

[Shri Somnath Chatterjee]

Article 31 if the concept 'money' would be included within the concept of 'property' which is mentioned in Article 31.

Sir, Mr. Daphtary said money cannot be treated as property within the meaning of Article 31. Since then Supreme Court had occasion to deal with this question. That was the opinion of the Attorney General in 1963. In 1968 the Supreme Court by a unanimous judgement held that the right to a sum of money is a property under Article 31. In this case, therefore, this is a deprivation with regard to the exercise of the rights over money for a certain period of time. This was conceded by Mr. Daphtary on the floor of the House also and he said money was different from property—either moveable or immovable property—excluding money in specie or currency. Subsequently, the Supreme Court has dealt with this question and held therein deprivation of right over money. This is another point which goes to the root of the matter apart from the legislative competence.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, I had said, the point raised necessitated a full discussion about the legislative competence of this House with regard to this Bill. We have already exceeded the time-limit for Private Members' Business. I think we can leave the matter here and then take up the discussion later. Government will also have to meet all the legal points and constitutional objections.

Now, we take up Private Members Business.

श्री जयु बिशये : क्या एटार्नी जनरल को इस सदन में नहीं बुलाया जाएगा ?
श्रीय हन ने कहिये एटार्नी जनरलको लेकर धार्ये, यह बहुत गम्भीर मामला है ।

15.22 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

FORTY-FOURTH REPORT

SHRI S. P. BHATTACHARYYA
(Uluberia): I beg to move:

"That this House do agree with the Forty-fourth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 14th August, 1974."

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is—

"That this House do agree with the Forty-fourth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 14th August, 1974."

The motion was adopted.

15.23 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE. AGRICULTURAL LABOUR—contd.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The House will now proceed with further discussion on Shri Gadadhar Saha's Resolution on agricultural labour. He will continue his speech.

*SHRI GADADHAR SAHA (Birbhum): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the unprecedented price rise has made the life of the rural population particularly the agricultural labourers, poor peasants, unbearable, 70 per cent of the population of the country live in the rural area and out of this 40 per cent constitute adivasis, scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward people. As a result of inflation, their life has not only become very very

*The original speech was delivered in Bengali.

difficult but unemployment among these weaker sections of the people is mounting high and fast aggravating their miseries manifold. The runaway inflation on the one hand has given a good opportunity to the speculators and the hoarders to reap huge profits and it is this class which is rolling in wealth today while the agricultural workers are becoming poor and poorer day by day. This class of the society is the most distressed, oppressed and neglected and they are suffering most because of the prevailing financial crisis in the country. It is not unnatural therefore that the number of starvation death is increasing every day and those who die obviously belong to this class. But why should such a thing happen? Why should the number of the semi-starved be more in the country? It has been claimed that the production of foodgrains is quite satisfactory and even better than the last year's production. If it be so, then why should we face this food shortages in the country immediately after the harvesting is over. Why should the food situation deteriorate so badly as to lead to starvation deaths in various parts of the country? The Government often comes forward with explanations like droughts, floods etc. but all these arguments have become too stale and they seek to create a smoke screen of the confusion. The reality of the situation is that even when the production is more, as is being claimed by the Government prices of foodgrains and food articles are rising. The Government have acknowledged that 67 per cent of the population in India is now living under the poverty line but I feel that this estimate is not correct and in my opinion not less than 70 per cent of the population is now living under the poverty line. All past theories about the poverty line have become obsolete. The agricultural workers are becoming more and more unemployed. They have no stability in so far as their employment opportunities are concerned. On an average an agricultural worker would be too fortunate to have work

not exceeding a period of 120 days and for the rest of the eight months he is completely idle and unemployed.

15.25 hrs.

[SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI in the Chair]

On the one hand the *Jotdars* are getting better price for the foodgrains because of the rising prices on the other hand the real wages of the agricultural labourers are falling steadily. Not only real wages but in many cases they are getting actual wages which is nothing but exploitation wages. No doubt some State Governments have introduced laws fixing the minimum wage for the agricultural workers. But you will be surprised to know Sir, that these statutory wages are in many cases less than the prevailing wages in those very States. Thus the present laws are in no way helpful to the agricultural workers. As I have already stated Sir, the price rise is often attributed to droughts, floods, population increase and world inflationary trends etc. but verification of facts will reveal that these are not the real causes and the Government refuses to acknowledge and locate the elements which are responsible for this. During 1951—51 the population of the country increased by 21.5 per cent while the production of foodgrains increased by 38.3 per cent. Between 1961—71 while the population per year increased by 2.47 per cent, the production of foodgrains per year increased by 2.95 per cent.

Sir, it is not true to say that prices are increasing because population is increasing because we have seen that during the last 20 years the rate of production of foodgrains has all along been more than the population growth rate. Why has then an alarming food situation developed in the country? The truth of the matter is, which the Government refuses to acknowledge, that *Jotdars* and profiteers have developed an absolute control over the

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agricultural commodities, the consumers articles, industrial raw material and over the industrial output. They have immense financial capacities to hoard things and to create artificial scarcity in the market. This artificial scarcity added with the prevailing inflationary trend in the country help in boosting up the prices of the commodity and this gives black marketeers hoarders, stockists the grand opportunity to multiply their profits while the common man and the poor agricultural labourer feel lost and bewildered to cope up with the situation and to make a bare living out of their limited and uncertain financial resources. For this sorry state of affairs prevailing in the country I will hold the Government's agricultural policy responsible. I would also hold the Government responsible for the large number of starvation deaths which are taking place in the different parts of the country. The Government have refused and have developed cold feet to introduce adequate and genuine land reforms all over the country which is so very essential for the proper development of the agriculture. Far from taking these essential steps, the Government have introduced capitalism in the sphere of agriculture. More and more agricultural machineries are being produced and imported and they are being put into application. The introduction of the machine has widened the gulf between the rich and the poor cultivators for the rich farmers are benefited more by the introduction of machinery while the poor cultivators have become poorer because of their poor financial resources to withstand the competition from their more affluent co-workers. Yet another difficulty that has been created is that the machines are creating more unemployment. The situation in States of Punjab, Haryana, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu and some other stray places in the country which have witnessed the advent of green revolution will prove the fact that even in these areas where agricul-

ture is a prosperous proposition, the gulf between the poor agriculturists and the rich agriculturists has become quite considerable. The poor cultivators are becoming poorer. They are being evicted from their lands. The lack of financial resources drive them to the doors of rich farmers for loans which in many cases they are not able to repay and as a consequence they are forced to mortgage their lands or dispose it off to the more affluent cultivators. A poor cultivator becomes poorer first, he loses his land next, he then becomes a share cropper and finally a landless agricultural worker. This is the sad saga of the majority of agricultural labourers of our country while on the other hand *Jotdars* are thriving merrily at the expense of the poor farmers. It is a well known fact Sir, that the number of landless agricultural worker is rising year after year. During the last ten years the percentage of landless agricultural workers which was then 15 per cent had risen to 25.7 per cent by an increase of 10 per cent.

Sir, this is not only a sad but an alarming situation in our agricultural economy because it is encouraging concentration of land in a few hands and the *bona fide* agriculturists are being uprooted from their land to take their places among the landless workers. It would not be quite improper to quote in this connection the observations made by a World Bank representative who had praised a lot about the country's achievement which goes by the name of green revolution and I quote "the old squeeze whereby tenants are reduced to sharecroppers and eventually to landless labourers is being accelerated as more of the bigger owners become involved with new technology".

In this way we find that not only the landless workers and the share croppers are losing their land but many poor tenant cultivators are forced to lease out their land to rich cultivators because they are unable to

meet the rising cost of production. The poorer among this category are losing their land and the big cultivators are adding up to their land assets increasingly. In this way the number of landless agricultural workers is increasing and this is how the Government's land reforms policy are proving futile to give any succour to the poor cultivators. The introduction of machinery is making unemployment more acute among this class.

The poor cultivators because of their lack of resources are compelled to sell the foodgrains that they produce towards the beginning of the harvesting season. They have no resources to stock these foodgrains. It is a well known fact Sir, at the time of harvesting the Government's procurement price is kept very low and as result of this the poor cultivators lose. On the other hand the big Jotdars with their vast financial resources are able to buy and hoard large quantities of foodgrains when they are cheap and make fabulous profits by selling them at high prices in black market. There is another aspect of the matter which I would like to stress upon. The landless agricultural workers have nothing to fall back upon and taking advantage of this situation the big landlords give them advance loans on the specific conditions that the money will be paid back by rendering service to them. Under this system Sir, the landless workers has to render service and he gets much less than even the prevailing wages. Thus they are being exploited twice, first through the sale of crops at a cheaper rate and secondly by rendering manual work and getting much less remuneration for the same. It is indeed a pity Sir, that even after 27 years of independence the poor agriculturists are not even given land but they are also not getting the minimum wages necessary to keep the wolf away. On the other hand, the profiteers and big Jotdars are becoming richer and richer through the exploitation of these poor cultivators. The Congress is the Government of

these Jotdars and big Zamindars and they are quite safe under their care. The Government have failed to unearth the hoarded foodgrains from these unscrupulous people. It is necessary that these cornered foodgrains should be unearthed and sold at reasonable price to the people. It is also necessary Sir, that the big Jotdars and Zamindars are subjected to compulsory levy as otherwise they would never come forward of their own to contribute to the national food stocks as much as they are required to. It is also necessary that more fair price shops should be set up and foodgrains distributed to all not only in the urban areas but in the rural areas too. Unfortunately, the present policy of the Government does not own any of these responsibilities. They have refused to accept the responsibility of supplying foodgrains to the rural people at a reasonable rate. Sir, procurement price of foodgrains has been raised and it is Rs. 105 in the case of wheat. As I have already stated, this increase in the procurement price goes to the benefit of rich and big farmers because the poor and needy farmers cannot wait and they have to sell their produce much earlier than the announcement of the procurement price is made or even otherwise. Moreover, the procurement has never been keeping to the target fixed. During 1971-72 the total procurement was to the tune of 8.4 million tons, during 1972-73 it was 8 million tons during 1973-74 against the target of 6 million tons Government could made an effective procurement of 4.9 million tons which was much less than the figures for 1971-72. You will be surprised to know Sir, that not only actual procurement is falling the contribution of the rich farmers in this is becoming less and less. It is only the poor farmers who have no other go than to sell their produce are mostly fulfilling these targets. Thus by keeping the procurement targets low and by not achieving it fully the Government is giving a positive advantage to big Jotdars and Zamindars who are under the present system can

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make fortune through the sale of foodgrains in the blackmarket and there is none to bring them to book. On the other hand Sir, the Government have not taken upon themselves the responsibility of introducing food ration shops in the villages. Not only this the shops that are there are not getting their adequate supply. The quantum of rationed foodgrains is being reduced and on the other hand the prices of the foodgrains through these shops are being raised. The increase in the price of ration foodgrains brings about an acceleration of prices of other commodities.

In order to save the millions of rural population who are overwhelmingly the poor cultivators from starvation and immediate change of the Government's present food policy is called for. I would give a few suggestions in this connection for the consideration of the Government. Wholesale trade in foodgrains should be nationalised. Secondly, the entire marketable surplus which is now being hoarded by Jotdars and Zamindars should be procured compulsorily and they should be paid at the rates prevailing in 1972. The Government must supply foodgrains at the subsidised rates and a minimum of 450 grams per head should be supplied to the people. Not only foodgrains but all other essential commodities including edible oil, sugar, etc. should be supplied to the people at a subsidised rates. Sir, previously the Government used to bear a subsidy on foodgrains but now this has been passed to the consumers. This is not fair and I would suggest to the Government that they should once again introduce the element of subsidy to keep the prices low to help the poorer sections of the society.

Sir, the incidence of indirect taxes is another factor which keeps up the prices high. In our country the quantum of indirect taxes is so high that it is bound to affect even all those

commodities which are not taxed. As a result of this we have found that with every doze of indirect tax the prices have gone high. It is therefore, necessary to reduce this burden of indirect taxes. We have also to amend the existing laws to provide for deterrent punishment for the hoarders and blackmarketeers. We have to evolve a machinery which will keep a constant vigile and make hoarding impossible. The commodity prices have also to be reduced.

Sir, while in other sphere of economy a reasonable link is being maintained between wages and price rise but unfortunately in the case of agricultural workers the wages have no relation to the price rise. It is necessary that even the wages of the agricultural workers should also be linked with the prices as otherwise their exploitation will know no bounds. The minimum wages of the agricultural workers should be so fixed which would enable them to have at least a good living. In this connection, Sir, I would suggest that Central Government will have to take initiative to impress on the State Governments who have already introduced laws pertaining to the minimum wages to revise them suitably so as to uphold the interests of the agricultural workers. Along with this it is necessary to ensure that the irrigation, rural electrification, road construction and such other schemes which have been formulated but are not being implemented should also be taken in hand forthwith and executed properly. These schemes will provide adequate employment opportunities to the rural working class and along with this the Government should give the agricultural workers a guarantee for permanent work for 8 to 10 hours a day. A separate machinery should be set up to consider the whole gamut of the matter. It is also necessary that the agricultural workers are free from the burden of the debts. These loans should be written off.

The present crisis to my mind has arisen as a result of the twin failure of the Government—failure to implement land reforms in all the States and total failure to abolish and weaken the stranglehold the big Jotdars are having on the rural economy. As a result of these the Government have not succeeded in the slightest measure to prevent the progressive concentration of land in the hands of a few Jotdars in the rural area and this is the principal reason for all corruption, lack of production and decay in agricultural economy. For the last two to three years the Government have been talking big about the land reforms but as yet nothing tangible has been done. This has been acknowledged even by the task force of the Planning Commission. The present ceiling laws are defective in themselves. They have many loopholes which are being exploited by big landlords and whatever laws that we have to restrict the ceiling are being implemented in a manner which goes to protect the interests of the big landlords. While I personally feel that the ceiling by itself is not a very fair proposition because it deprives the actual cultivator of his legitimate right to own land and yet whatever little provisions we have today therein in favour of the poor landless cultivators, they are not being implemented, which goes contrary to the interest of small agriculturists. To make the ceiling laws a success the agitation and cooperation of actual cultivators is necessary but we have found that wherever the cultivators have raised their voice for their legitimate claim for owning land their voice has been silenced and their agitations have been crushed. This has happened in West Bengal and in other parts of the country. Sir, the tiller's agitation is a great help for achieving a proper distribution of land and this has been proved in West Bengal. During 1967—69 the then Government of West Bengal with the cooperation of the agriculturists succeeded to recover a few lakhs acres of

land from the big cultivators which they were holding either illegally or in benami and distributed them to the cultivators. This is being acknowledged by the Congressmen in West Bengal today. But unfortunately, Sir, the trend that was set in motion during 1967—69 was not followed up. By the subsequent Government and whatever little progress that could be made in this sphere was totally undone during the subsequent period. We have seen Sir that during the last 2-3 years no concerted effort has been made by the Government to benami land or illegal land and distributed them to the cultivators. On the other hand we have found that big Zamindars with the assistance or the connivance of the administrative machinery have succeeded to get back their lost land and more and more agriculturists are being evicted from their own land. It is true Sir, that in some cases the limits of the ceiling have been reduced by the Congress Governments but these are there on the Statute book for the purpose of consolation for no effort has been made either to implement them and give the benefit of surplus land to the landless agriculturists anywhere in the country. On the other hand the police and the goondas are helping the big Zamindars to uproot the *bona fide* agriculturists from their land.

CHAIRMAN: You have already taken 25 minutes.

(Interruptions)

SHRI GADADHAR SHAH: I was suggesting Sir, that in order to protect the poor cultivators it is very necessary that powers of the Jotdars have to be crushed, we have to weaken their power financial or otherwise which they are exploiting to corner goods and make huge profits therefrom. It is imperative that land reform measures cannot be put off any longer if we are serious to solve the distress of the toiling agriculturists. The problem has taken a very grave

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turn and any further delay to grapple it and solve it would be too ruinous for the rural economy. I would suggest that all wet land beyond 10—15 acres and dry land beyond 15 to 25 acres should be taken over without compensation and distributed among the cultivators, with the priority to poor landless scheduled castes, scheduled tribes people and poor peasants.

And finally Sir, I will end by making the following demands:—

1. Evictions of cultivators from their land should be stopped;
2. The policy of repression must end forthwith.
3. All benami and illegal land have to be recovered and distributed to the landless agriculturists.
4. Ceiling laws have to be made stringent and their implementation made more rigorous and purposeful to unearth surplus land held illegally and distributed to the agriculturists.
5. No one should be exempted from the provisions of the ceiling laws and right of the big landlords holding surplus land to move for court injunction should be done away with.
6. All cultivators who have been uprooted from their land forcibly should be rehabilitated in the land which they were tilling previously, and all surplus land occupied by the poor, landless peasants be regularised.
7. $\frac{3}{4}$ of the produce should go to the share cropper and the provision of $\frac{1}{4}$ share of the produce be implemented strictly.

8. Steps should be taken for the formation of Krishak Co-operative Samitis for implementation of agrarian reform.

(Interruptions)

Therefore to conclude Sir, I would earnestly hope that the demands that I have made to save the millions of our poor cultivators from the prevailing financial crisis will be supported by the other hon. members and accepted by the House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There are two amendments given notice of by Shri M. C. Daga. Is he moving them?

SHRI M. C. DAGA (Pali): Yes, Sir. I beg to move:

That in the resolution,—

in part (c), for "at subsidised rates be guaranteed" substitute "at reasonable rates be made available".
(1)

That in the resolution,—

in part (d), omit "and genuine"
(2)

I would like to speak on these...

MR. CHAIRMAN: You can speak when your turn comes. Not now.

Shri K. Suryanarayana.

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA (Eluru): I am thankful to the Mover of this Resolution for having given us an opportunity to discuss this crucial subject, particularly the agricultural labour. This is the only class in our country which has not been organized. It is not only not organized but it has been neglected from the very beginning throughout the country by all the Governments, whether it is the CPM

or the Congress or any other Government. Fortunately only the Kerala Government has enacted one Agricultural Labour Act. It is an eye-opener to all the States to follow, but to my knowledge no State Government has taken any initiative so far to follow the Kerala Government's advice.

16.00 hrs.

This is the class, that is, the rural population, the agricultural labour and the agriculturists which, as every member as also our Prime Minister said, is feeding the entire country, whether it is socialists or communists or anybody. 80 per cent of our population live in the villages but they have been long neglected. Not only the agricultural labour but along with them, the agriculturists also have been serving the country so far without any strike. Everywhere, you will find the Rs. 2000 or Rs. 4000 salarywala or even the Rs. 150 salarywala goes on strike but it is the poor agricultural labour, the agriculturist, who have saved the country now. Hereafter, they will also—I am warning all our Members, not only our Members but the entire country—take resort of to agitational methods. In the villages, the Government has not taken any steps to give rations at the controlled rates but to the industrial labour and in big cities they provide foodgrains at controlled prices. To Agricultural labour and the agricultural farmers they do not provide rations. I know only the 20 acre or 30 acre-walas will have adequate foodgrains to take them through the year but the ten-acre-walas and those who possess less than 10 acres sell the grains within 2 or 3 months of the harvest and only in the beginning of the year they may have some foodgrains but from April onwards everybody has to purchase the foodgrains in the market.

Our Planning Commission has not planned anything so far to provide shelter for these people. Only to-day we came to know that they have started some integrated housing sche-

mes to industrial workers and economically weaker sections. Now, from 1971 they have started a scheme for provision of house-sites for the landless workers in the rural areas. They have not started building even pucca houses in the villages. In the villages they cannot pay even Rs. 1 or 2 as rent. From Vijayawada to Eluru I have seen that these peasantry have only small huts. With some subsidy from the State Government they have constructed some small houses here and there but they have not been given any facilities because of want of funds whereas the industrial labour has got all the facilities and they gain more as also the industrialists. If they are not paid the proper price, they are closing their factories and the Government immediately take over the sick mills and big mills so that the workers may be benefited. But in spite of all this, has the industrial production gone up? No. What are the reasons for it? Is it due to lack of any sincerity on the part of the agricultural labour? No. It is due to lack of initiative and planning of our governments, both at the centre and at the States. The Central Government has got only the money-lending business. They are not being properly organised or properly implemented by the State Governments.

Yesterday only I have seen in the papers the Controller and Auditor-General's statement that the State Governments have misused the funds which have been given for paddy production. Where is the check? Where is the control over the States by the Centre? There is bribery, there is collusion between this officer and that officer.

We also issue pamphlets and manifestos at the time of the elections. But we are not sincerely trying to implement our schemes. There lies the fault. otherwise, there will be no room for us to get the criticism from the Opposition Parties. That is the headache of our Party. Day in and day out I have been saying that there

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is no scope for criticism if we implement our policies and programmes, especially, our land legislation in toto and with all the sincerity and they cannot do anything. There is no scope for any Party as everybody is trying to ameliorate the lot of the landless labour. Because I am coming from a village.....

SHRI B. V. NAIK (Kanara): Is the hon. Member suggesting a party-less democracy?

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA: No. Unless there is a party we cannot do anything. I am not a Sarvodaya worker, I have been trained in socialism like Mahatma Gandhian socialism. It is not any text-book socialism. I am a practical socialist.

Twenty years back, without any land reform legislation, I made arrangements for distribution of land in my constituency, that is, regarding about 200 acres of Government land. Only recently they have got *pattas*.

Sir, two years have passed after the Land Legislation, but nothing has been done. We have had four Governments in Andhra Pradesh. They are (1) The Brahmananda Reddy Government; (2) The Narasimha Rao Government; (3) Sarin Government; and (4) Mr. Vengal Rao Government. But now Vengal Rao Government has promised that they will make the arrangement for distributing these. There is the Kolleru land to the extent of 50,000 to 60,000 acres which can be distributed to landless people. In that area, there are the Harijans, fishermen, etc. But the State Government said that they have not yet surveyed it. They said that they have surveyed only in bits of 100 or 200 acres and so on. I submitted a Memorandum sometime back to the Prime Minister along with 32 M.P.s. She had forwarded it to the State Government for their consideration. It is only on paper they have not surveyed so far.

But the present Chief Minister has now promised that it will be distributed to landless poor. This is a fertile land. No fertilisers are needed. This is what the Government of Andhra Pradesh told to our Consultative Committee of Parliament. I quote:

"The Kolleru lake bed area covers about Acres 1,25,000. This is only approximate as the entire area has not been surveyed. Greater part of these lands lies in West Godavari district and a smaller part in Krishna district."

This land will be sufficient at the rate of 5 acres per family. It is sufficient for 10,000 to 12,000 families. In spite of all these things the lake lands have not been distributed. Only we can grow rabi crop but not kharif crop because in rainy season it will be fed with water by several drains. This is a fertile land.

Sir, in my Constituency, there is, one Bapiraju Dharma Samastha; I approached our Home Minister. I met Mr. Deekshitji at Hyderabad 2 years back and he said, it is a trust, how can we do this I say, it is bogus trust. I have given a Memorandum about this thing. The same Dharma Samastha proprietor cooked up a criminal case against the agricultural labourers in this area. There are about 400 villages and there are about 43 people involved in these criminal cases. They have been committed to sessions in a false case. The same Dharma Samastha has obtained a loan from the State Bank of India of Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 lakhs for the development of Government-lease land. Whenever I raise this point about the land, the State Bank and the Finance Minister are replying to me that it is a secret. I request Mr. Dharma to enquire into the matter as to how they received this amount.

On this, cultivation is being summarily rejected. So, the Government is perforce to give the land. They

wanted to seize 500 acres from Dharma Samastha. When I asked the State Bank Officers about this, they said, they cannot reveal the loans given to individuals. Finally, a case has been cooked up that they have agreed for all these things. When the male members ran away they took some thumb impressions of the family members in collusion with some influential local people including the police. They have cheated the people. They were convicted. Later on when the whole thing was a police case, it was found that these thumb impressions were found to be false. Government has not gone in appeal. This is the impression given in the minds of the public, particularly, the labour class. So, my appeal to my friend, Shri Mohan Dbaria is this Let his plan help the labour class only and not the bigger people. We need not bother about the bigger class. They cannot go out of this country. They will live in this country only. Prices are going up. Recently, procurement price policy was announced. In the name of procurement price, in the village, they are giving concessions to big farmers only. It is only the small farmers who are affected. So, I have received a telegram from my district which I may be permitted to read. It reads as follows:

"In my absence my house at Relangi Tanuku Taluk, West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh, sealed by local Revenue Officers on 24-7-1974 at 7.00 P.M. No contravention of any central orders. No action taken at State level. Pray immediate redress and save prestige to 68 years old widowed mother with children —Rangiseti."

In the name of procurement, they harass the villagers in the village. What can the poor people do? They cannot come to Smt. Indira Gandhi or Shri Vengal Rao. They can only approach the constituency Members. I have got several such cases I do not want to take the time of the House.

Coming to housing schemes, they have agreed to provide house sites to agricultural labour. The scheme is in operation in rural areas provide house sites to landless labourers. This was the scheme introduced in October, 1971 in the Central sector. The scheme envisages provision of housing sites in hygienic surroundings free of cost to the landless workers in rural areas only. How can they construct houses on these? What is the use of providing sites only? Have a plan to remove the caste Hindus and you give pattas to harijans in the villages. Otherwise you cannot abolish the untouchability.

So far as Andhra is concerned, I can say that there is no untouchability prevailing. (Interruptions). I say there won't be untouchability prevailing hereafter. This I can assure you all. I am also expecting my friends in Parliament to follow suit. I request the government to distribute house sites I cannot do anything. Since I belong to cooperative society class I know who is my neighbour to me and who is staying in my house etc Let them distribute lands in such a way so that harijans are given sites between caste Hindu's houses. Otherwise you will only be creating Hindu society and you will not be able to abolish the untouchability at all. Apart from whatever assistance is given by the Central Government, the State Governments should also undertake a scheme for providing house sites. There should be no harijan colony and caste-Hindu colony separately. The house sites should be provided for in between caste Hindu's and harijans. You are still keeping untouchability if you are doing this. I request the Minister to give serious attention to this. Let them take 10 years but this problem needs to be tackled.

Once again I thank the mover of this Resolution. This is not a party subject. There are 80 per cent landless labourers depending on Agriculture. Sir, there are no ration shops

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for the agricultural class. Whatever is produced is taken by the Food Corporation. The same people who are producing this paddy are not getting it at the controlled price. So, there are all the chances of a revolution originating from the agriculture class. Then, nobody will be able to prevent it. Sir, I am very thankful to you for giving me so much time.

*SHRI M. KATHAMUTHU (Nagapattinam): Mr. Chairman, Sir, to speak on the problems of agricultural labour in this House 27 years after our Independence is really very painful for me. Agricultural workers are the most neglected section of our working people. All the four Five Year Plans had totally ignored them.

At the very outset, I would like to extend my whole-hearted support to the four propositions contained in the Resolution moved by my hon. friend, Shri Gadadhar Saha. At the same time, I would also like to place before this House the distressing conditions in which millions of agricultural labour live in our country and make certain concrete suggestions for immediate implementation by the Government.

None in this House can deny the fact that the agricultural labour play a very vital role in agricultural production. I should say that they contribute 40 per cent of the physical labour required for country's agricultural production. Their number is about 4.75 crores and if you include their dependents, their total population will come to nearly 15 crores. They constitute about 28 per cent of the total working force of our country. What is the plight of this important segments of our society who play such a vital role in production. They are in acute distress. They are not getting a reasonable minimum wage. In many parts of our country, even today

their wage is poor pittance of 50 paise per day and in some places Re. 1 a day. The moment they demand higher wages, Goondas are let loose upon them. In broad day light these people are murdered and their houses are set ablaze. Just because the poor agricultural labour demanded a reasonable wage, 44 Harijans including women, in a place called Kilavenmani of my District, Tanjore, Tamil Nadu, were burnt alive some years ago, which shocked the conscience of the whole nation. In Champaran District of Bihar, two were shot dead on the ground that they demanded higher wages. I can cite so many examples of brutalities perpetrated against Harijans in U.P. In Ramanapalle of Andhra Pradesh you will see the slavery being practised. The agricultural workers who were getting 50 paise a day demanded a reasonable wage and the result was that 100 houses belonging to them were reduced to ashes. The State Social Welfare Minister has admitted this in his statement in the Andhra Assembly. In Sorappur, South Arcot District, Tamil Nadu, they were subjected to such inhuman atrocities. Several houses of agricultural workers have been burnt down by landlords in this place. Sir, it is really tragic that this Government should continue to remain as silent spectators of such dastardly acts. This Government profess day in and day out that our rural population is being neglected and a major portion of our country's rural population does not have drinking water and electricity has not reached the rural areas etc. But the sympathy of the ruling party is confined to words and not shown in action even after 27 years of our Independence.

You should be aware of the fact that the Minimum Wages Act was passed in 1948. It is really agonising to say that till 1964 the agricultural labour of our country was not brought under the purview of this Act

*The original speech was delivered in Tamil.

several States. It took 16 long years for some State Governments to think of implementing the provisions of this Act for the agricultural labour. Though it is being implemented in a few States, I would like to ask of the Minister of State for Planning whether the minimum wage being given to the agricultural labour bears any relation to the prevailing prices of essential commodities, whether it has in any way helped to raise their standard of living. When we put this question to the Central Government, we are told that this is in the State sphere of activities. The Central Government say that at the all-India level, two-fifth of country's population is below poverty line. I have no hesitation in saying that at the State level the percentage of population below poverty line much higher. For example, in Tamil Nadu, nearly 60 per cent of the population is below poverty line.

It cannot be disputed that agriculture is a seasonal avocatin. It gives employment to them only for 120 to 200 days in a year. You know, Sir, that agriculture is being mechanised and even harvest combine is also introduced at the cost of even this seasonal avocation for the agricultural labour. Many land-lords have taken to mechanical tilling and harvesting. On the one hand their days of employment are getting less and less and on the other, their wages are so low that they cannot have even one square meal a day. When they agitate for a reasonable wage, they are murdered and their houses are burnt. There is no protection for them anywhere in the country. Neither the Central Government nor the State Governments seem to bother about their woes.

To give a classic example of how the Central Government behave, I would like to point out that in August 1973 a Notification was issued fixing minimum wage for agricultural labour falling within the jurisdiction of the

Central Government. I need not say that this was to be enforced in the Union Territory of Delhi also. Has it been implemented in the Union Territory of Delhi? In Mehrauli, adjacent to Delhi, there are 500 farms belonging to the Ministers, the Governors, officers and such other V.I.Ps. I am really sorry to say that this Notification has not been given effect to in these farms. What happened when the agricultural workers demanded wages as per this Notification? Neither the Delhi Administration nor the Labour Ministry stepped in to resolve the conflict. But the situation is completely left in the hands of the police. The S.H.O. of Mehrauli is siding with farm owners. Workers are harassed, beaten and even arrested. False cases have been put up against them. They have even physically thrown out of the farm workers from their quarters in the farms at the instance of the owners. This sordid incident happened in a place adjacent to the capital of our country where the Central Government is located.

I can go on narrating any number of such unsavoury incidents. Sir, in many places, agreements are concluded with the agricultural labour, but they are not adhered to by the vested interests. Agreements for paying wages in kind are arrived at. But the moment the landlords find that the grain prices are going up, they want to pay their wages in money. Consequently, with the price spiral, the poor agricultural labour are unable to make both their ends meet. For example, in my own district, Tanjore, on 22nd July 1974, an agreement was reached between the landlords and the agricultural labour for the payment of wage in 6 litres of paddy and Rs. 2.75. At that time, the price fixed by Government for a bag of paddy containing 57 Kgs. was Rs. 40. Today, it has been raised to Rs 80 per bag. Now, the landlords refuse to pay their wages in kind. They compel the agricultural labour to take their wages

[Shri M. Kathamuthu]

in money. The landlords know that they will be able to make much more money if the wages are not paid in kind. Naturally conflicts take place. Sir, very often, in such conflicts, the Police acts in collusion with the landlords. Besides, the landlords let loose a reign of terror with the help of Goondas, and also social boycott is imposed on them in many places in our country. Sir, slavery in agricultural labour in one form or the other is widely practised in several parts of the country even today. With regard to distribution of land among agricultural workers I should say that I have no faith in the effectiveness of your policies on land reforms.

While the Central Government have given their consent to a legislation of Kerala for giving the right of ownership of land to 25 lakhs of tenants in the State, the President has returned a Bill sent by the Tamil Nadu Government, which is not very radical, but merely gives right to the cultivating tenants to purchase the land owners rights. I am unable to understand why the Tamil Nadu Bill was returned to the State Government without the assent of the President. In Tamil Nadu, there are so many religious institutions and charitable trusts owning vast acreage of land. It is reported in the Press that the President has returned the Tamil Nadu Bill on the plea that these religious institutions and charitable trusts have objected to certain provisions of the Bill. It is reported in the press that the President has directed the State Government to make suitable amendments to enable the so-called institutions to hold sufficient lands for the fulfilment of the objectives for which they have been constituted. I know that a religious muth in my town Mayuram owns 72000 acres of land. I would like to know why should this muth requires 72,000 acres of land. There are some other muths

like this in Tamil Nadu. Sir, Trusts are set up in our country solely for the purpose of misappropriation. I know that a Trust has been set up for the purpose of spreading Family Planning! Such religious institutions and Trusts are allowed to exploit the tenants and agricultural labour in our country.

Sir, with the widespread use of pesticides and insecticides, the agricultural labour have become susceptible to serious diseases which often have proved fatal. But the provisions of Workmen's Compensation Act are not applicable to agricultural labour. Similarly, no Trade Union laws are applicable to them.

I would like to enumerate the steps that are to be taken by the Government and I hope that the Planning Minister will use his good offices in this matter. Firstly, the agricultural labour in irrigated area must get a minimum of Rs. 7 to 10 a day and in backward areas it must range between Rs. 4 and 7. The Minimum Wages Act must be implemented throughout the country without any exception. The Workmen's Compensation Act and other relevant trade union laws must be extended to the agricultural labour. Sir, there is also an imperative necessity for the Central Government to formulate a comprehensive legislation for the welfare of agricultural labour, incorporating a set of guidelines for the State Governments. The Kerala Agricultural Workers Act in this respect proves to be a good example. It is not that a Legislation alone is the need of the hour. A proper enforcement machinery is urgently needed. Therefore, any comprehensive legislation should also contain a provision for an effective implementation machinery. At the moment there is no proper enforcement machinery in the States. A statutory enforcement machinery is very essential if such a comprehensive legislation is to have any impact on

the conditions of agricultural labour. In the absence of such a machinery, very often police are interfering in disputes between workers and land owners. Now in Tamil Nadu, a Circle Inspector tells the agricultural labour that either they accept what is given to them and work silently or get out of the place. Such police interference creates unnecessary complications. Sir, I would also like to point out that there must be a time-bound programme with statutory force behind it for the welfare of agricultural labour. I am working among them and I am personally aware of their privations. Though Government promises to open fair price shops and the prices of essential commodities have been fixed, in the rural areas, these commodities are scarce; and prices in the open market are high. The agricultural labour are the worst hit in this matter. The Central Government must ensure adequate distribution of essential commodities to agricultural workers in the rural areas of the country at subsidised rates.

With these words, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak on this important Resolution.

श्री मूलचन्द्र झाग (पाली) : सभापति महोदय, हम इस बात को कहते कहते थक गये हैं; लेकिन फिर भी हम देखते हैं कि इस वक्त हाउस में न तो लेबर मिनिस्टर हैं, न एग्रीकल्चर मिनिस्टर हैं और न हाउसिंह मिनिस्टर हैं। सिर्फ योजना मंत्री बैठे हुए हैं। योजना सभों और योजनाओं में हमारा बढ़ा विश्वास है। योजनाएँ बनाना और बाते करना ही हमारा काम रह गया है। मुझे तो डर है कि कहीं यह देश योजनाओं और बातों का देश न बन जाये। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस समय श्री भोना पस्वान मास्त्री

हाउसिंह मिनिस्टर और एग्रीकल्चर के मिनिस्टर, श्री सुब्रह्मण्यम और श्री शिन्दे, और लेबर मिनिस्टर को हाउस में मौजूद रहना चाहिये था।

हमारे देश में न जाने कितनी योजनाएँ बनाई गई हैं, लेकिन कोई नीति या योजना कितनी भी अच्छी हो, अगर निष्ठा और ईमानदारी से उन का पालन न किया गया, तो यह संविधान टूट जायेगा और मुझे आशा है कि कहीं हमारे देश में क्रान्ति न हो जाये।

यह सवाल कोई पहली दफा आज नहीं आया है। अगर श्री धारिया के इस बारे में दिये गये सब स्टेटमेंट्स दे जायें तो मालुम होगा कि वे ज्यादा जोरदार हैं और ज्यादा मार्ग दिखा सकते हैं; लेकिन क्या हम कोरी बातें करते हैं? इन खाली पकावों से कुछ नहीं होगा। अभाव ग्रस्त व्यक्ति को कोई चीज मानने का अधिकार नहीं है। उस को जीने का हक है या नहीं, यह भी मालुम नहीं है। गरीब कहता है कि अगर मेरी छाती में दूध क्या खुन भी होता, तो मैं अपने दूधों को पिना देता, लेकिन वह भी नहीं रहा।

मिनिस्टर साहब हम से ज्यादा जानते हैं कि हालत कितनी चिन्ताजनक है। एक तरफ आ मुँहों से भीगी हुई जिन्गी है और दूसरी तरफ हंसी भरे चेहरे दिखाई देते हैं। कहीं ऐसा न हो जाये कि

इस देश की 22 करोड़ जनता, जो नयी और भूखी है, जिसने अपना अधिकतर आनना नहीं सीखा है, कान्ति करने के लिए विवश हो जाये। जब तक उन लोगों को आर्थिक आजादी नहीं मिलेगी, जब तक उन की राजनैतिक आजादी अधूरी है, 27 साल के बाद भी उनकी आजादी अधूरी है, यह देखकर हमारी बर्दन नीची हो जाती है। हम लोग अभी तक कोई बातें करते रहे हैं, आश्वासन देते रहे हैं और योजनाएं बताते रहे हैं, लेकिन प्ररीब की आर्थिक स्थिति में कोई सुधार नहीं हुआ है।

16 35 hrs.

[SRI NAWAL KISHORE SINHA in the Chair]

सीलिंग ला के बारे में बहुत कुछ लिखा गया है। आज हालत यह है कि राजस्थान में झीलिंग ला लागू करने के बाद वही की राज्य सरकार ने लिखा दिया है कि हमारे पास खाने के लिए कोई जमीन नहीं है। मिनिस्टर साहब कहते हैं कि हम एग्जिक्यूटिव लेबर को जमीन देंगे। लेकिन कहा से देंगे? जमीन कहाँ खूँ गई है? पहले जिन के पास जमीन थी, उन के पास अभी भी है। उन्होंने अपने-आपके जमीनों में अच्छी तरह से उस का बटवारा कर लिया है। इस लिए मैं समझता हूँ कि खंड सीलिंग के बारे में आश्वासन देने का कोई अर्थ नहीं है। या तो सरकार गरीबों को खूँ दे कि उन्को जमीन नहीं मिलेगी या वह कुछ स्टैंड को इस बारे में सयम का प्रावण करे। केन्द्रीय सरकार की

नेक-समर्थों से काम नहीं बनने वाला है। हर एक योजना को एक निर्धारित समय के अन्दर कार्यान्वित किया जाना चाहिए। इसी तरह जमीन और एलमिन्ट के बारे में एक टाइम-लिमिटेड निर्धारित कर देनी चाहिए।

प्रायः हिन्दुस्तान में सत करोड़ लोगों के पास मकान नहीं हैं। कहा गया था कि गांवों में मकान बनाने के लिए की-जमीन दी जायेगी। लेकिन निमित्त यह है कि पचासवाँ ने पूँजीपति और धनी वर्ग की सीमा की मकान किये हैं। शरीरों को मकान नहीं मिले हैं और उन की हालत में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं हुआ है।

गांवों में खादी शमीलोग और हैडलूम के काम को प्रोत्साहन दिया जाना चाहिए, ताकि मूँहिनी लोगों को रोजगार मिल सके। ऐसी व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए, जिस से लोग खादी के वस्त्र पहनें, खादी की माग बढ़े और ज्यादा से ज्यादा लोग इस काम में लग सकें।

डी० पी० ए० पी० और कृष प्रोग्राम में क्या हुआ? मजदूरों की तनखाह तीन रुपये रोज खी गई। लेकिन ऊपर के बदमाश अफसर फावड़े बर्ररह इनस्ट्रुमेंट्स के लिए कुछ कट लेते हैं और इस महगाई में उन लोगों को मुश्किल से दो डार्ड रुपये मिलते हैं। कृष प्रोग्राम में रोज ख अर्द्धी नहीं बनती है। वह पैसा उपायक काम में नहीं आ रहा है। उरत इस बात की है कि मजदूरों के लिए कोई कानकीट योजना बना कर उस को टाइम-लिमिटेड में पूरा करने की कोशिश की जाय।

श्रीमत् कलासिंह ने निम्नलिखित केन्द्रित एवट लक्ष्मी नदी गुप्त है। श्रम यह कला दीर्घाएँ कि कर्म। श्री कोई अभीष्टार होय बडा किसतन हो जिस ने कस्तकार को बोधे से पीछे पर रखा हो। श्रीर उस का चलायन हुआ हो। निम्नलिखित केन्द्रित एवट लक्ष्मी होने के बाद एक मेल तक कता खोजिने। श्री श्री गांधी ने रेवर को खरीदा जाता है। (बधधान) खरीदने से मतलब जैसे कि कहा जाता है कि तुम को 300 रुपये साल मे दिए गए, तुम को हमारे घर मे रहना पड़ेगा, अन्य वह नहीं रहता है तो उस के बेटे को रहना पडता है, उस को हाली प्रधा कहते हैं। मे ने कहा ह कि प्राप रीजनेबल रेट दे दीजिए, सर्बिस डाइज्ड रेट का क्या सवाल है ? यह राहत देना इज्जत की जिन्दगी बख्शना नहीं ह। यह बहुत गलत प्रदत्त है सरकार क कि राहत पहुचा दिया गया। राहत पहुचाने का मतलब उस को इज्जतदार जिन्दगी बसर करने के लायक बनाना नहीं है। प्राप उस को काम दीजिए। काम से श्रादमी इज्जतदार बनता। लेकिन प्राप राहत देते हैं। राहत से स्वाभिमान पीदा नहीं होता है। इसलिए मे इसको अच्छा नहीं समझता। उन्हे काम दीजिए श्रम-श्रम के जितने प्रोग्राम हैं वीड सीरिलिब के या लैंडरिफार्मस के उनको एक निश्चित समय के अंदर इम्प्लीमेंट किया जाना चाहिए; डी० पी० ए० पी० प्रोग्राम, फूस प्रोग्राम खादी तथा ग्रामोद्योग के प्रोग्राम, श्रम सारे लेबर के लाज, इन को सब को लेकर इम्प्लीमेंट कीजिए। इसलिए मे ने अपना प्रमेडमेंट दिया है। मेरा प्रमेडमेंट स्वीकार होना चाहिये। श्रमिया साहब हक से ज्यादा तेज बोलते हैं। मे उन के सारे स्टेटमेंट इन्फ्लेटा

कर के लाया था, लेकिन पड़ने का टाइम नहीं है, वह मैं उन्हे फिर बता दूंगा।

श्री राम रत्न शर्मा (बादा) सभापति जी श्री गदाधर साहा द्वारा जो यह सकार्य प्रस्तुत किया गया है उस का मैं हृदय से समर्थन करता हूँ श्रीमत् कलासिंह की सलाह से सर्वथा कर्बनाह मनाई गई है। हमारे राष्ट्र की प्रधान मंत्री ने बडे ही भाव शीने शब्दों में कृषि मजदूरों और मजदूरों की स्थिति का कुछ वर्णन किया है। श्रीमत् मेरे मित्र डा. साहब कह रहे थे कि श्रमिया साहब जो योजना मंत्री हैं, मन्त्रालय में जाने के पहले मजदूरों और कृषि मजदूरों के लिये कौसी भाषा बोलते थे। मेरा क्याल है कि सम्पूर्ण देश और सदन को ज्ञात होगा। पता नहीं पावर में जाने की बात है या कुछ देश का दुर्भाग्य है कि अब भी अच्छे से अच्छा व्यक्ति मंत्री को कुर्सी पर बैठ जाता है उस की भाषा बदल जाती है।

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN
THE MINISTRY OF PLANNING
(SHRI MOHAN DHARIA) I have
not changed my language

श्री राम रत्न शर्मा श्रम इन की भाषा नहीं बदली तो इन्होंने कुछ नहीं किया। अज 27 वर्ष बीत जाने के बाद क्या हालत है ? हमारे देहातो का कृषि मजदूर और मजदूर श्राजादी से पहले, श्राज से 27 साल पहले जिस स्थिति मे था उसने श्राज नीचे चला गया . . . (बधधान) उस की स्थिति मे कोई सुधार नहीं हुआ ? श्रीमत् मेने कलासिंह एक छोटी सी कविता थी जिसमे यह लिखा है कि हमारे पुर्बज दो सेर का भी खते मे हम दो रुपये किलो का मूल्य खाते है और हमारी

झाने वाली संतान दो रुपये किलों का भूसा
 आएगी। आयरमी है इस में लेकिन आप
 समझने की कोशिश करें। 27 वरं पहले
 मजदूरों की स्थिति आज की स्थिति से कहीं
 अच्छी थी बहुत अच्छी थी.... (ब्यबधान)
 आज खाने को नहीं मिल रहा है.... (ब्यब-
 धान) : समापति जी सही बात कड़वी लगती
 है।.... (ब्यबधान) अभी बता जा ने
 अधिकतम जोत सीमा के कानून का विस्तृत
 वर्णन किया और उन्होंने राजस्थान के
 इन्स्टीट्यूट कोट किए। मैं उत्तर प्रदेश के बारे में
 बतला रहा हूँ। 1961 में अधिकतम जोत
 सीमा का कानून पहले उत्तर प्रदेश में आया
 जिस में बुन्देलखंड को देखते हुए कि यहां पर
 ऊसर जमीन है 80 एकड़ का सीलिंग नियत
 की गई। दूसरी सीलिंग ऐक्ट 1973 में
 आया और जमीन की सीमा घटा कर सिंचित
 की 18 एकड़ असिंचित को 45 एकड़ कर दो
 गई। सीलिंग जहां तक हुई अच्छा है लेकिन उन
 सीलिंग से निकल कर कितनी जमीन
 श्रमि मजदूरों को और भूमिहीन मजदूरों को
 मिली यह मंत्री महोदय बताएं और हमारे
 उत्तर प्रदेश के मातृनीय सदस्य बताएं।
 (ब्यबधान) एक भी एक जमीन किसी
 श्रमि मजदूर को नहीं मिली है यह मैं दावे के
 साथ कह रहा हूँ और वह जमीन गई कहां,
 यह भी मैं बताता हूँ। जो कांग्रेस के बड़े
 बड़े नेता जिले में हैं, खास तौर से बुन्देलखंड
 और बांदा के, जो कांग्रेस पार्टी में उसी वक्त
 सम्मिलित हो गए जब सीलिंग ऐक्ट बना,
 उन्होने अपने नौकरों और भाई भतीजों के
 नाम उभे हाँट रखा है.... (ब्यबधान)

राजमाता सिन्धिया या श्रीर किसी की बात
 में नहीं जानता, लेकिन आप ने अपना प्रेसीडें-
 शियल कैंडिडेट जिसे चुना है उन की 220
 एकड़ जमीन है आप क्या बात करते हैं ?
 आप अगर कीचड़ फेंके तो वह आप के अपने
 ऊपर लगेगा। आप की प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती
 इंदिरा गांधी भी जमीन की मालिक हैं।
 आप की प्रधान मंत्री ने अभी तक....
 (ब्यबधान)

श्री बरबारा सिंह (होशियारपुर) :
 क्या कामकाज ऐंने कहे जा रहे हैं ? कोई
 बताइये.... (ब्यबधान)

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS
 MUNSI (Calcutta-South): On a point
 of order, Sir, Shri Fakhruddin Ali
 Ahmed is a candidate for the Presi-
 dental election. He is not present
 here at the moment. Unnecessarily,
 this sort of a remark has been made...

SHRI R. R. SHARMA: He is a
 Member of this House.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS
 MUNSI: When a responsible Member
 is speaking, he should have either
 sufficient documents to prove that he
 has got more than 220 acres of land or
 he should withdraw his remark. He
 should be ready to prove it. Otherwise,
 in this manner, if you permit this sort
 of character assassination in this
 House, this democracy becomes mean-
 ingless.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri R. R. Sharma
 to please continue his speech.

श्री के एस चावड़ा (पटना) : वह
 मिनिस्टर नहीं हैं, लेकिन मेम्बर तो हैं।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Why are you making these observations? I have not given any ruling. I have called Shri R. R. Sharma to continue his speech.

SHRI BUTA SINGH (Rupar): I rise on a point of order. My point of order arises out of the statement made just now by the hon. Member. As has already been pointed by my hon. friend, Shri Priya Ranjan Das Munsi, the hon. Member has levelled baseless and absurd charges against one of the candidates of the Presidential election. Unfortunately or fortunately he was addressing the electorate, I mean, the Lok Sabha. In the context of this situation, either his statement should be deleted from the record or he should be asked to substantiate the charge that he has made and if he cannot, he should withdraw his statement.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is an established practice that, if any charge is to be made against any person, it should be given in writing first to the Speaker. So far as holding of 220 acres of land is concerned, I personally think that it is not a charge of such a magnitude that a notice is required to be sent to the Speaker in advance. If the hon. Member referred to is not actually holding 220 acres of land, it is open for him to come and say that he is not holding it.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: You have not given a ruling on my point of order. My point of order is that tomorrow there is going to be the election...

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have already ruled on the point of order raised by Shri Priya Ranjan Das Munsi and yourself. I would request you not to raise the matter further.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: Then I move a formal motion that whatever he has said on this should be deleted.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Under what rule?

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: He is challenging your ruling.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I want to know from him under what rule he is moving that.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: I am sorry I could not make my point clear. Tomorrow the Presidential election is to take place and a serious charge has been levelled by the hon. Member against one of the candidates for the election. Either he should substantiate that charge—maybe, he has sprung a surprise on you—or it should be deleted from the record in the absence of any documentary proof.

MR. CHAIRMAN: As I have said, it is open to the hon. Member to come and refute it.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PLANNING (SHRI MOHAN DHARIA): With your permission, may I say that Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed was a member of the Council of Ministers and with authenticated information I can say that he does not hold land beyond the ceiling prescribed by the Assam Government.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: This is the documentary evidence in my possession.

MR. CHAIRMAN: So far as this matter is concerned, it is not before us.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: I want to make one more submission. This is indeed a very serious subject that we are discussing today. I would like to assure this House that we do not look at the subject from any party point of view. I would like to make it very clear that, with the amendments proposed by Shri M. C. Daga, Government has decided to accept the Resolution with all the responsibility that flows from it. Therefore, I would beg of this House to keep in mind that this is a very serious matter. Crores of our brothers and sisters who are landless labourers are today

[Shri Mohan Dharla]

suffering. Let us try our best to come with positive and concrete measures and rise above the party level.

स.प्र.प.स. महोदय : ऐसी बातें बोलिये जी बोल सकें ।

श्री राम रत्न शर्मा : समाजत जी, मैं मंत्री महोदय का बहुत आभारी हूँ, उन्होंने एक अच्छी बात कही है, जिससे हमारे हृदयों को काफ़ी सन्तोष हुआ है । मैं अब दो-तीन बातों की तरफ़ आप का ध्यान दिलाना चाहूँगा ।

आवश्यक वस्तुओं के मूल्यों से अनप-मान्य वृद्धि हो रही है और उनके साथ साथ सरकार ने जो गेहूँ लेबी में खरीदा, वह 102 रुपये से लेकर 105 रुपये क्विंटल में खरीदा अब उसी गेहूँ को सरकार 150 रुपये से लेकर 160 रुपये क्विंटल में बेच रही है । आखिर सरकार का इस तरह से मुनाफ़ाखोरी करने का क्या औचित्य है ? एक तरफ़ मुनाफ़ाखोरी के लिये दुनिया भर को गालियाँ दी जाती हैं, दूसरी तरफ़ सरकार खुद उसी आभन पर बैठ कर मुनाफ़ाखोरी करती है । क्या ऐसा नहीं हो सकता कि गरीबों, भूखों और बेकार लोगों को, कृषि मजदूरों को सस्ते दर पर गेहूँ दिया जा सके ? क्या ऐसा प्रबन्ध सरकार नहीं कर सकती ? मैं सरकार से आप्रह्न कर्नागा कि जिस भाव पर गेहूँ खरीदा गया है, इन लोगों को कम से कम उसी भाव पर गेहूँ वितरित होना चाहिये ताकि उन को कुछ राहत मिल सके ।

बाँबा रिज़े में पंज के पानी का अभाव है । पाठा जल पेय योजना के नाम से 1973 से देश की प्रधान मंत्री से उस बहुत बड़ी योजना का उद्घाटन किया था, जिस पर करोड़ों रुपये की लागत भ्रष्ट है । उस समय यह भी कहा गया कि वह एशिया की सबसे बड़ी जल पेय योजना है । लेकिन श्रीमन्, वहाँ के निवासियों को, जिन में अधिकांश कृषि मजदूर हैं; उन की प्रारतों को, बच्चों को, एक एक बूँद पानी के लिये आज भी 12 मील से 16 मील दूर तक जाना पड़ता है । इसना ज्यादा पैसा लगाने के बरब, इतनी बड़ी योजना का उद्घाटन करने के बाद भी पाठा जल पेय योजना वहाँ की जनता को पानी नहीं दे सकती तो उस योजना से जनता को क्या लाभ हुआ उस योजना से पानी क्यों नहीं मिलता, इसकी इफेक्टिव जांच होनी चाहिये ।

मंत्री महोदय ने अभी एक ऐसी बात कही है जिसके कारण मैं उनका बहुत आभारी हूँ । कम से कम उन्होंने कुछ न कुछ कदम उठाने का प्रयत्न तो किया है । लेकिन श्रीमन्, मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि अभी तक जानबूझ कर इस समन-पर बैठे हुए लोगों ने गरीबों के साथ, कृषि मजदूरों के साथ अत्याचार किया है । जान बूझ कर उन्हें बिबी-पावर्टी-साइन रखा है, जान बूझ कर छोटे छोटे उद्योग धन्धों का जन्म नहीं फैलाया गया, जिस के लिये महात्मा गांधी ने कहा था और कहते कहते उन की मृत्यु हुई । महात्मा गांधी के नाम पर बोट मारने वाले ये लोग आज भी उन लोगों को पवर्टी-साइन

के नीचे रखे हुए हैं ताकि इन्कमान में इन की मजद महुंक्ती रहे, ताकि गरीबी को हटाने के नाम पर इनकी कुर्सी बरकरार बनी रहे। मैं मुन: सरकार से प्रश्न करता हूँ—गरीबों के साथ, जो पावर्टी-लाइन के नीचे हैं उन के साथ खिलवाड़ न कीजिये, करना परिणाम दूरअसी होंगे और उस का परिणाम ग्राम को और हम सब को भुगतना पड़ेगा।

श्री राम सहाय पाण्डे (राजनन्दगांव) :
सभापति जी, यह प्रस्ताव जो ग्राम के सम्मुख है इसका अर्थाना महत्व है, सदन इस को पास करे या न करे यह दूसरी बात है। लेकिन इस प्रस्ताव के माध्यम से ग्राम हम उस वर्ष-विशेष की और ग्राम का स्थान अभावित कर रहे हैं जो आज देश की वर्तमान आर्थिक स्थिति में जसबा हुआ है, जो मौजिन है, जो दुर्बी है, जो भूमिहीन है, जो भूमि पर काम करने वाला, भूमि पर रहने वाला, लेकिन भूमिरहित इन्सान है, जिस के पास अपना स्वतन्त्र कोई जरिया नहीं है, जिस को बहुधा हम शीकर-सेवक आक्र-दिम्पलिस कहते हैं।

श्री धारिया जी ने आश्वासन दिया है— मैं उन को हृदय से साधुवाद देता हूँ। वह योजना के प्रमुख उत्तराधिकारी हैं और उन के मन में सर्वहारा समाज के लिये एक विशेष प्रकार का भाव है। जब एक क्रान्ति की ओर हम जा रहे हैं, भूमि का वितरण कर रहे हैं, भूमि उस को दी जाय जो "टिल" कर सके, खेती में हल चला सके, क्योंकि वह उदाहरण इस पर दिया जाता है कि यदि हम भूमि ऐसे लोगों को देंगे जिनके पास भूमि नहीं है तो

उनके पास भूमि न होने के साथ साथ साधन भी नहीं है। ऐसे उदाहरण बेस्टेड इन्स्टेस की तरफ से दिए जाते हैं जिनका कि इनो बड़ा स्वार्थ है। हा, उनको भूमि देने के साथ साथ हमें उनको साधन भी अवश्य देने होंगे। यदि हम साधन नहीं देंगे तो भूमि देने का कोई अर्थ नहीं होगा। इस प्रकार भूमि और साधन दोनों एक साथ देने की आवश्यकता है।

17 00 hrs.

कुछ लोग यह कहते हैं कि यदि बड़ी इकाइयों को तोड़ कर छोटी इकाइयों में खेती होगी तो देश में अन्न की उपज कम हो जायगी। इस सम्बन्ध में हमने दो देशों की खेती देखी है—एक अमरीका की और दूसरे जापान की। जापान में कुल जितना देश का क्षेत्रफल है उसमें केवल 10 प्रतिशत भूमि पर खेती होती है। वहां पर लोग 200 पीड फर्टिलाइजर एक एकड़ में डालते हैं और उनकी खेती सवा पानी से परिप्लवित रहती है। वहां पर कहीं कहीं छोटी इकाई में 5-6 एकड़ से ज्यादा युनिट्स होती नहीं है लेकिन वहां पर उसमें एक वर्ष में सवा लाख, डेढ़ लाख की मसज होती है। सरकार की धार से मर्केटिंग सोसायटीज होती हैं जिसके द्वारा हाइब्रिड सीड, खाद, उर्वरक—यह तमाम साधन प्रसाधन उपलब्ध कराये जाते हैं। न केवल वहां के किसान आत्मनिभर हैं बल्कि अपने देश की 11 करोड़ जनसंख्या को खिलाकर, उन्हीं छोटी छोटी इकाइयों से आवश्यकता होने पर अपने पड़ोसी राष्ट्रों को भी अन्न एक्सपोर्ट करते हैं। इसके अलावा वहां पर खेती का एक ऐसा फेमवर्क बना हुआ है कि जो लोग खेती करते

हैं, जो खेती से सम्बद्ध है उनके खेत में काम करने वाले लोग उसी के परिवार के लोग होते हैं—उसके बेटे हैं, उसकी माँ है, उसकी स्त्री है और उसके छोटे छोटे बच्चे हैं। छोटे छोटे बच्चों की पढाई का भी इन्तजाम है परन्तु साथ साथ खेती में उनके करने लायक जो काम है उसको भी वे करते हैं। इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं कि जापान में खेती करने के लिए सारे साधन प्रसाधन मौजूद हैं और उनका अपना सारा परिवार खेती का काम करता है। दूसरी तरफ हमारे देश में स्थिति बिल्कुल उल्टी है। हमारे पास 40 करोड़ एकड़ धरती खेती के लिए है। सौ में 72 लोग गाँवों में रहते हैं। इस जमीन का बटवारा इस प्रकार है। 100 में 20 ऐसे लोग हैं जिनके पास एक इंच धरती भी कहीं पर उपार्जन के लिए नहीं है, खेती करने के लिए नहीं है। दस परसेन्ट ऐसे लोग हैं जिनके पास एक से दस एकड़ जमीन है, दस परसेन्ट ऐसे लोग हैं जिनके पास दस करोड़ से बहुत ज्यादा जमीन है और 60 परसेन्ट ऐसे लोग हैं जिनके पास छोटी युनिट्स हैं।

इस देश में जब लैंड रिफार्म्स की बान आई तो बहुतों ने अपनी भूमि बेनामी अपने परिवार के लोगों के नाम कर दी। यही नहीं, अपने परिवार के सदस्यों के भलावा गाय, भैंस, कुत्ते कुतिया का नाम लेकर भी धरती का बटवारा कर दिया गया। कारण यह है कि वे लोग बड़े सचेत होते हैं। इस सदन में पास करने के लिए जो योजना होती है, सर्वहारा समाज को सुधारने, उसको आगे ले जाने और उनको

ऊपर उठाने के लिए जो कब्र उठने वाला होता है वह उनको पहले ही पता चल जाता है और वे समझते हैं उससे शायद हमारी हकतलफी होगी, हमारी जमीन चली जायेगी। मैं नहीं समझता जिन स्टेट्स ने लैंड रिफार्म्स बिल पास कर दिया है—मध्य प्रदेश भी उनमें एक राज्य है—वह उनको कौन कार्यान्वित करेगी, कब करेगी और कब तक उम सर्वहारा समाज के साथ जमीन जा सकेगी।

एक मारल भूवर्गमेंट भी इस देश में चला था जिसको हमारे प्रांत स्मरणाय विनोबा भावे जान चलाया था लेकिन उसमें बजर जमान हा मिला, अच्छा जमीन नहीं मिला। वे उन लोगों के मन में एक आत्मचिन्तन पैदा करना चाहते थे जिनके पास अधिक जमीन है। श्रामन्, आपका भा अनुभव होगा, बिहार से आप आते हैं, कि जिनके पास अधिक भूमि है वह श्रमशाल नहीं हैं, वे स्वयं काम नहीं करते हैं बल्कि दूसरों से काम करवाते हैं। यही कारण है कि लैंड रिफार्म्स का बिल गवर्नमेंट ने इनाशिएट किया था, हमारे दस सूत्रीय कार्यक्रम का जिसके प्रणेत हमारे धारिया जो हैं और उन्हें बड़ा जोर लगाया कि सम्पत्ति का बटवारा भी हो, उसकी भी सीलिंग हो और धरती का भी सीलिंग हो। क्योंकि जब धरती की सीलिंग होगी, जब धरती का बटवारा होगा तो धरत उनके हाथ में जायेगी जिनके पास श्रम-शक्ति है, अपने हाथ गले करने की भावना है और उनके द्वारा अपनी उदरपूर्ति के साथ-साथ उत्पादन भी बढ़ेगा। यह काम बड़ा आवश्यक है। जब यह काम होगा तो 100 में जो 20 ऐसे

लोग गाँवों में हैं जिनके पास एक इंच भी धरती नहीं है उनके लिये हम कुछ न कुछ कर सकते हैं। इसलिए यह काम बड़ा आवश्यक है। इस मामले सामने कोई यूटोपियन आइडिया नहीं रखना चाहते लेकिन 26-27 वर्ष, जब से इस देश में स्वराज्य प्रयास है तभी से सबसे अधिक उपेक्षित सुबहारा समाज आप से यह अपेक्षा करता है कि यह पुनोत्थ गया हमारे तट को भी स्पर्श करते हुए आगे बढ़ेगी परन्तु अभी इस गया का एक बूढ़ भी उनके तट तक नहीं पहुँचा है—इस बात को कहने में मुझे कोई भी सकोच नहीं है। हम समाजवाद की कितनी ही बड़ी बात करे, चाहे गरीबी हटाने की बात करें लेकिन यह गरीबी तभी हटेगी जबकि उनके हाथ में साधन जायेंगे, साधन का स्वामित्व उनके हाथ में जायेगा जिनके हाथ में भ्रम है, जिनके हाथों में उत्पादन की क्षमता है, जो गाँवों में रहते हैं, जिस धरती से वह पैदा हुए उसी धरती की छाती से लगथे हुए हैं, वे उस धरती की सेवा करना चाहते हैं। यदि उनको सेवा करने का अवसर मिलता है तो वे अपने राष्ट्र की सेवा करने में कभी पीछे नहीं रहेंगे। यह वही है जिनके बेटे देश को सुरक्षा के लिए अपना बलिदान करते हैं। यह उसी किसान के बेटे हैं जिनके पास धरती नहीं है। यदि उनके पास धरती हो जिनके तो वे अपनी उदरपूर्ति के साथ साथ इस देश का एक कृषि की धोर भी अवसर कर सकते हैं। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इसका सम्मान करता हूँ और प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि कुछ साधन उन लोगों की तरफ भी बहने चाहिए।

श्री राम कंचर (टोक) : श्री गदाधर माहा जी ने कृषि मजदूरों के बारे में जो संकल्प पेश किया है उसका मैं समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। इस संकल्प के सम्बन्ध में कई माननीय सदस्यों के बड़े रोचक भाषण यहाँ पर हुए हैं परन्तु मुझे इस बात का खेद है कि चन्द भाई जो यहाँ पर गरीबों के बोटों से चुनकर आते हैं उनको गरीब मजदूरों और छोटे लोगों के दुख दिखाई नहीं देते हैं। 27 वर्षों की आजादी के बाद भी आज तक सरकार उन लोगों तक नहीं पहुँच पाई है। वरस हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जो भाषण दिया उसमें कहा कि लोगों को धरतारा नहीं चाहिए, एक एक इंच भूमि पर कृषि उतानी चाहिए। उन्होंने अपने भाषण में यह भी कहा कि किसानों के धन्दर तरकारी उतानी चाहिए। लेकिन मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो कृषि मजदूर है, जो अपनी मजदूरी के लिए जबह जगह भटकते रहते हैं वे क्या उन किसानों को इधर उधर लिये हुए फिरेगे? मेरा निवेदन है कि आज जो बड़े बड़े बगलों में लोग विश्वजनक हैं, जिनकी 10-20 एकड़ जमीन घेर रखी है क्या उनसे वह जमीन निकाल कर उस जमीन पर खेती को दी गई है? किसानों की बात तो बाद में आती है।

27 साल की आजादी के बाद भी जो निम्न वर्ग के लोग हैं, गरीब लोग हैं, जिनके पास जमीन नहीं है, चाहे वे शेड्यूल कास्ट या ट्राइबल या सर्वण जाति के हों, उनके बस्तों मिटा, इलाज और इलाक की सुविधा सुबध नहीं हो पाई है। वे सब चीजें उनके लिए महंगी बनी हुई हैं। वे अपने बच्चों को शिक्षा

नहीं दिला पाते हैं, बीमार पड़ जाते हैं तो इलाज की व्यवस्था नहीं कर पाते हैं और इंसफ भी उनको नहीं मिलता है। 1971 से, जब से मध्यावधि चुनाव हुए हैं, मैं बार-बार मांग करता आ रहा हूँ कि सरकार के पास जो जंगलात की लाखों एकड़ जमीन पड़ी हुई है उसको कृषि मजदूरों में, शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लोगों में जिनको खेती का तजुर्बा है दे दिया जाय, उनमें उसको बाँट दिया जाय लेकिन आप ने इसके बारे में कोई कार्रवाई नहीं की है, इसका कोई उत्तर ही नहीं दिया है। इस और आपका ध्यान जाना चाहिये।

खाद्यान्नों की समस्या बनी हुई है। इनकी कीमतें दिन प्रति दिन बढ़ती जाती हैं। लोग रो रहे हैं। उनको राशन नहीं मिलता है। राशन कार्ड उनके नहीं बनते हैं। सरकार बड़ी बड़ी बिल्डिंग बना रही है। और भी बन रही हैं। ये ठेकेदारों द्वारा भी बना जा रही हैं। इंजीनियर भी इनकी देखरेख में लगे हुए हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इन लोगों से उन पर काम करने वाले मजदूरों की आपकी लिस्ट ले लेनी चाहिए और उस आधार पर मजदूरों के राशन कार्ड आपकी जल्द से जल्द बना देने चाहिये।

मजदूर आज बारह घंटे काम करता है, खून पसीना एक करता है लेकिन फिर भी उसको पेट भस्ने लायक रोटी नहीं मिलती है। उसको केवल साढ़े तीन और चार रूपये रोकाना मिलते हैं। उनके बास्ते आपने क्या व्यवस्था की है, जो उनका शोषण होता है उसको रोकने के लिए आप ने कौन कदम

उठाए हैं यह मैं योजना मंत्री जी से जानना चाहता हूँ।

शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लोग राजस्थान तथा अन्नप्रदेशों में भी हैं। कृषि की जमीन इनको दी गई है और वह सहकारी समिति के नाम पर दी गई है। इन सहकारी समितियों की सरकार कोई देखरेख नहीं कर रही है। इन लोगों को कर्मा आदि की कोई सहूलियत नहीं है। वे जिस बरबादी की हालत में पहले थे उसी में आज भी हैं। एक ही फसल उसमें वे बोते हैं और जो कुछ पैदा होता है उसी से उनको संतोष करना पड़ता है।

अगर आप चाहते हैं कि उपज बढ़े और उन मजदूरों का भी कुछ लाभ हो तो आपकी इन जमीनों को उनको व्यक्तिगत रूप से एलाट कर देना चाहिए। ऐसा आपने किया तो वे किसी तरह से कर्त्र आदि ले कर इन जमीनों का सुधार करेंगे और उपज भी बढ़ायेंगे और अपना जीवन स्तर भी ऊपर उठा सकेंगे।

आप ने काश्तकारों पर लेवी लगाई। राजस्थान सरकार ने पटवारी और गिरदाबर को लेवी वसूल करने का अधिकार दिया। उन पर ही उससे सारे मामले को छोड़ दिया। इसका नतीजा बहुत खराब हो रहा है। एक दो एकड़ वाले जो छोटे लोग हैं, जिनके घर पटवारी आदि लोग न तो ठहरते हैं और न ही खाना खाते हैं उन से वे मनमाने ढंग से लेवी वसूल कर रहे हैं और अगर वे दे नहीं पाते हैं तो उनको जेल भिजवा देते हैं। इन लोगों ने जो भी गेहूँ अपने तथा अपने

बच्चों के लिए रखा था उसकी, सारे के सारे को वे ले गये हैं और उनके पास एक दाना भी नहीं बचा है यह दोषपूर्ण नीति है। पटवारी आदि को आपको इतनी छूट नहीं देनी चाहिये थी। पटवारी द्वारा जो भ्रष्टाचार किया जा रहा है उसको मिटाने में आप असफल सिद्ध हुए हैं। इस और आपका विशेष ध्यान जाना चाहिए।

छोटे लोगों को सरकार द्वारा जो वस्तुएं मिलती हैं जैसे लोहे की चादरें, मिमेंट, मिट्टी का तेल, आदि इन सब के बारे में आपको ऐसी व्यवस्था स्थापित करनी चाहिए कि उनको कांड दे दिये जायें और लोहे की चादरें, चीनी, तेल आदि कांडों पर बाटां जायें और यह सब उस पर नोट होना चाहिए। आजकन खानापूति ही होती है। जिसको आप ने कोटा दे रखा वह तो मानामाल हो गया है और गरीब लोगों के नाम पर जो वस्तु धानी है, वह गरीब लोगों को मिलती नहीं है।

महात्मा गांधी गरीबों से बड़ी हृदयी रखते थे, गेड्यूल्ड काम्ट्स से बड़ी सहानुभूति रखते थे और उनके दुख को अपना दुख समझते थे। लेकिन आज जो सरकार चलाने वाले हैं वे उनसे घृणा करते हैं। बोट लेने के लिए वे जरूर उनके पास जाते हैं लेकिन बाद में उनके दुख तकलीफों की परवाह नहीं करते हैं। हरिजनों में भी ऐसे लोग हैं जो व्यक्तिगत तौर पर सरकार से फायदा उठाने के उद्देश्य से हरिजनों के बोट आपको दला देते हैं लेकिन बाद में उनकी तकलीफों को नहीं सुनते हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि गरीबों तथा हरिजनों आदि के लिए आप जो भी योजना बनायें

उसका लाभ उनको सीधे उपलब्ध करें और ऐसा कोई काम न करें जिससे बिचौलिये को फायदा हो। ऐसा न हो सरकार तो उनके नाम पर कोई वस्तु दे दे लेकिन उन तक न पहुंचे और बिचौलियों के घर भर जायें।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, Shri Y. S. Mahajan.

SHRI SHYAM SUNDER MOHA-PATRA (Balasore): I think we should increase the time for this resolution.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall put this question which the hon. Member is wanting me to put now, at 5.25 p.m.

SHRI Y. S. MAHAJAN (Buldana): I have not the slightest hesitation in supporting the resolution brought forward by Mr. Saha.

Social justice has always been one of the objectives of our planning. But after taking stock of 25 years of planning, we find that the landless labourers and the small peasantry who account for nearly 65 per cent of our population have not received the benefits of planning, with the result that their poverty today is as acute and as extreme as it was towards the beginning of the planning period. The 65 per cent people to whom this resolution refers are really the people of this country, whom we often refer to as the teeming millions of India and they are the people who have been left out of the benefits of planning. They include not only the landless labour, the marginal farmers, the small farmers but also the people belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. We have tried during the last 25 years to attack this problem or improve their conditions in various ways.

But before I come to that, I would like to say that this class of people, particularly the landless labour, has been increasing in numbers, as can be seen from the figures. In 1882, the

[Shri Y. S. Mahajan]

Government estimated that their number was 7½ million; in 1933 they estimated that their number was 33 million; in 1951 by the Agricultural Labour Committee their number was estimated as 44.3 million. Not only is their number increasing but their economic misery is also increasing.

For instance, the Labour Inquiry Committee of 1956-57 had said that the average daily wage of an agricultural labourer varied from Rs. 1.09 to Rs. 0.96 per day. Since then, perhaps, the daily wages might have increased, but the prices have increased so much more that relatively their economic position has become worse. The Labour Commission which first addressed itself to this problem recommended that two things were necessary to improve their conditions. The first was that we should lessen the pressure of population on land. That problem remains almost, let me say quite clearly, intractable. In spite of fifteen years of family planning, we have not been able to reduce the rate of growth of our population or reduce the pressure of population on land. I would not deal with that subject because it is a huge subject and I would be going off the track if I were to deal with it, but as I was saying, the problem has remained as intractable as before in spite of all our efforts and in spite of our planning.

Then the Royal Commission had said at that time that we must impart mobility to this part of our population so that they can move from one part of the country to another where work is available. But this also has not been achieved except to a very small extent. For instance, in Maharashtra we get workers from Andhra Pradesh for building purposes. It is not a solution to the problem.

SHRI B. V. NAIK: They have built Bombay.

SHRI Y. S. MAHAJAN: I do not say we have been unaware of the problem or we are not trying to do

anything about it. For instance, in the Fifth Plan we have got a minimum needs programme. If elementary education were made compulsory, the condition of these people could improve. Again there is failure on that front.

As regards the minimum needs programme, as we all know, the Fifth Plan is almost, allow me to say this, a non-starter, to be quite frank about it.

Thirdly, as regards land distribution, so far about 9.6 lakh hectares have been made available in different States. Out of these, 5½ lakh hectares, i.e., 12½ lakh bighas, have been distributed to landless labour. But what sort of land has been distributed? Much of it is infertile. Take the district of Thana, in my State; 40,000 people have got land which is uncultivable.

Then if we want to solve this problem, we must see that essential commodities of ordinary consumption are provided to them at reasonable prices. We know what has happened in the last three or four years. The steep increase in prices has made their misery worse. These are the people who bear the heaviest burden as a result of the inflationary situation.

I submit, if we want to solve this problem, let us solve it by a frontal attack. Let us give them a guarantee of employment and minimum wages. I have personally been trying as a member of the Advisory Committee of the Planning Commission for the last three or four years to see that we do something to give them a guarantee of employment. The Planning Commission has have pilot projects for intensive employment. They have not yet come forward with the results of these intensive projects. Instead of these pilot projects which go on for five or ten years, let us go ahead. If there are any mistakes, we can correct them. But we are not taking any radical or bold steps in that direction.

Finally, we should assure them minimum wages. In this connection, I would like to recommend the steps taken by the Maharashtra Government. Though the minimum wages legislation was made applicable to this labour in 1948, even now some of the States have not passed legislation to that effect. I would like the Minister to tell us how many States have passed such legislation and made it effective in their States. In Maharashtra, I believe it is a fairly good piece of legislation. I will quote some of its provisions. The State has been divided into three zones and the minimum wage has been fixed between Rs. 3—4½ per day. The minimum hours of work have been limited to 6-7 hours. Wages are made equal for both male and female workers. The law provides that these wage rates should be reviewed every three years

It every State passes such legislation and provides guarantee of employment along with other provisions for primary education, provision of essential commodities at reasonable prices, there is no reason why within 10—15 years we should not be able to make a dent on this problem of the poverty of the millions of this country

MR. CHAIRMAN: The two hours allotted for the discussion of this Resolution are over. Is it the pleasure of the House to extend the time for this?

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH): I have consulted the Opposition also. There is a general consensus that we should extend the time for this by two hours. Of course, the half hour discussion will start at 3.30 P.M. That means the discussion on this Resolution will go over to the 30th.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Is that the pleasure of the House, that two more hours may be allotted for this?

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The time is extended by two hours.

श्री राघु राम अहिरवार (टीकमगढ़)
सभापति महोदय, यह बात सब को भलीभांति मालूम है कि आजादी के पिछले 27 सालों में हम बराबर यह कोशिश करते रहे हैं कि हम देश के खेतिहर मजदूरों और भूमिहीनों के लिए कुछ व्यवस्था करें। सरकार बराबर यह घोषणा करती रही है कि भूमि-सुधार के काम बनाने जाएं कई राज्यों ने भूमि-सुधार के कानून बनाए भी हैं। लेकिन दिल्ली में, और राज्यों में भी, बड़े भूस्वामियों की लाठी इस प्रकार काम करती है कि भूमि सुधार के काम पास नहीं हो पाते हैं, और अगर वे पास हो जाते हैं, तो वे कार्यान्वित नहीं हो पाते हैं। उदाहरण के लिए मध्य प्रदेश सरकार ने सीमित एक्ट पास किया, लेकिन वह दिल्ली में अटक रह गया है। इसी तरह महाराष्ट्र सरकार ने भी यहाँ अटक गया है। समझ में नहीं आता है कि इसमें कानूनी अड़चने सामने आती हैं। हम देखते हैं कि गरीबों के लिए जो भी कानून बनते हैं, उन के मार्ग में रोड़े अटकाये जाते हैं।

आप को सुन कर ताज्जुब होगा कि मध्य प्रदेश में बेधलखंड के क्षेत्र में, पुरानी रॉयल्टी स्टेट में, जिस जमीन पर भूमिहीनों के कमान बने हुए हैं, उन सारी जमीन का एक्टा बड़े भूस्वामियों के नाम है। सारे के सारे काबू भूस्वामियों के पास है। इस का परिणाम यह है कि अगर कोई भूमि कहता है कि मैं बल मजदूरी पर नहीं जाऊंगा, तो उस को घर खाली करने के लिए कह दिया जाता है।

17.29 hrs.

घाय वहा किसी भी जगह चले जाए, घाय देखेंगे कि मकानों की जितनी भी जमीन है, वह सब भूस्वामियों की है।

मैं मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि राज्य सरकारों को यह आदेश देना चाहिए कि भूमि-सुधार के कानूनों का सख्ती के साथ पालन किया जाए। काफी सरकारी जमीन पडी हुई है, लेकिन वह भूमिहीनों में नहीं बाँटी जाती है। मध्य प्रदेश सरकार ने यह ऐलान किया था कि भूमिहीनों में जमीन बाँटवारा किया जाएगा। इस के लिए उन्होंने कमेटी बना दी, जिन में छ पब्लिक के आदमी और एक सरकार का आदमी रहा। खेतिहर मजदूरों और भूमिहीनों को जमीन एलाट की गई, लेकिन उन लोगों को पट्टे नहीं मिल रहे हैं। पटवारी और दूसरे बीच के लोग कहते हैं कि बताओ, कितना पैसा देते हो।

13 जुलाई, को जिला काग्रम कमेटी, टीकमगढ़ ने एक रैली बुलाई, जिस से सात आठ हजार आदमी शामिल हुए। हमने सरकारी अधिकारियों के खिलाफ नारा लगाया कि वे सरकार की घोषित नीति के खिलाफ काम कर रहे हैं और हमने यह माग की कि पट्टे बाँटे जाने चाहिए। हमारे आन्दोलन का फल यह हुआ कि 13 जुलाई, से 8 अगस्त तक मात हजार पट्टे भूमिहीनों को बुला बुला कर दिए गए। अगर हम इस तरह काम करें, तो भूमिहीनों की समस्या काफी हद तक हल हो सकती है।

इसी तरह मध्य प्रदेश सरकार ने एक योजना बनाई थी कि गावों में जिन भूमिहीन लोगों के पास आवास की जमीन नहीं है, उनको जमीन दी जाए। मध्य प्रदेश में 9 लाख आदमी ऐसे हैं, जिनके पास मकान के लिए जमीन नहीं है। उनमें से 6 लाख को जमीन दी गई।

समाप्ति महोदय : माननीय सदस्य अपना भाषण अगली तारीख को जारी रखेंगे।

HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION

INDIAN OCEAN AS A FREE ZONE

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH (Phulpur): Mr Chairman, no longer do the blue waves happily lap the shores of the littoral States of the Indian Ocean, they bring with them ominous tidings of the rival navies of the big Powers charming our Ocean. Nuclear submarines now lurk in the tranquil lagoons. And up in the sky military satellites seen every square inch of this part of land and sea. And down below in the depths of the sea are installed communication devices that speak the cryptic language of a mounting arms race.

The Indian Ocean is undergoing a qualitative strategic transformation. With more than thirty military establishments extending from Asmara to North West Cape and Kerguelen to Bahrain, the danger of military escalation looms large on our horizon. And central to all of them has emerged, Diego Garcia as the very symbol of this escalation. From a tiny speck, it has turned to be a cancerous military tumour outgrowing all healthy littoral relations. I quote from *Newsweek*, which is published from the US itself,

"The US Navy has drawn up plans to upgrade its small communications station on the southern tip of Diego Garcia into an 180 million dollar naval base. Under the Navy's plans, Diego Garcia's air strip would be extended to 12,000 feet—long enough to handle cargo planes, carrier based jet fighters and even B 52 bombers."

Mark it, B-52 bombers carry nuclear warheads. The U.S. House of Representatives has recently sanctioned the necessary money for the expansion of Diego Garcia.