

13.58 hrs.

**DISCUSSION RE RISE IN FOOD-
GRAIN PRICES—contd**

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We may now take up further discussion on the situation arising out of rise in food-grains prices in the country with special reference to West Bengal where levy and price control on rice has been withdrawn, raised by Dr. Ram Subhag Singh on the 21st August, 1959. Shri Barman was in possession of the House

Shri Barman (Cooch-Bihar—Reserved—Sch. Castes) Sir, yesterday I briefly mentioned that so far as the policy of food administration in the State of West Bengal in the year 1959 is concerned, the State Government did not take upon itself the whole responsibility, but they, in an advisory character had constituted a State Advisory Board. This Board was constituted taking in it all the important political parties in that State. Not only that in the subdivisional level, they constituted committees. In those committees also, all the political parties were associated. I may state, at the same time, that functions of these committees and this Board were not confined simply to advisory nature. They were also entrusted with supervisory powers. It will take a long time if I want to mention the powers that have been entrusted to the Board and the Committees

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I would advise him not to go into a detailed examination because the time would not be so much

Shri Barman: I am not doing that. One or two points need to be mentioned because of the fact that the State Government has been accused by the opposition of mismanaging purposely the functioning of the food and levy policy, and the motive that has been ascribed to it is that it has done so with a pro-hoarder, pro-profitier policy. In that connection, I have to mention that I shall not

mention many, but one or two functions that have been entrusted to this Committee. These powers are not only advisory but are also of a supervisory character. The first is invigilation of execution of Government policies regarding food and relief. The next I will omit. The third is very important. Checking up of anti-social practices like smuggling, hoarding, etc. Besides, they will also advise

The whole object in my mentioning the constitution of this Board and of the committees and of their main functions is because, not in the main resolution, but mainly in the accusation made on the floor of the House by Shri Renu Chakravarty, the State Government has been accused by her of a pro-hoarder, pro-profitier policy. My whole submission in this respect is to place before the House the fact that the policy which was adopted, that is, the Levy and Price control policy that was decided upon, was decided upon, not by the State Government alone, not by Central Government's approval alone, but by all the political parties in Bengal. If that policy had failed through the mal-administration of the State, certainly they must fairly and squarely take upon themselves the whole discredit for that. If that policy itself was such as could not be workable, in that case, they also must share the blame for the failure of this policy. Therefore, I have mentioned about the constitution of this Board, the committees and their functions

I should briefly mention only one matter that the House heard yesterday. Regarding the Price control policy and this levy policy that was formulated and adopted by the Government, a question was asked by the hon. Food Minister here. The question was put to Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri and it was "whether the hon. Member objected to the principle of imposing controls on prices and levy. Did he or did he not object?" To that Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri straightforwardly said "It is not a question of our objecting

[Shri Barman]

to the principle because, as Socialists, we accept that principle. The question is of the whole set-up, what you are going to do, and how you are going to do it. To that extent, I accuse this Government in that they permitted this even knowing that it would fail. They either impelled the West Bengal Government or compelled it or were persuaded by it to take up that policy." What I want to say is that Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri has steadfastly accepted responsibility for the introduction of that policy, but he has not fully accepted responsibility for accepting a policy which he knew to be not workable.

I shall presently come to that matter. I presume—that has been my information; but as I was not associated with the Board at that time, I cannot vouchsafe for that—that it is at the instance of the opposition that the West Bengal Government has been persuaded to accept this price control and levy policy. Whatever that may be.....

डा० राम सुभग सिंह (सहसराम) : यह नी कतरा है कि 'वे धार गाइडेड बाई दि प्रपो-जिशन' ।

14 hrs.

श्री बर्मन : वह नी कतरा है, लेकिन वह तो प्रलग बात है ।

I want now to express my own view upon the workability or feasibility of this policy. I want to submit to this House that this policy was formulated in such a way that it could not be worked for a long time, and ultimately if that policy had to be withdrawn in the month of June, it was not through mismanagement or due to failure on the part of the West Bengal Government; the policy was such that it was bound to fail.

I shall now place a few facts before the House. If you look at the production figures and corresponding average price obtaining in previous

years, you will find that it was in the year 1958 that the production of rice in West Bengal fell heavily. In 1959, it has further gone down by two lakh tons. Before that, though the production was not so much greater, yet there were other factors which helped the State to carry on with a much lesser average price. Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri wanted to consider the figures for three years; so I also take these three years' figures, because before that the price did not rise above Rs. 20 a maund. In 1957, the production was 43.84 lakh tons and the average price was Rs. 22.64. In 1958, the production was 46 lakh tons, but the price shot up to Rs. 28.53 per maund. What I want to say is that there is some other factor that contributed to this abrupt rise in price. Before 1958, though West Bengal is a permanently chronic deficit State so far as rice is concerned—and it does not practically grow any wheat—the movement of rice was not restricted between State and State. Orissa being a neighbouring surplus State, it was through ordinary trade channels that movement took place, the private trade purchased rice in Orissa and took it to West Bengal. Therefore, the price could not rise above that. But in 1958, that movement was controlled and nobody could take rice from one State to another State. So West Bengal was left to fend for herself. Of course, the Central Government came to our help. To what extent? To the extent of 2½ lakh tons of rice. But as the joint statement of Dr. Roy and Dr. Ghosh has made it clear, the requirement of West Bengal is at least 53 lakh tons per year. So there is a deficit of 13 lakh tons, but of which only 2½ lakh tons could be contributed by the Centre. I am not at all accusing the Centre for this because the rice market is tight outside India also and whatever the Centre could collect, it had to apportion between different States. I went with the hon. Minister to West Bengal at that time last year and he categorically stated that he had to look after other States

also. He mentioned U. P., Kerala and one other State perhaps; therefore, whatever was possible, he would do to increase the quota. But so far as wheat was concerned, he said that he was ready to give as much as was required. So it was not possible for West Bengal to manage matters in such a way, in the face of this restriction of movement of rice from any other State, as to keep down the price of rice. Hence it went up to Rs. 28.53 per maund.

Now, I come to the next point, for which I do not accuse anybody else; I would rather say that it is a defect in us in West Bengal that we have not adapted ourselves to wheat. Last year I distinctly remember the hon. Minister saying that he could give as much wheat as was required. But our people do not want to take wheat; they want rice. To fill up our deficit, the hon. Minister cannot supply more than 2½ lakh tons.—I think it is 2,58,000 tons.

Shri A. P. Jain: It is 4 lakh tons

Shri Barman: That is this year.

Unless the people of West Bengal take to wheat, it is very difficult either for the State of West Bengal or for the Centre in the present context to meet their requirements of rice. In this connection, I should say, having some personal contact with the rural areas, that last year when there was difficulty with regard to food, I personally toured the rural areas. I asked the people 'Why do you not take to wheat?' They said: 'In our difficulty, we would take wheat also; but if the wheat is distributed from the beginning of the year, we can conserve a substantial portion of our rice for the rest of the year when rice will not be available and the price of rice definitely shoots up. But in the beginning, we are simply left with rice. We consume it and when it is exhausted, we are not used to carry on simply with wheat'.

So I would suggest, both to the Centre here as well as to the State Government, that instead of coming to subsidise or supplement the rice ration with wheat towards the end of the year or towards the latter part of the year—the crisis comes every year at that time—they should manage things in such a way that the poorer section who are the most hardly hit in the rural areas should be able to purchase wheat also from the beginning of the year and supplement their daily rations.

Next, I want to mention about growers resistance also. It is not simply because the Centre could not give enough rice, but we have to remember that there was also growers' resistance. Why was this resistance there? In my view, it was due to an unreal price policy. So far as the growers are concerned, we should have to change certain notions which we had formerly.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon Member's time is up.

Shri Barman: I must have some more time to meet the charge that has been made from the other side.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: My difficulty is that I have to reduce the time to 10 minutes each. I did not interrupt the hon. Member because I promised him time yesterday. He took 6 minutes yesterday and has taken 19 minutes today.

Shri Barman: If one single Opposition Member takes three quarters of an hour, am I expected to reply to him in 10 minutes?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: If he also represents one single Group, I would be glad to give him more time. Anyway, he might have another five minutes and not more. The difficulty is that the discussion is on a subject in which all States are concerned. So far we have accommodated 4 Members from West Bengal. Now there is a demand from every side that at least one Member from each

[Mr Deputy-Speaker]

State should be given a chance because this problem is common to every State. If I begin to call one Member from each State, there would hardly be any time left. Therefore, immediately after he concludes, I shall have to reduce the time-limit for speeches to 10 minutes. He might take that also into consideration.

Shri Barman: Anyhow, I shall try. What I want to say is that the policy itself was defective and it could not be worked. The result was that even from the very beginning when this control was imposed, rice was selling in that State at a much higher price than the control price. So, there is no question of control at all from the very beginning. The order was violated before the ink was dry on the paper on which it was written. The price prevailing at the end of 1958 was more than Rs 28 and with what imagination could this policy be laid down that on the 1st of January the price of rice will come down to Rs 17.8? Was that feasible at all? If that was not feasible, it was not a correct policy that was laid down. Therefore, if the West Bengal Government could not carry out the policy with any degree of success, it was not their fault, it was the fault of all including the Opposition parties who just lay the blame on the Government and with that as an excuse are trying to launch direct action in my poor State.

There is another charge that this Government failed because of its pro-hoarder and pro-profiteer policies. For want of time I won't dilate on it. But I want to point out just one thing to this House. When rice was selling at a much higher price than the controlled price who is the hoarder or profiteer who will purchase rice with the expectation that he can sell it at a profit? I do not think the hoarders are so many fools. When the Government itself could not procure rice at the controlled price, how could the ordinary people, the hoarders, pur-

chase rice from the agriculturists who were resisting to sell at a lower price so that they could sell it subsequently at higher prices? That is not practical. So this charge that the West Bengal Government failed to carry out the policy because it was a friend of the hoarders and profiteers is nothing but fantastic.

Shri Sinhasan Singh (Gorakhpur): Does he think that the cultivators kept the grains with themselves?

Shri Barman: At the end of the year that is in December, the price that was ruling was Rs 28. How can it be suddenly possible to reduce the price to Rs 17.8 in the beginning of this year?

Formerly there were big cultivators from whom Government could easily procure rice. Now, because of this imposition of ceiling, there are very few surplus growers, save and except in the canal areas. Those people who formerly had to carry on with half rations—for six months in the year they had to take only one meal—are certainly taking two meals a day now. Therefore, the statistics that were drawn up on the supposition that so much of population would require so much have to be changed as they hold good no longer. They have to remodel their policy because the half-starved people are consuming a little more than they did formerly.

Acharya Kripalani (Sitamarhi): And the food problem is created by that!

Shri Barman: I do not say that the food problem is created by that. It is created because those people who had no land before are now in possession of land. Formerly they had to deliver the whole produce to a single landlord. Now they are not delivering to the landlord but are taking the produce themselves and

they take two meals a day. I do not mean all; but many of the people who have got lands in their possession do so.

I will finish after mentioning only one point. Is there any justification for the Opposition parties to launch direct action? Dr. Roy in giving a reply to the charges has asked: Is that going to grow a single grain more? They have already launched upon the picketing of law courts—the Howrah Court and the Sealdah court. They want to make the functioning of the judiciary impossible. They want to take it upon themselves to find out where the grain is hoarded (*Interruptions*). It is my idea that it is because of Kerala that this movement has been started in West Bengal; but it is for the West Bengal State to see. . . .

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The two should be kept separate as they are geographically so.

Shri Barman: I have kept them separate. I did not deal with that; but the hon. Member has raised it (*Interruptions*). The effect of this would be that there will be no law courts. Everybody will take the law in his own hands and there will be no court to judge which is right or which is wrong. That will bring chaos in the State. The even situation in the country will be disturbed by this and it will bring in more misery than there is now.

Lastly, the West Bengal Government has stated that with the coming in of the *auz* crop the situation has already eased. Moreover, even at this time of the year the prices have not gone higher than they ruled last year. If there was no justification last year for launching this direct action, there is absolutely no justification for launching upon it today. I appeal to the Opposition parties who have launched upon this direct action to reconsider it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Patel, I must repeat my request that hon.

Members would try to finish their remarks within 10 minutes. I should not have the need to ring the bell again and again.

Shri P. R. Patel (Mehsana): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the food problem has been a difficult problem. It has given headache to the Food Ministry for the last 12 years—after independence and before that also during war time. As I understand, except Shri Kidwai nobody had left the Ministry unscathed. (*Interruptions*). The Food Ministry becomes generally the graveyard even of intelligent persons.

Shri Tyagi (Dehradun): Of politicians.

Shri P. R. Patel: Sir, as the problem is difficult, so also, to handle it there should be patience. But, what do we find here? In our country we find food *morchas* by political parties; we find looting of the *mandis*. We find stopping of the trains and looting too. And every attempt is made to gain more political power through the food problem. So, the food problem becomes more complicated than it is.

I have heard so many political workers. They speak two things at a time. When they go to the farmers, they say: You do not get fair or reasonable prices and you do not get even the value of the labour put in. In the urban areas, they say that the prices must go down. I hope my communist friends should not adopt these tactics. That is what I would say. The food problem has become a political problem in our country and so long as it remains so, it is not going to be solved. Because of these movements, many times a psychological scarcity is created. Once there is a *morcha* and picketing, a feeling will be created in the minds of the people that food will not be available. What is the result? If every family goes to the market and buys, let us say, one maund, one crore of maunds would be bought away in a day if we take

[Shri P. R. Patel]

our population of 40 crores into account, because psychologically a scarcity is created. The first thing that should be done to solve the problem is to put it above politics and to create no psychological scarcity in the country.

Secondly, we have tried to solve the food problem from the wrong angle by levy, control, ration and import. We shall never be able to solve this problem in this way for years to come. Levy or control or ration will not increase food production. On the contrary, whatever we do on that side makes the farmer feel that he must go to money crops rather than food crops. I see this in my constituency because I give more of my time to rural areas with the farmers. The tendency is to shift to money crop. Sometimes, the hon. Ministers of the States speak out that they shall be taxing more the land if people grow money crops on them. Nobody can do it because that is not the proper way. The proper way is that we should approach the cultivators. I have spoken to the hon. Minister and I ask him sometimes in this House whether he sees the cultivators when he goes to the district.

Shri A. P. Jain: I do

Shri P. R. Patel: Does the cultivator feel that he is one of us? So long as the cultivators do not feel like that, there will not be enthusiasm in them to grow more food. We are talking of so many things for the cultivators. In reality, we do not implement the promises given to them. If you want more production, you must make the farmers politically conscious and try to make them understand that the nation is theirs and it is for the nation that they must work and double the food production. We do not do it. We encourage so many labour unions, we encourage the Government Servants' Union because they come with a weapon of strike while we discourage the farmers' unions and farmers' organisations. The hon.

Minister has not taken care till now to invite the leaders of the farmers' unions and talk to them how the question could be solved. Will the question be solved on the floor of this House? Will it be solved by having resort to processions, demonstrations and *morchas* in urban areas? If you want to solve the problem, it could be done only by trusting the farmers and getting their confidence and making them politically conscious. Today we are only bribing the farmers. When persons who support a group get something—that is by way of bribery—the impression is created that the political parties come to them and they give certain concessions and loans and subsidy because they want their votes. Such a feeling is bad for any country. I would request him to approach the food problem from the right angle and not from the wrong angle.

Everytime we discuss it here, so many hon. Members have spoken that the prices must go down and must be brought down. I say let the prices go up, do not care. Instead of controlling the wheat price at Rs. 12, do not control it. By controlling it, did we get wheat at Rs. 12? In my constituency, it is sold at Rs. 24 or Rs. 25 a maund. Let it be sold at Rs. 24 or Rs. 25 and if this time the farmer gets Rs. 25 per maund, naturally, he will go to wheat production and produce more instead of going to the production of other money crops. That is the proper way. But what do we do? We import foodgrains and go begging to the foreign countries and get the worst quality and pay high prices and then bring it here and then subsidise. The result is that the type of grain imported is sold at a lower price and the farmer naturally gets a lower price for his produce in the market. I do not find any fault with any individual. Anybody in place of Shri A. P. Jain would have become discredited as he has become today. Shri Munshi was here;

so many others also were there and they get discredited. The problem should be handled from the right side. The fault is there because the thinking was on the wrong lines. I think our slogans creating some psychological feelings, co-operative farming, State trading without proper machinery—all have done harm. I would only say this much.

Shri Liladhar Koteki (Nowgong): Sir, the food problem has been engaging the attention of the House for the last several years. Heaven only knows how long we will have to deal with this problem. It is not the question of mere fixing of price policy. The question raises more vital issues: production of adequate food in the country. The Planning Commission has more than once laid great emphasis on this aspect but the pity is that we have not been able to accelerate the progress of agricultural production in the country. Only last year, when we discussed the progress of the Second Plan, this aspect of the question came before us and various suggestions were put forward as to how best we could increase our food production. But from our experience we find that the results so far achieved fall far short of the demands of the country. Our target was to produce 80 million tons by the end of the Second Plan but production is rather on the downward trend. Therefore, I do not know how we are going to meet this target. By the end of 1966, I do not know how we are going to meet the target of 110 million tons. The solution that has been suggested in the Plan is that we must go to the villages, organise the people in co-operatives so that the various helps that are advanced by the Government from the Centre and the States could actually benefit them, and result in actual increased production of foodgrains.

Sir, time will not permit me to refer to all the references made by

the Planning Commission and also to their appraisal. I will seek your permission, Sir, to refer to a few vital problems of my State, namely, Assam.

That problem State has got various problems, but the main problem has been that of floods and drought. Only this year we have lost 70,000 tons of paddy in terms of rice due to floods in North Kamrup and Cachar Districts alone. Loss due to drought in other areas has not yet been ascertained. That will be, I think, a very considerable quantity. The State requires about 17 lakh tons of rice, but the production there last year was only 15 lakh tons. Therefore, there is a shortage of about two lakh tons. The Central Government has been giving us rice and wheat as subsidy to supplement our needs, but still the total demand is not met.

Then, the price that obtains in the State in various parts is not the one which we get from the figures given by the cheap gram shops or by the Government source. The actual market price is somewhere near about Rs 30 a maund although the controlled price is about Rs. 20. In areas which are very remote and backward in the State, more particularly the Hills, some tea garden labour areas and the tribal areas where the cost of transport is very high, the price is somewhere near about Rs. 40 a maund. Therefore, to fix an arbitrary price will not solve the problems, unless and until we take good care to supply adequate quantity of rice.

Therefore, as I said before, the price policy is not to be taken in an isolated way; it will have to be integrated with the production of foodgrains in the country. So, the measures that have been suggested, very rightly, have to be actually implemented. It has been stressed over and over again that in this particular matter of production of food and other agricultural produce unless and until we reach the villagers, every farmer's family in the country, nothing much

[Shri Liladhar Kotoki]

can be achieved, and the only agency to do that is the panchayats and the co-operatives. If we cannot do that the question of meeting the demand of the country in terms of foodgrains and other agricultural produce will remain simply a dream, it will remain only in the Plan and it will not bring any result.

I would, therefore, urge upon the Government and also the people in the country to take up this matter as a national emergency. It has also been stressed by the Standing Committee of the National Development Council last year that we should launch a national campaign and that campaign should be to increase our foodgrains and other agricultural produce to the utmost.

In doing so, I will submit that instead of bringing in too many theoretical techniques we should rely on our own ingenuity. The two factors that are most urgently needed are: firstly, to prevent excessive floods in areas which are affected thereby and, secondly, to supply regulated water for irrigation purposes in areas which are affected by drought. If these two things can be provided, I am quite sure the resultant crops would sustain us for a couple of years at least. Then, if we introduce manures and other scientific methods of production, I have no doubt in my mind that we will be surplus in the matter of foodgrains and we shall be able to export.

Sir, I do not want to take much time of the House. I sincerely believe that this is a problem which is not as difficult as it has appeared to be. We have made it more and more difficult by not tackling the problem in the right way, in the right manner. Once we do that, this problem will be solved, solved satisfactorily and in the best interests of the country.

Shri Rami Reddy (Cuddapah): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I will confine my

remarks purely to my State, Andhra Pradesh. This is a State which is surplus in the south. According to estimates, there are about six lakh tons of rice surplus, but it is surprising as to why the prices in this State also are rising day by day. To my mind, Sir, there is only one reason as to why these prices are going up.

The four southern States of Madras, Andhra, Mysore and Kerala are constituted into one zone called the Southern Zone. Therefore, the three other States of Madras, Mysore and Kerala also come to my State and purchase rice. In addition to these three States, the Centre also is trying to procure some surplus rice available there. When so many agencies are functioning there and are procuring rice, naturally there is bound to be friction here and there, complications here and there and also competition here and there. Therefore, even though the producers part with their rice and paddy at the time of the harvest the middle-man is trying to hoard it here and there.

That is why the State Government has been requesting for the last two years, I believe, that Andhra Pradesh State might be constituted into a separate zone. It has also promised to supply four lakh tons of rice at the controlled price to the Centre provided it is constituted into a separate zone. If Andhra Pradesh is constituted into a separate zone the borders could be sealed off. There are allegations that certain amount of rice and paddy is smuggled into Bombay. Generally, Sir, people take rice to Mysore so that they can smuggle it to Bombay.

Shri Sugandhi (Bijapur North): Why blame Mysore alone? Rice goes directly to Bombay *via* Hyderabad.

Shri Rami Reddy: That is exactly what I am saying. I have no objection to what the hon. Member is saying. I find no contradiction in that. I only said that there are serious

allegations that rice and paddy are being smuggled into Bombay because Bombay people are not entitled to take rice from my State without permission from the Centre. Therefore, if my State is constituted into a separate zone the borders could be sealed off and smuggling prevented.

Moreover, Madras, one of the four States in the Southern Zone, has also been pleading that this should be done. Though it is a little bit deficit, the people there are confident that they will be able to manage with the neighbouring State, Andhra Pradesh, and they will be able to make up the deficit from my State. Mysore also, I understand, has been pleading for the splitting up of the Southern Zone. Kerala was not able to procure as much rice as it wanted. It was also depending on the Centre for a very long time. Therefore, Kerala does not stand to lose anything; if at all, it may stand to gain, because it will be able to demand rice from the Centre. Andhra Pradesh is prepared to supply whatever surplus quantity is available there. Therefore, I humbly request the Centre to seriously consider this aspect, because the only way of bringing down the prices is the formation of this State into a separate zone.

Then, in regard to the real solution for this crisis, in fact, it is only more and more production. If you want the cultivators to produce more, I submit that the Centre should be prepared to supply the cultivators their essential requirements like fertilisers, tools and equipments etc. at reasonable prices. The Centre is not in a position to supply this. Not even 50 per cent of the demand made by the Andhra Pradesh State has been supplied to that State. I do not know about the other States, but I have got the information from my State that the Centre has not been able to supply even 50 per cent of the requirements of chemical fertilisers. Even the other 50 per cent which the Centre has allotted is not supplied in

time; it does not reach the cultivator in time, in the sowing season or in time to plough the crops. Therefore, the Andhra Pradesh State is in a very dissatisfied position with regard to this matter.

So is the case in regard to iron and steel. Iron and steel are required for not only agricultural purposes but even for irrigation projects, minor, medium and one or two big projects. The position in regard to the supply of iron and steel has been very, very unsatisfactory during the last two or three years. For example, the construction or progress in respect of about 17 projects has not been satisfactory and is being held up on account of the shortage of iron and steel which was promised to be supplied to the State. About 6 1/2 lakh acres are affected by these projects and the estimated food production in these projects is about 3 1/2 lakh tons. Therefore, on account of the unsatisfactory supply of iron and steel for the irrigation projects, the production of about 3 1/2 lakh tons of foodgrains is affected.

I would therefore, humbly suggest one thing. The Food Ministry may not be able to look into this matter pertaining to irrigation and they might say, "This is not our problem. This is an irrigation problem". The major difficulty in regard to food production in our country is, there are several departments looking after things. For instance, irrigation and allied things are handled by one Minister. Food and agriculture are handled by another Minister. All these things should be co-ordinated and I suggest that all these matters should be handled by a single Minister so that there could be a better co-ordination and more production of food could be secured. Sir, I have nothing more to add.

श्री यादव (बाराबंकी) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अन्न संकट, ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है, कि स्वामी रूप धारण कर गया है। जब से

[श्री बाबब]

हुआरा देश स्वतंत्र हुआ है तब से आए दिन हम देखते या रहे हैं कि देश के किसी न किसी हिस्से में भ्रम का संकट छाया ही रहता है। पिछले वर्ष उत्तर प्रदेश, मध्य प्रदेश, राजस्थान इत्यादि में भ्रम संकट था और उसी तरह से था जिस तरह से आज बंगाल में है। वहाँ विरोधियों ने भ्रम संकट को लेकर के एक जन विद्रोह के साथ वहाँ की सरकार के खिलाफ प्रांदोलन शुरू करने की बात की थी। इसी तरह से उत्तर प्रदेश में भी पिछले वर्ष यह प्रांदोलन हुआ था और तब वस हजार के करीब लोग जेलों में गये थे। कुछ घसर हुआ और इस सदन में भी इस चीज को लेकर गर्मागर्मे बहुत हुई थी। आज भी हम देखते हैं कि बंगाल में भ्रम का संकट है और उसके साथ साथ उसके मूल्य का संकट भी उसी तरह से व्याप्त है और कोई फर्क नहीं आया है। जब माननीय सदस्यों द्वारा बंगाल के बारे में ३ भ्रमस्त को आंकड़े मांगे गये तो कहा गया है कि प्रांशिक रूप में वे प्राप्त हैं, पूरे आंकड़े उपलब्ध नहीं हैं। चूंकि अब वहाँ की सरकार ने उनको भेज दिया है सात भ्रमस्त को, इस बास्ते अब इस विषय पर विचार हो रहा है। इसके पीछे श्रीमन्, क्या है? इसके पीछे यही था कि वहाँ की सरकार ने पहले प्रांशिक नियंत्रण किया और उसके बाद फिर उस प्रांशिक नियंत्रण को हटा दिया। जब प्रांशिक नियंत्रण था तब २४ रुपये मन चावल बिक रहा था और जैसे ही प्रांशिक नियंत्रण को हटाया गया और नियंत्रण बिल्कुल नहीं रहा तो वही चावल २६ रुपये मन बिकने लग गया। यह तो साहर की बात है।

श्री व्यासो : क्या कहा, २१ रुपये हो गया ?

श्री बाबब : २४ रुपये से २६ रुपये मन हो गया नियंत्रण के बाद। यह तो कलकत्ता या उसके सब-डिविजनों की बात थी, साहरों की बात थी। वहाँ पर सभी जगह तीन चार रुपये मन भाव बढ़ गया।

अभी हमारे बर्मेन साहब ने कहा है कि वहाँ के विरोधी दलों ने ही नियंत्रण लगाने की बात की थी जिस की वजह से प्रांशिक नियंत्रण लगाया गया था। प्रांशिक नियंत्रण जब था तब तो चावल के दाम २४ रुपये मन और नियंत्रण जब हटा लिया गया तो २६ रुपये मन हो गये। प्रांशिक नियंत्रण इस बास्ते लगाया गया था कि चावल इत्यादि के दाम स्थिर रहें, गिरें। जब ऐसी बात थी तब फिर क्यों नियंत्रण को हटाने की आवश्यकता पड़ी, यह मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ? नियंत्रण को हटाने का सीधा नतीजा यह निकला कि दाम बढ़ गये। इसका अर्थ यही है कि जो भ्रम है, जो केन्द्रीय सरकार ने बंगाल सरकार को दिया वह काले बाजार में खला गया और लोगों को मुनाफा कमाने का पूरा मौका मिल गया।

श्री व्यासो : सरकारी भ्रम किस भाव पर बिकता था ?

श्री बाबब मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकारी भ्रम काफी नहीं होता है। सरकार जो १८ रुपये मन में बिकती थी लेकिन साहर २४ रुपये में बिकता था और यह तब की बात है जब प्रांशिक नियंत्रण था लेकिन उसके बाद तो वह २६ रुपये मन बिकना शुरू हो गया।

वहाँ पर जो भ्रम संकट के साथ साथ मूल्य संकट भी है और श्रीमन्, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो संकट है, वह कृत्रिम है, बनावटी है और यह वहाँ की सरकार की गलत नीति के कारण उत्पन्न हुआ है और अगर वहाँ की सरकार ठीक तरह से काम करती तो हो नहीं सकता था कि इस तरह से दाम बढ़ते। अनाज की जहाँ कमी है, उसके साथ साथ मूल्य का भी प्रश्न है। मूल्य का प्रश्न भी बहुत जटिल हो गया है। जब तक इस देश में कोई लोक कल्याणकारी दाम नीति नहीं अपनाई जाती तब तक इस भ्रम संकट

को किसी तरह से हूर नहीं किया जा सकता है।

विद्युत् वर्ष भी भ्रम संकट का बड़ा शोर मचा था और तब तक सर्वदलीय समिति बंठित की नहीं थी। उसमें सभी विरोधी दलों के सदस्य शामिल हुये और उस कमेटी में प्रधान मंत्री भी शामिल हुये। लेकिन मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि मंत्री महोदय से कि कौन से कदम हैं जो उस समिति ने उठाये हैं कि जिन से भ्रम संकट को समाप्त करने में सहायता मिली है। मैं समझता हूँ कि कोई भी कदम उसके द्वारा नहीं उठाये गये हैं। सोशलिस्ट पार्टी उसमें नहीं थी। उसके द्वारा यह माना भी नहीं था कि जब तक सर्वदलीय समिति को यह अधिकार नहीं होगा कि उसके द्वारा जो सुझाव दिये जायेंगे, उन पर सरकार प्रमल अवश्य करेगी, तब तक समिति बिल्कुल बेकार होगी, इस वास्ते उसको इस बात का आश्वासन मिलना चाहिये। यह भी उस समय मांग की नहीं थी कि अगर हम इस दाम के प्रश्न को हल करना चाहते हैं तो हमको एक निश्चित नीति अपनानी होगी और जब तक एक निश्चित नीति नहीं अपनाई जाती तब तक संकट का निवारण नहीं हो सकता है।

श्री पु० र० पटेल ने भ्रमी कहा है कि भ्रम के दाम अब बढ़ते हैं, तो उससे किसानों को फायदा पहुंचता है, इस वास्ते दामों को बढ़ने दिया जाना चाहिये। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि चाहे गेहूँ हो और चाहे चावल हो किसानों को बहुत अधिक फायदा मूल्यों के बढ़ने से नहीं पहुंचता है। बंगाल में क्या हुआ है? किसानों से धान तो दस रुपये मन में लिया गया था लेकिन बाद में जाकर दाम बढ़ गये। इसी तरह से उत्तर प्रदेश में किसानों से गेहूँ १३ रुपये मन में लिया जाता है, १४ रुपये में लिया जाता है लेकिन बाद में जाकर दाम बढ़ जाते हैं। ५०-६५ प्रतिशत किसान ऐसे होते हैं बंगाल के, उत्तर प्रदेश के तथा अन्य राज्यों के भी जोकि फसल को रोक नहीं सकते हैं और फसल के भ्राने के दो महीने के

अन्दर अन्दर उसे उन्हें बेच देने को बाध्य होना पड़ता है, उसको बे रोक कर नहीं रक सकते हैं। वे उसे १३-१४ रुपये में बेचते हैं। अब जब उसके हाथ से फसल निकल जाती है तो बाद में लाभ कौन लोग उठाते हैं? प्रायः गेहूँ १८-२० रुपये मन बिक रहा है। दिल्ली में ही वह १८ रुपये से बिक रहा है और चावल २५ से ४० रुपये मन के हिसाब से बिक रहा है या इससे भी ज्यादा दाम पर बिक रहा है। आप अगर यह समझते हैं कि इसका फायदा किसान उठाते हैं तो यह गलत बात है। इसका लाभ सरकार और सरकार के भ्रष्ट अधिकारी और उसके साथ साथ बड़े बड़े करोड़पति और पूंजीपति जिन का नाता रिक्ता सरकार के साथ बराबर कायम है, उठाते हैं।

अगर आज भी सरकार कोई अच्छी मूल्य नीति अपनाना चाहती है तो मैं उसको सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ और चाहता हूँ कि वह उनको प्रमल में लाये। वे मेरे तीन सुझाव हैं :-

- (१) किसी भी भ्रनाज का मूल्य दो फसलों के बीच में एक भ्राना सेर से ज्यादा या १६ परसेंट से किसी भी सूरत में अधिक न हो।
- (२) कारखानों में बनी किसी भी जीवनोपयोगी वस्तु का मूल्य सागत से डेढ़ गुना से अधिक कभी भी किसी हालत में बढ़ने न पाये।
- (३) किसान को उसके भ्रनाज और कच्चे माल का ऐसा दाम मिले जो सागत खर्च और जीवन निर्वाह को पसावे ताकि खेतिहर और भ्रिद्योगिक चीजों के दामों में संतुलन और समता कायम हो।

[श्री यादव]

जब तक ऐसी दाम नीति नहीं अपनाई जाती तब तक कोई लाभ नहीं है। क्योंकि खासदमी और दाम जीवन रब के दो पहिये हैं और जैसे ही उनका साथ गड़बड़ाया यात्री टूटी। आज भी इस देश में लाखों लोगों की गृहस्थिया इस दाम की दुनीति के कारण टूट रही हैं। मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि इसके बारे में उन्होंने क्या किया है। और इस तरह की नीति अपनाये जाने के बारे में उनकी क्या राय है।

हर वर्ष और हर सत्र में, बजट सेशन में इस भ्रम सकट पर बहस होती है। सभी पार्टियों की ओर से इस बारे में सुझाव दिये गये हैं कि अगर हमारे देश में भ्रम की कमी है और उस कमी को पूरा करना है तो हमको कुछ कदम उठाने होंगे, बजर जमीन को तोड़ना होगा, खेतीहर भूजल को पलटन तैयार करनी होगी, उनके हाथों में फ्लावडे देने होंगे साथ ही उपलब्ध करने होंगे उनके लिये कि वे बजर जमीन को तोड़े, छोटी छोटी सिंचाई की योजनायें चलानी होगी। आज जमीन के कौन मालिक हैं? हमको जमीन के मालिक उनको बनाना होगा जो जमीन को चीरते हैं, फाड़ते हैं। सिंचाई की दरों को कम करना है। ये सब चीजें न करके आज खेती कैसे हीनी है, ये मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ। आज कागज की जमीन पर कलम का हल चला कर, भाकड़ों का बीज दे कर और उद्घाटन भाषणों के पानी से सींच कर अधिक भ्रम उपजाओ योजनायें चलती हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक इस तरह से योजना चलती रहेगी तब तक उसका यही नतीजा निकलेगा जो पिछले बारह सालों से निकलता आ रहा है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय जब ऐसा फल निकलता है तो वह कौन ले जाता है?

श्री यादव वह प्रधान मंत्री के घर जाता है।

माननीय त्यागी जी ने कल जो अपने उद्गार प्रकट किये, मैं उन से सहमत हूँ। मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि क्या उनसे हम ऐसी बात की आशा करते थे? लेकिन जब कोई मंत्री होता है तब तो सद्बुद्धि नहीं आती है और उसके बाद आ जाती है। अगर यह वान ठीक है तो मैं समझता हूँ कि जैसे भ्रमबारी में आज खबर छपी है कि माननीय जैन साहब इस्तीफा देने जा रहे हैं और शायद वह रबीकार भी हो जायेगा, तो मुझे आशा है कि शायद उनको भी सद्बुद्धि आ जायेगी। लेकिन इनके साथ साथ मुझे एक डर भी है और वह यह है कि कोई भी मंत्री बनेगा नहीं दुर्बुद्धि उस पर भी सवार हो जायेगी।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय आपको तो ऐसा डर नहीं होना चाहिये।

श्री यादव मुझे बड़ा डर है, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, क्योंकि मैं समझता हूँ कि उसका सवाल सारे देश का सवाल हो जाता है।

कल हमारे द्विबेदी जी ने कहा कि यह बहुत भ्रम प्रश्न है। इसमें शक नहीं है कि यह भ्रम प्रश्न है। लेकिन सवाल यह पैदा होता है कि इसको हल कौन करेगा? क्या प्रधान मंत्री हल करेगा? मैं तो कहूंगा कि हमारे कम्युनिस्ट तथा प्रजा सोशलिस्ट दोस्तों की आदत है कि मन्त्रिमंडल में बटवारा किया जाये और कहा जाये कि इसको जिम्मे-दागी फना पर है फला पर है, यह ठीक नहीं है। जहां तक नीति का प्रश्न है, चाहे वह भ्रम के बारे में हो, चाहे विदेश नीति हो, चाहे गृह नीति हो, यह किसी एक मंत्री विशेष द्वारा नहीं बनाई जाती है बल्कि सारे मन्त्रिमंडल की जिम्मेदारी होती है और प्रधान मंत्री जी की तो निश्चित रूप से इसके बारे में जिम्मेदारी होती है और वह इसलिये कि वह मन्त्रिमंडल के नेता होते हैं। इस बारे में जब कहा जाता है कि जैन साहब इसके किन्ने जिम्मेदार हैं या कोई और जिम्मेदार है श्री

में इसको मानवों के लिये तैयार नहीं है और भी समझता है कि पूरा अन्निकरण इसके लिये जिम्मेदार है। मगर अफसोस यह है कि पूरा अन्निकरण इस्तीफा नहीं देता है। अन्न कहीं कोई दूसरा देश होता जहाँ पर जनतन्त्र होता सहीमानों में और वही खाद्य नीति का अन्वय होता तो क्या इस तरह की सरकार को कोई कभी बरदाश्त नहीं करता। दुःख तो यह है कि हिन्दुस्थान के करोड़ों लोगों की जिन्दगी के साथ खिलबाड़ की जा रही है और अन्न संकट को भाज भी हल करने की कोई कोशिश नहीं हो रही है।

अन्न भ्रष्टाचार चरम सीमा पर है। एक तरफ हम कहते हैं कि हम भ्रष्टाचार और खुदगर्जी के वातावरण में पल रहे हैं लेकिन दूसरी तरफ उस भ्रष्टाचार को रोकने के लिये कोई कदम नहीं उठाया जा रहा है। जब तक इस के लिये कोई कदम नहीं उठाया जाता तब तक कुछ नहीं हो सकता। किसी भी गली में घ्राप चले जायें, किसी कूचे में चले जायें हर एक जगह मन्त्री से लेकर प्रधान मन्त्री तक कोई भी क्यों न हो हर आदमी के बारे में भ्रष्टाचार की शिकायतें चलती हैं। इसके भीतर क्या बुनियाद है, यह आपको सोचना होगा। मैं थोड़ा सा चावल इस सदन की मेज पर रखना चाहता हूँ उससे आप को पता चलेगा कि भ्रष्टाचार कैसे होता है। चावल में कनकी होती है

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : सदन पटल पर कोई स्टोर्स तो हैं नहीं, जहाँ यह चावल रक्खा जायेगा।

श्री बाबू : मैं घ्राप के जरिये बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार ने ६५ और ३५ का रिस्ता चावल मिनो से रक्खा है। अगर १०० मन चावल होगा तो ६५ मन सरकार को देंगे और ३५ मन अपने पास रखेंगे इस खर्च के लिए पर अनुदान बनते हैं। इसी ३५

मन में कनकी भी शामिल समझी जायेगी। जो भी हो ६५ मन तो अन्न सरकार को देना ही है। अब जो मार्केटिंग इन्स्पेक्टर होते हैं, मार्केटिंग आफिसर होते हैं भार० एक० सी० होते हैं वह इस अन्न में कनकी मिलवा कर दिला देते हैं और वही सरकारी दुकानों पर मिलता है। इसलिये यह चावल किसी काम का नहीं होता।

एक बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूँ। इस देश की बदकिस्मती है कि यहाँ पर जितना भी खाद्य मन्त्री हुए, मैं यहाँ पर राष्ट्रपति नहीं करूँगा, लेकिन राजेन्द्र प्रसाद जी जब असफल हुए तो राष्ट्रपति बनें, उसके बाद जयरामदास दौलतराम असफल हुए तो गवर्नर बने, उसके बाद कन्हैयालाल भागिकलाल मुशी असफल हुए तो वह भी गवर्नर बने। पता नहीं हमारे जैन साहब क्या बनने जा रहे हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक हमारे प्रधान मन्त्री की नीति में बदलाव नहीं होगा और हर असफल आदमी की असफलता ही योग्यता समझी जायेगी तब तक यह सरकार कभी भी सफल नहीं हो सकती।

अन्त में हमारे जैन साहब ने देश की जो सेवा की है उसके लिये आप के द्वारा मैं उन को एक सनद देना चाहूँगा और वह सनद यह होगी कि आगे आने वाले समय में उनको अन्न मन्त्री की जगह अकास मन्त्री कहा जाय तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा।

श्री विजूलि सिन्घ (बगहा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कल से मैं बहस सुन रहा हूँ कि साहब, अन्न का संकट है, अन्न का संकट है। गत वर्ष हमारे यहाँ ६२ मिलियन टन अन्न पैदा हुआ था और इस साल ७३ मिलियन टन पैदा हुआ है, मगर हमारे भाई साहब कहते हैं कि अन्न की पैदावार नहीं बढ़ी। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे यहाँ १८ परसेन्ट अन्न ज्यादा पैदा हुआ है।

[श्री विभूति मिश्र]

अब एक और सवाल है। हमारे भाई बंगाल वाले कल से बोल रहे हैं कि साहब, बंगाल में अन्न का सकट है। बंगाल में पारसाल पैदा हुआ था लगभग ४५ लाख, ४३ हजार टन और सेक्टर ने उनको दिया ९ लाख, ३७ हजार टन। यह कुल मिल कर हो गया ५४ लाख, ८० हजार टन। इस साल बंगाल में पैदा हुआ है ३५ लाख, १२ हजार टन और सेक्टर ने दिया है लगभग ११ लाख टन। इस तरह कुल मिला कर हो जाता है लगभग ५६ लाख टन। पारसाल जब कुल मिला कर ५४ लाख टन हुआ था तब बंगाल में कोई एजिटेशन नहीं हुआ। लेकिन इस साल हमने ११ लाख टन दिया और जो कुछ उन के पास हुआ था उस को मिला कर ५६ लाख टन हो गया है तो कहते हैं कि बंगाल में अन्न का सकट हो गया है।

एक माननीय सहाय्य : केरल में भी यही हुआ था।

श्री विभूति मिश्र : केरल को क्यों लाते हैं, बंगाल को ही देखिये। मेरा अपना खयाल है कि बंगाल में कोई अन्न का सकट नहीं है। अगर हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाई इन फिगर्स का रिफ्यूट कर सकें कि ऐसा नहीं है तो मैं उनको चैलेंज देता हूँ कि वह बतलाये कि जो ११ लाख टन अन्न सेक्टर ने दिया है और जो इस साल की वहा की अपनी पैदावार है, वह कुल मिला कर ५६ लाख टन कैसे नहीं हुई। हमने पार साल से २ लाख टन ज्यादा दिया तब भी कहते हैं कि बंगाल में अन्न का सकट है। हर वक्त बंगाल पर बहस चलती है। मैं कहता हूँ कि बंगाल में कोई अन्न का सकट नहीं है। अन्न का सकट जो है वह पोलिटिकल क्राइसिस से पैदा किया गया है। यह जो हमारे बिरोधी लोग हैं वह अगर कलकत्ते में ऐसा हल्ला उठा दें कि अन्न का सकट है तो कलकत्ते के चित्त में भी व्यापारी है वह तार पर तार करने लगते हैं। अगर अन्न का सकट है भी

तो वह उन लोगों की बजह से है जो अन्न को होर्ड करने लगते हैं। अन्न का सकट होर्डिंग और पोलिटिकल क्राइसिस की बजह से है। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि बंगाल की सरकार ने जो स्टेप उनके खिलाफ लिया है वह समुचित स्टेप लिया है और उसे लेना चाहिये क्योंकि यह अन्न तो पैदा करेंगे नहीं बिरोधी लोग, और अन्न न होने के खिलाफ आन्दोलन करेंगे। जब आन्दोलन होता है तो जो अन्न अपने पास रखता है, उसके मन में यह बात आती है कि अन्न को हमें रोकना चाहिये। इसलिये मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि बंगाल में अन्न का सकट नहीं है। अन्न का जो सकट वहा है वह बैंक भेड है और इसे दूर करना चाहिये। हमारी सरकार को, केन्द्रीय सरकार को और बंगाल सरकार को पूरी तरह से स्टर्न एटिट्यूड लेना चाहिये। राजकाज ढिलाई में नहीं चलते। हम लोग जो गांधीवादी हैं, जबरत से ज्यादा नान-वायोलेंट हैं। अगर बंगाल सरकार कम्युनिस्टों के हाथ में होती तो वे इस तरह का आन्दोलन न होने देते। केरल में उन्होंने अन्न पैदा नहीं किया और बराबर हम से माग करने रहे कि ज्यादा अन्न दीजिये, ज्यादा अन्न दीजिये। मने पास ममय नहीं नहीं तो मैं फिगम देकर बताता। चूँकि हम नान-वायोलेंट हैं और गांधी जी के अनुयायी हैं और बहुत दूर तक वायोलेंस से परहेज करते हैं इसलिये यह बंगाल का आन्दोलन है नहीं ता उस में जान नहीं है।

दूसरी बात यह कही गई कि साहब, अन्न का होर्डिंग है। किसान की ताकत होर्डिंग करने की नहीं है। कोई भी किसान हो, वह अन्न होर्ड नहीं करता। अन्न होर्ड करते हैं बनिये लोग, किसान अपने पास कभी भी अन्न नहीं होर्ड कर सकता क्योंकि वह अपने पास नकद पैसा रखना चाहता है। रोजमर्रा के काम के लिये अपना माल बेचता है। मैं भी किसान हूँ। उस की प्रवृत्ति होर्ड करने की

नहीं है, उस की शिक्षा ऐसी नहीं है। हमारे डा० राम सुभग सिंह एक जबरदस्त किसान हैं, त्यागी भी भी किसान हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि बम्बई में गेहूँ का दाम ३० रु० मन हो गया। अगर बम्बई में ३० रु० मन गेहूँ का दाम हो गया तो क्या बेजा हो गया? हम गांव के मजदूर को पाच सेर अनाज देते हैं। गोरखपुरी सेर छोटा होता है। उसका कुल दाम मूषिकल से १२ या १४ भा० या ज्यादा से ज्यादा १ रु० होता है। उस को हम १ रु० रोज मजदूरी देते हैं, जो महीने में ३० रु० हो गया। बम्बई में लोग ७५ रु० और ८० रु० महीना पाते हैं। वहाँ का मजदूर ३ या ४ रु० रोज पैदा करता है। वहाँ पर बड़े बड़े सेठ रहते हैं, जैसे हमारे सोमानी साहब हैं। अगर उन्होंने ३० रु० मन गेहूँ लिया तो बताइये, कौनसा आस्मान बह गया, क्या आफत हो गई? ३० रु० मन गेहूँ हो गया तो कलकत्ता, बम्बई में हल्ला हो गया। यह केवल बनावटी बात है। अगर बम्बई और कलकत्ता में लोग गेहूँ ३० रु० मन खरीदें तो कोई घबराने की बात नहीं है। अगर किसान को चार पैसा मिल गया तो लोग हल्ला करने लगते हैं कि उस को इतना मिल गया। जब उन लोगों को इतना मुनाफा होता है तो गांव के किसान को और मजदूर को १२ भा० या १४ भा० रोज से ज्यादा नहीं मिलता है इसलिये इसमें घबराने की कोई बात नहीं है। (interruptions) अगर कोई बंच रहा और उनसे किसान को थोड़ा मासिन जाता है तो क्या हो गया? आप घबराने क्यों हैं? कलकत्ते और बम्बई के मेठों के लिये आप को क्यों घबराहट है।

हमारे त्यागी जी कांग्रेस पार्टी के एक जबरदस्त मेम्बर हैं, सब जगह बोलते हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि साहब, नेशनल डेवेलपमेंट कौंसिल और हमारी कैबिनेट है। इस साल बिहार में बारिश अभी तक नहीं हुई थी, अब दो एक रोज से पता चला है कि कुछ हुई है। हमारे यहाँ खेती आसमानी सुस्तानी है। आसमान से पानी गिरे तो खेती हने,

पानी न गिरे तो खेती न हो। इसके लिये हमारी नेशनल डेवेलपमेंट कौंसिल, हमारी कैबिनेट और हमारी कांग्रेस मिनिस्ट्रिया या हमारे विरोधी क्या करेंगे? अभी एक भाई ने कहा कि अगर उन के हाथ में यह कूड एण्ड एग््रीकल्चर मिनिस्ट्री दे दी जाय तो वह अन्न पैदा कर देंगे। हमारे देश के अन्न की पैदावार आसमानी है, आसमान से पानी गिरे तो अन्न हो, नहीं गिरे तो अन्न नहीं हो, इसमें किसी के हाथ के बस की बात नहीं है।

हर साल हमारे यहाँ ५० लाख आदमी पैदा होते थे, अब हर साल ७० लाख आदमी पैदा होने लगे हैं। बतलाया गया कि १९६० में १ करोड़ आदमी पैदा होंगे। इस पर क्यों नहीं हमारे साथी नियन्त्रण करते? हमारे यहाँ आदमियों की पैदावार बढ़ रही है। इस पर नियन्त्रण करने तो जैन साहब से कहते कि जैन साहब आप अन्न पैदा कीजिये। जितना अन्न जैन साहब पैदा कर रहे हैं उससे ज्यादा खाने वाले आदमी पैदा कर रहे हैं। इस लिये इसमें किसी का कसूर नहीं, जिस परिस्थिति में से आज हम गुजर रहे हैं उसमें किसी के हाथ में सरकार हो, कोई भी कुछ नहीं कर सकता। इस में जैन साहब का कसूर नहीं है। और आप कहते हैं कि जैन साहब के इस्तीफे में हमें खुशी है। ठीक है, आप को खुशी है। मान लीजिये कि आज जैन साहब नहीं होंगे तो दूसरा भी हमारी ही पार्टी का आदमी आयेगा, आपका राज्य तो होने वाला है नहीं। वह ऐसा क्यों कहते हैं। राज तो हमारा ही रहेगा।

थोड़ा सा मैं अपनी सरकार से भी कहना चाहता हूँ। जब धान का भाव ११-१२ रुपये मन था तो वह ६ रुपये मन देना चाहती थी। लेकिन मिस वालों ने कहा कि इस दाम पर धान नहीं मिल सकेगा तो सरकार ने कहा कि जितना चावल तुम बनाओ उस का २५

[श्री विभूति मिश्र]

प्रसिद्ध हथ को एक लाख दाम पर दे देना और ७५ पर सेन्ट तुम जिस दाम पर चाहो बेच लो। मैं कहता हूँ कि यही सरकार की चलती हुई। जब हम ज्यादा दाम पर धान खरीदेंगे और कुछ हिस्सा कम दाम पर सरकार को देंगे तो हमारा जो ज्यादा खर्चा होना उस को ब्लैक से ही निकालेंगे।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि पैदावार बढ़ाने के लिये हम को जैसा कि फोर्ड फाउण्डेशन की रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है, किसानों को कुछ सालों के लिये उन की पैदावार के बारे में निश्चित कर देना चाहिये। अगर किसान को अपनी पैदावार के दाम के बारे में भावनात्मक मिल जाये तो वह पैदावार को बढ़ाने में मन लगा सकेगा।

कुछ भाई यह कहते हैं कि जैन साहब का कुसूर है। मैं कहता हूँ कि उन का कोई कुसूर नहीं है। उन्होंने तो ईमानदारी, परिश्रम और तत्परता से काम किया है और इस के लिये मैं उन की भूरि भूरि प्रशंसा करता हूँ। हमारे यहाँ एक विशेष परिस्थिति है। बंगाल का प्रभाव जो कहा जाता है कि मैन मेड है, लेकिन हमारे यहाँ यह परिस्थिति है कि हम इतना धन पैदा नहीं करते जैसे कि अमरीका करता है कि उस को रखने के लिये भी उस के पास बचक नहीं है। हम तो मारजिन पर चलते हैं। इस लिये हम को इस सवाल को नान पार्टी सवाल समझना चाहिये, और इस प्रश्न को के कर हल्का नहीं करना चाहिये। क्योंकि हल्का भ्रमाने का बहुत बुरा परिणाम होता है। धार जानते हैं कि अगर किसी घर के बच्चों को मालूम हो जाय कि घर में धाब खाना नहीं है तो उन को सब को भूख लगने लगती है और अगर उन को मालूम हो कि घर में खाना है तो उनको उतनी भूख नहीं लगती। तो यह एक साइकोसॉजिकल बात है कि जब लोगों को यह कहा जाता है कि देश में नल्ले की कमी है तो उन को ज्यादा भाव्यकता महसूस होने लगती है। तो यह जो हल्का कर दिया जाता

है इस का बहुत बुरा प्रसर होता है। हम को चाहिये कि राजनीतिक पार्टियों की इस तरह का हल्का करने की छूट न दें। कैरल से यह हल्का प्रब बंगाल में लाया गया है और चलाया जा रहा है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि जैसा कि बरम्भ साहब ने कहा . . .

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय . प्रब तो खत्म करना चाहिये।

श्री विभूति मिश्र मैं खत्म करता हूँ। लेकिन मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो लोग शुरू में बोलते हैं उन को तो १५-२० और २५ मिनट का समय मिलता है पर जो बाद में बोलते हैं उन को दस और पाच मिनट का समय दिया जाता है। प्राप्ते से यह ब्यास रखा जाना चाहिये कि जो लोग बाद में बोलते हैं उन को भी सतोषजनक समय दिया जाय।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय इस बात के बचाव माननीय सदस्य अपनी बात कह लेते तो ज्यादा अच्छा होता।

श्री विभूति मिश्र मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ। हमारे यहाँ यह जो प्रब का जोन का सिस्टम है यह ठीक नहीं है। मैं इस के विरुद्ध हूँ। अगर पंजाब में कम पैदा होता है तो वहाँ बिहार से ले जाने की इजाजत होनी चाहिये। जिस तरह से कि समुद्र में अगर किसी जगह पानी का लेवल ज्यादा हो जाता है तो वह पानी दूसरी जगह जहाँ लेवल कम है चला जाता है। इसी तरह से देश में प्रब के मामले में भी होना चाहिये। सप्लाई डिमांड के अनुसार इस का प्रब जाना मुक्त होना चाहिये। अगर ऐसा हो तो यह सवाल हल हो सकता है।

अन्त में मैं जैन साहब से जो काम किया है उस का बोरदार अभ्यर्थ कर रहा हूँ।

Shri Mahanty (Dhenkanal): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, yesterday listening to some of the speeches on the food debate, I was reminded of the most ancient custom of our society, namely, human sacrifice. Members might have known that human sacrifice was associated with fertility cult. For more production human sacrifice was used to be offered and men were selected mostly from the ruling houses. The kings had to be offered as human sacrifices. If more production is to be achieved by spilling the blood of the Food Minister, or whoever he may be, I am at one with it. But that only indicates what amount of uncritical thought is prevailing over this subject.

Today the fact has to be borne in mind that the complaint is not against lesser production, but more prices. In 1955-56, which was a lean year, the prices tended to be lower than what they are today. In 1957-58 the production was higher than the production of 1956-57. In 1958-59 the production is still higher than the production of 1957-58. Yet, the prices are tending to rise, almost competing with the volume of increase in production. That is the real crux of the problem. The crux of the problem is not increased production; the crux of the problem is the spiralling increasing prices. To quote only one instance, take rice. The price of rice has tended to register, and reached a record which was never known before. In 1957-58 the production of rice was 24.9 million tons. In 1958-59 it is 29.7 million tons. But the price of rice today is much higher than what it used to be last year.

Similar is the case of wheat. Of course the increase in production of wheat is not in proportion to the increase in production of rice but still we have got 2 million tons of increased production of wheat. Even then, price of wheat is increasing, notwithstanding all the huge amounts of foodgrains that we have been importing from abroad. Therefore, I would most humbly beg of this House

to separate the two issues, that is, the question of food production and the question of the spiral of increasing food prices.

I would like to ask in all humility whether the hon. Food Minister has any control over the rise in prices. Yesterday our hon. colleague, Shri Tyagi, pointed out that only during war time the volume of money supply increased and deficit financing increased because more funds were diverted towards production of goods which had no bearing upon the needs of the consumers. But I tell him that there is another kind of war going on today and that war is planning. I would like this House to consider the impact of the huge amount of deficit financing that we have indulged in and its effect on the food prices. The Food Enquiry Committee Report obliquely hinted at it. I do not know why they did not take courage in both their hands to say that this deficit financing has resulted in absolute ruination of our economic life. But I have got an inkling that this deficit financing has got a direct bearing on these increasing food prices and for that several other fiscal measures have to be taken. Certain other measures have to be taken and the blood of the hon. Food Minister is not going to save the country from that situation.

Then another thing is that the fact has to be remembered that for food, there are two other Union Ministers. There are two huge Union Ministries which are now engaged in the production of food, the Ministry of Community Development and the Ministry of Agriculture.

Shri Tyagi: Both are suffering from heart trouble.

Shri Mahanty: That is the unfortunate part of it. But then there are also the State Governments. Yesterday, the Chair had ruled and I obey that ruling that we should not bring in the States here. Therefore, I am

[Shri Mahanty]

not going into that aspect of the question. But the fact has to be remembered that a debate on food will be elusive and will be unreal if we do not make any reference to the conditions prevailing in the States because it is only the State Governments who are primarily concerned not only with increased production but also with the distribution of foodgrains.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That debate will be held in the States

Shri Mahanty: Yes, Sir. We also represent our constituencies in the States and we also suffer the pangs of hunger as much as our counter-parts in the State legislatures.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now, as he says that because the ruling is there ...

Shri Mahanty: I am in your hands. I am not going into it. But I simply want to point out that let there be a kind of dispassionate thinking. Nobody's blood is going to increase food production or is going to save this country from this catastrophe. If Shri Jain is going to resign because the prices would decrease thereby, I would beg of him to reconsider the matter

Another important aspect to which I wanted to draw the attention of the House is the State trading in foodgrains. A case is being sought to be made that State trading in foodgrains has been a failure and, therefore, it should be abandoned. Listening to the speech of our esteemed colleague, Shri Tyagi—I will be very glad if I have not understood him correctly—the impression that I had gathered was that he is not in favour of State trading in foodgrains and judging from the response that he got ..

Shri Tyagi: On a point of personal explanation, Sir. I am in favour. But I wanted that the machinery must be complete to control it completely. I am not for a partial way,

just having State trading partially. It must be complete State trading if at all we resort to it.

Shri Mahanty: I am grateful to Shri Tyagi for this correction. I did not understand him correctly. But judging from the response that he was getting and the cheers that he was drawing from quarters which were against State trading I was led to believe that he was speaking against State trading. State trading has been a failure. I say that State trading has been a failure. State trading has resulted in exploitation of the primary producers at the cost of the hoarders and the traders. Time and again, I have brought it to the notice of the hon. Food Minister and the hon. Prime Minister himself I have no time at my disposal, otherwise I would have said from the experience that we are having in Orissa—a surplus State—how State trading has functioned. But because State trading has been a failure, we must make it a success. The fact has to be borne in mind that there can be no planning unless we keep the price line consistent. With the amount of deficit financing that we are indulging in on account of the Plan, with the amount of money supply that is increasing in the hands of society and with the tendency to raise the wages and the rest of it, unless we maintain a consistent line in prices and supply, no Plan is ever going to be achieved.

It has been said—and again I go to Shri Tyagi because he said that—that control smacks of totalitarian countries. But does not planning also smack of totalitarian countries? May I know from him which democratic country had ever planned? Did England have a Plan? Had America a Plan? Had West Germany a plan? Had Japan a plan? Had France a plan? No. The concept of planning emanated from countries which he may not like. The first five-year plan, the second five-year plan and a series of five-year plans were absolutely a concept of the totalitarian countries.

Placed as we are today, lagging centuries behind the European countries, we need planning. It is an accepted fact. There can be no planning, there can be no industrial development, there can be nothing worth while in this country unless we basically maintain a consistent and fixed price line. But I say, in all humility, that State trading has been a failure. It has been a failure and I want to hold the hon Food Minister wholly and squarely responsible for it because the working group that the hon Food Minister had appointed to go into it merely fiddled with the problem and they did not even touch the fringe of the problem. There was the Essential Commodities Act. It was a piece of legislation on the concurrent list. It was passed by this Legislature and it was the sacred duty of the hon Food Minister and the Government of India to have enquired from time to time of the States as to how the provisions of the Essential Commodities Act had been given effect to. I hold and maintain that if only the hon Food Minister had been a little more serious, if only the Government of India had been a little more tough with the States, this kind of hoarding and disgorgeing them in the market when there is scarcity to exploit the consumers would not have happened. If we want to find the devils of the drama, we shall have to turn our eyes elsewhere. We will find plenty of them in Calcutta and elsewhere. I would like to ask: Was the Chief Minister of West Bengal not a member of the National Development Council? Was not the Chief Minister of Bihar a member of the National Development Council? Were they not committed, as members of the National Development Council, to State trading in foodgrains? Are they not members of the Congress? Was not the Nagpur Congress committed morally, spiritually, politically and legally to State trading in foodgrains? Yet, who had withdrawn the State trading in foodgrains and with whose consent? I hold and accuse the hon Union Minister of Food that whenever West Bengal wanted anything because of

its refugee problem and because of the huge sore called Calcutta City, the Union Government like a good boy released all the stocks. Let the whole country die but let Calcutta survive. And while the pavements of Calcutta are crying for the blood of the hoarders, what do we find? We find a peculiar scene of hoarders like Pashupati Das and Sons publishing advertisements, flashing in *Statesman* and other Calcutta dailies, "We can supply any quantity of rice to anyone that comes forward." I have sent that advertisement to the hon Food Minister. I have sent that advertisement to the hon Prime Minister and I have never been offered an answer. Yet, how that Pashupati Das and Sons, how these hoarders still continue to be

Shri A. P. Jain: You never sent me that advertisement. You sent it to the hon Prime Minister only.

Shri Mahanty: I sent it to the hon Prime Minister. I thought that there was some collective Cabinet responsibility. Whatever that may be, I do not say this in a spirit of anger. I speak in frustration. I speak in absolute helplessness. For this State trading in foodgrains, I accuse the Government. They have entrusted it to the very hoarders whose mission in life is to thwart it.

With these words, since the time at my disposal is very short

Mr Deputy-Speaker: There is none.

Shri Mahanty: I would not like to take more time of the House. But I would once again appeal to this House to consider this aspect dispassionately and once for all make up its mind that State trading in foodgrains cannot be eschewed under any circumstances.

सरदार ब० लि० सह्याय (जंजगीर) :
सनापति जी, इस विषय पर कल से यहाँ
बर्बा हो रही है उस के सम्बन्ध में मैं यह कहना
चाहता हूँ कि देश में इस वक्त खाद्य पदार्थों

[सरदार भ० सि० सहगल]

की कीमतें बहुत ज्यादा बढ़ गयी हैं, खासकर बंगाल में जहाँ पर कि चीजों पर से कीमतों का कंट्रोल हटा लिया गया है। अगर हम यह कहे कि इस के लिये खाद्य मंत्री जिम्मेदार हैं तो यह ठीक नहीं होगा। साथ ही साथ इस के लिये हम प्रान्तीय सरकारों को दोष नहीं देना चाहते। बंगाल में फूड के बारे में आन्दोलन चलाया जा रहा है। लेकिन जो फूड बुलेटिन में वैस्ट बंगाल के फूड स्टेटिस्टिक्स दिये हैं उन को आप देखें तो आप को मालूम होगा कि सन् १९५७ में वैस्ट बंगाल में जहा ८९१३ फेयर प्राइस शाप्स थी वहाँ सन् १९५८ में १,११,६६३ हो गयी। इसी तरह से आप देखेंगे कि सन् १९५७ में इन फेयर प्राइस शाप्स से १३० हजार टन चावल और ५३३ हजार टन गेहूँ बेचा गया, जो कि सन् १९५८ में बढ़ कर ३१९ हजार टन चावल और ६९८ हजार टन गेहूँ हो गया। इन सारी चीजों को देखने के बाद भी अगर यह कहा जाय कि इस दिशा में वैस्ट बंगाल सरकार ने कोई कदम नहीं उठाया तो मैं इस को मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ। सैन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने जो कुछ बह कर सकती थी किया है और कर रही है लेकिन फिर भी उस पर इस प्रकार के आरोप लगाना कोई अच्छी बात नहीं है कि उस ने कुछ नहीं किया है।

तीसरी प्लान के अन्त तक यानी सन् १९६५-६६ तक हमारी तजवीज अपने प्रोडक्शन को बढ़ा कर ११० मिलियन टन कर देना चाहते हैं। लेकिन उस वक्त तक हमारी जनसंख्या भी बढ़ कर ४८० मिलियन हो जाने वाली है। इतनी जनसंख्या के लिये ११० मिलियन टन गल्ला बहुत जरूरी है। चावल के लिये २५ जिले बहुत उपयोगी हैं। वहाँ चावल ज्यादा पैदा होता है लेकिन गेहूँ के लिये छौ पंजाब, उत्तर प्रदेश, मध्य प्रदेश, और बिहार ही हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में जो फोर्ड

आन्दोलन की तरफ से रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित की गयी है में उस की तरफ आप का ध्यान बिलाना चाहता हूँ।

उस में कहा गया है :

"In order to produce 110 million tons of foodgrains annually by the end of the Third Plan, the rate of production increase must average 8.2 per cent. per year for the next 7 years. This rate of increase compares with an annual average of 2.3 per cent. from 1949-50 to 1958-59 and an average of 3.2 per cent. from 1952-53 to 1958-59. The task is overwhelming. The urgency of an all-out effort is obvious. Adequate resources must be made available to accomplish the job"

यह रिपोर्ट हमारे सामने है और अगर फिर भी हमारे मित्र यह कहे कि यह परिस्थिति सरकार की गलती से पैदा हुई है तो मैं यह मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ।

इस के साथ ही साथ हमें यह विचार करना है कि हम अपने रिसोर्स को कैसे बढ़ा सकते हैं। इस काम में हम सब को मंत्रालय के साथ मिल कर देश की उन्नति के लिये काम करना चाहिये। जो लोग इस मौके से फायदा उठाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं वे देश के साथ विश्वासघात कर रहे हैं। आज हमारे भाई बंगाल के बारे में कह रहे हैं मगर हमें खाद्य पदार्थों को सब से ऊंचा स्थान देना चाहिये। यह जो रिपोर्ट है उस में भी यही कहा गया है कि खाद्य पदार्थों को सब से उच्च स्थान दिया जाये। उस में कहा गया है :

"It is clear to us too, that the urgency of the problem and the need for clear-cut organisational adjustments to meet it must be understood at the State level. Unless State officials recognise the crisis and the need for forceful and direct action, the problem

cannot be solved. We emphasize that the existing policy conflicts between departments, the present lack of co-ordinated efforts on food production, and the frequent failure to provide adequate funds for agricultural work must be eliminated.

The organisation problem does not stop at the State level. Appropriate changes re-directing efforts at district, block and village level must also occur."

इन बीजों को ले कर हम प्रागे बढ़ें तो हमारी समस्यायें हल होंगी ।

इस के साथ साथ मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि सन् १९४६-५० में जब कि हमारी पहली प्लान शुरू हुई तो हम ने ५७.६ मिलियन टन का टारजेट रखा था । और १९५५-५६ में जब कि प्लान का प्राखिरी साल था तो वह टारजेट ६५.५ मिलियन टन रखा गया और दूसरी प्लान के प्राखिर में हम ८०.५ मिलियन टन का टारजेट रख रहे हैं । इस सम्बन्ध में हमें जो काम करना है उस के लिये हमें केवल राज्य सरकारों पर ही निर्भर नहीं रहना है बल्कि हमें जिला, ब्लॉक और गावों तक जाना चाहिये ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप का ध्यान रिपोर्ट के पेज २१ की तरफ ले जाना चाहता हूँ । प्राखिरकार, जमीन के लिये पानी उपलब्ध करना और किस तरह से पानी का इस्तेमाल हो, यह भी बहुत जरूरी चीजें हैं । आज हमारे यहां बहुतसा पानी बेकार जाता है । इस वास्ते यह जरूरी है कि पानी का ठीक तरह से बन्दोबस्त हो । रिपोर्ट में लिखा है कि किस तरह से हमको पानी की व्यवस्था करनी है ।

"India now gets only one-fifth to one-fourth ton increase in crop yields on irrigated lands as compared to non-irrigated lands. Moreover, only about 12 per cent. of irrigated acreage grows

more than one irrigated crop per year. India cannot afford this waste of resources. Better water management is needed. In fact, India can make greater and more immediate gains in food production by intensifying expenditure of time and effort on water management on farms than by constructing large-scale irrigation projects which take years to develop."

इस चीज को भी हमें मद्देनजर रखना होगा और देखना होगा कि जो हम बड़े बड़े बांध इत्यादि बनाना चाहते हैं, उन की आवश्यकता है या छोटे छोटे बांधों की आवश्यकता है ।

रिपोर्ट में यह भी कहा गया है जिस की ओर हमें ध्यान देना होगा :—

"The Third Plan should allocate substantial funds for technical assistance to aid cultivators in making better use of available water. Provision must also be made for a more comprehensive approach with co-ordination of all relevant departments

इन सारं चीजों को देखते हुए यदि हम इन के अनुसार काम नहीं करते हैं, तो यह ठीक नहीं होगा । मैं यह भी कहना चाहूंगा कि जटर लालिग कं जा समस्या है यह भी बहुत महत्वपूर्ण समस्या है । यह समस्या खास तौर पर पंजाब में है । वहां पर आज तकरीबन तीन मिलियन एकड़ जमीन पानी के भीतर पड़ी हुई है । उस पानी को निकालने का बन्दोबस्त करना बहुत जरूरी है और अगर हम उस का कोई बन्दोबस्त नहीं करते हैं, नालियां नहीं निकालते हैं, तो हम किस तरह आशा कर सकते हैं कि उस भूमि में फसल हो और हमारी पैदावार बढ़े । रिपोर्ट में यह भी कहा गया है :—

"There are places in India where millions of acres could be reclaimed and made productive by surface drainage at less cost

[सरकार द० सि० सह-नाम]

and in less time than by developing new irrigation projects. The portions of these areas that appear to be most productive and that have the possibility of 2 to 3 crops a year should be given the highest priority."

इसलिये मैं चाहूंगा कि जो ऐसी जगह हैं, वहां पर हमें हाइएस्ट प्रायोरिटी दे कर काम करना चाहिये। साथ पदार्थों के बेचने के रास्ते में भी बहुत सी दिक्कतें आती हैं और काषतकारों को बड़ी परेशानी का सामना करना पड़ता है। सरकार ने ऐलान किया था कि हम इन चीजों को खरीदेंगे। लेकिन इस की पूरी व्यवस्था न होने के कारण काषतकारों का जो हक है, जो पूरा पैसा उन को उन की फसल का मिलना चाहिये, वह नहीं मिल पा रहा है और न ही वे आप की इस नीति से लाभ उठा सके हैं। इस तरह की आप को ध्यान देना होगा।

मैंने कल के और आज के भी समाचारपत्रों में पढ़ा है कि माननीय मंत्री महोदय इस्तीफा देना चाहते हैं, वह इस मंत्रालय के कार्य भार से अलग होना चाहते हैं। यह उन का स्थान मैं समझता हूँ कि ठीक नहीं है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि अपना यह स्थान प्रकट करने के लिये मंत्री महोदय मुझे क्षमा करेंगे कि डर कर के भागने से यह काम नहीं होगा। हमारा काम यह है कि हम आपत्तियों को झेले और उन को झेलने के बाद कहे कि हम कामयाब साबित हुए हैं। जो मुसीबतें आयें, उन को हम सहें, और यहां पर रह कर काम करें। हमारा यह कर्तव्य होना चाहिये कि हम भागें नहीं। माननीय मंत्री महोदय से मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो कदम उन्होने उठाया है वह ठीक नहीं है।

एक बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूँ। माननीय मंत्री महोदय ने मध्य प्रदेश को अहूँ सनाहूँ दी थी कि चावल बाहर भेजा नहीं

जायेगा बल्कि खरीदा जायेगा, उस से लोगों को बहुत राहत मिली है। इस का परिणाम यह हुआ है कि एक रुपये में दो, ढाई और तीन सेर तक चावल मिलने लगा और वहाँ का कर वह दाम रूका और हम से लोगों को बहुत राहत मिली। इस के लिये बहा के जोय माननीय मंत्री महोदय के बहुत शुक्रगुजार हैं।

जो जोन्स बनाये गये हैं उन के बारे में मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन में कुछ रद्दोबदल कर के काम करने की जरूरत है और आप ऐसा कर के अपने काम को चलायें।

अन्त में मैं मंत्री महोदय के कहूंगा कि जो अफवाहें हैं, उन का खंडन करने की वह कृपा करें

Dr. Krishnaswami (Chingleput): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the House is indebted to Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, and Shri Tyagi, whom I do not see here, for having thrown some light on complicated questions of policy. It is one of the ironies of the situation that notwithstanding the appointment of many committees and experts, we do not seem to have a clear view of the problem. The Government for the past ten years has been advocating the building up of buffer stocks, an assuredly important matter. Almost every section of public opinion, not excluding the experts, have supported this idea. Indeed, the experts are most anxious that it should be done, for buffer stocks are a *sine qua non* for giving Government adequate facilities to enter the market and influence the movement of prices either upwards or in a downwards.

To my way of thinking, I feel that a wrong step was taken sometime in September last year when the National Development Council practically abandoned the idea of building up buffer stocks and concentrated on State trading. We decided then to think that State trading was something which could be done without

really having anything like adequate buffer stocks, and it took us nearly two or three months to realise the folly of our ways. The Food Minister is, of course, not to blame for what has happened. The National Development Council and the Planning Commission, that body of ceremonial wisdom, are there indeed to supervise the deeds and initiate policies of our Cabinet Ministers and, therefore, it is rather unfair to suggest that blame should be laid on any particular individual Cabinet Minister. But I do think that Government as a whole has to share blame for what has happened.

Now, when we started building up buffer stocks, one must expect a natural rise in prices. Part of the explanation for prices being as high as they were during last year—and, by and large it will be admitted by those who have given thought to this question that the prices of cereals are as high as they were last year and not lowered down—is the policy of procurement that we had to embark upon and that had to be done as a matter of national necessity.

I do not go into the complicated problem which has faced West Bengal. There, of course, the administrative machinery had to gain a certain amount of momentum, and due to the fact that there were other circumstances, the prices of cereals had also certainly risen a bit more. Part of the explanation of that is the administrative lack of expertise. Certainly from our point of view, there would have been no cause for undue alarm or a great deal of pessimism, if we could have felt confident that the rise in prices would be only temporary and that, in course of time, we would be able to bring prices down. Unfortunately, there are not solid grounds for hoping that prices will come down in the near future. What is the explanation? We may be able to procure about 1.8 million tons or even 2 million tons of cereals during the coming six or seven months. But this is not sufficient, in my opinion,

to bring down the prices. So, what we have done today is merely to procure not enough to bring down prices; but at the same time, we have procured enough to keep up the prices of cereals. That, in fact, is the heart of the problem. I would wish hon. Members to realise why this has occurred. What is it that prevents us from procuring more? Not surely lack of administrative machinery, because once the administrative machinery has gained momentum in procuring cereals, there is nothing to inhibit its procuring cereals at certain prices. The great bottleneck that is today facing us is inadequate warehousing facilities, a point which has not been stressed in this debate. If the Planning Commission which concentrates on so many matters, if members of the Planning Commission who talk of first things coming first, had only had a clearer idea of priorities—and it is one of the strangest commentaries that the Planning Commission today does not have any idea of priorities—they would certainly have concentrated more on providing an increase of at least 30 or 40 per cent in our warehousing facilities. Had this been possible, we would have procured some 3½ million to 4 million tons and that in itself would have been a great advantage, considering that we would have had in our possession 10-12 per cent of the market surplus with which we could embark on pushing down prices, if necessary, or pulling up prices if necessary.

Now, without having buffer stocks, as several of my hon. friends have pointed out, irrespective of the merits of State trading, we would not be in a position to control retail prices or bring them down. In fact, it is unfortunate that this aspect of the matter should not have been taken into account by members of the Planning Commission sufficiently. Certainly if we had more warehousing facilities, producers of foodgrains could have utilised those facilities at nominal rent to store their grain. Also, the Government would have been in a position to buy the grain and store it

[Dr. Krishnaswami]

in these warehouses and thus have in its possession sufficient stocks to influence the course and movement of prices

Now, there is another issue to which I should like to invite the attention of the House. Hon. Members have pointed out that prices of cereals have been increasing a lot. But I do wish to point that that is not the correct explanation. The prices of cereals did rise last year because the Government, or rather, the National Development Council, came out with a declaration that irrespective of whether we had buffer stocks or not, Government were going to embark on a policy of State trading. Without having thought clearly over the administrative implications of the policy, they stated it, and that is the reason for increase in the prices of cereals. But taking by and large what has occurred in the country, one must realise that it is not the prices of cereals alone that have arisen but the prices of non-cereals like pulses which have risen more. In fact, the prices of latter have risen more sharply, and it is this aspect of the matter which is stressed by many people who have taken part in current agitations in West Bengal and also in other areas of the country.

Now, as incomes increase, it is clear that there would be a greater increment of demand for these non-cereals like pulses. And we have to realise that this is what has occurred. In fact, it has increased so sharply that people have begun to wonder whether the cost of living is not influenced by the rise in prices of non-cereals. To deal with this, we have to immediately increase the supply of non-cereals, and that is why one has to devote more attention to having increased productivity of our agricultural crops so that we might have more land reserved for some of these non-cereal crops. With that, we might be able to increase the stocks.

The basic problem that faces us is to have an increase of supplies, because without that increase of supplies, it would not be possible to tackle the food problem effectively. Unfortunately, neither the Planning Commission nor the high worthies who have given some thought to this question have ever thought of really considering what should be done to increase supplies.

My hon. Friend, Shri Tyagi, referred to zonal restrictions. I wish only to point out that one may justify such restrictions when imposed only for a short period. The railways may not be able to handle the grains, therefore, we might be compelled to have a sort of zonal restrictions, or we might be compelled to import grains for a certain period to feed the people in the port towns and, therefore, it may not be possible for us to really have anything like free movement. But even when we draw up zones for a short period, we have to realise that zones should not be formed so as to cause too much of a strain in a few surplus areas. In fact, in the southern zone, Kerala acted as a drag and that was why even Andhra Pradesh and certain other States wanted the southern zone to be broken up. Had we perhaps—I am now putting forward a suggestion which might be considered to be slightly academic—had we perhaps tagged Madhya Pradesh on to that zone, it might have proved easier for us in the short period to really have met the demand and have had also a wider market which would have benefited us, and possibly this agitation about breaking up the zone would not have arisen in the acute manner in which it did.

But this apart, I want this House to view this question from a larger angle and with vision. What is the greatest achievement which stands to our credit during the past decade? It is the achievement of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who realised that we should have what is known as an integrated market of India or rather a common

market of India. And, in some respects, his achievement was much greater than the creation of a common market for Europe.

These zonal restrictions, in my opinion, prevent our obtaining the advantages of this integration of India. And, I do venture to think that unless we view this problem only as a temporary thing and think of increasing supplies and tackling it from a different angle we are not going to have anything tangible achieved.

I do not wish to state anything more except that I wish to enter a caveat against the proposition that was advanced by some of my hon. friends that we should have a Price Stabilisation Board. I think it is a most useless proposal. Mere multiplication of agencies is not going to bring about an increase of food or solve the problem of better distribution. I think if we tackle these problems on essentially well understood administrative lines instead of being concerned with merely considering these problems from a very big angle without having sufficient resources, we would have done something tangible towards improving the lot of the people and in bringing about much more progress in constructive thinking.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Pali): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, it is really regrettable and unfortunate that even after 12 years of independence and two ambitious Plans food remains our problem number 1, and we all feel so concerned and anxious about it, a problem culminating almost in the resignation of the Food Minister. I do not think this resignation of the Food Minister will take us any nearer the solution of the problem. As a matter of fact, what is wanted is an assessment and re-assessment of the policies which have been adopted by our Government to solve the food problem in this country.

I would rather like to draw pointed attention to the address delivered by the Governor of the Reserve

Bank only last week. He has touched upon a very vital subject which has a great bearing and relation to the food problem of this country as well. If we make a really objective and critical analysis of the situation and try to offer certain constructive suggestions, the first thing we should do is just to study the problem as it presents itself before us today.

I have no hesitation in saying that nothing has brought our Government so much in public contempt as this food problem and its administration. I am not apportioning the blame here between A, B or C but I say that it is high time that we take a serious note of this bold fact which stares us in the face. Anybody who is in living touch with the masses will tell you that nothing has brought our Government so much in public contempt as our food situation. But, if we make a critical analysis of it we will find that it is not the Food Minister who is responsible. But the Food Minister is generally understood to be responsible for it, among the masses, for various reasons because it is the food administration which comes into contact with them.

It has been said by almost all hon. Members who have participated in the debate that it is not so much the availability of food but the prices which are our headache. What are the factors which are governing these high prices? I referred just now to the address of the Governor of the Reserve Bank. He has drawn pointed attention to the fact that since independence the internal value of the rupee has gone down by 29 per cent. If the internal value of the rupee has gone down by 29 per cent, it will, certainly, be reflected in the food prices. The patent fact is that we are going to release more and more money and food production cannot keep pace with the money that you are going to release. Until and unless our production both in the agricultural as well as in the industrial sector keeps pace with the

[Shri Harish Chandra Mathur]

money that is released by the Treasury, the food prices cannot possibly be controlled. And, we must take note of this important factor. This important factor is neither controlled by the Food Minister nor by State Governments, it is a composite policy matter.

He has also pointed out, and this House and the country must take note of it, that if we compare our food prices with the level of the food prices which is rising in all countries, all over the world, our country has done fairly well. Our position does compare favourably with others, it is not so bad as in all the countries during these 11 or 12 years. The food prices have gone up more particularly because they have spent more and more on developmental works. Various other factors have also obtained there. And, in this particular country, because of our Plans, we have been releasing more and more money which has affected the food prices.

While I say all this I do not for a moment suggest that the failure and follies of the administration have not contributed very significantly to this deteriorating food policy. They have contributed significantly.

Again we must take note of the fact that 90 per cent of the responsibility lies with the State Governments. There are two factors, one is policy-making and the other is implementation. In the implementation part, the entire responsibility rests with the State Governments. In policy-making also the State Governments have a major say. One cannot deny it because it is only in the National Development Council where we sit together we take important major policy decisions.

My complaint is that when we start with certain theories there is nobody in the States who stands up and puts his foot down against a particular

policy, in spite of the fact that some of the Chief Ministers of States have not got a robust faith in the policy that is going to be adopted and in spite of the fact that they are not very serious in trying to implement that policy. If the Chief Ministers of the States and the other people who have a major say in formulating policies were to put their feet down that decision would not be taken.

So when State trading was taken up, as a policy, as a programme it is unexceptionable. There is nothing against it if we can have an honest and efficient machinery to implement it. It would have yielded results. But everyone knew that nothing would be possible and that no one would be able to cope with the situation and yet we adopted that policy. The result of it is we started tinkering here and tinkering there and it had an adverse effect.

Let us understand whether we are going to have a free market policy. If we are going to have a free market policy, let there be no controls like this. These controls which are half-way houses in the manner in which we are conducting them, are houses for corruption. They are a prop for the corrupt official; they are a prop for the unscrupulous businessmen. It has been the sorry story, the sorry tale of this Food Administration that we have adopted only half way houses of control, a patchwork here and a patchwork there, which has resulted in nothing but a deterioration of the situation. If I were to give examples as to what had happened, I could give. There could have been no other way but that it would lead to corruption. The hon. Minister will bear me out. In a particular place, gram was selling at Rs 10 a maund.

Mr Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Kindly permit me a few more mi-

nutes, Sir; I am also one of those who have tabled this motion.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The Minister has to reply at 4; there is still one more State—my own—which has not been represented at all

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: I will not deny you that privilege and pleasure I will finish in 3-4 minutes

Now, what has been the effect of our policy? There should be only one criterion to judge our policies and that one criterion should be whether the policies and the programmes which we adopt stimulate more production or not. If that is done, most of the difficulties will be resolved. What happens today? The agriculturist is not happy, the trader is not happy and the consumer is not happy. In spite of the fact that we are trying to do everything for the peasant, anybody who goes down to the peasant knows what he feels. I had certain conferences in my constituencies and other places. There is such an amount of uncertainty in his mind that it becomes absolutely difficult to encourage him and to stimulate him for greater production. The trader has the same fate. You have done nothing to dislodge him but you gave a challenge to him that he is going to be dislodged. He has dislodged you as a matter of fact. So is the fate of the consumer also. I would most earnestly request you to cordon off two places—Bombay and Calcutta—because these two places have got a greater purchasing power and they do not mind purchasing anything at any rate and they spread the high rates everywhere. If you completely cordon them off and make separate arrangement for them by introducing foolproof rationing there, it would serve them well. Then, having done this, let there be an absolutely free flow of grains throughout the entire country and let these artificial barriers be wash-

ed out. They are absolutely meaningless.

I am speaking from a surplus State. We will have a lot of foodgrains to send out. If I were to give you figures, during 1958-59 we had sent out 5066 broadgauge wagon loads of food on the one hand and 21855 metre gauge wagon loads of food on the other. We have sent out so much and still I say it will be to our very great advantage if we had free flow throughout the country.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon Member must conclude now.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: I am sorry, Sir; I had quite a number of points but as we are short of time, I will take some other opportunity.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am more sorry but I cannot help it.

श्री श्री गुरु सि० मुसाफिर : (अमृतसर)
डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब मैं आपकी बख्शवाह
दता हूँ लेकिन मुझे चौधरी रणवीर सिंह का
डर भी पैदा हो गया है क्योंकि आपने उनको
छोड़कर मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया ।

मैं अपने उन साथियों की राय से इतिफाक
करता हूँ जिन्होंने कहा है कि फूड प्रान्सलम के
मामले में बहस करते वक़्त सारा कसूर मिनिस्ट्री
पर या मिनिस्टर साहब पर डालना सजीदा
विचार नहीं है । और इस से भी मेरा इतिफाक
है कि आखिर जब कोई चीज़ सामने होती है
तो जो हैड पर होता है वही प्रमूमन् निगाना
बनता है । मगर इसका यह मतलब नहीं कि
वहा कोई खास बात है या कोई खास कमी है ।
श्री सहगल साहब ने जो अपनी तकरीर की
उसको सुनकर मुझे एक घोर राद आ गया

हादसाते जिन्दगी से खेलिए तो बात है,
जिन्दगी पर खेन जाना तो कोई मुश्किल नहीं ।

[श्रीमती सु० सि० सि० मुत्ताफिर]

यह फूड के बारे में चर्चा पार्लियामेंट में और पार्लियामेंट से बाहर कोई नई बात नहीं है। जब से हमारा देश आजाद हुआ है, सरकार में इस तरह कास ध्यान दिया है। चीन, रूस, जापान तक हमारे डेलिगेशन गये हैं। कई डेप बने हैं और कई तरह से रुपया खर्च हुआ है। मतलब यह कि इसको हल करने की काफी कोशिश की गई है। मगर इस सब कोशिश के बावजूद भगवें यह कहना हमारी तरफ झूठी है—मगर यह बात ठीक है—कि यह मसला हल नहीं हुआ है। एक वक्त था जबकि विश्वास के साथ हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने मन् १९५३ में एलान किया था कि दो साल के अन्दर अन्दर शायद एक दाना भी हमें बाहर से मगवाना नहीं पड़ेगा और हमारा मुक्त आ-सर्वाभर हो जाये

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव (हिमाचल)
१९५१ में यह बात कही थी।

श्रीमती सु० सि० मुत्ताफिर : नो १९५१ से उन्होंने विश्वासपूर्वक यह बात कही थी। मगर इस हकीकत में झूठा नहीं किया जा सकता है कि फूड का यह मामला पहले से भी ज्यादा एम्प्ट हो गया है। “मरीजे इसक पर रहमत खुदा की, मर्ज बढता गया ज्यों ज्यो दवा की।” यह बीमारी तो बढ़ती ही जा रही है।

मे डा० राम मुभग सिंह जी की इस राय में इतिफाक करता हू कि हमारी जो हैपैजर्ड पालिसी है, उसको हमें छोड़ देना चाहिये। जिस जगह जा लगी, वही किनारा हो गया, यह बात नहीं होनी चाहिये।

इस वक्त में समझता हू कि पंजाब की सब से बड़ी चीज जो दुनिया भर में मशहूर है वह भालुडा डैम है। उस डैम में यह अदाजा लगाया गया है कि ६० लाख एकड़ के करीब जमीन खराब होगी। मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हू कि लगभग इतनी ही जमीन पंजाब में इस वक्त वाटर लागिंग के जेरअसर धा

गई है। मैं आपका अपनी कास्टिट्यूएसी की ही बात बतलाता हू। मैं बहा पर लोगों से मिलता हू और जहाँ उनकी पहले हमेशा ही यह भाग हुआ करती थी कि पानी की बजह से हवें तकलीफ है, पानी नहीं मिलता है और हमारी फसलें पानी न मिलने की वजह से खराब हो जाती है, बहा अब वे कहते हैं कि मेहरबानी कर, और ये नहरे यहाँ से उठा कर ले जायें। अगर इनको उठा कर आप ले जाते हैं तब तो हम बच सकते हैं वरना नहीं। नहरे तब हम भी लाने वाले हैं, लेकिन मेरी कास्टिट्यूएसी की यह हालत है कि वे कहते हैं कि हर साल हमारी फसल खराब जाती है। यह अमृतसर जिले की जमीन की बात है, जहाँ पर कि पंजाब में ज्यादा अनाज पैदा करने वाली जमीन है। अमृतसर, जालंधर इत्यादि कई अजबला पंजाब के ऐसे हैं जहाँ पर कि ऐसी हालत हो गई है और वे कहने लग गये हैं, कि हम इन नहरों से बाज आय। इसके लिये कुदरत का दाषी ठहारा जाये। गवर्नमेंट का मगर इस की तरफ ध्यान देना बहुत ज्यादा जरूरी है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि फूड प्रान्लम को हल करने के लिए हम दा चीजों पर जोर देते हैं, एक तो प्राइव्शन पर और दूसरे डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन पर। एक इनके अलावा और भी बात है और वह महगाई की बात है जिस में आज लोगों की तकलीफ हो रही है। इस हाउम में हमारे दो भाई, चौ० गणवीर सिंह और श्री मूल चन्द जैन एक ही बेच पर इकट्ठे इस वक्त बैठे हुए हैं। अगर कीमतें बढ़ जाती हैं तो मूल चन्द जैन जी रोने हैं, और अगर गिर जायें, तो गणवीर सिंह जी राते हैं। दोनों मूरतों में रोना है लेकिन एक तीसरा ही है जो कि इससे फायदा उठा कर ले जाता है

श्री सु० बं० जैन (कैथल) इस मामले में हमारी दोनों की एक ही राय है।

जाओ मु० सि० मुबाकिर : पंजाब में इतनी अच्छी गन्धम पैदा होती है कि कुर्क कहना ही नहीं। मगर प्रायः पंजाब में प्रायः किसी भी डिपो पर चले जायें और वहाँ पर जो गन्धम बिक रही है, जो घाटा बिक रहा है, उसकी हालत को देखें तो आप को पता चलेगा कि वह बहुत ही खराब है। प्रता नहीं हमारी गन्धम किराने में गई और कहा से वह गन्धम जो बिक रही है, आ गई है। वह गन्धम व वह घाटा दत्तना खराब है कि कुछ इन्हें ही नहीं। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस तरफ भी ध्यान देना निहामत जरूरी है।

एक तरफ तो आज कूड प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाने का सवाल है और दूसरी तरफ हमारी कई तज्जवीब लैंड प्राबलैम के मुताल्लिक हूँ। कोप्रोप्रेटिव फार्मिंग की भावना की जानी है और जहाँ तक डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन का सम्बन्ध है, स्टेट ट्रेडिंग की बात कही गई है। मैं यह समझता हूँ कि ये दोनों चीजें बेशक अच्छी हैं, लेकिन इनको अगर फौरी इलाज समझा जाता है तो यह बहुत भारी गलतफहमी है। फ़ारसी की एक मिशाल है ---

तातरियाक अज ईराक आबुर्दा भवद मार गुजीदा मुर्दा शुबद।

जब तक ईराक से दवाई आयेगी, तब तक साप का काटा हुआ बीमार घर जमड़ेगा, खत्म हो जायेगा। जब तक हमारे ये कोप्रोप्रेटिव फार्म वगैरह बनेंगे, तब तक प्रोडक्शन का यह जो सिलसिला है, इसको खत्म ही सम्भव है। आज ही किसान हाथ पर हाथ रख कर बैठ गया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि हम ने कोप्रोप्रेटिव फार्मिंग की तरफ धाना है और यह हमारा फौसला है और यही इसका एक इलाज है लेकिन इस बक्त इस इलाज पर ही बैठना, इस इलाज पर ही भरोसा करना ऐसा है जैसे खान को आग लगी हुई हो और कोई इसका यह इलाज बतलाये कि कुआ खोदो और पानी निकालो और उस आग को बुझाओ। कुआ खोदने तक वह खान जल जायेगा, वह बच नहीं सकेगा। इस बातसे कुछ फौरी इलाज

इस बीमारी का होना चाहिये ताकि कोप्रोप्रेटिव फार्मिंग के लिये अच्छा मैदान तैयार हो जाये, कुछ बुझावनी हो जाये। मैं समझता हूँ कि सचिस कोप्रोप्रेटिव सोसाइटीज जरूर इसका फौरी इलाज है और उनसे किसानों को काफी मदद मिल सकती है। मगर उनको बनाने से पहले सरकार को कुछ हंगामी बात करनी चाहिये। ट्रेक्टर वगैरह जो हैं, उनको सस्ता करना चाहिये ताकि किसानों को बे मिल सकें और सस्ते दामों पर मिल सकें या इंस्टालमेंट बेसिस पर मिल सकें ताकि वे इनके द्वारा खेती बाड़ी कर सकें।

16 hrs

जैसे मैंने कहा, बहुत सी तज्जवीब बनी, बाहर डेलीगेशन गये और कई दूसरे तरीके सोचे गये। मगर अगर प्रायः किसानों के पास जाये तो आपको पता चलेगा कि दो हजार बरस पहले एक चीनी सैयाह, खून साग, हिन्दुस्तान में आया था और उसने एथिकलचर के बारे में भी कुछ बातें कही थी और लिखी थी और अगर आज भी हिन्दुस्तान के देहातों में उसकी रूह चक्कर लगाने आये तो देखें कि वे आज भी दो हजार साल पहले की तरह से ही खेती करते हैं और उसके तरीकों को बदलने की ओर और किसानों को ऊपर उठाने की ओर कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है, उस का पूरा बदो-बस्त नहीं किया गया है। मैं बीज की बात को ही लेता हूँ। इस के मुताल्लिक बड़ी तज्जवीबें हुई हैं लेकिन अच्छा बीज किसानों को कभी भी बक्त पर नहीं मिलता है और उन की हमेशा ही यह शिकायत रहती है। साद के बारे में भी यही बात लागू होती है। बेशक गवर्नमेंट ने सिदरी में बनाई है तथा नगाव में फटिलाइजर फैक्ट्रीज बना रही है मगर अभी तक भी हमारे देहातों के किसानों को इतना नहीं पता है कि फटिलाइजर्स का उन्होंने कैसे इस्तेमाल करना है। आज भी

[श्री श्री ग. ० सि. ० मुत्ताकार]

वे गोबर के उपले बना कर के जला लेते हैं। इस तरह से वे पूरे तौर पर गोबर को भी इस्तेमाल नहीं करते हैं। उन के पास जो जानवर हैं, उन का जो खाद होता है उस का भी वे पूरे तौर से इस्तेमाल नहीं करते हैं।

श्री ० रणबीर सिंह (रोहतक) . सब्जी रोटी कैसे खायें ।

श्री श्री ग. ० सि. ० मुत्ताकार : मैं समय नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ। मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस मामले को हल करने के लिये जरूर कोई फौरी तजवीज़ होनी चाहिये। आखिर को जो हमारी पालिसी है उस पर हमें आहिस्ता आहिस्ता अमल करना है। मगर इस प्रॉब्लम को हल करने के लिये जरूर कुछ न कुछ किया जाना चाहिये और बहुत जल्द इस को हल किया जाना चाहिये। आज हम पंजाब में क्या देखते हैं? जगाधरी और सहारनपुर पंजाब और उत्तर प्रदेश की हद्द पर हैं। जैन साहब इस चीज को जानते होंगे क्योंकि वे खुद सहारनपुर के रहने वाले हैं। हमारे जगाधरी और सहारनपुर के निखों में ५, ६, ७ और कभी कभी तो इस से भी ज्यादा फर्क पड़ जाता है। मैं इस से इत्फाक करता हूँ कि सारे हिन्दुस्तान में एक होमोजीनस पालिसी होनी चाहिये। अगर कोई चीज हिन्दुस्तान में पैदा होती है तो उस का फायदा सारे हिन्दुस्तान को एक तरह से पहुँचना चाहिये। जो भी सारी पाबन्दियाँ हैं उन को हटा देना चाहिये क्योंकि हमारा देश एक है और इस सिलसिले में हम मिल कर ही पूरी तौर पर मजिद मकसूद पर पहुँच सकते हैं।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon Minister.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Sir, may I put a question before the hon. Minister starts his reply?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let him say something, and then a question can arise.

Shri A. P. Jain: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the discussion which has taken place in this House yesterday and today can conveniently be divided into two parts: discussion on the food situation of India in general and the discussion on the food situation in West Bengal. Ordinarily, Sir, I should be expected first to deal with the food situation in India and afterwards with the food situation in West Bengal. But the food situation in West Bengal has so much dominated the discussion in the House that I have decided to reverse the order.

I may, Sir, make it clear in the beginning that I don't propose to deal with the production problem today; the House will have sufficient time to discuss it sometime later on.

Now, first I want to deal with the constitutional and the factual responsibility of the Centre. Food implies two things: supply and distribution. So far as supplies are concerned, under the present arrangement no surplus food can move from one State to another except through the Central Government. The Central Government has also a monopoly of the import of food from overseas. Therefore, the Centre naturally has stocks of food both procured internally as also imported from abroad. I, therefore, owe full responsibility of making supplies to the States. But that responsibility is subject to one rider. After all, I have only a limited quantity of food available with me and I cannot accept the responsibility of supplying any quantity to a State. If the aggregate demands from different States exceed the quantity available with me I shall have to cut down the demands of the States. That will have to be my inherent power. Either you give me unlimited supplies so that when the

State Governments ask for a certain quantity I can give it to them or, if you do not give me unlimited supplies, let me give the State Governments limited supplies. After all, this is the supreme body which votes the Budget. If you do not give me unlimited supplies, in that case, if the aggregate demands of all the States exceed the stocks available with me, I shall have to cut down their demands. That is my right.

Shri Narayanankutty Menon (Mukandapuram): Against whom is your complaint?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let us hear him.

Shri A. P. Jain: I am coming to that. Now, Sir, that is the position about the supplies. Then I come to the question of distribution. So far as the question of distribution is concerned, clearly it is the responsibility of the State Governments. I want to cite the case of Kerala. Hon. Members from the Communist Party have spoken a lot of things saying that the Centre is responsible for distribution. When the Communist Government was ruling in Kerala, it was running 6,000 fair price shops. In the small State of Kerala, there were 6,000 fair price shops.

Shri Tyagi: Were they controlling the rural areas?

Shri A. P. Jain: Please do not interrupt. Ordinarily, they were distributing 12,000 tons of rice per month distributed over 6,000 shops. This meant that each of the shops was distributing two tons of rice in a month. In other words, less than two maunds of rice in a day were being distributed. I felt that this system would give rise to corruption. It was an inefficient system. If a shop-keeper sells two maunds of rice in a day he gets about 8 to 12 annas. He will be making money by other means.

When the Food Minister of Kerala came to me, I advised him, "Please

cut down the number of shops because it is giving rise to corruption and inefficiency." He said, "It is none of your business. I am running the shops there. I have to decide how many shops I should run." What are the alternatives before me? I could have told the Food Minister of Kerala, "Well, I am not going to give you any supplies because your administration is bad." But can a Food Minister, whoever he may be and however powerful he may be—let it be the Prime Minister—can he say, "I am not going to give you; let the people die."? No Food Minister can say that I accepted that it is the State's business to distribute it. I gave them rice. That explains the position of distribution *vis-a-vis* the Centre and the States.

Hon. Members have said, "Have we issued any directions?" Can they point out any law under which I am authorised to give instructions to the State Governments? The States are autonomous bodies. They have got their own powers. They have got their own legislatures. The Centre cannot issue instructions. We talk; we can persuade them, but the final decision in the matter of distribution is theirs.

Then look at it from the factual point of view. There are more than 12,000 fair price shops and modified ration shops working in West Bengal, from the metropolitan city of Calcutta right down to the small hamlets. Has this House voted any staff to me and can I supervise them? What machinery had I to look after a small fair price shop situated in a village? Naturally, when you look at it from the legal point of view or from the administrative point of view, distribution is the responsibility of the State Governments all over India. I am not going to own responsibility for it. Therefore, whatever has been said about the distribution, whether they are correct or not correct,—I say it is mostly incorrect—I cannot be held responsible for it.

[Shri A P Jain]

Now, I stated that I owe a certain responsibility towards West Bengal for making supplies. Some hon Member—I believe it was Shrimati Renu Chakravarty—said that the West Bengal Government have been making conflicting and varying assessments of their food shortage. Yes, they have made different assessments, but there is nothing wrong about it. The first assessment was made on the basis of the provisional figures of production. The second assessment was made on the basis of the final figures of production. The provisional figures of production are never reliable. Naturally they vary. No State Government can sit quiet and make no assessments. It has to make assessments, maybe that under certain circumstances, the assessment may not be quite accurate.

According to the latest assessment made by the West Bengal Government and conveyed to us their deficit is 8.35 lakh tons. The House may note down that the deficit according to the West Bengal Government, is 835 thousand tons. How is it worked out? It is worked out on the basis of 15.3 ounces per capita per day. What is the availability of food per capita per day in the whole of India? I am talking of cereals when I say food in this context. What is the availability of cereals per capita per day for the whole of India? It is only 12 to 13 ounces. When I supply to the West Bengal State at the rate of 15.3 ounces per day, while the availability for the whole of India is about 12 to 13 ounces per day, it means that I might have to starve another section by giving more to West Bengal.

So, what did I do? I said that not only I would make up their deficit of 8.35 lakh tons but I would give them more than 11 lakh tons—4 lakh tons of rice and 7 lakh tons of wheat. Well, have I stood by my promise? Up to the end of July we have supplied 645 thousand tons to West Bengal. By the end of this month we

will have supplied 770 thousand tons to West Bengal. There are four months to go.

Now, where is the default? Have I not made up their full deficit? Have I not given them more than what was their deficit? Food is not a mathematical calculation, today you calculate on 15 ounces and tomorrow you will calculate on 20 ounces and say, 'My deficit is 15 lakh.' Whosoever may do it. There is an all-India availability of 12 to 13 ounces. How can you put your claim at 20 ounces? What is the authority with you to say that the cereal consumption per day per capita in West Bengal is 20 ounces?

Shri Tyagi: Who says?

Shri A P Jain: I do not know. That is the position. So I want to make it abundantly clear to this House that I have discharged my responsibility fairly and squarely, much more than what I was required to do. Here are the communists sitting other Members, from West Bengal sitting—I challenge whether they are prepared to dispute any of the facts which I have given whether they have the courage to get up in their Benches and say 'No, you have not discharged your duty'?

Shri Narayanankutty Menon: Where has all the rice gone?

Shri A. P. Jain: I do not know. You may have taken it away.

Shri Narayanankutty Menon: We have not taken it but the people will begin to take.

Shri A P Jain: Let us see whether you are right or not. I want to go chronologically into the facts about the food situation in West Bengal during recent times because it has been said by the Opposite Benches that it is I who am responsible for all these controls and other things.

in West Bengal, and that I have compelled their hands to do it.

In the year 1958, the West Bengal Government decided to promulgate an ordinance known as Anti-profiteering and Anti-hoarding Ordinance. The House is aware that there is a law called the Essential Commodities Act under which we have been operating. The West Bengal Government felt that the Essential Commodities Act was not sufficient and therefore a more rigid law should be passed. We got the draft of the State law because it is a subject on the concurrent list; it could be modified and the President's consent was necessary. I felt some doubts about it, because the law provided controls at all levels; control at the producers' level; control at the wholesalers' level; and control at the retailers' level, and control in the big metropolitan city of Calcutta and control in every little hamlet.

Now, I have some experience. Hon. Members think that I am responsible for the bungling. I own the responsibility; I am not going to deny it and I am going to pay for it. But I have got some experience. I know something about the food administration. I warned them: "Do not take up extensive controls; we have not got sufficiently good machinery". The West Bengal Government realised the force of my argument. But all these Communist Party Members who are shouting here today compelled Dr. Roy to exercise control on prices at all levels, farmers' level, wholesalers' level and retailers' level throughout West Bengal. I am sorry that my colleague yielded to the pressure of the Communists. It was purposeful. As soon as controls had been imposed, they went about the countryside and said to the farmers, "Do not sell the paddy at this price."

Some Hon. Members: Shame!

Shri A. P. Jain: Is that the way of solving the food problem in the country? They asked the West Bengal

Government to impose controls and they asked the farmers to withhold the paddy.

These controls were declared on the 1st January, 1959. The price of rice was fixed at Rs. 16.29 nP and that of paddy at a little less than Rs. 10. I own responsibility for fixing that price. I am not going to deny it. Why did I do it? I want to make it clear to the House that the Food and Agriculture Ministry is not an independent agency to fix the price. The prices of foodgrains have to be fixed after consulting the Planning Commission, because on the price of foodgrains, they say, depends the entire success of the Plan. If food prices go up, wages go up, cost of projects go up and the whole Plan is jeopardised. There is a lot of force in that; that is not a nonsensical argument. We also decided that we shall have an all-India structure of prices. Did we give a bad price to Bengal? For the common rice in Orissa, we fixed Rs. 15 per maund; for the common rice in Madhya Pradesh, which is known as the medium rice there, we fixed Rs. 16; in Bihar we fixed Rs. 16 and to West Bengal we gave the price of Rs. 16.25 nP. My friend, Shri Mehtab, the Chief Minister of Orissa, accused me of partiality towards West Bengal, because I have given them a higher price than Orissa.

Shri Tyagi: Who fixed those prices?

Shri A. P. Jain: We fixed; I fixed, because we want to have uniform prices. Secondly, the whole idea of control is to control the price of foodgrains.

What is the position of those friends of mine, the Communists? In the charter of demands which has been handed over to the West Bengal Government by the Price Increase and Famine Resistance Committee, which is now conducting an agitation in Bengal, the first demand is:

"Supply of edible rice to all categories of people throughout

[Shri A. P. Jain]

the State at Rs. 17-8-0 per maund."

Well and good. Yesterday, it was said in the House by a number of Communist Members like Shrimati Renu Chakravartty, Shri Sadhan Gupta and Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri that they had recommended Rs. 12 to Rs. 13 as the price of paddy in that informal committee. Supposing we pay Rs 13 or Rs 12-8-0 to the farmer for his coarse paddy, what would be the price of rice for the consumer? Rs 22 This means that everybody in West Bengal must get rice at Rs 17-8-0 and we must pay to the farmer at the rate of Rs. 22

Shri Narayanankutty Menon: What about the subsidy?

Shri A. P. Jain: I am coming to that; please do not be in a hurry. Let the House understand that a subsidy of Rs. 4-8-0 per maund means—the consumption of rice in West Bengal is of the order of 45 lakh tons—Rs 50 crores per year. Find out the money; tax the man and give that subsidy. There is no use asking for subsidy unless you find the money. The Food Minister cannot find the subsidy; it will be the nation which has to find out, it is for this House and the State Legislature there to find out the subsidy. I think this is asking for the moon. No State can afford to bear the burden of Rs 50 crores a year for the payment of subsidy.

As I said, these controls on an extensive scale were applied on the 1st January, 1959. Shortly after, troubles began to arise and by the end of March, the inflow of rice in West Bengal dwindled considerably. In the beginning of February, the Chief Minister of West Bengal came to Delhi and said that the supplies of rice in the market were going down and the farmers and the traders were offering resistance, without bringing

rice to the market. He said, in order to put down the resistance of the traders and farmers, the Centre must make more rice available. I was not sure whether this resistance could be overcome by those methods, because a very bad psychological atmosphere had been created in West Bengal by those who wanted to create trouble. I asked, how much you want? He wanted a certain quantity and I said, all right, take it. In the months of February, March and April, we did it; we also did it in the month of May.

Troubles began to multiply and by the beginning of May, the position was that rice had disappeared from the market. The West Bengal Government at that time carried on vast operations for de-hoarding. I am not sure, but my rough idea is that altogether about 20,000 maunds of rice, i.e., less than 7,000 tons, was seized which is less than a day's consumption of Calcutta. But that led to the disappearance of rice and paddy from the whole of West Bengal. The West Bengal Cabinet was faced with a very grave situation and the agro-economic surveys which have been recently conducted and about which I shall say more later on, summed up the position as follows:

"By the middle of June, stocks had reached an all-time low. Some of the rice mills had to suspend their operations for some time in that period owing to the short supply of paddy. A situation of alarm progressively developed in the months of May and June, until the lifting of controls on the 24th June."

For days and days together, the West Bengal Cabinet thought over this question in Darjeeling. They requested me that I should send my Secretary to Calcutta, so that he might be available for consultations. I sent my Secretary, Shri Ghosh, to Calcutta and he stayed there for a week. There were two schools of thought, as there are bound to be in such a situation.

One school was for intensifying the controls and for carrying on the seizure operations more extensively. Another school of thought was that a situation had arisen when there was no option left except to lift the controls. In such a situation, one is faced with a very difficult problem and one has to make the choice. To my mind, it appears that the choice lies between high prices and no availability. The West Bengal Government decided that they should lift the control, because if any more de-hoarding operations were carried on the result will be rice will not appear in the market. They asked us what we thought of it and we said, that is the only course I take the responsibility for it. What happened after that? Immediately the prices went up but rice began to reappear in the market. It is now quite freely available. But during the last two weeks, the prices have shown a downward trend almost all over Bengal. The retail prices have gone down in as many as 10 districts out of 15. The wholesale prices have gone down in as many as 12 districts out of 15. And they are still going down.

But now there is this agitation. What effect it will have I cannot say. Here I want to point out one thing to this hon. House. In Kerala, during the time of the Communist Ministry the prices went up high, very high. (An Hon. Member: *How much?*) I will tell you how high. On the 9th of March with the fullest concurrence of the Communist Ministry in Kerala we have declared controlled prices for the whole of the State. The market price was 4, 5, or 6 rupees higher than the controlled price. Now the Communist party says that they are going to help the people through this agitation. Some of the hon. Members on the other side said that it is because of their agitation that the prices have gone down. Then where were you sleeping when the prices were high in Kerala? People are the same whether they are in West Bengal or they are in Kerala. The complexion of the Government, whether it is a Congress

Government or a Communist Government, does not matter. You should have started an agitation in Kerala because your agitation would have brought down the prices in Kerala and given relief to the people. (Interruptions)

Shri Nagi Reddy (Anantapur) How much rice was supplied to Kerala and how much to West Bengal and at what rates? Did Kerala get from what is known as the Southern Zone at the controlled rates?

Shri A. P. Jain I am coming to that. The hon. Members need not be too much in a hurry.

Shri Nagi Reddy. We are not at all in a hurry. We are very patient.

Shri A. P. Jain. I know how patient you are, propping up now and then. Kerala today holds the rest of the southern region in bondage. Madras must first supply to Kerala and then eat afterwards. If there is a little delay in Andhra, Andhra people are enemies. And the Centre is always discriminating, at least so long as the Communist Government was there. That is one part of it.

Shri Sadhan Gupta (Calcutta-East) It is useless your trying to divide us.

Shri A. P. Jain I now come to the general question of controls. Many things have been said here about controls and why they have not been enforced. West Bengal Government is incompetent, administration is weak, we are all incompetent. But you were also ruling in Kerala. What did you do? You have also got a record. The normal prices, the market prices in Kerala were always higher than the controlled prices. Day in and day out there was violation of the control orders. May I ask those who have been accusing the West Bengal Government whether one merchant, one trader, leaving the Communists aside—because they are your people—was prosecuted? Did you prosecute even one non-Communist because he was violating the order?

Shri Nagi Reddy: Then political discrimination would have come in

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order

Shri A. P. Jain: Then you should have prosecuted a Communist. Then there would not have been any charge of discrimination.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There should not be so many "you" if it is addressed to me

Shri A. P. Jain: The House is heaping all the sins on me. I am now unloading them.

Now I come to de-hoarding. Was any one de-hoarding operation carried out in Kerala? Not one. The Communist merchants are there. They never do hoarding. But non-Communists are hoarding. Did you arrest them? Did you take over their stocks? After all, the whole of Kerala is not Communist.

Then I come to procurement. The Famine Resistance Committee says either you procure 5 lakh tons of rice in Bengal or you resign. That is the demand. How much did the benevolent Communist Government of Kerala procure? (An hon. Member: 28 tons) In 1958 they procured 7,300 tons.

Shri Narayanankutty Menon: From the Arabian sea?

Shri A. P. Jain: In 1959 they procured the princely quantity of 21 tons of paddy, not rice.

Shri Warior (Trichur): Distortion of the whole facts.

Shri A. P. Jain: I challenge them. All my facts are correct.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We are getting the figures as are available with the Government.

Shri Braj Raj Singh (Firozabad): For their failures they have gone. Does he want the West Bengal Government also to go?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He is giving us the difficulties that the State Governments are experiencing.

Shri Warior: It was not the policy of the Kerala Government to try to procure. Procurement was for wholesale. So, it is a distortion of facts.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Let the Minister continue.

Shri A. P. Jain: What about the production front? Procurement may not have been the policy of the Government of Kerala. But production was the policy of the Kerala Government. Or was production also not the policy of the Kerala Government? In two years of their regime they increased the production only by 8,000 tons.

Shri Nagi Reddy: What was the increase in production during the Congress rule? Only decrease. He must also give the figures for the period of the Congress regime.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: If you allow him to say that, he will do so.

Shri A. P. Jain: I have been a lawyer all my life and I have found that a small cause *vakil* always shouts when he has a weak case.

Shri Nagi Reddy: And a resigning *vakil* speaks less.

Shri A. P. Jain: Now, what has been their increased demand during these two years on account of the increase in population alone? Leave apart the demand on account of increase in the standard of living. Their demand increased by 30,000 tons per year. That is to say, in two years' time their consumption demand increased by 60,000 tons, and the additional production was 8,000 tons. So, their deficit increased by 52,000 tons. What would they say for that? Still they say the Centre is discriminating against them. Where is that additional food to come from? If you do not produce, how can I give you? If the West Bengal State does not produce, where am I to go? I am given a limited quantity. These are some

of the things which I wanted to say about the situation in West Bengal.

Now I will come to the general food situation in the whole of India. But before I do that, I will deal with the case of Bombay, because it is another problem State at the moment. Now, Bombay used to receive large quantities of wheat from Rajasthan and from Madhya Pradesh. As a result of the cordoning of these States, because we wanted to undertake State trading these sources of supply have been cut off from Bombay. Now we have got overseas wheat and we have authorised the Bombay Government to take overseas wheat in any quantity that they want. Our overseas wheat is of certain quality. It is grown in the United States and Canada. It is red wheat.

Shri C. D. Pande (Naini Tal): Red is never good.

Shri A. P. Jain: We told them, you take it in any quantity you want. We are able to supply it at the rate of Rs 14 and it generally sells at between Rs 15 to 16 to the consumer. Yet, the price of the indigenous wheat continues to be high, about Rs 26 to 28. Now, it is not within my power to remedy it, because I have got only overseas wheat. I am prepared to issue it in any amount they want, but that does not bring down the prices, because people have their own likes and dislikes in food. Even the middle class there are comparatively better off than the middle class in other parts of the country. They are prepared to pay Rs. 28 per maund. All that I can do is that if you cannot afford to pay you have my cheap wheat at Rs 15 or Rs 16 per maund.

As regards rice, Bombay used to draw large quantities of rice from Madhya Pradesh and from Andhra. Now because of the difficulties that have arisen in West Bengal, floods which have come in Kashmir and in Assam and the increased demand for

rice from Kerala, we could not make up the full deficit of Bombay so far as rice was concerned. Last year we had given them 1,60,000 or 1,65,000 tons of rice. This year we have agreed to give them 2,30,000 tons of rice. But the difficulty there is that the prices are high. It is a question which the Government will have to solve. I have been giving my opinion about it to my colleagues. It is a question which is under the active consideration of the Government because if the present system continues the disparity may be reduced but a fair amount of disparity between the surplus States and the deficit States will continue. So, we have to give thought to it. Maybe, I may not be there to participate in it. But that is the position of Bombay.

Now, the two difficult States today are West Bengal and Bombay. What is the position about the rest of India? I have got index number of prices for the whole of India for rice, wheat and cereals and for India excluding West Bengal and Bombay. It will give a somewhat clear picture to the House as to why the general index number is high. What is it that is exercising the pressure? For the whole of India the index number for July, 1958, that is, last year, was 114.8. I am talking of rice. This year for the month of July it is 109.3. But if we exclude Bombay and West Bengal, the corresponding figures are 109 for the last year and 102.7 for this year. This makes it clear that the pressure of high prices is brought about by West Bengal and Bombay.

If we take the prices of cereals, last year for the whole of India the index was 109.9 and this year it is 107. But if we exclude Bombay and West Bengal, last year it was 107.1 and this year it is 102.9. Statewise, taking wheat first there are four main wheat growing States, namely, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh.

[Shri A. P. Jain]

In three out of these four States the price of wheat is between Rs. 14 and Rs. 16 per maund. In Punjab it is Rs. 14 to Rs. 16 per maund. Maybe, in some places it is Rs. 17 per maund. In Madhya Pradesh it is between Rs. 14 and Rs. 16 per maund. In Rajasthan it is Rs. 14 to Rs. 16 per maund. They are not high prices considering the present state of affairs. It is only in Uttar Pradesh that the prices are from Rs. 17 to Rs. 20 per maund.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Or Rs. 24 per maund even.

Shri A. P. Jain: Maybe, in an odd place. I do not know. But the generally quoted prices are between Rs. 17 and Rs. 20 per maund. Now, they are high prices but not alarmingly high prices. What have I done? Even now we are giving 45,000 to 50,000 tons of overseas wheat to Uttar Pradesh for maintaining the prices. Now the difficulty has arisen. How did the difficulty arise? Up to the 5th May wheat was flowing somewhat freely into the market. Arrivals were not bad. The Uttar Pradesh Government, because they were not getting much by way of procurement, carried on de-hoarding operations on a vast scale in various mounds. Wheat disappeared

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Where did it go?

Shri A. P. Jain: It goes somewhere.

Shri Tyagi: It goes underground. They know the term 'under-ground'.

Shri A. P. Jain: That is the position of wheat and I submit that the position of wheat is not at all alarming. Then I come to rice. In the States of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa the prices are low. In the State of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Assam they are appreciably lower than those of last year. It is only in Bombay and in West Bengal that the prices are high. Prices are also higher in the South compared to last year. But what is the explanation for that? Production in the South has been about

5 lakh tons. It is better this year. The Madras Food Minister and the Andhra Food Minister say that it is the Kerala purchases which have been disturbing their market. They come and offer higher prices.

Shri Tyagi: Yes, they are the villains of the peace.

Shri A. P. Jain: They say, "We are so much disgusted with Kerala, please split the southern zone and create each state into a separate 'no movement' area." That question is again before the Government. In order to find out as to why the market arrivals have gone down and why these difficulties have arisen, we requested five agro-economic centres to conduct surveys. My hon. friend, Dr. Ram Subhag Singh criticised this action of ours. He said that the survey is useless. He is a very able man, I know. But it is for this House to accept or reject what he says. His experience might be this but his experience cannot extend to the whole of India. This economic survey covers three-fourth of India. After all, a Government can go only on certain scientific investigations. His judgment might be right.

An Hon. Member: Most unscientific investigations.

Shri A. P. Jain: Unscientific judgments you have. So, what are their findings?

The survey was entrusted to five centres, one at Delhi, another at Shanti Niketan, third at Sehore, fourth at Madras and fifth at Waltair. They surveyed the market and they also surveyed six to eight villages which serve as the hinterland to the market for supply of food. They interviewed the medium farmer, the small farmer and the substantial farmer. Their conclusions, for whatever worth they may be, are as follows. It is for the hon. Members to prefer either an *ad hoc* statement based on a single man's judgment or the result of a scientific investigation.

"Now the most important fact revealed by the survey for wheat and rice is that the farmers are withholding larger quantities than usual. Even in the highly surplus States of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh while arrivals of rice and paddy this year have been much higher than last year yet the stocks with the medium and bigger farmers are also much larger"

The poor small farmer cannot retain
He has brought it to the market

Shri Panigrahi (Puri) Did they go to Orissa?

Shri A. P. Jain: Yes

Shri Mahanty: Have they made any survey in Orissa about hoarding? I can say that it is a white lie

Shri A. P. Jain: All right.

"The reasons for withholding the stocks vary from place to place. In some place it is an expectation of high prices. In some places because the farmers consider the control price to be too low"

There are also other reasons into which we need not go

"Some of the medium and bigger farmers are also doing trading and they are buying or are controlling the stocks of the small farmers. Finances are more freely available from the Co-operatives and the taccavi loans. The farmer has a tendency to withhold rice and wheat and sell other produce. In some districts of Madhya Pradesh the farmers have started to pay wages to their labourers in the form of wheat and not in the form of gram as they were doing before"

"In some parts of Bihar, it was found that the farmers are withholding paddy and selling maize"

161 LSD-8.

Shri P. N. Singh: Is it from some document?

Shri A. P. Jain: I have said that.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He has said that

Shri A. P. Jain: I will circulate the document. I will get it printed and circulated

Shri Mahanty: It is a piece of poetry written in Shantiniketan

श्री राजराज सिंह कटे पर नमक
डिक्क रहे हैं।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

Shri A. P. Jain:

"In many places, they prefer to sell tur, gram, oil seeds and other agricultural produce and withhold wheat and paddy. Stocks with trade are low. They are afraid of buying on account of the conditions of market and Government policy

These are their conclusions not my conclusions. Wherever (Interruptions)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members might reject it

Shri Tyagi: I wanted to know what is the source. Was it the same organisation of Shri Mahalanobis?

Shri A. P. Jain: No, no

An Hon. Member: It is not worth reading

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He said that the Government had a survey conducted and these are the results. They might be wrong, they might not be accepted here. That is a different thing. He has given the results of that survey. Let us hear that

Shri Braj Raj Singh: It seems that the peasants are responsible for all this

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Should I ask him to stop and say whatever hon.

[Shri A. P. Jain]

Members from this side want to hear? Let us listen to the hon. Minister.

An Hon. Member: I want to know whether he agrees with these remarks.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: After he has stated this, he will come.

Shri A. P. Jain: I would like to know from hon. Members who agree and who do not agree.

Some Hon. Members: We do not agree at all.

Shri A. P. Jain:

"Wherever we have taken seizure action, stocks have disappeared. Government control prices have operated as a support price. The farmer knows that he can at any time sell wheat and rice at control prices. The risk in withholding is therefore reduced. The farmer in most places considers the control price as too low."

It is not possible for me to reproduce all the conclusions of the survey. I have given the main conclusions.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Meanwhile, may I know where these hon. friends stayed, whether they stayed in some hotel (*An Hon. Member: Ashoka Hotel*) and where they got the information?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That is not material here where they stayed.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: They are not conversant with the conditions of life.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Whenever the hon. Member gets the next opportunity, he may say that. Now, he has to listen.

Shri Mahanty: May I request the hon. Minister to lay a copy of that report on the Table of the House?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That he has already said.

Shri A. P. Jain: I will not only lay a copy on the Table, I will circulate it among all the Members.

As a result of the survey and the experience of at least some of us—the experience of others may be otherwise, we feel that a crucial stage has arrived in the food situation of the country. It is a fact that control prices all over the country are being observed in violation. Openly foodgrains are selling at prices higher than control prices. They have not been enforced.

Shri P. E. Patel: Is it not true that the market price is higher than the control price?

Shri A. P. Jain: That is what I am saying. Therefore, if we have to make state-trading effective, our operations will have to be two-fold, both horizontally and laterally. When I say horizontally, it means that the control machinery will have to be intensified and a good machinery will have to be set up. We have not got that machinery today.

Shri Jadhav (Malegaon): Whose fault is it?

Shri A. P. Jain: When I say horizontally, I mean that the control prices have to be extended. It cannot be confined only to wheat and rice. It has to be extended to certain other alternate crops. When I say laterally, I mean that we shall have to procure from the big farmer. That is the question before us now.

Before I conclude, I would like to refer to certain observations made by two hon. Members of this House, Dr. Ram Subhag Singh and Shri Tyagi. It is a well known thing that state-trading—it was stated in this House very clearly—postulates controls and seizure of stocks in certain circumstances. No state-trading is possible without controls. My hon. friend Shri Tyagi, for whom I have the highest respect one of my oldest friends, said, it is bad. He said that

state-trading is all right theoretically, but we have not implemented it well and the dangers were obvious from the beginning. Dr Ram Subhag Singh was a Secretary of the Congress Party when this decision about state-trading was taken. Pandit Mahavir Tyagi was a member of the Executive Council. It was open to them to have raised it in the Executive Committee. It was open to them to have raised it in the party. Did they do it?

Shri Tyagi: We did not know that it was only a slogan and the Government does not mean to actually carry it out.

Shri A. P. Jain: If the hon. Member does not know what is a slogan nobody in the world knows what is a slogan.

Shri Narayanankutty Menon: The cat is out of the bag.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Does it mean that what is done in the Congress party can be done here?

Shri A. P. Jain: Pandit Mahavir Tyagi said

Some Hon. Member: Pandit?

Shri A. P. Jain: Pandit Mahavir Tyagi said that Government lives on borrowed wisdom; they beg wisdom from the United States, they beg wisdom from China, from the USSR and what not have we borrowed. But, it is better to borrow wisdom than to have no wisdom.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: You have none.

Shri A. P. Jain: After all, borrowing wisdom is not the monopoly of the Government. Others can also borrow wisdom. For those who oppose state-trading, the parlour of the Swatantra party is open.

An Hon. Member: Are you serious about it?

Shri A. P. Jain: As serious as you are; more than that. If one does not

want to undertake a journey to the headquarters of the Swatantra party, Shri M. R. Masani is here and one can take his advice and follow his advice.

I will conclude with one remark. This is the last speech which I am making from the Treasury Benches as Food Minister. Before I sit down, I want to strike a note of warning to this House and to the country at large. In food matters, the country is standing on the crossroad. You have to choose your path. If you want state-trading, there must be effective controls, extensive controls at all levels. Our state-trading has not succeeded as we wanted it to, because controls have not been exercised. I have no hesitation in saying that some of those who were responsible for taking this decision took it without realising the full significance of it, because, they did not enforce controls. For us, we modified the controls. It is not possible, in the present circumstances, to remove all kinds of controls. But the controls will have to be limited unless we adopt the other course and adopt it effectively. I am responsible for the difficulties that have arisen. I am not going to deny that. It would be disgraceful for me to say that I have not been responsible. There have been difficulties in the food situation. Either have a good machinery and enforce controls effectively or take to the other path. There cannot be a midway house.

Another thing. In a developing economy prices of foodgrains and other things will be high. I have got a report of the speech of the Reserve Bank Governor. He says that the price of the rupee has declined by 29 per cent. We have done it deliberately. I mean deficit financing.

17 hrs.

Some hon. Members think that price is a function of supply and demand. At least that is what Dr Ram Subhag Singh said. He is mistaken. Firstly, the prices affect only a

Foodgrain Prices

[Shri A. P. Jain.]

small portion of production, because 75 per cent. of our production is consumed by the farmers who grow food. It is only about 25 per cent. that comes to the market. Therefore, it is confined to 25 per cent., that is of the non-producer.

Then in the complex system of economy in which we are living, surely it is not supply and demand alone that can control the price. There are the larger policies of import and export. There are the budgetary policies and there are financial policies. There has always to be a balance struck. There is nothing wrong about it. Those countries which have taken up development programmes have resorted to deficit financing; they have created money for the purpose of development. There is nothing wrong about it; it must be done. At the same time, you must be prepared for the consequences of it. It will give rise to rise in prices. There cannot be any better authority than the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India on this. He has said it.

So let us be realistic. Let us understand the facts of the situation. This House and the country must be prepared for somewhat higher prices as the price we pay for development.

I am very grateful to you and to all the Members of the House who have, on the whole, given me a patient hearing. As I said, I will not be speaking from this Bench hereafter.

Shri Sadhan Gupta: You will address some other legislature.

Shri A. P. Jain: I must offer apologies to all the Members of the House if I have at any time annoyed them by any of my remarks. Sometimes I talk somewhat sharply, but I do not mean anything sharp. So they will forgive me if I have ever given them annoyance.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh rose—

*Half-an-hour discussion.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The discussion is over. There is no right of reply under Rule 193.

17.02 hrs.

***HYDROGENATED OILS**

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Pali): I am very grateful to you, Sir, for allowing me to raise this discussion. This is almost an extension of the debate which we just concluded. We talked about food, and hydrogenated oils also form a substantial part of our food now.

This question of hydrogenated oils has assumed new importance and urgency in the present context of the new scientific research and knowledge which has come in our possession. As a matter of fact, it was always very important. The arguments which have in the past been advanced against its continuance in our dietary do not lose weight. There was a committee set up, and some of the points which have been urged against it are really very valid and stand with the same force today.

It has been made out that vanaspati affects adversely the ghee industry of the country; vanaspati affects adversely the cattle industry of the country; vanaspati is a great enemy of the cottage industry of oil pressing; vanaspati deprives a large number of people of their staple food; vanaspati is prohibitive in price and as such, deprives the poor man of use of sufficient quantity of fresh oil;

"In food value, fresh oil is better than vanaspati and as such vanaspati is less energy producing and health giving than fresh oil;

The hydrogenation without adding even an ounce to the fat contents of the country involves loss of about 12 crores of rupees to the nation;