

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : सुबह तो बजे से क्यों न बैठें ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अगर सब लोग इस तरह से बोलेंगे तो कैसे काम चलेगा। एक एक कर के आप बोलें। यह भी हो सकता है कि मैं चन्द मंत्री साहबान को बुला लूँ चैंबर में और वहाँ पर हम बात कर लें और मैं बिजिनेस ऐडवाइजरी कमेटी के सामने उसे पेश कर दूँगा। भलावा उन मंत्रियों के जो बिजिनेस ऐडवाइजरी कमेटी में हैं अगर कोई साहब खास तौर से भ्राना चाहें तो मैं उन को भी दावत देता हूँ कि वे आ जायें।

श्री राबेलास व्यास (उज्जैन) : मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि पहले तो लंच के लिये हम ऐडजर्न करने थे एक बजे से हाई बजे तक

अध्यक्ष महोदय : यह सब चीजें हम वहाँ देख लेंगे।

13.01 hrs.

MOTION RE: FOOD SITUATION

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri C. Subramaniam): I beg to move:

"That the Food situation in the country be taken into consideration."

I do not propose to make a speech at this stage. I would like to point out to hon. Members that a fairly comprehensive note has been circulated. That note contains two parts. The first part is a review of the general situation with regard to food in the country.

Shrimati Kenu Chakravarty (Barackpore): My request is that since we start this debate today, is it possible for some of us who have arrived today to send in amendments?

Mr. Speaker: Those who have arrived today—I will allow them, particularly those who had been under arrest.

श्री कमल नयन चक्रवर्ती (दार्जिलिंग) : यदि सुबह के घाट बजे शुरू कर के लंच के पहले खत्म कर दिया जाये तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा।

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. When we have decided that we will discuss it in the Business Advisory Committee, why should there be further suggestions?

Shri C. Subramaniam: Sir, I was referring to the note which has been circulated to the hon. Members. There are two parts. The first part is a general review of the food situation. . . . (Interruptions).

Mr. Speaker: Will he kindly resume his seat? Even when the business of the House is suspended some hon. Members do not feel it; they continue talking.

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati): Lunch question is uppermost in their minds.

Mr. Speaker: This is not how they should give expression to this.

Shri C. Subramaniam: I have tried to give the background material with regard to the present situation by reviewing the situation in the past few years and I have also indicated how we are tackling the present situation and the future steps that we are contemplating with regard to food policy.

The second part gives the statistical information about various production figures, the money in circulation and various other relevant data which will be useful for the hon. Members.

in discussing the food situation. I hope I would be getting constructive and useful suggestions in dealing with this difficult situation in the country, which I shall try at the end of the debate to deal with in my reply and if necessary place before the hon. Members the future picture of our food policy taking into account the various suggestions which the hon. Members would be making.

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That the food situation in the country be taken into consideration."

Are the substitute motions moved?

Shri Yashpal Singh (Kairana): I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Food situation in the country, is of opinion—

- (a) that Government have failed to arrest the rise in prices of essential food articles;
- (b) that land reforms measures should not be pursued and peasants should not be compelled to part with their lands in favour of co-operatives;
- (c) that farmers should be given remunerative price for their products;
- (d) that the existing trade in foodgrains should not be disturbed and no ban on the movement of grains from one place to another be imposed;
- (e) that the proposal for the setting up of a Foodgrains Trading Corporation be given up and the proposed policy for placing a ban for starting new rice mills in the private sector be scrapped; and

(f) that loans to farmers be arranged against their crops and not against their property and in order to compensate for the loss to crops due to floods etc., Crop Insurance should be introduced. (1).

Ms. Speaker: Is Mr. Dwarkadas Mantri moving his motion?

Shri D. D. Mantri (Bhir): No, Sir.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Food situation in the country, and having felt the utter failure of the Government to solve the food problem in the country suggest the following measures for immediate implementation,—

- (a) Introduction of State Trading in foodgrains.
- (b) Nationalisation of Banks to control advances.
- (c) Ban on speculation on foodgrains.
- (d) Appointment of a Price Stabilisation Board.
- (e) Remunerative prices to the farmers."

Shri Bade (Khargone): I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Food situation in the country, records its utter disappointment over the Government's failure to foresee the Food crisis that has now overtaken the country and then to meet it by adopting effective measures to hold the price line and to make available essential commodities at reasonable rates." (4)

Mr. Speaker: I have assured Shrimati Renu Chakravarty that I will admit other amendments also if they are sent. So, I shall have to admit these substitute motions which I have received today from Dr. Lohia and from Mr. Maurya. Are they present? No So, that is not moved.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta—Central): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have tried to read carefully the review of the food situation which the hon. Minister has been good enough to supply, a document on which he has relied as far as his prefatory remarks in today's discussion were concerned. I find this review perhaps not quite entirely complacent but it lacks the right kind of awareness and also of determination to solve the problem which has appeared in the most ex-cruciating manner in the life of our country. Almost everywhere in India people are suffering and it would be quite easy to paint a lurid picture of what is happening. I shall forbear and there would be other occasions also to point out how as a result of the fumbling and bungling of this Government conditions have deteriorated so that the anger of the people is slowly but surely rising in their breast. I shall desist from trying to paint a lurid picture which is no fanciful picture but a fact of life that we see in the country. I would like the Government to remember the condition of things to which the country has been reduced . . . (Interruptions).

डा० राज मनोहर लोहिया (कलकत्ता):
अप्यक्ष महोदय, एक मिनट के लिये मैं बाहर चला गया था इस पर मेरा समाधान है।

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: This condition of things which was avoidable, which could even now be surmounted if there is the right kind of determination cannot very much longer be tolerated by the people.

There is in this country at the present moment a situation where a Minister asks us for responsive co-operation. At the end of his review he calls for responsive co-operation; he says some eloquent words which are quite correct. He says:

"Agricultural revolution cannot be brought about merely by a fiat from above. It has to be achieved by a change at the very grass roots itself involving every one of us in public life, in the farms and in the factories. Only by the responsive co-operation of all concerned, can such a change be successful."

Very correct words, these, there is no doubt about it. Time and again we have offered responsive co-operation. On a problem like this, whether here or in the States, we have tried to see that there is discussion, that there is consultation and that there is co-operation at every level, official as well as non-official: but responsive co-operation has been repelled. Once or twice some sweet words might have been uttered by a Minister here or a Minister there but actually responsive co-operation has not been possible because of the wooden attitude of the Government. Government has to deserve responsive co-operation before responsive co-operation is forthcoming.

Government talks now about agricultural revolution right from the grass roots. A very wonderful thing, the only thing which should take place in this country. It is necessary to muster sufficient resolve to achieve it. Is the Government awakening up at last after the euphoria of nearly seventeen long years? The present Ministry is very well aware that it will not receive the indulgence which was the privilege of Jawaharlal Nehru.

On food, this Ministry has failed in a manner which exasperates the country. A reflection of it is found today in the notice of the no-confidence

motion which has been admitted. The feeling of our people has found expression in struggles and movements, in the great phenomenon of Maharashtra bandh and the Gujrat bandh and all kinds of popular struggle in West Bengal, in Andhra, in Kerala and every State of our country and the satyagraha which our party launched, in which thousands and thousands of people participated. I know we have been faced with the Government's accusation that we have an agitational approach. But it is with the desire to break the unholy trinity which dominates over our country today that we have sought the co-operation of the people which has been spontaneously and overwhelmingly forthcoming,—the unholy trinity between the hoarder, between high business manipulators and the Government of the day; and they have combined in bringing about the present situation. It is because of this importance that there is a realisation among all, including the ranks of the Congress party that something has got to be done in order that we do not mismanage the present situation, because today we are really in a crisis which we have got to surmount by taking steps which would be courageous, which would be imaginative and which would be in conformity with the interests of our people.

The Minister, in his report, has referred to different aspects of the food situation regarding the production and availability of food in our country, the distribution processes which we have at the present moment and also in regard to the problem of prices. If we take these things one by one we discover that there is a dismal picture under every item. We had in the third Plan the target of 100 million tons of foodgrains which we were hoping surely to be able to produce. In 1960-61, we produced 80.96 million tons; in 1961-62 it came down to 79.82 million tons; in 1962-63 it came down still further to 78.5 million tons; in 1963-64 we have got the figure of 79.3 million tons, which is much less than what it was in 1960-61,

and the target of 100 million tons seems far away. Production is even less than in the last year of the second Plan. There is stagnation and even our friend Shri Asoka Mehta, speaking not from the ranks of the Opposition which only recently he used to adorn but as Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, has talked about the stagnancy in production which has taken place in our country and the third Plan target is not going to be achieved at this rate.

Sometimes the argument is used that our people are prolific; the population is increasing at a very fast pace but surely we do not want that in the Plan period the life expectation of our people should not increase; and surely the increase of 2.5 per cent annually is not in itself taken separately from the entire context of things, anything at all surprising or objectionable. Only the quantum of increase makes us face a difficult situation. But we have to face the situation. Surely, when we had the Plan, we anticipated the rise in population which should have been, if the living conditions of the people improved.

With semi-stagnancy in agriculture, we find agrarian relations being kept by the Government's ineptitude in a condition which militates against the effective increase of agricultural production. In the third Plan, there was stress on land reforms, especially the implementation of ceilings and the abolition of intermediaries and so on and so forth. The Planning Commission itself has been constrained to point out how all the targets are receding into the far distance; the concentration of ownership in the realm of agricultural production continues; the yield per acre in our country is among the lowest in the world; and even such an observer as the American Ambassador, Mr. Chester Bowles, said recently that 10 per cent of India's cultivators still own more than 50 per cent of the land while one per cent of them own nearly one-fifth.

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If this kind of thing goes on, surely, the conditions would not improve. In the villages, under-employment and unemployment are increasing. As far as the availability of cultivable wasteland is concerned, even now, 47 million acres of land remain uncultivated;

13.15 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

only 15 per cent of our total sown area is under the double crop system. That is to say, on account of the land relations being what they are, agricultural production has got a rivet round its neck; it cannot move about at the rate it ought to and the line of the Government has been always to point to a crisis developing; always to point to scarcity all over the country and therefore to rely on food imports and especially to rely upon that Heaven-sent boon of PL 480 beneficence from the United States.

There is a lot of talk about self-sufficiency from time to time, but nothing whatever has been done which is tangible. I remember how on one occasion, here, in this Parliament—

Shri K. N. Tiwary (Bagaha): We are now 460 million, and even Russia is importing.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order, order.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself had said in answer to an accusation that he had declared his determination to put an end to all food imports by April, 1962, and he said in this House: "I regret that my words have been falsified and I feel thoroughly ashamed that what was almost a pledge to the country has been broken." I might be told that I am referring to days far away, back in the past. But in 1962 the pledge was given that we shall be self-sufficient in food production, and today, it is 1964, and it is beyond the Greek calends that the achievement of the target of food self-sufficiency is being

pushed because of the inefficiency of the Government. In the mean time, we expect manna from Heaven to fall in the shape of the PL 480: farm surpluses which they do not want in America and which they want to utilise for the purposes of pursuing and implementing their own intentions in our country; on an under-developed country they are being dumped because we need them; we cannot do without them; I do not say we should stop having them because there is no way out at the present moment. But it is the policy of the Government which has led to a situation where we have to depend upon this kind of precarious bounty which is going at one time—in the future and not the very distant future either—to put us in very great trouble. This whole question of PL 480 transaction is a matter which should be the subject of a high level discussion, and that might take place perhaps later.

We find the Food and Agriculture Minister of sometime ago, Shri S. K. Patil, going to America and,—I do not know why over the head and behind the back of the Food Minister,—he should have behaved as if he was the Food Minister, and talking about this PL 480 bounty about which he was the instrumentality for bringing about it up, in so far as this country was concerned.

It is necessary that we try our best to fulfil the target. Irrigation facilities of course are not being adequately utilised because of the poverty of the peasantry. The production of nitrogenous fertilisers is much below one million tons target. High price and black marketing in fertilisers distribution are aggravating the picture. It is altogether a most dismal picture.

Another important thing is the question of agricultural credit, and the biggest problem is the inadequacy of short term agricultural credit which means that the peasants are mainly dependent upon the money-

lenders. The Government surveys indicate that as many as 62 per cent of the rural household are in debt. As far as the cultivators are concerned, the percentage is even higher: it is 65.8 per cent, and the average amount of the debt of the cultivators per household is Rs. 719. In this situation where there is very great urgency of the expansion of credit through State banks and co-operatives, what happens is that this assistance goes to the middlemen, the intermediaries, the big sharks in the foodgrains trade who are assisted by the Government apparatus,—whether the Minister wishes it or not—the apparatus of the Government and its methods of administration to be able to utilise the assistance which the banks can give. The credit which goes to the peasantry from the private scheduled banks constitutes only one per cent of the total credit, while heavy advances are made by the bankers to speculators against the foodgrains. And therefore we find that the basic question of land reform and agricultural production is not being tackled. India remains deficit and chronically dependent on food imports, and the food scarcity is magnified beyond all proportions by the cupidity, by the greed of those traders who are now trying to lord it over the place in spite of the terrific straits to which their conduct has driven the country.

According to the Government's own figures, food production in 1963-64 went up actually by 4 million tons compared to the previous year. Ordinarily, therefore, the situation should have improved, but it has become worse. The reasons definitely are that speculation and hoarding, supported by bank advances and helped by inaction on the part of the Government, have taken place. The trade was left free. The total amount of procurement up to July this year was only 5.8 lakh tons. Government knew very well also that although the food production had gone up, the market arrivals after the harvest was low. Government surely got a clear

indication that the stocks were passing into the hoards and they were being withheld. Government itself has admitted that the market arrivals in 1964 was 25 per cent less than in 1963. Still, Government having prior notice, did not act in time.

The result has been artificial shortages in many places even in the surplus States of the South, where there should not have been that kind of trouble. In the beginning of the year, many State Governments complained of these difficulties. For example, Assam, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and even such surplus States as Andhra and Orissa complained about this phenomenon. But nothing effective was even sought to be done in the matter. The prices continued to rise. In fact, although in the second and third Plan periods the prices were increasing and therefore hitting the poorer sections of our people in every aspect of their life, the prices of foodgrains in particular reached such a critical pass that the conditions of those people have become so very pitiable today. I could refer to the index number of the whole-sale price which has risen so much. There would be other speakers who would bring out other materials and the Government has all the figures at its disposal. So, I need not trouble the House with merely recounting these figures, because the facts of life are so eloquent today that it is not necessary in detail to go into these matters.

My accusation against the Government is that no measures were taken in time or even now effectively enough to check the rise in prices. For example, no effective curb on bank advances was imposed. We have been shouting ourselves hoarse about this matter for a long enough time and Government knows very well how this manipulation goes on. Yet, no effective curb on bank advances was made. Forward trading and speculation in one form or other went on under one cover or other. The Forward Trading Commission itself has admitted that even in respect of the Delhi mar-

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ket, forward trading does actually take place.

We find also that when Government should have come into the picture with a programme of large-scale purchase, negligible amounts were purchased on Government account. There was no anti-hoarding or de-hoarding drive properly to speak of. As far as Delhi was concerned, some official attempts to get at hoarded food worried the powerful elements in this country so much that all police raiding was suspended. Even an apology was given to those hoarders that they had been put to some little trouble and after a supposed haul, it was declared that the whole thing was a failure. Nothing showed the utter ineptitude of the Government more, so far as the Delhi incident was concerned, when it was advertised and tom-tommed to the world with a great deal of fanfare that hoards had been discovered and then an apology was offered for having troubled people who were actually not hoarding. There is this hoarding which everybody in his senses would acknowledge, but there is no real effort made and that is why the wrong-doers get away with it.

Our Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, who is a very polite and considerate person, with a little too much of humility about him, of which certain people take undoubted advantage, went forward to say that he would give a grace period of two weeks to these hoarders and speculators. This kind of thing is something fantastic. After all, it is not for the first time that innocent hoarders and speculators had been discovered to have done some thing rather shady. It is not that this is a case of a crime committed for the first time without knowing very much its implications. It is not a case where a period of grace should be given. It is a case where stringent measures should be taken straightway in order to restore public confidence as well as to punish those guilty of snatching away the

food from the mouths of our people. On the contrary, the Prime Minister allowed his own gentle and humane feelings to be exploited by the nastiest elements of our population in order to allow them a certain period of grace. But even after the period of grace has elapsed, we discover that the speculators and the hoarders are going on merrily enough. They know very well how the lie of the land is. One might make fun of it, but I do not feel like making fun of it. It is a very serious matter. It shows up the faults of the Government. It shows up its weakness; it shows lack of courage at a time when courage was of the essence of the matter. Government lacks both courage and imagination and vision and coming after the Prime Minister who has gone away, this kind of lack, which at any rate does not enable the Government to put the matter in the perspective of the future, is before the people's eyes and that is why the people are even more disgusted with what is happening in recent times.

We had made a suggestion quite sometime ago about procuring Orissa rice for West Bengal at the State level. That was rejected. West Bengal is riddled with so many problems, like rehabilitation and all kinds of other things like rise in prices particularly in regard to foodgrains and other items of food like dal, mustard oil or fish, an item of food which is widely eaten in that part of the country. All these things have taken place in a manner which has shown the utter inefficiency of the administration and its callousness towards the interests of the people. The hoarders and profiteers have taken advantage of the general system which the Government perpetuates and the Government is not acting at all in the spirit in which Mr. Subramaniam has tried at least to make a review of the food situation.

Mr. Subramaniam has told us how the number of fairprice shops had risen from 60,000 and odd at the end

of 1963 to about 80,000 in June 1964. But apart from the working of these fairprice shops, which leaves much to be desired, the number is still rather too inadequate and a system of modified full rationing should be introduced in conformity with the necessities of particular areas. That has not been brought about in an adequate measure. There is irregular supply as far as these fairprice shops are concerned and there is no regulatory measure. Whatever there is is not utilised in practice against licensed wholesalers.

It was a matter of shame, for instance, that the West Bengal papers were reporting how wholesale traders in rice were making large contributions to the funds which were being collected for the Bhubaneswar session of the Congress and thereby trying to fortify their position with the Government of the State. I do not make a direct accusation against any particular member of the Government or any particular Congress leader, but it looks rather odd. When you are trying to embark on a venture of reconstructing our social and economic life on a socialistic base, as you can declared without the kind of equivocation that almost was an inevitable concomitant of Congress declarations before Bhubaneswar, when we are doing that, we should do everything in a manner which was above board. But that was not done and we were told in the newspapers that the wholesale traders in rice were among the largest contributors to funds of the Bhubaneswar Congress. During the last two years, the speculators and hoarders have enormously strengthened their grip on the trade and they are virtually holding the nation to ransom. This has to be broken and done away with as soon as possible. That is why we suggest that some very serious steps are taken at once without any kind of delay.

The next crop is supposed to be better than the crop which we have got this year. But the position will

be the same unless the Government's policies are changed. The very first thing is that State trading in food-grains should be implemented straightway without shilly-shallying, without hedging about in the way to which the Government is accustomed. This has got to be understood by Government. There is national unanimity on this point, in regard to state trading in food (Shri M. R. Masani: Question) I know Shri Masani and company do not agree. But it does not matter. After all, we are a large enough country where a certain number of dissidents might be there for whose opinions we might or might not have respect. But in spite of dissidents we can talk about national unanimity in general terms, and in regard to State trading there is that national unanimity which the Congress itself, organisationally speaking, has tried to underline, and the Congress Government has a responsibility in this regard which it cannot postpone for the future particularly because those who are against it are clever people in positions of authority and power and in possession of money bags which they use in order to cement their strength and to consolidate their authority. Therefore, it is important that Shri Subramaniam tells us very clearly how the proposed State Trading Corporation is going to function and what will be its scope and extent of operation. He said at the meeting of the All India Congress Committee, as far as the papers reported the proceedings, that a full take-over of the food trade would not be a very fair proposition. I do not know exactly he had in mind, but he must be warned, and in this House I wish to sound a note of warning, against yielding to pressure. Once you allow them an inch they will get a great deal more than what you are allowing them. It is necessary to have the maximum possible state trading and it is essential to announce well in advance a reasonable price to the producer and start buying in the market on a large scale right from the very beginning. This has to be done. Fixation of a reasonable price for the

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consumer must be done and, also, the producer should have an assurance that the Government will get into the market in time so that the other people, enemies of state trading and the whole idea of it, who are going to sabotage it in their own way—they are the craftiest people in creation—do not take it away. They are going to be fought by the Government. If Government does not wish to fight them, it is a different matter. But if the Government is going to live up to its professions at Bhubaneswar and elsewhere, surely it has to do something about it, to fight against these crafty people. They have to act accordingly. That is why I say a proper machinery must be set up for this. They should announce well in advance a reasonable price to the producer, and buying in the market has got to start even before the enemies of state trading get to know of it and sabotage the entire operation. Timely and extensive buying is very essential. The first four weeks or so after a harvest are, as the Food Minister knows better than I do, extremely decisive. If it is state trading which he has in mind which is going to play a very effective part, it has got to appear in the picture, not after the harvest is over and after the thing has been stolen by those who wish to carry on their wrong-doing to the society.

Shri P. R. Patel (Patan): What, according to the hon. Member, is a fair price?

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: The State Trading Corporation must be in a position to seize stocks and to compulsorily procure. The Government must be warned of all sorts of legal, quasi-legal and pseudo-legal obstructions being created by hoarders and speculators as well as rice mill owners, and also of the difficulties which will be propounded by people in the administration. I hope the Minister of Food and Agriculture is not a person who says 'yes' to whatever the administration or the permanent offi-

cials say. It has been found over and over again that many difficulties are manufactured by the administration itself, many quasi-legal difficulties are brought up by the administration. I do not want to attack the permanent officials altogether, but it is a matter of fact that ministers are sometimes intimidated by the kind of difficulties which are propped up before them by their administrative advisers. The administrative advisers are all right in their places. Some of them are very capable, extremely honest workers—no doubt about it. We know so many of them who are extremely capable and efficient people. But, at the same time, there is a bias to our administration which has got to be fought and the Minister has to put his foot down if the Minister has to make up his mind that he is not going to accept all sorts of excuses. He is, after all, representing a political party which has put socialism on the order of the day and which is going to go ahead in a manner which would assure food to our people. This is a job before which everything else should be subordinated.

In regard to the distribution mechanism, there should be a far greater number of fair price shops in both urban and rural areas, and it is necessary to extend both full and modified rationing. In distressed areas there should be a special effort to give subsidised supplies.

Then, a very special effort should be made, as I have said earlier, to stop all bank advances to speculators and hoarders against foodgrain stocks. In this regard, nationalisation of banks is essential. I find it a very notable thing that in the West Bengal Assembly there was a resolution on the nationalisation of banks and the Congress Party came forward with an amendment to suggest that in the appropriate time nationalisation of banks ought to take place. Now, the question is, in the Congress there are some who are doubtful about it. Some Congress Members are in favour

of it here and now, that immediately there should be bank nationalisation. Others are doubtful about it. They are waiting for an auspicious time. We need not consult the stars or ask an astrologer, but we can decide it on the economic merits of the situation. Here is pre-eminently the most auspicious time for bank nationalisation because the working of banks under private control has shown, in regard to advances given to foodgrain profiteers, that, after all, bank nationalisation is a step which is absolutely necessary in the interests of the country.

The machinery for the detection of hoards and secret movement of foodgrains has also to be strengthened with the support of the people. I remember how on one occasion there was some fun attempted to be made of what happened in Dum Dum near Calcutta where people came forward in order to bring out these hoards. It was not particularly a legalistic operation but it was done in the interests of the people and everybody had to support what had happened. Some people said that was not the way of going about it. How do the people know what is to be done? The people are without food and they know, in many cases, where the hoards are situated. It is necessary for the Government apparatus to be in touch with the people's representatives in different localities at different levels and then only can de-hoarding operations be successful.

There are many long-term measures, again, which are necessary, which we have tried to point out to Government from time to time; but usually Government turns a deaf ear to whatever we say. We have asked the Government over and over again to implement whatever land reform legislation they have got so far, particularly the ceiling laws. They have not done it. In regard to security of tenure to cultivating tenants and the conferment of ownership on cultivating tenants Government's action has been dilatory, it has almost been non-

existent. Distribution of surplus land to agricultural labourers is a matter which has been hanging in mid air; God knows how long it will continue to do so. The idea of bringing under plough larger areas of culturable waste land is a matter which today we should certainly go ahead with, and better utilisation of the labour in the village, unemployed and under-employed people, should also be a matter which we should consider. Distribution of fertiliser assistance and the availability of fertilisers to the rural population is a matter on which Government can take very specific steps at different levels. The provision of credit supply through the State Bank and co-operatives at least to the extent of the needs of the working peasants is a matter about which Government should immediately do something.

Then, starting of State farms on the lines of the Suratgarh Farm is a necessity. A hundred Suratgarh farms would almost solve our problem. With PL 480 assistance we are mortgaging our future to an extent which we do not wish. I personally shudder to think of what is likely to happen if we go on taking the PL. 480 burden upon our shoulders to this extent. We have got the Suratgarh Farm idea where we can go ahead with our own machinery and our own production.

Shri K. N. Tiwary: Do you know whether Suratgarh is running in profit or loss?

Shri Daji (Indore): It is a bania's question and not a Government's question. There is no loss when you want to feed the people. Starvation is the biggest shame (*Interruption*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: These interruptions, Sir, seem uncalled for. If some hon. Members have any objections to whatever I am trying to say, they can place them before the House. But in any case, PL 480 mentality is something which has got to go, and it

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is necessary for Government to enlist the co-operation of the people, if they can, even at this stage, in order to solve this problem. In regard to this co-operation, here, to my right, is a Member of Parliament who was sent to jail for no other fault than that she went before the Reserve Bank or the Stock Exchange in Calcutta in order to register the desire of the people for the removal of the stranglehold of these sharks from the economy of our country, which alone would bring about a solution of the food problem. For that she was shunted into jail and kept there without any tenable cause. She is back again and we are happy about it, but thousands of our people have been pushed into jail and the DIR has been brought into operation and so the Central Government has some responsibility in the matter. This is the way they go about. I do not know how many of those people who really are behind the profiteering and hoarding and storing away of the food of the people—nothing can be more detestable—how many of these people are sought to be punished. But, no, of course, the DIR is meant to be utilized against the common man and not against those who are fighting against the people's own lives, peoples' interests of just keeping alive. That is the way in which the Government has been behaving and that is why a situation has arisen where the people are getting angry. The line between hunger and anger is very thin. The anger of the people has begun to rise and it is our duty as Members of Parliament to intimate to them that the anger of the people is growing and unless they take very special steps in regard to the solution of the problem of food this anger might create a situation which none of us welcome, a situation which would not bring the kind of progress which we want for our country, and that is why I insist that the Government gives its mind much more carefully than it has done so far and gives some example of courage and the vision of an idea, a perspective, in regard to the achieve-

ment of socialist targets, because it was that vision which has been left to us as a legacy by Jawaharlal Nehru. If we are going so soon to betray that legacy, I do not know, it is for the Congress Party and the Congress Government to give an answer in that regard.

Shri M. R. Masani (Rajkot): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I would like to start by defining my Party's attitude to the food crisis and to the Government in the present context. The Prime Minister made an appeal to the Opposition Parties that none of us should play politics with the people's food. That is an appeal to which every patriotic Indian must respond and we on our part are trying to avoid that temptation which, I am sure the Prime Minister realises, is not a temptation to which only the Opposition parties are prone; even those in office might not be devoid of it. The second thing is that we are sure that the condition of our people and the food problem cannot be resolved or ameliorated by anything that disturbs the smooth production of food and other things that the country needs and that disturbances of the economic process is the worst way in which we can help our people through their times of distress and trouble. Balancing that is the third point is that the correct facts have to be stated, the correct policies have to be enunciated and the truth, however harsh, has to be told, not because one wants to be harsh but because that is the only way in which a corrective to past mistakes can be supplied.

This Government faces the House today for the first time. It is true that many of the members of the old Government are members of this Government. But, in spite of that, I think we would be entitled to consider it a new Government which deserves a trial. The Prime Minister in another context said not long ago that even "habitual criminals" should get an opportunity to be heard. Some of

those on the Treasury Benches are "old offenders" and have been for many years now but, by that definition, even they deserve a chance to mend, a chance to show if they cannot do any better. That is why this morning my colleagues and I desisted from joining others on the Opposition Benches in supporting a motion of no confidence in this Government. We think that this move is premature and that, for the reasons I have just mentioned, this Government deserves an opportunity, some time, to show whether it is capable of making those changes and those modifications and those rectifications in policy that are necessary in the present context.

We certainly share with the other members of the Opposition their anger, their indignation, their impatience about the trials to which our people are subjected. We do not yield place to any of them in the distress that we feel about the difficult economic position that the country is going through, nor do we yield in our desire that the present Government should be replaced by a better government but, in that process we are not prepared to join with them particularly with my Communist friends on this side, in bringing down the pillars of stability on which alone ordered progress can be based in this country. We do not believe with them that destruction has to precede their so-called construction. It is very amusing to hear the deep concern expressed by those who believe in the Marxist-Leninist "theory of increasing misery" that only by aggravating the misery of the people can you get them into the revolutionary mood so that you can establish the dictatorship of the Communist Party. It is for these reasons that we feel that the time to deliver a verdict on the new Government is not yet ripe.

Now, the country and the Government have inherited an onerous legacy from eight years of reckless, irresponsible, doctrinaire planning. We have to watch the new stewards; we have to watch to what extent they are able

to cope with that legacy which all of us have had to endure.

In the last few weeks we see evidence of a new earnestness, a new tone, a new temper. There is undoubtedly a beginning, for the first time, of serious evidence of combating corruption in a way that was not evident before. There have been some encouraging statements made by the Prime Minister and some other leaders of the Government which show that there is an awareness of certain basic truths which had not yet been given the weight that they deserved. Among those has been the statement that what matters most is food, shelter and clothing and that the priorities should be so adjusted, that the needs of the common people in this respect get priority over all other essential objectives of the country. There is the statement that agriculture has to be given priority because the farm sector is and has to remain for many years to come decisive in the development of India. Then there is the thought that we should concentrate on implementing existing projects before we move on to new projects, a thought that I have put before this House more than once in the last five years when I pleaded for consolidation before we go in for further adventures. There is finally the thought that development has to be assessed "not in terms of the number of foundation stones laid but in terms of output derived," as the Prime Minister well put it in a letter to a Member of Parliament.

Now, these are encouraging symptoms and we feel that we have every right to hope that this awareness may spread and may be reflected before long in governmental policy. On the other hand, we also find that there are conflicting voices speaking from the administration. My good friend Shri Asoka Mehta, who was and still is the Vice-Chairman of the Planning Commission, said as late as March last in Calcutta that the whole generation to which we belong—I am quoting his words "would get trampled upon in the process" of development in which we are engaged

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and that could not be helped. This economic determinism that the present generation has to be butchered for the sake of some urban future generation is an inherent part of Marxist dogma. Then, only a few days ago, I think only two days ago, some one as mature and moderate as Shri Dasappa gave expression to certain sentiments which seem to contradict what I have just been saying. He said:

"The recent accent on quick-yielding projects will not conflict with the development of heavy industries. . . ."

Of course, that is all right. There is nothing in it to which one can take objection. Let us go on. Then he went on saying something which certainly conflicts. He told newsmen that the Fourth Plan would be bigger than the third and that the share of heavy industries would be proportionately higher. Now, between that and the remarks that I have quoted earlier there can be no reconciliation.

So, we will judge the new Government by its deeds, not by its words. People are tired of words, tired of isms; they want to see action; they want to see results. They have not got the time or patience to hear airy words. Therefore, one is worried by the impression one sometimes gets that this Government may be weak enough, and not strong enough to get out of the entanglements of the past and to frame fresh policies in the light of fresh situations.

Having said that and defined our position in regard to this major crisis in the country, let me get on to the problem of food and prices. I do not think it needs elaboration to say that there are two basic facts that we have to face. One is that while population goes up by 2.4 or 2.5 per cent per year, our production has been going up over the last several years by only an average of 1 per cent per annum. Even that 1 per cent has disappeared in the last four years. The figures that were given earlier show that from 1960-61 till today the figure of food-

grains production is stagnant. It oscillates, but it does not increase. We are now at 79.35 million tonnes while the Plan target for 1965-66 was 100 million tonnes. It is obvious that target cannot and will not be achieved if present policies are carried on. The fact is that since 1957, much as it may annoy my Communist friends, Indian, agriculture has only fed 88 per cent of the non-agricultural population, while 12 per cent of our urban and non-peasant people have been fed by the American people out of their surplus stocks.

The other fact is that there has been an abnormal rise in prices. This is not something about which the Government has a right to say that they are surprised by it. From this floor my hon. friend, Acharya Kripalani, I and many others had warned that since the second Plan was brought into existence a deliberately inflationary policy was followed by those in office then. The result is that during the last four years there has been a 15 per cent rise in the general level of wholesale prices. The rupee today is worth exactly 17 paise of the old rupee. I have seen a laboured apology published by Government and circulated to Members of Parliament which says, "It may be true; but that is not our fault because much of this inflation and depreciation of the rupee took place earlier during the last War and after". It is like a doctor saying, "True, I killed the patient, but mine was only the last dose; others had poisoned him earlier". If you knew that the rupee already was worth 20.6 paise three years ago, what business did you have then to further debauch the rupee by bringing it down to 17 paise in terms of the old rupee? This is a question which anyone in office has to face.

Therefore, I think I am right in saying that it is not a food crisis—it is a food crisis, but that is not the whole story—it is a general economic crisis; it is a monetary crisis. It has got nothing to do with gold, it has got nothing to do with food as such, al-

though there are minor crisis in these areas. It has to do with the rupee. It has to do with our currency. There is a general economic collapse threatening us today and we have got to face that. We can have a food debate but this food problem cannot be isolated from the general economic collapse with which this country is threatened.

Here again, the Prime Minister had an insight when in his letter to the Chief Ministers he wrote that sometimes the price of articles of day-to-day use leads to an increase in the price of foodgrains. Correct; this is the whole point. So, while it is partly a problem of failure of production, of being unable to keep up with our population rise which must be deplored and put right, there is a bigger problem, that is, the food crisis today is a reflection of our monetary and economic crisis. What is wrong basically is our rupee. It is no longer an honest rupee. Those in office for the last ten years have debauched and degraded the rupee until it is worth 17 paise today. This is a basic fact that we have got to face.

Keynes, the man who is sometimes misquoted by half-literate people to say that he stands for inflation, was a man who saw this truth very clearly. He said:—

"Debauching the currency saps the foundations of society more subtly, swiftly and permanently than any other conspiracy."

This was Keynes who is sometimes trotted out on the side of inflation and I must say that some of those guilty of this process of debauching the rupee are still to be found on the Treasury Benches, particularly those who were responsible for planning in the past years and those who were responsible for the financial stewardship of this country.

In this situation, when the guilt is very clear—it lies on the past Government of this country for the past eight years if not more since the Second Five Year Plan started,—there is a natural desire to look out for

scapegoats. Shri Mukerjee gave a very good example of this attempt to turn attention away from the real culprits and the real wrong-doing. Even my good friend, the Food Minister, who I think should not have said that, let himself go by saying that we must "break the producer-trader axis;" in other words, it is not the Government which created inflation all these years, it is not the Second and the Third Five Year Plans which are cockeyed, but the peasants and traders of India who are the real culprits. Why? It is said that the peasant eats too much these days, that he eats more than he ate before. I hope he does that. It is time that the poor peasant ate more. For a hundred years we have been sitting on his back as Gandhiji used to say. Gandhiji used to say that we of the cities would do everything for the peasant but we would not get off his back. I think the Government of this country since Independence has done exactly that. Once in a while, when he is able to eat better, we say that he is eating too much. Surely, the peasant and his children have every priority over us in the cities when it comes to eating because the peasant works on the land and grows the food with his toil.

Why should the peasant sell his grain when he does not get a fair price? The problem of the peasant today is that the parity of prices is all wrong. Industrial prices are allowed to go up but the price that the peasant can get is controlled to the extent that there is monopoly procurement by the Government. This is a crying injustice. If there is any real proletariat in India, it is the peasants and not the industrial workers who are pampered like other urban people. The income of the industrial workers is many times the income of the man in the villages. That is our real proletariat for which I plead today. Why should they disgorge what they should like to eat when you do not even give them a fair price? When the peasant goes to the market, he finds that the price of his cloth has gone up, the price of kerosene and

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diesel oil has gone up. Everything that he wants he cannot get at economic price and then he is told to be patriotic and to sell his grain cheap because the people in the cities will starve. What, kind of social justice is this?

I would say to my hon. friend, the Minister: Let us not label the honest peasants and the honest merchants of this country as hoarders and profiteers. The fault lies elsewhere. If an axis has to be talked of, what about the politician-bureaucrat axis? Can anything more sterile and unproductive be thought of than the politician in office and the bureaucrat? The peasant and the trader at least perform some social and economic functions. What economic functions can the bureaucrat and the politicians perform? What do they produce for the country? So let us not cast stones at others. Let us, as Gandhiji used to say, turn searchlight inwards. It is our class, the political class, that has brought the country to this fix and not the peasant and the common people of the country. If the rupee has depreciated, let us not blame the profiteers. If food is short, let us not blame the hoarders. These are symptoms of the disease; they are the effects, they are not the causes. It is the shortage that produces hoarding. It is the fouling of the currency that produces profiteering and blackmoney. Let us not fight the symptoms; let us look at the disease. That is my appeal to those who occupy the Treasury Benches. Work with the farmer and the trader. Do not work against them. You need their co-operation. You simply have not got the apparatus of honest and efficient people which will entitle you to do away with the peasant or the trader. You need them and their work. Appeal to their patriotism. Give them a fair deal which you have not done so far and they will rally. Let us not abuse our people like this. It is we politicians who have brought our country to this pass.

14 hrs.

We had that fiasco in Delhi, a cheap political stunt. As the previous speaker pointed out, it started with tall claims of lakh of tonnes of grain being confiscated and ended up with a whine saying that nothing was wrong, that there were only two or three technical offences in the whole of Delhi and that no one was to be prosecuted. The proverbial mountain did not even bring forth a mouse which it is entitled to.

This kind of persecution of our people has not stopped. I was in my constituency only ten days ago and I was told of the great distress of ordinary peasants near Dhoraji, Jamkandorna and ten villages round about who had not made a correct declaration of groundnut oil or groundnut in their possession. Because they did not declare everything over two kilos or what was allowed, they were arrested, handcuffed, big ropes were put round their arms, and they were marched through the streets like common thieves. It is a crying shame even if the peasant had made a mistake. Don't we make a mistake in filling up forms? I have sometimes found that I have signed something a little inaccurately and I apologise for that. Here a poor peasant is being prosecuted and treated like a criminal and a thief because he did not declare one kilo of groundnut extra. Even today I have received a telegram from Kotah. I will not read it out because I do not know if the allegations are true. I will pass it on to the Food Minister. It is the humiliation of honest people for technical offences against some order passed by the Collector. I am not going into the details because I do know if the charges are true. I shall pass it on to the Minister concerned. But this kind of prosecution which was tried in Delhi and which failed, is still being pursued because there is an attempt by the guilty people—I do not mind saying that the present Home Minister is one of those guilty men because as Vice Chairman of the Planning Commission he has done his bit to bring

the country to this pass—to divert attention to other people. He has a very unfortunate record to show in regard to the Second and Third Plans. These people want to divert attention from their own misdeeds and their accomplices outside.

They say that the State trading is the answer. I have already said that that is not the answer. Corruption will increase. Every control breeds corruption. A State trading monopoly will increase that. You cannot have State trading without monopoly procurement. You cannot eliminate the trader without enslaving the peasant because a compulsory levy, whether in Soviet Russia or Poland or in India, is slavery for the farmer. If the police comes and says: "Hand over your stock and you will take this money", there is nothing to do about it except to keep your miserable ration. This is what Gomulka fought against in Poland, and forced levies were abolished. Are we going to import into this country complete State trading, a most horrible thing that the Stalinist dictatorship did in Russia? Compulsory procurement is slavery for the peasant. You may dislike the trader, but in trying to hit the trader, you will also hit the peasant. You cannot hit one without the other because you cannot have a complete State trading monopoly without compulsory procurement which denies the farmer a fair price for his grain. I am very glad that this Government has rejected that solution in spite of the alleged "unanimity" about which the Communist spokesman spoke. There is no such unanimity. Anyone who knows anything about the economics of the situation knows that a State trading monopoly in foodgrains is the surest path to chaos and famine in this country. Otherwise, China and Russia today would not be begging for food in the world market.

Sari Radhelal Vyas (Ujjain):
What about Canada and Japan where there is monopoly procurement in rice and wheat?

Shri M. R. Masani: I am very glad that a State trading monopoly has been rejected. But a half-way house is being tried out. There is a threat of a State Corporation in foodgrains coming into being. When the first announcement was made, I was not at all upset because it said that the new Corporation would run on commercial lines and would compete with the trade—that was fine—because I believe in a mixed economy and I believe that the State has every right to enter into every field in fair competition with others so long as there is no monopoly. I was not at all sorry that the Government was entering into the field as one more *bania*. But it was not many days before that the Food Minister announced that this one *bania* would have the monopoly of transport on the railways and nobody else. That is no mixed economy; that is no competition, and that is no commercial operation. It is a tragedy that as soon as this Government tries to do something, it cannot help but being a monopolist, maybe it is in the nature of State capitalism to be a monopolist. But if my friends there do not want State capitalism of the Stalinist kind, then let them forbear, let them try to play fair and let them not take the privilege of having a monopoly of transport on the railways. The moment you say, "Nobody else will move the foodgrains except me", you are a monopolist. All your talk about a Monopolies Commission becomes a sham.

Then, we are told that in the very first year, you must have 50 per cent of the trade. Who decided that? If competition is to prevail, who decided that 50 per cent? How can you have a target like that? Why must you be "dominant"? If you want to be a corrective to the trade, be a corrective to the trade. I am with you. But when you want to dominate, then you become an exploiter, not a corrective.

The Prime Minister has suggested that all prices should be fixed because he is aware that you cannot only fix

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food prices while letting the other prices rise. His motive is perfectly honourable and good. But I would like to plead with him that you cannot fix all prices. First of all, you would not try to do that because you will only fix the prices of six or seven or eight necessities of life. You cannot defeat the law of supply and demand. Prices are like water and they find their own level. If you stop the price of one commodity, the prices of all other commodities will rise proportionately. If you fix the prices of six commodities, then the prices of other commodities other than the six ones will go up proportionately. If you fix the prices of 50 commodities out of 100 commodities, then the prices of the remaining 50 commodities will go up proportionately. You cannot, therefore fix the price of everything under the sun without destroying the entire economic apparatus of supply and demand and stopping giving the consumers a little chance to say what he wants. Graham Hutton, the British Economist, puts it very well. He says, the lady goes to the plastic surgeon to remove her double chin and he performs the operation and the double chin goes, but the darned thing comes out at the back of the neck in a bulge. This is a fact and I would ask my hon. friend the Prime Minister to think a little and find out if this is not so. I want to warn him. If he tries to control in good faith the prices of the commodities of daily use—I say, his motive is good because he has explained it—the danger is that that it will distort the whole pattern of production which will send up the prices of other commodities. You can not go on pursuing it to the bitter end because you will come to a *reductio ad absurdum*. How many articles will you control? Very soon this would backfire because the commodities of which you fix the prices will be in short supply; there will be a shortfall in production. When you find that you cannot sell your commodity freely, you will divert your investment to those commodities which

are not controlled and the very things which we need most cloth, kerosene and the needs of the life of the peasant, will become in short supply, not immediately perhaps—for a year you can tide it over—but I believe that within two or three years, your very purpose will be defeated because the very things you want to encourage will be discouraged by this selective pricing.

What then has to be done? I would like very briefly to suggest certain long-term and certain short-term measures which alone can alleviate the present situation. Among the long-term measures, the very biggest is to correct the order of priorities embodied in the Second and Third Five Year Plans. The First Five Year Plan was all right. We supported it. But since the Second Plan this is not the position. I recall that the Planframe, the document on which the Second Plan was based, was prepared by a Communist fellow traveller named Prof. Mahalanobis with the cooperation of a group of Soviet and Polish Communists sitting for a year in the Indian Statistical Institute in Calcutta. These are facts. That is where we started going wrong. We got wrong advice and we went off the rails. Since then, our entire pattern of priorities has been unbalanced.

I am not against heavy industries as such. I stand for all-sided balanced development. There is room for heavy industries also. We need them, but we do not need it as much as we want food, clothing and shelter for our people. We do not need them as much as we need roads to move the food and other things for our people. So, what we want is a balanced development. We should not pitch one against the other. As my respected leader points out in *Swarajya* this morning, we have every right to balance what has been unbalanced. The order of priorities in the Plan has been unbalanced. They need to be balanced. If you starve agriculture in this manner, it will starve you. If

you feed agriculture, it will give you a bumper crop. Therefore, this undue priority, this concentration on wasteful heavy engineering projects has to stop. I will give you only one example. Take the Heavy Engineering Ltd in Ranchi. Rs. 120 crores have been spent on that particular plant. What is the output? It is a miserable output. The output, I understand, is Rs. 1.20 crores per year, that is 1 per cent output on the national capital invested.

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty: How long did it take for the Tatas?

Shri M. R. Masani: I am not concerned with that. I am just saying that we cannot afford this luxury any more. Tatas were also protected by the Government. We cannot afford that protection any more because we are in dire need of food. At this time, we cannot afford that luxury. This is a luxury which we cannot afford. To put money into projects which give one per cent return or output in a year on the capital invested is disgraceful.

So, I am not against heavy industry, but I am for a balanced development where heavy industry, light industry and agriculture all have their proper place.

Since hon. Members opposite are impressed by what happens in communist countries, unfortunately, let me give the example of Communist China. Communist China, which made the same mistake that we have made in a more accentuated and exaggerated form, climbed down last year. Mr. Chou En-lai went to the Communist Congress about a year ago and said 'The Great Leap forward has failed; we are now changing our order of priorities'. I shall quote him. He said: 'From now on, we shall have agriculture, small consumer goods industries and heavy industry in that order'.

Surely, what is good for the bigoted Stalinists of Peking cannot be re-

actionary for our good democratic friends opposite. And I plead with them that, having made mistakes in the past, there is no reason to persist in them; there is no reason for my good friend Shri Dasappa to try and go on committing himself, his Government, more and more and to the false path which we have followed in the past.

The second thing is to stop tinkering with the security of tenure of the peasant. I was very glad, therefore, when I read what Shri Shriman Narayan had stated. Despite the fact that the Constitution (Seventeenth Amendment) Bill has been put on the statute-book with all its defects. I hope it will never be brought into operation so long as free government and democracy exist in this country, and I do hope that it will remain a dead letter. I was very glad that Shri Shriman Narayan, a member of the Planning Commission said on the 28th August, that he was thinking and the Planning Commission was thinking of a ten year moratorium on further land reforms after the present reforms had been put into operation during the next two years. Let us have some finality about the security of tenure of the peasant. This has been done in Japan and Formosa, and they are yielding bumper crops. They had their ceilings also, but they gave fair compensation, and they stopped there. And those same farmers with seven acres as a ceiling are producing the highest crops in the world, first in Formosa and second in Japan. So, stop tinkering with the land and the security of tenure of the peasant.

The third thing is to cut our cost according to our cloth. Stop deficit finance and inflation. The story here is very clear. If I have sounded harsh about the past, let me give the facts. During the years of the First Plan, money supply went up by 12 per cent, and the national income went up by 18 per cent. That was all right. Our production and supplies went up, and money supply also went up but not so much. That was all right. In the

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Second Plan, as I have already said, the tide turned because of Shri Mahalanobis and his friends; money supply went up by 29 per cent, while national income went up only by 20 per cent. So, we are already starting here on the path to bankruptcy. And the Third Plan has completed that process. The money supply went up by 31 per cent and the national income went up not even by 10 per cent; but only eight to nine per cent. was the increase in national income during the Third Plan. This is the path to bankruptcy and insolvency. There is no other way to describe it.

If we go on living on resources which we do not possess, and if we go on fabricating money which is worthless and put it into the hands of the people, we have a crisis of confidence in the money. Why do people want to hoard grains or gold and something else? It is because they do not trust your rupee any more. You have debauched our currency, and we are facing the consequences today. And the Government leaders recognised that. I am not saying anything new. In the Third Plan target, it was laid down that a safe margin of deficit finance for the Third Plan was Rs. 550 crores. It is there in the Third Plan document. I warned at that time that it was too much. I would have been very content today if we had stuck to that! But what is the position? In the last three years, we have already had deficit finance of over Rs. 600 crores. The safe limit according to Shri Morarji Desai has been passed. Is there any improvement now? No, we are going worse and worse into the disease. We have become addicted. Let me give the figures.

During the last year, that is, during the period from August 23, 1963 to August 21, 1964, the supply of money in the country went up by 12 per cent. The output of goods and services has

gone up by 4.3 per cent. Therefore we have gone in for deficit finance or excess money to the extent of 7.7 per cent even during the last twelve months. And even today, it has not stopped; but it has got worse even in the last few weeks. You may say that that is the past. That is why I have been forgiving. If you will remember, I am not blaming this Cabinet for the sins of the last one. But during the last six weeks ending 10th July this year, the report of the Reserve Bank says that Treasury Bills rose by Rs. 149 crores, and most of this is deficit finance uncovered by goods and services. This figure of Rs. 149 crores in six weeks is the highest so far of inflation and deficit financing that we have had since our Independence. And this certainly was something for which the present Government is responsible.

Lastly, among long-term remedies, let us reduce taxation. The excise duties are a direct inflationary influence. Similarly overtaxation at the direct level also brings about unaccounted money, an evil which can only be reduced by reducing taxes themselves to a reasonable level.

I shall now come to short-term solutions before I sit down. The first is in regard to zonal barriers. I think that on this point there is certainly unanimity or virtual unanimity that the zonal barriers should go, and the country should be treated as one. The Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee, the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee and my hon. friend Shri S. K. Patil have all gone on record publicly to say that these are vicious things and they must go. I was very disappointed that during the last few days—I am sorry the Food Minister is not here at the moment—the Food Minister had given two assurances that the zonal system would not go at least for the present. I deplore this. He gave that assurance in the Punjab. I can understand the political impli-

cations of that. It was unfortunate. Are we one nation or are we not one nation? Are we to share weal and woe or are we not to share them?

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): That is the bane of provincial autonomy.

Shri M. R. Masani: It is not the bane of provincial autonomy, but it is the bane of that weak policy of the Centre and the leadership of the Party that controls the Centre and the State Government. We talk about national integration, and we set up committees on paper. What is the use if we are dividing this country into bits and pieces ourselves? The people of Europe, who are sovereign States with their own flags and everything else, are creating a common market. And we here are breaking down the common market which even the British left to us. That is the tragedy.

On the first day of the Chief Ministers' Conference, a very good announcement was made by the Food Minister that the zonal barriers between Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujarat were to go. There was rejoicing, and may I mention that on that very evening, when the news came to Bombay, the food prices crashed in the Bombay market? Panicky conditions went, and optimism came to the fore, and people were prepared to unload.

Shri Radhelal Vyas: But it went up in Madhya Pradesh.

Shri M. R. Masani: But the moment that happened, what do we find? The next morning we found that the Central leadership had backtracked; it was weak; it was bullied by the Chief Minister, presumably of Madhya Pradesh a very old friend of mine. The next morning, they climbed down and said: 'Sorry, we made a mistake; we go back to the bad old ways'. It was a miserable capitulation.

So, I say that the removal of zonal barriers is a 'must', and we cannot wait for it. If you say, let us wait for

the next harvest, all right; let us keep the zones for two months, if we want, but certainly, by October, these zones must go, and India must become one nation and one country that shares food, if nothing else, along with the other things that we share.

The next thing is to subsidise the urban poor, because when I talk of decontrol, those who live in the cities and those who speak for labour have a right to ask "Decontrol is very good. You want to do justice for the peasant. We are with you. But if justice is done to the peasant and the prices go up, who is going to feed the poor people in the cities, the working classes and the lower middle classes?" I am not ignorant of that aspect. I would say, subsidise through fair price and ration shops a certain quantum of grain for those who cannot buy in the open market. Have ration shops and give to every worker and to every lower middle class man enough to meet the needs of the family at a concessional price, and let us pay for it. I shall certainly support a foodgrains subsidy in the cities, because that is the right way to help the city poor. After all, the city poor are only 10 per cent, if you like, of the total population. Do not penalise 90 per cent for the sake of 10 per cent, and do not destroy your economy just because you want to do justice to the urban proletariat and the middle class. Certainly, we want to be fair to everyone. But I would much rather spend money on subsidising the sale of cheap food in the cities than do an injustice to the peasants. I would much rather restore the incentive to produce food than make this false attempt at social justice for the industrial worker. I have every sympathy with the trade union. I have every sympathy with those who speak on behalf of labour, but I think that they are in the wrong path if they try to incite Government to resort to State trading and monopoly control. That was the path of Stalin, for he crushed the peasants for the benefit of the new classes in the cities.

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We want the reverse of it. We want to be fair to our peasants. We are a peasant country, and if the Prime Minister recognises that, we shall be one with him. Therefore, let us be fair to our peasants first. They are the real proletariat of India. A free market and decontrol, which the late Rafi Ahmed Kidwai brought about, which Mahatma Gandhi advocated, is what I am advocating. After decontrol, for people in the cities, the poor people, certainly let us spend some money so that we can feed them at fair prices until, with the free market, agricultural production goes up, the incentive works and the peasants give you everything you want without subsidies.

Lastly, I am very glad that at last the export of foodgrains and edible foods has been stopped. Some of us had to fight for this for about a month. Some of my colleagues had to be beaten with lathis and sent to jail for a few hours in Bombay to make this issue clear. So long as there is an absolute shortage of food in India, it is wicked to allow a single grain of rice or a single tin of groundnut oil to leave these shores. Humanity does not permit it. We cannot go on receiving free food from abroad and go on exporting food to other markets for a little foreign exchange. It is not worthy of the dignity of this country. I am very glad that, though belatedly, the export of foodgrains and other edible foods has been stopped. I hope that the embargo will be maintained until the shortage disappears.

I have taken enough time. I would conclude by saying what I said in the beginning, that the people of India will judge this Government by action. They are encouraged by the first signs of realism and awareness. But if these signs of realism remain only on paper and in words, then the people are not

going to be very patient. They will do things that you and I would deplore and condemn. But they will do them all the same. I therefore plead as a well-wisher even of this Government and one who wants to see these issues tackled—of which we have given a sign this morning—that this awareness must now be translated quickly into policies and action. To the extent that this Government does it, they will get the support of all patriotic people and all parties who put the country first. But if they do not do so, if they continue with the entanglements of the past and persist in mistakes and errors which are now clear, then they will certainly have the right to expect unrelenting opposition from me and my Party.

Shri A. P. Jain (Tumkur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I have listened attentively to the two speeches made in the House, one by Shri H. N. Mukerjee and the other by Shri Masani, and the contradictory approach of the two hon. Members to the food problem indicates how difficult it is to deal with an intricate matter like food.

I was glad to hear from Shri Mukerjee that the food situation could still be tackled. Of course, he has his own proposals to make. I also welcome the proposal of Shri Masani that food should not be made politics of by any party. Food is a necessity of everybody, man, woman and child. The baby who is born today and the old man who is gasping his last breath, are all potential consumers of food. Therefore, it is unfortunate that in our country, the approach towards food is not so dispassionate.

It is a fact that during the last three years Indian agriculture has been stagnant. The Planning Commission has admitted it. The Mid-term appraisal of plan projects made a specific reference to it. Both the

speakers preceding me also referred to this aspect of the food problem. I shall also say at the proper time something about how we can increase our food production; not that I agree with everything that has been done in the past, not that there is no scope for improvement.

It is a well-known fact that in the short-term one of the most effective method of dealing with the food shortage, is import from abroad. I must appreciate the efforts of the hon. Food Minister in trying to get foodgrains from every possible source. Of late the quantities of import of wheat and rice have considerably increased. Nevertheless, I must utter a word of caution that imports in the long-term, particularly cheap imports, as we have been doing under PL-480, produce a damping effect upon the farmer. To meet our immediate shortage, we have to import food from abroad, and mostly under PL-480. But it would be wrong for us to build our long-term planning of agriculture on the basis of any considerable imports over a long period.

Since independence, we have imported food from abroad worth Rs. 2531 crores, far in excess of all the investments we have made in agriculture during the First and Second Plans and will be making under the Third Plan. Therefore, I want to caution this House and the Food Minister, that while some imports may have to be made during the short-term, it would be totally wrong for us to place our long-term planning of agriculture on the basis of any substantial imports or imports over a long period of foodgrains of any nature whatsoever, particularly cheap wheat available under PL-480.

The other effective step to meet the immediate situation is the improvement in the distributive machinery. I am glad to note that of late there has been improvement in the unloading of food ships at the ports. There is no congestion in

Bombay or in Kandla or in Madras, but some difficulties continue to exist in Calcutta. Our normal unloading capacity was about 4 lakh tons. Now it has come to about 5 lakhs tons. In the near future, it will be about 6 lakh tons. Internal transport also presented some difficulty, but of late there has been great improvement in it. We can safely come to one conclusion, namely that the Central Food Minister and the Central Food Department are by and large trying to play their part. Even so, in some cases the supplies committed to the States have not been reaching in full quantities. One can understand the plight of the States when they do not receive from the Centre the quantities on which they have built their programmes for distribution. I hope the lacuna wherever it exists will soon be removed and the States will in future be duly receiving the Committed quantities, so that they may be in a position to fulfil their commitments to the consumers.

I am sorry I cannot agree with Shri Mukerjee that the number of fair price shops should be increased. I think they have reached their maximum number. There are at present 80,000 fair price shops operating in the country and they are distributing less than 5 lakh tons of wheat and rice in a month. That roughly works out to about 6 tons per fair price shop or about 150 maunds. There is no use multiplying the number of the fair price shops unless you can feed them with foodgrains. And we have reached almost our maximum capacity to import. There is one feature of our food policy, to which I also take objection. In August 1963 the Centre had a stock of 19 lakh tons of wheat. There was also about 5 lakh tons of rice. As a Food Minister, whenever I found that the food stocks were going below 2.5 million tons, I always took it as an alarm signal. Unfortunately, in the recent crisis the food stocks were allowed to go down.

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We are living practically today a ship-to-mouth existence. That is, whatever we are importing in a week or a month immediately goes to the consumption. I hope that position will be improved and sizable stocks built up.

Recently some dehoarding measures had been announced. Of course, Mr. Masani is opposed to all dehoarding measures. Let us see what the position is about hoarding. So far as wheat is concerned its production has been going down during the last two years. In 1963 it was short by about a million tons, and in 1964 it was again short by another one million tons. The wheat production this year is 9.7 million tons as against the normal of 11.5 million tons. I do not think there are any big hoardings of wheat anywhere in the country—maybe in a few places. But, where we come to rice, the production of rice in 1963 was an all-time record, 36.4 million tons, 4 million tons better than the previous year. Where has that rice gone? The market arrivals are low. The rice prices are much higher compared to what they were about four or five months ago. The rice must exist somewhere. There are in India some well-known surplus pocket of rice. Orissa is highly surplus; Orissa has a surplus of 4 to 5 lakhs tons of rice. So is Chattisgarh. The Chattisgarh area of Madhya Pradesh is surplus by 2 to 3 lakh tons. The delta districts of Andhra are surplus.

Shrimati Vimla Devi (Eluru): It is a scarcity area now.

Shri A. P. Jain: No; the delta districts of Andhra are surplus by about 0.8 to 1 million tons. Then, Tanjore is another area which is surplus by 2 to 3 lakh tons. Yet these surplus areas are not maintaining their supplies to the deficit areas. Are we not correct in concluding that there is hoarding of rice? My own belief is that there is considerable hoarding of rice, not everywhere in the country but in the surplus areas.

How are we to tackle the situation? Even Mr. Masani will agree that if the trade holds stocks with a view to raise prices.

Shri M. E. Masani: If the farmers have got stocks I explained why they do not sell; because you do not give them a fair price.

Shri A. P. Jain: It is not the farmers; it is the traders who are colluding with some big farmers. Is the Government not justified in taking strong measures? The Prime Minister gave a grace period of fifteen days. It has not produced the effect that it should have. And I think the time has come when the Government should take strong and effective steps to enforce unhoarding. It is my experience that the State Governments did not play their part in the past, nor are they likely to play their part in the present in enforcing these measures. Then what is to be done? I have a proposal to make, namely, that the Central Government, in the Home Ministry should set up a cell. Of course it will have to work in co-operation with the State Governments, because without their co-operation is essential. The cell must consist of a mobile squad possessing high mobility and effective striking power. The Central Intelligence Department must carefully locate where the stocks are. I do not want to create a panic in the country. Indiscriminate or unthoughtful searches will produce a bad effect. But if the searches are properly planned, if action is taken on good information and if dehoarding is enforced in an intelligent manner, effectively and forcefully, then it will be deterrent to the anti-social elements.

I do not say the whole trade is dishonest. But there are anti-social elements in the trade, and the whole history of the food famines in India right from the days of the Moghul emperors to the days of the British and thereafter since the independence bears evidence to the fact that

the trade has played a sadistic role during the time of scarcity. Therefore I suggest that proper steps should be taken to dehoard the stocks. The action must be taken in a selective manner so as to produce the necessary effect.

These are some other immediate things we can do. During the past crises we used to talk of austerity. Mahatma Gandhi gave the call for fasting and on non-cereal days. We may not ask the people to fast, but surely we can ask them to stop wastage. There are measures through which we can enforce austerity. For instance, take the milling of rice. Ordinarily rice is polished to an extent of about 5 per cent. That means a loss of about a million and a half tons in milling indigenous rice. It is about three times the quantity we import from abroad annually. I see no reason why polishing of rice should not be reduced from 5 per cent to zero per cent or, even if we want to make some concession from 5 per cent to 2 per cent. Why are we not doing it?

Immediately after the World War there was a global shortage of food. Twenty-two countries were affected by the shortage of cereals. India was one of them. America had surplus wheat and she was supplying it to the Asian and African countries to meet their shortage. What did they do? President Truman gave a programme of austerity. He advised the millers that the extraction of flour from wheat should be increased from 75 per cent to 80 per cent. The Britishers increased the extraction from 80 to 85 per cent. The Britishers had suffered very heavily; they had less fats during the war, they had eaten black bread. Even so, to meet the world shortage they decided to undergo another period of austerity. I see no reason why the polishing of rice should not be reduced.

I would like to draw the attention of the House to another thing. During the days of the Great War when

there was shortage of food, the Britishers had laid down a rule that at no meal more than three courses should be served. I do not say it will save you much of food, but it will create a climate in the country; it will make the consumer conscious, and it will arm the administration with the moral power to deal with anti-social elements. I do not see any reason why the Guest Control Order should not be rigidly enforced. The guest control orders are promulgated, but they are not observed. I want them to be strictly observed. I want that limitation on the number of courses to be served at a meal to be laid down and strictly enforced. What is happening in Delhi? In the posh hotels and restaurants nobody gets the impression of food shortage. All of us, rich and poor, everybody, must share the shortage equally and equitably.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Then there will be a loss in the running of the hotel. Ashoka Hotel is already running at a loss.

Shri A. P. Jain: I come to the measures announced by the Food Minister.

I welcome his decision to set up a Price Fixation Board. I know it is a very difficult thing. The Board will have to fix the prices of foodgrains after taking into account the prices of cash crops. It may not bear a fixed parity, but the two prices will have to be correlated and they bear a fair and equitable ratio. Similarly, there is the question of farmers inputs. I will come to that question a little more in detail later on, but the prices of farmers inputs shall have to be taken into consideration, as also the price for the consumers. We may not go to the length of fixing prices of all consumer goods; but nonetheless when we fix the price for the foodgrains, we shall also have to look into the farmer's budget. Unfortunately, during the Second Plan, our thinking on the price payable the farmer was,

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I must say with all respect, extremely faulty. We had taken our cue from the USSR, where the thinking was that if the price of foodgrains was kept low, then the wages could be kept low and industrial development could go ahead. I remember an occasion when this question came up for discussion, and the proposal which came up from a person very high up in the Government, not a Minister, was that the price of wheat and rice should be pegged at Rs. 10, and maize at Rs. 8. When I protested against it and asked what would happen to the budget of the farmer, he said, I think very callously, that the farmer should increase his production and balance his budget. More easily said than done. I am glad that there is a new thinking in the Government today, and that the idea of giving a remunerative price to the farmer has been accepted. I hope the Food Minister will succeed in his attempts, and work out a system of prices for foodgrains and other agricultural produce in a manner which will make it worthwhile for the farmer to produce more.

I also welcome his other proposal of setting up a State Foodgrains Trading Corporation. The proposal has been attacked by Shri Mukerjee rather vehemently. He says that the private trade and Government trade cannot co-exist together. I think this is an advice of defeat. The State machinery can work as efficiently as the private people, but I am not going to enter into any theoretical discussion. My approach to this question is a pragmatic one.

What is the position today? Have we got the stocks? Monopoly State trading can succeed only when there are stocks available with the Government, and it can feed its shops where the consumers can get their necessities; otherwise, we will be taking upon ourselves a responsibility which we shall not be able to discharge. Besides, have we got the machinery?

I think that the three essential parts of the scheme are sound. Firstly, before the sowing a price will be announced at which the Government will buy foodgrains. Very likely the Corporation will deal in the first instance in only two foodgrains, wheat and rice, which constitute about 70 per cent of all the cereals grown in India. Secondly, if this Corporation is to attain a dominant position in the food trade, it must be armed with some real powers. I welcome the second proposal that the Corporation should have the monopoly of the movement of foodgrains through railways.

I also welcome the proposal that it should be vested with powers to acquire foodgrains from private dealers at a pre-announced price plus certain adjustments that may have to be made. If these two powers are not vested in the Corporation, its success will be jeopardised.

Even so, I want to give another warning to the Food Minister. The competition by the trade is going to be heavy, and if he finds it necessary to assume more powers, he should do it. If a system of co-existence between State trading and private trading is not possible, then the Food Minister should be prepared for monopoly food trading.

Then, I come to the last point, that is how to increase our food production. It is agreed that the real solution, long-term solution, of the food problem is to produce more; not only to produce more for our current need, but also to lay by something for the lean period. In agriculture, there are good and bad years, and unless in good years we produce surplus for the requirements of bad years, we shall not be self-sufficient. In the past, I think the approach of our planners towards agriculture has been miserly and half-hearted. Agriculture was not given a fair deal, and if I am asked to give one single example of it, I would say that the Third Plan

envisaged an increase of nearly five per cent of foodgrains every year, plus increase of cash crops in various degrees, but what was the allocation? About Rs. 1,100 crores. Some thinking is going on in the Planning Commission about the allocation for the Fourth Plan. The Fourth Plan contemplates an increase of a little more than five per cent, not much different from the Third Plan, and yet the allocation now being considered by the Planning Commission is about three times of what it was in the Third Plan. Therefore, it is no use blaming the farmer. Our farmer is good and experienced. We must enthuse the farmer, he is the central figure, whatever resources are made available they must be cheap and timely. Our extension workers, research men and scientists must know the man for whom they are working. Unfortunately, these conditions do not exist today. It is time that we adopt a grass roots approach in community development. We have established a country-wide system, but I regret it has not been able to give results. Yet, there are germs in it. I think with the proper reorientation, the defect in the working of extension services will disappear.

As regards our inputs, I have some complaints to make. Firstly, the price of our inputs is high. Fertilisers are selling in the United States and U.K. at 50 per cent of the price being charged in India. Our fertilisers are the costliest in the world, with the exception of Spain, and Spain is a country which we need not notice much. A pair of bullocks, which, about ten years ago, used to cost Rs. 600 to Rs. 800 is today costing Rs. 2,000; bhusa is Rs. 7 to Rs. 8 a maund. The Massey-Ferguson tractor ten years ago was selling at Rs. 2,000; today it is Rs. 18,000. No foreign exchange was allocated for the import of tractors and the Ministry of Food and Agriculture was compelled to import tractors only from rupee countries. All kinds of tractors were imported, and it is now well-known

that most of those tractors are lying idle for lack of spares and replacements. We have licensed the manufacture of three or four kinds of tractors, but our total capacity of producing tractors is not equivalent to what an economic manufacturing unit should produce. Therefore, all that has to be changed. The inputs of the farmer must be reduced.

Electricity is cheaper for bigger industries, it is cheaper for the small industry, but is more costly for the farmer. When the last Budget was discussed I appealed to the Finance Minister to exempt the farmer's diesel oil—oil for his tractors or water-pump from the increased impact of excise duty. My request was respected, I again repeat it. Unless you reduce the cost of inputs, I am afraid the fair prices worked out by the Price Fixation Board may not be economical to the farmer and they may be oppressive for the consumer.

We must also increase the quantities of the input. The Third Plan had fixed a target of one million tons of nitrogen but it is now accepted by the Planning Commission that the total availability is not going to be more than half a million tons. In other targets too we are falling short. I am not saying these things by way of sheer criticism. If we do not learn from past mistakes and rectify the causes responsible for shortages, we can never improve things. Therefore, we should not only reduce the price of inputs but also make them available in time, in requisite quantities. The Indian soils can produce much more, two times or even three times of what is produced now. We need not go to the United States or to another foreign country to learn. Our own progressive farmers are producing two or four times the average yields. We have to mobilise the resources and give incentive to the farmers. I will refer to one more aspect before concluding and that is about land reforms. Mr. Masani was not quite fair to Mr. Shriman Nara-

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yan, who is not present in this House. Shri Masani quoted Shriman Narayan as saying that he would place a moratorium on land reforms. I had a full talk with Shri Shriman Narayan in one of the committees. What he said was that once the present policy of the land reforms had been fulfilled, it would not be necessary to make any major changes in it. That is the experience of land reforms everywhere. In U.P. we completed the land reforms and now very few changes are being made. Changes are made only in the earlier stages. I dissociate myself totally from what Mr. Masani said on land reforms. I shall quote to him what was said in one of the latest reports by a Ford Foundation expert, Wolf Ladejinsky. Ladejinsky is not a Russian or a communist; he comes from America, a country of laissez-faire. After making a survey of five intensive development districts Ladejinsky says:

"In Tanjore, West Godavary and Shahabad the land records do not contain any information about tenants. Ejection of tenants has taken place in the past and the landlords still continue to change tenants from plot to plot to defeat the tenancy laws. The few tenants who were allowed to continue over a fairly long period feel insecure. Thus a large number of cultivators hold no title to the leased lands, pay extortionate rents, and are never certain of their status. They are left with little to subsist on and much less to invest....

This situation is made much more difficult because the VLWs hesitate to prepare production plans for the 'pure' tenants-farmer and in respect of leased lands, for the owner-tenant farmer, unless the land-lord agrees to it. As part of this situation, a co-operative society will not provide him with a short-term loan unless he produces a lease deed from the

landlord or his signatures on the loan application. . . ."

Such is the sorry state of affairs. The hesitant implementation of land reforms had created insecurity in the minds of farmers. Unless the farmer is given security, how will things improve?

I am not one of those who believe that small holdings cannot attain high standard of production. In Japan the area of the holdings ranges between 2.5 acres and 7.5 acres. There is no farmer owning more than 7.5 acres but Japan has become almost self-sufficient in food during the last few years. Small holdings can produce more provided we can mobilise all the resources and can enthuse the farmer. I am hopeful that we can achieve it India can, no doubt, be self-sufficient. Only we must overcome the farmers' difficulties. We should remove politics from food we must make a dispassionate and economic approach towards the problems relating to land reforms and matters concerning farming. Let us strive and success will be ours.

Shri P. B. Patel: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I heard the speeches and the points made by Mr. Mukerjee and Mr. Masani and I would answer them point by point. The first point was that there had been abnormal rise in the price of foodgrains. There is no doubt that people were put to trouble in the last two or three months. That trouble was localised in urban area but there was nothing in the rural side of the country. So, we are considering the troubles or the difficulties of the urban people in the recent 2-3 months.

The complaint is that the prices have gone high. I will first refer to wheat prices. For the information of my hon. friends, I may say that wheat price this year was a bit high, especially in the last two or three months. But let us consider wheat prices prevailing in the last 10-12

years. If we take 100 as the base, and 1952-53 as the base year, in 1950 the price was 94, 1951, it was 96; it was 98 in 1952; 96 in 1953; 79 in 1954; 70 in 1955; 86 in 1956; 90 in 1957; 96 in 1958. . . .

Shri U. M. Trivedi (Mandsaur): All bogus figures . . . (*Interruptions*).

Shri P. E. Patel: I know; these are Government figures. It was 102 in 1959; 91 in 1960; 89 in 1961; 92 in 1962 and 91 in 1963. It was only in 1964 that the prices went high. (*Interruptions*).

15 hrs.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

Shri P. E. Patel: In 1964, January, it was 120; February, 121; March, 122; April, 125; May, 131; June, 136 and July, 140. It was low throughout the past 10 to 15 years. It was only in the year 1959 that it was 102. Otherwise, it was much less than 100. In 1965, I did not find any cry from the Communist friends or any other friends and they never talked about Bombay band or any other band, for the price that the cultivators got was less by 30 per cent, but they only care for some people in the cities. They do not care for the rural areas as such.

I would quote now the price of wheat in 1949 and 1948. In 1949, taking base 1952-53—it was 117, and in 1948, it was 125. The price in 1948 did not reach up to that level as it has done so in the bad days of this year. No doubt the people in the urban areas were put to trouble. I do realise it, but the trouble was utilised by my Communist friends, declaring Maharashtra band; Ahmedabad band. What for? For lowering the prices of foodgrains. If that is the way to lower the prices of foodgrains, I think there should be just bands and bands and no agriculture in the country! Utilising the occasion just to rouse the feelings of the people is only the political way of working things. Nothing more.

Shri Daji: Why do you give the occasion?

Shri P. E. Patel: There is no such occasion given. After all, in Russia, communism is there. Technology is there. Science is there. There was scientific progress for the last so many years. And yet, recently, they had to import foodgrains from America. So, it is not in men's hands. In the factories, you put machines and raw materials and you realise the other thing as desired. It is not so with Agriculture. In Russia, even with all this technology and science and other things, they have not become self-sufficient. They have to import foodgrains from America.

Then, what about China? People have starved, and they have had to import. We are also importing foodgrains, and my hon friend Shri Mukerjee says: "What is this? We are 480 million and why should we import?" He does not like that we should import. If we do not import, people may have to pay more price, or they may not.

An Hon. Member: His objection is, why not import from Russia.

Shri P. E. Patel: If we do not import, we may not be able to give wheat to the people; there may be starvation. And so the other party may get more opportunity for agitation and to agitate among the people. So, they say, "Do not import under PL 480." We are not happy to import. We as a nation would like to be self-sufficient in agriculture. We want to produce more but, under the circumstances, we have to import. What can we do? We have to feed people. And so we are importing. But the best course to remedy this situation is to grow more. Have we given our thought as to why production has not increased to the extent we want? That is the important thing.

We are arguing that we find hoarding that big agriculturists are holding back the stock. Whose fault is it? You put zonal restrictions and in zonal

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restrictions, you see the difference of prices. In the booklet that I have, I find the prices mentioned for indigenous wheat. In the Punjab, the price of indigenous wheat was Rs. 49 per quintal; in Rajasthan, Rs. 50; in Gujarat, Rs. 77-25; in Maharashtra, Rs. 104; in Uttar Pradesh, Rs. 80-40 and in Saharanpur, Rs. 87-50. If the zonal restrictions are there; and if the people of Punjab are asked to give away their wheat at a lower price, and if they hold back, what wrong are they doing? I think it is a privilege of the farmer to hold back and not to give to the Government if the prices are not reasonable. These are the defects and difficulties. We have to face more difficulties in procurement, and in bringing out wheat to the markets. All these things are there because of our zonal restrictions. If we do away with them, I think many of the troubles will vanish.

In Gujarat, what do I find? Restrictions on groundnut oil are put. I do not approve of it even though I come from Gujarat. I wish that there should be no zonal restriction in the country. India is one, and whatever is produced in one part, the men living in other parts have the right to enjoy it, and at the price prevailing. There should be no restriction absolutely. It is because of the zonal restrictions that we have to face the trouble. Last time, we had a sad experience because we imposed zonal restriction on the movement of gur. The Maharashtra people did not send gur to us; Uttar Pradesh also did the same thing; we had to pay double the price in Gujarat and the farmers in Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh got less. The middle men and the merchant community benefit by the zonal system and the smugglers also benefit by it. Smuggling becomes very common. When the price in Punjab was Rs. 49 and at other places, it was Rs. 77 to Rs. 100, naturally, smuggling would be there. Anybody would do it. To put a stop to smuggling and profiteering and all these evils, the best

course is to be do away with the zonal restrictions.

श्री राजेश्वरलाल (करनाल) : यह काम कौन कर रहा है यह तो कृपा करके बतलाइये ?

Shri P. R. Patel: Our Government is now taking a stern and a very good view. They are going to give a remunerative, minimum price to the agriculturist. It is a good thing. That is the thing which we want and that is the way by which we can ask the cultivators to produce more. It should be an adequate price and a reasonable remunerative price. If today you would hesitate to give a remunerative price to the agriculturist, our plight would remain the same. If you want more production, we must be liberal; we should give something more than the remunerative price. After all, the agriculturists have to look after their childrens education and have to spend money for medical relief and also for social activities. So, we must pay more to the agriculturist, especially in the matter of wheat and rice. In rice we are deficit only by two per cent. It is nothing. If we pay more price for paddy, there will be more production. In wheat, we are deficit by about 25 to 30 per cent. Under the circumstances, if we follow the same method that we have followed up till now, I think our deficit will increase. But if we give a fair, reasonable and adequate price to the cultivator, wheat production will increase. There was flood round about Delhi. That was the amount of loss to the cultivators? The experts sitting in Delhi would not understand the loss due to heavy rain, scarcity of rain or irregular rain or due to insects. So, my submission is that all these things should be taken into consideration.

I am happy that our Prime Minister, Shastriji, has assured us that on the Agricultural Price Commission, representatives of the farmers will be taken as members. I am sure this Commis-

sion will do justice to the agriculturists and production will increase. Today we say that there should be a stop to this exorbitant price of rice. Undoubtedly for middle-class people, this is a very high price and some help or subsidy should be given to them. But we fail to consider the cost to the producer. The farmer was paying about Rs. 1200 for an oil engine of 6 HP before. Now he pays double—Rs. 2400. Three years back, he paid for fuel at the rate of Rs. 45 per barrel. Now he pays Rs. 95. He cannot get corrugated sheets in the fair market. He has to go to the black-market and pay exorbitant price. Some days back I was talking with a merchant friend dealing in iron and steel and I was astonished to learn that compared to five years ago, the price has increased by more than 100 per cent. In the case of wheat today the price is less than what it was in 1948.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Do you purchase your rations or somebody supplies you?

श्री रामेश्वरानन्द : मोटे पर क्या माव है ? मार्केट सरस्य किताबों कः बत कर रहे हैं । वह करीब कर देवें ।

Shri P. R. Patel: These are taken from Government publications. Ignorance is bliss. My friends do not read the books and they are angry with me. For wheat production, our farmers are today getting much less than what they were getting in 1948. In some years they got 30 or 35 or 20 per cent less and nobody cried at the time and there was no agitation absolutely.

In our country, there are two sides—rural and urban. My communist friends have nothing to do with the rural side. They are only concerned with the labourers because they have got a very fine ground to graze there, talking of higher bonus and so on. In the city they would say the price of rice or wheat has gone up. But in the

villages, nobody hears them, I know, in villages, nobody will trust them, because their notions are not indigenous. They get their inspiration from their "Fathers or Fore-fathers". (Interruptions). My request to our communist friends is this. We are Indians and we have to develop our country. Never be happy over any adverse food situation. It is not a political matter, after all. Food and water are the only non-political matters. Let us pray to God that he may give us very good climate.

Shri Mathyal Rao (Mahbubnagar): But they do not believe in God.

Shri P. R. Patel: They will believe at least for me. Let them not take advantage of any shortage here and there. Ours is a vast country. Wherever there is distribution, there is no shortage.

श्री राम लक्ष्मण दास : (बारम्बकी) : यह माघ समाज का काम है ।

Shri P. R. Patel: If the distribution is done a little later, there will be shortage. But in a vast country like ours, nobody died because he did not get food.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: 12 persons died of starvation in U.P. Even the Food Minister of U.P. had to admit it.

Shri P. R. Patil: These are after all newspaper stunts. Nobody has died. (Interruptions). The only legitimate grievance that these friends can make out is high prices. It has happened only this year because the production was less. In Maharashtra, they declared Maharashtra "bandh" and it was only in Bombay. But outside the city, in the rural side, there was nothing. Similarly, they said "Gujarat bandh", but outside the cities of Ahmedabad and Baroda, there was nothing absolutely. What did they gain by these bandhs? In Gujarat, by this bandh, six young men's lives were lost. In Maharashtra, they had an agreement with the

[Shri P. R. Patel]

Government. So, they gained the point and the Government also gained the point. That was a fine way of playing the drama, which they played very well on both sides, but this is not the way of producing more. I would request only one thing.

Shri Ram Sewak Yadav: Is it also a part of the drama?

Shri P. R. Patel: I would only request the Members of the *Sayunkta Samajwadi paksh*, my friends who are agitating from that side, to always see always the difficulties of agriculturists. Always go to them and ask them their difficulties. If you solve their difficulties, the production will go up. Shri Masani rightly said—I do not agree with him always—feed the agriculturists, feed agriculture and agriculture will feed you. We do not feed agriculture. We do not feed the agriculturists. We want milk from the cow, but unless we feed the cow well it will not give us good milk in sufficient quantity. Therefore, in order to get enough from our agriculture we must feed the agriculturists. I would request the hon. Minister to see to the requirements of the agriculturists and supply them their requirements. If that is done, at a proper time you will see that these people will make us self-sufficient in food.

Even if we have a desire to do that, difficulties come from that side. If tomorrow we decide that the reasonable remunerative price for wheat should be at least Rs. 22, then the cry will come from that side saying that if we give Rs. 22 to the agriculturists how will the other people live. After all, we must do justice to the agriculturists.

Shri Ram Sewak Yadav: Who checks you?

Shri P. R. Patel: When we try to do justice to the agriculturists, our friends from the other side get angry.

It seems they do not want to do any justice to the agriculturists. It is for the agriculturists to know them. If they know them, I think it would be good for them and also for our friends themselves.

श्री लहरी सिंह (रोहतक) : मैं देशत का रहने वाला हूँ और वहीं पर पला हूँ। मैं एक बात सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के सामने बड़े ही अफसोस के साथ रखना चाता हूँ। आज तक किसान के खेत को पानी देने का कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं किया गया है। यही सब से बड़ा आवाज सवाल है। लेकिन यह कोई सवाल ही गवर्नमेंट के सामने नहीं है। तमाम राजस्थान बुरक पड़ा हुआ है, हर एक सूबे का बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा बुरक पड़ा हुआ है। लेकिन आपने अपने बजट में या आपने अपने प्लानिंग में कतई इस पर कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया है कि इरिगेशन सिस्टम को, आबापानी की सुविधाओं को बढ़ाया जाये।

जब आबापानी की बात की जाती है तो कहा जाता है कि दरियाओं का पानी काफी नहीं है। जो दरिया हैं उनका पानी हिन्दुस्तान के हर एक हिस्से में नहीं दिया जा सकता है। ऐसी सूरत में दूसरा तरीका एक ही रह जाता है कि 'ड्यूबबैल्ड' लगाये जायें, 'शीलो' नहीं, तो 'डीप ड्यूबबैल्ड' लगाये जायें क्योंकि अगर ऐसा नहीं होता है तो कृषि पानी आता है। अमरीका ने इसका तजुर्बा करके देख लिया है। ड्यूबबैल्ड लगाने की तरफ आपका काफी ध्यान नहीं है। आपका ध्यान स्टील प्लांट्स की तरफ चला गया, और बीजों की तरफ चला गया। लेकिन आबापानी की तरफ आपका काफी ध्यान नहीं गया है। आपने समझ लिया कि किसान के पास हर चीज काफी है, उसके भावों को कंट्रोल कर लिया जाये। मैं आपको साफ क्ना बाहता हूँ कि अभी 47 मिलियन एकड़ जमीन

खुशक पड़ी हुई है, ऐसी पड़ी हुई है जिस में कोई काश्त नहीं होती है और जहां काश्त होती भी है वहां पानी का कोई इंतजाम नहीं है। आप किसी गांव में जायें, किसी खेत में जायें, आपको पता चल जायेगा कि वहां पर पानी काफी मात्रा में नहीं मिलता है, काफी भिकवार में नहीं मिलता है।

श्री काशी राम मुख (मलबर) : आप तो पानी में डूब रहे हैं और कहते हैं कि पानी नहीं मिलता है।

श्री लहरी सिंह : पानी की हमारे यहां खुशकी है।

हमारे देश में 80 परसेंट का गुजारा खेती पर है। जहां पर इतनी अधिक जनसंख्या का गुजारा खेती पर हो, वहां पर खाना भी न मिले, पीने को दूध भी न मिले, खाने को भी भी न मिले, तो क्या कहा जाए, समझ में नहीं आता है। इस स्थिति पर सत्तरह साल की हुकमत में हम पहुंच गये हैं। आज यहां पर एम० पी० तक को एक खराब बोलल दूध बड़ी मुश्किल से मिलती है, ग्राम प्रादमी की तो बात ही क्या करनी है। जहरों में ग्राम प्रादमियों को दूध मिलना नामुम्किन है, घी मक्खन मिलना नामुम्किन है, घण्टा गेहूं, चावल प्रादि मिलना नामुम्किन है। भाव भी बढ़ गये हैं और चीज भी नहीं मिलती है और फिर कहा जाता है कि स्टेट ट्रेडिंग कर दो। कोई अगर बीमार प्रादमी है उसको अगर आप कुनैन खिलाते चले जायें लेकिन उनके साथ अगर खुराक न दें, दूध न दें तो वह किस तरह से अच्छा हो सकता है। हम वास्ते जो बीमारी है उसकी जड़ तक आपको पहुंचना होगा। सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट को इसकी तरफ ध्यान देना होगा। बीघे प्लान में आपको रीप ट्यूबवैलज की, जैलो ट्यूबवैलज की व्यवस्था करनी होगी, उन पर अधिक से अधिक रपया खर्च करना होगा।

आपने सैडब पर सीलिंग लगा दी है। आप बड़े खुश हुए हैं, ऐसा करके। ठीक है, राजा माराजा जो बहुत ज्यादा भूमि के मालिक थे उनको हटा दिया गया है। आपने तीस स्टैंडर्ड एकड़ की सीलिंग की है। इसके साथ साथ आपने टिनू सक्सेशन एक्ट बना दिया है। मान लीजिये किसी के चार लड़के हैं और चार लड़कियां हैं। लड़कियां चाहें कहीं रहती हैं, बीस कोस पर रहती हैं, मेरी डैच के बाव में भी उसकी मालिक हैं और इसका नतीजा यह है कि जमीन के टुकड़े-टुकड़े होते जा रहे हैं। आपको सीलिंग करने की जरूरत नहीं थी। अब आपके साथ का नतीजा यह है कि ग्राम-इकोनोमिक होल्डिंग हो गये हैं। फ्रांस की डिस्ट्री को आप देखें, दूसरी कंट्रीज की डिस्ट्री को आप देखें, सभी जगह पर ला प्राफ प्राइमाजीनीयोर है, जिस का मतलब यह है कि बड़े लड़के के सिवाय जमीन किसी दूसरे के पास न जाये ताकि ग्राम-इकोनोमिक होल्डिंग न हो। सरकार ने ऐसा नहीं किया है। ला प्राफ प्राइमाजीनीयोर लागू नहीं किया है। इसका नतीजा यह है कि जमीन छोटे छोटे टुकड़ों में, ग्राम-इकोनोमिक होल्डिंग में परिवर्तित होती जा रहा है। आपके सक्सेशन एक्ट के तहत बीस कोस पर बंटी हुई लड़की चाहे उसके पास काफी जमीन है, जमान की मालिक है। आज जमीन के टुकड़े होते जा रहे हैं, ग्राम-इकोनोमिक होल्डिंग होते जा रहे हैं।

आप देखें कि हमारे मुल्क के ग्राम ज्यादातर जो काश्तकार हैं, उनके पास कितनी भूमि है। ज्यादातर जमींदारों के पास यहां पांच स्टैंडर्ड एकड़ भूमि है या उससे भी कम है। आप संभाला लगायें कि पांच स्टैंडर्ड एकड़ जमीन वाला जमींदार क्या रीप ट्यूबवैलज बना सकता है? इसलिये यह जरूरी है कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट खुद जिम्मेदारी ले इन्वेल्लन डीमिटीज प्रोवाइड करने की। इन्वेल्लन डीमिटीज

[श्री सहरी सिंह]

पांच स्टैंड एकड़ वाला किसान प्रोवाइड नहीं कर सकता है। वह ट्यूब वेल बना नहीं सकता है, डीप ट्यूबवेल तो उसके लिए एक स्वप्न ही है। हमारा मुल्क हमेशा से ही एग्रिकल्चर पर डिपेंड करता रहा है। इसलिये प्राइज भी यह जरूरी है कि इर्रिगेशन सिस्टम को प्राइज अपने हाथ में लें। ये बड़ी बड़ी प्राजेक्ट्स जो हैं, जितने डिबेलेपमेंट के काम हैं, इनकी तरफ स्टेट्स तो मिल्तुल ध्यान नहीं दे रही हैं। स्टेट्स तो मालूम नहीं क्यों एकाबटें डाल रही हैं। आपने पता नहीं उनको कितना रुपया दे दिया है। पता नहीं वह रुपया किधर चला गया है। जब कोई जमींदार ट्यूबवेल भी लगावा लेता है तो बिजली के लिये, पावर के लिये, वह हाथ जोड़ता फिरता है, उसको नहीं मिलती है। उसको रिश्तत देनी पड़ती है। तब कहीं जा कर अगर उसकी किस्मत अच्छी है तो उसको पावर मिलती है। डीजल से ट्यूबवेल चला ले यह ना-मुम्किन है। इस बास्ते में कम्पना चाहता हूँ कि जो खूबक जमीन है, उसके लिए प्राइज इर्रिगेशन फैसिलिटीज प्रोवाइड करें। इसके लिये जो भी जरिया चाहें, तैयार कर सकते हैं। मुनासिब तो यह है कि इर्रिगेशन ज्यादा से ज्यादा ट्यूबवेल की जगह में सेंट्रल-गवर्नमेंट और स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स दोनों मिल कर प्रोवाइड करें। आपने पंजाब में राबी के साथ, जमूना के साथ ट्यूबवेल लगाये हैं और प्राइज देखें वहां पैदावार बहुत ज्यादा हो गई है और इसली ज्यादा हो गई है कि प्राइज धंधावा नहीं लगा सकते हैं। अगर जमींदार को पानी मिलता है तो कौन बेवकूफ जमींदार होगा जो पानी न लें, उससे फायदा न उठाये और घर बैठा रहे।

एक प्लड प्राइमरी भी है। नैचुरल प्लो प्राक वाटर का तबाल इसके साथ

जुड़ा हुआ है। तमाम नालों का पानी, तमाम राजस्थान का पानी नजफगढ़ झील में आता है और नजफगढ़ झील का पानी छहर उछर जाता है। अब सरकार को चाहिये तो यह या वह बहुत भारी ड्रेज बनवाती, पक्के ड्रेज बनवाती, कन्क्रीट के और चौड़े इनको बनवाती लेकिन बैसा न करके उसने ढांसा बांध बनवा दिया और नैचुरल प्लो प्राक वाटर को रोक दिया ताकि पंजाब भी डूब जाए, दिल्ली का भी बहुत हिस्सा डूब जाये और राजस्थान भी डूब जाये। नैचुरल प्लो प्राक वाटर प्रॉजेक्ट के बक्त भी कभी बन्द नहीं होता था लेकिन ढांसा बांध लगा करके उसको रोक दिया गया। और हमारे कई सौ गांव तबाह हो रहे हैं, रोते फिरते हैं कि यह रामराज्य आ रहा है। उन की छतों से पानी लगा हुआ है और यहां कहा जाता है कि नैचुरल प्लो ठीक कर दो, कंन्नीट कर दो। रो तक की तरफ से जाने के लिये एक पुल बनाने में तीन साल लग गये। हम ने भाखरा कैनल दो साल में बना दिया था, लेकिन सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट की नजफगढ़ ड्रेज निकालने के लिये पुल बनाने में तीन साल लग गये। बां जगहों गाड़ियां ठहरती हैं। फिर कहते हैं कि हम थो मोर फूड प्रोग्राम को प्राये बढ़ायेंगे। मेरी धार्ज यह है कि जह पर प्लड का नैचुरल प्लो हो उस को प्राइज भले ही स्टेट के हाथों में छोड़ दें लेकिन जहां पर नैचुरल प्लो न हो वहां पर जबर्दस्ती करना ठीक नहीं है। चार साल से जहां पैदावार अच्छी नहीं हो रही है, उसके बारे में मेरा खयाल यह है कि प्लड आता है तो प्राये, लेकिन हम पानी को निकाल दें। होता यह है कि ड्रेनेज सिस्टम को ठीक करने के लिये सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट से रुपया तो ले लिया जाता है, लेकिन वह अब तक कम्प्लीट नहीं हुआ। चार साल से पैदावार में जो कमी हो गई है उसकी जिम्मेदारी प्लड कंट्रोल के ठीक न होने पर

है। न सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने उसे कंट्रोल किया और न स्टेट गवर्नमेंट ने किया। हज़ारों गांव हैं जहाँ पर पानी भरा हुआ है। बाहिर में कहीं पर नहूँ बोया जायेगा। पैदी जो है वह भी खत्म हो गया।

मेरी दूसरी बरखास्त यह है कि अब फसल धाता है तब सब लोग उस की फिक्र करते मालूम होते हैं लेकिन जहाँ फसल उतरा सब उस को भूल जाते हैं। फिर लेक्चर ही लेक्चर रट जाते हैं। लेक्चर चलते रहते हैं जब पानी प्रायेगा बार साल बाद तो फिर रोने लग जायेंगे। इस लिये अगर नैचुरल फ्लो वाले फसल को स्टेट गवर्नमेंट के ऊपर छोड़ कर बाकी फसल को सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट कंट्रोल करे तो बड़ी भारी तरक्की होगी और जमींदारों का भी काफी फायदा होगा। आज हालत यह है कि जो जमींदार सब्जी भण्डे देता है, जो खाना दे देता है उसी के पास आज खाना पैदा करने के लिये पानी नहीं है। आज आप गुडगांव, राजस्थान और दिल्ली को देख लीजिये। मौलों पानी भरा हुआ है। हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब फ्लाई करके उसे देख प्राये, लेकिन क्या फ्लाई करने से ही लोग सैटिस्फाई हो जायेंगे। आज तो सारी कोलिन दिल्ली को हो प्लंड से बचाने की हो रही है, और जगह चाहे जो कुछ हो। यह हाल आप की सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट का है और स्टेट गवर्नमेंटों का है।

15.31 hrs.

[SHRI SONAVANE in the Chair]

मैं ने तो बजट के बक्स कहा था कि स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स इरिगेशन के लिहाज से फेवोर हो चुकी है, बल्कि एकाबटें हैं सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के रास्ते में। कोई ऐसा कानून आप तजवीब करें जिस से इरिगेशन सिस्टम और प्लंड कंट्रोल सिस्टम डाइरेक्टर्मा आप के हाथ में हो और वह कंट्रोल ठीक न

हो जाये। यह दो चीजें हैं कृपा चाहता हूँ हूँ खास तौर पर से।

अनाज की कमी नहीं हो सकती लेकिन उस का एक ही तरीका है कि इरिगेशन को बढ़ाओं। लेकिन आज पैदावार बढ़ने के बजाय पापुलेशन बढ़ती जा रही है। इरिगेशन की प्लैनिंग बार साल से हुई थी। प्लैनिंग को देखिए तो यह बड़ी तारीफ़ होती है कि उस की लेकिन प्लैनिंग का नतीजा यह हुआ है कि पैदावार हर साल कम होती जा रही है। हमारी प्लैनिंग है कि स्टील प्लैन्ट लगाया जाये। ठीक है। लेकिन उस चीज की प्लैनिंग का नतीजा, जिस से किसान ज़िन्दा है, यह है कि पैदावार मुतवातिर बार साल से गिरती जा रही है। न फसल की परबाह की जाती है न इरिगेशन की परबाह की जाती है उस के लिये। कोई भी चीज उन के फायदे के लिये नहीं की जाती। बः कहते हैं कि मैन्थोर और फर्टिलाइजर दो। लेकिन जैसा अभी जैन साहब ने फरमाया फर्टिलाइजर दुनिया में इस से ज्यादा महंगी कहीं नहीं। प्लैनिंग वालों से बात की कि यह जो मोबर है, जिस को आप काउन्सिल कहते हैं, इस को न जमाने दो। आज यह जमाया जा रहा है जिस को बेतों में डाला जाना चाहिये। वह करने लगे कि वह भी जरूरी है। मुझे यह मुनकर ताज्जुब हुआ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि किसान को मिर्चाई के लिये पानी दो, फर्टिलाइजर समी दो, मजिदी दो। लेकिन वह इतनी महंगी है जिसका ठिकाना नहीं है। लेकिन उस को पानी नहीं मिलता, उस को आप कमेन्स देने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं। इन हालात के अन्दर मैं नहीं समझता कि किसान की पैदावार किसी तरह से बढ़ सकती है।

अब मैं एग्जिबिट रिफार्म के ऊपर धाता हूँ। आप ने जो रिफार्म कर दिए उन को आप न छेड़िये। लेकिन आज किसान को इन्फेक्शन दिया जा रहा है कि उस की

[श्री लहरी सिंह]

जमीन ले ली जायेगी।] कभी घाप को घाप-रेटिव फार्मिंग की बात करते हैं कभी कलेक्टिव फार्मिंग की बात करते हैं और होता कुछ नहीं है। न तो कोई स्टॉक है और न कोई कोऑपरेटिव फार्म। कोऑपरेटिव फार्मिंग के घाबरे कहते हैं हम तुम्हारी जमीन ले लेंगे। मैं कहता हूँ कि घाप कलेक्टिव फार्मिंग और कोऑपरेटिव फार्मिंग का नारा मत लगाइये। एम्पेनशन होता हो तो होने दो, लेकिन इस तरह के नारे लगाने से कोई फायदा नहीं है। इस तरह के नारे लगा कर सरकार ने जमींदारों को यह इम्पेनशन दे दिया है कि जमीन उन के हाथ से चली जायेगी। इस चीज को देखते हुए वह उस को इम्ब्यू करने की कोशिश नहीं करते हैं। वह महसूस करते हैं कि जमीन में ज्यादा रुपया लगाने से कोई फायदा नहीं होगा।

इस के बाद मैं जोन के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। जोन के बारे में यह है कि एक तरफ तो यू० पी० में गुड इतना है दूसरी तरफ गुजरात में लोग उस के लिये तरसते रहें। कियबई सा बने एक बड़ा भारी स्टैंप लिया था। उन्होंने जोन भी तोड़ दिये थे और कंट्रोल भी तोड़ दिया था। एक ऐसा जादू कर दिया था भारत में कि जमींदार भी खुश थे और शहरी भी खुश थे। मैं नहीं कहता कि घाप बैसा करें, लेकिन जोन के बारे में सोच तो मैं। हमारा गेहूँ 17 और 18 रुपये दम पंजाब में बिक रहा है और यमुना पर यहाँ रात दिन पुलिस खड़ी रहती है। जहाँ देखा कि गेहूँ 30 रु० मन बिक रहा है फौजवा पुलिस चालान कर रही है। सेजान जत्र के यहाँ केसेज हो रहे हैं। घाबिर सरकार जब तक यह ड्रामा करेगी। यह जो ड्रामा है इस में फायदा किस को है जो बड़े बड़े कैपिटलिस्ट हैं उन्हें लाइसेंस दिया जायेगा। जो बड़े बड़े कैपिटलिस्ट हैं वह लाइसेंस लेकर महाराष्ट्र और गुजरात को नेहू देंगे, और कहीं बेंगे। हम तो यह

चाहते हैं कि घाब घाप चाहें, जो कर दें, लेकिन इतने जोन न करें। कियबई साहब ने इस को नहीं चलने दिया। जोन बना कर घाप हमारे लिये बड़ी भारी मुसीबत पैदा कर रहे हैं।

फिर जमींदारों के ऊपर एक मुसीबत नहीं है। घाप कानून बना रहे हैं कि स्टेट ट्रेडिंग में जबर्दस्ती सरकार गेहूँ ले लेगी। ले ले, ठीक है, लेकिन कम से कम भाव का हिसाब तो लगा लें। जिस तरह से किसान हल का फाल लेता है, ट्रैक्टर लेता है, उस का हिसाब लगा कर, कपड़े को लेता है, उस का हिसाब लगा कर बहूँ बेटियों को पढ़ाता है, उस का हिसाब लगा कर दाम तय किये जायें। जो लोग इंग्लैंड में अपने बच्चों को भेजते हैं उन की बात तो छोड़िये, लेकिन मामूली जमात में पढ़ाने के खर्च का हिसाब तो लगा लें। 18 रु० या 20 रु० पर हमारे ऊपर कन्ट्राई चला दी जाये यह ठीक नहीं है। घाप खुश हैं, लेकिन घाप के फैसले रिप्रलिस्टिक होने चाहियें। अगर घाप बिना इस को सोचे हुए 10 रु०, 12 रु०, या 18 रु० दाम मुकर्रर कर दें तो यह ठीक नहीं होगा, घाप देहात में जा कर देख लें लोगों के जिस्म पर कपड़ा नहीं है पीने के लिये पानी नहीं है, उन का बैंक बँलेस नहीं है। वह रात दिन काम करते हैं। लेकिन अगर वह इसका क्याल न कर के शहरों में बैठकर ही भावों का हिसाब लगा लिया जाये तो यह निश्चये वाली बात नहीं है। आज बहो पर लोगों में एक एजिटेसन है। वह परेशान हैं। इस लिये जोन को भी और कंट्रोल को भी काफी सोच विचार कर लागू किया जाये। अगर सोच कर नहीं किया जायेगा तो जमींदारों के अन्दर बड़ी बेचैनी होगी। अभी तो वह तारीफियापता नहीं हैं, वह भेद बकरी की तरह चलते हैं लेकिन ज्यादा देर वह इस तरह से

चलने वाले नहीं हैं। उन में एजिटेशन है, उन में एक रंज है। वे लोग कहते हैं कि वह गवर्नमेंट हमारी है लेकिन उस से हम को क्या उम्मीद हो सकती है। यह जो धावनी है उन को धाप धपने से भ्रम न समझिये। जो इतने धावनी देहातों में रहते हैं उन को मामूली सा टुकड़ा धाप उठा कर दे दें और उनकी जमीन से लें, यह भी कर दें, वह भी कर दें, यह इस तरह से नहीं चल सकता है।

धाखिर में मैं कैटल के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। आज हमारे यहां कैटल इतने होते हैं लेकिन लोग कहते हैं कि दूध नहीं मिलता। दिल्ली में दूध नहीं मिलता। सबाल यह है कि दूध कैसे बढ़े। दूध इस तरह से नहीं बढ़ सकता है। धाप डंडे मार कर सस्ता भले ही कर लें लेकिन उस से दूध बढ़ तो नहीं सकता। प्रसली बजह इस की यह है कि गवें हमारे भैंसों, हमारे मवेशी बड़ी तादाद में बम्बई और कलकत्ता जा कर कट जाती हैं। हजारों की तादाद में रोहतक की बाजार में कैटल पड़े हैं वह सारे ले जा कर काटे जाते हैं। हमारे यहां आज गाय भी घण्टी नहीं मिलती और भैंस भी घण्टी नहीं मिलती। कहते हैं कि बाईलैंड में गाय नहीं है। इसलिये मैं कहता हूँ कि धाप कैटल की तरफ ध्यान दीजिये। आज 17 साल के प्रस में पता नहीं कि उनने इंटरनरी डिपार्टमेंट खुले हैं लेकिन उस से कोई लाभ नहीं हुआ। कहते हैं कि चाइना में बिस्ली बिकती है, किसी में बोड़े बिकने लगे हैं, किसी में गाय बिकने लगी हैं लेकिन बहा पर भी वह एक एक मन दूध देती हैं। लेकिन यह हमारी क्वकिस्मती है कि 17 सालों के अन्दर पंजाब की गायों के अन्दर इतना इंटरियोरेशन आ गया है जिसका ठिकाना नहीं है। उन पर ध्यान ही नहीं है, न उस पर अपना खर्च किया जाता नाकि उनकी बीड को इम्प्रूव किया जा सके। क्या बजह है कि हमारी गायों का दूध नहीं

बढ़ता और दूसरे देशों में एक एक गाय एक एक मन दूध दे रही है।

हां, यहां भर्गी पालन पर बहुत जोर दिया जा रहा है। लेकिन अगर बच्चा भूख से रोता हो तो उसका मुर्गी से कैसे काम चल सकता है। अगर दूध बढ़ाना है तो इसके लिए ग्रीन फाबर का बम्बोबस्त करना होगा और वह तभी हो सकता है जबकि धाप द्यूब-बील ज्यादा लगाएं। पंजाब में जिस इलाके में द्यूब-बील हैं वहां घाठ घाने सेर अच्छा दूध मिल रहा है। मेरा मुझाब है कि जितने बड़े शहर हैं उन के चारों तरफ द्यूब-बील लगाये जाएं। जितने ज्यादा द्यूब-बील लगेंगे उतना ही ग्रीन फाबर ज्यादा पैदा होगा और उतना ही दूध बढ़ेगा। हर बड़ शहर के बीस-बीस तीस-तीस मील तक चारों तरफ द्यूब-बील लगाए जाएं। इन से घनाज की पैदावार बढ़ेगी और ग्रीन फाबर होने से दूध की पैदावार भी बढ़ेगी।

यहां पर स्टेट ट्रेडिंग और भाव मुकर्रर करने की बात कही जाती है। लेकिन जब प्रोडक्शन ही न होगा तो यह कैसे हो सकेगा। जब तक कैटल की हालत नहीं सुधरेगी और सिचाई का अच्छा इन्फ्राम नहीं होगा, तब तक पैदावार नहीं बढ़ सकती। अगर धापको कैटल की क्वालिटी अच्छी करनी है और दूध की ईम्ब बढ़ानी है तो धाप द्यूब-बील के प्राधाम के बारे में निश्चय कर लें।

स्टेट ट्रेडिंग के बारे में मुझे कहना है कि पहले गवर्नमेंट धाप इंडिया का काम आई० सी० एल० लोग चलाते थे और अब आई० ए० एल० वाले चलाते हैं। इनको तिजारत का तजरबा नहीं है। हम देखते हैं कि जो सरकारी योद्धाओं में धनाज जमा किया जाता है उस में लाखों कानकमान हो जाता क्योंकि यह काम ठीक तरह से नहीं किया जाता। तो मेरा कहना है कि कहीं एका न हो कि सरकार स्टेट ट्रेडिंग का करोड़ों बाग

[श्री लहरी सिंह]

का बजट बना दे और बाद में उस में चाटा हो। यह स्टेट ट्रेडिंग तभी ठीक तरह से चल सकता है जब कि इसके लिए अच्छा स्टॉक हो और उसको ठीक तनखाइ दी जाए। ये सरकारी अफसर इस काम को नहीं कर सकते।

मैं ने एक बार कंप्यूटर स्टोर बोला था। मुझे उसके लिए उचित कर्मचारी नहीं मिल सके। इसके लिए मैं रजिस्ट्रार से सड़ा लेकिन जैसे प्रावमी चाहिए नहीं मिले। तो मेरा यही कहना है कि प्राप स्टेट ट्रेडिंग का बड़ा बजट बना कर इस काम को इन सरकारी अफसरों को न दे दें। इन से यह काम नहीं हो सकता। अगर आपको यह काम करना है तो इसके लिए अच्छे बिजनेसमैन को रिक्त कीजिए। तब तो यह काम सफल हो सकता है, वरना कोई उम्मीद नहीं है।

Mr. Chairman: I may inform the House that at 4.15 the Prime Minister will make a statement regarding the last Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.

Shri Mahatab (Angul): Mr. Chairman, as far as I remember, almost in every session, on some occasion or the other, food problem or agriculture is discussed in this House and the very same points which have been made out today have been made out on the many previous occasions. Whenever a crisis comes, we do not usually concentrate our attention on the immediate issue but we go on discussing various problems which will require several years, many many years, to be solved.

We are thankful to the Food Minister that he has clinched the issue in clear terms and has placed all material not only in this pamphlet but also outside in his many statements about the nature of the crisis and its short-range as also long-range

solution. We have to think of this problem in a systematic manner, that is to say, the present problem which has arisen and the long-range problem, namely, how to solve the food problem on a long-range basis.

It is admitted—the Government knows it, the Food Minister knows it, all of us know it, there is no use repeating it—that the prices of food-stuffs have gone up abnormally high this time and in many places food-stuffs are not available. It has been said that agriculture has not made considerable progress in the course of the last 17 years. The speech of Professor Mukerjee was to the effect that in the course of the last 17 years practically nothing has been done in the field of improvement of agriculture. But I am really surprised as to how on this occasion we can take into account what has been done or what has not been done in the course of the last 17 years. However, if we take a bird's eye-view of the past 17 years, we will come to the conclusion that considerable improvement has taken place. I know, in the year 1946 when there was a great food scarcity everywhere and the country was passing through a period of near-famine conditions, Shri B. R. Sen who, at present, is an important person in the food field in the world, was the Food Secretary in India. In those days it was found out from the records that India had always been deficit in food. During the pre-war period India used to import about 2 million tons of rice from Burma. But in those days Burma, India, Pakistan and Ceylon were one economic unit and therefore it was not considered as import or export. Nevertheless, present India used to import about 2 million tons of rice from Burma. West Bengal of today used to have its supply from many districts of East Bengal of today. That was the position then.

Then in 1950-51 what was known then as the integrated development of

agriculture programme was inaugurated to make India self-sufficient in jute, cotton and also foodstuffs. If we take into account the present position, we will find that India has been self-sufficient in jute and in many other agricultural products. We are now in a position to export groundnut and various other agricultural produce. But, at the same time, with regard to production of foodstuffs the country has not made that progress which was aimed at; nevertheless, it has made progress and, as has been shown in the report which has been circulated, for the last two or three years the improvement has been stagnant; it is not going ahead. There are many causes and on this occasion if we go into the causes, such as, floods, irrigation and all those matters, I think, we will reach no conclusion at the present moment. If we want to discuss really and seriously the long-range food problem we have to sit together irrespective of party basis and chalk out a programme which will be carried out without any politics attached to it for a number of years. If that can be done, then alone we will succeed; otherwise not. If always we bring politics in this matter, I do not think we will make any headway with regard to the improvement of agriculture as such.

So far as the present problem goes, as far as I see the situation should really be described as the price situation and not the food situation. The prices of foodstuffs have gone abnormally high. The non-availability of foodstuffs in certain places is due to these high prices. If a trader or a cultivator can get good prices in Calcutta, why should he care to sell his produce in some other place? Therefore, food is attracted towards places where higher and higher prices will be available. That is the present problem. If we consider the question of prices as a big circle then foodstuffs become only a sector in that circle.

Then, again we are confining ourselves to rice and wheat only as if

that is the only food available. We are forgetting all about jowar, bazra, edible oil, fish, vegetables etc., as if these are not foodstuffs. If anybody studies the trend of prices which I did some time ago in Calcutta, one will find that whereas the rice price is steady for several months, vegetable prices are going up almost every day, as also fish prices. Therefore, it seems that the prices of fish, vegetables, edible oils have no relationship to the price of rice. For the last about six months the price of rice is almost steady in Calcutta—of course, at a very high level—but at the same time the prices of vegetables, fish and edible oils are going up; even the prices of salt. I was really surprised. When I was in Calcutta last, suddenly the price of salt shot up. I was told that that had nothing to do with the price of rice. If we confine ourselves only to the price of wheat and rice, I think, we will reach nowhere near the solution. That is my submission. We have to take into consideration the whole integrated price structure. We have to apply our mind to that problem.

Now, the prices are going up for various reasons. Sometime back, we discussed these problems in a Committee. I think for the last about two years, as far as I remember—Mr. T. N. Singh was then a Member of the Planning Commission—I along with several other Members met the entire body of the Planning Commission and discussed this price problem. We came to certain tentative conclusions as to how to control the prices. That the prices would rise was anticipated. It is not an unanticipated event.

Dr. M. S. Aney: What was the year?

Shri Mahatab: That was one year ago. It was not unanticipated; it was anticipated that when the Plan is in operation, when thousands of crores of rupees are being injected into the market and more money is in circulation amongst the people, naturally the

[Shri Mahatab]

prices will rise. Therefore, the rise in prices is not an unanticipated event. It was anticipated. But the question is, what measures are to be taken to control that? That is the problem. There is a section of the people in India who advocate that the Plan should be drastically cut. In that way, India will not make any progress. But if we go ahead too much, there is this danger. We have to strike a balance in such a way that the progress will be maintained and at the same time the prices will be controlled. That balance has to be struck and that requires very hard thinking and it cannot be done in this desultory manner as some of us are doing.

A suggestion has been made that State trading is a very easy solution as if it has not been attempted in the course of the last several years. The shortage of food has been going on for the last many years. As far as I remember, since 1943 this has been going on. State trading was once tried when Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain was the Food Minister. At that time, I happened to be in-charge of Orissa State and I know what happened in those days. You ask the representatives of Madhya Pradesh and they will tell you what happened then. The Madhya Pradesh Government lost crores of rupees on that account. So, it is not such an easy matter, as you say, however desirable it may be. State trading requires a strong administrative machinery and also an organisation to carry it through. The mere desire will not serve the purpose. The State have to build the machinery for fulfilling that desire.

Then, a suggestion has been made that the zonal system should be abolished and it is then alone that the food problem will be solved. Of course, it will be solved in those States where cash crop is grown and food crop is not grown. But I know from experience that in many parts of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Assam, there will be famine if the zonal sys-

tem is removed because in those areas cash crop is not grown; rice is both the food crop and the cash crop. And if the door is opened, then the rice will be exported to places where higher prices will be available and in those places there will be famine. Take, for instance, edible oil. Generally, from north India, edible oil goes to provinces, like, West Bengal, Orissa and Assam. It sells there at about Rs. 6 to Rs. 7 whereas in Delhi it is only Rs. 3½/- a kilo. "Those people who produce rice will purchase other goods at a higher rate. Though farmers might get a higher price so far as rice is concerned, they will pay much more for other goods. On the whole you cannot solve the food problem that way". But if there is some defect in this arrangement of zones, that may be corrected. We have to take into account the difference in areas as to where which crop is sown. Some States grow only cash crops; some States grow only food crops. That is a problem which cannot be solved by merely declaring that the zonal system is abolished. A reference was made to Chattisgarh area. I can say from my own experience that if there is absolute decontrol in that area, there will be famine there. This Chattisgarh area is notorious for famines. Because of the little control, somehow they got food.

Then, there is the question of taking over the wholesale trade. It is a desirable thing. There is no doubt about it. It is desirable thing from another point of view also. At one time, I suggested that instead of raising the taxes of the people, agricultural or otherwise, the Government should undertake trade so that profit which goes to the middleman may be intercepted by the State itself. In that case alone, I calculated in the case of Orissa that it will get about Rs. 15 crores if the trade in rice can be successfully carried out. Instead of increasing the land revenue, we can easily take up this trade. But the trade in rice or wheat means that it must be procured by some agency. Which is that

agency which will procure it? As soon as it is procured by some agency, then alone State can deal with it. We have the experience of State Trading Corporation. What is the State Trading Corporation doing? The State Trading Corporation is utilising the existing private agencies and they are working only as Commission agent. They have not replaced the private machinery as such. That old machinery continues. The State Trading Corporation is there only as an addition to that agency. If that happens in the case of trading in foodgrains, then I am afraid, the prices will again go up. That is the problem.

A suggestion has been made about remunerative price. There is no doubt about it. The prices which have been fixed today are not remunerative. Last year, they increased the price, I think, by about Rs. 2 in the case of some States and Re. 1 in the case of some other States with regard to rice—I have no knowledge about wheat—but so far as rice price is concerned, even now there is no machinery to see that the producer gets that price. Take, for instance, the case of Orissa. There the price, the producers' price, has been fixed by the Government at Rs. 17 per maund but, unfortunately, I know that in some areas the producer actually gets about Rs. 13 or 14 per maund because the producer is in the hands of the traders. There is no machinery to purchase goods direct from the producer. The Government has no machinery. They employ the same traders as their agents. They only give them licences. That process is going on. If you say that that process should be dispensed with and that direct purchases should be made from the producer, it is a desirable thing. This should be done. How is it to be done? Which is the agency for doing this? If we ask the ~~wholesaler~~ to purchase it, the things will become worse. If we ask the other the governmental agencies to

do it, I am not quite sure whether it will be successful.

Shri Vishram Prasad (Lalganj): Do you mean to say that all the machinery is corrupt?

Shri Mahtab: It cannot be reduced to such a simple absurdity. It cannot lead to that kind of conclusion. Life is a complex thing, as you know.

Shri Manumanthaiya (Bangalore City): In Orissa, it is very complex.

Shri Mahatab: As complicated as in Mysore.

So far as the rise in prices is concerned, how should it be brought under control? I think the suggestion which was made by the Prime Minister to the Planning Commission and which also appeared in the press that the Plan should be recast in such a manner that unproductive expenditure is reduced should be taken seriously into account. It has appeared in the press that the Finance Minister announced that the Government had decided to reduce unproductive expenditure to the extent of Rs. 70 crores. I am quite sure in my mind that if unproductive expenditure is reduced to a certain extent, then alone will that have a dampening effect on the prices. Otherwise, it will not be possible to control the prices as they are today.

Now, suggestions have made, as I see from the amendments moved by the Members or made by some people outside.

Shri Nath Pal (Rajapur): We are not concerned with suggestions made by people; only suggestions made by Members.

Shri Mahatab: The suggestions have been made outside also. The suggestions are not new. All this has been discussed in the press and elsewhere in the meetings all over the country. Take, for instance, the taking over the wholesale trade. It is not the suggestions of the Members here only

[Shri Mahatab]

It has been suggested in many other places as well. I have said about the taking over of the wholesale trade. It is a desirable thing. I agree there. But whenever it is done, the story of Madhya Pradesh should be kept in mind as to why it happened like that there. It should be studied as to how drawbacks, if any, should be removed. If we can improve upon it, I think it will be helpful. But if what happened earlier happens again, we shall be worse sufferers. So, I have to give this warning now.

16 hrs.

Then, with regard to the term 'hoarding' used with respect to the producer, I do not know how the producer can be at any time accused of hoarding his produce. There is no law now, nor can any law be made by which the producer will be compelled to sell his goods. Of course, if one wants it, it can be done, provided one has the administrative machinery to do it, and to forcibly collect the products from millions of cultivators is not an easy job. But so long as that law is not there, the producer has the option to decide the time and the price at which he will sell his products. Normally, he would like to wait for the next season.

As regards the trend of prices in Calcutta today, because there have been rains now and there is a prospect of good crops nearabout Calcutta, therefore, the price position in Calcutta has eased a little, and it is not so serious as it was two weeks back. So, it all depends upon the crops, and various other conditions. All these have to be taken into account. If we merely say that the cultivators are hoarding, and send some police people to collect the products from the cultivators, I think that it would be a disaster, and it will create complete anarchy everywhere. It cannot be tackled in that way. We have to create economic conditions in which

the cultivators will be induced to sell their goods.

One of the suggestions in this regard is this. After all, what does a cultivator want? The cultivator also has got to purchase his necessities. If we can provide those necessities to him at a concessional rate, then alone we shall be able to induce him to sell his produce. For instance, take the items like corrugated tin sheets, cement and facilities for education and so on. The cultivator are interested in spending money on these items, but it is becoming difficult for him to get these things. Therefore, he does not see any urgent necessity to sell his goods. I am sure the Food Minister must have kept all these things in view.

An Hon. Member: But the hon. Minister is not listening to the hon. Member.

Shri C. Subramaniam: I am listening to him.

Mr. Chairman: I find that the hon. Minister is talking to some other hon. Member.

Shri C. Subramaniam: I have another ear for the hon. Member who has the floor of the House.

Shri Mahatab: Whatever I say here has been discussed many a time with the Food Minister and with others. So, these are not new points.

Shri Jagjivan Ram (Sasaram): That is why he is not listening to the hon. Member.

Shri Mahatab: I feel that we shall be doing some service by this discussion, if we could be serious enough to clinch the issue and to chalk out a programme as to how best to achieve the desired objective.

I have no doubt in my mind, and I am very glad that my hon. friend Shri H. N. Mukerjee has said at the very outset, that this problem should

be tackled on a non-political basis. That means that agitational approach will not really help. If we want to improve agricultural production, a long-range programme will have to be worked out, and we shall have to lay down targets for every year and see how these targets are realised.

Reference has been made to land reforms. It has been stated that land reforms have not been carried out in time, and, therefore, the present situation has arisen. I agree that land reforms were not carried out in time. The Planning Commission had fixed a time-limit and asked that by the end of 1960, land reforms laws would have to be passed in all the States. Many States have not passed those laws. But even assuming that those laws had been passed by 1960, still, during these three years, they could not have been fully implemented. Even assuming that they would have been fully implemented, it is not an easy matter to ensure that the cultivator will be immediately so enthused that so much of production will take place thereafter every year. These are all problems which have to be carefully thought out, and some programme will have to be chalked out so that the problem of not only food-grains but agriculture will be really solved.

It is gratifying to note that now agriculture has been considered to be the pivot of all planning. I wish that this had been done some years back. Anyway, I am glad that it has been done now. Having made that the pivot, the question arises how to put it on a basis where politics will not play any part. That is the problem that we are faced with now. The number of the cultivators runs into millions, and it is very easy to disturb their psychology by injecting politics into the matter. So, unless the proper guidance is given to them, and unless they are brought to the proper state of mind, it may not be possible to carry out the programmes that chalked out. Therefore, the assistance of all political parties is necessary to bring about the desired results. But “

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always an attempt is made to disturb the mind of the cultivators, then I do not think that it would be possible to carry out anything, whatever be the status of the Food Minister in the Centre may be. Therefore, proper steps will have to be taken in this regard.

The suggestion has been made not only to fix the prices but also to have long-range programmes. A reference has also been made by one hon. Member to the question of irrigation facilities. It has been announced many a time in this House that the irrigation potential created has not been utilised to the full in every State. I would like to know why that has been so.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: Only in the case of big reservoirs.

Shri Jagjivan Ram: Especially in West Bengal.

Shri Mahatab: That is so in Orissa also. It was expected that the Hirakud reservoir would irrigate about 11 lakhs acres, but actually only two lakhs acres have been irrigated. No study has been made to find out why this has been so. I feel that some study should be made, and a remedy should be found out for this problem. It is no use leaving the matter at that and only blaming the people and saying that they are not taking advantage of the irrigation potential created. Let us not blame the people anywhere, but let us try to induce them to do the work.

16.05 hrs.

[**Mr. Speaker in the Chair**]

This is what I would like to suggest.

Mr. Speaker: Shrimati Renu Chakravarty and Shri Daji had given notice of a substitute motion. Are they moving it?

Shri Daji: Yes, I am moving it.

Mr. Speaker: That will be taken as moved.

[Mr. Speaker]

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia also has desired that his substitute motion also which could not be moved earlier on account of his absence should be taken as moved. That would also be considered as having been moved.

Shri Da. beg to move:

That for original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House having considered the Food situation in the country, and having noted the failure of the Government to fulfill its primary obligation to supply cheap food to the people, suggests the following for immediate implementation,—

(a) Taking over of wholesale trade in foodgrains by the State.

(b) Nationalisation of Banks.

(c) Ban on speculation.

(d) Fixation and guarantee of remunerative price to the farmers, and making available cheap credit and fertilizers to the peasants.

(e) Making adequate arrangements for making available foodgrains at fair prices to the consumers, and speedy implementation of agrarian reforms in the interests of the real cultivators.

(f) Strong action against blackmarketeers, speculators and hoarders and urgent steps to unearth black money." (5)

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ :

"भारत स्थिति का प्रचलन करने के बाद इस सदन की राय है कि :—

1. मंत्री, नीकरशाह और नगर के सेठ के विरोध ने भारत स्थिति को खराब किया है ।

2. सरकारी फिजूल खर्ची का प्रसार करें और नोटों के चलन पर पड़ है, जिनसे दाम बढ़े हैं ।

3. हजार रुपये प्रति मास की सीमा वैयक्तिक खर्च पर न लगा कर करीब 12 प्रहर रुपये का सालाना नुकसान होता है जो अन्यथा पैदावार बढ़ाने के लिये पूँजी की तरह लगाया जा सकता है ।

4. करीब 15 प्रहर रुपयों का प्रनाज विदेशों से पिछले सालों में मंगा कर प्रनाज की देशी पैदावार बढ़ाने का काम रोक है ।

5. आयात निर्यात नीति के बिगड़ जाने से और विदेशी विनिमय की घातक भूख के कारण चीनी, दाल, फल इत्यादि भोजन को बाहर भेजा जा रहा है जिससे दाम बढ़ रहे हैं; पेट कट रहा है और किसान के लिये जहाँ सरकार देश को करीब डेढ़ रुपये किलो चीनी बेच रही है वहाँ परदेश को आठ आने से भी कम ।

6. प्रनाज के सम्बन्ध में सट्टा नीति और कर्जा नीति बिगड़ी होने के कारण तथा चालू मुनाफे की दर ऊँची होने के कारण सारा आर्थिक और भोजन जीवन प्रतस्थित हो गया है ।

7. प्रनाज के दो दामों, खुला और सस्ता, के कारण भूखमरी और मुनाफाखोरी बढ़ी है, प्रभुत्वाचार भी ।

इसलिए सदन चाहता है कि ये सब कारण दूर किये जायें ताकि कहीं भी और किसी भी हालत में महीन प्रनाज की दर 8 आने किलो और मोटे प्रनाज की 6 आने किलो से ज्यादा न हो ।"

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, भ्रष्ट संकट के बारे में जितनी भी चर्चा इस देश में—धीरे-धीरे कर इस सदन में—हुई, उतना ही संकट बढ़ता गया।

Mr. Speaker: A friend had written to me that if during this debate all the words that were spoken were foodgrains, there would be no *sankat* in the country after the debate.

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं जानता हूँ कि उत्तर प्रदेश में जब भी हम लोगों ने भ्रष्ट-समस्या के बारे में "भ्रष्ट संकट" शब्द का व्यवहार किया, तो हमारे खाद्य मंत्री को नाराजगी हुई, क्योंकि उनका कहना है कि यह भ्रष्ट-संकट नहीं है, भ्रष्ट-समस्या है। क्या है, यह मुझे मालूम नहीं है, लेकिन परिस्थिति इतनी गम्भीर हो चुकी है कि देश के लोग फ़ाकाकशी कर रहे हैं। मंत्री महोदय ने जो आंकड़े दिये हैं, उनके हिसाब से देश में ऐसी परिस्थिति उत्पन्न नहीं हुई है, जैसी कि मालूम होती है, लेकिन परिस्थिति गम्भीर है।

माननीय सदस्य, श्री पटेल, अपने भाषण में जब 1948 के स्टैटिस्टिक्स कोट कर रहे थे, तो मैं सोच रहा था कि आखिर वास्तविकता के साथ उनका कोई सम्बन्ध है या नहीं। मैं उत्तर प्रदेश का रहने वाला और मैं जानता हूँ कि उत्तर प्रदेश में अब तक ऐसी परिस्थिति उत्पन्न नहीं हुई है, जो कि भ्राज है। माननीय मंत्री महोदय खुद सन्नद्ध गये थे। वह कानपुर भी आए, इसके लिए मैं उनको धन्यवाद देता हूँ। वह दूसरी जगहों में भी जाना चाहते थे, लेकिन जा नहीं सके। उत्तर प्रदेश के खाद्य मंत्री, श्री जगमोहन सिंह नेगी साहब, जिनको आजकल उत्तर प्रदेश में मंत्री कोई नहीं कहता है, जिनको मरचट का सरदार कहा जाता है, भ्रष्ट समस्या को हम नहीं कर सके और लोगों को भ्रष्ट नहीं दे सके।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं दरबारास्त करना कि स्टेट का कोई मंत्री काम्प्लीट नहीं है, यह डिक्शन यहाँ पर नहीं हो सकता है। माननीय सदस्य सारी गवर्नमेंट पर इल्जाम लगायें, लेकिन इस बात की इजाजत नहीं है कि किसी एक मिनिस्टर को लेकर यह कहा जाये कि वह ऐसा है, वैसा है।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : लोग ऐसा कहते हैं। मुझे फ़्रकसोस है, मैं कहना नहीं चाहता था। लेकिन मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर हम खाद्य समस्या और खाद्य-संकट के बारे में बहुत करें और अपने सूबे की बात ही न करें, तो फिर मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि इस समस्या का हल कैसे हो और हम केन्द्रीय सरकार के सामने किस तरह से अपने सूबे के सवाल को लायें। मैं मंत्री महोदय का नाम न लूँ और यह न कहूँ कि वह मंत्री नहीं, कुछ और हैं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय सदस्य इस बात को मजाक में न टालें। मैं भी समझता हूँ कि उनका मुद्दा क्या है। मैं माननीय सदस्य, श्री बनर्जी, से पूछता हूँ कि अगर माननीय सदस्य स्टेट के एक एक मिनिस्टर के बारे में यह कहना शुरू कर दें कि वह नालायक है वह काम नहीं कर सकता है, उसके बारे में यह कहा जाता है, तो इस हाउस में डिक्शन ठीक ढंग से कैसे हो सकेगा। माननीय सदस्य गवर्नमेंट सब इल्जाम लगायें। आपके सामने गवर्नमेंट जो कि जिम्मेदार है, बैटी हुई है और आप इस पर जो भी आपकी इल्जाम लगाने हैं, लगायें। सारी स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को मजबूरी तौर पर बेशक आप ड्रेफ़ कर दें लेकिन एक एक मिनिस्टर को स्टेट के, जो कि वहाँ जबाब देने के लिए मौजूद नहीं आप इस

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : मैं छोड़ देता हूँ।

[श्री० स० मो० बनर्जी]

उन्होंने सब से पहले यह नारा दिया कि अगर केन्द्रीय सरकार व्हीट सप्लाई नहीं करेगी तो ऐसी परिस्थिति उत्पन्न हो जाएगी कि Law and order situation is going to be affected.

यह उन्होंने साफ तौर से कहा। इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि तीन दिन के अन्दर अन्दर गेहूँ जो कि कानपुर शहर के अन्दर या यू० पी० के दूसरे शहरों के अन्दर पीने दो सेर और डेढ़ सेर रुपये का बिकता था वह एक सेर दो छटांक बिकने लग गया। उसके बाद दुबारा उन्होंने भाषण दिया जब पत्रकार बन्धुओं ने उनसे जा कर पूछा कि बाहिर आपकी जिम्मेदारी.....

अध्यक्ष महोदय: अब आप बार-बार कहते जा रहे हैं। जब सूबे के आदमी के बारे में आप कुछ कहते हैं तो बूँक वह यहां पर जवाब देने के लिए नहीं है, इसलिए मैं इसकी इजाजत नहीं दे सकता हूँ।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी: अध्यक्षारों में निकला है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय: निकला होगा। सारी उत्तर प्रदेश गवर्नमेंट का आप नाम ले लें। एक एक का नाम ले कर आप नहीं कह सकते हैं।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी: जब उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार से उन्होंने पूछा कि क्या आपकी जिम्मेदारी बड़ नहीं है कि लोगों को भ्रष्ट दिया जाए तो उसने कहा:

"It is not the responsibility of Government to feed people."

यानी सरकार की यह जिम्मेदारी नहीं है कि लोगों को भ्रष्ट मुहैया करे, लोगों को रोटी हँया करे। उसकी जिम्मेदारी केवल यह है

कि लोग जब प्रदर्शन करें, लोग जब आगे जायें और मांग करें रोटी की तो रोटी के बजाय उनको गोली दे दी जाए या लाठी दे दी जाए।

आंकड़े भी यहां पेश किये जाते हैं। आंकड़ों के जाल में अगर हम फँस जायें, उन पर अगर हम विश्वास करना शुरू कर दें, मंत्री और हम दोनों उनको ठीक मान लें, तब तो ऐसा मालूम होगा कि हिन्दुस्तान में किसी चीज की कमी नहीं है। केन्द्रीय सरकार ने आंकड़े देकर साबित कर दिया है कि उत्तर प्रदेश को जितना अनाज भेजा गया है जून, 1964 तक उतना 1963 के पूरे साल में भी नहीं भेजा गया था। बंगाल को भी अगर हम देखें तो वहां भी सरकार की तरफ से बयान निकलने शुरू हुए कि 35 रुपये मन चावल नहीं बिकेगा और इस बयान के निकलने के बाद चावल के दाम 40 रुपये हो गये। उन्होंने फिर भाषण दिया कि 40 रुपये से इनके दामों को हम घटाने की कोशिश करेंगे तो चावल के भाव 45 रु० मन हो गये। तब लोगों ने हाथ जोड़कर कहा कि मुख्य मंत्री जी आप मेहर-बानी करके चीजों के दाम घटाने के बारे में भाषण देना कतई तौर पर बन्द कर दें वरना दाम और बढ़ जायेंगे और हर एक भाषण की कीमत पांच रुपये है। यह एक झीब स्थिति है कि जब कहा जाता है कि दाम घटाये जायेंगे तो उसका उलटा ही असर होता है।

उत्तर प्रदेश में जो कुछ हुआ है, वही मैं बर्णन करना चाहता हूँ। जो स्थिति आज वहां है वैसी स्थिति मैंने अपने पच्चीस साल के जीवन में नहीं देखी है। 1943 में बंगाल में जिस तरीके से कुछ उखीराबाजों ने 15 करोड़ या बीस करोड़ रुपये कमाया था और 35 लाख जीते जागते इंसान मार दिये गये थे, वृद्धों मार दिये गये थे और पन्द्रह सोलस साल की नौजवान बहन ने अपनी अस्थित को एक

मुट्ठी भर चावल के लिए लुटा दिया था, वही हालत उत्तर प्रदेश में हो रही है। रात दो बजे से तीन हजार, चार हजार आदमी लाइन बना कर खड़े रहते हैं और छः सात दिन के बाद भी उन्हें राशन नहीं मिलता है। इतना ज्यादा इन्तजाम करने के बावजूद भी मैं ईमानदारी के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज भी खुले बाजार में चावल के दाम चौदह छटाक फी रुपया है और गेहूँ का दाम एक रुपये में एक सेर दो छटाक, एक सेर तीन छटाक है। यही कारण है कि सारे हिन्दुस्तान में हाहाकार मचा हुआ है और लोग महसूस करते हैं कि सरकार फेल हो चुकी है।

बीजों के दामों के बारे में भू सवाल उत्तर प्रदेश की असेम्बली में रखा गया था जिसके जवाब में कहा गया कि फसल को पाला मार गया है।

16.14 hrs.

STATEMENT RE: COMMUNIQUE OF
COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINIS-
TERS' CONFERENCE

Mr. Speaker: I have to interrupt the hon. Member. He can continue afterwards. The Prime Minister is to make a statement.

This morning a reference was made to question No. 7 in the list which had not been reached. Shrimati Renu Chakravartty had said that it was a question of great importance and, therefore, the Minister should answer it. I said that it is the privilege of the Minister; if after the question hour he felt that it should be answered in the public interest, he could do so. He has laid a statement on the Table of the House. But that statement escaped the notice of the Members. Therefore, he is going to make that statement.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi (Jodhpur): Is he making this reply in answer to Question No. 7? Then, we might be permitted to ask supplementaries.

Mr. Speaker: Some questions I will allow.

The Prime Minister and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri): The Honourable Members are aware that owing to my indisposition, I requested Shri T. T. Krishnamachari and Shrimati Indira Gandhi to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference on behalf of the Government of India. On return they reported to me fully about the proceedings of the Conference.

At the opening session of the Conference on July 8, glowing tributes were paid to the memory of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. It was stated that, in a sense, the current meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers was a memorial to Jawaharlal Nehru since it was his policy which had done so much to transform the Commonwealth relationship and make possible membership by countries with different forms of Government. All continents, creeds, races and societies were now represented in the Commonwealth which transcended the lines that normally divided mankind and this gave special significance to the deliberations of the Conference.

The results of discussions are reflected in the communique issued after the Conference. As can be seen from this communique the deliberations of the Conference covered a review of the world situation, the racial discriminatory policy of South Africa, the colonial policy of Portugal and the pending problems of British colonial territories. Other matters related to cooperation between the Commonwealth countries in programmes of economic and social development and measures to increase cooperation between the Commonwealth countries in matters of Commonwealth aid and trade.