

in your hands and the Business Advisory Committee of the House. At the appropriate stage this matter may be fixed for discussion and we welcome such a discussion. Mr. Advani...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Goray, you give notice.

SHRI N. G. GORAY : I have already given notice.

श्री लाल आडवाणी : सरकार की अतिरिक्त नीति का सबसे बड़ा दोष यह है कि यह किसान विरोधी है।

SHRI ANNASAHEB P. SHINDE : Mr. Advani said that this is an anti-farmer policy of the Government. I do appreciate the statement of the hon. Member. He always over-politicalises... (*Interruptions*). In the country there is need today...

श्री लाल आडवाणी : विदेशी किसानों को तो आप ज्यादा कीमत दे और हमारे देश के किसानों को कम कीमत दे, यह आपकी किस प्रकार की नीति है ?

SHRI ANNASHEB P. SHINDE : Even Mr. Advani will agree with me that there is need to arrest the price rise to maintain stability. Otherwise, the entire country's economy including that of the farmers will be jeopardised. (*Interruptions*). After all, procurement takes place of less than 20 to 25 per cent of the total production available. In the case of Punjab and Haryana, the purchases are larger. In the rest of the country, the farmers are free to sell the produce after giving the levy, etc.

As far as the levy is concerned, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta made a statement that there is no levy. Some of the State Governments want to impose a graded levy, for instance, the U.P. Government wants to impose a graded levy on the farmers. We would like to support any State Government which would come forward for a graded levy.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Ranbir Singh and Mr. Kalp Nath, please take your seats.

SHRI ANNASAHEB P. SHINDE : So far as Punjab, Haryana and U.P. are concerned, there is provision in the statement that I have made for additional bonus. We propose to work out a scheme which would be acceptable to the farmers. I think the misunderstanding which is there in the minds of the hon. Members can be removed.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 2.15 P.M.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at eighteen minutes past two of the clock Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair.

#### THE APPROPRIATION BILL, 1975

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1974-75, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Sir, the Bill arises out of the supplementary demands for grants of Rs. 1245.25 crores voted by the Lok Sabha on the 20th March 1975 and expenditure of Rs. 516.19 crores charged from the Consolidated Fund of India. The supplementary demands for grants were laid before the House on the 17th March 1975. As full explanation for the requirements has been given therein. I would not burden the House with the details thereof. The overall position for the year 1974-75 has been given in the revised estimates for the year, presented along with the Budget for 1975-76. Sir, I move.

*The question was proposed.*

श्री ओम प्रकाश त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उप-महापति जी, यह वजट जो अनुपूर्वक मांग का एक वजट है, वह सदन के साथ एक

[श्री ओम प्रकाश त्यागी]

धोखाधड़ी है। मैं यह कहूंगा कि जो बातें गत बजट में सरकार को शामिल करनी चाहिये थी वह सरकार ने अपने डेफिसिट बजट को बचाने के लिये नहीं किया और इस दृष्टि से उसने सदन को धोखा दिया। कृषि, खाद्य, विजली और केन्द्रीय कर्मचारियों को महंगाई भत्ता देने के संबंध में जो बातें थी, उन्हें वित्त मंत्री जी ने जानबूझकर अपने पिछले वाले बजट में शामिल नहीं किया। ताकि जनता यह न समझ सके कि कितना डेफिसिट बजट है। आज सरकार अनुपूरक मांग रखकर सदन से यह धनराशि पास करा रही है, यह एक धोखा और अनुचित बात है। मैं समझता हूँ कि वित्त मंत्री जी को बजट पेश करने के साथ-साथ बड़ी ईमानदारी के साथ सदन के सामने आना चाहिये था और अगले वर्ष के लिये जितना खर्च चाहिये था, वह उस सब खर्च को अपने बजट में शामिल करना चाहिये था ताकि देश की जनता के सामने एक सही पिकचर आ जाती। मेरी पहिली प्रार्थना तो आप से यह है।

दूसरी चीज मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि कृषि के सम्बन्ध में आपने जो 500 करोड़ की मांग रखी है, उसके लिए मैं धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ, परन्तु यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले वर्ष जिस प्रकार से कृषि मंत्रालय ने कार्य किया है, वह संतोषजनक नहीं कहा जा सकता है। आपने बजट में जो धनराशि इस कार्य के लिये मांगी है और जिस प्रकार से कृषि मंत्रालय कार्य कर रहा है, उससे आपका लक्ष्य कामयाब होगा, इसमें संदेह है। इसका मूल कारण यह है किसान जो गल्ला पैदा करता है, अगर उसको प्रोत्साहन नहीं मिलेगा तो उसका प्रोत्साहन समाप्त हो जायेगा और केवल धन खर्च कर देने से आपके लक्ष्य की पूर्ति नहीं हो सकेगी। इस सम्बन्ध में मेरा निवेदन यह है कि जो किसान गल्ला पैदा करता है उसके साथ आप बराबर 28 सालो से

अन्याय करते आ रहे हैं। आज हालत यह है कि जो दूसरी चीजें हमारे देश में पैदा होती हैं और तैयार की जाती हैं, उनके दाम उत्पादन और लागत मूल्यों को सामने रख कर तय किये जाते हैं। लेकिन हमारे देश का जो अभाग किसान है, वह जो उत्पादन करता है उसके बारे में इन बातों का ध्यान नहीं रखा जाता है। मुट्ठी भर जानकार लोगों को बिठला दिया जाता है और वे लोग ही गरीब किसान जो गेहूँ, कपास और गन्ना पैदा करता है, उसके दाम तय कर देते हैं। इस तरह से यही पर बैठे-बैठे उसकी चीजों के मूल्य निर्धारित कर दिये जाते हैं।

आपका विभाग सभी विभागों को जीवन-दान देता है और पैसा देता है और मैं आपसे यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि कम से कम आपको इस तरह की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये कि किसान जो माल उत्पादन करता है, उसके मूल्य निर्धारित करने समय हर चीज का ख्याल रखा जाना चाहिये कि उसके उत्पादन में कितना खर्च आया है और उसी के हिसाब से मूल्य तय किये जाने चाहिये। अगर आप इन सब बातों को मानकर चलेंगे तो आप अपने लक्ष्य को प्राप्त कर सकेंगे अन्यथा आप अपने लक्ष्य को प्राप्त नहीं कर पायेंगे और आपका सब पैसा व्यर्थ चला जायेगा।

मैं आपके सामने उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले वर्ष कृषि विशेषज्ञों ने, आपके पूसा इंस्टीट्यूट वालों ने, आपके पटियाला इंस्टीट्यूट वालों ने और आपके पंत यूनिवर्सिटी वालों ने यह कहा था कि गेहूँ की लागत कीमत 120 रुपया प्रति क्विन्टल आती है, लेकिन आपने 74 रुपया क्विन्टल रखा और 76 रुपया क्विन्टल फिर भी नहीं रखा। आपने जब किसानों से बाद में गेहूँ लिया तो वह 76-78 रुपया क्विन्टल लिया था और बाद में वह गेहूँ 250 रुपया क्विन्टल बिका। इस तरह से

जो बीच के मिडिल मैन और व्यापारी थे, उन्होंने किसानों से 90-100 रुपया प्रति क्विन्टल गेहूं खरीदा और 200-250 रुपया प्रति क्विन्टल खुले बाजार में बेचा। मैं आपको उत्तर प्रदेश की सूचना तो दे सकता हूँ और वह यह है कि जब बहुगुणा जी चीफ मिनिस्टर बने तो उन्होंने खुली छूट दे दी थी कि गेहूं किसी भी भाव पर बेचा जा सकता है और इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि वहाँ पर व्यापारियों ने 250 रुपया प्रति क्विन्टल गेहूं बेचा। इस तरह की लूट किसानों के साथ हो रही है और इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस लूट को रोका जाय।

गन्ने का मूल्य भी 4 रुपये से 17 रुपया मन रखा गया है। आपको मालूम होगा कि रस निकाल दिये जाने के बाद जो खोई होनी है, जो कूड़ा-करकट होता है, वह 8 रुपया मन विक्रता है और आपने 4 रुपये से 17 रुपये मन गन्ने के दाम रखे हैं जो कि किसानों के लिये एक भारी अन्याय है। इस तरह का अन्याय किसानों के साथ क्यों किया जा रहा है जबकि जलाने वाली लकड़ी 18 रुपये मन विक्र रही है।

एक बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि इन गरीब किसानों का जो गन्ना ले लिया जाता है उसके दाम नहीं दिये जाते हैं। आज के समाचारपत्रों में इस तरह के समाचार आये हैं और मैं इस बारे में सदन में खास सेशन भी करना चाहता था। लेकिन लगता है कि सरकार का ध्यान इस बात की ओर नहीं गया है कि आज किसानों का करीब एक करोड़ रुपया गन्ने का बकाया पड़ा हुआ है। यह किसानों के साथ अन्याय है। जब तक किसानों को गन्ने का दाम नहीं मिलेगा तो किसान कहा से खेती में दाम लगाएगा। इसलिए मैं इस ओर ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ।

अगली बात किसान के सम्बन्ध में जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि जो चीजें आप

उसको दे रहे हैं उनका दाम चौगुना, छः गुना हो गया है। खाद, डीजल, आयल, बिजली इन सबके दाम बढ़ गए हैं। खाद का दाम तो 51 रुपए से 100 रुपए हो गया है। श्रीमान, मैं पिछले दिनों गांव गया था, गांव के किसान जमा हुए और उन्होंने शिकायत की कि जो खाद फसल बोने के टाइम पर दी जाती है उसका एक-एक बोरा जबरदस्ती उपज आ जाने के बाद दिया जा रहा है। जो फसल पैदा होने के बाद दिया जाना चाहिए वह फसल कटने के बाद दिया जाता होगा। इसके अलावा एक और बड़ी कठिनाई किसानों के सामने है। कल-कारखाने वाले व्यापारियों को तो दिन में बिजली दे रहे हैं और किसानों को रात में बिजली दी जा रही है। मैं मंत्री महोदय से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यह कौन सा दिमाग है? इसको तो अजायबघर में रखना चाहिए, इस प्रकार की योजना बनाने वालों को अजायबघर में ही रखना चाहिए। किसान जंगल में अंधेरे में काम करने जाता है उसको रात में बिजली ट्यूबवेल के लिए और व्यापारियों को जो शहर में घर बैठे हुए आराम से काम करते हैं उनको दिन में बिजली दी जाती है। क्यों? व्यापारियों को सस्ती दर पर बिजली दी जाती है। किसान को ड्योढ़ी और दूनी दर पर दी जाती है। इस सिलमिले में एक और बात मैं बताना चाहूंगा। किसान को बिजली मिले या नहीं, उसने ट्यूबवेल लगाया है तो उसने 15 हास पावर के बिल का रुपया चार्ज किया जाएगा। किसान को बिजली मिले या नहीं, उसके पास महीने के बाद बिल आ जाता है। उप सभापति महोदय, आप भी गांव से सम्बन्धित हैं, आप सहमत होंगे कि रबी और खरीफ की फसल के बाद किसान के पास पैसा आता है। हर महीने बिल आएगा तो किसान कहां से पैमेंट करेगा। परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि बिजली के बिलों का पैमेंट नहीं हो रहा है। और उसके परिणाम-स्वरूप उनके ट्यूबवेल का कनेक्शन काटा जा रहा है, उनको बिजली नहीं मिल रही है,

[श्री ओम प्रकाश त्यागी]

कुएं बन्द हो रहे हैं, फसल का नाश हो रहा है। इसलिए किसान को इस बर्बादी से बचाया जाए।

अगली बात ऋण के बारे में है। ऋण के बारे में मैं इतना कहना चाहूंगा कि ऋण केवल बड़े जमींदारों और काश्तकारों को मिलता है, छोटे काश्तकारों को नहीं मिल रहा है। छोटे काश्तकारों को जब तक ऋण देने की व्यवस्था नहीं होगी तब तक इस देश में ज्यादा उत्पादन नहीं होगा। इसका मबक अगर सीखना हो तो जापान से सीखिए, जिसने छोटे काश्तकारों की सहायता करके संसार में खेत में सबसे ज्यादा उत्पादन किया है। उनकी सफलता का मूल मंत्र यही है कि छोटे किसानों की उन्हें खास तौर से मदद की है। आल इंडिया रूरल क्रेडिट रिज्यू कमेटी ने भी अपनी रिपोर्ट में गवर्नमेंट से सिफारिश की है कि छोटे किसानों की अगर मदद नहीं की जाएगी—सबसे इम्पोर्टेंट छोटा किसान है—तो आपके लक्ष्य की पूर्ति नहीं होगी।

दूसरी चीज यह है कि सरकार के कृषि मंत्रालय का ध्यान रबी की फसल पर ही है, पूरा जोर इसी पर है कि गेहूं कैसे ज्यादा हो, लेकिन खरीफ की फसल की ओर, जिसमें कुल खाद्यान्न का दो-तिहाई पैदा होता है, ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। इसलिए खरीफ की फसल की ओर भी उतना ही ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए जितनी रबी की फसल पर दे रहे हैं।

इसके अतिरिक्त सिंचाई, पानी, खाद और अच्छा बीज अगर किसान को दे दिये जाएं तो उसको किसी और चीज की जरूरत नहीं है और उसके बाद वह अपना काम जानता है। लेकिन आप ने सिंचाई की योजना को खटाई में डाल रखा है। आज विभिन्न राज्यों में नदियों के पानी को लेकर विवाद चल रहे हैं और पिछले 28 वर्षों से वह चल रहे हैं। मैं एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ कि अगर नर्मदा के पानी का

विवाद हल हो जाता तो पिछले चार सालों से कच्छ में जो सूखा पड़ रहा है वहां पर ही आप लाखों का और करोड़ों रुपयों का अन्न पैदा कर सकते थे। इसके लिए मेरा सुझाव है कि भारत में जितनी नदियां हैं उन सब को राष्ट्रीय नदियां घोषित कर आप उनके विवादों को राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर हल कीजिए और उनके लिए न्यायाधीशों की एक परमानेंट कमेटी बना दीजिए जिनका निर्णय सारे प्रांतों को सर्वमान्य हो और उनके निर्णयों की कोई अवहेलना न करे। अगर आप ऐसा नहीं करेंगे तो बात नहीं बनेगी।

एक विशेष सुझाव दे रहा हूँ। देश की जनता प्रति वर्ष एक करोड़ के हिसाब से बढ़ रही है और आपके पास जमीन उतनी ही है। पैदावार को आप कहा तक बढ़ाएंगे? और इसके लिए आप को खाद्यान्न का कोई सब्स्टीट्यूट तलाश करना पड़ेगा और वह सब्स्टीट्यूट दूध के अतिरिक्त और कुछ ही नहीं सकता। दूध और घी आदमी को खाने को मिले तो आप अपने खाद्यान्न की खपत एक चौथाई कर सकते हैं। लेकिन अगर दूध और घी खाने को न मिले तो आदमी की भूख चौगुना बढ़ जाती है और उसके कारण अन्न की खपत भी चौगुनी हो जाती है। तो दूध और घी का उत्पादन देश में बढ़ा कर अन्न की खपत कम की जा सकती है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप देश में हरित क्रान्ति के साथ साथ सफेद क्रान्ति भी कीजिए और देश में गौशालाओं का निर्माण कीजिए और गोवंश का जो ह्रास हो रहा है उसको रोकिए। आज देश में 32 हजार गाएँ रोज काटी जा रही हैं। इनको आप बंद कराइए। 1967 में आप ने गोवंश की रक्षा के लिए एक कमेटी बनाई थी। आज तक लाखों रुपया उस कमेटी पर खर्च हो चुका है और वह 1967 से आज तक काम कर रही है, लेकिन आज तक गोवंश की रक्षा कैसे की जाए इस संबंध में वह अपनी कोई रिपोर्ट नहीं दे सकी। इस तरह की नालायक कमेटी को तुरन्त समाप्त कर देना चाहिए। न हो तो

आप कोई एक नई कमेटी बनाइए और उसको कहिए कि इतने समय के अन्दर अन्दर वह अपनी रिपोर्ट दे दे और फिर आप उस पर अमल कीजिए ।

मैं विशेष रूप से एफ० सी० आई० के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता लेकिन यह जरूर कहना चाहता हूँ कि अन्न जो देश में पैदा होता है वह एफ० सी० आई० के भ्रष्टाचार में चला जाता है। एफ० सी० आई० की नालायकी के कारण से बहुत नुकसान हुआ है। पंजाब में, बम्बई में और मद्रास में उनकी नालायकी के कारण स्टेशनों पर पड़ा हुआ गल्ला सड़ गया, बंदरगाहों पर पड़ा हुआ गल्ला सड़ गया। विशाखापटनम् पर और मद्रास के बंदरगाहों पर पड़ा हुआ लाखों रुपये का गल्ला सड़ गया और इस प्रकार देश का लाखों रुपये के गल्ले का नुकसान हुआ।

गृह विभाग की भी मांग इस में है। उसके सम्बन्ध में इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि देश में कानून और व्यवस्था को स्थापित करने में वह असमर्थ रहा है। जिस प्रकार से कत्ल, डाके, लूट और भ्रष्टाचार और चरित्रहीनता देश में फैली हुई है उससे ऐसा लगता है कि यह सब हमारे आचार के अंग बन गए हैं और अब उनके बारे में किसी प्रकार की चिंता करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। ऐसा लगता है कि पुलिस विभाग तो यह समझता है कि यह घूसखोरी, भ्रष्टाचार, रिश्वत आदि तो दैनिक जीवन के अंग बन गए हैं। और इन जुर्मों के लिए किसी को गिरफ्तार करने की जरूरत ही नहीं है। कानून की व्यवस्था यह है कि हाई कोर्ट्स में हजारों केसेज ऐसे हैं कि जो दस, बीस या पन्द्रह साल से पुराने हैं और जिन्होंने केस दायर किए होंगे वह तो शायद मर भी गए होंगे, उनके वक्कों के सामने उनके फैसेल होंगे। यह दयनीय अवस्था आपने न्याय की बनाई हुई है। मेरा सुझाव है कि जिस प्रकार

नीचे के न्यायालयों की रिपोर्ट्स हाईकोर्ट के सामने जाती है उसी प्रकार हाईकोर्ट के केसेज की रिपोर्ट सर्वोच्च न्यायालय के सामने जानी चाहिए। अगली चीज यह है कि हाई कोर्ट के जजों की नियुक्ति पोलिटिकल बेसेज पर नहीं होनी चाहिए। वह प्रांतों के चीफ मिनिस्टर की रिकमेंडेशंस पर करते हैं, यह गलत है। इसलिए उसमें गलत और अयोग्य आदमी पहुंच जाते हैं। न्यायाधीशों की नियुक्ति सुप्रीम कोर्ट के हाथ में होनी चाहिए। आप न्याय को ऐसा बना दीजिए कि जो गरीब आदमी है, जिनके पास पैसा नहीं है कोर्ट में जाने के लिए उनके लिए फ्री वकील दिया जाए ताकि वह न्याय प्राप्त कर सके।

होम मिनिस्ट्री के सम्बन्ध में एक बात विशेष रूप से कहना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि अमरीका का इस देश में बहुत बड़ा पडयंत्र चल रहा है और उनके सी० आई० ए० के लोग धर्म और मेवा का जामा पहन कर इस देश में आए हैं। मैं आप को बताना चाहता हूँ कि 1954 में यह पडयंत्र बना विल्ली फ्रैंक ग्राहम का। जब आइजनहावर वहां के प्रेजीडेंट थे, डलेस वहां के विदेश मंत्री थे तो एक पडयंत्र बना कम्युनिज्म का मुकाबिला किस प्रकार किया जाए, तो विल्ली फ्रैंक ग्राहम ने कहा कि एक अरब ईसाई हिंदुस्तान में पैदा करने होंगे और वहां सबसे पहले नारा लगाना होगा—  
“The Hindu religion must go and for that we are to send an invasion army of ‘Padris’ to India.

इसके लिए पैसा चाहिए। अमरीका के ब्राडकास्टिंग स्टेशन से विल्ली फ्रैंक ग्राहम का यह स्टेटमेंट आया और उस प्रस्ताव पर इस देश में पादरी लोग आए। 1954 के बाद इस देश में पडयंत्र चला। उसके परिणाम मिजोरम, नागालैण्ड में जो विद्रोह चल रहा है, वह है। इसके पीछे अमरीका का हाथ है, वहां की मिशनरीज का हाथ है। मेघालय के पीछे उन्हीं का हाथ है, इस प्रचार से यह पडयंत्र चल

[श्री ओम प्रकाश त्यागी]

रहा है। आज नार्थ ईम्डर्न रीजन आपके हाथ में नहीं रहा, वह आपके हाथ में चला गया। वही पडयंत्र आज असम और त्रिपुरा में भी चल रहा है। कल ही असम में झगड़ा हुआ था रोमन लिपि के बारे में। असम के पहाड़ी क्षेत्र के लोगों को असमी लिपि नहीं दी जा रही है। ईसाई पादरियों ने उनको भडकाकर झगड़ा कराया। उसमें 8 आदमी मारे गए पुलिस के साथ फायरिंग में और पुलिस के आदमी भी मारे गए। बोदो जाति के लोगों ने आन्दोलन किया कि रोमन लिपि होनी चाहिए। त्रिपुरा में भी यही पडयंत्र चल रहा है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि भारत वर्ष के जितने ट्राइबल एरियाज हैं, पहाड़ी क्षेत्र हैं वहाँ भी आपको ऐसी समस्याओं का सामना करना पड़ेगा। अगर आप इसी तरह से सोचें रहे तो कोई धर्म के नाम पर, कोई सेवा के नाम पर, विदेशी सी० आई० ए० एजेंट इस देश में ऐटी सोशल एक्टिविटीज कर रहे हैं अगर उन पर प्रतिबन्ध नहीं लगाया गया तो इस देश को बहुत बड़ा खतरा है।

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

श्री ओम प्रकाश त्यागी : मैं इतना ही कहना चाहूँगा कि 15 दिसम्बर 1972 को श्री मिर्धा ने बताया कि विदेशी पडयंत्र पर कितना खर्च हो रहा है। उन्होंने पिछले दो वर्षों में—1970 में 33.43 करोड़ और 1971 में 41.66 करोड़ रुपया बताया—प्रतिवर्ष 47-48 करोड़ रुपया भारतवर्ष में उन लोगों को आ रहा है जो इस देश में ऐटी सोशल एक्टिविटीज कर रहे हैं। इतना विदेशी धन इस देश में विदेशी मिशनरीज को आया, यह मामला यहाँ सदन में आया। लेकिन गवर्नमेंट ने कुछ काम नहीं किया। होम मिनिस्ट्री को लकवा मार गया है। हमारी सरकार को चिंता पैसे की है, और चीजे तो उसने

वेच डाली है। सभी चीजें जैसे चीनी, कपड़ा और दुनिया भर की चीजे वेच डालीं, स्टील, लोहा आदि, केवल एक चीज रह गयी और वह है हमारी लड़कियाँ। उनको भी विदेशों में निर्यात करके इससे भी पैसा लेने का मैं समझता हूँ कि एक धंधा शुरू हुआ और इसके पीछे विदेशी ईसाई मिशनरीज का हाथ है और वह यहाँ के लोगों ने नहीं बताया वल्कि डेली गार्जियन ने 27 अगस्त, 1970 को लंदन में यह रहस्य उद्घाटन किया और उसमें यहाँ के एक पादरी का लैटर उन्होंने छापा और वह लैटर किसके नाम था? दिसम्बर 1967 में, मदर सुपीरियर आफ सेंट लूसी लंदन, हेम्सफायर। उन्होंने उसमें लिखा था—

"I am happy to be able to choose girls for your convent. If possible, it would be even better to send 10 girls instead of 5. If you would like additional girls, please inform me as soon as possible on the exact number."

"For every girl enclose £260 to cover travelling and other expenses, keeping in mind that devaluation has increased the figure."

I would ask you to deposit the money in my name at the State Bank of India, Cochin उम समय एयर टिकट था 140 पौंड का और वाद में 215 पौंड हो गया था जब कि इन की मांग 260 पौंड की थी। इस के मायने यह हुए कि लड़की की कीमत अकार्डिंग टू 'सण्डे टाइम्स' केरला 3 लाख पौंड का व्यापार हुआ। उसके मायने 54 लाख का व्यापार लड़कियों के संबंध में इस देश में हुआ। इतना ही नहीं मैं यह भी कहना चाहूँगा कि केवल युरोपियन कंटरीज को ही नहीं मध्य एशिया को भी लड़कियाँ गई थी। मैं आपके प्रांत की घटना बता देना चाहता हूँ। महाराष्ट्र असेम्बली में वहाँ के प्रमोद कुमार नवलकर ने इस प्रश्न पर गृह मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान आकर्षित किया था कि लड़कियाँ बम्बई से मध्य एशिया के देशों में जा रही हैं, इनका व्यापार हो रहा है इसको

रोका जाए। इस पर गृह मंत्री महोदय ने जबाब दिया कि जांच की जा रही है। मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि मध्य एशिया में जाकर यहाँ की लड़कियाँ एक-एक लड़की 10-10 हजार में विक्रि रही हैं। वहाँ का कोई शेख ऐसा नहीं है जिसके घर में हिन्दुस्तान की लड़की लोंडी बन कर न रहती हो, दासी बन कर न रहती हो। यह है गृह मंत्रालय जिसकी अनुपूरक मांगों पर बहस हो रही है। मैं कहता हूँ कि गृह-मंत्रालय को एक पैसा भी देने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। इन जगहों के साथ मैं कहना चाहूँगा कि आप अपनी अनुपूरक मांगों को देखते हुए इस मंत्रालय के जो काले-कारनाम हैं उनको ध्यान में रख कर योजना बनाएं। मैं उन मांगों का विरोधी नहीं हूँ जो सही हैं, देश के उन्नति के लिए हैं। किस रूप में इन मांगों का सदुपयोग होता है इसके ऊपर ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहिए।

**श्री सुलतान सिंह (हरियाणा) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो विधेयक रखा है मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ और त्यागी जी ने अभी जो फर्माया कि एग्रीकल्चर की तरफ ज्यादा रुपया होना चाहिए, मैं त्यागी जी की इस बात का भी समर्थन करता हूँ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था सारी कृषि पर आधारित है। हमारी सारी इकोनोमी एग्रीकल्चर इकोनोमी है। आज जो हालत बित रही है उससे मैं कुछ ऐसा महसूस करता हूँ कि कृषि की तरफ पूरा ध्यान नहीं दिया जा रहा है, दिया जाना चाहिए।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कोई दो घंटे पहले हमारे एग्रीकल्चर मिनिस्टर शिन्डे साहब ने इस सदन को बताया। अगले साल गेहूँ की पालिसी के बारे में ब्यान दिया कि गेहूँ के भाव 105 रुपये क्विंटल होंगे। मैं आपको मार्फत से सरकार से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ

कि कम से कम एग्रीकल्चर प्राइस कमीशन जिसको रिपोर्ट को आधार मानकर आप गेहूँ की कीमत तय करने लगे हैं उस एग्रीकल्चर प्राइस कमीशन ने यह नहीं सोचा कि एक क्विंटल गेहूँ पैदा करने पर क्या खर्च होता है जो उसको सोंचना चाहिए था। मैं आपकी मार्फत सरकार को बताना चाहता हूँ कि एक एकड़ जमीन पर अगर हम गेहूँ लगाएं तो कितना उसके फर्टिलाइजर पर खर्च होता है। मैं दावे के साथ आपकी मार्फत सरकार से यह भी कहूँगा कि अगर एग्रीकल्चर प्राइस कमीशन का कोई भी मैम्बर हमारे साथ खेत में जा कर देखना चाहे तो हम तैयार हैं। अपने दफ्तर में बैठ कर बात करना चाहें तो उसके लिए भी हम तैयार हैं। मैं बताता हूँ कि एक एकड़ जमीन पर गेहूँ की बिजाई के लिए सबसे पहले डी० ए० पी० खाद की जरूरत पड़ती है उसके एक कट्टे की कीमत डेढ़ सौ रुपया है। जब गेहूँ जमीन के ऊपर आ जाता है और जब उसे पहला पानी देना होता है तो उस वक्त उसको यूरिया की भी जरूरत होती है। यूरिया के एक कट्टे की कीमत 103 रु० है और जब गेहूँ पकने के करीब आता है तो उसे किसान खाद देनी होती है। किसान खाद की कीमत इस वक्त 58 रु० एक कट्टा है। एक एकड़ जमीन के ऊपर 40 किलोग्राम बीज डालना पड़ता है। नेशनल सीइस कार्पोरेशन ही एक ऐसी संस्था है जहाँ से बीज मिल सकता है और किसान को एक एकड़ जमीन के लिए बीज की 200 रु० कीमत देनी पड़ती है। इसके साथ-साथ एक एकड़ जमीन को कम से कम 10 बार प्लाउ करना पड़ता है, उसके ऊपर 10 बार हल चलाना पड़ता है। तब जाकर कहीं वह गेहूँ बोने के लायक होता है। एग्री-इंडस्ट्रीयल कारपोरेशन हर स्टेट में हैं और कोई भी टैंक्टर 25 रु० एकड़ से प्लाउ करने की कम कीमत नहीं लेता है। जैसा मैंने कहा, दस बार एक एकड़ में हल चलाना पड़ता है और इसकी कीमत 250 रु० से कम नहीं होती है। हमारे देश के अन्दर

[श्री सुलतान सिंह]

गेहूँ की जितनी भी नई वैराइटीज हैं उनमें सात पानी से कम किसी में नहीं लगता है। 19 पैसे यूनिट या 20 पैसे यूनिट बिजली का भाव है। अब अगर आप सात पानी का एक एकड़ जमीन का खर्च लगायें तो आप पाएंगे कि यह खर्च 45 रु० या 46 रु० आता है। जहाँ तक लैंड रेवेन्यू का सवाल है, हमारे हरियाणा के अन्दर जहाँ जहाँ पर भी नई नहरे बनाई गई हैं, लैंड रेवेन्यू के साथ साथ वैंटर-मैन्ट लेवी भी देनी पड़ती है। वैंटरमैन्ट लेवी और लैंड रेवेन्यू दोनों को छोड़कर 30 रु० एकड़ के ऊपर खर्च आता है और इसी प्रकार से एक एकड़ जमीन की कीमत आज 10 हजार रुपयों से कम नहीं है। अगर किसान उस जमीन को बेचकर 10 हजार रुपये बैंक में रख दे तो 400 रु० से कम सूद नहीं मिलता है। इसी तरीके से दवाइयों और इंसेक्टीसाइड्स की कीमत 200 रु० से कम नहीं पड़नी है। कोई भी एग्रीकलचर प्राइस कमीशन का आदमी मेरे साथ चले और खुद खेत में जाकर इस बात को चैक कर सकता है और इस बात को देख सकता है कि एक एकड़ जमीन के ऊपर कटाई, बुआई, नलवाई आदि सब कामों पर 1,300 रु० से कम खर्च नहीं आता है। मजदूरी आदि सब चीजों को लगाकर एक एकड़ जमीन के ऊपर ब्हीट पैदा करने के लिए 1730 रु० खर्च होते हैं और उस जमीन में 16 क्वीटल से ज्यादा गेहूँ नहीं निकल सकता है। एक एकड़ में आमतौर पर 40 मन का एवरेज पड़ता है और इस 16 क्वीटल गेहूँ की कीमत 1680 रु० बनती है यानी किमान की जो अमली लागत लगती है उसको भी सरकार देने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। ऐसी हालत में इससे ज्यादा ज्यादाती उसके साथ क्या हो सकती है। कोई भी कृषि का विशेषज्ञ मेरे साथ पूसा के किसी फार्म में जा सकता है और इस बात को देख सकता है कि एक एकड़ जमीन में गेहूँ का खर्च 1730 रु० आता है और उसमें 16 क्वीटल से ज्यादा गेहूँ पैदा नहीं हो सकता है।

इसके साथ साथ आप इस बात को भी देखें कि सबसे बड़े दुःख की बात यह है कि अगर आप अमेरिका में चले जायें तो आपको समूचे अमेरिका में डालर का एक ही भाव मिलेगा, आप इंग्लैण्ड में चले जायें तो समूचे देश में पाउण्ड का आपको एक ही भाव मिलेगा, आप जर्मनी में चले जायें तो समूचे जर्मनी में मार्क का आपको एक ही भाव मिलेगा, लेकिन हमारी यह बद्किस्मती है कि हमारा देश ऐसा है कि जिसके अर्थ-शास्त्रियों की दौलत आज हमारी करैन्सी का एक भाव नहीं है। हरियाणा के अन्दर जो गेहूँ 105 रु० क्वीटल है वही गेहूँ दो मील दिल्ली के अन्दर द्वाई सौ रुपये क्वीटल है।

यानी, रुपया वहाँ 35 पैसे में चलना है, दिल्ली के अन्दर वह रुपया 120-125 पैसे में चलता है। इसके मायने क्या है क्या हमारे देश में करैन्सी का भी एक भाव नहीं है? केरल के अन्दर जाएँ, आपको जो चावल 2 रु० में एक किलो मिलेगा वही चावल आन्ध्र के अन्दर एक रु० किलो में मिलेगा—50 परसेन्ट का फर्क पड़ जाता है करैन्सी के भाव में तो कम से कम इस देश का करैन्सी का भाव तो एक होना चाहिए, इसके लिए समूचे भारत में, कोई आप तर्गिका अपनाएँ, लेकिन रुपए का भाव एक स्टेट में कुछ और दूसरे स्टेट में कुछ और हो तो यह इस देश को डिस्टॉर्ब कर देगा। मैं पंजाब और हरियाणा के किसान की बात जानता हूँ, 50-60 लाख टन अनाज हिन्दुस्तान को देते हैं, अगर कोर्स ग्रेन को मिलाएँ तो और भी ज्यादा देते हैं—70-80 लाख टन के करीब देते हैं। अब कितने दुःख की बात है कि उनके दरवाजे पर तो पुलिस खड़ी रहती है कि हम 105 रु० क्वीटल से ऊपर नहीं बेचने देंगे और दिल्ली के अन्दर चौर और स्मगलर्स खुले बाजार में गेहूँ बेचते हैं, 250 रु० के भाव। अगर सरकार कंज्यूमर के लिए 105 रु० का भाव खोलती है तो हिन्दुस्तान में कोई 105 रु० से ऊपर या उसके ऊपर ट्रांसपोर्टेशन की, गोदाम में रखने

को उसको छनाई की, हुलाई की सबकी कीमत डाल कर हिन्दुस्तान में काबिले दस्तंदाजी जुर्म इसको बनादे । जो इससे ऊपर ब्रेचिंगा उसको सजा होगी, उसके ऊपर मुकदमा चलेगा, तब तो हमारी तसल्ली भी हो सकती है। एक तरफ खुले भाव ज्यादा मिलें दूसरी तरफ 105 रु० मिले और फिर उपभोगिता महोदय, डक्टर ट्रेक्टर की कीमत बढ़ी है इस साल उसकी 15,000 रु० कीमत बढ़ी है। कार की कीमत बढ़ी है 2,000 रु०। तो लगजरी आइटम की कीमत 2,000 रु० बढ़ी और जिसके जरिए हम देश का पेट भर सके उम ट्रेक्टर की कीमत 15,000 रु० बढ़ी। यही नहीं, कितना बड़ा कांस्टीट्यूशन के साथ धोका है? हमारे कांस्टीट्यूशन ने माना है कि इंडिया में किसी सिटिजन के साथ डिस्क्रिमिनेशन नहीं होने देगे। पंजाब और हरियाणा का किसान गुलाम की तरह में 105 रु० क्विंटल गेहूं देता है; महाराष्ट्र का किसान 300 रु० के भाव बाजरा बेचता है; गुजरात का किसान 300 रु० के भाव बाजरा बेचता है; दिल्ली का किसान 250 रु० क्विंटल गेहूं बेचता है। क्या यह डिस्क्रिमिनेशन नहीं है एक स्टेट के किसान के साथ और दूसरे स्टेट के किसान के साथ? तो मैं चाहूंगा कि हिन्दुस्तान में हमारे रु० का भाव एक रहना चाहिए। किसी एक व्यक्ति और दूसरे व्यक्ति में डिस्क्रिमिनेशन नहीं होना चाहिए ये जो अर्थशास्त्री हैं, जो वैज्ञानिक हैं, जो एग्रिकलचर प्राइस कमीशन के मॅम्बर हैं, उन्होंने कभी किसी किसान के खेत में जाकर, वहां बैठ कर, देखना चाहिए उसकी हालत क्या है, किसान को कितनी दिक्कतें हैं। एक आई० ए० एस० आफिसर का बच्चा उसके घर में रोटी खाकर कालेज में पढ़ता है, किसान के बच्चे को होस्टल में दाखिल लेना पड़ता है; गांव में कालेज नहीं, गांव में पब्लिक

स्कूल नहीं। किसान जो कुछ खेती से कमाता है उसी से होस्टल की फीस देना है। कोई बड़ा में बड़ा आफिसर हो वह शहर ही में रहता है, उसको होस्टल की फीस नहीं देनी पड़ती।

इसके अलावा एक और बात मैं सरकार के नोटिस में लाना चाहता हूं। उपसभापति महोदय, अभी एक बड़ी खुशी की बात हमारे देश के लिए हुई; हाकी की टीम विश्व कप जीत कर आई, सारे देश ने बड़ा भारी स्वागत किया, देश की बड़ी इज्जत बढ़ी। मैं सारे खिलाड़ियों को बधाई देता हूं, ओलम्पिक असोसिएशन को बधाई देता हूं और जिन सरकारों ने उन खिलाड़ियों को ज्यादा से ज्यादा मदद की है उनको भी बधाई देता हूं। लेकिन उसके साथ-साथ एक बड़ी अफसोसनाक बात भी मैं सरकार के ध्यान में लाना चाहता हूं और वह क्या है कि हमारे आल इण्डिया हाकी फेडरेशन के जो चेयरमैन अब चुने गए हैं वे मिस्टर रामास्वामी हैं, और उपसभापति महोदय, हाकी फेडरेशन के रूल 25 में यह लिखा है कि जिस किसी की इंट्रीप्रिटी डाउटफुल होगी उसको कभी चेयरमैन नहीं चुना जायेगा। श्री रामास्वामी 1953 के अन्दर इंग्लैंड में थे और उन्होंने वहां पर तीन फर्मा के साथ धोखा किया था। उन्होंने सामान लेकर दूसरे आदमी के नाम से चैक इश्यू कर दिया था और फिर वहां पर गिरफ्तार हुए थे। गिरफ्तार होकर उन पर मुकदमा चला था और उसमें उनको सजा मिली थी। यह मेरे पास फोटोस्टेट कापी है और उस अदालत का फैसला है जिसमें रामास्वामी को सजा हुई थी। मुझे इस बात का दुख है कि सरकार ने इनके इलैक्शन को किस तरह से रिकग्नाइज कर लिया और कैसे उनको चेयरमैन के रूप में मान्यता दे दी जिस चेयरमैन को इम्पैजिलमेंट धोखा-धड़ी और जालसाजी में सजा हुई हो, इस तरह के आदमी को चेयरमैन बनाना

[श्री सुलतान सिंह]

हमारे हाकी फंडरेगन के रूल के भी खिलाफ है।

उपसभापति जी, मैं इतना अर्ज कर देना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा देश एक कृषि प्रधान देश है। अगर हम कृषि को मार देगे तो फिर उसका उठना मुश्किल हो जायगा। आज आप देखते हैं कि जिस किसान की जमीन अर्बन लैंड में या शहर के नजदीक आ जाती है तो उसकी कीमत 300 रुपया प्रति स्क्वायर यार्ड हो जाती है। सरकार जब उस जमीन को एक्वायर करती है तो उसका मुआवजा उसको ढाई रुपया और तीन रुपया प्रति गज के हिसाब से देती है। जब उस जमीन पर लोग पाखाना जाते हैं, जब उस जमीन से बदबू आने लगती है, तो किसान का जो बेटा होता है, वह उसमें फसल बोता है और काटता है। जब उस जमीन में कोई कारखाना आता है, वहां पर विकास का कार्यक्रम चलता है, तो उस जमीन को सरकार अपने नाम पर एक्वायर कर लेती है और किसान को उसका मुआवजा बहुत कम मिलता है। इसी तरह से जब किसान को गेहूँ बेचना होता है तो वहां पर भी पुलिस के जरिये सरकार उससे 105 रुपया प्रति क्विन्टल के हिसाब से गेहूँ खरीद लेती है। जब जमीन की कीमत बढ़ जाती है तो किसान को बढ़ी हुई कीमत पर उसकी जमीन का मुआवजा नहीं दिया जाता है और इसी तरह से जो गेहूँ वह पैदा करता है वह भी उसके दामों पर उससे नहीं खरीदा जाता है। इस तरह की बातों को किसान कब तक बर्दाश्त करता रहेगा। लैंड के बारे में चार बार कानून बन चुका है। 1953 में लैंड टैन्यर एक्ट बना था और 1958 में उसमें संशोधन हुआ था। पिछले दिनों सारे स्टेटों में लैंड रिफार्म के बारे में जिक्र आया था और लैंड विल पास हुआ और यह कहा गया कि अर्बन प्रापर्टी का विल आयेगा और आज तक इस तरह का कोई

बिल नहीं आया है। मैं दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि हमारे गवर्नमेंट इंडिया में जो लोग बड़े-बड़े औहदों पर बैठे हुए हैं उन्होंने अपनी वीवियों के नाम पर बसन्त बिहार में कोठियां बना रखी हैं। इन कोठियों को दस दस हजार रुपये महावारी में विदेशी दूतावास के लोगों को किराये पर दे रखी हैं और खुद सरकारी कोठियों में रह रहे हैं। आज इस तरह के लोगों पर किसी तरह का सीलिंग का खतरा नहीं है और उनकी जायदाद को कोई छेड़ने वाला नहीं है। जो किसान रात दिन काम करता है, मेहनत करता है, और जिसका साग परिवार खेतों में काम करके अनाज पैदा करता है, उस अनाज पर आज सीलिंग है। मेरा ख्याल है कि उसकी जिन्दगी पर भी सीलिंग लगा दिया जायेगा ताकि वह ज्यादा दिनों तक जिन्दा न रह सके। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह की बात कब तक चलती रहेगी? मेरी दरखास्त है कि बजट में ...

**श्री महावीर त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** किसानों को इस बात का ख्याल रखना चाहिए कि वे किसको वोट दे रहे हैं। अपने प्रतिनिधि को चुनते वक्त इस बात का ख्याल रखना चाहिए कि किस को भेजा जाये।

**श्री सुलतान सिंह :** तो इस तरह से किसानों को मारने से काम नहीं चलेगा। आज हरियाणा में गेहूँ की विजाई 10 प्रतिशत कम हो गई है, तो इस तरह से कब तक काम चलेगा। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारा देश एक कृषि प्रधान देश है और उसके बजट में कृषि के सम्बन्ध में ज्यादा से ज्यादा रकम रखी जानी चाहिए ताकि हम इस देश की भूख को मिटा सकें और हमें दूसरे देशों का दरवाजा खटखटाना न पड़े।

मैंने अभी हाकी फंडरेगन के प्रेजीडेंट का जिक्र किया और उसके फैसले की

कापी मेरे पास है और मैं उमको हाउस की टेबल पर रखना चाहता हूँ ।

**श्री उपसभापति :** टेबल पर रखने की जरूरत नहीं है, आपने इसका जिक्र कर दिया है ।

**श्री सीताराम सिंह (विहार) :** माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, इस अनु-पूरक बजट पर बोलते हुए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस सरकार ने दिशा विहीन, दृष्टि विहीन, लक्ष्य विहीन बजट पेश किया है । इतना ही नहीं गलत नीति और गलत नेतृत्व के चलते आज अपना मुक्त पतन के कगार पर खड़ा है । आज क्या स्थिति है अपने देश के किसानों की ? हिन्दुस्तान में 80-90 फीसदी लोग गांवों में बसते हैं, खेती करते हैं लेकिन दुर्भाग्य है कि उनका कोई संगठन नहीं है । जब संगठन नहीं है तो सरकार और इस देश के बड़े पूंजीपति मिल कर अविराम गति से उनको लूटते हैं । मिमाल के तौर पर मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि पाट की खेती किसान करते हैं, गांवों में पाट एक रुपये किलो, सवा रुपये किलो बिकता है वही पाट जब जूट मिल में जाता है, बोरे बन जाते हैं तो उसकी कीमत 3 रुपये, साढ़े तीन रुपये और 5 रुपये हो जाती है । इसी तरह गेहूँ की हालत है । इस देश में कच्चा माल किसान पैदा करता है । मैं सरकार से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वह कोई मूल्य संतुलन की नीति चलाना चाहती है ? कल-कारखाने की पैदावार में और खेती की पैदावार में क्या रेशयो और उनकी बिक्री के भावों में क्या फर्क हो, क्या इसकी नीति सरकार बनाना चाहती है ? अगर, उदाहरण के लिये, चीनी का लागत खर्च एक किलो चीनी बनाने पर एक रुपया आता है तो ज्यादा से ज्यादा वह बाजार में डेढ़ रुपये किलो बिकनी चाहिए । खेत में पैदा होने वाली चीजों के भाव निश्चित करने के लिये सरकार को एक कमीशन नियुक्त करना चाहिए, जिसमें कृषि विशेषज्ञ हो,

किसानों के प्रतिनिधि हों, सरकार के प्रतिनिधि हों और वह कमीशन यह तय करे कि एक क्विंटल गेहूँ पैदा करने में किसान का कितना लागत खर्च आता है और उमको कितना मुनाफा दिया जाये । इसी तरह से धान है और दूसरा कच्चा माल है जो खेत में पैदा होता है उनके भाव निर्धारित करने के लिये कमीशन बने । फिर मूल्य संतुलन की नीति सरकार चलाए ताकि किसानों को लागत खर्च और मुनाफा दोनों मिले । अभी क्या होता है ? अभी तो किसानों की दो-तरफा लूट होती है । आज गेहूँ को तो मन्ती कीमत पर ले लिया जाता है क्योंकि किसानों का कोई संगठन नहीं है । बड़े-बड़े पूंजीपतियों का तो इस देश में सिंडीकेट बना हुआ है, उनका संघ है, एक बार बैठक करके वे रेडियो और अखबार में घोषणा कर देते हैं कि इतने रुपये क्विंटल गेहूँ बिकेगा । वही पूंजीपति, वही मिल-मालिक जो कपड़ा पैदा करते हैं, जो सीमेंट पैदा करते हैं, जो लोहा पैदा करते हैं उसका भी भाव वे ही तय करते हैं । इस तरह किसान दो तरफा लूटा जाता है । जब उसके खलिहान में अनाज आता है तो मन्ती कीमत पर बड़े पूंजीपति लूटकर उमको गोदाम में जमा करते हैं, होर्डिंग करने हैं और उमी गेहूँ को 8-10 सहीने बाद जब किसान खरीदने जायेगा तो उसक महंगे भाव पर खरीदना पड़ेगा । कल-कारखाने की पैदावार को भी उसे उयोढ़े, इतने भाव पर खरीदना पड़ता है । इस तरह से दो-तरफा लूट इस देश में किसानों की चल रही है । इसलिए हम मन्त्री जी से चाहेंगे कि वे कोई मूल्य संतुलन की नीति चलाए ताकि किसानों को न्याय मिले वरना किसान तो अब हताश हो रहा है इस स्थिति के चलते वह गेहूँ की खेती भी कम करने जा रहा है । मेरे एक दोस्त ने अभी बताया कि हरियाणा में किसानों ने 10 फीसदी गेहूँ की खेती कम कर दी है, क्योंकि जो लागत खर्च है, उससे

[श्री सीता राम सिंह]

भी कम कीमत पर गेहूँ उमको देना पड़ता है। गत वर्ष की बात मैं बताना चाहता हूँ। इस सरकार ने 75-76 रुपए क्विन्टल किसानों से गेहूँ खरीद लिया और उसी गेहूँ को फिर फेयर प्राइस शाप्स में 140 और 150 रुपए क्विन्टल बेचा। यह तो पूंजीपतियों से भी ज्यादा नफा सरकार कमा रही है। तो यह स्थिति है अपने देश में। आज स्थिति क्या है? जीवन के हर क्षेत्र में गिरावट ही गिरावट नजर आती है। आज अपना देश टूट रहा है। चाहे वह भाषा का सवाल हो या सांप्रदायिकता का सवाल हो चाहे क्षेत्रीय विषमता का सवाल हो, हर सवाल पर अपना देश टूटता जा रहा है और इसका कोई संपूर्ण निदान, हल सरकार नहीं निकाल पा रही है। आज पूरे देश की दो तस्वीरें हमारे सामने हैं। एक तो यहां के गांव हैं जहां आज इंसान को पीने का पानी भी नहीं मिलता। मैकडों में दस बीस फीसदी लोगों को दवा मिलती है और बाकी लोग राम भरोसे जीते या मरते हैं। बरसात में चलने के लिये उनको रास्ता नहीं मिलता। चार, छः मील से लोग पानी लाकर पीते हैं। एक ओर वह गांव है जहां इंसान झोपड़ियों में जिंदा रहता है और दूसरी तस्वीर हिन्दुस्तान के शहर हैं जहां सात, आठ दस और बीस मंजिला मकान बन रहे हैं और एयर कंडीशन्ड मकान बन रहे हैं और उनको तरह तरह से सजाया जा रहा है। तो इस तरह से हिन्दुस्तान की हालत दिनों दिन गिरती जा रही है।

जहां तक सामाजिक विषमता का सवाल है आज अपने देश में इसके चलते बेहद नुकसान हो रहा है और इसके कारण देश टूट रहा है। सामाजिक विषमता भयंकर तरीके की है और यह आर्थिक विषमता से भी ज्यादा दुखदायी है। बेकारी की समस्या इस तरह से अपने देश में है कि

यह समझ में नहीं आता कि किस तरह की योजना हमारे देश में चल रही है। योजना का मतलब क्या होता है। योजना का मतलब यह है कि अगर देश में पचास या साठ करोड़ लोग हैं तो उन सब को काम मिलना चाहिए, चाहे वह काम कल कारखाने में हो या खेत में। वह काम प्रोफेसरी का हो या शिक्षक का या मोटर ड्राइवर का हो या खेत जोतने का। लेकिन हर आदमी को देश में काम मिलना चाहिए। लेकिन यहां एक तरफ योजना चल रही है और दूसरी तरफ बेकारी बढ़ रही है। गजब की योजना हमारे देश में चल रही है और उममें कोई सन्तुलन नहीं है और दिन प्रतिदिन ज्यादा लोग बेकार होते जा रहे हैं और भूख से तिल-मिला कर मर रहे हैं।

आज अपने देश में एक तरफ तो एयर कंडीशन, रेफ्रिजरेटर और टेलीविजन जैसे ऐंशो इशरत के सामान बन रहे हैं और दूसरी तरफ हमारे देश के खेत सूख रहे हैं। उनमें सिंचाई के लिये पानी नहीं है। उनके लिये विजली का कोई इंतजाम नहीं होता है। तो मैं सरकार से और माननीय मंत्री जी से कहना चाहूंगा कि जो आज देश में फिजूलखर्ची है उसको आप बन्द करें और जो ऐंशो इशरत के सामान है उनका बनाया जाना बंद करे और उन साधनों को आप कृषि में लगायें। अगर देश में कच्चे माल का उत्पादन अधिक होगा तो आप के कल-कारखाने उससे चलेंगे और अगर कच्चे माल की पैदावार कम होगी तो आप के सारे उद्योग धंधे बंद हो जायेंगे।

रेलवे विभाग का जहाँ तक सवाल है, इस देश में आज कोई भी गाड़ी निश्चित समय पर नहीं चलती और जब कोई पैमेंटर दिल्ली में पटना या कलकत्ता से चलता है तो उसको अपनी जान की खैरियत भी नहीं होती। वह नहीं समझ पाता कि वह सही सलामत अपने स्थान पर पहुंचेगा या नहीं। पिछड़े क्षेत्रों में जहाँ तक रेल

गाड़ियों को चलाने का सवाल है, उसके बजाय आज देश में मोटरकार बन रही हैं, छोटी-छोटी ब्रेवी कार बन रही हैं, लेकिन हजारों हजार इंसान रेलों की छतों पर चलते हैं और प्रतिवर्ष हजारों लोग दुर्घटनाग्रस्त होने हैं और मर जाते हैं। आज देश में तो ज्यादा माल ढोने के डिब्बे और ज्यादा सवारी गाड़ी के टिब्बे बनाये जाने चाहिये। लेकिन यह नहीं होता है और छोटी कारें बन रही हैं। मैंने पहले भी इस सदन में कहा था कि हाजीपुर, लालगंज वैशाली होते हुए सिंगौली तक एक रेल की लाइन होनी चाहिए क्योंकि वह एक महत्वपूर्ण ऐतिहासिक स्थान है। वैशाली में लच्छिवियो का पहला गणतंत्र बना था और वह बुद्ध और महावीर का स्थान है इसलिये हजारों विदेशी पर्यटक वहां आते हैं। अगर उनको रहने के लिये और यातायात के लिये सुविधा रहे तो बहुत ज्यादा विदेशी पर्यटक वहां जाएंगे। और सरकार को विदेशी मुद्रा भी मिलेगी। दूसरी बात यह है कि बगल के पड़ोसी नेपाल में बन सम्पदा अपार है। वहां में ढुलाई करने में लकड़ी और पत्थर से रेलवे को भी वित्तीय लाभ होगा और उस क्षेत्र का विकास भी होगा।

जहां तक हरिजनो का सवाल है, मैं बहुत दुखी मन से कहना चाहना हूं कि हमारे पास एक पर्चा है। इसमें लिखा हुआ है— राष्ट्रपति भवन में हरिजनो पर अत्याचार। जब नाक के नीचे राष्ट्रपति भवन में जो चौथी श्रेणी के कर्मचारी हैं, जो गैडुड कास्ट और हरिजन कर्मचारी हैं उनके साथ वहां के बड़े अधिकारियों द्वारा छुआ-छूत का भेदभाव बरता जाता है, उनके साथ वे दुर्व्यवहार करते हैं और उनको गन्दी गालियां देते हैं जिसकी रपट उन्होंने धाने में भी दर्ज कराई है तो जब इस देश में राष्ट्रपति के मानहान जो कर्मचारी काम करने वाले हैं उनके साथ यह दुर्व्यवहार हो रहा

है तो अंदाजा लगाया जा सकता है कि गांवों में रहने वाले लोगों के ऊपर क्या अत्याचार होता होगा।

श्रीमन्, एक बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूं। इन दिनों इस देश में एक आसान इलाज निकाल लिया गया है कि जिसको चाहो गोली मार दो। चाहे बंगाल हो, चाहे बिहार हो गोली मार दी जाती है। और कह दिया जाता है आसानी से कि यह नक्सल पन्थी था। भोजपुर के इलाके की बात है, वहां साल भर में यह त्रम चल रहा है लोगों को गोली से उड़ा दिया जाता है। तो मैं माननीय भंवी जी से जानना चाहता हूं, सदन से जानना चाहता हूं कि न्यायालय का काम है किसी मुजरिम को सजा देने का तो यह पुलिस को अधिकार कहा में मिल गया है किसी को सजा देने का मैं अगर कोई नकली है, तो वह कोर्ट में जाए उसे फांसी हो जाए, या चाहे न्यायालय जो सजा करे, लेकिन पुलिस को यह अधिकार कहा में मिल गया है? इस देश में संविधान एक मखोल हो रहा है। संविधान में कहा गया है कि वीकर सेक्शन के लिए अधिक सुविधा और सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था है। लेकिन इस देश में सबसे ज्यादा अगर किसी को तंग किया जाता है, तबह किया जाता है, अत्याचार किया जाता है तो वह वीकर सेक्शन के लोगो को किया जाता है। तो यह अपने देश का एक नकशा है। इस तरह से कोई जनतंत्र इस देश में चलने वाला नहीं है।

इस देश में अधिकांग संख्या पिछड़ी जाति के लोगो की है, हरिजन और आदिवासी लोगो की है। लेकिन उनके ऊपर घोर अत्याचार आज अपने देश में चल रहा है... (Interruptions) धीरज रखिए। अन्याय की चक्की चल जानी है तो बराबरी में सब पीसे जाते हैं उसमें कोई बचता नहीं है।

[श्री सीताराम सिंह]

श्रीमन्, इस देश में शासन कैसे चल रहा है मीसा, डी० आई० आर० और आपात कालीन स्थिति लगभग 9 वर्षों में इस देश में चल रहा है। गजब का यह देश है, गजब का इस देश का सविधान है। एक तरफ 25वीं संविधान की रजत जयन्ती भी मनाई जाती है और दूसरी तरफ आपातकालीन स्थिति भी चल रही है। तो यह दोनों कैसे इस देश में चल रहे हैं। यह समय में नहीं आता। यह मश्वोल किया जा रहा है। देश के लोगों के नागरिक अधिकार छीने जाते हैं, जम्हूरियत का गला घोंटा जा रहा है। तो मैं मांग करता हूँ कि जल्द से जल्द यह आपातकालीन स्थिति सरकार खत्म करे।

श्रीमन्, जहाँ तक बिहार का सम्बन्ध है विरोधी दल की बात तो अलग है वहाँ की जनता भी एक स्वर में बहा के विधान मंडल को भंग करने की मांग पिछले एक वर्ष से करती आ रही है। लेकिन सत्ताकूट दल की मैं बात करना हूँ कि उनके अधिकांश विधायक भी पब्लिकली ध्यान दे रहे हैं कि गफूर मंत्रिमंडल अल्पमत में है। अगर उनकी हिम्मत है तो बहू पार्टी की मीटिंग बुलाकर अपना विश्वास हासिल करें। लेकिन आज क्या हो रहा है? देश में तमाम राज्यों में जैसे कोई कलैक्टर पटवारी को बहाल कर देता है उसी तरह से तमाम राज्यों के मुख्य मंत्री हैं वे इन्दिरा के पटवारी हैं, उनकी मर्जी से उनको रहना है। उनकी मर्जी से उनको हटाना है। यहाँ जनतन्त्र का मखोल हो रहा है। जो लोग जनतन्त्र की रक्षा करना चाहते हैं उन पर नाठी, डंडे, जेल, मीसा और डी० आई० आर० लागू किया जाता है और जो जनतन्त्र का खान्सा करने आते हैं वे अमन चैन की बंसी बजा रहे हैं। आज अग्रकर स्थिति अपने देश की है और इस स्थिति से ज्यादा दिन तक आँखें मूंदी नहीं जा सकती। इसका सही

निदान जब तक नहीं ढूँढा जायेगा तब तक खैरियत नहीं है। मैं इतना ही कहूँगा कि किसी कवि ने कहा है कि :

युगो की शृंखलता तो तोर चमका आज जो यौवन ।

उसी की रागिनी में आज मैं भी गीत गाता हूँ ॥

पुरानी रूढ़ियों में भी दरारें पड़ गईं ।

देखो नया जीवन बनाने के लिए मैं खून देता हूँ ॥

यही आन्दोलन जयप्रकाश जी का है और जयप्रकाश जी के आन्दोलन में देश का उत्पीड़न बोल रहा है, गरीबी बोल रही है, बेकारी बोल रही है, विपन्नता बोल रही है, अत्याचार बोल रहा है, शोषण बोल रहा है, और मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि यह आन्दोलन सफल होना वाला है। दुनिया की कोई ताकत इनको विफल नहीं कर सकती। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI D. D. PURI (Haryana) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the expected blow seems to have fallen. It seems that Mr. Shinde has announced this morning the Government's final decision that the procurement price of wheat will remain unchanged at Rs. 105 a quintal. Sir, this point has been made by Mr. Tyagi, by my friend, Choudhary Sultan Singh and by others that every single input that goes into agricultural production, whether it is fertiliser or it is tractor or it is pesticide or it is minimum charges for electricity, which the cultivator does not get in any case, has gone up in cost. I would really like to ask the Government. Can they mention one single item which goes in as input for agricultural production whose price has not increased—not only increased but increased substantially—since last year? Yet, the procurement price remains unchanged at Rs. 105. What is happening? I think the Government, in the name of protecting the interests of the grower, wants to squeeze, wants to force as much out of

the grower as it can. Sir, I come from a small State, Haryana. There the area under wheat, in the course of a single year, has undergone a shrinkage of 10.1 per cent. And if you continue this process for a couple of years, while you can force the wheat that the grower has out of him on the terms that you dictate, the area will inevitably go down further and further the grower will be forced to switch over to cash crops. I would really ask the Government to pause and consider: Is this serving the interest of the consumer? Is this serving the interest of the balance of payments situation of the country? Is this serving the economy of the country? I believe only with the narrow-minded view of saving on the dearness allowance of the Government employees, the price of wheat is being kept low. I sound a note of warning that the Government is playing ducks and drakes with the agricultural economy if they continue with this policy. Choudhary Sultan Singh has given the details of cost. I am a wheat grower myself. It is our firm view that the procurement price should not be a penny less than Rs. 12 per quintal and there should be no restriction on the movement of wheat from one part to another. This alone will serve the interests of the economy. Then the price of wheat in the deficit States will automatically come down to the level of the procurement price plus railway freight plus minimal handling charges. Now, Sir we are running into a very difficult situation because of smuggling. On the one side, Sir, we have U.P. where during the winter season or just after that wheat is harvested. The river Jamuna which divides U. P. from Haryana flows at a very low level and everyone knows that right from Teja wala up to Karnal bullock carts and trucks go along the riverbeds and there is no problem. On the other side, Sir, we have Delhi which seems to be a bottomless pit which is sucking in all the wheat that is produced in Haryana and Punjab. On the third side Sir, there is Rajasthan which is again a deficit State. Therefore, because of these factors, the administrative arrangements for policing these zones are becoming a problem, a very big problem, and this policing the zones is becoming a nightmare for the administration. But this area is becoming paradise for the smugglers. The real beneficiary of this scheme is the smuggler and it is not the consumer or the pro-

ducer. It is a boon for the smugglers and the police also.

Now, Sir, I would like to refer briefly to sugarcane. Tyagji also mentioned about it. I also would like to sound a note of warning for the next year. This year, on account of the two-tier price system for sugar, the minimum price of cane has been fixed at Rs. 8.50 per quintal in U.P. On account of the profits made in the free market, the industry is able to pay or is paying Rs. 14.00 or Rs. 14.50 per quintal, that is to say, a premium of Rs. 6.00 per quintal on the statutory price. Sir, we are running into a situation, into a statistical situation, of our country being able to produce about 46 lakh tonnes of sugar or a little more this season. But there are limitations on account of which we would not be able to export more than eight or ten lakh tonnes depending upon the facilities available at the ports and harbours. I do not think that these arrangements are geared up to facilitate exporting more than eight to ten lakh tonnes of sugar with the result that we would be carrying forward about six to seven or eight lakh tonnes more than what we brought forward during this season. But the point that I am making is that in the season 1975-76, the grower may not be able to get more than the statutory minimum price and this year he has been able to get only Rs. 6.00 per quintal and the next year he may not be able to get anything at all and we are running into a situation which is somewhat similar to the situation that prevailed during the season 1970-71 when only the statutory minimum price of cane was paid to the grower and yet, in the face of this situation, the wisemen of the Agricultural Prices Commission, living in their own ivory towers, have recommended a price of more than Rs. 9.50 per quintal of cane. Can you just imagine a situation in which the grower only gets Rs. 14.50 and the cost of everything.

SHRI RANBIR SINGH (Haryana): You see, the cost of living index is only for the consumer and it is not for the producer.

SHRI D. D. PURI: Yes, it is only for the consumer. You see, he gets only this much when the cost of everything that goes into the production of cane has gone up.

[Shri D.D. Puri]

But they are indulging in this sort of jugglery and I will show how this jugglery, how this manipulation, take place in working out the cost of living index. I would say that under the pretext of being able to maintain a low cost and also to save on the DA to be paid to the Central Government employees, this exercise is being done by the Government and I, therefore, dare say that unless a substantial increase is announced in the minimum price of sugarcane, we are again going to run into a situation of shrinkage of area of short production and we would not be able to export also.

There is another thing to which I would like to refer now and that also is a pure jugglery. The Finance Minister has stated in his Budget speech that he is imposing a duty on free sugar. The words which he has used are: "I am not touching the quota of sugar which the poor man consumes". He says that he is not touching the quota of the poor man's sugar although about four lakh tonnes of sugar out of the levy sugar was bought last year for export. All this quantity was available in the free market. But, because levy sugar was cheaper to buy and export, the rupee-profit-minded people of the Finance Ministry were more keen on buying the levy sugar and exporting it and there was a shrinkage of about 17% last year in the quantity of levy sugar available for the poor consumer. Yet, Sir, the Finance Minister maintains the fiction that he has not touched the quota of the poor man's sugar ! He made a profit, an additional profit of Rs. 78 crores last year this way on four lakh tonnes of sugar which he could have bought from the free market and exported. But he bought it from the levy quota and so, the profit of Rs. 478 crores was borne by the consumers of the levy sugar. Now, the export programme is to export about eight or ten lakh tonnes or as much as our ports are able to handle.

If the Finance Minister wants to take away 4 lakh or 5 lakh or 6 lakh tonnes of levy sugar for export, for the additional profits he wants to make, then in that case the levy quota of poor man's consumption would have shrunk by as much as 25 per cent. Sugar is going to earn Rs. 600 crores of foreign exchange. The rupee profits

that are estimated in the budget are Rs.125 crores. Actually if we export 8 lac tonnes, which of course is well within our reach, then the rupee profit will be Rs. 250 crores. If we are able to export 10 lakh tonnes or 12 lakh tonnes, this will be Rs.375 crores and the foreign exchange earnings will be 600 crores. Yet the levy consumer is being deprived of sugar up to 20 or 30 per cent of the quantity of the sugar quota in order that the Exchequer may make some more profits. Sir, I only wish to utter a note of warning: If the agriculturist in this country suffers, the country will suffer. The agriculturist is being pushed from pillar to post, whether it is wheat or it is sugar cane. I grow only wheat and sugar cane. So I have a little detailed knowledge of these. I also grow a little mica. The agriculturist is being pushed from pillar to post. I would like to sound a note of warning: If the agriculturist of this country suffers, the economy will suffer, and consequently this country will suffer personally; if the agriculturist in this country flourishes, then alone the economy can revive and then alone this country can fulfil its dream of a really flourishing economy

Thank you.

SHRI J. S. ANAND (Punjab): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, we are really living in historic times. South-East Asia is again in the news. We know how the Vietnamese people humbled the biggest imperialism and showed that when patriotic forces of the people are united for their independence, nothing can defeat them. They proved that man is bigger than the bomb, and a people united, howsoever small, devoted to the ideas of independence can bring to their knees the mightiest forces of imperialism. Now, we again see how the puppet regime of Thieu is being knocked down and the provinces governed by the puppet regime are falling like nine pins and how the national liberation forces are advancing in a mighty avalanche in Vietnam. It is our duty and the duty of the Government of India to act now and give full diplomatic recognition to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam to fulfil the aspirations of the people and to stand by its declaration that it is against imperialism.

Similarly, we find a glorious situation in Cambodia. Notwithstanding all the wailings of President Ford, notwithstanding all the power of the mightiest nation, Phnom Penh is about to fall and Lon Nol is packing up.

This is the moment when we must honour the pledge we gave at the fourth non-aligned summit in September, 1973, where it was unanimously decided by the non-aligned countries that the Government led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk is the real representative Government. It is high time that that Government was recognized and we played our due role in the situation that is unfolding in South-East Asia. Even the Thailand Government which had been under the boot of imperialists has served notice that the Thai territory cannot be utilized for waging war in Cambodia and elsewhere.

Look at West Asia. What do you find? Look at the way Kissinger has double-crossed us here in India. He said all the nice things when he was here in this country. But soon after you find out how most shamelessly they have opened up arms to Pakistan, without any restriction, knowing fully well that now the hoax cannot be played that Pakistan is being armed to fight communism.

Previously, when Pakistan was being armed a lie was spread that the American imperialism wants to fight communism and that it was a part of the imperialist war game. In the present day conditions, there is no doubt as to against whom these arms will be used. We found out the duplicity of Kissinger and now the Arab people have also found out the duplicity of Kissinger who tried to divide them and to drive a wedge between Syria and Egypt. Now, he has been packed home and he is at the end of his career. Mr. Saxbe, the new Ambassador from the United States, is trying to justify the American attitude by referring to our attitude towards the Palestine Liberation Army. I want to say that the attitude of the Government of India is absolutely consistent with our attitude during the freedom struggle. It is high time that we demanded that there must be strict implementation of the U.N. resolutions and Israel must be shown its place. A Geneva Conference must be convened at the earliest. This is the moment when

in our foreign policy we have to play our proper role.

Coming to internal affairs, there is much that is wanted in the policy of the Government. We know of scandal after scandal which is being perpetrated in favour of the monopolists and foreign monopolists. The other day there was a scandal about how the foreign drug manufacturing companies have been deceiving us which has been unmasked and uncarthed by the Hathí Committee whose report has to be implemented yet. Now, the rightist reactionary forces led by Jayaprakash Narayan are trying to vitiate the atmosphere of the country and to create an atmosphere of violence. A climate has been created in which we find one thing or the other happening every day. Our country is also going through a very very serious period nowadays. Even in this situation, the Government does not come forward to meet the genuine demands of the teachers, students, non-working journalists and working journalist employees and all the other working people. The Government goes on making concession after concession to the big industrial houses and monopolists and so on. This calls for a radical reorganisation of the Government policy. I want to say in particular that when the prices are still rising and when the inflationary pressures are there, the Government has refused to procure essentials at the production level and to guarantee through a proper distribution system that all the essentials are supplied to the people at fixed prices. I want to refer to wheat procurement. It is well known....

-AN HONOURABLE MEMBER:  
Thank God.

SHRI J. S. ANAND: I do not believe in God. You have to thank me. You thank an imaginary God who does not even exist. What can God do? God can watch when all the people are dying. About procurement, I want to say that in 1967, the first United Front Government was formed in Punjab and they decided to go in for wholesale State trading. I am proud to say that one of my colleagues who was the Food Minister at that time decided not to let any grain go outside Punjab. It was for the first time in history that the peasants were able to buy the wheat at

[Shri J. S. Anand]

the time of sowing at the same price which they had got in the beginning.

SHRI D.D. PURI: What was the Price?

SHRI J.S. ANAND: It was Rs. 72/- to Rs. 84/- at that time in 1967 as against the recommendation of Rs. 62/- (Interruptions). It was a successful policy. Everybody was thankful. For the first time in history, the peasants got the seeds at the same price which they had got for their wheat after harvest. On the basis of that experience, the Punjab Government wanted to continue the wholesale trading in wheat. Haryana also wanted it. But the policy of handing over the wheat crop to the hoarders and black-marketeers was deliberately forced down the throat of the people by the Punjab Government and the Haryana Government.

The procurement price was fixed at Rs. 105 and that very wheat was being sold in Delhi itself at Rs. 2 80. And later on, when this policy was failing, the Punjab Government offered to the private dealers that it will pay Rs. 150 to these private dealers if they are prepared to part with their wheat. And they refused. Ultimately, the Punjab Government had to enforce that there shall be no wheat export except on Government account. And then only, the prices began to go down. Since last year, the prices of inputs have gone up. The *abiana* has been doubled; without discrimination they want it from the large and small farmers. I am not a blind advocate of price rise for everybody. Everybody knows that the marginal farmer and the small farmer has very little to spare. If the prices are increasing, it is only because of the big landlords and big zamindars who have not been touched by the Land Ceiling Act—it only remained on paper—and who are allowed to loot the country and which also led to the inflationary prices. In this situation, my first demand is that instead of leaving it to the States, the Centre must itself fix a procurement policy. And there must be a wholesale trade in wheat. There must be a fixed procurement policy. There must be a graded levy also which exempts the poor and marginal farmer, and as the land holding goes up, the wheat procurement also rises up. Secondly, Sir, from

Rs. 105, at least the price of wheat must go to Rs. 115. When I am saying Rs. 115, I am demanding more so far as the marginal farmer is concerned.

श्री ओम प्रकाश त्यागी : पंजाब गवर्नमेन्ट ने 150 रुपये क्विन्टल डिमान्ड किया है।

श्री जगजीत सिंह आनन्द : कुलक्स ने लूटर्स ने डिमान्ड किया है 150 रुपए।

The Punjab Government have demanded Rs.125.

I know of the Punjab Government better than you know. It is only the landlords, it is only the hoarders and looters who are demanding Rs.150, and they go on demanding not looking to the interests of the country. I am saying Rs.115 should be the price. For marginal farmers and those who own  $7\frac{1}{2}$  acres or so, there must be an additional subsidy of Rs. 10, so that those who have little produce to spare get Rs.125. But those who are producing tonnes and tonnes and who have surplus wheat with them, must not be paid more than Rs. 115.

Secondly, between the procurement price and the market price or the sale price to the consumer, there must be only a difference of Rs. 15. If the Government cannot manage this, then it is its duty to subsidise the price so that, if Rs.115 is paid to the peasants, more than Rs.130 has not to be paid by the consumer. This loot by the middlemen should be done away with.

Sir, we know very well that on cotton we were badly let down. We went to Shri Subramaniam. And he laughingly said that the textile prices have come down and what could be done with cotton. This is all bunk. The textile prices had come down only on paper and the cotton growers suffer. Their produce cannot enter into the market in time. And you know, Sir, what havoc is done to the small farmers and marginal farmers in regard to cotton.

Now, I want to take some special features. Take Punjab. The Punjabis are very enterprising. In agriculture Punjab and Haryana have done wonderfully well. Every single grain that they produce is a

weapon against the imperialism. They are bullets against the American imperialism. Sir, instead of encouraging the Punjab and Haryana peasants to grow more wheat, instead of giving them proper price, instead of giving them aid, what is being done? The wheat is procured in hard currency, in gold from abroad by paying more than Rs. 230 or so.

I have said about that. At the same time, I must say that Punjab, without anybody's aid, was number one in small industries. They built a net work of small-scale industries in Patiala, Batala, Ludhiana, Malerkotla and so forth. Today Punjab has gone down to number three or number four. Why Punjab has gone down? Punjab has gone down because Punjab is a border State. Capitalists, who are after profits, do not want to invest there. It is away from the ports. It is a State with few mineral resources. And the Government of India has had a very rigid attitude about the public sector investment and about setting up big industries in Punjab. And you know very well, Sir, if there is no big industry, there will be no ancillary industry. And if there is no ancillary industry, even the small industries cannot last long. Our small-scale industry has very narrow base. It is mostly confined to engineering goods. There is a great need that the Government of India brings its industrial projects to Punjab. And in that context, I want to say that I raised a question also in this House. That was about giving us a truck factory. No concrete promise was made. Now that truck factory needs a sophisticated foundry; as is known that foundry is being already put up by the D.C.M. Therefore, I demand that this truck factory should be allotted to the Punjab. Apart from that, there are other projects for which we have been pressing the Government of India for long, namely, the setting up of a modern tool room at Ludhiana, hand-tool design and development centre at Jullundur and machine tool design and development centre at Batala. It is high time that the Government conceded these demands. If Punjab is communal-ridden today, if there are small tensions today, it is because it is not industrially advanced. It is only by giving more and more employment to

the people, it is only by giving more and more machinery to the people, that will make them secular-minded and will make them think of the nation as a whole and will make them come out of the narrow grooves. I strongly demand that these projects must be assigned to the Punjab and Punjab must be given a big aid in becoming an industrially advanced State. I have visited all the projects in this country and I have visited many countries abroad. Most complicated and most difficult tasks in the development of industries are being manned by the Punjabis. Oxygen gas process plants at Bokaro or even at Rourkela are being manned by the Punjabis. They are very gifted, they are very talented but their talent is going dry because they are not being helped.

Then, I come to the Thein Dam Project. What a pity that we paid crores and crores of rupees to Pakistan long ago and water is going for nothing to that country and we cannot construct a project which will be highly beneficial to all the northern States in India, especially to Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan and Haryana and all sorts of impediments are being laid. I demand that it should be left to the Punjab Government to raise money for the Thein Dam. Let the Central Government and let the Finance Ministry allow us and we will raise a public loan, all Punjabis will consider it a patriotic duty to give funds for that, we will raise a public loan and we will have sufficient moneys within this Plan. It is also called for because of the situation created in the Pong Dam. But, what do we find? When we became independent, we took up the Bhakra Nangal project. Bhakra Nangal project is a wonderful project though certain other troubles have come up there now. A whole galaxy of very good engineers, workers and technical people was raised. After the Bhakra Nangal project was completed, they were taken to the Pong Dam and they have built up a beautiful earthen dam and now thousands and thousands of them are facing unemployment and they are not being given employment in other public sector projects and the Thein Dam is not being taken up and hydel projects are not being cleared with the result that those people who in the last 25 to 27 years have

[Shri J. S. Anand]

worked on very good projects, have gained technical know-how have gained skill, know their job, are facing unemployment and they are not being absorbed once again. I have been thrice to Pong Dam last year, you cannot look into their eyes. All these people think that another holocaust like that of 1947 has come, it is another partition for them. If you cannot employ them or give alternative employment, you can employ them in other dams or projects in the neighbouring States; you can take them to Chhamba project Salal project or the project being laid in Rajasthan; but most of all why not transfer them to the Thein Dam why not put it up, it is in the national sector? You will never otherwise be able to get this skill and labour together. Radical reorganisation of the Government policies is needed. What do we find about the land reforms? What were the tall promises? How many lakhs of acres should have come to the Government? I believe only a few thousand acres, about 19 thousand acres, have been distributed to the people. It is not in land reforms alone but in relation to everything that there is a great lag between the claims and implementation. Even in regard to the projects of giving employment to people, there is a great lag.

What I want to say is that no amount of our declarations and no amount of Naroras are going to get us anywhere till we go on going back on our pledges and refuse to implement our promises, whether it is sugar or anything else. The vested interests of free-sale sugar and levy sugar are there. Whether it is cement or other essentials, it is high time that the exploiters are thrown out and some beginning is made to implement with zeal our intentions.

Thank you.

**SHRI VISWANATHA MENON** (Kerala) : Sir, this Government which brings a budget which builds up only big monopoly groups in this country claims that it is a socialist Government. Sir, in this connection I want to draw the attention of this honourable House to a particular industry that is not talked about always in this House, I mean, the marine products industry.

Sir, in this country we are earning a lot of foreign exchange by exporting marine

products and we claim that we have developed the industry. Sir, if we look into the history of development of this industry, we will see how big monopoly groups and multinational corporations are entering into the field of the small entrepreneurs who have actually built up this particular industry and how they are being thrown out of this industry. Sir, by exporting frogs this nation is earning a lot of dollars in foreign exchange. Now, I do not know whether this honourable House realises this fact that big monopoly houses such as Birla's Tata's, Union Carbide, Indian Tobacco, Brooke Bond, Rallis India, EID Parry have entered this field. Sir, I come from the State of Kerala. The marine products industry has been built up by the small entrepreneurs of Kerala and now it has spread all over India, but this Government which claims that it is building up socialism and spending for the small people has allowed big sharks like Brooke Bond, Indian Tobacco, Union Carbide and others who are trying to capture the entire industry. Sir, it is really deplorable condition. Small entrepreneurs who are doing the business with a capital of forty thousand rupees or one lakh of rupees are now being thrown out of the industry and the attitude taken by the Food and Agriculture department in that respect is really shameful. The department says that trawlers can be purchased by people who are actually rich enough but not connected with this industry. They have a condition that if a trawler is brought from outside, then the party which brings the trawler from outside must also purchase a trawler which is produced indigenously. It costs Rs. 30 lakhs to get a trawler from outside and this condition means investment of another Rs. 30 lakhs here. With this conditions, trawlers were given to such big companies as Indian Tobacco, Union Carbide, Tata's, Birlas's etc. and now they are in the field, trying to swallow all the small people who are actually running the business. By allowing such things the Government is only helping the big monopoly to grow in this country.

Sir, in his connection I want to draw your attention to the simple fact as to how these people are being exploited. The Indian Tobacco Company's Fishing Division is headed by the younger brother of Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray, the Chief Minister of West Bengal. Naturally Indian Tobacco

Company gets six, seven or more trawlers. And just like that they are trying to get help and the bureaucrats in the Food and Agriculture Ministry and in the Commerce Department, all are siding those big sharks to take all the benefits. The small fellows who are financially handicapped are not helped by Government. The Government is not prepared to do anything for them. After these sharks have been given licences for trawlers now the Government is discussing to form a Trawler Development Fund so that these big sharks could get loan at a negligible interest. The Government is also thinking of having the condition that the person who purchases a trawler must have an indigenous trawler also. By such an action they are trying to help these big monopoly groups. I do not know how these big monopoly groups are influencing the Government, how much money is given for all these concessions but one thing is clear. Small fisherman who actually did the work is now starving and the cooperative societies of the fishermen who were doing this fishing work with small boats have been thrown out of the industry itself. These big trawlers are fishing in the coast areas and in the backwaters also. By doing this, all the small fellows have to go out of the industry or they have to become agents of these big sharks. If this position is not changed, my humble submission is when we speak a lot about control on the big monopoly houses, when we speak of restrictions on the big monopoly houses, it will at the same time be giving an avenue for them to enter into and do harm to the entire industry. On this occasion when we are discussing about the amounts to be allotted to the Food and Agriculture Ministry and the Commerce Ministry I request the hon. Minister to look into all these things where such a malignant attitude has been taken by the bureaucrats and the Ministers. This has to be looked into. In this respect I want to inform the hon. House that our Party leader in the Lok Sabha, Comrade A.K. Gopalan, wrote a letter about six months back to Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, but she had not even the courtesy to reply to that letter. This is the position of the industry in this country and if this attitude continues to be there, I am sure it will only finish the small people and only help the big monopoly people.

Coming to another point, Sir, I want to draw your attention to the strike or lock-out of the Indian Airlines. Much was talked about the Airlines pilots and Airlines people and all that but actually what has happened? The people who suffered in the Airlines because of the new arrangements are all those who are the poor loaders, I tell you, the poor loaders of Madras and Cochin who were doing the loading work. Such loaders were thrown out of employment. In the name of making the industry all right Mr. Lal has done the greatest crime against the poor workers and they are being thrown out of employment. They went to the Central Labour Commissioner. He wanted to conciliate the matter but he could not make a settlement. Then he recommended that the matter to be referred to the Tribunal. But what is the attitude of the Labour Department here? On the one hand you claim that you have got the socialist Labour Minister but what is his attitude?

He is not even prepared to refer to the Industrial Tribunal. The poor workers are standing outside without employment for the last so many months and Mr. Lal is continuing the repressive policy in the Indian Airlines. People are being transferred from place to place without any iota of sympathy. You have won in the strike, I agree. You have smashed the workers. At least, give them chance to live in their own places. Let the Government show this magnanimous attitude. These poor people, these loaders have been thrown out of employment and these workers are standing outside. And the Labour Department, though claiming to fight for the workers is standing on the side of the Government and is not at all intervening. Not even a reference is made to the tribunal. Sir, if a reference is made, the fate of the workers will be decided by the tribunal. That chance also is not being given to the workers. On the question of transfers, the condition is very deplorable. I do not want to enlarge that point because I want to touch some other points also.

Sir, some months ago there was a strike among the port and dock workers. That strike was settled within 5 days. Many unions which were not affiliated to these so-called recognised workers' federations, have also taken part in that strike. Sir,

[Shri Viswanatha Menon]

I represent such a union, the Cochin Port Labour Union and I went to the Minister and asked him to allow me to take part in the negotiations. He said only the recognised federations will be heard. Sir, we knew that the strike will be betrayed and the strike was betrayed. The basic principle of the demand of the workers was that there should be workers' representation on the wage commission. That basic point was given up for a paltry sum of Rs. 25 and the so-called recognised union sabotaged it. Now the fighting workers have organised themselves into a federation because at that time, Shri Kamlapati Tripathi, Minister of Transport and Shipping said that he will talk only with the federation, and not with individual unions. So now a federation of the unions has been formed and we have formed a Water Transport Workers Federation of India. But then, they are not prepared to recognise this federation. Sir, when I went and represented the matter, the reply that I got was that it is the Labour Department who has to decide. And the Labour Department decides everything on political basis, with a political bias, with political discrimination. I want to make this allegation before this hon. House.

Take the case of road transport workers. Even now the Labour Department is not prepared to form a Wage Board or a Wage Committee or the negotiating committee for these workers, though the issue was supported by the Shipping and Transport Ministry. The Labour Department is sitting tight over it and in the Centre, the Labour Department, the Labour Minister and that particular section are not prepared to concede the justifiable rights of the workers. It is really a pitiable situation. We are going in for a very bad situation. I take this opportunity to demand that the negotiating committee for the revision wages of the road transport workers must be formed and the request of the All-India Road Transport Workers Federation must be conceded.

Sir, one more point about my State. A lot of talk has gone on about a super tanker berth in Cochin port. And 4 P.M. our information is that Mr. Subramaniam who is an anti-Keralite is sitting tight over it without sanctioning the

finance. I am making this allegation with full responsibility because when we asked for some rice—we have been giving much money through foreign exchange exporting rubber, cardamom and other things—Mr. Subramaniam had the audacity to say about a small strike, "If the strike continues, I will not give you food". So, our information—or rather our fear—is that he is sitting tight over this matter of a super-tanker berth by which the Government is going to mint money. The people of Kerala will be benefited and also the Central Government is going to be benefited. I do not know how much freedom Mr. Pranab Mukherjee himself has but I hope that he will at least say before this honourable House that he will fight for our just cause for a super-tanker berth.

SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE (West Bengal) : Sir, with regard to the Bill, I would like at the very outset to make some observations before going into this or that Ministry's work. I find that all the Finance Ministers including those in the British days have tried to focus only on the errors, distortions and imbalances within the economy and polity. And they have, through various exercises, jugglery of fiscal manipulations and mathematical manipulations tried to draw a finer picture for the coming year. The same was the case last year and the previous year with a little optimism and insight. The Finance Minister has drawn up the present Budget of Rs. 10,000 crores in the same *parampara* or tradition of the past, since those days. I agree—everybody agrees—with the Finance Minister that last year, that is 1974-75—as it was estimated in the Economic Survey—was the worst year since independence. I also do agree with him that despite the acute difficulties they do not present any insurmountable problems which cannot be solved with a proper mobilisation of the country's latent capacity and resources.

Coming to the facts as we see them, during the last 27 years the growth potential of the national economy has substantially decreased. The real problem now is to bring about such an institutional adjustment in regard to the mobilisation of material and human resources and a political will as to convert the growth potential into actual growth.

We are to look into the Budget from this angle, not going here and there, namely, how far the present political or economic crisis that is bringing tensions of growth is due to slogans. The level of exploitation of the people has been increased by many slogans.....

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY (Assam) :  
What are the slogans ?

SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE : ... such as Garibi Hatao. But the people have not been taken in by such slogans. The people have not been involved. Prices are shooting up. Procedures in the price framework have not been devised. People's participation in the development programme and in meeting the crisis have not assured. Therefore, Sir, unless we diagnose the disease it is no use treating a patient and if we do treat a patient the patient will, naturally, die. Non-structural factors have been taken into consideration but no exercise has been done towards structural changes that are bringing in crisis. In my opinion, the major features of the present situation connected with the economic structure deserve our main consideration. The structural condition is that it is a mixed economy but it has failed to mobilise human and material resources as it should have and, naturally, it has brought in unbridled capitalism despite giving an appearance of a mixed economy more so when ours is a precapitalist economic structure. The measure of exploitation in the country is pre-capitalist. That being so, it is a feudal system, a mercantile bourgeoisie system having been linked with big monopoly houses, large houses, now supported and interlinked with multi-national corporation.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala) :  
Now only one thing, Mr. Mukherjee, resign from the Congress and join the Opposition.

SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE : It is a four pillar structure under which we live. One is multi-national corporation having international connections. Then we have got the indigenous or domestic monopoly and big business houses. Thirdly, we have got the mercantile community, the merchants and, fourth, we have in the

rural sector the kulaks, the rich peasants and landlords. It is on the basis of this four-pillar structure that the country's economy stands. If our pundit or wizard, Mr. Subramaniam, feels that he is leading the country in its economy, I will appeal to him not to be under that illusion. Mr. Deputy Chairman, I will also request our Government, including the Prime Minister, not to be under any illusion or "mayavad" that the Government is dealing with the economy of the country or leading the country towards economic progress. It is these four pillars, it is these four forces of the economic structure, which are linked and which have ganged up together, which are leading the country to economic crisis and to political crisis as well. Sir, I am sorry to say this. We find this political crisis because of the pre-capitalist Indian social system which should have been industrialised with public sector enterprises during the last 27 years, since the Indian feudal system or the Rajas could not afford to industrialise the country. The failure to do so has brought about this crisis.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri V. B. Raju)  
in the Chair.]

The failure has brought about the present crisis of the economy and also a crisis in politics. Now, you will find that all the political parties have some consensus on the question of corruption, on the question of growth, on the question of crisis. On these questions, by and large, all the political parties do agree. But all the parties differ when the agencies of industrial development or the sacrifices involved come up. In a developing country, everybody has to pass through pre-capitalist exploitation to industrialisation, and everybody has to undergo the agonies. Our country has throughout avoided this. Our country did not initiate it through the public sector enterprises, which were absolutely given to bureaucrats without any policy and this has resulted in this political crisis also. We are in a hot soup with these big multi-national corporations, mercantile bourgeoisie, monopolies and rich "kulak" peasants. On this structure, we find that the Jan Sangh has taken up the ladder and put up J. P. as the J. P. movement in the country. If you go deeper

[Shri Kali Mukherjee]

into the question, you will find that the abortive nature of our efforts to develop at a particular time the failure of the Government during the last 27 years is not taking initiative to industrialise the country through the setting up of proper public sector enterprises, allowing the feudal system in the rural sector, allowing the "kulaks" there and not having land reforms in proper time, all these have led to the economic crisis, resulting in a crisis of production which is in the interest of the monopoly houses and resulting in blackmarketing and black money. That has brought about a peculiar situation, having an international connection, that is, the multinational corporation. Now the political situation that arises out of it has taken shape under the J. P. movement. So, the J. P. movement is a historical growth in a certain situation in the country and the economic situation in the country has brought about a climate of frustration, frustration in political life, frustration in social life, frustration in the educational field, frustration of the political leaders and frustration everywhere. Having brought all the people together, somebody was required to lead the country to a particular position and then J. P. was found. So, J. P.'s growth alongwith these is a historical necessity to create a situation of a particular type in the country or give a shock to the country. But, Sir in the end the Congress will come to its senses, the country will come to its senses and J. P. will find himself in a hot soup with the Jana Sangh on the one side and the Swatantra on the other, who are known to be agents of the four pillars that I stated a few minutes before. They are nothing but the agents of the vested interests. I am sorry for my friends on the other side who are sometimes attracted by this types of men and they go close to him. But they will get what is called the electric shock one day and I am only sorry for them....

(Interruptions)

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : What about your party, the ruling party ? All these pillars are there in your party.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON : Your party has got all the pillars that you mentioned just now.

SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE : Coming to the point, Sir, sometimes the under-developed countries have to undergo this agony and it is a must. But we have not passed through that stage. We have started with a clean slate throughout...

SHRI N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra) : No agony at all for us ? You too started with a clean slate ?

SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE : We have started with a clean slate though here and there there were some troubles and some problems. Yet, we have not gone through that period of agony and ordeal, the political agony, the political ordeal, which is a must for bringing about industrial revolution. So, we are facing that situation today and we should take this as a historical situation, a historical need, as a preparatory thing, as a prerequisite, for the development of the country. So, Sir, I would say that the Budget also must take into account these preparatory pre-requisites things... (Time bell rings)... I will finish in a few minutes, Sir.

The process of industrialisation must start with the public sector and the public sector must bring about the industrial revolution. But I would like to point out that full mobilisation has not been made; the full power of the people as a whole has not been properly marshalled; and the political party that rules the country has not got the will, the determination, required for the purpose of bringing about industrial revolution and economic revolution for the poor, of the 45% of the people, who are living below the level of subsistence.

Sir, having said that, I would like to say that this process of budgeting will not solve the problem. Sir, the Approach, the jugglery of words, the mathematical calculations, giving some crores here and some crores there—all these will not solve the problem. It is not the fiscal policy of the Government which will solve the problem. Nothing will help us in solving the problem unless we understand the need for a structural change, unless we understand the structure in which we are suffering and unless there is a structural change. So, having said that, I would like to remind this honourable House of the fact that

41 years ago, a great man, who is no longer with us, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, told us in his "Whether India?" something which we should remember and I would like to quote from this and finish my speech :

"The whole basis and urge of the national movement came from a desire for economic betterment, to throw out the burdens that crush the masses and to end the exploitation of the Indian people. To throw these burdens which are actually getting added to, it does not require a powerful mind to realise that the fight must not only continue, but grow more and more intense. Leaders and individuals may come and go; they may get tired and get slackened; they may compromise and betray. But the exploited and the suffering masses must carry on the struggle under their drill-sergeant, hunger."

Hunger is the drill sergeant of the country which can lead to the desired goals of social change. If the Ministers and those who are preparing budgets do not see the real picture and make the economic policy of the country properly, then the drill sergeant of hunger will lead to economic liberation.

SHRI N. G. GORAY : I would like to pick up the thread where my friend, Shri Kali Mukherjee, has left it. He very correctly said that it was the hunger of the people and it was those people who are living below the subsistence line who must be taken care of by the Budget. Sir, I am sorry to find that this Budget exactly avoids doing that.

Sir, I have many points to talk about, but there is little time at my disposal and, therefore, I would only ask one or two questions.

Sir on the floor of this House the Finance Minister had told us a couple of months back that serious steps were being made to find out whether the commodities which were essential for the common man could not be distributed at fair price shops to those who needed them. So far as this Budget is concerned, there is no word about it. On the contrary, you will find that commodities like *bidis*, tea, sugar—everything is being taxed. And I wonder if there is any commodity in this country which is not taxed. Why

is this happening ? I thought Mr. Mukherjee will face this particular problem. When he accused Shri Jayaprakash Narayan of leading the people who are reactionaries and all that, I would like to ask him, if the main question is of hunger, if the main question is of eradicating poverty, if the main question is to go to the help of those people who are living below the subsistence line, then why is it that your Government has not the courage to do it? It means that the support which your Government derives is exactly from the people whom you will like to characterize as reactionaries. This is really the crux of the matter Sir...

SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE : Are the Jana Sangh and Swatantra Parties...

(Interruptions)

SHRI N. G. GORAY : Do you disagree with me that this wheat lobby or sugar lobby is reactionary ? ... (Interruptions) So it is the duty of people like me and you to rescue the whole economic structure from the grip of these people. But that is exactly what has not happened.

Sir, I would describe this Budget as a sort of timid budget, a twilight budget, a budget without a face. It is just trying to tinker with the problem here and there in the hope, like Macabre, that something may turn up.

What is the main thrust of this Budget? Sir, many speakers have raised this point : Where is the economy moving? Sir, so far as I am concerned, I have no doubt in my mind that very gradually the Government's policy is veering round to a type of bourgeois economy. It is not an accident that they are trying to give as much help as possible to capitalists. If they want to choose the right path, they should tell us that they have had enough of this socialism and we had enough of this 'garibi hatao'. Now, we have chosen this path. That socialism and welfare will only percolate from upward to the downward strata. This is the thing. It is not a transformation of social structure which my friend, Mr. Mukherjee, wanted to bring about. It is a very slow process which may take place or may not take place. This is how the budget is looking at the whole problem. Therefore, I said

[Shri N. G. Goray]

that this is a very timid budget. Till last year, they were complacent. Today, they have become timid. A breakthrough is not being attempted at all. That is my general criticism. I will be pardoned by my friend if I say that this is not a budget which will take this country on the path of social transformation. It is not a budget of democratic socialism. It is not even a Fabian socialist budget. It is just a conventional budget. However I agree with the Finance Minister when he says that the kingpin of India's economy is agriculture. I agree with that because nearly 75% of our people depend on agriculture. They live in villages. Once you accept this basic fact, then we shall have to work out a programme of encouraging agriculture so that we can get more and more agricultural products and that is exactly where the battle is going to be the thickest. You must have listened in the House just now that the Agricultural Price Commission has come in for very sharp criticism at the hands of people on this side as well as on that side. I do not know how many of them have read the A.P.C.'s report on wheat procurement. I have got the document with me here. The APC has very strongly emphasised this point that when they recommend this price of Rs. 105/- per quintal for wheat, they had have taken all the factors into account. They have taken into account the increased prices of fertilisers and other inputs. They have come to the conclusion that this particular price of Rs. 105/- will leave a little margin of profit to the farmer. Nor, do I know how they have come to these figures. I do not know how it can be disputed. But I would like to suggest to this House that as this is going to be a determining factor in our entire strategy, this House ought to discuss it threadbare. I suggest that there should be a full-dress discussion on this particular point as to what should be the price of wheat so that the farmer will feel encouraged to grow more wheat and the consumer will get it at a reasonable price. I would like to have a debate on this particular point because I am afraid and I told that to Mr. Shinde that the procurement of wheat has been fixed at 5.5 million tonnes this year at this rate of Rs. 105/- per quintal. If those

who sit in Parliament and who represent the people are not satisfied with this, then your procurement programme is going to be completely sabotaged not only by us but by the Congress people also. This is what I told Mr. Shinde. It will be a total failure. If it is admitted that this particular procurement target cannot be reached, then the entire super-structure of your budget collapses because it is based on the basic fact that this price will be accepted by the State Chief Ministers, it will be accepted by the farmers, it will be possible to have 5.5 million tonnes of procurement and then it could be put through the pipeline so that the common man gets wheat at a reasonable price. This basic fact is being challenged. And if this basic fact is challenged by the Chief Ministers, by the representatives of people who sit in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha, what happens to the procurement? Therefore, Sir, I would like to emphasise this point that we must be very clear whether this price is going to be remunerative, if this price is going to give us all the procurement that we are aiming at and whether it will be possible for us to encourage the farmer to go in for more wheat production next year.

Sir, so far as the A.P.C. is concerned, it has not only dealt with the prices but it has also said that the fertilizer prices have gone up. And they know it. It has also said that there are irrigation facilities which ought to be augmented. Now, firstly what about fertilizer? About fertilizer, they have said that we must increase fertilizer production in our country. Sir you will be surprised that only 50 per cent of the capacity is being used. They have pointed out that because the fertilizer has become costly when we import it, the production must go up. But what steps are you suggesting to increase the indigenous output? That is number one. Secondly, my figures tell me that so far as the electricity that is consumed by the farmers is concerned, it is about 6,000 million KWs. And so far as the diesel consumed by the farmers is concerned, that is about 600 million litres, which is about 15 per cent of the total consumption in this country. Therefore, Sir, will it not be possible for us to earmark this 15 per cent and see

to it that whatever happens to the cities, whatever happens to the lighting of the streets and to the big marriage processions and all that, 15 per cent of our total electricity and 15 per cent of the oil that we consume will be earmarked for agriculture. Can it not be done? It can be done. I do not know what has happened to this Government, why is it that they lost all courage? When the Arabs put up their prices, Mr. Borooah came here and said that we must now consume less and less of oil and preserve all the oil that is necessary for the primary production. What has happened to that? I do not know whether some effective cut has been effected or not, or whether we have reconciled ourselves to this and price rise we are merrily going on spending oil on our cars and other things. Therefore, Sir, this needs to be done.

Now, Sir, about irrigation. And my friend from Punjab told us about the production there. Sir, in this House, I have cried hoarse that this river water disputes must be solved; we just cannot afford to continue them. It does not matter if some justice is done to Gujarat or some injustice is done to Madhya Pradesh. But they must be solved because production of foodgrains is the primary thing, it is the foundation, and it is something basic to our economy. If that is so, the question is: Are we really behaving as if our future depended on the irrigation problems or, are we allowing them to go on merrily with disputes and counter-disputes, with points and counter-points and legal arguments? I would like to ask him: What is he going to do? What is he going to do with the smaller projects, leave alone the big projects? About the small projects, you must set up a target and see to it that it is achieved. Let the other things remain where they are. But these things the primary things, the core of the project, should be completed.

Secondly, I would like to ask the Finance Minister whether he has got the machinery that is necessary to implement these plans. You are saying that energy will receive the first priority. You are saying that irrigation will receive the first priority, you are saying that seeds will be supplied to the farmers;

but where is the machinery? It will mean that the total strength of the people will have to be mobilised from village to village. I would appeal to the Government that this is one programme on which all the parties can be persuaded to agree. Don't have any untouchability so far as parties are concerned, you appeal to all the parties. Say that this is the programme, this is what we want to do about the fair-price shops, this is what we want to do about the distribution of seeds, this is what we want to do about energy, about fertilizers, and if once for a change, you decide that everything will not be in the hands of the Congress organisation, then, I suppose, a good deal can be achieved because everybody has realised that these are the basic factors and unless these basic factors are dealt with, no progress, so far as the economy is concerned, will be possible. This is how it is.

Now, Sir, having said whatever I wanted to say about the general approach, I would like to point out one or two other things. Take my own State. The new Chief Minister has very flamboyantly I should say rather, audaciously, said that he is going to increase food production in the State by a million tonnes in the next year. I do not know how he is going to do it. Sir, the actual fact is that in spite of the boasting of the former Chief Minister, actually the food production in Maharashtra has either been stagnant or it has decreased. That is a fact. You must try to inquire why this thing is happening. It is because irrigation projects are not being implemented. The other thing is that whatever irrigation potential is there it is used on money crops or cash crops like sugarcane, and other things like the cereals and pulses are being neglected. You may have to evolve a strategy by which you will make it compulsory for those using your irrigation potential to raise food crops. Unless you do it, what will happen is that perhaps you will have more tobacco, you may have more cotton and more sugarcane but we shall not have cereals and for cereals we shall again have to go to America and a very curious situation will develop in that every day we shall be cursing America and every day we shall be going to America and asking for foodgrains. This is the anomaly that is being created.

[Shri N. G. Goray]

The next point that I would like to say is that if you really want to develop the backward areas, then you will have to see that such costly schemes like underground railways for Bombay are shelved and the Western Railway scheme is taken up. This Konken region, Sir, has big potentialities but it is being neglected. I am not saying this because I come from that area.

Sir, just now my friend from Kerala referred to the trawlers. Sir, the whole story of the trawlers is that we have made all the schemes but for the last two years no trawlers have been bought because they are not available, because you have put a condition that anybody who brings or imports one trawler will have to give an order for an indigenous trawler and the difficulty is that a trawler which is imported costs Rs. 30 lakhs and here, the Garden Reach Workshop, the Visakhapatnam Docks and the Mazagon Docks say that it will cost Rs. 45 lakhs, Rs. 30 lakhs plus Rs. 45 lakhs, makes Rs. 75 lakhs and no bank is ready to give you credit. A small man will never get that much of credit and only these people like the tobacco companies and the Union Carbide will get credits. So, see the anomaly that you are creating. On the one hand you are talking of the small-man and on the other hand you are chalking out policies which are sure to help the big-man, that is the contradiction. Unless you evolve certain rational methods, you will always find that whatever your plans, whatever your objectives, whatever your slogans, actually the economy will be helping this discrepancy between the small-man and the big-man and the big-man will rule. So, I would say to the Minister of State for Finance that he should look deeply into these things and if Mr. Subramaniam's hope is based only on this foundation of agriculture and energy, then you will have to take very drastic steps to see that agriculture gives us all the food that we require and the agriculturist gets all the help that he requires.

Sir, after all agriculture does not mean only agriculture in irrigated tracts. Seventy five per cent of India's agricultural population lives in areas which are rain-

fed. Have you taken them into account? If you raise the production there by even five kilos per acre, your food problem will be solved. But nobody looks at them.

People talk of Green Revolution. Sir, what is this Green Revolution? I have all respect for my peasant friends in Haryana and Punjab but let them not forget the fact that eighty per cent or seventy-five per cent of their land is irrigated. In Maharashtra, my State, only eight per cent of the land is irrigated.

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY : In our State...

SHRI N. G. GORAY : You give us 25 per cent and we are ready to take a Challenge that we shall produce as much as you do, not that we shall produce more than you do.  
(Time-bell rings.)

AN HON. MEMBER : Sugarcane ?

SHRI N. G. GORAY : We shall grow sugarcane. After all you also require sugarcane. We shall grow sugarcane. Or you say that whoever gets irrigation will not be allowed to grow sugarcane and that he will have to grow cereals only.

SHRI D. D. PURI : Why not give a remunerative price for cereals ?

SHRI N. G. GORAY : Sure, I am with you. But what is the use of...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : What is the use of asking him ?

SHRI N. G. GORAY : Sir, he is trying to win me over to that lobby. What I am saying is that I am not against giving remunerative prices, but what is the remunerative price? Let us sit down together and let us ask the APC. After all they are not antifarmer, they are not the stooges of the capitalists or anything like that. They are people who have to make a study and try to find out what is remunerative, taking into account all the factors and then come to a conclusion. Therefore, Sir, this popular practice of condemning bureaucrats and condemning scholars is not to my liking. Let us sit together with them, try to find out what the truth is, and if you come to the

conclusion that the farmer must get Rs. 120 per quintal, I am not a man to grudge it. But let us come to some facts, some conclusions after due deliberation. (*Time-bell rings*) This is my plea. Thank you.

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD (Kerala): Vice-Chairman, Sir, Mr. Goray has concluded his speech pleading for help to backward regions and undeveloped States so that those regions and States also might come to the level of States like Punjab and Haryana. Sir, that was the policy of the Government also but what is the result? Is the Government really allotting finances to the backward regions and States so that they too could come up to the level of other developed States?

As far as Kerala is concerned, Sir, we have got the grievance that even the letters that are addressed to the Government of India are not being replied to promptly by the different heads of departments here. That is our grievance. No proper money is being allowed to the States.

My friend here called Mr. Subramaniam an anti-Kerala man. But I do not call him an anti-Kerala man; Definitely not. Even my friends from Tamil Nadu do not call him pro-Tamil Nadu or otherwise. As such, it is uncharitable to call Mr. Subramaniam an anti-Keralite. Definitely not, Sir. Neither is he anti-Kerala nor pro-Tamil Nadu. He is a man by himself, Sir. It is not fair to call him like that. That is very bad. As the Finance Minister who is in charge of finances, he is a responsible Minister.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON:  
Let him discipline in his tongue.

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD :  
That is necessary especially for politicians. And he should go along with popular views. He should mend his ways. That is necessary. But definitely I would call him a friend of Kerala and definitely he will help us and I am sure he will have a soft corner for the people of Kerala and to people of other States also. Tourism is one of the main projects where the Kerala Government could earn foreign exchange. Today Kerala Government is earning

foreign exchange to the tune of nearly 13 to 14 per cent. For the whole of India this is the percentage but what is the return that Kerala gets. considering its population ratio? For the intellectual people, high percentage of educated people, unemployed people to solve these problems what is the percentage of help the Government of India is giving to the State to come to the level of other States? It is nothing. Coming to tourism, the second stage of expansion of Aranyanivas Hotel, Thekkady was taken up by the State Government on the presumption that the Government of India will share 50 per cent of the entire cost of construction. The Director-General of Tourism, Government of India, was addressed in Government letter dated 20-3-1970 for their revised sanction for additional financial assistance. Further in Government letter dated 21-9-1972 the Director (Programme) Department of Tourism, Government of India, was addressed to arrange to obtain the sanction of the Government of India for 50 per cent of the actual expenditure incurred on the scheme. But no final reply has been received so far. The latest letter was on 21-9-1972 but there is no reply to this letter. So, Mr. Subramaniam need not be blamed. The entire Finance Ministry was like that. So, what I say, Sir, special attention should be paid to the State like Kerala where we are being neglected for the last 26 to 27 years, since Independence.

The other point is with regard to a soda ash project. The Kerala State Industrial Development Corporation holds a letter of intent for starting a soda ash project. The original cost of the project is estimated at Rs. 13.50 crores and of this Rs. 117 lakhs will be invested by the Kerala State Industrial Development Corporation. This will be one of the spill-over projects in the Fifth Five Year Plan. Here also the Government is mum as far as the Government of India is concerned.

Now I come to the formation of a subsidiary company under the Plantation Corporation of Kerala Limited for cultivation of oil palm. The State Government has proposed the formation of a subsidiary company under the Plantation Corporation

[Shri Hamid Ali Schamnad]  
of Kerala Limited for the cultivation of oil palm in an area of 2000 hectares in Anchal Range. There was a big correspondence and ultimately it was followed by a D.O. letter dated 13-1-1975 from the Secretary, Agriculture, to the Agriculture Commissioner, Government of India, and another D. O. dated 20-1-1975 from the Minister (A & L) to Shri A. P. Shinde, Minister of State for Agriculture. This matter may, therefore, be pursued by the Government of India.

Fishing is one of the important industries and sea food really forms one of the supplementary foods for the poor people of Kerala. During the Fifth Five Year Plan a scheme of development of infrastructure in coastal fishing has been included as a centrally sponsored scheme under the Ministry of Agriculture (Fisheries). A provision of Rs. 9 crores had been proposed by the Working Group of the Fifth Five Year Plan on fisheries under this head for the country. Even though the Government of India have been reminded no amount has been released so far by the Government of India to this State on this account. Sir, this is the position.

Then, the Cochin University has submitted to the Ministry of Education, Government of India, proposals for introducing certain courses in Applied Sciences and Technology in the University during the Fifth Plan period and to seek technical assistance for the purpose from the German Democratic Republic. Final approval of the Government of India to the proposals of the University is being awaited.

So many proposals are being sent to the Government of India. So many letters have been written by the Chief Minister, Mr. Achuta Menon, and the Industries Minister, Mr. T. V. Thomas, to the concerned Ministers here in the Government of India but some of them have not even been replied to.

That is the state of affairs there. How can we expect Kerala to develop and come up to the level of other States? I would appeal to the Finance Minister at least to be generous. I should not even say

generosity, but equity and good justice would require that the Kerala people should also be treated well and the starving millions of people of Kerala should be alleviated from their present position.

Another important matter to which I should like to draw the attention of the Government of India and also this House is with regard to the Emergency, the Emergency being enforced today and MISA being used miserably, notoriously and badly. I can understand if real smugglers, real hoarders whose presence in the country is detrimental to the progress of the nation, those who are encouraging smuggling, hoarding, blackmarketing and all that, are put behind the bars. They should be given the maximum punishment. I am not at all against it. But you will find many instances that are before us of many innocent people being punished and kept behind the bars. There is a feeling in my State, in Kerala, that MISA is being used against a particular community alone—that feeling is there today in the minds of the people, specially my community, Muslim community, that this law is used against this community and they are put behind the bars.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : I think your Party is running the Government there.

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD : But under the direction of the Government of India. Anyhow, Sir, I will come to it. If my allegation is false, it is for the Government of India to bring out facts and figures—so and so was arrested, these are the cases against them, they could justify; I have no objection. Otherwise, my allegation, will be there, people will misunderstand. One incident I may quote. This incident has been quoted by Mohd. Koya in Lok Sabha also. I am quoting in this House. Last month many of the smugglers were arrested and there was one man Mahin arrested and put behind the bars. He wanted to come out on parole on the wedding of his daughter. He applied and there were verifications as to who was the bridegroom, whether the marriage was a fact. The police certified that the marriage was going to take place. So he was released on parole for 7 days to attend the

marriage of his daughter. He would be son-in-law, Mohd. Kunhi, a boy of 20-22 years—he is a contractor—went to the jail and executed a bond for Rs. 5,000 to get his would-be father-in-law and also his uncle out. He himself went to the Central Jail and got him released and brought him to the house. He is a contractor who had taken a contract near the Neleshwar police station and the bill was not complete. The marriage was attended by many, even by some officials. The funny part of it is that on the second night of the marriage, when this poor boy of 22 was sleeping with his wife—newly-wedded wife—the police came and knocked the door of the house. At 2 A. M. the inspector comes and gives warrant of arrest to the bridegroom, Mohd. Kunhi. I do not know how much he was surprised. Others were also surprised, and the village was taken aback, because he was not at all absconding. The same man who had gone to the jail and had executed a bond four days ago and got the other man released. And he was a contractor of the police station, Neleshwar police station.

He was the contractor. Everybody knew him and I am told the Police Sub Inspector went to his house and it was so manipulated by the officials under some vengeance and arrest warrant was issued and he was arrested and taken to the Central jail. Is it not harassment? The Government must have some human considerations in doing such things. If they wanted to arrest this man, they need not have released the other man. Why should they release that man who was in jail? He was released so that he could attend his daughter's marriage with that contractor of the police station. So this is the state of affairs that is going on. Then what happened was, Sir, after our representation he was released on parole for seven days. He never wanted; but the Department itself felt sympathy for this poor boy who got himself married and on the second day when he was sleeping with his wife, he was arrested. This is not a story; this is what actually happened. What would be the feeling of the mother of that girl? What would be the feeling of the poor girl of 16 or 17? These are human feelings and there should be a human way of doing things, eparating of

husband and wife. So, anyhow, Sir, I am not going further into the details. I want the Government to examine this fact. This is only one instance that I have cited and some of the local papers have given reasons for this....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : You can go to another point.

SHRI JAGAN NATH BHARDWAJ (Himachal Pradesh) : I feel pity for him.

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD : Local papers have said that he was arrested in a case in 1971 or 1972. Anyhow, if MISA, is to be used in such a way, what would be the fate especially when a man is to be arrested when he cannot even appear before the court of law? The authorities executing and implementing the law should be not only careful but overcareful in these matters. (*Time bell rings*). Do you want me to conclude, Sir?

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

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD : Then I will have to conclude. I hope the Government will consider how MISA should be used and in what way it is being used and if these allegations are false, if the allegations that this MISA is being used against Muslims now, are false, let the Government clarify it. Let them give facts and figures to the people. Let them justify it. When we go to our people, they tell us : you come from Parliament; Did you not represent the people? Do you not see people being put behind the bars? At the same time, Sir, the smugglers are not arrested. Smuggling is going on. you must have read in the papers from Mangalore and Karnataka, about the watches worth Rs. 30 lakhs being seized. But nobody was arrested. Only they seize the articles. These things are going on in Bombay also and some innocent people are put behind the bars. Actual smugglers like Haji Mastans are even now there in Bombay and in different parts of the country but they are not arrested. They are carrying on their business and at the same time, innocent people are arrested. This may be examined by the Government. Thank you.