell of a dream when one sees all around a new sense of dynamism and vigour prevailing among all classes of people during the last one month. Madam, the proclamation of emergency has not come a day sooner. And it is equally true that this proclamation of emergency could not have by itself stirred the people to action. On the contrary, it is the general experience that an emergency atmosphere stuns the people into being a little inactive or lethargic. But by placing before the people the 20-point new programme for economic progress, the Prime Minister has converted the emergency into a historical challenge. She has very rightly said that this programme under the emergency atmosphere is 'a chance now to regain the nation's spirit of adventure'.

These prophetic words of the Prime Minister, Madam, have come true. The Prime Minister's speeches and the direction given by her have made it very clear that we are no more at a cross-road, we are no more in a situation of chaos and confusion and democracy is no more in peril as claimed by some leaders of the Opposition. Today the period of doubts and misgivings is over. The new 20-point programme conceived to serve, sustain and make the Indian people march forward with more confidence and with a sense of more discipline and dedication in a new atmosphere. This, Madam, is not at all a struggle for power as it was made out. It is nothing but redeeming our faith in democracy and its ideals.

Madam, the Prime Minister has said that in this 20-point programme there are so

[Shrimati Sushila Shankar Adivarekar] that are new and others that were set forth earlier. In 1971 we promised a new deal to the people but circumstances beyond control slowed down our pace towards our objectives and misguided by some vested interests the situation looked as if it was beyond repairs. But it was not so. The very fact that the whole nation has responded gloriously to her appeal and the atmosphere of cynicism and defeatism which prevailed just before the emergency has been transformed into one of dynamism and purposefulness, is enough to prove the point that the people of India were not interested in dragging the country towards a situation of total destruction and anarchy. This far-sighted policy not only saved the country but also the mental attitude of the people.

Madam, this 20-point programme is a proper and effective mixture of the most urgent demands and urges of our people and particularly of the people who are socially and economically under-privileged. I must say that it is a package which deals a big blow to the vested interests which have been consistently and cunningly thwarting the implementation of the progressive economic reforms since the bank nationalisation became a reality.

The package, Madam, is a fine blending of curative and creative measures and the short-term and long-term economic actions. It has created amongst the smugglers and the hoarders, the money-lenders and the blackmarketeers a sense of fear, and in the workers, the landless labourers and the unemployed a feeling of relief and happiness. It is difficult for me to convey in words the impact which the 20-point programme had on the various sections of the people. It is like a fresh, new breeze of life. The people began to see the same economic programmes in a new light, in a new perspective and started realising the forces that created the impediments. It is not that all these years we have not achieved anything. It is no use painting a very gloomy or very rosy picture. But let us face facts. There are great achievements in the sphere of planned developments. And there also have been some shortcomings. We were

making efforts to correct these imbalances and wide disparities that were prevailing and to maintain the price rise. But now in this clearer framework of mind and the will of people and also of the bureaucrats who were also the target of attack, all the responses will be greater now to achieve the objectives.

Madam, all these programmes require popular participation of make a success. There is equally a necessity of mass involvement programmes. They might be simple in structure but they must be colossal enough to engage the maximum manpower. This will utilise idle rural manpower and also attract young, educated, trained personnel to be involved in it. And for this the Prime Minister has already given a call to young educated men and young entrepreneurs to engage their energies and efforts to help in socialistic reconstruction. This will help to achieve rapid economic growth and utilise the large man-power, the majority of whom are neither participants nor beneficiaries of developmental activities.

3 P.M.

Our railways reflect our economy very well. The first class compartment, which has less number of passengers, is consuming a greater and greater proportion of the available resources, while the second class compartments, which carry a large number of passengers and bring more revenues, are neglected completely and thus life is made harder for these second class people at the cost of the first class people. And so the emphasis in this 20-point programme, followed by some immediate actions, for the relief of these second class people, has renewed the hopes of the masses of people. The landless labour, the bonded labour, the small farmers and poor artisans and craftsmen not only feel that they will be relieved of their debts, but they are extremely happy and grateful because due to this indebtedness, not only were they exploited, but their womenfolk were used for immoral purposes. Young, minor girls and women were sold and they were silent spectators of this cruel and inhuman sight. Madam, this step will also restore back the honour and dignity of women.

The unemployed and also the low income middle-class people all have a feeling that now the Government means business. The Prime Minister has very rightly called upon the people to follow a far stricter code of austerity and I am sure it will be followed at all levels. In this context, the Government's measures to re-examine the cases of luxurious flats for re-assessment are a welcome move. But, Madam, I fail to understand why before any action is taken in this direction, a notice of a few days is given to the owners of these luxurious flats. The result is that we see a number of costly fixtures and furnishings disappearing from the flats. Can we not stop this ?

Another thing is, why in this emergency period when newsprint is so scarce and it can be directed for better purposes, it should be wasted by newspapers for advertisements of such elementary products like soap, toilet powder, beauty aids, baby food, drugs, blades, radios, T. V., etc. Why should not the manufacturers be asked to exhibit these products at Railway stalls, co-operative stores and such places and leave the newsprint for educating people on a number of important issues ?

Madam, one more request that I would like to make is regarding re-examining our attitude towards the State lotteries and chit funds which only help to weaken the people's motivation to work in an honest manner. Small, young children are moving in the streets to sell these lotteries. What impact are we creating in the minds of these young children ? In front of schools and hostels, we find boards displaying the sale of lotteries. How will it affect the young mind ? Will they be motivated to work, or will they be motivated to speculate and be rich without effort ?

I would also like the Government to reconsider the policy of advancing of loans by the nationalised banks and the Life Insurance Corporation for marriages and construction of posh hotels and houses. Madam, it only helps in spending money for vulgar display of wealth. The money can be better utilised for public purposes.

The Prime Minister has assured us that the 20-point programme will be followed by some more measures. I think that this is most necessary. The country-wide reception to the 20-point programme is so good that it is quite necessary to move briskly ahead to spell out other measures. I do not know what those new measures will be, but I am sure that they will all be steps in the right direction. But I would like to mention some steps that people would certainly welcome. They are: (1) ceiling on urban property; (2) de-linking of the newspapers from the big business ownership; (3) strengthening of the public distribution system by imposing a levy on the manufacturers of essential consumer goods so that the prices remain steady; and (4) restrictions on big monopoly houses in whose hands the money power and economic power have accumulated. These are some steps that I would like to suggest. Sometime back the Prime Minister has very nicely analysed the situation and said. I quote :

"We do not belittle what has been done, nor yet underestimate what remains to be done. We are acutely conscious that before life can be made comfortable for the few, we must make it bearable for the many."

This is the main theme of the new economic programme and she has always expected that the support and goodwill of the people will give us the confidence and strength to face all the challenges, whether they are external or internal, with renewed hope and determination. Let us hope that this new exciting era will make every acre a pasture and every home a factory and will end the exploitation of the weaker section of the people. With these words, I would like to support the Motion.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : Shri R. Narasimha Reddy. He is absent. I am just cutting out the names of those Members who have given their names but are absent. Shri Gunanand Thakur.

श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर (बिहार) : माननीय उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, सन् 1969 में हमारे देश में एक नारा लगा था कि "इंदिरा गांधी आई हैं, नई रोशनी लाई हैं।" श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने जब देखा कि हमारी कांग्रेस पार्टी के अन्दर जो बड़े-बड़े बुजुर्ग हैं या कांग्रेस का संगठन बड़े-बड़े मठाधीशों से घिरा हुआ है और जब उन्होंने इस बात को देखा कि इन लोगों के कारण कांग्रेस के कार्यक्रम लागू नहीं हो पाते हैं तो हमारी प्रधान मंत्री ने विद्रोह कर दिया। तब स्थिति यह थी कि सम्मेलनों में प्रस्ताव पास किये जाते थे, लेकिन ये मठाधीश उन प्रस्तावों को लागू नहीं होने देते थे। हमारी प्रधान मंत्री ने इसलिये विद्रोह किया था कि उन के दिल में यह भावना थी कि गरीबों के लिए इस मुल्क में कुछ काम किया जाय। आम लोगों के लिए प्रधान मंत्री ने विद्रोह किया था। मुझे याद है कि उस समय मुल्क के अन्दर यह नारा लगा था कि "इंदिरा गांधी आई हैं, नई रोशनी लाई है।" सारे मुल्क के अन्दर नव-जवानों को लगा, विद्यार्थियों को लगा, छांटे तबके के लोगों को लगा, किसानों को लगा कि इंदिरा जी हमारे के लिए कुछ करेंगी और यही कारण था कि इंदिरा जी सन् 1971 में जब चुनाव के मैदान में गईं तो उन्होंने कहा था कि इस मुल्क से गरीबी हटाई जाएगी। बहुत से लोगों को इस बात से बहुत ताज्जुब लगा और उनको इस बात का भरोसा नहीं होता था कि प्रधान मंत्री यह बात क्या कर रही हैं? गरीबी तो इस मुल्क में हजारों सालों से है, सदियों से है। फिर इंदिरा जी के पास ऐसी कौन सी जादू की छड़ी है जिससे वह गरीबी को दूर कर देंगी। लेकिन हमारे देश की जनता को इस बात का विश्वास था कि इंदिरा जी उस परिवार से आती हैं, उस बड़े बाप की बेटी हैं जिन्होंने मुल्क की आजादी के लिए अपना सब कुछ न्यौछावर कर दिया। इंदिरा जी इस देश से गरीबी मिटाने के लिए बड़ी से बड़ी कुरबानी दे सकती हैं और जो शक्तियाँ उनके रास्ते में रोड़े बन कर आएंगी उनको वे कुचल देंगी। उन्होंने हमारी प्रधान मंत्री का विश्वास किया। हमारी प्रधान मंत्री ने एक-एक करके कदम उठाये। उन्होंने पहले बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया और

फिर वे प्रिवीपर्स का बिल संसद् के सामने लाई। मुझे याद है कि लोक सभा से पास होकर जब प्रिवीपर्स का बिल राज्य सभा में आया तो इस सदन में गिर गया था। लेकिन हमारी प्रधान मंत्री ने हिम्मत से काम लिया और रातों रात फैसला किया कि हमें इस प्रिवीपर्स को खत्म करना है। प्रधान मंत्री उस वक़्त विदेश जाने वाली थी। उस वक़्त हम लोगों ने इस बात की भी मांग की थी कि इस सदन को खत्म कर दिया जाय क्योंकि यह सदन जो प्रगति के काम किये जाते हैं उनको आगे नहीं बढ़ने देता है, लेकिन फिर भी इस सदन को खत्म नहीं किया गया। हर जगह प्रगति के कदमों को रोकने की कोशिश की गई, लेकिन हमारी प्रधान मंत्री हिम्मत से काम करती रही। अभी पिछले दिनों आपने देखा कि गुजरात के बारे में कहा गया कि वहां पर चुनाव कराये जायें क्योंकि हम बहुत बड़े डेमोक्रेट हैं। प्रधान मंत्री से कहा गया कि वहां पर चुनाव कराओ। ठीक है साहब, चुनाव करा लीजिये। इसके बाद इन लोगों ने यह कहा कि हाई कोर्ट ने यह कहा है कि इन्दिरा गांधी प्राइम मिनिस्टर के रूप में नहीं रह सकती हैं जब कि हाई कोर्ट ने जजमेंट दिया था कि हमारा जजमेंट 20 रोज तक आपरेटिव नहीं होगा। लेकिन हमारे जो विरोधी पार्टी के लोग थे, उनका यह कहना था कि हम तो दस मिनट और पन्द्रह मिनट के लिए भी उनको प्रधान मंत्री के रूप में मान्यता देने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं। सारे देश की जनता और दुनिया के लोग यह कह रहे थे कि प्रधान मंत्री जी अपने पद पर बनी रह सकती हैं क्योंकि हाई कोर्ट ने भी यही कहा है, लेकिन हमारे विरोधी पार्टी के लोग किसी भी बात को मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं थे। वे तो हाई कोर्ट का फैसला होने से पूर्व ही तरह-तरह का प्रचार कर रहे थे और कह रहे थे कि बिजली का बिल इलैक्शन मीटिंगों का नहीं दिया गया। मैं उन लोगों से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि वहां पर उत्तर प्रदेश में किस की सरकार थी? वहां पर उस समय कांग्रेस की सरकार काम कर रही थी उत्तर प्रदेश में। मैं इस बात पर ज्यादा जाना नहीं चाहता हूँ। लेकिन देश की जनता ने कहा कि यह क्या बात

है। हमारी गरीबी किम तरह से मिटेगी और हमारी हालत में किम तरह से सुधार आयेगा? क्या जिस तरह से विरोधी पार्टियाँ कार्य कर रही हैं, उससे हमारी गरीबी दूर हो सकती है? लेकिन इन्दिरा जी ने कहा कि चूँकि पार्टी हमारी है, कांग्रेस बहुमत में है, कांग्रेस की सरकार केन्द्र में है और कांग्रेस की सरकार ही फैसला कर सकती है कि कौन हमारा लीडर होगा और कौन नहीं होगा। दूसरी पार्टी के लोगों को कोई हक नहीं है कि वे यह बतलाये और कहें कि तुम अपना फला लीडर चुनो। दूसरी पार्टी वाले कौन होते हैं जो हमारी पार्टी के बारे में दखल दे। जो भी हम निर्णय करना चाहते हैं या जो भी फैसला करना चाहते हैं, वह हमारी पार्टी या हमारे नेता ही कर सकते हैं, बाहर वाले को हमारी पार्टी के कामों में दखल देना मुनासिब नहीं है।

पहिले जब विरोधी पार्टियों ने आन्दोलन शुरू किया तो ऐसा लगता था कि यह जाँ आन्दोलन इन लोगों ने किया है वह सुधार के लिये है, लेकिन बाद में पता चला कि इस आन्दोलन के द्वारा गरीबों का कोई भला होने वाला नहीं है। सम्पूर्ण आन्दोलन के पीछे एक ही भावना थी और वह यह थी कि इंदिरा गांधी को किसी न किसी तरह से गद्दी से हटाओ और वे देश की प्रधान मंत्री न रहे। क्यों न रहे साहब? क्या इंदिरा जी आपकी मर्जी से आई हैं या किसी की मर्जी से आई हैं? इन्दिरा गान्धी जी तो देश की 60 करोड़ जनता की मर्जी से आई हैं। जब हाई कोर्ट और सुप्रीम कोर्ट का जजमेंट हो गया, तो ये लोग भी उनके घर के घेराव करने की बात करने लगे और यह कहने लगे कि हम देश में कोई काम नहीं होने देंगे। इन लोगों ने देश में प्रचार किया कि देश में कोई तरक्की नहीं हुई है और कोई नया काम नहीं हुआ है। हम सब लोगों को आश्चर्य हुआ कि आखिर ये लोग चाहते क्या हैं? ये विरोधी पार्टियों का क्या प्रोग्राम है देश के लिये, इत के बारे में किसी को कोई पता नहीं है। हाँ, एक चीज के बारे में सब लोगों को अच्छी तरह से मालूम हो गया था कि ये लोग इन्दिरा गान्धी जी को हटाना चाहते हैं और इस

तरह से एक गैर जिम्मेदाराना काम की बात करना चाहते हैं।

हमारी पार्टी और सरकार के खिलाफ यह लोग तरह-तरह की गैर जिम्मेदारी की बात कहा करते थे और जब कभी सरकार किसी अधिकारी या भ्रष्टाचारी के खिलाफ या किसी चोर के खिलाफ कार्यवाही करती थी तो ये लोग कहा करते थे कि सरकार अपनी पार्टी फंड में खपया जमा करने के लिये इस तरह की कार्यवाही कर रही है। इस तरह से ये लोग तरह-तरह के नारे लगाते रहते थे और देश का एक गलत चित्र जनता के सामने उपस्थित किया करते थे कि यह देश कुछ नहीं है और इस देश का प्रधान मंत्री कुछ नहीं है। हमारे विरोधी दल के लोग देश में यह प्रचार कर रहे हैं कि यह पार्टी कुछ नहीं है, बटुमन की बात कुछ नहीं है और प्रजातंत्र कुछ नहीं है। मैं जब इस तरह की बात सुनता था तो मुझे घबराहट होती थी कि अब क्या होगा? लेकिन जब मैंने इस संबंध में विरोधी भाई से पूछा कि आप बताइये कि आप लोगों का इस बारे में क्या ख्याल है और आप इस बारे में क्या उपाय बतलाते हैं? वे लोग भी कोई उपाय बतलाने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं क्योंकि उनके पास तो देश की गरीब जनता की भलाई के लिये कोई प्रोग्राम ही नहीं है। इन लोगों के पास तो केवल एक ही नारा है और वह यह है कि किसी न किसी तरह से प्रधान मंत्री इंदिरा गान्धी को हटाया जाये। जब कभी भी कोई सरकार कार्य करती थी तो इन लोगों ने कभी भी उसमें मदद नहीं की। जब हमारी सरकार ने जमीन का बंटवारा करने की बात कही तो इन लोगों ने कहा कि यह एक नाजुक मामला है। जब अनाज के व्यापार को सरकार ने अपने हाथ में लेने की कोशिश की तो भी इन लोगों ने तरह-तरह के रोड़े अटकाने और मंहगाई भत्ते की बात खड़ी कर दी। जब मंहगाई भत्ता बढ़ाने के लिये सरकार तैयार हो गई तो इन लोगों ने रेलों में हड़ताल करवा दी और तरह-तरह के नारे लगाये।

हमारी सरकार ने इन विरोधी पार्टियों को कुछ राज्यों में सरकार बनाने का भी अवसर

[श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर]

दिया, लेकिन छ. महीने तक वहां पर ये लोग अपनी मिली जुली सरकार नहीं चला सके। सारे के सारे लोग बिखर गये और टूट गये तथा अलग-अलग हो गये। अब फिर ये लोग वही तमाशा करने लगे हैं और देश की महान नेता जिसको सारी दुनिया ने मान्यता दे दी है और जिसकी आज इस दुनिया में चर्चा है कि गरीबों की आवाज सुनने वाला अगर कोई इस धरती में पैदा हुआ है तो इन्दिरा गांधी ही है। आज हमारे विरोधी पार्टी के लोग उसकी इमेज को खत्म करना चाहते हैं। आज देश की सारी जनता हमारे विरोधी पार्टियों की इस पृष्ठभूमि से परेशान है, सारे लोग परेशान हैं कि इसका इलाज क्या होगा। किसी के दिमाग में यह बात नहीं थी कि देश में इमरजेंसी लागू कर दी जायेगी। लेकिन हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी हर बात को अच्छी तरह से समझती हैं। उन्होंने समझा कि ऐसी हालत में बगैर इमरजेंसी कायम किये गरीब जनता की भलाई नहीं की जा सकती है। यही कारण है कि उन्होंने देश में इमरजेंसी की घोषणा की और साथ ही साथ 21 सूची कार्यक्रम को भी देश के सामने रखा। अगर हम लोग गरीबों की उन्नति करना चाहते हैं, उनके दुखों के आंसू पोछना चाहते हैं, इस मुल्क को बनाना चाहते हैं, इस मुल्क का निर्माण करना चाहते हैं, तो हम सब लोगों को प्रधान मंत्री जी के 21 सूची कार्यक्रम में पूरा सहयोग देना चाहिये। वे कहें इस देश की जनता से कि हम आंदोलन नहीं करना चाहते। हम इस दोम सूची कार्यक्रम को इम्प्लीमेंट करने में प्रधान मंत्री के हाथों को मजबूत करना चाहते हैं। आप सत्ता में आइये। हर पांचवें साल यहाँ चुनाव होता है। गुजरात में लोग सत्ता में आये हैं, लेकिन कैसी सत्ता में आये। वह भी इस देश और दुनिया के लोगों ने देख लिया। जिस को सब से बड़ा भ्रष्ट कहा जिस के लिये विधान सभा भंग करवाई आज उसी के साथ गठजोड़ करके अहमदाबाद में बैठे हैं यह भी इस देश के लोगों ने देखा। मैं डिटेल्स की बातें छोड़ कर यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि 20 सूची प्रोग्राम प्रधान मंत्री ने मकरध्वज के रूप में दिया

है। जब बीमार की हालत खराब होती है तो मकरध्वज ही दिया जाता है। मैं भी एक साधारण किसान का लड़का हूँ और गांव से आया हूँ। जिस गांव से मैं आया हूँ वहाँ के लोगों ने मेरा नहीं देखा था। आज अगर वहाँ इन्क्वायरी करे तो वहाँ 50 ट्राजिस्टर जरूर मिलेंगे। जिस गांव के लोगों ने माइकिल नहीं देखी थी वहाँ 70 साइकिलें जरूर मिलेंगी। जिस गांव से दस मील दूर लड़कों को पढ़ने जाना पड़ता था वहाँ स्कूल खुल गया है।

पब्लिक सेक्टर अडरटेकिंग्स के बारे में कहा जाता था कि उन की एंफीशियेंसी खत्म हो गई है। प्राइवेट हाउसेस को रहने दो। नेशनलाइजेशन विलकुल गलत है। प्रधान मंत्री मिस्टर टी० ए० पाई को लाया और जब उन्होंने देश को दिखा दिया कि पब्लिक अडरटेकिंग्स का मैनेजमेंट कितना एंफीशियेट होता है।

हम ने स्मगलर्स को पकड़ा। पहले कहते हैं कि बखिया, कुली मस्तान देश को लूट रहे हैं। लेकिन जब हम उनको पकड़ने हैं तो ये लोग उन को कोर्ट से छुड़ा कर ले जाते हैं और फिर कहते हैं कि ये लोग काग्रेस को फइस दे रहे थे। अच्छा करे, तो बुरा और बुरा तो बुरा है ही। मुझे याद है वह दिन जब विरोधी दल के लोग कह रहे थे कि बंगला देश को आजाद करो। इस बारे में बड़े-बड़े नेताओं के कोटेशन देते थे। जब बंगला देश आजाद हुआ तब 1972 के चुनाव में इन्ही लोगों ने इंदिरा जी के खिलाफ चार्ज लगाया कि बिहारी मुसलमानों को नहीं आने दिया। अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी से ले कर विरोधी दल के सारे लोगो ने सम्मेलन किया कि बिहारी मुसलमानों को यहाँ लाओ। मेरे कहने का मतलब केवल यही है कि विरोधियों का एप्रोच कस्ट्रिक्ट होना चाहिये। वे जिम्मेदार नहीं हैं क्योंकि वे जानते हैं कि वे कभी सत्ता में आने वाले नहीं हैं।

मैंने एक बार एक बड़े नेता से कहा कि आप हमेशा औरतों का पक्ष लेते हैं और कहते हैं कि औरतें पिछड़ी हुई हैं तो फिर इंदिरा गांधी के

खिलाफ क्यों नारे लगाने हैं। उन्होंने कहा गुणानन्द, तुम नहीं समझते हो इस बात को, जब तक ये रहेंगी किसी दूसरे को मौका नहीं मिलेगा, इसलिए इनके खिलाफ ज्यादा काम करो, अभी काम चल सकता है, नहीं तो किसी का कोई भविष्य नहीं। इस ढंग से ये लोग सोचते हैं *(Time bell rings)* हम बहुत दिन से नहीं बोले हैं। मैं उन लोगों में नहीं हूँ जो उठ कर खड़े हो जाते हैं और बोलने लगते हैं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : You have already taken 15 minutes . . . *(Interruptions)*. Please sit down.

श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर मैं गरीबों के लिये एक बार नहीं अनेक बार, विद्यार्थियों के लिये एक बार नहीं अनेक बार जेल गया हूँ, इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि मैं दोन्तीन पोइन्ट्स को उठाऊँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती पुरबी मुखोपाध्याय) सिर्फ दो मिनट।

श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर : हिन्दुस्तान गावों में बसता है। हिन्दुस्तान में 70 फीसदी लोग जमीन पर आधारित हैं। जमीन की समस्या हमारे सामने मुह बाये खड़ी है। हर स्टेट ने भूमि सुधार का कानून पास किया लेकिन भूमिहीनों को जमीन अभी तक नहीं मिली। मैं प्रार्थना करूँगा प्रधान मंत्री जी से कि इस बार कठोर बन कर जो स्टेट बीस-सूत्री कार्यक्रम को पूरा न करे उनको बाध्य करें। सबसे बड़ी बात आज मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज लैंडलेस लेबर का सवाल है। जब तक जमीन जीतने वाले को नहीं मिलेगी तब तक उत्पादन का जो आपका लक्ष्य है वह पूरा होने वाला नहीं है।

आपने बेगारी प्रथा को खत्म किया है। हमने देखा है कि किस तरह गरीबों का शोषण किया जाता रहा है, किस तरह गुलामी करायी गयी है। यह जो बीस-सूत्री कार्यक्रम आया है यह देश के लिये नयी जिन्दगी है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जिनका इस कार्यक्रम में विश्वास हो, जो समाजवाद में 25-RSS/75-4

ग्रामस्था रखते हो वैसे लोगों को इसे आप इम्प्लीमेंट करने के लिये दीजिये। कहने वाले बड़ी-बड़ी बातें कह दिया करते हैं, चाहे नागपुर का को-ऑपरेटिव का प्रस्ताव हो, चाहे फरीदाबाद का 13-सूत्री कार्यक्रम बना हो, चाहे बम्बई का प्रस्ताव हो, चाहे विधान नगर का प्रस्ताव हो, प्रस्ताव पाम होते हैं, रेडियो से बता दिये जाते हैं, अखबारों में आते हैं लेकिन गरीबों तक नहीं पहुँचते, लेकिन मैं निवेदन करूँगा इंदिरा गांधी जी से कि हिम्मत के साथ वे इन प्रोग्रामों को एग्जीक्यूट करें।

आज सम्पूर्ण देश में शांति है और खुशी है। खुशी इसलिये है कि क्योंकि लोग कहते हैं कि इस बार इन्होंने मजबूती से स्थिति से निबटने की कोशिश की है। इस बार इंदिरा जी मजबूती से प्रोग्रामों को इम्प्लीमेंट करायेगी। अगर इंदिरा जी न कर पाईं तो समझ लीजिये जिस प्रकार यह देश बड़ा हुआ है भाषा के नाम पर, जाति के नाम पर फिर जल्दी यह नहीं हो पायेगा। ये महारथी तिकड़म लगा कर गरीबों को डिवाइड कर देंगे और मारा मामला खटाई में डाल देंगे।

आप शुगर इंडस्ट्री को नेशनलाइज कीजिये। कांग्रेस का मनीफेस्टो रहा है कि जो बाढ़-पीड़ित है उनका पुनर्वास किया जाये। चाहे भाखड़ा डेम के पीड़ित हो, चाहे हीराकुंड के पीड़ित हो, जो बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाओं में लाखों लोग पीड़ित हुए हैं उन लाखों लोगों के पुनर्वास की व्यवस्था कीजिये।

चौथी बात यह है कि तीन घंटे काम और पांच घंटे ओवर टाइम। 60-60 करोड़ का ओवर टाइम दिया जाता है। ज्यादा काम है तो नये हैड्स को भरती कीजिये।

इसी के साथ मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज तनख्वाहों में डिस्पैरिटी है। एक तरफ 5 हजार और एक तरफ मौ से भी कम। आप पेरिटी लाइये 1 और 15 की या 1 और 20 की। इससे ज्यादा फर्क न रहने दीजिये।

[श्री गृणानंद ठाकुर]

इन्ही शब्दों के साथ मैं चाहूंगा कि इन कार्यक्रमों को सदन सर्वसम्मति से पारित करे और सभी मित्र अपने मतभेदों को भूल जायें, राजनीतिक मतभेदों को भूलें और इन कार्यक्रमों को सफल करने के लिये प्रधान मंत्री के हाथ मजबूत करे ताकि देश मजबूत हो और जब देश मजबूत होगा तब देश की प्रतिष्ठा भी बढ़ेगी। इन्ही शब्दों के साथ मैं इस बीम-सूत्री कार्यक्रम का स्वागत करता हूँ और समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI ABU ABRAHAM (Nominated) : Madam Vice-Chairman, the new economic programme has been widely welcomed in the country. I share the enthusiasm of the Government and I welcome the measures that the Prime Minister and her colleagues have undertaken to do. I fully support the speech made this morning by the Finance Minister. I wish the Government all success in their endeavour. But, like many other people who are not experts on economic matters, I too have asked myself a simple question—why was it necessary for an emergency situation to happen for this programme to be carried out? After all, there is nothing very new in the economic programme. These measures have been part of the Congress party's policy for a long time. Indeed, it is interesting to note that the two States which have to a great extent—I do not mean entirely, but to a visible extent—carried out many of the 20-points in the programme are Kerala and Tamilnadu, neither of which has a Congress Government. Therefore, it seems to me that it is the slackness on the part of the Congress Governments in the States that has brought about the present economic stagnation in our country.

If only the members of the Congress Party had taken land reforms and such other basic measures sufficiently seriously, we would probably not have had this emergency which hangs over the whole country as a cloud of anxiety. Of course, I appreciate the reasons which made the Government act swiftly and firmly to prevent chaos. Madam, I have been totally opposed to the JP Movement. I am saying it because I do not want to be misunderstood here. In

fact, I said so in the debate on the JP movement last year, and warned that this kind of movement will disrupt democracy in this country. So, I have had no sympathy either for the opposition or Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan for doing so. But what has happened is that in preventing chaos, we also now have to suffer a drastic curtailment of our liberties and the suspension of many of our democratic rules and procedures. When one looks back over the last four or five years, one realizes what a tremendous amount of time and energy the members of all parties, including the Congress have spent in pure political manoeuvring and manipulation. The Congress Party which had the main responsibility to carry out the economic programme for which they were elected to power is, therefore, I would say, guilty of neglect and delay. They should take at least some of the blame for the present crisis in the country.

Madam, I hope, the new emergency measures will bring a sense of discipline within the Congress Party itself. Historically, and even today, the Congress Party is made up of many different elements, ranging, if I may so, from right reactionaries to left adventurists. If the emergency gives the members of the Party time to think of their past lapses, if it enables them to acquire a new sense of purpose and selflessness, then that alone will be a great achievement. For the moment, many members of the Congress Party seem to feel elated by the effect of the strong drug, which I call the emergency. But they should remember that although the strong drug may cure the disease, it can have bad after-effects. Madam, I have a fear that many members have become so enthusiastic about emergency that they are likely to think of this as a normal situation. I hope it is not so. Listening to some of the speeches from the Congress benches in the last few days, I noticed a rather monotonous repetition of the virtues of emergency. I find this somewhat alarming. Madam, it should not be necessary in a country of mature people to have to enforce such drastic measures to ensure that people come to work on time or stand in a queue at the bus stops. I

would like to know how many times, Mr. Qureshi, the State Minister for Railways, for instance, made surprise visits when we had the full democratic system. Can any one explain to me why the Ministers could not enforce punctuality in normal conditions and why they should enforce it only in an emergency situation like the one which we are now having ?

I am sure, emergency measures will help more production because, already industrialists and trade unions have supported the emergency, and they have also achieved a measure of co-operation between them. It is natural that the industrialists and businessmen are happy about emergency because, at the best of times, many of them have not cared very much for the principles of democracy and they always had a sneaking admiration for authoritarian rule. Therefore, I hope the Government will keep a watchful eye on these people and also other sections of society who are inherently, I think admires of authoritarian rule.

Madam, I believe that democracy is not just 28 years old. In this country but it goes back to a few thousand years. Independence of mind, free thinking, the individual pursuit of truth, the intellectual tolerance, all these are an integral part of Hindu tradition and, therefore, a tradition of our whole society. So, I do hope that the Government, once they have set this country on the path of discipline and hard work and once they have set these economic measures in motion, will waste no time in restoring the democratic rights of the people.

Madam, one of the worst aspects of the emergency is the censorship of the press and I am personally involved in it, but I am not talking about my personal problems today. I want to be more general than that. Not even during the World War, under British rule, or at any time during the 1942 movement, have we had a censorship so drastic as the present one. A free press is an important part of the democratic system of a country and whatever differences Parliament may have with the

press, I hope Members in this House will realise that without an independent press Parliament itself cannot function effectively. One of the evil effects of censorship is the spread of rumours but even more serious is that people are likely to lose their faith in the press as well as in the All India Radio. If these institutions of mass communication lose their credibility with the public, it will take a very long time to restore that credibility. Already there is a great deal of cynicism in the country about the A.I.R. Lately, it has become so boring that people have started switching off in the middle of a news bulletin. Our newspapers too have become equally boring. People are afraid to write.

The other day when I was in Bombay, the Editor of the *Illustrated Weekly*, who is a very staunch supporter of the Government and the Prime Minister, told me that he is finding it so difficult to run the paper. Whereas he used to get 200 letters a day in his office, now he is getting five. Many people have withdrawn their articles which they had written months before because they do not want to get into any trouble; even articles on science and technology have been withdrawn because they fear that it might involve them even indirectly in some criticism of Government policy. This is not what the Government intends should happen. These are all the sad effects of this kind of blanket policy of censorship, and the Guidelines are so vague and so general that it is very difficult for a number of functionaries in the Press Information Bureau to administer this properly, with the result that journalists have lost their flair, their professional flair, and their interest in the work. I do not know how we are going to revive that interest which is necessary for the proper functioning of the press, if we continue with censorship for a very long time. In a country with such a large population of illiterate and poor people, the free dispersal of information is an important necessity; not only important for maintaining our freedoms but it is equally important if not more important for the very economic development of this country, about which we are talking here today, because our newspapers

[Shri Abu Abraham]

and magazines have a role to educate the public. In the long run, this is precisely what they have been doing. It is easy to be cynical about the press, but we should realise that we get more information and education on day to day affairs from the press than from any other source. Therefore, I beg of my colleagues on the Congress benches to think about this matter and create opinion within the party to restore the freedom of the press which is vitally important for our economic development, for our rural development and for the development of science and technology. To muzzle the press at this time when every bit of co-operation has to be obtained from all sections of the public for the development of our country, it seems to me, is a grave mistake. A controlled press will also hamper the cultural, academic and intellectual life of the country and it will produce conformism and timidity of thinking. For any creative work it is essential that all legitimate opinions should be allowed to be aired.

The Minister, Mr. Subramaniam, this morning appealed to the opposition Members for co-operation. I hope that co-operation will be available. I hope the Congress and the opposition Members will work towards reconciliation and towards removing the bitterness and cynicism that has come over our society so that we can go forward once again as the world's largest democracy.

Thank you.

THE MINISTER OF INDUSTRY AND CIVIL SUPPLIES (SHRI T. A. PAI) : Madam Vice-Chairman, I am happy that the 20-point economic programme has received universal support from all sections of this House. The hon. Member who just preceded me has said: "Is there anything new in it? The Tamil Nadu Government or the Kerala Government implemented it." So also have so many Congress Governments implemented in parts. But what is most important is to realise that the nation was losing its grip. All of us consciously were representing certain

sectional interests. There could not possibly be common agreement. There were certain problems which could not be moved on party lines. They require complete identification of all people who are better off in this country. There was no question that we could bring about a new society in this country safeguarding our own interests and trying to change the *status quo* without being willing to change ourselves in that. Therefore we have had so many conflicts, so many ideologies and, perhaps, speeches being a substitute for any kind of action. But the country possibly could not wait for it because somehow it has always a tendency to react to an emergency when it is declared though I for one, Madam, believe that we were under an emergency, faced with several problems, economic problems and the problem of inflation. The section of the people worst hit who are the poorest people and the growing unemployment problem require the united will of the whole nation to pull together rather than fight for sectional interests.

The 20-point programme the Prime Minister has placed before the country only emphasised one aspect. It calls for the identification of the whole nation with certain basic problems. She has provided the programme as an answer to some of these problems. One is : Can you have a large section of the people, the rural population in absolute poverty, in absolute indebtedness? The small farmers who form the bulk of our population who are today provided with all the facilities that are reserved for the development of agriculture by all kinds of institutions that we have brought into existence have not been able to benefit by them. Every slogan, every movement is being taken advantage of by the better off section of the people in the name of the so-called common man, in the name of the so-called poor people. Therefore it was necessary to point out that this state of affairs would lead to complete chaos in the country and it requires a reawakening and re-examination on the part of us to see whether the way we were going was the right way, whether

the problems that this country was facing were the same as any other country was facing and whether there was any text-book model which we could copy from others. Now therefore it is not merely a question of taking up an economic transformation but a social transformation as well. Our society has not progressed by passing legislations only. Many of our programmes of land reforms have failed because somehow there has not been a strong public opinion which supports their implementation. It creates many problems even if the Constitution gives you permission to do what you like.

Similarly we have ignored the existence of three crores of small farmers, two crores of agricultural labourers, their upbringing or improvement of their lot who, through their own hard work should create better opportunities and a better life not only for themselves but perhaps a large segment of the people who are below the poverty line.

We have a growing unemployment problem. Those who are employed have become so selfish that they are not worried. I suppose, ordinarily one in a society would be expected that he would be responsible for creating similar opportunities for those who are less fortunate than he is.

In fact, Madam, many of us today, because we had chosen our parents rightly or were born in the right family or in the right place, have had the benefit of education and position and status while millions of people belonging to our own age group have been denied even the ordinary literacy facilities and are condemned to poverty on that account. The least that we owe to these people is that by our effort, in every sector of the society wherever we are privileged to occupy a position, we create similar conditions to others so that the weakness in our society of a big procession with only a few of us in the front and with a big gap in between and a large section of our population limping behind is removed. This is something which, I do

not think, is an image which we ourselves should picture. So here we are called upon to make a national effort.

Take, for example, the problem of unemployment. Those who have jobs want more. I do not deny that they should have more. But how do they have more? I remember, Madam, most of us behaving like third class passengers occupying the trains and telling others that it is all full, you can't come in. So those who are out are out for ever. Those who are in would like to have more and more. Now, therefore, it has been laid now that we have got to go in for a big programme of training people under apprenticeship, providing opportunities for employment. We have to identify these problems. For instance, handloom industry where we do not provide them with any capital goods or working capital, millions of people are sustaining without any assistance, and they are producing the cloth required by the people. None of them is a welfare measure. They are a part of our national production process and they have got to be recognised as such. So I do believe that the points she raised and the answers she has given require identification of all sections of society; and we must say that the dream that we have before us of removal of poverty of the people cannot be fulfilled by State action alone; it can be fulfilled only by the society's action. And therefore we have a right to go about it incessantly even if it means a little sacrifice on our part, because without sacrifice by certain sectors, it is not possible to go ahead. She has laid emphasis that our production machinery, both in men and in the industrial capacity, must be utilised to the fullest extent. But production by itself is not enough. There should be equitable distribution, proper and orderly distribution, and what is more, a sense of discipline in all the sectors. The instance which Mr. Abraham pointed out, of people being not even willing to stand in a queue, is a disgrace. Well, if we are not willing to build up the image of our people, how can we be proud, how can the rest of the world be proud, of us? I do hope that these small things of life would be recti-

[Shri T. A. Pai]

fied. Discipline cannot be divided ; it cannot be compartmentalised ; it cannot be sectionalised. I think it applies to the whole nation in all the activities that it carries on.

So I would like to say that one of the greatest weaknesses of this country has been to run down ourselves. Whatever progress we might have made, we always say : Is it possible ? The atmosphere of cynicism, the atmosphere of doubt, the atmosphere of conflict—these do come in the way of our progress. Let it be remembered that when we compare ourselves with other nations, the things are not identical. A nation with so many languages, a nation which is worried whether one village is in one State or another, a nation which is not willing to settle the water problems and allows unutilised water go waste rather than use it, has so complex problems. Well, these are national objectives for which we will have to go a long way in giving up all fissiparous tendencies which today sometimes make up for leadership in several quarters and in several areas. Now, we have certainly made considerable progress. We cannot make progress with deficiencies we have had.

Last year, Madam, our industrial progress rate was 7 per cent, and by 1974-75, when we reached about 4 per cent, all that we did was to specifically look into what comes in the way of our going ahead. With so much of installed capacity, all that was necessary was to identify these problems, concentrate on them in removing them. It is all right if all these problems are to provide alibis for our failures which will be there in a system like this for all years to come, but the successful management of our economy requires identification of these problems and get over them. Then only you have a right to take credit for it. You can't possibly have electricity supplied to you always, you can't always have excellent industrial relations, you can't be provided with raw materials all the time, and, more than that, you can't be provided with seller's market for all times to come. Unless you are able to get over these problems, how are you going to make progress ?

But, anyway, as I said, this year we should have growth rate of 8 per cent. People have been asking me : Is it possible ? I say it is not a question of asking me whether it is possible ; it is imperative because in this country, unlike in many others, we have to achieve so many objectives at the same time.

Don't you think that removal of backwardness of many parts of our country is a worthwhile objective ? Don't you think that removal of backwardness of many sections of our country is a worthwhile objective ? Don't you think that increasing employment being provided to all sections of the people is a worthwhile objective ? Don't you think that efforts to remove poverty is a worthwhile objective ? Don't you think that social justice also is a worthwhile objective ? All of them are equally important objectives. But we may have to sacrifice a little of one in order to achieve a little more of the other. All are equally important. And when a country like ours has to attempt so many things at the same time, it becomes extremely difficult. Could you imagine the sizes of the big plants of 50,000 or 75,000 employees being managed today, which is a fantastic task ? When I look at the labour force of some of our public sector companies, I find that is equal to the total population of one or two of our big towns. The whole population working in one area and to manage this population, to get production out of them, is really an achievement. Most of the countries of the world may not have such difficulties facing them. In a democratic society, where not only we have other difficulties, we have the problem of a large number of unions. Everybody agrees that one industry must have one union. Then, in a pluralistic society, we also see pluralism in unions. There are as many unions as political parties, as many unions as there are castes, as many unions as there are minorities. When I was in the Life Insurance Corporation, one new union was formed of unpromoted Assistants, as Unpromoted Assistants Union. It was surprising to me. This country provides law for formation

of all such unions, whether they are useful or not. Now, how do you make progress along this? Nevertheless, I am glad that there is a sense of purpose now, that there is a sense of objective individually. It has been conceded that Indians are so good as anybody on earth. Nobody denies our competence. But it has also been a question that when it comes to common task, is it possible for us to get together and work for common purpose, to achieve what we want to achieve? Well, I think, Madam, one realisation is that there has to be a change in attitude because after all we cannot change men; we can certainly change their attitude. We can go about in a very big way.

In the 14 public sector units which were run for a low production of 208 crores in 1972-73, we deliberately fixed a very high target for the next year. We reached the figure of about 408 crores. Next year, we reached at 557 crores. And this year we have fixed a target of 750 crores and the Chief Executives at their conference met and said: "We do realise the emergency of the time and we commit ourselves to give you a production of 10 per cent more." It is a production for the country, not for any individual. From the same resources they have found that it is possible, given the will and determination, to make that progress. They have said: "It is possible for us; we will do our best to reduce the expenditure by 10 per cent."

Now, a similar attitude in the private sector also would go a long way. We are providing for our shortcomings and I would like to inform the House, while we should be ashamed of our shortcomings, we should be proud of our achievements also because the nation which is not proud of whatever progress it is making, will not be able to make further progress.

I have a report before me that in the industrial production, in the first quarter of 1975-76—April-June, in the public sector, our estimate is that the rate of growth of production in the public sector in the first quarter was 13-14 per cent compared with corresponding quarter of 1974-75. For the

entire industrial sector, production figures are available only for selected industries. These figures show that the rate of growth of production in two months of May and June for selected industries, accounting for 50 per cent of the weight in the general index, was likely to have been over 7 per cent compared with the corresponding months of 1974-75. The increase in production of steel during April-June 1975-76, has been of the order of 13 per cent, in electricity 7.3 per cent, in coal 17.1 per cent, in sugar 28 per cent, in vanaspati 17.9 per cent, and in cement 16.4 per cent over the corresponding quarter of 1974-75. Now, I may tell you in respect of cement, as against our installed capacity of about 19 million tonnes, the highest production that we have reached is 15 million tonnes. I hope with the improvement in power supply and improvement in the coal situation we should be able to reach a production of at least 18 million tonnes. Yesterday I saw that the Planning Commission hopes that we will be able to produce 16.5 million tonnes, but I will not be satisfied unless we reach a production of 18 million tonnes and there is no reason why we should not do it. The highest production figure which we attained in the year 1972 we have already pierced month by month so far. Hopefully I think we will be able to keep up this progress.

For the last two or three years our economy has been plagued by power shortage. All the efforts that we have made in trying to recognise our deficiencies and diagnose what is wrong with us have helped us to make considerable progress. In 1973-74 the percentage utilisation of our installed capacity was only 47. We were repeatedly saying that there was considerable scope for improvement and to get more out of installed capacity. I am glad that in 1974-75 it improved to 52 per cent. The total energy generated increased from 122696 WH in 1973-74 to 136796 WH in 1974-75, an increase of about 12 per cent. A generating capacity of 1,720 MW was commissioned during 1974-75, compared to 466 MW in 1973-74. At the beginning of 1975-76, the total generating capacity in the

[Shri T. A. Pai]

country was about 20,220 MW, including the 1,720 MW commissioned during 1974-75. A programme of commissioning 2,660 MW of new capacity—1,230 MW thermal and 1,430 MW hydel—is being implemented this year and all effort has been geared to achieving this. At the State Power Ministers Conference held last time it has been agreed that those thermal stations which had generated more than 6000 KWh/KW during 1974-75 should at least maintain that level of generation during 1975-76. Stations operating at between 5000 and 6000 units per KW would increase generation to 6000 units per KW during 1975-76. Further, thermal plants working below 5000 units per KW would increase their capacity utilisation by at least 25 per cent during the year 1975-76. We are continuously looking into the problems of individual units so that in respect of power generation we are able to get the maximum out of the installed capacity. Thanks to the good rains that we have had and the snow-fed rivers in the north, I hope that our hydel situation also will improve. During 1975-76 it is expected that hydel power would improve by about 20 per cent. With all the efforts that we have made we should be able to meet the demand for power in almost all parts of the country, of course, with some shortages here and there. It should be possible for us, in the light of the experience gained, to make the best use of the available power.

Well, the other item about which we have always complained is steel, because in spite of our having enough capacity for steel within the country we had to depend upon imported steel. Things have started changing. The production of saleable steel by the five integrated producers in 1974-75 aggregated 4.90 million tonnes, which is an all-time record. It marked an increase of 12.6 per cent over the corresponding figure of 4.35 million tonnes in the previous year, 1973-74. All the steel plants registered significant increases. The total production in 1974-75 represented an achievement of 97 per cent of the target and 73 per cent of the rated capacity. Both in terms of the

total production of saleable steel and capacity utilisation, 1974-75 performance was an all-time record. As against a profit of Rs. 4.71 crores earned in 1973-74, the profit of all the plants under HSL for the year 1974-75 has been estimated at Rs. 48.24 crores. Now, this includes a profit of nearly Rs. 38.70 crores for the Bhilai Steel Plant, Rs. 18.15 crores for the Rourkela Steel Plant, Rs. 2.71 crores for the Fertiliser Plant at Rourkela and Rs. 1.96 crores for the Alloy Steels Plant at Durgapur. It also takes into account the loss of Rs. 14.32 crores on account of the Durgapur Steel Plant, and represents the net figure after deducting full depreciation and interest charges. This has been achieved not only by a slight increase in prices but also as a result of higher production and several measures including a more efficient utilisation of raw materials, reduction in overhead costs resulting from higher production, better financial management and important changes in the distribution system.

Next, the production targets fixed for the year 1975-76 are quite high as compared to the performance of 1974-75. Based on the all-round confidence gained by the higher performance achieved in 1974-75, the target for saleable steel for 1975-76 has been fixed at 5.7 million tonnes, representing an increase of 0.8 million tonnes over the record production of 1974-75. Thus, the target for 1975-76 represents 116.3 per cent of the actual of 1974-75, and 81 per cent of the rated capacity of the plants. Out of the increased production of 8 lakh tonnes envisaged in 1975-76, the Bokaro Steel Plant is to contribute only 2.5 lakh tonnes. The bulk of the increase in production in 1975-76, totalling 5.5 lakh tonnes, will really come from a higher capacity utilisation of the existing steel plants.

The tempo of production achieved during 1974-75 has been well maintained in the period, April to June, 1975, and also in July, 1975, at all the steel plants. The production in the first quarter was 1.154 million tonnes as against 1.017 million tonnes during the corresponding period in 1974-75, representing an increase of 1.37 lakh tonnes or 13.5 per cent.

Now, I come to coal. You will remember, Madam, that when we took over the coal mines, there was absolutely no increase in coal production during the Fourth Five Year Plan. And when we nationalised the industry, it was in utter chaos. There was a lot of mishandling of the machinery; there had been absolutely no investment in the industry; the mines were worked very recklessly and there was industrial unrest. All these problems had to be got over. Well, thanks to the reorganisation of the coal mines and the determined effort to improve this basic industry on whose efficiency performance the entire growth of the economy also rests, I am glad to report that the total coal production from April-June, 1975 has been of the order of 22.85 million tonnes as against 20.06 million tonnes during the same period last year, showing an increase of about 2.8 million tonnes. As production will pick up further after the monsoon, it should be possible for the industry to achieve an additional target of 98 million tonnes fixed for the year 1975-76. In fact, now the attempt is to see that we are able to reach at least a production target of 100 million tonnes this year. This may be compared with the production of 88.41 million tonnes during the year 1974-75, the first year of the Fifth Plan during which it had gone up by 10 million tonnes, as compared to the year 1973-74, the last year of the Fourth Plan.

Now, there was the problem of transport. We used to complain very bitterly that it was possible for us to raise our output but that transport was not adequate. I must pay a tribute to the Railways also for their improved performance during these months. In the first quarter of the year 1975-76, the despatch of coal to all sectors of the economy was 20.94 million tonnes as against 19.12 million tonnes during the same period last year. The average daily loading of coal by rail was 8388 wagons during 1974-75; in April-June, 1975, this figure was 8803 as against 7684 during the same period last year. The steel plants which used to have stocks of hardly one day or $1\frac{1}{2}$ days sometimes, are now having stocks of 8.5 days, in spite of the increase

in the level of consumption. Similarly, at most all the power houses have built up stocks of about three weeks' consumption, and the cement plants have 23 days' consumption. In spite of improved despatches

4 P. M.

and building up of stocks at the consuming end, the pithead stocks of coal at the end of June 1975 were 7.51 million tonnes as against 6.21 million tonnes at the end of June 1974 and 7.10 million tonnes at the end of February, 1975.

Now I come to another important fuel—petroleum and crude oil. All of us know a serious crisis over rising prices has brought about the imperative need for this country to find its own resources as much as it can. Now as against a production of about 7.58 million tonnes of crude oil in 1974-75, the target for 1975-76 is 8.44 million tonnes. It is expected that this target would be achieved and may also be exceeded. All this production is expected from the Gujarat and Assam oilfields. The offshore Bombay High structure where five wells have been drilled already, is considered highly prospective and its rapid appraisal and simultaneous development are being planned with such consultancy arrangements as are necessary. It is hoped that by the middle of 1976, the Bombay High field will start producing crude oil at the annual rate of 1.5 to 2 million tonnes. Its potential is of course much larger, and optimum production may be expected about 4 to 5 years from now.

Two offshore areas have been awarded on production sharing contracts to foreign companies—one the Bengal-Orissa offshore and the second the Kutch offshore. Seismic surveys of both areas have given promising indications of structures and we expect to have drilling commencing towards the end of this year. In the meanwhile, ONGC has acquired its own seismic survey ship, the "Anweshak", which has reached Indian waters and is expected to start surveys on Coromandal Coast and the Palk Straits in the next few days. Later, it is expected to come up to the Western Coast for surveys

[Shri T. A. Pai]

in known prospective areas. The ONGC has hired two more drilling vessels, one a semi-submersible and the other a drill ship both of which will be operational during the next winter. With this fleet, and with such further additions as may be needed, the exploration and development of Bombay High will be speeded up, and one or two new areas taken up for exploration in the forthcoming open season. We have good reason to believe that India's offshore holds out great promise of oil production, and in the interest of the national economy, it is proposed to spare no effort to establish new reserves and to commence the production as early as possible.

At the same time, the efforts for onshore exploration are being intensified. We expect to commence drilling in West Bengal in the next few weeks; drilling at new sites in Tripura will also begin soon and drilling at a location in Himachal Pradesh has been approved.

In our refineries, both in public and private sectors, our effort is to optimise the production pattern with emphasis on middle distillates which form the single largest item of consumption. By a judicious allocation of crude oil and adjustment of the product pattern, it has been possible to improve upon middle distillate yields from an average of 47.8 per cent to 48.4 per cent. Recently, the secondary processing of heavy ends from the Koyali Refinery has been started at the Hindustan Petroleum refinery at Bombay to produce middle distillates and other high value products.

The other important steps that are being taken are to expand the Koyali Refinery from 4.30—7.30 million tonnes already under implementation and to be completed by the middle of 1977 and the construction of a 6 million tonnes refinery at Mathura.

There are two other important projects which will add to availability of cooking gas which is a substitute for kerosene—one is for the installation of a vacuum pipe-still in the Hindustan Petroleum Refinery at Bombay which at a cost of Rs. 4.30 crores

is expected to produce 16,000 tonnes of cooking gas; second is for the extraction of cooking gas from Oil India gas fields in Assam which is expected to produce 48,000 tonnes of cooking gas per annum at a cost of Rs. 7.71 crores.

The Bongaigaon Refinery is under construction and is expected to be commissioned by 1977. It has been decided that the refinery should have a coking unit and a coke calcination plant which would not only utilise a low value fraction for production of high value petroleum coke, but also improve the economics of the refinery. Now it has also been decided that nearly 20,000 new cooking gas connections will be given by the IOC every month till the end of 1975-76. For this purpose, the emphasis will be on small towns and hill areas. There is now only a nominal cut on kerosene allocations and availability has improved greatly. Diesel for agricultural purposes is also available freely. It has been decided that in the award of agencies for kerosene oil and diesel, preference should be given to genuine and well-established consumer co-operative societies, agro-service centres, etc.

Talking of fuel, Madam, it has also been decided that the soft coke production will be stepped up from 2.5 million tonnes to 3.5 million tonnes and the priority for movement of soft coke will be the same as for the Railways or for generating centres so that the availability of soft coke for the public is also improved.

Now, coming to industrial development, I would like to inform the House that the number of letters of intent issued in 1974 was 1,181 as against 899 the previous year and 877 in 1972. The number of industrial licences issued in 1974 was 1,099 as against 596 in 1973 and 563 in 1972. In 1974 the letters of intent issued for backward areas were 343 or 29.1 per cent, as against 12.3 per cent in 1972 and 14.1 per cent in 1973. Industrial licences for backward areas were 27.1 per cent in 1974, as against 17.2 per cent in 1973 and 14.8 per cent in 1972.

The House would be interested in knowing the share of the bigger houses and how we have dealt with them. Now, out of the industrial licences that we have issued in 1974, only 7.7 per cent of the industrial licences have gone to the MRTP houses as against 16.6 per cent in 1973. And the number of licences to foreign majority companies was 36 in 1974, that is, 3.2 per cent. We had a survey of 390 licences for new factories from January to December 1974 and we found that out of 390 licences, only four had gone to the MRTP houses, two to foreign majority companies, 52 to the public sector and the rest 332 to others. So you will find that consciously we are making an effort to see that newer entrepreneurs are brought into the picture. Of course, now we have simplified the procedures for getting licences or clearances. But we will have to make a total mobilisation of resources so that these industries do come into existence. Accelerating this industrial growth is imperative because of the need for removing the backwardness of several parts of our country, the need for providing employment continuously, the need for bringing about social justice through employment.

Madam, perhaps the House would be interested in knowing what the steps are that have been taken. You must have heard complaints of low production and all that. Now, this year with better electricity, with better supply of coal, better transport, better industrial relations, I do not find any excuse for non-production. I would like, Madam, to identify certain basic industries and insist on 75 per cent utilisation of the capacity, failing which I would very much like to take power into our hands to change the management, if necessary, so that this is ensured. I feel that the days for making appeals or persuasion are over. While I am anxious to remove all bottlenecks that come in the way of production, I do not think there should be any excuse for anybody, when the means of production are entrusted in his hands, to say "I shall not produce", because ultimately there is no question of

growth or social justice unless this performance is ensured. Similarly I have complaints that on some excuse or other lay-off is taking place. Just as I would not like to have unnecessary strikes and unnecessary lock-outs, I would not like to have unnecessary lay-offs either. I would like to evolve a machinery which will quickly involve itself in this and see that nothing is done to hamper industrial production. I would consider any section of the society, which at this juncture comes in the way of production, anti-social. It is not a question of taking harsh measures. I want them to realise the social responsibility that they have. To deny licences to some saying that we have enough of licences but to entrust the nation's resources in the hands of a few is not proper. I would consider it thorough mismanagement if a unit is not able to reach its optimum capacity. While there are units in this country in the same industry which have reached 110 per cent of their capacity, why should others have excuse not to produce and thus create problems for the society in general?

Again I have complaints that when the shortages were there, they used to have their men for distribution. Even now many people are anxious to have dealership for scooters or other items which are in short supply. When tyres were in short supply, there was pressure to obtain dealership in tyres. Dealership is an opportunity just to have the name lent so that the goods pass through their hands. Sometimes they do not handle the goods at all. It is just a chance to make money whereas I expect dealership to be an integral part of the distribution system. It is their responsibility to ensure that the supplies are made to the consumers. There is no question of obligation on their part if they make the supplies. There is no favour. But what happens is that even when supply is made against payment it is considered as conferring a favour. I would like to break that system.

Recently we had complaints that when Vanaspati was in short supply, there were commission agents and they were ready

[Shri T. A. Pai]

to lift the stocks. But now they are not willing to lift the stock. May be this is so in the case of other essential commodities also. When things are in plenty nobody is interested in distributing them. I would see, if necessary by law, that producers are made responsible for the proper distribution of their commodities. Unless that discipline is followed, we would take the matter very seriously.

I think the time has come when the sense of discipline has to be inculcated in every section of the society. Failure on anybody's part or even dereliction of duty by anybody would to a very large extent, affect our economy.

We are keeping track of the production figures relating to essential commodities. In our Ministry of Civil Supplies, we get weekly figures from different parts of the country. Luckily the wholesale price index has fallen now. It has fallen to 307.6 as on 12-7-1975 from 310.3 as on 14-6-1975. It was 312.6 on 10-5-1975 and 314.5 earlier. There has been a very considerable fall in the wholesale index

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair.]

compared to the same period during the last year. But this fall does not reflect itself in the retail price so quickly. It takes nearly six weeks. I think the de-hoarding operations and insistence on certain disciplines being observed such as price tags and exhibition of stocks openly have considerably improved matters. I think under the Defence of India Act an order is promulgated from the 1st of September under which on all packaged goods must be printed the date of manufacture, its price and weight so that the consumers' rights will be increasingly protected. The model distribution scheme for Delhi has been implemented and we shall learn by experience. We are trying to involve the public. We have constituted housewives committees against much resistance from many people. We would like to see that the public are increasingly associated because it is their right that will be protected and it is their needs that are

not being served by a section of the people who have been created to look after their needs. Well, we have given them statutory powers to look into the weights and measures and to see whether the commodity is adulterated or whether fair treatment is meted out and so on. At the same time, we have given instructions to those who run the fair price shops to remember that it is the fundamental right of the citizen of this country to be shown courtesy and to be fairly treated and that because he comes to the fair price shop, they should not treat him as they like. I hope this will be an exercise in improving our attitude and the attitude of all the sections involved in serving the community and in restoring to the consumer his status which is justly his as a citizen of this country.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA (Orissa) : Excuse me for a minute; please do not mind my interruption. In the rural areas, these fair price shops have become only fair weather shops. Now, this is the planting season. Generally, the worker in the field gets his wages sometime after six o'clock or so. But, by the time he reaches these fair price shops, these shops are closed. These shops close at 5 o'clock or so. I request you to see that such hardships are not caused to these poor people.

SHRI T. A. PAI : I shall be grateful if the honourable Members can bring to our notice specific problems and advise us because we are administering a very big country and what we are doing today is only to make use of this emergency to see that certain things are made possible and they become a part of our national life and you see, a part of our operational measures. Well, we must have a proper distribution system in our country if the economy has to be a balanced one. Well, we should legitimately look after the interests of the retail business in this country. The honourable Member, Shri A. G. Kulkarni—he is absent now—raised a question whether we are not going to

look after the small-scale industries by a separate legislation because they are being exploited by the big industries which do not pay their bills and so on. Sir, we are thinking not only of the small-scale industries, but are also thinking of trying to protect the interests of the small traders to see that they become a part of our distribution system and to see how they can be linked up with the main system, how they can be made to get away from the rapacious financiers or the wholesalers and how they can be given a right to exist as a part of the whole system and so on. I think normally they would have served this purpose. Now it is necessary for us to reduce the cost of operation of all the public sector organisations also which are involved in distribution. Ultimately, efficiency is a word which must become a by word with every section of the society and I do not think that we can be efficient in some sectors and tolerate inefficiency in others.

Sir, I think I have given a brief report of what is happening. I for one feel confident that we shall march ahead with the sense of discipline that we have inculcated and without tolerating any weakness in any sector and imbued or fired with one ambition that the destiny of this country can be changed and that the lot of the common people can improve, if we are prepared to make a determined effort and a sacrifice which is worth making. Thank you very much, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Before I call the next speaker, I would like to state that since we have to finish this debate by six o'clock today and since there are eight more speakers, Members may take only ten minutes each.

श्री देवराव पाटील (महाराष्ट्र) : माननीय उप-सभापति जी, आर्थिक प्रगति के लिये नये कार्यक्रम की घोषणा करके तथा विघटनकारी तत्वों पर प्रतिबन्ध लगा कर भारत देश की गरीब, मजदूर जनता को इन्दिरा गांधी ने तबाह होने से बचा

लिया है और इसलिये राष्ट्र इन्दिरा गांधी का सदैव ऋणी रहेगा ।

ये जो आर्थिक प्रगति के लिये नये कार्यक्रम है उनमें 20 कार्यक्रमों की सूची बताते हैं । कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि 21 की सूची है । यह सही है कि प्रोग्राम तो 20 ही हैं लेकिन 21वा प्रोग्राम उनको इम्प्लीमेंट करने का प्रोग्राम है । जो प्रोग्राम दिये हैं उनके इम्प्लीमेंटेशन के बारे में मैं कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ ।

यह एक बहुत बड़ा मौका है । जिन विभागों के जिम्मे यह काम है उनको इसमें सतर्क रहना है और जो मंत्री इन विभागों को सम्भालते हैं उनको यह देखना है कि ये जो कार्यक्रम दिये गये हैं उनके आधार पर ग्राम जनता की हालत सुधारने के लिये नये कदम उठाये जायें । ग्राम जनता के मायने क्या हैं । ग्राम जनता के मायने यह है कि भारत की जो 70, 80 प्रतिशत जनता है उसकी हालत सुधारने के लिये यह कार्यक्रम बनाया गया है और भारत की 70 प्रतिशत जनता देहातों में रहती है । वेने शहरो में भी कुछ गरीब सेक्शन रहता है । इसमें खेतिहर मजदूरों के बारे में प्रोग्राम दिया गया है । उन की संख्या 1961 में 3 करोड़ 15 लाख थी और 1971 में वह 4 करोड़ 74 लाख हो गयी है । इस तरह से उन की संख्या कम नहीं हुई है और बढ़ ही रही है । आबादी बढ़ गयी है लेकिन उनका रेश्यो आबादी के रेश्यो से ज्यादा ही बढ़ा है । और यह बात प्राइमिनिस्टर ने ओपेन माइन्ड से कही है कि खेतिहर मजदूर हमारे समाज का सबसे बड़ा शोषित वर्ग है । इसमें कोई शक नहीं । 1948 में हमने मिनिमम वेजेज ऐक्ट बनाया और आज भी हमारे सुझाव क्या है कि जो न्यूनतम वेतन है उसमें कुछ सुधार किया जाये । लेकिन यह प्राबलम इतने में ही हल होने वाला नहीं है । देश की गरीब से गरीब जनता देहातों में रहती है और इसलिये पहला सवाल उन को काम देने का है । काम देने के बाद उनको मजदूरी क्या मिले यह दूसरा सवाल है और इस लिये देश में आज सबसे

[श्री देवराज पाटील]

बड़ी समस्या श्रमीण अर्थ व्यवस्था में देहात की निर्धनता की है। इस के लिये ही भारत में प्रत्येक नागरिक के लिये कुछ न कुछ आय की व्यवस्था करने के लिये प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने यह योजना बनायी है। इस का उद्देश्य है कि भारत में ऐसा कोई नागरिक न हो जिस को कुछ न कुछ आय न हो। यही उद्देश्य इसके पीछे है और इसका कारण यह है कि वह चाहती है कि भारत के हर एक नागरिक के लिये रोजी और रोटी की व्यवस्था की जाय। आज हम बड़ी बड़ी बातें करते हैं, लेकिन हमारे देश में कई लोग हैं जिनके लिये रोटी की, रोजी की किसी प्रकार की व्यवस्था नहीं है और इसी लिये खेतिहर मजदूरों के सवाल में कई बड़े प्रिंसिपल्स इवाल्व हैं और उन को ध्यान में रख कर ही मिनिस्ट्री को कोई काम करना चाहिये। मजदूरी की व्यवस्था काम की व्यवस्था करके ही की जा सकती है और उसके लिये पहले हमें उन के लिये काम का इंतजाम करना होगा। हमें सर्व प्रथम इस बात की चिन्ता करनी होगी कि हमारे प्रत्येक नागरिक को पूरा रोजगार प्राप्त हो सके। गरीब जनता जो श्रमीण क्षेत्रों में रहती है उसके लिये रोजगार का इंतजाम करना हमारे लिये पहली समस्या है और कास्टीट्यूशन में भी उस के लिये प्राविजन किया गया है। उसके लिये गारंटी दी गयी है और रोजगार के इंतजाम के बाद उन के लिये न्यूनतम वेतन की व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिये। आप कहते हैं कि हम उसे बढ़ाना चाहते हैं। मेरा बुनियादी डिफरेंस यह है कि अगर वह कही दो रुपया है और आप उसे 2 रुपये 50 पैसे करना चाहते हैं या दो रुपये से तीन रुपये करना चाहते हैं तो उससे ही यह समस्या हल होने वाली नहीं है। हम को एक राष्ट्रीय नीति के नाते इस को हल करना होगा और इस लिये मेरा कहना यह है कि जो न्यूनतम वेतन की बात है उस को राष्ट्रीय वेतन के नाते हम को हल करना होगा। कम से कम जो उनकी जरूरत है उस को पूरा करने के लिये क्या वेतन उनको मिलना चाहिये यह हम को तय करना पड़ेगा। काम में

आप उन को लगायें, रोजगार आप उन को दें लेकिन उस के लिये वेतन उनको इतना दिया जाय जिससे रोटी उन को मिले और जो खेतिहर मजदूरों के बारे में सरकार का ख्याल है कि उन का वेतन कुछ बढ़ा देंगे तो उस से यह सवाल हल होने वाला नहीं है। इसके लिये एक राष्ट्रीय वेतन नीति की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये। कम आमदनी वाले लोगों के लिये जो कानूनी तौर पर प्राप्त मजदूरी के दायरे में नहीं आते हैं, उनके लिये कम से कम जरूरत के मुताबिक न्यूनतम मजदूरी की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये। इस काम के लिये सरकार को चाहिये कि राष्ट्रीय न्यूनतम मजदूरी की व्यवस्था करे। मजदूरी पर निर्भर रहने वाला जो मजदूर है उसको राष्ट्रीय न्यूनतम मजदूरी मिलनी चाहिये। यह डाय-रेक्शन हर स्टेट को देनी चाहिये। यह जो डाय-रेक्शन अभी दी गई है उसमें बताया गया है कि 25 परसेंट से 35 परसेंट उसकी मजदूरी बढ़ा दी जायेगी। उससे नहीं होगा। मेरा कहना यह है कि राष्ट्रीय न्यूनतम मजदूरी की व्यवस्था करनी पड़ेगी। आपको यह बड़ा अच्छा मौका मिला है। प्राइम मिनिस्टर वित्त मंत्री इसके लिये जो भी प्रपोजल लायेंगे वह मंजूर करने वाली है, इस लिये कड़े से कड़े कदम उठाने चाहिये। 27 साल तक इसका किसी ने ख्याल नहीं किया।

दूसरा सवाल मेरा ऋण के बारे में है कि जो छोटे छोटे लोग हैं उनके जो ऋण हैं उनको आप माफ करे, उसके लिये कोर्ट में जो दावे हो रहे हैं उससे उनको छूट दें। मेरा ख्याल है कि अर्नाकुलम में जो कांयस का अधिवेशन हुआ था उसमें यही सुब्रह्मण्यम थे जो आज के फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर हैं। यह हमने उसमें सुझाव दिया था कि देहात में जो मजदूर रहता है, जो आर्टीजन रहता है उसको क्रेडिट वर्दीनैस नहीं रहती है। जब तक सरकार उसको क्रेडिट वर्दीनैस नहीं देते, उनको दुनिया में कोई बैंक पैसा देने वाला नहीं है। अग्रिकल्चरल लेबर जो हैं, जिसकी इनकम 1200 रु० के नीचे है, जो आर्टीजन है, ऐसे लोगों के लिये आप क्रेडिट वर्दीनैस प्राप्त कराने की कोशिश करते। उनके

पाम कोई प्रापर्टी नहीं रहती है। अगर खेत मजदूर के लिये सुविधा देनी हो तो जब तक क्रेडिट वर्दीनैस की व्यवस्था नहीं करेगे तब तक फायदा नहीं होगा। अब उनको कोई प्राइवेट पार्टी भी ऋण नहीं देगी। आप जो काश्तकार छोटे हैं और जो कोओपरेटिव सोसाइटीज हैं उनका सर्वे कराइये। आप स्टेट गवर्नमेंट से कहिये कि वह एक इक्वायरी कमेटी बनाये और इन लोगों की तरफ सोसाइटी या गवर्नमेंट का लोन कितना है, वह देखे। इन लोगों के पास जो जमीन है वह इतनी कम है कि उसे हम अंग्रेजी में 'अनइकानामिक होल्डिंग' कहते हैं, उसमें उनका गुजारा नहीं होता है। उसमें कितना भी सुधार आप करे वह अनइकानामिक होल्डिंग रहती है। जहा इरिगेशन की जमीन नहीं है वहां उनका धधा नुकसान का धधा रहता है। हर एक रिपोर्ट को आप देखें, ऐसी फार्मिंग नुकसान का धधा है। इस तरह से इन लोगों के लिये कुछ करना है। तो क्रेडिट वर्दीनैस की सुविधा देनी चाहिये और एक कमेटी अप्राइंट करके इनकी तरफ जो कर्जा है वह कितना है यह देखा जाये और कितनी भी कोशिश करे, वह वसूल नहीं होता है तो उसको माफ करना चाहिये।

मेरा आखिरी सवाल है। चूंकि आपने घंटी बजा दी है, इसलिये मैं और विस्तार में नहीं जाना चाहता हूं। आर्थिक कार्यक्रम का उद्देश्य प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाने का है और खाम कर हिन्दुस्तान में उत्पादन बढ़ाना है, तो कृषि उत्पादन बढ़ाना पड़ेगा। कृषि उत्पादन में छोटा किसान हो या बड़ा किसान हो सबके लिये यह भी जरूरी होना चाहिये कि उसने कितना उत्पादन बढ़ाया। यह आप देखे कि उनके पास जितनी जमीन है उसी हिसाब से उसमें उत्पादन उसने किया है कि नहीं। उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिये इरिगेशन, फर्टिलाइजर चाहिये, वह तो सही है, लेकिन सबसे महत्वपूर्ण बात यह है कि उनको रेम्युनरेटिव प्राइस मिलनी चाहिये। जो प्रोग्राम आपका है, उसमें यह भी ऐड कर दें कि जो काश्तकार उत्पादन करने वाला है, रात दिन मेहनत करने वाला है, खेत में मजदूरी करने वाला है उसको

कृषि उत्पादन को हम रेम्युनरेटिव प्राइस देंगे। यह अगर हो जाये तो उनको आर्थिक हिम्मत मिलेगी, वे ज्यादा प्रोडक्शन करेंगे।

दूसरी बात मैं आर्थिक कार्यक्रम के बारे में कहना चाहता हूं। आपने देखा होगा कि आर्थिक कार्यक्रम में डिस्पैरिटी आ गई है, जिसे हिन्दी में कहते हैं आर्थिक असमानता। देहात में जो गरीब लोग हैं और शहर में जो निश्चित इन्कम के लोग हैं उनमें डिस्पैरिटी बहुत आ गई है। हमें इसके लिये कुछ करना चाहिये। बाहर देश में हम जाते हैं तब हम कहते हैं कि यह विकासशील देश है, प्रगतिशील देश है, लेकिन मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान में एक ऐसा देहाती वर्ग भी है जो अग्रगतिशील है, अविकसित है, जिसको कोई सुविधा तक नहीं दी जाती। उदाहरण के लिये मध्यम वर्ग की 8 हजार जिसकी निश्चित इन्कम है उसको हम सुविधा देना चाहते हैं, लेकिन जिनकी इतनी ही इन्कम गांवों में हैं उनको कोई सुविधा नहीं देना चाहते। मेरी रिक्वैस्ट है कि अगर हमारी जमीन पर भी 8 हजार से ऊपर इन्कम नहीं होती तो हमें भी लैंड टैक्स की सुविधा मिलनी चाहिये।

राशनिंग शोप्स का जो मामला है इसके बारे में मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि देहातों में जाकर देखिए, न वहां कपड़े की कोई दुकान है, न किताबों की कोई दुकान है यानी कंट्रोल आर्टिकल की कोई चीज वहां आपको नहीं मिलेगी। न उनको कोई महंगाई भत्ता मिलता है और न उनको इन्कम का कोई एड्योरेंस है और न कंट्रोल का लाभ मिलता है। इसलिये मेरा कहना यह है कि अपने इस प्रोग्राम में चाहे राशनिंग शोप्स हो, चाहे असेन्शियल आर्टिकल हो आप उसके लिये डायरेक्शन दीजिये स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को। मैंने कामर्स मिनिस्टर साहब से भी कहा था उन्होंने कहा कि हमने डायरेक्शन दे दी है, लेकिन यह काम राज्य सरकार का है। इसमें काम नहीं चलेगा। मेरा कहना है आपको देखना होगा कि काम हो रहा है या नहीं। इस प्रकार की स्कीम तो पहले भी थी लेकिन वे फेल हो गईं। क्यों हो गईं ?

[श्री देवराज पाटील]

यह इसलिये हो गई कि स्टेट गवर्नमेंट, जिला परिषद और दूसरे जो काम करने वाले कर्मचारी हैं उन्होंने इन्टरेस्ट नहीं लिया।

हरेक गांव पंचायत के अन्दर जहां कि पापुलेशन एक हजार से ऊपर हो कपलसरी राशनिंग शोप्स होनी चाहिये और जहां भी एक हाई स्कूल हो वहां किताबों की दुकानें होनी चाहिये। इस तरह अगर आप आदेश देंगे तो कुछ परिणाम अवश्य निकलेगा। धन्यवाद।

SHRI A. K. A. ABDUL SAMAD (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I welcome and support the motion on the new programme for economic progress announced by the Prime Minister on the 1st July, 1975. Though the ideas were there, and during the election times, many of these programmes were spelt out, for the first time a comprehensive programme had been announced for the economic progress which covers almost all the aspects of our national life. I specially welcome the timing of the announcement of the programme. Government may formulate some policies and chalk out certain programmes. Until and unless there is popular support for any programme and the governmental machinery is well equipped to implement that programme, no tangible results will be achieved. But, for the first time in the history of our nation, the entire government machinery is fully geared up to implement these programmes, and I hope this would be done in the best interest of the country.

Sir, as has been rightly put by our Prime Minister, the emergency has provided a new opportunity to go ahead with the economic task. Of course, there was an immediate relief for the ordinary income earners. The raising of the minimum income-tax exemption limit from Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 8,000 is a good gesture to the urban salary and wage earners. It will be more beneficial if we are able to bring down the prices. The abolition of bonded labour will go down in the history as a significant event. What was not

possible to achieve in the past many thousand years is now possible because of this revolutionary announcement. Whatever may be our attempt to step up production, every year, there used to be a great setback because of the rationing of power. I am happy to see that there is a concerted effort on the part of the Government to accelerate the power programme. I welcome the recent announcement that ten crores of rupees have been earmarked to improve the Neyveli project. I appeal to the Government to expedite the work of the Kalpakam plant also. To keep the student community in good stead, the programme to provide essential commodities at control prices to students in hostels will help a lot. The same sort of facilities may be extended to the labourers in the major industries. During the last World War, railway employees used to get their provisions at special rates. If we were able to take such measures, we could expect much from the labourers also.

Sir, special mention must be made about the new apprenticeship scheme envisaged to enlarge the facilities for employment and training, especially of the weaker sections. Sir, I can say without any fear of contradiction that the largest minority in the country, i.e. the Muslims, are the weakest section in our country. Though the minorities are not mentioned specifically in this programme, I hope and trust that they would get a fair deal out of this programme.

Sir, the other day, when our Prime Minister while intervening in the debate on emergency explained the facts about some of the dark forces in our country and explained their philosophy with regard to the minorities and the policy of the Government about them, I must confess, I was moved to tears. I gained confidence in our Prime Minister and feel now that she would definitely do something tangible to redress the grievances of the minorities in the country. Therefore, Sir, we have decided to give full support

for the implementation of the new programme for the economic progress of the country.

Thank you.

SHRI B. P. NAGARAJA MURTHY (Karnataka) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I welcome the 20-point programme for the economic progress proposed by our Prime Minister and the whole country has received this programme well and welcomed it. In fact, many people feel that this programme ought to have come a bit earlier. But, our Prime Minister is known for taking the right decision at the right time. When the Allahabad High Court announced the judgment, the opposition parties thought that the Prime Minister is going to step down and there is going to be chaos of confusion in the country. But, I may tell them that the Prime Minister, irrespective of the judgment of the Allahabad High Court or the Supreme Court, whether she continues to be the Prime Minister or not, by her astute political wisdom and her sympathy towards the depressed and the oppressed, has already found a permanent place in the hearts of many millions of the nation. Mahatma Gandhi, who brought us independence from foreign subjugation, was acclaimed and accepted as the father of the Nation. Now that under the chaotic conditions the position of our country has improved, our Prime Minister will be remembered, cherished and adorned as the Mother of the Nation, in future history.

Sir, in the course of implementing this 20-point economic programme, so many problems may crop up during its implementation. Those problems will have to be cautiously and carefully solved. For this purpose, the administrative bureaucrats and, with apology I may say, the political bureaucrats also, must have a change of mind and change of attitude in the matter of their working. So far as land reforms are concerned, they have been under consideration for the last two decades. Already millions of acres have

been distributed among the landless labourers. But if a review is made, we will see that not many such people have been granted loans and not many have retained the distributed lands and many have been reduced to the position of landless agriculturists. This may not result in an increase in food production. When we distribute land to a man who has no aptitude in farming, who has no equipment, who has no bullocks, who has no accommodation to keep these implements and bullocks and who has no good seeds, he cannot produce anything and the land allotted to him will lie fallow for ever.

Now, in view of the fact that a moratorium has been introduced to liquidate the rural debt, so many practical difficulties are likely to come up because many marginal farmers and landless labourers will not be able to get easily loans either from co-operative societies or from nationalised banks or scheduled banks. This is because so many co-operative societies in the rural sector either have become defunct or they are not at all in a position to give credit to the small farmers. Even where there are banks and if a farmer becomes a defaulter once, he cannot get a loan for the second time. Now that this moratorium has been introduced to liquidate the rural indebtedness, he cannot get money even from the village moneylenders. Then the position becomes very pitiable. Some measures will have to be taken to provide credit facilities for these farmers to get on with their farming.

About providing sites for the landless labourers, we are reading in the newspapers that already millions of sites have been distributed to them throughout the length and breadth of the country. But we see only vacant sites and there are not many houses. Even where the houses are constructed, within one year they become dilapidated. In order to get over this problem merely providing house sites is not sufficient but, at the cost of the Government, better construction facilities should be provided for the landless labourers.

[Shri B. P. Nagaraja Murthy]

In order to increase production and distribution of essential goods, particularly in the agricultural sector, good seeds must be made available along with fertilisers at a reasonable price. Only last year the cost of fertilisers was increased by 100 per cent but now we see that it is reduced by Rs. 150 a tonne. But it may not be a sufficient reduction for the average farmer or the middle-class farmer to get his requirements even at this cost. The price should be further reduced to make the fertiliser available for the small and middle-class farmers because, unless they apply fertilisers food production cannot be improved at all.

Regarding distribution of essential goods, particularly the food products, we do not find proper storage accommodation throughout the country. Many a time the foodstuffs stored unscientifically get spoiled and become unfit for consumption. This problem must be remedied as early as possible.

Regarding corruption, after the promulgation of the state of emergency we see that in every office things are going on smoothly and now there is easy access for the villagers also to the officials. But still the anti-corruption drive must be intensified particularly in the police stations, the sub-registrars' offices and even in the co-operative societies where in the matter of issue of loans and fertilisers corrupt practices are involved.

Regarding prevention of inflation severe steps will have to be taken as far as possible in respect of tax evaders, hoarders and black-marketeers. Unless these things are practised with devotion and determination the situation may not improve.

In the end I would plead that as soon as we get over all these difficulties the country should come back to normalcy where there is no hindrance or obstacle for free democracy to survive.

Thank you.

SHRIMATI PRATIMA BOSE (West Bengal) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I support the economic programme of the Prime Minister which was brought before the House by our Finance Minister today. Sir, just now we have heard about development of the big industries, the efforts that have been made and the efforts that are yet to be made on a bigger scale. In fact, this economic programme which was announced by the Prime Minister, as far as I see, is meant for the weaker sections which means rural India.

Sir, what do we find in rural India? The agriculturalists and the small scale industrialists are actually in the hands of the Mahajans. Whether we give them land or not, we must free them first from the grip of the Mahajans who give money to the agriculturists, charge interest and give the labourers very small wages which do not merit mention. Actually, in agricultural field, what have we seen? In the rural India, mostly we see men without jobs, women without any security, and children not looked after well. Actually, we are doing piecemeal things for their good. We are doing piecemeal things to serve the children. We are doing piecemeal things to serve the men and women. We are doing certain things to give them special jobs. Sir, though the agro-industrial project has been going on in India for a long time, is just for name sake in many places. The agro-industrial development which is needed for the development of the rural India is just on paper. What we find is that the small industrialists and agriculturists are having only a small share, while a major share goes to Mahajans. First of all for the rural economic development, we must have some composite programme—and that programme is socio-economic programme for the rural people, whether they are agriculturists or whether they are small industrialists. When mentioning about the small industrialists, I mean the people who are engaged in the manufacture of handloom products. Sir, in every village we find that there are people who are engaged in cottage industries or handloom,

but their actual difficulty is marketing. They cannot produce more. For that reason, what I think is that the Government should open some production and marketing centres in all the districts of India. At least as an exemplary or a test case, they can open these. If they do not do this, I think the rural economy will not flourish. In this 21-point economic programme, there are so many things. What shall we take up first? We must take up something which will give some concrete results. We have been hearing our hon'ble Minister talking about the industrial development. We cannot achieve the industrial development without development in the rural India. Without that, India as a whole cannot flourish. For that reason, I think the 20 point programme is so intermingled. Now, take the case of the land being given to the landless. I have seen in West Bengal that the lands which are given to them need reclamation. What will they do with the land which is not reclaimed? What will they do with the land where there is no irrigation system or anything else? And there are some places where there are rivers and every year there are floods. So we must think about the flood and drought-affected areas. The land they are given is not easily cultivable. Not only that. Most of these people, as you know, do not use fertilizers because the price is so high. So they use the village manure, and with that manure the production is so low. The seeds they use are only medium seeds. That is also because of want of money. If they want any money from any bank, they have to pay an interest at the rate of 17 to 18 per cent and if they take loans at that rate of interest, after the production their whole thing goes into the hands of the bank, and again they will depend on the gratuitous relief or destiny. So, if we want to improve their lot, we must do something by which they will get easy seedling and fertilizer. If they have to get fertilizers by raising loans, it will be very difficult specially for small farmers with 2-1/2 acres of land. A farmer with one acre of land if he takes a loan of Rs. 1,000 at the interest

25 RSS/75—6.

rate of 18 per cent, his house, his cattle and everything that he has, remains under bondage. So if we want to make this programme a success, we should not blame only the officials and the bureaucrats. It is a programme in which the officials and non-officials both should join hand to hand and try to improve the position of rural India. In this new economic programme, we are not thinking about the cities and suburbs only where some how or other people are earning something either by part-time work or by doing some work and they earn something. But we find people from the villages coming to the cities and taking to begging even. They have taken to begging as a job. They are coming in hundreds and living in the footpaths. They are doing these things because there is no way out for them. They have nothing else to do.

In this new economic programme, Sir, I think, we must look back first to the village area and our motto should be to develop the village economy through industries and an agro-industrial project should be our aim. Thank you.

SHRI U.K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA (Karnataka): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, Mr. Subramaniam, when he moved the motion, raised one issue and he himself answered it, as to why the timing of this new economic programme had to be after the promulgation of the emergency. He thought that was the right atmosphere and he said something about the atmosphere which was not very congenial prior to that. Sir, now my friend Mr. T. A. Pai have a complete list of the developments that have taken place and the improvement in the production of industries both public sector and private sector, compared to 1973-74 and 1974-75. I was very happy to hear that a great progress has been made. He himself gave the figures and I congratulate the Government and the Industry Ministry and Mr. Pai himself for achieving this, and also the public sector industries and the private sector industries which have made this development in industrial growth to our country. It has confused

[Shri U. K. Lakshmana Gowda]

me a little. If that was possible at that time without an emergency and no opposition parties had come in the way of this development, why then the need of this emergency for bringing this new economic plan emergency is a very sensitive subject which I do not want to go into discussion . . .

SHRI JAGAN NATH BHARDWAJ (Himachal Pradesh): What about rising prices?

SHRI U.K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA: I will come to that. He has placed before the House the normal development which has taken place. And then I was very carefully listening to it. I was very keen and interested and I am very happy that our country has made this progress, particularly the public sector, from loss making sector to a profit making sector.

He even forecast that there would be an overall profit of about Rs. 300 crores. I was a little confused between Shri Subramaniam's statement and the statement made by Shri T. A. Pai. Let it be as it is, whatever it might have been.

This 20 point programme was put before the nation by the Prime Minister on the 1st of July. As I said the other day when I was speaking on the Defence of India Rules about which I was not very happy—I was not happy about the emergency either—there are no two opinions on this economic programme. I wholeheartedly support it. But I would like to mention that these programmes have been the election pledges of every political party—the Congress Party, the Communist Party and the other Parties and even the Jan-Sangh which is considered more or less a rightist party. Even they had this programme. With the mandate and the power and the administration you have, there was every possibility of bringing these measures prior to the emergency. That does not matter and I do not want to go into that question. I do welcome this 20 point programme which is enumerated here. Even in the minimum needs programme which was put up for

the Five Year Plan and the annual plans, one of the most important items included but which has been neglected here is that of providing drinking water to every village. Ever since the country became independent we have been promising to the people particularly in the rural sector where 72 per cent of the population reside that in every village there will be drinking water available and every child will have free education. These two things have not been achieved. I wish in this programme these two were given the priority.

Now I will go into other matters. So far as bringing down prices of essential commodities, procurement and distribution, strict economy in Government expenditure and other things are concerned, nobody can have any objection to these measures. Curtailment of administrative expenses has often times been promised, but not practised. Even the year before the Government said that there will be a cut of 10 per cent in the administrative expenses. But nothing happened except that some statements were made by way of propaganda. But actually there was no cut in the administrative expenses. This is the home truth. That must be looked into. But I am glad this item has been put into this programme. If you are thinking of curbing down administrative expenses it should be made applicable even to the Cabinet. There is a recommendation of the Administrative Reforms Commission that the Cabinet strength should be limited. Why do we continue to have such big Cabinets with large number of Ministers in States even now during the emergency? The other day I was surprised to read in the newspaper a statement of the Congress President. Now the newspapers are censored, it must be correct. But I take it to be a correct statement in which the Congress President said that there is no programme to limit the number of Ministers in the State Cabinets. Often times Ministers are chosen for other qualifications than their merit and efficiency. If their strength is

limited, that will be one of the psychological factors which will encourage the public to practise austerity. I suggest that the size of the Cabinets, Centre and States, should be limited and expenditure on Cabinet reduced.

So far as distribution of essential commodities is concerned, I welcome the project. It was discussed some time earlier as well. I think when the present President was the Agriculture Minister, certain statistics were given on the public distribution system. He mentioned about 1,30,000 public distribution centres in the country which were calculated on the basis of village panchayats and co-operative societies which existed throughout the rural areas. I would like to mention that most of these units are defunct and if the public distribution system is to provide any benefit particularly in the rural areas, village cooperatives should be revived and further strengthened there. In places like Delhi, Bangalore or Madras, if there is shortage of commodities, immediately there will be protests and people will be there to represent.

5 P.M.

But if it happens in a village, if they have to come to the tehsil or the district headquarters which may be some 40 or 50 miles away, what is to happen to them? If you say that 20 to 30 per cent of the consumer goods, essential goods, intended for them should be distributed through the public distribution system, it is very essential that the village cooperatives and the panchayats should be strengthened. Monies should be made available, and they should be in a position to stock and sell otherwise it will be only on paper.

In regard to agricultural land holding and its implementation, most of the States have passed laws. But certain legal bottlenecks are there. They should be removed. On this very subject I have spoken in this House. It is not a question of handing over one acre of land to a person and making him the owner of it and saying that his problem is solved. Most of these units

have become uneconomic. If you look at the fragmentation of land that has taken place in this country even before the Land Ceiling Act was there, I think there was enormous fragmentation which has resulted in very un-economic holdings. And if in a village there are several farmers with two acres and if there is a certain amount of surplus land, it is not given to them to make them as economic is given to another man to have another one acre. What can they do? It is another fragmentation. And with such fragmentation, the standard of living of the small farmer has gone down considerably. And agricultural indebtedness has increased. If you take statistics, 50 to 60 per cent of the value of his gross produce will be in debt; he will be indebted to that extent. How are you going to solve this? It is all right to say that we will declare a moratorium on private debts. But declaring a moratorium is not going to solve the problem because lately when even the courts themselves in such cases awarded many instalments, people are not taking any written guarantee; it goes only by mere faith. That is the situation. He starts borrowing and then cultivates and when the harvest is there, he gives it back. What has to be done is, you will have to provide the farmer with sufficient loans and advances and that too, not on the basis of short-term loans as are provided today. In one year he has to repay it. Surely he will borrow again and he will pay it. And it continues. So, there should be long-term loans and an easy supply of inputs, and production will increase then. It is only then that his indebtedness will go, not by declaring a moratorium on private debts. That will only touch the fringe of the problem. It is not that I am against it; I welcome it to the extent that it gives relief to them. But that is not a sufficient relief.

Shri Nagaraja Murthy has mentioned about house sites. I have myself seen. At one time there was a firm from the State headquarters to every district and taluk to go on distributing the sites, which were distributed irrespective of whether they were near the farm or away, but

[Shri U. K. Lakshmana Gowda]

mostly near the road side so that the public could see that the sites have been given. What is the farmer going to do if the site is some miles away from his farm? And there are practical difficulties. Providing the house sites touches only the fringe of the problem, unless the where-withal is made available to the person to build the house. So, that is another important matter. I do not know how finance is going to be made available for this purpose. Unless we have some sort of a revolving fund running into crores of rupees which can be utilised for giving long-term loans, it cannot be done. In some cases, even building becomes difficult. So, either the cooperatives or some other departments must be made responsible for building them, just like the housing boards which are constructing houses for the urban people.

Now for classes 3 and 4 houses are built by State Housing Boards and sold. But what happens to other people? Why not make investment through Housing Boards for constructing rural houses?

Sir, with regard to development of backward areas and also agricultural development. . . (Time bells rings). A few more minutes. With regard to rural development and providing employment in rural areas, where there is large scale unemployment. Small farmers in certain areas have no work during certain periods of the year. Therefore, the question is whether it is possible to have agro-industries. In certain areas plantations should be developed. In the three southern States of Kerala, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu as also in Bengal and Assam large scale casual temporary employment opportunity is available in plantations for farmers and their families when they have no work on their own farms. Plantation sector should not be considered as a sort of industrial sector. The wage level, agricultural and plantation, is more or less the same in places where you have plantations. The minimum agricultural wage and the minimum plantation wage is the same more or

less. Therefore, when you are thinking in terms of having minimum agricultural wage the relationship to the plantation wage should be maintained as plantation wages are generally fixed, and opportunity provided especially for part-time employment of small farmers who cannot be gainfully employed otherwise in their own farms. I would like special interest to be shown for the development of plantation industry whether it is in small scale or in large scale particularly in places where it is possible to develop such plantation industries. My friend, Mr. Subramaniam, knows this problem very well because he has been intimately connected with this. That is one point that I would like to stress here. (Time bell rings). A few minutes more.

With regard to socialisation of urban land that happened when ceiling on agricultural land was provided? There was a furore that there should have been ceiling on urban property also. Now it has raised more problems than were there at that time. If the Government was really serious they should not have allowed construction of luxurious houses from the time they prepared them in early seventies. The Government could then have said that nobody need build houses more than worth Rs. 2 lakhs or 3 lakhs. Now from the time it has been talked of for years, many palatial houses have been built in the meanwhile and ceiling is now has to be limited only to vacant sites. But even now I welcome the step because there is a large speculation and profiteering in these urban house sites. There is no point in saying that there is limitation on the urban land. Socialisation of it, to whatever extent possible, is even now necessary; otherwise there will be no point in bringing ceiling on urban property because large buildings cannot be cut into two. Though this measure is already delayed, I still welcome it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You will have to wind up now.

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA : Just two minutes. With regard to bringing down prices, there is no point in making effort in one sector alone. Unless production in both the sectors, industry and agriculture, increases whatever effort we might make it will be eaten away by increase in prices.

I was very happy to hear my friend, Mr. T. A. Pai, giving details of the improvement and growth in industry both in the private sector and in the public sector. It was also heartening to hear that if later on the growth slows down, whether it is the private sector or public sector, some stronger action will have to be taken and they are going to do it this time. I would like the same efforts to be made with regard to agriculture also. The limping irrigation schemes, the slow progress in many of the States in the development of agriculture, the supply of inputs, all these will have to be taken up by the Government in a very strong way. Unless agricultural production reaches a high level, the question of checking the prices will be only on paper.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have already taken 20 minutes. In the very beginning, I said you should take only 10 minutes. You have taken double that time.

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA : I will take only one minute. I would like to suggest, in this state of emergency when things have cooled down, when things are calm, why continue such a rigid press censorship, because for such matters like the new economic programme, to be thought of there should be opportunity for public debate on them, and for this it is necessary to have a freer press where different opinions will be forthcoming and that will be strengthening the hands of the Government itself. They will know where the difficulty comes and where constructive criticism is offered. For that purpose, a relaxation of press censorship and allowing a public debate on such matters is really healthy. To that extent, I plead through

you and the Finance Minister to the Prime Minister that this is the time to see that a certain relaxation is brought about with regard to the press censorship and also to provide a certain relaxation in the emergency. Mr. Subramaniam has said that he wants every section of the people to be involved in this development. In order to do that, many of the people representing different political parties who are detained might also be freed so that they can also have the opportunity of participating in this scheme for national economic progress.

SHRI B. RACHAIAH (Karnataka) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the motion moved by the hon. Finance Minister. I take this opportunity to congratulate the Prime Minister for having come forward with a bold announcement of the 20-point programme for the economic development of this country. Sir, both the declaration of the emergency and the 20-point economic programme have been well received by almost all sections of the people barring a few and they have lent their support. It is very surprising that some of the Opposition groups who have been absent in this House, who were demanding that the House should be convened for a discussion of important problems, have, when the House was convened, boycotted it. My friend, Mr. Lakshmana Gowda, surprisingly wants them back to create the same old type of obstacles in the implementation of this economic programme.

Sir, discipline has set in in this country. We see in the schools, in the colleges a peaceful atmosphere is prevailing. In the factories, whether in the public sector or in the private sector, industrial relations have improved and production is going on in a quicker manner. Sir, I wish this emergency continues for another five years. The vast majority of this country have welcomed this emergency and the country is peaceful now. Trouble-mongers, either in the public sector or in the private sector, or in schools and colleges, have come in the way of progress.

[Shri B. Rachaiah]

Therefore, the peace-loving people will always want this kind of atmosphere so that we may progress better. Some of the 20 points announced by the Prime Minister are new and some others are old. I consider that a few of these programmes which are essentially socio-economic measures will give relief to the vast millions of this country, particularly, abolition of rural indebtedness, abolition of bonded labour, giving sites to the landless people and distribution of surplus land to the landless. These are the programmes which will really go a long way towards the progress of the weaker sections, particularly, Scheduled Castes and Tribes and the workers. Supply of essential commodities to the students through cooperatives is a most welcome measure.

Another programme which has really attracted me is the step Government have taken in regard to handloom industry. They have taken the right step in accepting the recommendation of the Sivaraman Committee and appointing the Commissioner for hearing their grievances. Handloom is one of the largest sectors in the small-scale industry and most of the people in the rural areas depending on weaving were facing lot of difficulties in getting yarn and finances and later in selling their products. If they implement this programme as expeditiously as possible, they will get relief. We want the same atmosphere of discipline and sense of duty to continue.

With the abolition of bonded labour, naturally we have to provide alternative job for these people who will be released from the bonded labour. A job security scheme in the rural areas similar to the one in Maharashtra has to be adopted on a nation-wide basis. This is all the more necessary in the rural areas, in order to see that they are no longer obliged to those who have lent them money.

Land laws have been there and land ceiling Acts have been under implementation in various States. But land records

have not been made up-to-date and consequently those who ought to get the lands have been deprived of their chance because of wrong entries in the records. Special staff has to be created in all the States so that these records are made up-to-date. The special tribunals constituted in some of the States are inadequate and some more have to be created to ensure speedy implementation of these programmes. In regard to land to landless, Shri Nagaraja Murthy made a very important point. Mere giving of land will not help them. In order to see that they keep their lands and make use of them as means of production, certain other inputs such as finance, seeds and fertilizers should be given to them. Only then there will be more agricultural production.

Sir, the Finance Minister has mentioned that nearly fifty rural banks would be opened to see that this section is helped and it gets the necessary advance. Apart from these banks, the co-operative institutions and the other nationalised banks must also be made to advance money to these people for the development of their lands and a certain percentage has to be fixed.

Sir, I fail to understand why the programme of workers' participation in management has not been implemented hitherto. I am glad that the Prime Minister has made a mention of it and said that the workers will have a better deal in the matter of participating in management. Sir, I also take this opportunity to express my thanks to the Prime Minister for having mentioned about price stabilisation. Many honourable Members have spoken about bringing down the prices of the commodities and making them available to the consumers at reasonable prices keeping, at the same time, in view the need for giving a fair price to the producers also. In the matter of food production, we find in the rural areas that the farmer is the kingpin in this because he is the producer of many of the essential commodities. Therefore, unless he gets a remunerative price, I think he will not be en-

thused to produce more for the consumption of the people in the country. Therefore, while fixing the agricultural prices, the Finance Minister, who has also intimate knowledge of agriculture, should keep in mind the fact that it is necessary to give a remunerative price to the farmer for the production of agricultural commodities so that he is encouraged to produce more and more. I am happy to note that the Prime Minister has, for the first time, mentioned that there will be a wage revision in the case of the agricultural labourers. While we have seen in the case of industrial workers a lot of improvement in their wage structure and their relations with the management, in the case of the workers in the unorganised sector, particularly in the rural areas, the labourers are uncared for and they remain unnoticed and, therefore, I am happy that the Prime Minister has said that the agricultural labourer will have a better deal in future. This is really welcome and I thank the Prime Minister for having identified this area of backwardness.

Sir, the unemployment problem has really given a threat to this country. On the one hand, we see a large number of people coming out of the educational institutions, but finding it difficult to get employment and, on the other, we find that the salaried jobs are made more attractive. So, what we find is that the people in the rural areas move to the cities in search of such employment. We must see that the salaried jobs are not made more attractive as compared to the jobs in the other sectors. There cannot be a privileged section in our society and everybody should see to it that others also move along with him. But what we find is this: Whenever there is a clamour from the organised sector that their emoluments have to be revised or their salaries have to be increased because of the price rise, we also yielded everytime to their clamour and we revised their emoluments.

The result was that the trader took advantage of it, and it did not even go to the people who fought for it. The majority

of the people were made to pay higher price.

Similarly, Sir, we see every time in the offices that even though there are posts which are not required at all, they are being filled up, and in some cases we see that wherever there is load of work and where more staff is required, you don't look into it. These are things which the Government has to look into to remove these anomalies so that Government work can go on and expenditure is reduced.

One thing this emergency has created in the minds of the salaried people, particularly of the Government officers and people working in public undertakings, is that they should come in time and to see that they do not spend their time outside, without any business. Punctuality has started. Therefore, this emergency really has created an atmosphere of discipline, an atmosphere of calm and tranquility and it has really enthused the people to work hard and hard to see that our programmes are completed in record time.

Before I conclude, I would like to request the Minister in charge of the motion to see that there are some economic programmes for the welfare of Scheduled Castes also as has been done in the case of tribal people. I do not think, Sir, that the Scheduled Castes are more advanced or forward than some of the tribes in the eastern and north-eastern parts of the country. Certain areas are still backward and the Scheduled Castes still suffer from the stigma of untouchability. I expected that the Prime Minister would mention about stringent measures to be taken about the abolition of untouchability. Though the Untouchability Act is there, still we see day in and day out atrocities are being committed on the Scheduled Castes. Sometimes protection is given to them; sometimes it is not given. Therefore, I would request the Minister to see that in the next instalment of economic programmes, an amendment to the Untouchability Act is brought before the House and it is passed here.

[Shri B. Rachaiah]

With these words, Sir, I support the economic programmes announced by the Prime Minister and the motion moved by the Minister of Finance. I also thank you for giving me this opportunity.

श्री विनयकुमार रामलाल पाराशर (महाराष्ट्र)

उपसभापति महोदय, प्रधान मंत्री ने जो 20 सूची आर्थिक कार्यक्रम घोषित किया है, मैं उसका स्वागत करता हूँ। हमारे देश में इमरजेंसी शुरू करके प्रधान मंत्री ने अनेक बीमारियों की एक ही दवा निकाली है और ये बीमारियाँ कोरेक्टर असेसिनेशन, सेल्फिशनेस, फिजूलखर्ची और सस्ती पब्लिसिटी इस प्रकार की चीजों से पैदा हुई थीं। इसके साथ ही वह गिरौह जिसने अनेक देशों को बरबाद किया है उससे इनको ताकत मिली थी। ऐसी हालत आ गई थी कि देश के प्रति आस्था रखने वाले लोग निराश हो रहे थे, अमहाय महसूस करने लगे थे। लेकिन उसी समय प्रधान मंत्री ने एक अच्छा दवा खोज निकाली जिसका नाम इमरजेंसी है। शायद ऐसे ही मौके पर किसी उर्दू शायर ने यह शेर लिखा होगा—

“किस्मत की ठोकरीं ने सारे बल दिये निकाल,
मुद्दत से आरजू थी, सीधा करे कोई”

उपसभापति महोदय, इस समय प्रधान मंत्री ने जो आर्थिक कार्यक्रम घोषित किये हैं उनमें माधारणतया सभी सम्मानित सदस्यों ने, अपने ख्यालो का इजहार किया है। मैं उन्हें दोहराना नहीं चाहता। मैं इस सिलसिले में कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ कि ताकि हमारे प्रोग्राम के अमल में तेजी आये। हम जानते हैं कि पिछले 25 सालों में हमने काफी उन्नति की है। हमने सम्पत्ति भी बढ़ाई है, कारखानों और खेती की पैदावार भी बढ़ाई है लेकिन जिस आदमी की सम्पत्ति बढ़ी है उस को गरीब नहीं कहा जा सकता। अगर देश में संपत्ति बढ़ी है तो देश गरीब नहीं कहा जा सकता लेकिन गरीबी तो है। हम देखते हैं कि हमने पैदावार तो की है लेकिन साथ मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि जितना महत्व पैदावार का है उतना महत्व इक्विल डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन का है। मैं इस सिलसिले में कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ।

आज जो मंहगाई है वह एक ऐसी कठिन समस्या है जिसका नाजायज फायदा ओपोजिशन ने उठाया और हमसे जो थोड़ी बहुत लोगों को परेशानी हुई, जो वायलैस हुआ वह हमलिये हुआ कि देश में मंहगाई सीमा से ज्यादा बढ़ गई थी। इसको कम करने का एक मुख्य उपाय डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन का है। आज हमारे यहाँ को-ऑपरेटिव सोसाइटीज खुली हुई है। हमने कंजुमर स्टोर्स भी चलाये हुए हैं लेकिन हमारा अनुभव यह है कि सरकारी अधिकारियों का इस को-ऑपरेटिव सोसाइटी पर कतई भरोसा नहीं है। वे किसी तरह का सहयोग उन को-ऑपरेटिव सोसाइटीज को नहीं देते। मुझे अनुभव है कि हमारा यहाँ एक लेबर को-ऑपरेटिव सोसाइटी है जिसने पब्लिक सैक्टर के एक कोन्ट्रैक्ट में टेंडर भरे। आप को सुनकर आश्चर्य होगा कि प्राइवेट ठेकेपर से एक लाख रूपया से टेंडर कम होने के बाद भी ठेका दिया गया उसी प्राइवेट कोन्ट्रैक्टर को लेबर को-ऑपरेटिव सोसाइटी को नहीं दिया गया। दूसरी चीज मैं यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि अनेक बार सरकार ने सहकारी डिपार्टमेंट को कहा है कि वह जो सामान उनके यहाँ लगता है उन चीजों को डिपार्टमेंट कंजुमर को-ऑपरेटिव स्टोर से या को-ऑपरेटिव सोसाइटी से खरीदे लेकिन ऐसा नहीं हुआ। मिसाल के तौर पर मैं कहूँगा कि जिले में सरकारी दवाखाने होते हैं जिला परिषदों के दवाखाने होते हैं, म्युनिसिपल्टीज के दवाखाने होते हैं अगर उनमें मिर्फ दवाएं ही कंजुमर स्टोर में खरीदी जायें तो मेरा विश्वास है कि हमारी जो रोजमर्रा की चीजे हैं वे ये सोसाइटीज तो प्रॉफिट तो लास बेसिस पर बेच सकती हैं। लेकिन हमारा अनुभव यह कहता है कि सरकारी दवाखाने कभी इनसे नहीं खरीदते। हमारे हर जिले में जेलखाने भी हैं। उनमें हर तरह की चीज लगती हैं लेकिन वे भी को-ऑपरेटिव सोसाइटीज से नहीं खरीदते। मैं यह कहना चाहूँगा कि सरकार गौर से इन चीजों को देखे। अगर सरकार को सभी चीजे को-ऑपरेटिव स्टोर से खरीदी जायेंगी तो रोजमर्रा की जो चीजे हैं वे नो प्रॉफिट नो लास पर मिल सकेंगी।

अभी श्रीमन् पाई साहब ने कहा कि हम डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन के मामले में सोसाइटीयों का ज्यादा ख्याल रखेंगे। इसी की एक मिसाल में आपको देना चाहता हूँ। यहाँ इंडियन आयल कंपनी ने जब पेट्रोल पंप खोले तो कहा गया कि को-ऑपरेटिव सोसाइटीज को दिये जाये लेकिन उनमें से किसी को न देकर इंडिविजुअल को पेट्रोल पंप दिये गये। इसलिये मेरा कहना है कि जहाँ तक डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन का सवाल है इस बारे में आप जरूर गौर करें।

एक बात में राशनिंग शोप्स के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। छोटे-छोटे शहर जहाँ 2 लाख, 5 लाख की आबादी है वहाँ ऐसी सोसाइटीयों है जो राशनिंग शोप्स चला सकती है। आपको ताजुब होगा यह सुनकर कि प्राइवेट दुकानदारों को राशन के लिये लाइसेंस दिये जाते हैं। मुश्किल से दो सौ के करीब कार्ड होते हैं लेकिन वह प्राइवेट दुकानदार हजार, दो हजार घूस देने के लिये तैयार रहता है। इससे आप अंदाजा लगा सकते हैं कि डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन में कितनी जबर्दस्त गड़बड़ी होती है। जितने विरोधी पक्ष है, हमारा अनुभव यह रहा है कि उन्होंने राशन की दुकानें प्राइवेट को देने के लिये बराबर स्पोर्ट किया है। इसलिये मैं चाहूंगा कि सरकार को डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन सिस्टम में इन चीजों की तरफ ध्यान रखना चाहिये और डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन के मामले में को-ऑपरेटिव सोसाइटीज को जितनी मदद दे सकें उतनी देने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये। दूसरी बात जो मुझे निवेदन करनी है, वह भी को-ऑपरेटिव सोसाइटीज के संबंध में है। कारखानेदारों की तरफ से हमें कई बार यह आश्वासन दिया गया कि कारखानों से निकलने के बाद फर्स्ट पाइन्ट पर ही को-ऑपरेटिव सोसाइटीज को माल दिया जायेगा, लेकिन मैं श्री सुब्रह्मण्यम साहब का ध्यान इस बात की तरफ दिलाना चाहूंगा कि कारखानेदारों ने कभी भी अपने आश्वासन के अनुसार को-ऑपरेटिव सोसाइटीज को डायरेक्ट माल नहीं दिया। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर इस संबंध में कोई कौटा फिक्स कर दिया जाये कि इतना माल को-ऑपरेटिव सोसाइटीज को दिया जायेगा तो ठीक रहेगा। इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है

कि जितना भी माल पैदा होता है उसका कम से कम 25 परसेंट ग्रामीणों से को-ऑपरेटिव सोसाइटीज को मिल सकता है। अगर ऐसा किया जायेगा तो हमसे महंगाई 15 से 20 परसेंट कम हो जायेगी। इसलिये मैं समझता हूँ कि इस संबंध में तत्काल, इम्मीडिएट एक्शन लेने की आवश्यकता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस तरफ सरकार तुरन्त ध्यान दे।

इसके साथ ही हमारे एक मित्र ने यह सूचना दी कि हम गरीबी दूर करना चाहते हैं, लेकिन शहरी और गांवों के अन्दर बहुत बड़ी संख्या में बेकारी फैली हुई है। इस दिशा में शीघ्र उपाय करने की आवश्यकता है। हम यह देखते हैं कि मैट्रिक पास और बी०ए० पास लड़के यों ही बेकार घूमते रहते हैं। न उनके पास खेती करने के लिये जमीन होती है और न ही कोई व्यवसाय होता है। अगर वे लोग किसी काम के लिये बैंकों से या को-ऑपरेटिव बैंकों से कर्ज भी लेना चाहें तो कर्ज किस आधार पर ले, इसकी उनको जानकारी नहीं होती है। यही चीज खेतीहर मजदूरों के संबंध में भी लागू होती है। वे लोग अगर कोई छोटा या बड़ा काम शुरू करना चाहें तो उनको पैसा कहाँ से मिले, क्रेडिट कहाँ से और किस आधार पर मिले, इसकी उनको जानकारी नहीं होती है। नेशनलाइज बैंक या को-ऑपरेटिव बैंक उनकी मदद नहीं करते हैं। इसी प्रकार से हमारे महाराष्ट्र के अन्दर ग्रामीण जनता के लाभ के लिये एक इम्प्लॉयमेंट गारन्टी स्कीम लागू की गई है। इसके लिये वहाँ पर एक प्रोफेशन टेक्स भी लगाया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि आज हमारी सरकार का यह फर्ज है कि अरबन एरियाज के साथ-साथ वह गांवों में रहने वाले लोगों को भी काम दे। महाराष्ट्र में उन ग्रामीण बेकारों को एग्री-गेशन या खेती से संबंधित जो भी काम है उनको दिये जाते हैं उन लोगों की मजदूरी खेतीहर मजदूरों से कम रखी जाती है ताकि खेती को भविष्य में किसी प्रकार का धक्का न पहुँचने पाये। मैं यह भी चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रकार की चीजें ग्रन्थ स्टेट्स में भी लागू की जाये। इस प्रकार

[श्री विनय कुमार रामलाल पाराशर]

की जो प्राबल्य हमारे देश में है उनका जीवित सोल्व करने की आवश्यकता है। उन्हीं लोगों को ईंट आदि बनाने का काम भी दिया जा सकता है एक चीज हमारे कुलकर्णी माहब ने कही है कि हमारे देश में आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि उत्पादन बढ़ाया जाय। अभी हमारी बहिन जी ने भी कुछ इसी तरह की बातें कही हैं। लेकिन हमें देखना यह है कि किस तरह से हम चीजों का वितरण करते हैं। मेरे एक मित्र जो काफी समय तक नार्थ वियतनाम में रहे, उन्होंने मुझ से कहा कि उस देश के निवासी 30 साल तक आजादी के लिये लड़ते रहे। वहां पर 30 साल तक भयंकर अत्याचार हुए और उसके बाद वह देश आजाद हुआ। वहां के लोगों की जो कहानी है वह बड़ी मार्मिक है, बड़ी नोटबल है और उसकी तरफ विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। हमारे देश में आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि हम शौक की चीजों का उत्पादन केवल माव एक्सपोर्ट के लिये करें। हमारी इकनोमी नहीं सफल हो सकती है जब हम बुनियादी जरूरत की चीजों पर ज्यादा से ज्यादा ध्यान दें। मैं समझता हूं कि मैंने ये कुछ सुझाव दिये हैं और सम्माननीय सभामंडो ने भी अपने अपने सुझाव दिये हैं, उन पर सरकार गौर करेगी और कंज्यूमर्स के संबंध में और मंहगाई के संबंध में उनको कम करने के लिये जो सुझाव दिये गये हैं उन पर सरकार ध्यान देगी। मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि हम लोग भी इस बात को कोशिश करें कि इस आर्थिक कार्यक्रम को शीघ्र से शीघ्र सफलतापूर्वक कार्यान्वित किया जाय और भगवान हमें वह ताकत दे जिससे हम इसको कार्यान्वित कर सकें। मैं समझता हूं कि इस देश में देश भक्ति का आज के जमाने में यही सबसे बड़ा सबूत हो सकता है। आज हमारे देश में इमरजेंसी है और अभी हमारे मित्र कह रहे थे कि प्रेम के ऊपर आजकल काफी कंट्रोल है। मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या यह बात भूल गये हैं कि 1962 में, 1965 में भी इसी तरह का कंट्रोल नहीं था। और क्या 1971 में भी इसी तरह का कंट्रोल था? जब किसी देश

में इंटरनल सिक्योरिटी की स्थिति आ जाती है तो प्रेम पर भी कंट्रोल करना पड़ता है और इसके अच्छे मिसाल और उदाहरण हमारे सामने आये हैं। जब हमारे मित्र श्री गाडगिल इस सभ में बोले थे तो उन्होंने इस कंट्रोल के औचित्य के बारे में बतलाया था और इंग्लैंड के उदाहरण भी दिये थे। आज हम देख रहे हैं कि किस तरह से अगोला और लिस्बन में स्थिति बिगड़ती जा रही है क्योंकि वहां पर मार्शलवादी अपना खेल खेल रहे हैं। इसलिये जब किसी देश की इंटरनल सिक्योरिटी को खतरा पैदा होता है तो उसमें तरह तरह के कंट्रोल लगाने पड़ते हैं। जब किसी बीमारी को दूर करना होता है तो उसमें कड़वी दवा भी देनी पड़ती है। कड़वी दवा जो होती है वह खाना नहीं होता है और बीमारी को दूर करने के लिये तब तक कड़वी दवा दी जाती है जब तक कि बीमारी दूर न हो जाय।

इन सुझावों के साथ मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूं और इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूं।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The Minister will reply tomorrow.

MESSAGES FROM THE LOK SABHA

I. The Appropriation (No. 3) Bill, 1975

II. The Appropriation (No. 4) Bill, 1975

III. Motion regarding the Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

SECRETARY-GENERAL : Sir, I have to report to the House the following messages received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary-General of the Lok Sabha:

I

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith the