

ges received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary General of the Lok Sabha, J^M

"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 Finance (Amendment) Bill, 1975, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 25th July, 1975.

2. The Speaker has certified that this Bill is a Money Bill within the meaning of article 110 of the Constitution «f

II

"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 Maintenance of Internal Security (Amendment) Bill, 1975, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 25th July, 1975."

III

"I am directed to inform Rajya Sabha that Lok Sabha, at its sitting on the 25th July, 1975, has adopted the following motion further extending the time for Presentation of the Report of the Joint Committee of the Houses on the Constitution Thirty-second Amendment) Bill, 1973:

MOTION

"That this House do further extend up to the last day of the next session the time for the presentation of the Report of the Joint Committee on the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India."

IV

"I am directed to inform Rajya Sabha that Lok Sabha, at its sitting held on the 25th July, 1975, has adopted the following motion further extending the

time for presentation of the Report or the Joint Committee of the Houses on the Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Bill, 1974:

MOTION

"That this House do further extend up to the last day of the next session the time for the presentation of the Report of the Joint Committee on the Bill further to amend the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908 and the Limitation Act, 1963."

I lay a copy each of the Finance (Amendment) Bill, 1975 and the Maintenance of Internal Security (Amendment) Bill, 1975, on the Table.

MOTION REGARDING THE NEW PROGRAMME FOR ECONOMIC PROGRESS

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM): Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House do consider the New programme for Economic Progress announced by the Prime Minister on the 1st July, 1975."

Sir, the new economic programme announced by the Prime Minister on the 1st July 1975 constitutes another major step forward in our increasing quest for a dynamic and just society. It is a programme which is realistic and relevant and not sentimental or romantic. It contains a broad spectrum of ideas to stimulate our national idealism. It should inspire all of us to rededicate ourselves with renewed vigour to the obvious task of achieving our national objective of removal of poverty. A question can be raised about the timing of the programme: Why have we announced this after and not before the declaration of the emergency? Hon'ble Members are fully aware of the climate of lawlessness, indiscipline and utter confusion which was being deliberately fostered by certain

[Shri C. Subramaniam] opposition groups before the declaration of Emergency. Legal difficulties greatly hampered our ability to deal with even those indulging in grave economic offences. Emergency has ended the uncertainty, the doubts and indiscipline which threatened to destroy our democratic policy are being overcome.

We have an opportunity now to generate and sustain an atmosphere of confidence, hope and discipline. We should take advantage of this positive situation to revitalise our economy. The new economic programme is directed towards this purpose. It is an indication of the Government's solemn resolve to use the present emergency, not for narrow sectional political ends, but to feel the country moving with greater speed and efficiency for the realisation of our national goal.

I am aware of the fact that politics divides the Members sitting on this side of the House and those sitting on the other side. However, I am convinced that there should not be any difference of opinion regarding the implementation of the new economic programme. It truly reflects a national consensus about what needs to be done immediately. There can be an honest difference of opinion on whether or not it goes far enough. But, as a minimum programme of national action, there can hardly be any objection to the programme announced by the Prime Minister. For the implementation of this programme, we sincerely seek the willing and active co-operation of the Opposition. I earnestly hope that those who are genuinely committed to the removal of poverty will co-operate with the Government regardless of their party affiliations.

As the House knows, the new economic programme attaches the highest priority to the control of inflation. Considering the great hardships inflicted on the people of India by the steeply rising price level in the last two years, all of us should welcome the emphasis that is being laid on the

stabilisation of the price level. The hard measures that we adopted in 1974 to control prices are well-known. The wholesale price index declined week after week between September 21 and end of March 1975. Over this period, the index declined by about 7 per cent. Between October 1974 and March 1975, the consumer price index number declined from 335 to 321. However, in the first two months of the current fiscal year, the inflationary forces again threatened to raise their ugly head. I have no doubt that the inflationary pressures received impetus not only from the climate of political uncertainty which certain Opposition groups sought to create, but also from certain judicial decisions which set free proclaimed smugglers and black marketeers. Thus, fresh action became absolutely necessary to prevent the recrudescence of the inflationary forces. The antiinflationary programme announced by the Prime Minister seeks to curb speculative tendencies by a more disciplined use of bank credit consistent with the broad national priorities and with the need for stimulating production in the priority sector. I am glad to report that credit discipline is now more vigorous. Thus, during the current slack season, that is, from the 25th April 1975 to the 18th July, 1975, gross bank credit excluding public food procurement credit expanded by only Rs. 58 crores or 0.7 per cent as compared to Rs. 149 crores or 2.1 per cent during the corresponding period of slack season in 1974. I may, however, emphasise that the current credit policy seeks to prevent misuse of bank credit and to promote its use in accordance with the broad national priorities. We shall fully meet the genuine credit needs of all the priority sectors.

As announced by the Prime Minister in her broadcast, the action against the smugglers, hoarders, tax-evaders and blackmarketeers has been greatly intensified.

Loopholes in the law have been plugged and known smugglers have been effectively put out of action. Special squads have been organised for checking undervaluation of property for tax purposes.

Special legislation providing for confiscation of smugglers' properties is being finalised. Measures providing for punishment against misuse of import licences are being formulated. The Forward Markets Commission has intensified its activities against speculators. The new offensive against anti-social elements has further curbed the use of black money for cornering of stocks of sensitive commodities.

The House will be pleased to know that this is a result of the intensification of the anti-inflationary drive following the declaration of Emergency, wholesale and retail prices of a large number of articles of mass consumption have shown a declining trend. The wholesale price index has continued to decline since the week ending on 28th June 1975 notwithstanding increase in the price of coal which became inescapable. The latest available data relating to the week ending on 12th July 1975 was 2.1 per cent lower than its level a year ago. We have, thus, today not only arrested the inflation rate but have even reversed it. This is an achievement which can be claimed by very few other countries—both developed and developing. However, the recent success in controlling inflation must not under any circumstances, lull us into any false sense of complacency. We shall remain fully alert and vigilant. I must emphasize that our objective is not to bring about a slump in prices but to stabilise them at an economically desirable level. Our drive is against the speculator who trades in human misery. Honest traders and producers have nothing to fear from the Government's war against economic offences.

While unfolding the new economic programme, the Prime Minister in her broadcast to the nation emphasised that, in the final analysis, mastery over inflationary forces can be gained only through a sustained increase in production, both in agriculture and industry. The economic programme envisages that five million hectares of additional land will be brought under cultivation in the next few years. In line with this objective, the Plan allocation for

major and medium irrigation schemes has been stepped up from Rs. 385 crores in 1974-75 to Rs. 468 crores in 1975-76. We will continuously assess the requirements of funds for this sector and will step up the outlays in those projects which can demonstrably yield results in the shortest time. A national programme has been drawn up to optimise the use of our vast ground water resources. The production of fertilizers in the country is expected to increase by nearly 30 per cent in the current year. Prices of fertilisers have recently been reduced to stimulate consumption. The power supply is anticipated to show an increase of nearly 20 per cent. All these factors combined with a satisfactory monsoon give us reason to hope that agricultural production will record a sizeable increase in the current year. Nevertheless, we are not taking any chances with the weather. Sizeable quantities of foodgrains are being imported to meet the needs of the public distribution system and, if possible, to build a buffer stock. In the meantime, it is our sacred duty to our country to fulfil the targets set for

I Procurement.

I In industry, output in the first quarter of 1975-76 is estimated to have increased by 5 to 6 per cent. The output of public sector enterprises has gone up by nearly 14 per cent as compared to the corresponding period of last year. The production of iron, steel and coal is expected to go up substantially during the current year. Recently, a decision has been taken to increase the allocation for railway wagons and locomotives by Rs. 25 crores so as to ensure that railway transport does not become a bottleneck to higher production. Incidentally, it will provide for fuller utilisation of spare capacity in engineering industries.

Special emphasis is being laid on generation of more and more power. This would, among other things, facilitate increased production of aluminium which the State Electricity Boards urgently need for strengthening their transmission and distribution systems. The generating capacity for power is expected to increase by 2.6 million K. W. in 1975-76. The project

[Shri C. Subramaniam] reports of super thermal project will soon be ready for submission to appropriate multilateral financing institutions. Power, including rural electrification, gets this year a Plan allocation of Rs. 1102 crores which is 44 per cent, higher than last year. Targets for this area are under review and additional resources, if needed will be provided.

The magnificent response of both workers and employers to the appeal of the Prime Minister has given rise to a new spirit of harmonious industrial relations in the country. I sincerely hope that in the coming months, managements, both in the public and private sector, will be able to give concrete shape to the prime Minister's emphasis on giving workers a due stake in the operation of their enterprises. This matter was discussed at the recent meeting of Labour Ministers and as a result of their deliberations, a legislation for a meaningful association of labour in management is being formulated.

Taking all these factors into account, industrial productions in the current year should increase by about 5 to 6 per cent. On present expectations, real national income is likely to grow at nearly the same rate. The successful implementation of the programme will ensure that we can hope to further accelerate the tempo of economic activity next year.

The new economic programme lays considerable emphasis on streamlining of licensing procedures so as to eliminate delays. The import policy for 1975-76 has already greatly simplified the procedures for grant of raw material licences. Government are now actively considering further proposals for streamlining the system of industrial licences.

A scheme has been formulated for issuing national road permits. This will help to introduce a greater element of rationality and speed in the movement of goods by road.

In our quest for self-reliant economy great importance attaches to the export

promotion activities. Government are currently planning in terms of a minimum annual rate of growth of export volume of 10 per cent. A number of decisions have recently been taken by the newly constituted Cabinet Committee on Exports for boosting exports of engineering goods. Apart from further simplification of procedures, cash incentives have been enhanced and in future there will be greater stability of incentives so as to enable exporters to take a longer-term view of export prospects. In the import policy for 1975-76, import replenishment rates have been enhanced for a number of non-traditional products so as to strengthen the production base and the incentive for export.

The economic programme fully recognises that growth to be meaningful must be matched by adequate emphasis on social justice.

The emphasis on the enlargement of the public distribution system that is now being laid is part of a permanent strategy to meet progressively the minimum needs of the more vulnerable sections of our society. As part of the new economic programme, the scheme for public distribution of essential commodities is being further developed and extended for meeting the needs of poorer people living in industrial-mining areas, hill areas and in deficit areas. Steps are being taken to strengthen consumer cooperatives throughout the country for distribution of essential commodities. Manufacturers have agreed to earmark initially up to 20 per cent of their production in respect of vanaspati, soap, torch cells, razor blades and safety matches for distribution through consumer co-operatives. Hereafter, nearly 75 per cent, of the outlets for the distribution of controlled cloth will be located in rural areas.

Special attention is being paid to meeting the needs for essential commodities of students living in college or university hostels. Detailed instructions for making arrangements for supply of these commodities to students in hostels in all towns with population above one lakh through cooperatives have been issued by the Department of Civil Supplies and Co-operation

in consultation with the Ministry of Education. Instructions have also been issued to States for opening shops in schools and colleges for supply of books and stationery at reasonable prices.

As a further measure of relief to the middle level fixed income groups, the income tax exemption limit has been raised from Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 8,000 at a loss of Rs. 21 crores to the exchequer in a full year.

As announced by the Prime Minister, legislation is soon to be enacted to impose ceilings on the ownership and possession of vacant land, to acquire excess land, to restrict the plinth area of new dwelling units and to socialise urban and urbanisable land. This measure has far-reaching implications. If properly implemented, it will not only reduce disparities in income and wealth but also ensure that the appreciation of land values in the wake of general development becomes an instrument not for enriching the speculator but for clearing slums, for generating new resources for development, and for meeting the housing needs of the urban poor.

The unemployed and underemployed youth will derive benefit from the proposed amendment of the Apprenticeship Act as it would create new employment opportunities. This matter was recently discussed at the Labour Ministers' Conference. In the light of this discussion, the Ministry of Labour and Employment has prepared a scheme which is under consideration of the Government. A separate group has been appointed to examine the introduction of apprenticeship schemes in the banking system.

To a very large extent, removal of poverty in India implies amelioration of the lot of the rural poor, particularly the landless labourers, small and marginal farmers and the village artisans. The emphasis laid by the Prime Minister on the speedy compilation of proper land records, in cooperation with the local people, the implementation of ceiling legislation, the provision of house sites for the landless, review of minimum wages in agriculture, the abo-

lition of the feudal practice of bonded labour and the moratorium on repayment of private debts in rural areas are all designed to tilt the balance of social and economic power in the rural areas in favour of the under-privileged sections of the community.

The Central Government is now collecting up-to-date information from States regarding steps taken to acquire the surplus lands and to redistribute them among the landless. The Government is also seeking ways and means of overcoming difficulties created by stay orders granted by courts in matters relating to revenue and other laws. The draft legislation abolishing the practice of bonded labour is now in an advanced stage of preparation. An expert group has been appointed for recommending model legislation to States for liquidation of rural indebtedness. Some States have issued ordinances providing for moratorium on the payment of private debt in rural areas.

I am conscious of the fact that some of these measures such as declaration of moratorium on private debt need to be supplemented by more positive measures designed to meet the credit needs of the rural poor. The nationalised banking system has no doubt played a useful role in extending credit to hitherto unbanked sectors like agriculture. However, much remains to be done. We are now examining a new structure for rural banking which will help to meet more effectively the credit needs of the rural communities.

The programme outlined by the Prime Minister attempts to reach out toward* our long cherished ideals. If properly implemented, it will help to mobilise India's vast reservoir of human and material resources for national reconstruction and development. As the Prime Minister has reminded us, there are no short cuts to prosperity. She has pointed out that there is only one magic which can remove poverty and that is hard work sustained by clear vision, iron will and strictest discipline. The Prime Minister has outlined a programme which can unite the nation regardless of political affiliations. The message is loud

[Shri C. Subramaniam]

is very clear. It is a call for co-operative action on the part of all patriotic Indians to create a new India free from want and exploitation. The nation is certainly passing through a crisis. But every crisis is also a turning point. Let us make this one of those turning points in our history heralding a big leap forward in pursuit of our national objective of a dynamic, self-reliant socialist society.

Sir, I move the Resolution. Thank, you.

The question was proposed.

DR. Z. A. AHMAD (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I want to declare from the floor of this House the strong support that our Party will give to this programme and to its implementation. The hon. Finance Minister has said that it is a practical programme, that it is not a sentimental programme or, perhaps, a poetic programme. You say that it is not a sentimental or emotional programme. Yes. We agree that it is, and it can be made a very practical programme provided that the State has the will to do so. There have been many programmes and sometimes I have jokingly told my friends of the Congress Party that you are sometimes very liberal with the provision of programmes to the people which, perhaps, you will yourself realise that you will not be able to implement. This programme is much different from the programmes that you have given earlier.

Some of the items of this programme are really such as could have been implemented years ago. Take, for instance, bonded labour; how is it that bonded labour still exists after 25 or 28 years of freedom ? Then, this usury, this devastating type of usury should have been controlled. How this much of profiteering has been allowed ? This should have been stopped much earlier. I do not want to have a debate with you on that point. I personally think that although this programme is not a new programme yet it is being projected in a totally new political atmosphere, in which atmosphere I detect

or I can see the will of the State asserting itself for the genuine implementation of this programme. I can only say this much that I do feel that there is an urge; that there is a new urge on the part of the Government, to get some things done, to achieve something, which did not exist earlier. I can say very boldly, categorically and from practical experience that in respect of many items of this programme which were projected earlier, the will of the State, the determination of the State and the will of the ruling party and the determination of the ruling party was not there, was very weak. Therefore, I welcome it in the sense that, I think, something is going to be done and we should all gird up our loins, put our shoulders to the wheel together to see that the cart gets moved, that we achieve something.

Now, Sir, it is very clear that the tactics of the reactionary forces in this country, the representatives of whom have quietly disappeared from the scene—I do not know why they have disappeared from the scene, they could have contributed to the discussion of this programme—is that they are against such a programme. They do not want such a programme because they belong to the right reactionary camp, they belong to the camp of the vested interests and therefore they have quietly disappeared from here in protest to create the impression as if they want a big revolutionary programme and this House or this Parliament cannot give that revolutionary programme and cannot implement or cannot sanction that revolutionary programme. Now, their game was to create—I won't say this because this has been said in the discussion earlier—such conditions and such chaos in the country which would not enable the Government to carry out certain measures in the interests of the people.

Today, due to the imposition of emergency, we have created such conditions in which if the State so desires, if the Government so desires, these programmes and these policies can be implemented effectively. That is the wholly different situation in which we find ourselves today.

Now, Sir, this programme is a vital part; of the struggle against right reaction; that we should admit. We have to put it in the proper setting. This programme is a vital programme against right reaction and if we want to fight reactionary forces and if we want to strengthen the forces of democracy and progress and socialism, then the implementation of this programme will be a big achievement, it will be a big political achievement. It will not only be a big measure of relief to the people but it will also be a big political achievement in the struggle against right reaction.

Here, I want to pose the question: What is right reaction? Is it political obstruction? Some people do not understand. We were the first people to use this terminology and then people generally accepted this right reaction, left adventurism, this and that thing. But, what is it actually like? Is it a way of political obstruction? No, Sir. It represents certain classes, it represents certain vested interests, it represents the power of money, it represents the economic power of land in the countryside. Therefore, struggle against right reaction is a struggle against these classes who have monopolised economic power, who on the basis of that monopoly exercise political power, who have monopolised or cornered in a large measure the basic wealth of the country and who use that basic wealth for profiteering and for speculating. So, right reaction represents those social forces, those class forces, against whom we have to struggle.

Therefore, the struggle against right reaction is both a political and economic struggle. It has to be fought both on the political plane and the economic plane. Political struggle and economic struggle get intertwined. They cannot be separated. We have so many examples in day-to-day life. Take, for example, the political propaganda carried on by the Jana Sangh on the question of procurement of foodgrains. In the towns they gave the slogan: "The prices which have been fixed are too high; the Government should supply foodgrains at lower prices." In the countryside when

you go to procure stocks of foodgrains, they say: "Don't give the foodgrains at the price which Government has fixed; Government should give higher prices." This is how politics gets intertwined with economics. The political policies and economic policies of different organisations get intertwined and therefore there is struggle on both these fronts.

Now, in India it will be a bitter struggle and that is why I would tell my friends on the other side that they should be prepared for a bitter struggle. We all, as a whole, are traditionally liberals and I do not rule myself out from that category. We wish for the best. We want to concede a lot to the other side. But the realities of class struggle, economic struggle in a state of crisis are such that they necessitate the taking of very unpleasant steps and enforcement of very stern measures, and then alone it will be possible for you to get something out of the situation.

So the struggle, in my terminology, is a bitter class struggle. When I use the word "class", many of my Congress friends there may say "Oh! here is one who is talking of class struggle." But it is a reality in life and you cannot escape it. You do not want it, I do not want it, yet it is forced on us. I do not want to fight a class battle but what happens when I see my millions starving in the countryside, my workers going without food, my middle-class people not being able to educate their children properly because the fees are so high and their pockets so empty? And whose pockets are full? Whose children are going to Oxford and Cambridge? Who is building one bungalow after another? Who is depositing millions and millions in banks? As such things come before us, this struggle begins. Today the class struggle has been forced on us. Whatever steps you are taking in this programme, they are against this class struggle, not a very high state of class, not a very advanced class. Nonetheless it is a struggle for the poor, for the disinherited, for the have-nots against those who are haves, who are rich, who belong to the camp of vested interests.

[Dr. Z. A. Ahmad]

Now, Sir, I will move quickly. Not only is it going to be a bitter struggle but also it is going to be a prolonged struggle and, on that count, there should be no complacency, and in order to successfully carry on the struggle we have to forge two weapons. One is the political weapon and that political weapon is the strength of the political party to which you belong, the unity of your party with other like-minded parties or those who are prepared to go along with you to achieve common ends.

That unity, the unity of broad progressive democratic elements against right reaction, gives us the political weapon whereby we carry out the struggle. And the second is the administrative weapon. The administrative weapon is very necessary. You cannot get things implemented without administrative weapon. And today, I submit, Sir, that the administrative weapon at our command is a blunt one; it has to be sharpened; it has to be made effective in order to secure results. Therefore, both these weapons have to be sharpened and they have to be used—and they have to be used together, the political weapon and the administrative weapon.

Now, Sir having said this, I would like to take certain specific points. First, the question of prices. Now it is true, I agree, that the prices have come down or will come down as a result of the shock that the speculators have received or the fear that has been generated in their hearts that the Government means business now, it will not allow this speculation and hoarding and all that to go on. So these measures of arresting smugglers or raiding shops or hoards will have some effect; and it has had its effect, although more at the wholesale level than at the retail level because it percolates very slowly. I would call these *ad hoc* measures. These will have effect. But we should see to it that these *ad hoc* measures continue, that there is no relaxation in the use of these measures. However, certain basic questions have to be re-examined. My proposition, Sir, is that the economic laws of the society—I

say of the capitalist society—cannot be negated by administrative measures. The whole society, the whole structure of the society, the whole economy, is functioning under certain laws, and those laws cannot be negated by administrative measures. Therefore, Sir, structural and institutional changes are necessary if you want to secure permanent results, if you want to bring down prices and if you want to stabilise them over a long period. If such long-range policies are to be implemented, then certain institutional and structural change* have to be brought about. I am not one who talks tall. I do not talk of building socialism today. I do not want to enlarge this programme although my party has given a programme with many things in common and a few things more. Our objective is not to go on enlarging the programme. Our main objective is to see that the real thing is done, whatever we take in hand is implemented.

The economic laws cannot be negated by administrative measures. Ultimately the question of bringing down or stabilising the prices is connected with the question of lowering the cost of production. And not only lowering the cost of production alone but keeping a track of the cost of production so that it does not go wrong, because today what is happening is that not only the cost of production which is shown to the Government is high but also I do not think it is a correct cost of production. The Government should be in a position to find out what is the correct cost of production and then help reduce it. Now without reducing the cost of production, you cannot reduce prices. Neither a capitalist society nor a socialist society up to this time has found out any method of reducing prices or controlling prices without controlling the cost of production at the factory level.

Now, Sir, here I just want to pose one thing. I do not know whether Mr. Subramaniam will agree with me but there is an old school of thought that an inflationary trend in prices serves as a sort of stimulant or serves as an incentive. That means, 3-4 per cent of continuing increase in prices

tends to promote production and stimulate production.

That is the old Keynesian theory. I was a student there and we learnt it. I do not know what version of the Keynesian theory you are adopting now. I do not know but this is a reality. I submit, Sir, that we should give up this theory of inflationary prices, a slight inflation going on from year to year. We should give up this theory. It may be all right in an economy which has a stability, which is basically a stable economy. In an economy like ours which is growing and which has so many imbalances that it cannot be considered to be a stable economy, I do not think this theory can be applied. What Keynes propounded was a theory which applied at that time to certain economies in the European countries which emerged from the 1921-31 crisis. Now, Sir, you will excuse me if I say that this theory has not helped us to control the prices because this price increase is brought about (a) by deficit financing, partially by j deficit financing and (b) by advancing big credits through the Government financial institutions. Today it is a reality, Sir, that one-half to three-fourths of the investment of big industrial houses comes from financial institutions, and not from their own profits or their own savings. You may correct me if I am wrong. A substantial portion at least comes from the financial institutions. Now, these finances go into the hands of the big business, industrialists etc. and this enables them to corner the stocks, to hoard stocks, to create artificial scarcities and raise the prices. Therefore, Sir, the inflationary stimulants, instead of working as stimulants, ultimately create a situation in which production falls and the industrialists in order to curtail production, restrict the production and create artificial scarcity and thus increase the prices,

I will not go very much into this controversy. I would only suggest that we should see to it that the financing of these big industrial enterprises is done largely from their own profits and we should curb inflationary trends by curbing credit which is given and which has been given in the

past, in an abundant measure to them. We should see to it that the inflationary pressures do not increase through the operation of deficit financing.

Now, Sir, I come to the other question. Here I would only say that cost auditing should also be done. We have to come to some stage where cost auditing of these big industrialists could be done. It may not be very easy; it may take time but the point is, how do you find their real cost of production? They submit their own statements. These statements are generally scrutinised by your Secretaries. They say that their cost is increasing and so they have to be given more prices and higher prices have to be sanctioned to them. And thus, the whole thing goes on and on and on because actually the real cost of production is not known to anybody outside. It is kept as secret, particularly in the case of important commodities. The Government is not able to find out the real cost of production. Therefore, cost auditing has also to be done at the instance of the Government and then alone it will be possible to control their profits which, I think, ultimately you will have to do. The rate of profit will have to be controlled, will have to be laid down and this cannot be done without cost auditing.

Now I come to the other question, because, I think the time is running fast. Now, Sir, I will go to the other question. I have a certain advantage because all these people are absent and so, Sir, you will be kind enough to allow me some more time.

Now, Sir, I come to the prices of foodgrains. Mr. Subramaniam, can I have your ears, please? I am very clear that without going back to the abolition of the wholesale trade in foodgrains, you will not get adequate success. At least let us learn from the various experiments that we have made. We decided to abolish wholesale trade in foodgrains. What was the result? Instead of 8 million tonnes or something we got nearly 5 million tonnes, but then suddenly we started in our liberalism—I think it is liberalism not in a good sense, but in a bad sense—trusting the merchants.

[Dr. Z. A. Ahmad]

You thought that the merchants would give you fifty per cent, but how much did they give you ? Then, you come to the question of levy. Levy is not very popular. I.P. was utilising it and Mr. Charan Singh was utilising it against you. You have not been able to enforce it adequately. The best way is to make a clean sweep of these middle-men and with your own machinery you buy foodgrains directly from the producers. After all, there is nothing so horrible in that. You have done it. If you had not given up that experiment and if you had continued that line of action and streamlined the administration, in two year's time, by this time we would have just to switch on the button and we would have got the required foodgrains for distribution to the vulnerable sections of the society. Today you are again groping in the dark. The merchants twist you. The rich peasant and the big landlord is not going to give you the levy adequately. Your officials are in league with them completely. There is corruption and you cannot get through the levy system easily. If you use the big stick to get the levy you will get unpopular. Obviously we do not want to get unpopular with any section of our society. Sometimes the burden of the levy falls on the poor man, on the middle elements in the rural society. Therefore, please take a decision to go back straight to the policy of taking over the wholesale trade in foodgrains.

(Time bell rings).

Now, Sir, I come to the price of cloth. I submit that the time has come when we have to look into the whole question. Today the cotton-growers' representatives are meeting you and we will submit certain policy matters before you. I think it is necessary that you should go into the whole question of the level of cotton prices, starting from the price of raw cotton. You should go into the price of semi-manufactured cotton and manufactured cotton and then the price of goods coming into the market at different levels. I would submit that with a stern hand all this speculation that is going on

in the cotton market should be stopped. All this transaction in future should be stopped. Unless you do it, you are not going to control the price of cotton. Secondly, you should enter the market and buy cotton on a big scale and supply it. You have monopoly procurement of cotton in Maharashtra. Just as it is done in Maharashtra, it should be undertaken in other States also. That cotton should be directly supplied to the factories. The middle-man and the speculator should be eliminated. As regards the price of sugar, I am of opinion either you nationalise the sugar mills or you evolve a machinery for controlling the distribution of levy sugar.

The present machinery for the distribution of levy sugar is totally inadequate and corrupt. I think 65 per cent is taken as levy sugar. Out of the 65 per cent how much actually goes to the black market is anybody's guess. And that part of which that goes to the rural areas, the bulk of it, goes into the black market. The distribution is through the small village *bania*. I belong to a village and I myself am an agriculturist. I know what happens. When I go to my village, I cannot get sugar. He shows all the thumb impressions and wrong signatures. The whole thing has gone underground or that is being sold to the influential people. So I feel that in the case of such a vital commodity as sugar, it is necessary that the dual price should be done away with. Either you buy the whole sugar; or, it would be much better to nationalise the sugar industry for which your party, the ruling party, stands committed, not only committed in the ordinary sense but also committed repeatedly. The Bihar Assembly has passed a Resolution; the UP Assembly has passed a Resolution. There is our Panditji sitting here; Triloki Babu is sitting there. They know. Today it is not only a political demand. Very often, on the political angle we used to raise that demand in the past. We are raising it today from the economic angle that sugar being a source of human energy, being an essential requirement of life, it should be provided adequately to the consumer and that can be done only if the sugar industry

is nationalised. I understand that the UP Government is prepared to nationalise sugar industry if the Centre gives the OK, as my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, tells me. I think this is correct. The UP Government is prepared but the OK should be given by you, and it should start with UP. The Bihar Government is prepared; give them freedom. You should not wait till the entire country is ready for the nationalisation of the sugar industry. No. The thing can go on by processes; from step to step. That is the point. Therefore, I would strongly submit to Mr. Subramaniam that so far as UP is concerned, permission should be given.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You will have to be brief now. There are other people.

DR. Z. A. AHMAD : I speak very rarely. Mr. Rajnarain has gone. I can never become Rajnarain.

SHRI NRIPATI RANJAN CHOUDHURY (Assam) : Physically also V

DR. Z. A. AHMAD • Temperamentally also I cannot; I am too cultured for it.

Now, I come to medicines. I suggest that the Hathi Committee's Report should be carefully scrutinised because it is a fact that in the name of brand names, the companies are manufacturing many essential medicines, making colossal profits, these foreign companies. So, that Report should be carefully scrutinised and implemented.

I come to the question of the implementation of land reforms. I will mention my points. There is no doubt that it is a very serious question. In the countryside the concentration of landed property is very much and 70 per cent of the population owns 30 per cent of the land, 2 hectares, 5 hectares and like that, and 30 per cent of the population own 70 per cent of the land.

So redistribution is a very major problem. Redistribution is the biggest problem. Without redistribution there is no social justice. Without redistribution the production capacity or initiative of the

small men who live in millions in rural areas, who represent our man-power in the countryside, his production initiative, his production enterprise cannot be enriched. You can enrich a few big tractor owners but you cannot bring that man to produce more and to live as human being and to contribute to the wealth of the country.

Now from where is the land to come? Land is there. I do not say that you can provide land to every landless. I only submit that land can be carved out and detected provided land grabbing which has been going on for such a long time is put an end to and the land grabbers are brought to book.

Now, application of Ceiling Acts of 1971 will not do. I think provision does exist in the Ceiling legislation of Bihar that any landlord who has, with the intention of circumventing the Ceiling Acts, tried to fictitiously dispose of his land between 1959 and up to date, his case will be reopened and examined. I personally feel that this position should be clarified in the amendment to land reforms that the cases of those people who after 1960 have deliberately and fictitiously or in benami manner transferred their land in order to avoid future ceilings on land holdings, would be reopened if the District Magistrate *suo motu* wishes to do that or if there is a complaint on behalf of the committees which you are going to form the taluka committee or the Zila committee. It will go into the matter and detect those big landlords who have concealed their lands. Their cases should be reopened.

Secondly, there are bogus co-operative societies. These bogus societies should be cancelled. All the benami transfer etc. should be vacated. Ordinarily, there are big landholders who have put many names on the list as co-partners or co-sharers but the management is one. This is what we have done in U.P. If it is proved that there are fifty or sixty people in the list of owners but the management is actually by one man, then that holding should be taken

[Dr. Z. A. Ahmad] up and considered as one, not as having been divided among fifty or sixty. Ceiling should be applied.

Then there is panchayat land. U.P. had 32 lakh acres of land after zamindan abolition. Panditji ill correct me. That panchayat land was grabbed in such a big way, not by the poor, not by the landless— they are not strong enough to grab it— but by the big landholders, by the rich peasants, by anybody who could exercise pressure on the local and management committee. Lakhs and lakhs of acres has been distributed. Why has that question not been opened ? I asked that question to Mr. Patil, the Chairman of the Land Committee of which I am a member in U.P. He asked, "How retrospectively ? Five or six years ?" The question of bogus grabbing of land by the sarpanchas and other influential people should be undertaken and legal sanctions provided for that. (*Time bell rings*)

Two or three points more and I am finishing. The question of the Minimum Wages Act so far as the landless agriculture labour is concerned is very good. We support that. We will fight for that. But the State Governments must evolve immediately an administrative machinery to see to it that these Acts are enforced. 12 NOON

It is a very difficult thing in village areas to get it implemented unless there is a minimum machinery. Today there is no machinery for its enforcement. You will hand it over to the Collector: you will hand it over to the tehsildar. No, that will not do. My submission is, whether it is for land reforms or it is for the enforcement of minimum wages in the countryside, a special administrative set-up has to be developed. The land revenue system cannot look after this work. The process of land reforms is a continuing process and, Sir, for that trained new cadre—not the old land revenue administration, but a trained new cadre—will have to be evolved, a committed cadre which will do field work, what we call task force work. They will have to go into the villages, detect lands

which have been grabbed, detect surplus land, ensure implementation of the agricultural laws and all that. Therefore, for that the guidelines should be given by the Centre. I think more and more guidelines should be given by the Centre on agrarian questions. It has become too much of a good joke that agriculture being the backbone of our economy, all reforms in the field of agriculture or in that sector, whether it is land reforms or other reforms, are handed over to the States and they can do anything they like. In the case of ceiling, Mr. Subramaniam and others, gave guidelines and that is why the ceiling Act could really be formulated in a proper manner. Similarly, on the question of administration and all that, guidelines have to be given. (*Time bell rings*)

On the question of corruption, I have not to say anything. Everybody knows what measures will have to be taken and how corruption can be dealt with sternly, with a firm hand; without that, corruption cannot be abolished.

Lastly, the question of distribution of essential commodities. On that point, I have only to make two or three suggestions. First, if you want to ensure proper distribution of essential commodities you have to evolve a mechanism for the State to get its own requirements directly from the factories and not from agents. That is very essential. For example, take the question of kerosene. You have control over its supply; you get it from your refineries or you import kerosene from outside. You hand it over to the big middlemen who make profit. The whole distribution of kerosene passes into the hands of wholesalers and retailers who are profiteers. That is the first thing. The second thing is that the number of fair-price shops should be increased. The third thing is that all essential commodities should go through, as much as possible, either fair-price shops or cooperative societies. Lastly, there are these wholesalers. If you want to ensure a good flow of essential commodities to your fair-price shops, the whole set-up of wholesalers, the multiple set-up of wholesalers—wholesaler after wholesaler and retailer and sub-retailers—will have to be rationalised and

controlled and given a proper direction. Sir, I got a chit from one of my friends mentioning "indebtedness and bonded labour". I have got them in my note. (*Time bell rings*). So far as indebtedness is concerned, I am firmly of the opinion that if you want to meet the requirements of the poor people, separate co-operative societies for the poor, middle and landless agriculturalists have to be formed. You cannot keep the lion and the goat together. You cannot say that the big man will also sit in the same co-operative society. Unfortunately, I know Mr. Subramaniam is of that point of view, but there are other commissions and committees which say "No, the credit resources will be better utilised if the big man is not there".

Separate societies should be there. On bonded labour I have nothing to say except that it is an anachronism and therefore it must go. It should be made a penal offence.

In the end I want to assure Shri Subramaniam and other friends that we shall do our best to see that this programme is implemented in the proper spirit, with the proper vehemence, with proper determination, with proper unity and will—not only will of the State, but with the will of the people. The will of the State combined with the will of the people can fight against right reaction on the political plane and economic plane. Then only we can march towards better democracy and towards greater social justice and ultimately towards socialism. With these words, I thank you very much.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There are 20 speakers in the list. I would, therefore, request you not to take more than 15 minutes so that all can be accommodated. Shri Manu-bhai Shah.

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH (Gujarat): Sir, I am very happy to stand here for supporting wholeheartedly this Motion. The programme which has been placed before the country by the Prime Minister is a historical document and I am sure when it is passed—2

is implemented, it will make a great contribution to the economic and social progress of this country.

When we go to the details of the programme, there is an earnestness which is very visible because Government has started placing the emphasis on its implementation right from the day of the announcement of this programme to this date. This shows that the success of this programme is going to be proper and adequate to meet the wishes of the people.

Many people comment: All these years, when your own Government was in power, you did not implement all these things and now all of a sudden this new programme is being placed before the country. To them my answer is this : We allowed democratic processes to function in a manner where it had become sub-democratic. Even good measures announced by the Government did not get the support of the Opposition unlike in other countries where such measures where there was no controversy or ideological differences did get the support of the Opposition. In this country unfortunately whatever came from the ruling Congress Party was supposed to be an anathema to the Opposition friends. Even lock-outs, bandhs, strikes and all types of disruption in the national life of this country had become the order of the day. In my State there were ghettos of Principals and Vice-Chancellors and this had paralysed education. For the last three or four years we were looking at these developments with anxiety as to how this type of indiscipline could be contained.

Today the environment has changed in a manner in which democratic values are re-established and those types of processes which are responsible for social and economic disparities are being taken care of by this economic programme.

First and foremost, this new economic programme for economic progress is comparable with Roosevelt's New Deal in the United States when that country was facing a grave crisis when the Democrats had to summon the Congress and announce this

[Shri Manubhai Shah]

programme to bring about a transformation in the life of the people. Soviet Russia also had to launch a new economic programme to bring about total transformation in the social and economic life of their people.

Here in my view in this country for the last 20 years of our democracy we have found too many distortions in our economic and social life. Landless labour today is more than 80 per cent of the rural population in all parts of the country. Even in urbanised Gujarat State, it is more or less 15 per cent. In 1947 when I was a Minister in Saurashtra the bajra price was Re. 1 a maund whereas today it is between Rs. 28 and Rs. 40 a maund or about Rs. 110 per quintal. What was the price of landless labour then and what is it now? They were getting Re. 1 and today they are probably getting Rs. 1.50 or Rs. 2 and in Gujarat it is about Rs. 3.

Even in the days of scarcity, when it was impossible to get any foodgrains at a reasonable level of price, the average wage in my State was raised and it was high. But, in Orissa—I know it from the documents—it is hardly Rs. 1.50 or so. Therefore, I would like to make an earnest request to the Government now. Dr. Z. A. Ahmad may lend his general support to this programme. But I would like to tell that the Indian mind is too dispersed. We always try to spread our energy too thin and wide. So, I would suggest that we should concentrate our energies on this programme. Let all our energies be concentrated on this programme alone. This must be a time-bound programme and within a short time we must achieve substantial results for bringing about the necessary economic and social transformation. First of all, I will be happy if we can increase the minimum wage of the agricultural labour at least to Rs. 5.00. That should be the minimum. It means at least that it is hardly five times what was 28 years ago. Now, take the case of the cotton price. Cotton price has gone up by 48 times or so. If a cotton grower can get that much of increase—of course, I am in support of

the farmer—the average in the case of the landless labour should also go up. Therefore, my request to the Finance Minister and the Prime Minister would be that the question of the landless labour should not be treated lightly and this I am not saying from any political angle and there is no longer any political angle to this question. I am not making this request from any political angle at all. The principles of social justice demand that the poor of this land, those who are born poor and lead only a bare existence, should be made to lead a normal life and for this purpose, there should be a time-bound programme and steps should be taken to implement such a programme. In this connection, I would suggest the appointment of a National Committee for Rural Programmes. There are four or five big elements in this new economic programme. Now, if you do not make the people know that there is what is called accountability so far as the implementation of the programme is concerned, then, some people will come and say at the end of six months or a year, some bureaucrats will come and say, that there is this difficulty and that there is that difficulty and all that. Therefore, I think this time my honourable friend and the Finance Minister, should make it clear that the Government is dead earnest about this programme. I would suggest that there should be a non-official committee. I would like to state that it should not be a commission or committee of officers who are not interested in these programmes. It should be a leading committee consisting of leading citizens in the country, leading persons or officials at the Centre and in the different States, to see to the implementation of these programmes. The National Committee for Rural Progress and Rural Programmes that I am suggesting should be fully seized of the matter and within about three months or so, we should be able to get a report on what the minimum wage should be, what the actual minimum wage is that is being enforced at present, to what extent the fifty rural banks, which the Finance Minister said, would be started, could help these people and so on. The Finance Minister has announced that about fifty

rural banks will be there to give loans to the marginal farmers and other farmers. All these things should be gone into by this Committee. But, Sir, here I would like to utter a word of caution. While I am all for any help to be given to these people through such banks, I feel that the co-operative sector should not be disturbed at all and the system of co-operative banking should not be disturbed at all particularly in States like Maharashtra or Gujarat or Tamil Nadu where the co-operative sector has developed well. This should be only supplementary and not supplanting. Of course, I know that Mr. C. Subramaniam is very careful about this and he would be careful enough not to create too many institutions. I say this because the tendency in our country is to create too many institutions instead of seeing to it that the existing ones function properly. Today, there is a proliferation of institutions and, rightly or wrongly, some new ideas come to us and we set up new bodies and institutions. We create new institutions instead of making proper structural changes which should be for the adjustment of the existing machinery to the new situation. Therefore, I would like to join issue with those of my friends who go on criticising our bureaucracy in this country. My own feeling is that bureaucracy is wooden. But, at the same, it is also like the race horse. Like the race horse, the bureaucrats also know who their rider is. If the rider is a powerful man, the horse will behave properly. Similarly, the bureaucrats also will behave depending upon their leader and, with little adjustments here and there, we can make the bureaucracy yield results. Therefore, this should be our approach rather than creating a new machinery every time. The structural change should be in the daily routine of the Government. Therefore, I would like to come to my original point. There should be a proper check. The co-operative banks should not be disturbed at all. The rural banks that are thought of now should supplement and not supplant the co-operative banks. The rural banks should be there to strengthen the co-operative banks if they are weak. Rural banks are most welcome where the co-operative banks, are weak.

Now, Sir, I would like to come to the question of housing. About this programme also, we decided in Narora Congress and we decided about it earlier in 1956 and again in 1962. But what is the progress? What is the number of houses constructed? Can we not decide that as part of this NEP, there should be a million houses constructed in the next ten months or twelve months or eighteen months? It is not difficult and it should not be difficult at all because loans from a scheduled bank or any new bank, loans of three or four hundred rupees, can be obtained by the man concerned and he can use his own labour and he can get his bamboo or mud or other such materials from the local areas. All that he wants is materials and he can construct a house in six or eight months. In some areas in Gujarat, in Suiat, I have seen that such houses could be constructed within about four months or so. I have seen this thing in Surat when floods affected those areas. Therefore, let it be decided that there should be such a housing programme. This NEP of the Prime Minister has already ushered in a sense of discipline throughout the country and this has become the hallmark of our policy and of the Government. This should be properly utilised. Fortunately, I have found that not a single party, neither the Jana Sangh nor the Congress (O) nor the CPI(M) nor any other party has said anything against this programme because this is a vital programme for the nation.

The other day the Chief Minister of one of the States stated that it is true that it is a wider programme they ever followed. Every party has supported it. Fortunately, if the new climate which has been generated since the emergency which, in the words of Vinobaji, is a sort of an era of discipline, is harnessed, we can produce results.

I would urge that houseless people in the rural areas be provided housing. An ordinary house in an urban area may cost Rs 10,000 or more, looking to the price of cement and steel, whereas in rural area it would cost not more than Rs. 3000 or Rs. 4000 plus the labour of the family, for a houseless labourer to have a roof

[Shri Manubhai Shah] over his head, which is the minimum the children of this country should get in the rural areas.

The question of wages to the landless labourer should brook no delay in implementation. Rupees five can be easily given to the landless poor. Sir, we must emphasize the fact that the marginal farmer, with new techniques, can increase production by 30 to 40 per cent.

I would also urge upon the Prime Minister that the National Committee on Rural Programme should function in a very rigid manner. Anybody which neglects its duties must be punishable by the Central authority.

Then, coming to the second point, which is about the increase in national production, I am glad that the Prime Minister has given the greatest attention to that. Actually, in her broadcast itself, she emphasized that increasing production alone is the ultimate solution. After all, what can you distribute if there is no production? Our population is increasing by 2.5 per cent a year. Therefore, the only way is to increase the production substantially. And this can be done very easily.

The unutilized capacity in industry and agriculture I can tell you, is anything from 30 per cent to 50 per cent. In industry I know it for sure. In agriculture, if proper inputs are given in time, we can achieve the desired results. I must urge on the Finance Minister to take care of that. See the price of fertilizers, see the price of seeds, coal, etc. I am glad that the Finance Minister has announced that we have reached almost a zero point of inflation. The Central Government must be congratulated for containing inflation. We should now try to bring the prices on the lower and lower side, so that these are available to the common people at reasonable rates. We must also see that the inputs to the farmers are not getting too expensive. Ways and means should be devised that there is...*(Interruptions)*. It is a good step which has been taken. If concerted efforts

are made on the agricultural and rural fronts, I am quite sure we will achieve the desired results quickly.

Then, Sir, about increasing production I am glad that a programme of 5 million hectares is being taken up. But it is necessary to speed up projects like Nagarjuna-sagar, Damodar Valley or the projects in my State. There should be greater emphasis on the utilization of water which is contained in the reservoirs. Now, the national average utilization of water is only 52 per cent Sir, in the United States, or the Soviet Union or in many other countries, there is 80 per cent or 85 per cent utilization of water. In our country what happens is that inner harmony between the planning of the feeder canals, the main canals and the reservoirs is sometimes overlooked. Therefore, I would earnestly request the Finance Minister and the Agriculture Minister to see that the water in the reservoirs is harnessed and utilized as early as possible. In my humble submission, that can be done.

Then, Sir, I come to industry. The industrial production is certainly looking up. But I can say that proper steps should be taken to streamline the industry unit by unit. Calling group meetings of so many industries and taking advice from them is, in my view, not a fruitful exercise. The problems of each industry are different. In some, there is shortage of raw materials and in others there is shortage of credit and power. No two units, in my opinion, have the same problems. Therefore, a unit-wise examination should be taken up. Consultations can be done by the Central Ministry and the State Ministries. While the new N.E.P. contends that there will be liberal imports of the raw materials, I have yet to see that happen. There are so many small scale industries which are starving for raw materials. In cases where indigenous raw materials are not available, they have to import willy-nilly, but the added value of the import is much higher and it is in the national interest to liberalise the import programme.

Then, there is the question of distribution on a permanent basis. The retail prices as well as the wholesale prices are coming down and as Mr. Subramaniam said just now they are likely to come down further. This situation will last for some time. When the production really comes up, the distribution must be made more scientific and on a permanent basis. Take this tag system. I am glad that the Prime Minister is here. I myself feel that they have gone a little too far in the tag system. What is needed is that 25 to 30 products of daily life of the poor people and the nation require to be controlled. As is done in Egypt or the United Kingdom, the national price for those 20 or 25 products should be fixed so that the people don't have to remember the price of each item in different markets like Chandni Chowk, Faiz Bazar or Bengali Market. We should not harass the shopkeepers for not putting the tag. So many cases have come to my notice and others also must have noticed that this tag system is neither scientific nor properly worked out and, in many cases, not fully legal also because it is impossible to really calculate the correct price of 100,000 products and even more. Suppose there are two boxes of the same size. One is the fibre box and the other is the leather box. The price of the fibre box is Rs. 40/- and the price of the leather box is Rs. 52/-. The Inspector comes and insists that there should be no difference in price. There are many cases like that. The retailer has, by and large, played the game in this country. Wherever there have been dehoarding raids, wherever dehoarding has been done and wherever the hoarders have been punished, there has been a salutary effect. At the same time, there has been panic. The other day I heard that the wholesalers are now stopping or reducing their off-take from the mill or the factory because they are afraid of the administration. In one case, there were 20 bags of foodgrains. Now, the general custom is that whenever you want to see the quality, they take the bamboo spoon, put it in the bag and take out some grain. That sample is never put back in the bag. It is kept in a dustbin

and later on fed to the sparrows. They never use it or put it back in the bag. This is the custom. When the total stocks were checked, they said that the total stock is about 20 kilos more because the grains in the dustbin had not been included. The man was arrested and released later on in the evening. Therefore, I believe that the system of price tag should be more scientific. In my view, the price tag should be attached only to 25 or 30 consumer goods. For the rest, there must be a gradual discipline and time must be given. Firstly, the administration itself should work out the prices and what should be the price tag on each item. Is the price tag to protect the consumer or to allow the shopkeeper to cheat the consumer? There is no basis of the price tag. The price of a thing may be Rs. 40/- in one place and Rs. 45/- in another place. It is difficult for any administration to work out the price of every product of every brand. Therefore, while the whole thing is a very good measure which will benefit the consumers of this country, we should not frighten the retail man so that the entire trade channel gets disrupted and the wholesaler reduces the off-take from the factory or the mill.

Another aspect is that now that the democracy has come in a more, sort of, reasonable manner where the people have realised the value of discipline, establishment of procurement machinery and the fair price shops is a must.

Sir, fair price shops should not be taken as a matter of course. For 20 years, we have been doing it. Now this opportunity of the new economic programme should be fully utilized to setup a viable distribution channel. I do not say take-over. I am not hundred per cent in agreement with that. But wherever possible, you have the public distribution, and it may be 80 per cent, and the rest you can leave to private distribution. But, both the systems should be so regulated and coordinated at the Centre and the States that the consumer knows that his interest is protected. And for another 10 or 15 years, that system should survive. This can only be done by the buffer stock being built up both from the

[Shri Manubhai Shah]

local production and from the imported stuff. Therefore, Sir, on the whole, I believe that this programme will herald a new era, I am quite sure, with the determined will that the Prime Minister and the Central Government are showing, and the way the nation is responding in the last few days. Sir, the other day, I went to my State. There are all sorts of illegal pamphlets being published and they want to say that they are fighting to restore democracy. There cannot be a more foolish approach or anti-national approach than this. *Instead of co-operating in the fullest possible manner to increase production and to support all the anti-bundh and anti-strike and anti-ominishing of production, they are doing this* But I am also happy that the people did not respond. I only appeal to all these elements to see the sign of the time and co-operate fully so that the determination of the Centre becomes a determination of the nation.

And with these words, I do hope that this programme will produce a new era of at least removing poverty from the poorer sections which are suffering hardships for hunareds of years, and will restore a sense of fair justice and social justice in the largest number of our population.

SHRI C. K. DAPHTARY (Nominated): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I welcome the formulation and the publication of the economic programme by the Prime Minister. Many of the items in this programme have been present in the mind of Government and others for a long time. The only regret is that the formulation of it and the publication of it should have been postponed to a time when many Members of this House and many others are languishing in jails, giving the impression that had they been here, it would not have been possible to bring forward this programme. I venture to say that no rational person would object to any one of the items of this programme, ana' I welcome it as does every rational person. This programme is a general proposition and as such unexceptionable. But there are many details to be worked out.

My hon. friends who have spoken before me have touched upon various schemes, various methods by which the objects can be achieved. All those methods do not necessarily find agreement with me or with others, and they will have to be discussed in detail when each item comes up for legislation or for making administrative procedures. Each of these things will have to be done with care and caution because these are very wide-ranging matters in which much power will be vested in minor officials, and the field of corruption is larger and larger as each piece of legislation comes up. One of the things that has to be borne in mind is the necessity of conttailing corruption, negligence and arbitrariness on the part of officials. I venture to say that 50 per cent of the proceedings against Government that are pending in courts at present are due to some officials' arbitrariness or negligence or even corruption. These are matters to be borne in mind when more powers are given.

Sir, there are two items in this programme about which I would like to say a few words. The first is economy in Government expenditure. That is Item No. 1; in fact, it is one of the portions of Item No. 1. I want to know how that has to be reconciled with the increased number of staff and employees that will have to be there if all these pragiammes will have to *be* carried out, particularly those as mentioned by the hon. Member on my right, namely, implementation of certain land reforms, distributing land to the landless labour and implementation of ceiling laws. All these things will require a whole horde of officials and how that is consistent with the economy in Government expenditure, I am unable to see.

The other item that I would like to speak about is the summary justice that is proposed to be dealt out by the courts, the special courts, for purposes of economic offences. Now, I agree that the present courts as they are have proceeded sometimes in a way which has prevented the proper cognizance and punishment of economic offences and stays have been granted freely, thereby holding up proceed-

ings. Summary justice is welcome in such matters. But, at the same time, while justice may be done, it should also appear to be done and ultimately rules of justice have to be observed. Natural justice, I know, is at a discount in certain matters, but, by and large, that still remains and holds good when people are brought to book for offences of various kinds. I am not going in- to the question of detentions etc. That is a separate matter. But, summary justice as it is, is dangerous. It is true that at present procedures are far too long and sometimes pose a hindrance to the rendering of justice. But, at the same time, you must not come down to a stage when justice is rushed through regardless of whether justice is actually done or not. This is a point to which I would submit that Mr. Subramaniam may apply his mind very carefully. As it is, when concerned with administrative matters or even quasi-judicial matters, officials are often hasty, negligent and careless. I remember one official telling me when I advised him that he should hear the other side in a quasi-judicial matter "Why should I? I am the officer making the order. Why should I hear the other man?" That is an attitude very frequently to be found among the officials. The other attitude is one of false pleasure, if I may so call it. I remember an official saying to me "I enjoy well-to-do people coming to me on their knees and asking me to do something". Surely, this is a wholly wrong attitude on the part of any official to take. These are dangers which ought to be avoided.

I would suggest that before each of these measures is to be implemented presumably by legislation or by some administrative procedures being laid down, programme in respect of each one of them is carefully formulated and I hope that every opportunity will be given to this House of debating on the details of those laws and procedures. I am pointing out constructively I hope matters that requires amendment or examination in order to see that the working of this programme is smooth and just.

That, Sir, is all that I have to say.

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the chair].

श्री जगदीश जोशी (मध्य प्रदेश) . माननीय उपसभापति जी, एक परिस्थिति पैदा होती है जब शरीर में ऐसा जहरीला फोड़ा हो जाय जो पूरे शरीर में जहर फैलाने की कोशिश करे उस समय उस फोड़े को निकालने की जरूरत पड़ती है और फोड़े को निकालने के लिये पूरे शरीर को कुछ समय के लिये मुन्न करना पड़ता है। बेहोशी देनी पड़ती है और तभी संभव होता है वेह से जहर निकाला जाना। हमारे देश की आंतरिक राजनीति में आतंक, अविश्वास का एक जहर पैदा किया गया था। प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जो शल्य चिकित्सा का साहसिक कार्य किया है वह स्वागत योग्य है। उसके साथ ही साथ इस देश के अन्दर एक नये युग की शुरुआत के लिए जहाँ एक साथ पुराने भोग और झपट्टामार अर्थ नीति का अन्त करके नई, उत्पादन और सादगी की अर्थ नीति की शुरुआत की जा रही है। वह कार्यक्रम एक क्रान्तिकारी कार्यक्रम के तौर पर हमारे सामने है। मंटे तौर पर इस कार्यक्रम के 20 मुद्दे हैं। जैसा पिछले बक्ताओं ने कहा, ये सारे ऐसे तत्व हैं जो देश के सर्वांगीण विकास के लिए जरूरी हैं। कई बार हम लोगों ने इस तरह के निर्णय भी किये, लेकिन जो बानावरण देश में भी चलते उन कार्यक्रमों की पूरा होना संभव नहीं हो सका।

मैं आपका जमीन की एक बात कहूँ सीलिंग का कानून, भूमि सीमा हदबन्दी का कानून देश में दो बार बना। दोनों बार जब बना तो जो सम्पन्न वर्ग जमीन का मालिक रहा है, जिसके पास वंश परम्परा और दुनिया भर की सम्पत्ति रही उसने कानून का मतमाने ढंग से इस्तेमाल किया है। अपने भाई भतीजों के अलावा कुत्ते, बिल्ली और दूर-दूर के रिश्तेदारों के नाम से जमीन के पट्टे किये गये। आज किसी बड़े काश्तकार की जमीन लेने की सरकार सामान्य तौर पर जब कोशिश करेगी तो मानूँ होगा कि या तो वह भूमिहीन है या उसके पास उसकी जोत से भी कम है जब कि उसके फार्म में एक के अलावा 4-5 ट्रैक्टर

[श्री जगदीश जोशी]

मिलेंगे, सारी सुविधा मिलेगी। कुछ किसान तो उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार में ऐसे भी हैं जिनके पास अपने हवाई जहाज भी हैं। मेरा निवेदन है कि एक बार इस कर्म के पथ पर कठोर होकर चलना पड़ेगा और उसके लिए फिर से शक्तियों का सामूहिक प्रचलन आवश्यक है। एक शक्ति तो शासकीय शक्ति है जो केन्द्र से और राज्यों से दी जा रही है। दूसरी शक्ति विधायिका शक्ति है जो संसद से और विधान सभाओं में मिल सकती है और तीसरी शक्ति जन शक्ति है जिसे स्वयंभू तौर पर बड़ा पैदा करना होगा ताकि अतिरिक्त जमीनों छीनी जा सकें। ऐसा नहीं है कि जमीनों की कोई कमी हो। वैसे जमीन कोई खर भी नहीं है जिसको खींचा जा सके, लेकिन कितने थोड़े प्रतिशत के पास देश की अधिकांश खेती की जमीन है यह जानकर बड़ी परेशानी होती है। 3 प्रतिशत किसानों के पास देश की 30 सैकड़ा जमीन है और 75 सैकड़ा किसानों के पास मुश्किल से 10 सैकड़ा जमीन है। ऐसे असंतुलन की स्थिति में जब हम कहते हैं कि हमको अनाज नहीं मिल पाया, पैदावार नहीं बढ़ पाई तो सही माने में हमने उत्पादक का सहयोग नहीं लिया है। मैं आपसे निवेदन करूँ कि हमारी सरकार को अन्न खरीद की नीति छोड़नी पड़ी। उसका कारण यह नहीं था कि छोटा किसान असहयोग कर रहा था। 5 एकड़ 10 एकड़, का किसान असहयोग नहीं कर रहा है, जो बड़े किसान हैं, प्रभावशाली समूह हैं, जिनके पास ट्रैक्टर हैं, जिनके पास नाहन है, उन्होंने सारा अनाज रोक लिया। आज भी देश के उत्पादन के बड़े हिस्से के वे मालिक हैं। लेकिन मैं आपसे निवेदन करूँ कि छोटे किसान को, खेत मजदूर को 2 एकड़, 5 एकड़, 7 एकड़ जमीन मिलेगी तो बिना रामायणिक खाद के, बिना ट्रैक्टर के और बिना सिंचाई के भी उन परिस्थितियों में किसी और किसान के मुकाबले उसकी उत्पादन क्षमता कहीं अधिक है और उससे अधिक उत्पादन भी वह कर रहा है। इसके एक नहीं, हजारों प्रमाण शत-प्रतिशत आपको मिल सकते हैं। इसलिए यह एक बड़ा भारी कठोर संकल्प है जो इस देश की हजारों साल की परंपरावादी समाजिक और आर्थिक व्यवस्था को परिवर्तित करेगा।

मैं समझता हूँ कि एक बार सन् 1970-71 में प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा था, बीच में जिस प्रकार के आवोलन हुए और जिस प्रकार के अवांछनीय तत्वों ने सारे ध्यान को दूसरी दिशा में केन्द्रित करने की कोशिश की, उसके परिणामस्वरूप आज इस स्थिति के महारे हमें भूमि-सुधार के कानून को लागू करना है। दूसरी चीज मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ तक भूमिहीनों की मजदूरी, भूमिहीनों को आवासीय भूमि और उनके कर्जे की व्यवस्था का मामला है ये तीनों-चारों एक ही सवाल से मिले हुए हैं। इनकी व्यवस्था कैसे हो? मेरा अपना अंदाजा है कि अगर हम जमीन जोतने वाले के लिए जमीन मुहैया कर सकें, जमीन के जोतने वाले को जमीन का मालिक बना सकें तो भूमिहीनों की आधी समस्या हल हो जाएगी। बाकी जो भूमिहीन बचना है उस को खेतिहर प्लटन न बना कर, जो सिंचाई के काम है और जो अन्य जन-विकास के काम हैं उनमें उस की शक्ति का प्रयोग करें। आज मैं नहीं समझ सकता कि एक व्यक्ति किसान किस आधार पर ट्रैक्टर रख सकता है। जब कानून कहता है कि 18 एकड़ से अधिक एक व्यक्ति जमीन नहीं रख सकता तो 50 हजार रुपये लागत का किसान कैसे एक ट्रैक्टर रख सकता है? उसके पास कोई आर्थिक संरक्षण है ही नहीं। यह सही है कि उसके पास 18 एकड़ से ऊपर 100 बीघा जमीन हो या उससे ऊपर हो तब वह ट्रैक्टर रख सकता है। सारे ट्रैक्टर जो निजी नामों से हैं उनको पंचायती किया जाए और किसी व्यक्ति को ट्रैक्टर रखने की इजाजत न हो। ट्रैक्टर या तो राज्य के पास हों या ट्रैक्टर बतौर टैक्सी के चलाए जाएं जो दूसरों की जमीन पर चल सकें। आज का छोटा किसान 8, 10 और 12 एकड़ की जमीन वाला हल-बैल से काम करता है। इसके विकल्प में हम दूसरी चीज यह ले सकते हैं कि औद्योगिकीकरण से ऐसे छोटे ट्रैक्टरों को उपलब्ध कराने का प्रयास किया जाए जो 3, 4 या 5 हजार रुपये तक सही दामों पर छोटे किसानों को मुहैया हो सके। अगर इस कीमत पर बड़े पैमाने पर ट्रैक्टर इकट्ठे हो गये तो जिस हीन-भांवना से आज छोटे किसान ग्रस्त हैं वह हीन-भावना समाप्त हो जाएगी। जब हम छोटे ट्रैक्टर

सुलभ कर देंगे तो बड़े किसानों की बड़े ट्रैक्टर रखने का अधिकार नहीं होगा। इससे या तो उसे गांव की समिति के पास जाना पड़ेगा उसे लेने के लिये या ट्रैक्टर के तौर पर उसे इस्तेमाल करने के लिए लेना होगा। मैं समझता हूँ इससे एक बराबरी की लहर नमाम खेतिहर इलाकों में रहेगी। इसलिए ट्रैक्टर निजी इस्तेमाल की चीज नहीं रहनी चाहिए। उसका समाजीकरण होना आवश्यक है।

जहाँ तक कर्जों का मवाल है, कर्जों का एक स्वरूप है। वह खेत मजदूर, छोटा किसान सड़का पैदा होने पर कर्ज लेता है या झाड़ी में कर्ज लेता है। कर्ज देने वाला कर्ज लेने वाले को उकसाता है, तैयार करता है। कोशिश उसकी यह रहती है कि अगर बीघा, दो बीघा जमीन छोटे किसान के पास है तो कर्ज के बदले में वह उसको अपने नाम लिखवा लेगा ताकि बाद में यह जमीन उसकी हो जाए। यह आम तौर पर प्रक्रिया है। हमें इसके लिए एक विकल्प कर्ज व्यवस्था हर गांव में बनानी पड़ेगी। उसे एक गांव स्तर पर रखना होगा, ब्लॉक स्तर पर रखना होगा, जिससे जो आदमी जमीन का मालिक नहीं है, जो बड़ई है, नीहार है, कारीगर है, या जो खेत मजदूर है, वह अपनी दैनिक आवश्यकता के लिए, बीमारी के लिए या सामान्य छोटे-मोटे काम के लिए थोड़ा बहुत कर्ज ले सके। मैं यह भी निवेदन करूं कि वह हरिजन खेत मजदूर जो आज से नहीं पीड़ियों से, एक पीढ़ी के बाद दूसरी पीढ़ी यानी पीढ़ी-दर-पीढ़ी से वह उनका गुलाम बना हुआ है, वह उनका कर्जदार बना हुआ है। मेरा यह कहना है कि छोटा किसान कर्ज देने से नहीं कतराता। 50 रुपये उसके परदादा ने लिये थे जो आज भी वह उनके खाते में ज्यों के त्यों है जब कि वह हर महीने थोड़ा-थोड़ा देता रहता है। मेरा यह निवेदन है कि खेत मजदूर सरकार का सौ, दो सौ रुपये लेकर भागेगा नहीं। एक सम्पन्न किसान के पास तो आप को 10 बार कुर्की ले कर जाना पड़ेगा लेकिन एक छोटा किसान, खेत मजदूर सरकारी कर्ज को पहले अदा करेगा। वह इसको अपना पहला कर्ज समझता है। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि इसके लिए विकल्प कर्ज की व्यवस्था

होनी चाहिए। अगर समितियों और बैंकों द्वारा इन लोगों को दिया गया कर्ज भी माफ कर दिया जाये तो उससे इन लोगों को राहत मिलेगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि समितियों और बैंकों से इस प्रकार का कर्ज लेने वालों की संख्या बहुत कम होगी, इसलिए अगर आप उनका यह कर्ज भी माफ कर देंगे तो उनको बड़ी राहत मिलेगी। सहकारी बैंको और अन्य बैंकों से लिया गया कर्ज अगर हम माफ कर देंगे तो उससे कोई बहुत ज्यादा अन्तर नहीं आएगा। यह ठीक है कि हमारे आर्थिक माधन बहुत ज्यादा नहीं हैं, लेकिन फिर भी इस दिशा में प्रयास किया जा सकता है। (Time bell rings) उपसभापति जी, अभी तो मे केवल पांच ही मिनट बीता हैं। मुझे कुछ ज्यादा वक्त दे दीजिये क्योंकि मैं इस सेशन में बीता नहीं हूँ।

श्री उपसभापति : आप 15 मिनट बोल चुके हैं। अब आप समाप्त कीजिये। Twelve minutes exactly you have taken. This is what I am told.

श्री जगदीश जोशी : जहाँ तक दामों का मवाल है, दामों के सम्बन्ध में एक सन्तुलित नीति अपनाई जानी चाहिये। यह ठीक है कि मूल्यों में परिवर्तन आ रहा है। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि जो सामान मशीनों द्वारा बनता है उसका लागत मूल्य निश्चित किया जाये और लागत खर्च का सही मूल्यांकन किया जाये। मैं समझता हूँ कि लागत खर्च और रिटेल मूल्य, इन दोनों के बीच में डेढ़ गुना से अधिक का फर्क नहीं होना चाहिये और अगर किसी वस्तु का एक रुपया लागत मूल्य है तो उसका बाजार भाव डेढ़ रुपये से अधिक नहीं होना चाहिये। उसी के अन्दर सारी चुभियाँ और टेक्सेज शामिल होने चाहिये। जहाँ तक चुंगी और टेक्सेज का मवाल है, उसकी स्थिति यह है कि उनकी बहुत बड़ी मात्रा में वसूली नहीं हो पाती है, चुंगी और एक्साइज में काफी चोरी होती है। अगर चुंगी की दरों को थोड़ा सा उदार किया जायेगा और जिस प्रकार से सरकारी खर्च में कमी करने की बात की जा रही

[श्री जगदीश जोशी]

है उसी प्रकार से अगर चुगी की दरो को उदार किया जायेगा तो चुगी की होने वाली चोरी भी नहीं होगी और उपभोग की वस्तुओं के दाम भी गिरेगे।

अपने भाषण को समाप्त करने से पूर्व सिचाई के विषय में मैं कुछ बातें कहना चाहूंगा। आज हमारे देश में आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि नदियों के पानी के सम्बन्ध में हमारी जो राष्ट्रीय नीति है उसके अन्तर्गत सारी नदियों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाय और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जल के जितने भी विवाद हैं, चाहे वह सोन का मामला हो, गंगा का हो, कावेरी का हो, कृष्णा का हो, गोदावरी का हो, नर्मदा का हो या ताप्ती का हो या अन्य जो भी मामले हैं उनके बारे में इस आपतकालीन स्थिति के मौके पर केन्द्रीय सरकार निर्णय करके सब के ऊपर लाद दे और इन इलाकों को पानी न मिलने के वजह से जिन कठिनाइयों का सामना करना पड़ रहा है उनका निपटारा कर दे। हमारे देश में बहुत से ऐसे इलाके हैं जो क्रोनिक अकाल के इलाके कहे जा सकते हैं। सोन के क्षेत्र का मेरा इलाका इसी प्रकार का है जहाँ पर हर तीसरे साल अकाल पड़ता है। मे समझता हूँ कि इन क्रोनिक अकाल के इलाकों को अगर समय पर पानी मिल जाय तो यहाँ से अकाल की स्थिति को सदैव के लिये समाप्त किया जा सकता है।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले बर्ष हमारे देश ने परमाणु विस्फोट किया है और अब विज्ञान इस स्थिति में पहुँच गया है कि परमाणु बम भी बनाये जा सकते हैं जो तत्काल भूमिगत पानी को निकाल सकते हैं अभी स्थिति यह है कि अगर कोई साधारण बर्मा लगाया जाता है तो उससे पानी निकालने में कम से कम 15 दिन या महीना तो लग ही जाता है। लेकिन परमाणु शक्ति का उपयोग सिचाई के साधनों के रूप में किया जायेगा तो परमाणु बम से पानी दो तीन दिन में ही ऊपर निकल सकता है और काफी जमीन को सरसब्ज किया जा सकता है। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस प्रोग्राम का समर्थन करता हूँ कि साथ ही मेरा निवेदन यह है कि

अब भोग और उपभोग की स्वतन्त्रता का युग चला गया है। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि फैशन के सामान की पैदावार पर रोक लगा दी जाय और आने वाले 20 सालों तक फैशन के सामान की पैदावार इस देश में न हो मोटा कपड़ा, मोटा खाता और सादगी ही हमारे जीवन का ध्येय हो। हमारे देश में जो कारखाने सस्ती चीजें न बनाकर केवल टेरैलीन, नाइलोन और डेकोरीन बनाते हैं उनको दण्डित किया जाय और कह दिया जाय कि जितनी भी वे इस प्रकार की चीजें बनायेंगे वे सब विदेशों में भेज दी जायेगी, एक्सपोर्ट कर दी जायेगी। इस देश के बाजारों में इस प्रकार की चीजें नहीं आ सकती हैं। इस देश के बाजारों के लिये केवल मोटा कपड़ा और मोटा सामान तैयार किया जाना चाहिये। शादी-व्याह के लिये मोटा रेशम इस देश में बनता है। बाकी जितने कृत्रिम धागे हैं, वे इस देश के उपभोक्ताओं की भलाई के लिये कम से कम 20 साल के लिये बन्द कर दिये जाने चाहिये। साथ ही मेरा यह भी निवेदन है कि लोगों के पास जो सोना-चाँदी पड़ा हुआ है, उसकी 20 साल के लिये सरकार अपने खजाने में रद्द करने के तौर पर रख ले। उसकी व्याज की दर बढ़ाई जा सकती है, उसके लागत मूल्य को बढ़ा सकती है और इसका परिणाम यह होगा कि देश में पूँजी निवेश होगा और इस तरह से जो सोना चाँदी करीब 18 खरब रुपये का लोगों के पास पड़ा हुआ है वह सरकार के खजाने में रद्द करने के रूप में आ जायेगा। इस चीज के लिये सरकार की ओर से यह आश्वासन रहे कि वह सोना चाँदी ज्यों का त्यों मय व्याज सहित जितने लिया जायेगा उनको ही वापस कर दिया जायेगा। इसका परिणाम यह होगा कि सरकार के पास पूँजी आ जायेगी और इसके साथ ही साथ देश में सादगी लाने की शुरुआत होगी और देश में उत्पादन बढ़ेगा।

SHRI K. A. KRISHNASWAMY (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I rise to support the New Economic Programme motion moved by the Finance Minister and further to reassure my party's firm support I to the political and economic measures

taken by the Prime Minister Shrimati 'Indira Gandhi. Sir, we are well aware that right reactionaries had planned to paralyse the Government and use the Allahabad High Court judgment as a handy tool to create anarchy and de-stabilise the entire set-up. It was to save the country from this catastrophic situation that the emergency had to be announced. It is aptly said that the thirty days of emergency have been thirty days of national discipline. Emergency has brought a qualitative change in the minds of the people and it has instilled confidence among the people about the efficacy of the law-enforcing machinery. Prices of essential commodities have recorded a general fall in the country since the proclamation of emergency. The downward trend in prices is the result of the vigorous drive launched against hoarders' and blackmarketeers at the wholesale as well as retail level. The emergency had a salutary effect on the trade everywhere. Smuggling activities along the West coast have been paralysed as a result of this drastic action. The seats of higher learning, i.e. the universities, which have been hitherto converted into centres of disruptive activities by divisive forces feel a great relief. Neo-colonists and domestic reactionaries had utilised this forum as the spring-board for capturing power. The ban on communal organisations was a welcome measure.

The emergency has brought about a big improvement in industrial relations all over the country, from Kerala to Kashmir, thanks to the willing co-operation of the working-class in the implementation of the twenty-point economic programme. Constraints on increase production have either disappeared or are disappearing. A great sense of national discipline has emerged. Punctuality becomes the order of the day. Efficiency has gone up and the nation is geared to the task of implementing the national objectives.

Sir, it is not out of place to say that the Prime Minister's twenty-point economic package is admirable and is a comprehensive one. That Prime Minister Indira

Gandhi means real business is amply proved by the prompt announcement of the economic programme. Considerable thought and care went into the assembling of this package. The stress is on better implementation of accepted policies and programmes. The approach is wholly pragmatic. A neat balance has been attempted between measures to give relief to selected groups and sections and the need for strengthening the economic infrastructure and the need for incentives for industrial enterprise. The measures for the rural sector are realistically conceived. The most notable among them is the legislation proposed for moratorium on suits and execution of decrees for the recovery of debts in rural areas. The provision of minimum wages for agricultural labour and the abolition of bonded labour are also the most significant measures. The abolition of the disgraceful and feudalistic relic of bonded labour, long overdue, has come none too soon. Ensuring minimum wages for farm labour has been talked about since the dawn of independence, but nothing has been done so far. The Prime Minister's concern in this regard is understandable.

A rural India, backward and suffering, and with people living at almost the starvation level, should no longer be tolerated. It is no index of the progress of the nation. The middle class has received special attention in the 20-point programme. The raising of the exemption limit for personal income-tax from Rs. 6000 to Rs. 8000 will give direct relief to a large number of people to four million income-tax payers in the country. The student community is promised essential commodities at controlled rates, in their hostels, besides books and stationery at controlled prices. It is really a commendable measure. Socialisation of urban and urbanisable land is another important item in the programme.

Sir, the economic measures announced by the Prime Minister are in the right direction and a good beginning has been made. The Prime Minister's advice that these economic measures must be pursued

[Shri K. A. Krishnaswamy] with determination and with greater vigour, should be heeded efficiently in order to realise the fruits of the programme.

While the common people and the working masses of the country expect that the new economic programme outlined by the Prime Minister will lead to ensuring a fair economic opportunity to all, irrespective of the region, a handful of people—a very microscopic minority—in the State of Tamil Nadu are decrying and ridiculing the 20 point programme of the Prime Minister and are sabotaging the nation's effort. According to them, the DMK Government in Tamil Nadu had already fully implemented fifteen of these points and the implementation of the remaining five points is only awaiting the sanction of financial grants from the Centre. An intense propaganda is being made on these lines. But the fact remains that the DMK Government's tall claim of implementing the welfare schemes was all superficial and they were publicity oriented schemes. They had only helped largely to boost the actual revenue of the ruling party's and its supported, newspapers. Those schemes have not benefited the people whom they were supposed to help.

Sir, the most welcome of the measures announced by the Prime Minister is the plan for the liquidation of rural indebtedness through moratorium on the recovery of debt from the landless labourers, the small farmers and the artisans. According to the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Mr. Karunanidhi, the moratorium may not confer new benefits on the rural landless. But his argument misses the main point of the present reform intended to help the entire population of landless workers and peasants who own less than five acres of land, to make them get rid of the oppressive burden of private debt. Further, he said that bonded labour did not exist in Tamil Nadu. Facts, however, prove him wrong. The Elaya Perumal Committee on untouchability and on the economic and educational development of the Scheduled Castes has given its findings on the existence and the widespread practice of bonded

labour in many villages, particularly in the Tanjore District, the home district of the Chief Minister, Mr. Karunanidhi. In the same way, we can refute all the false claims of the Chief Minister.

Finally, I would say that notwithstanding the DMK's claim of being the pioneer in respect of most of the measures announced by the Prime Minister in her 20-point Economic Package Deal, there is overwhelming public opinion in Tamil Nadu that much good can flow from the national economic programme.

With these words, I conclude.

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD (Kerala): While supporting the economic programme of the Government of India announced by the Prime Minister, let me draw the attention of the House to some of the important aspects of it. Land reform has been given top priority in it. I should like to know whether the Government have collected data and statistics with regard to the land reforms that have been already implemented by the different States and also to what extent they are being implemented and what has been the progress in the different States. Sir, in some States like Kerala, the land reforms have been implemented with great success. Land reform was started in 1957 when the Ministry of Mr. E.M.S. Namboodripad of the Communist Party came into existence in Kerala.

1 P.M.

That thing has been into progress. Today, you will find that landlordism has been completely abolished in Kerala and landlordism is a thing of the past so far as Kerala is concerned. Also, Sir, every hut dweller in Kerala in a rural area gets the hut he lives in. He becomes the owner of the hut. He is also the owner of 10 coconut trees and areca-nut trees around the hut. He becomes the owner of the house he resides in. With regard to this thing, I would like to draw the attention of the Finance Minister and the Agriculture Minister that the price of coconut is going down considerably and the rural economy of Kerala is being affected. Even a small hut dweller gets 10 to 15

coconut trees around his house and coconut is the main economy of the cultivators of Kerala today. The unreasonable falling down of the price of coconut in Kerala has affected the poor farmers. I hope that the Government would see to it that the price of coconut is stabilised in order to help the rural farmers in Kerala.

Another important thing to which I should like to draw the attention of the Finance Minister is the ceiling that is to be fixed. We think of the maximum ceiling that we are to fix. What about the minimum ceiling? I would like to draw the attention of the Finance Minister that we have not yet fixed the economic holding at a national level, whether it is 2 acres or 3 acres. What should be the minimum economic holding for the maximum production of foodgrain or commercial crop? Keeping the condition of soil and other things in mind, no State has studied this problem. What is the economic holding for the maximum production from the minimum acreage of land? That has not been fixed either in Kerala or in Tamil Nadu or in any other State, as far as I know. We should have minimum land for this purpose. We must have a planning for these things. That is absolutely necessary in the national interest to have a minimum holding. Whether it is one acre or two acres and whether it is for coconut or arecanut or paddy cultivation, it is absolutely necessary in the interest of maximum production. It does not matter whether it is for food production, agricultural production or for the production of commercial crops.

Another thing is debt relief that is being contemplated. We have got debt relief already. In Madras, there is Debt Relief Act. That is being followed in different parts of Madras State and Malabar which was formerly a part of Madras State. In Kerala also, debt relief is in force and it is being enforced. If the property of a farmer is being auctioned, he can claim his property by filling a petition in the court under some conditions.

That provision also was there in the debt relief Act. That is enforced in Kerala also. So it has been a very great progress and land reforms are being implemented. In Kerala we do not find rich farmers. Excepting the exempted categories like rubber and coffee planters, the others are all poor farmers in Kerala.

Another thing is, the maximum agricultural income-tax is being levied in Kerala. A farmer who has an agricultural income of Rs 6,000 has to pay an agricultural income-tax of Rs. 180. The agricultural income-tax is at the highest level in Kerala. Even if a person grows foodgrains like paddy, he is liable for agricultural income-tax. And, Sir, as far as agricultural income-tax is concerned, there should be some uniformity. In some States, as in, the North, I am given to understand, no agricultural income-tax is levied on foodgrains. In Karnataka also, if a person grows paddy, he is exempted from payment of agricultural income-tax. In Kerala, even if a farmer grows foodgrains like paddy, he is compelled to pay agricultural income-tax. So, I appeal to the Government to have a uniform policy as far as agricultural income-tax is concerned. I support the Government with regard to all the economic steps in the new programme that the Government has undertaken.

With regard to ceiling on urban property, I submit that the ceiling should be on the basis of income. A person may have a huge house or two houses, but he may not have any income from those houses. So the ceiling should be fixed on the basis of the income that the family or the individual gets from the urban property. If we think of big cities like Bombay or Madras, who are the persons who occupy big buildings? It is the big millionaires, big business people, who occupy these houses. The owners of these buildings may not have much of income, as much income as that of those who occupy these buildings. For example, a leading businessman of Bombay or Madras takes on rent some building. Now if you give protection to the occupant, that means you are giving protection to a rich;

[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—*Cvntd.*

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. This 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