

SHRI ABDUL GHANI (Punjab): Sir, I beg to move:

2. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely: —

'and having considered the same, this House recommends that—

(i) Government should authorise every Panchayat to purchase surplus foodgrains, and the Reserve Bank of India should allow co-operative banks to advance money against food-grains;

(ii) Government should take steps to issue home-delivery cards against treasury deposit receipts under the head food-grains; and

(iii) Government should issue identification cards to check bogus purchases."

The questions were proposed.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY MINISTER RE. HOURS OF SITTING OF THE HOUSE

THE MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI SATYA NARAYAN SINHA) : Mr. Chairman, some of the hon. Members of both the Houses had suggested to me that the hours of sitting of both the Houses should be so adjusted that without curtailing the time, the staff working in both the Secretariats may go home early. I, therefore, made this suggestion to the other House, which has been accepted, that instead of sitting from 11 A.M. to 5 P.M., that House should sit from 10 A.M. to 4 P.M. This House has a recess of one and a half hours and I suggest that we might sit from 10 A.M. to 12.30 p.m. and again from 2 p.m. to 4 P.M. The working hours will not be curtailed but the staff will get the facility of going home early since after 6.30 P.M. there is a blackout and transport difficulty.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I hope this meets with your approval.

HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Then we will do accordingly.

SHRI SATYA NARAYAN SINHA: From tomorrow.

MOTION RE. FOOD SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY—*continued*

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Mr. Chairman, food shortages and the consequent distress have been one of the gravest problems.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

Madam, it is not a problem of today, we have been living with this problem for years and I am afraid we have to live with this problem for many years to come. We know that even in the past there have been recurrent shortages of foodgrains and if we go deeper into the past we would find that there have been frequent famines too. Even in vedic times when the population was not so large, in an agricultural country of plenty we had had famines. There were famines even in the times of the Maharishis and so it is not a problem of today and the House will realise that a problem which has been existing in this country for ages is not easy of solution, nor would it be the responsibility of any one agency to evolve a solution. It requires the cooperation not only of Government but also of the people. So, nobody can lay the blame for the food shortages or distress at the door of the Government, I do not mean to give a blank cheque to the Government. There are shortcomings and the Government could improve its working, that is true, but we cannot hold the Government alone responsible for what is happening in the country. Now our need of foodgrains has been estimated to be of the order of ninetyfive million tonnes for 1965 whereas the availability will be 94.7 million tonnes. Considered from the point of view of estimated consumption, this shortage is not much but still we

[Shri M. Govinda Reddy.]

are experiencing distress because of several reasons. By 1970-71, the estimated consumption of foodgrains, including our requirements for seed purposes and wastages will be of the order of one hundred and twentyfive million tonnes. The population is rising at the rate of 2.5 per cent, per annum and the rate of consumption by 3.5 per cent. This situation calls for, as the hon. Mover of the Motion said, not a policy or a mechanism of a temporary nature but a firm and long-standing policy. Unless we evolve such a policy and we are able to solve the situation all our economic planning may go to rack and ruin. We have planned for factories and various industrial concerns but if the food shortages continue, if the people are harassed for getting their rations then we cannot expect much benefit to result from all our Plans. Therefore, it is important that we should evolve a firm, permanent and long-standing policy for not only producing food-grains but also for evolving a machinery for adequate distribution. I also do not think that we are bankrupt of intelligence or genius to meet all the impediments that we have in solving this problem. The monsoon has been one of the major factors which comes in the way of assuring us the supply of foodgrains but if we are not competent to off-set this disadvantage, we have to admit that we are bankrupt of genius. We have taken steps to off-set this in a very large measure, I suppose, by constructing large dams and reservoirs and by increasing irrigation facilities, checking floods and by adopting the scheme of well irrigation but how far these things go is to be seen from experience. I wish to make some suggestions for long-term steps. I have suggested some of these things before and the House will bear with me if I repeat them because I dare say they bear repetition. The first thing is that top priority should be given to food and agriculture. This has been accepted by Government, it is true, but no action has been based on that. Madam, the

responsibility for supplying food— though it is not a constitutional responsibility has been taken over by the Central Government but the responsibility for producing it or for seeing that adequate production is there is not that of the Centre. So it must be now definitely settled that whoever is the Food and Agriculture Minister in the Centre, he must have adequate powers. He must be invested with sufficient powers to see that the plans or schemes are implemented not only in the Central areas but also in all the States. Now, as the hon. Mover was saying, I am not happy with the progress that the States have made or with the co-operation that the States have given to the Centre in this respect or with the importance that the States have given to this problem, in spite of the fact that they were asked by the late Prime Minister to give the food portfolio to the most important man in the Cabinet, we find it is held by the least important man. So, the States do not seem to have realised their responsibility because the Centre comes to their aid every time. Whenever there is shortage, they run up to Delhi and ask the Centre to give them more and more supplies and the Centre necessarily gives them whatever is available. I think, therefore, there is not that pressure on the State Ministries to give their wholehearted attention to this problem. So the Central Government must settle this question now once and for all. Even the Dantwala Committee has reported that the States have not done their best part and that the Centre and the States must decide upon the policy that they are going to adopt and the relative roles of the Centre and the States in solving this question. So, I suggest that this question must be taken up on a top priority basis and the Central Government should settle this question in consultation with the Chief Ministers.

Now, adequate resources have to be allotted to the Food and Agricultural Department. That also has been admitted but I do not know if the

resources that have been allotted to food and agriculture are sufficient. The Food Department in the Centre and the Food Departments in the States, I think, are still functioning on a temporary basis. This should go the services have to have some interest in their work they must have some permanency. It is time we did something about this since we have to evolve a permanent machinery for solving this problem which is going to live with us for many more years. The Governments, both at the Centre and in the States, have to think of placing them on a permanent basis. On as permanent a footing as other Central and States services are.

There is another suggestion which I had thrown many times before that the Food Department consists of officers who have an academic interest in food and agriculture but who have no practical experience of food and agriculture. I am sorry to say this because it might reflect on the services. I do not want to cast any reflection but in the nature of things people who have been educated in cities and have gone to agricultural colleges in America and elsewhere go into these Departments. They have no knowledge of the rural conditions. Maybe, there may have been some recruitment recently but by and large the Departments both in the States and in the Centre consist of people who do not know the rural conditions. Unless the services who are responsible for implementing those schemes know the rural conditions, know the agricultural conditions there, however good their schemes may be, they may not be implemented in the right spirit and we will not get adequate results therefrom. Therefore the Central and the States must see that as far as possible for these services people from the rural areas, preferably agricultural areas and from agricultural families, are recruited.

In this connection I have also given a suggestion that the Government cannot succeed in evolving a policy

and solving this question unless it brings to bear on it practical experience. Now, I can say without fear of contradiction that much of the work that has been done in the Food Departments is more theoretical or at least it lacks practical experience and the Government have not moved their little finger to take into consultation elements of practical experience. Now we know that in all matters relating to industry the industrialists are in the relevant Committees, the Chambers of Commerce representatives are in the Committees, the trade representatives are in the Committees, the labour unions are there and tripartite committees are held but in matters of food and agriculture I do not know of any organisation where farmers have been taken into consultation in evolving policies. Maybe there may be one difficulty with the Government that whereas trade, industry and commerce are organised sectors—even labour is an organised sector—agriculture is not an organised sector in that sense, and it may be difficult for them to find representatives of agriculturists. But they should be able to select. Now we are giving rewards to farmers who grow more, who are exemplary farmers and it should not be difficult for the Minister or his Department to select people who are good farmers for co-operations. This is a woeful lack and I think this has to be remedied if the Government is to get practical results.

Then, there is no co-ordination. There is lack of co-ordination between the Food and Agriculture Ministry and other Ministries, for instance with the Ministry of Steel and Mines, with the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals for the purpose of fertilisers, etc. In the matter of providing agricultural implements, fertilisers etc. to the agricultural sector there has been no co-ordination. That coordination has to be evolved. So far as fertilisers are concerned I am sure a great deal of fertilisers have been realised by the Government. Here there has been a great difficulty experienc-

[Shri M. Govinda Reddy.] ed by the Government. Licences have been given to private industrialists in the private sector but they have not come forward to exploit those licences. I do not know why they have not come forward; my fear is that these private industrialists have not come forward to exploit those licences because they know that the fertilisers that they are going to produce will come to be regulated by Government and they might have to cut down their quantum of profit. This lack of profit which they anticipate is the deterring factor which prevents them from exploiting even the licences they have taken. Now, it is high time that the Government either goes into the public sector for starting fertiliser units or gives a guarantee to the private industrialists that even if they regulate the price and distribution of fertilisers produced by them they will be guaranteed a profit of, say, 10 per cent., or whatever is reasonable.

There is another important thing that I want to bring to the notice of the Government. About sixty per cent of the people consume not wheat, not rice but millets. Now, millets can be grown on dry land; they can also be irrigated crops. They do not need fertilisers nor do they need any fertile soil. Whereas every possible attention has been and is being given to encourage the growth of rice and wheat, millets which are easy to be grown, which do not require much rainfall or irrigation or fertilisers, which do not require any fertile soil, which can be grown easily and which are consumed by a large number of people do not receive much attention at the hands of the Government. It is now for the Government to devise ways and means of encouraging the farmers to grow millets. The farmers will also be induced to grow millets because a guaranteed price is given to jawar and other cereals. It will be an additional attraction for the farmers to grow millets if a good price is guaranteed to them. With these millets they also get fodder. Now,

with the growing of wheat there is no fodder available, although with the growing of paddy fodder is available. With the growing of every millet, fodder is available. Now, fodder has become a scarce commodity even in rural areas and so the peasant, I am sure, will certainly take to growing millets if some inducement is given, apart from the minimum guaranteed price.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken fifteen minutes.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: One or two minutes more. I have got some more to say.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Would the House desire to sit till 1.30 P.M.?

HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Then, the House will sit till 1.30 P.M.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: I would like to say a word or two on changing the food-habits of the people. Since we cannot expect our gap between production and consumption to be filled up easily, in the near, foreseeable future, it is high time that substitute foodstuffs must be made and that can only happen if our food-habits change. If proper publicity is made, I think the people will change their food-habits. For instance, Kerala people before the Second World War did not consume wheat at all. Many people had not even seen wheat. Now, they are using wheat abundantly, wherever it is available.

So, it is possible for the people to change their food-habits, but there is no publicity. I think this is a good line for the Government to take.

Now, even the Dantwala Committee said that the distribution machinery must now be a permanent one. The hon. Shri Vajpayee, the Mover of the motion, was saying that this policy and this machinery will be from season to season, from year to year and from month to month. j Although he has taken the liberty of putting it that way, it is true that

there is no permanency about it. There should be permanency. Now that this problem is going to be fairly permanent, the distribution machinery must be permanent and they must evolve a common distribution machinery for the whole of India. Thank you, Madam.

SHRI J. VENKATAPPA (Mysore): Madam Deputy Chairman, the food situation in this country is a baffling problem. It has continued to be a problem in this country in spite of all the activities and efforts on the part of the Government. The efforts, so far, made by the Planning Commission and the implementation of the plans and schemes through the States have not been successful. There are various reasons for the failure of the successful implementation of the various schemes for the development of agriculture, which means the production of food in the country. The problems that face agricultural production in this country are many, ranging from production to distribution. The main aspect of food is the development of agriculture. The agrarian revolution, which was thought of as long back as 1957, is still pending before the States and they could not implement it successfully, except one State, Punjab, where after 1957 we see a lot of progress as far as agricultural operations are concerned. The other States are lagging behind. They should implement the agrarian revolution. Not only there should be a ceiling on holdings, but the other aspect of this should be considered and solved immediately, *i.e.*, fragmentation of landholdings. They should, as far as possible, prevent further fragmentation of agricultural holdings, which are being converted into uneconomic holdings. They should bring about a consolidation of uneconomic holdings, all the agricultural holdings into economic holdings, which could then be successfully operated. When we have successful agriculture¹ operations, production would naturally go up.

Agriculture in this country as well as in the world is governed by natu-

ral factors, *i.e.*, seasonal rains and other natural vicissitudes which occur every now and then. Agriculture, to a great extent, is affected very much in this country every year by floods on the one side and scarcity of rains on the other side. So far, we could not have any schemes effectively implemented to prevent floods in this country. It is still only an attempt on the part of the Government. So, also, where we are facing scarcity of rains, they are called arid zones. For the development of these arid zones, we do not have any scheme, a permanently evolved scheme, to be implemented stage by stage. For instance, some States took to advancing loans and encouraged the ryots to have irrigation wells. They could not follow it up further. I cannot understand why the Government leaves these schemes in the middle and create a situation wherein the people think that they could not entirely depend on the Government for the successful implementation of these schemes. As far as Mysore State is concerned, they had a plan to be executed in a period of five years, costing about Rs. 7-5 crores. They could not proceed or follow it up further. In the first year, *i.e.*, in 1962-63, they could sanction Rs. 1*5 crores with the assistance of the Centre. They could not follow it up further. They have left it at that stage. During 1963-64 and 1964-65, they could not give fresh loans for irrigation wells. Agriculture is also affected very much by seasonal pests and want of pesticides. For example, I could give one instance where the Centre could not go to the assistance of a State to prevent the further spread of the disease and which resulted in a loss of crores of rupees to the agriculturists. That is West Bengal. There was a press notification, announcement by the Government of West Bengal, wherein the Centre had rejected a request from the State to supply Rs. 1 lakh worth of pesticides to control blight, which occurred to the potato crop. We know the results. The ryots had to incur loss to the extent of crores of rupees and this is the sort of encouragement which the

[Shri J. Venkatappa.] agriculturists are getting in this country. How can we expect that the food situation will-be solved soon?

As regards the implementation of so many schemes like the distribution and procurement of the food that is available in the country, as Shri Vajpayee has said much about it, I need not go further into the details, which may be a repetition, but still I have to mention it. Procurement as well as the distribution of what is available in the country is very much hindered as it is in the hands of the middlemen who utilise the situation for the purpose of exploitation and thereby they create an unnatural deficiency. They create an unnatural situation in the country, that is, we do not have sufficient food to eat though we have got sufficient foodgrains in this country. This aspect has to be considered by the Government and they should take coercive actions against those who are responsible for creating this sort of unnatural situations as far as the foodgrains are concerned, specially in such a critical situation which we are today facing. Thank you.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN (Uttar Pradesh) : Madam Deputy Chairman, at the present moment our minds are exercised over the most important question, namely, the defence of our country against the wanton aggression by Pakistan, firstly, by the treacherous infiltration of the raiders into Kashmir, and later on by the massive assault at Chhamb after crossing the international frontier. We have had to take measures for the defence of the country to repulse these attacks. We had to attack the sources of mischief and we have succeeded in depriving the enemy of the initiative to confine the fighting to the place of his choice. We are in the midst of a full-fledged war. I must pay my humble tribute to the officers and men of the Army and also of our Air Force for the heroic and gallant fight which they are giving to the enemy. I must also take my cap off to the sense of patriotism of the brave people of Kashmir who have belied the calcula-

tions and frustrated the machinations of the authorities of Pakistan who wanted to incite people to revolt against the Kashmir Government. The people of Kashmir have by their example strengthened the foundations of our secularism. It is gratifying to know that the whole country is behind our Prime Minister and the Government in the action they have taken for the defence of the country. Ours is a defensive war. We have been forced into it. We avoided all these 17 or 18 years a war in spite of continuous provocations given to us. Probably Pakistan interpreted our keenness for peace to be our weakness. No doubt we are keen for peace, but we want that Pakistan should realise-that though keen for peace we are not afraid of war.

Madam, although it is not very easy at the present moment of excitement and anxiety to devote undivided attention to any of the other problems that are facing us, yet our food problem is so intimately connected with the defence*of our country, not only because we have got to maintain supplies for our fighting forces but also because we want that the peace and tranquillity inside the country should continue, that I feel that it will be criminal on our part not to give full attention to this important question. Madam, there are two aspects from which the food problem has been approached. First, there is to be a long-term solution which is nothing more than to increase production and to be self-sufficient in our food. That today appears to be a distant goal because there are many things to be taken into account. One is the rate of increase in the population for which Government have come forward with a very ambitious programme of family panning. I agree mostly and give my support to the programme that has been taken up in that regard by the Government. I feel that we have not been able to give full attention to the present, I mean the short-term solution. Before I take up the question of short-term solution I would like to read before

the House a portion of the statement made by Dr. K. L. Rao, our Minister of Irrigation and Power, and this is contained in 'the Statesman' dated the 3rd September, 1965. Addressing the Institution of Electrical Engineers and the National Institute of Science of India in New Delhi, Dr. Rao said:

"Indian agriculturists were demanding power for the erection of 7 lakh pumps during the Fourth Plan. This would involve an investment of no more than Rs. 60 crores. But the increase in food production would amount to about forty million tonnes, worth over ... Rs. 200 crores."

I do not know, I wish there is some truth in this statement and the calculations of the hon. Minister of Irrigation and Power—even if they produce half the results, an investment of Rs. 60 crores will bring in a return of forty million tonnes of grains, and I think our whole food problem can be solved at least for the next ten or fifteen years. Our food production at present is about 88 million tonnes. These are the figures, and if we increase the figure by another 40 millions, even by 20 millions I think there will be no more shortage of food for some time at least. I will only draw the attention of the Food Minister to the statement which has been made by one of the responsible Ministers of the Government and I do not think the country at any moment will grudge the investment of only Rs. 60 crores over a scheme which would yield such good results.

Now, Madam, taking up the short-term solution, I do not think that I will have enough time to go into the details of this question but I will just enumerate the points about it. There can be only two approaches for a short-term solution. Firstly, we can have monopoly procurement and take the whole responsibility of distribution, and take up the whole trade in foodgrains. But then this involves a very stupendous task and I do not think that we have got the machinery to carry out such a huge thing,

From another aspect also, I want to say that the machinery which we can have can only be by recruitment of new staff and that too, mostly on a temporary basis. That staff having no lien in the service, having no stake in the service, you cannot expect integrity and honesty from that temporary staff. Therefore, that step appears to be out of question.

The other approach can be that we have buffer stocks. We import grains and also we try to procure sufficient quantity of grains in order that our stocks may be able to influence the prices. The prices can be put under check because we have got so much stock that we can meet all the necessities of the country. Wherever the traders want to increase the rate, we can rush our stocks there and keep the rates and prices under control. Last time when the food situation was discussed in this House. I spoke against the retention of the zonal system and I felt then from what the hon. Minister, Shri Subramaniam, said, that the Government were seriously considering to abolish the zonal system. On one occasion it was said that the question would be looked into at the time of the harvest of the next rabi crops. Probably it was considered then, but somehow the Government thought that by continuing to have the zonal system, they would be able to procure higher quantities of foodgrains. This year, they have tried their best to procure foodgrains. But what are the results? What are the figures? I have calculated the percentage. Rice, which they have procured, is only 2'26 per cent, of the whole production of rice for the year. Wheat is just a little above 1 per cent, of the total production of wheat of the year. I said on the last occasion and I repeat it, Madam, that this zonal system leads to smuggling. It is not possible for the Government to stop smuggling altogether. They have not got sufficient staff and then, the staff which they have to check smuggling. I should say, is practically all low-paid. Therefore, the temptation which comes in

[Shri Nafisul Hasan] their way is such as they are unable to resist. Normally, if there had been no zonal system and if normal channels of trade were there, then the difference in the rates would have been from Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 per quintal—not more than that—because the freight and the trade profits would have been the only difference. But now they can sell only stealthily as it is smuggled. The person takes all the risks. They have to pay to the persons who have to keep a watch on that and therefore, the rates are like that. I know that during last year although wheat was selling at the rate of 2 kilos per rupee in the Punjab, in UP, it was selling at 14 chhataks per rupee.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your time is over. You have taken very nearly 20 minutes.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: I seek your indulgence to let me have some time more. I will just take a few more minutes. I have one or two suggestions, and then I will finish.

So, I say that apart from this defect of the zonal system I also find that it is bound to lead to the disintegration of the country. One State should care for those living in the other States. In the zonal system before this, there were a number of States joined together. There were bigger zones. Every State zone will, I should submit, lead to safe-guarding its own interest on the part of each State. At present we find that the prices this year, in spite of a bumper crop and the availability of food-grains being larger, in spite of all that, are higher than they were at the corresponding period last year. We have the same imports and an increase of eight million tonnes in production but the prices are high, and the only explanation which is coming forward is that the farmers are holding back the foodgrains and are not bringing them to the market. My suggestion, therefore, is that the Government should take action to see that the farmers are made to

give a portion of their produce to the Government—not at low prices—and the Government should be prepared to pay incentive prices to these farmers. And the proportion should be fixed on a graduated basis. Some of the small farmers' holdings may be exempted. The larger the holdings the higher the percentage of the levy which has to be made on them. But I should make it clear that though it may be called a levy it should be in the spirit of giving a fair price to the producer. The Government should at least do that so that they may have buffer stocks in order that after two or three months after the crop the prices may not shoot up unnecessarily.

One thing more. The other day I put a supplementary to the Minister of Food asking him the reason why the prices of wheat and other foodgrains were so high in spite of a bumper crop. He said that it was because the general prices of all commodities had gone up. Though he did not say that it was the result of the fiscal policy of the Government that the prices were shooting up, probably he meant that. That may be so. I know that inflation has been responsible to a great extent for raising the prices. But I want to point out that it is the prices of foodgrains, because they are the first necessity for all, which govern and affect the prices of all other things. A labourer would like to have higher wages, and industrial production would cost more. That means we will have to spend more and, therefore, the prices of everything will go up. But if we are able to keep the prices of foodgrains sufficiently low, within the reach of the common consumer, then, alone we will be able to check prices of other commodities also. It should not be forgotten . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think you should now wind up. It is already 1 • 30. You should finish your speech. You have taken over 22 minutes.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: Madam, I am grateful to you. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am sorry but there are so many other speakers.

The House stands adjourned till 2.30 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirty-two minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at half past two of the clock, THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHAR-CAVA) in the Chair.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, it may be considered out of place for a debate on the food situation to take place in the midst of a military crisis such as that by which we are faced but the food front is an important section of the war front. For, not only our troops are to be fed but the people at large also have to be supplied with adequate food supplies in order that they may be kept contented and not create conditions which may be adverse to the successful prosecution of the war. The statement on the food situation issued by the Ministry recently in August 1965 still speaks of the stress and strain on the food supplies continuing. The demand is growing but the market supplies are being reduced and the market arrivals vary from season to season. Even when the monsoons are favourable and production is favourable, the lag in market arrivals still continues. Although food production has increased in 1964-65, the market is not supplied with adequately but first of all the small producers' consumption of food has increased on account of the increase in the general *per capita* income and the big producers keep back the produce in anticipation of better prices. Although there has been a fall in the wholesale prices there has not been a fall in the retail prices so that the ordinary consumer

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does not benefit from any fall that may take place in the fall of the wholesale prices.

Then the whole policy of the Food Ministry seems to concentrate on distribution rather than on production. Even in distribution, they are not able to open the number of fair price shops that would relieve the ordinary consumer. In the whole of India at present, according to the statement, there are only 105,000 fair price shops. That is, we have fair price shops only in the urban areas and then the zonal restrictions still continue. How can we have that free flow of food supplies from place to place which only will meet the demands of the people. The Food Corporation by its very constitution seems to concentrate more on distribution rather than on production.

Then it is a question whether assuring the farmer of an adequate price is enough incentive to greater production. The benefits of the high prices do not always go to the small farmer, to the small producer. So in order to solve the food problem, the Government should concentrate more on production than on distribution because if the supplies are inadequate, the distribution will only make possible, will only ensure equitable distribution of the inadequacies or insufficiencies.

THE MINISTER OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE (SHRI C. SDBRAMANIAM) : May I point out to the hon. Member that there are two Departments—the Food Department which concentrates on distribution and the Agriculture Department which concentrates on production. All these materials are provided by the Food Department. It does not mean that the Agriculture Department is not functioning.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Its functioning with the Agriculture Department seems to be an assumption, according to Mr. Mehta, the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: If it were functioning properly we would not have these inadequacies in production from which the country suffers. Even in regard to distribution, I think a proper supplying of marketing facilities would do more for stimulating agricultural production. The other day we were given the information during the Warehousing Corporation debate that there are only 86 warehouses under the Central Warehousing Corporation and in the whole of India we were told that there were not more than 2,000 warehouses in the several States. Together with the marketing facilities supplied by the Co-operative Department it will not amount to more than 3,000 to 4,000 well-organised, well-equipped, well-built markets. I am afraid that the co-operative services in regard to marketing have not been adequately developed, and then in regard to stimulating production, easy communication between the producer and the market should form an important factor in the promotion of agricultural production. As I have so often pointed out in the House, our road mileage puts India among the most backward of civilised countries in regard to the provision of roads. We have only about twenty-seven miles of road per one thousand square miles of area, which is not at all sufficient for providing that easy flow of produce from the farm to the market, which will allow the farmer to go to the market easily and get the highest price, the best price possible. In regard to consolidation of holdings also, as much as 56 per cent, of agricultural holdings are two or three-acre holdings. Now, with such predominantly small holdings how can we expect high agricultural production? And the rate of consolidation of holdings varies widely from State to State. There are States like Punjab and U.P. where consolidation of holdings has advanced much farther and much better than in States like Madras. And then, there are the other protective measures, anti-erosion measures, flood control measures,

etc., which allow such a waste of agricultural land, which involve such a loss of fertile agricultural land, from year to year. And with regard to supply of fertilisers, the Government depends upon large-scale chemical fertiliser factories than on the—as the whole world knows—simple compost manure, which can be supplied to each farm. Organic manure is much better manure than these chemical fertilisers. It has been pointed out more than once that chemical fertilisers act as a stimulant. Like whiskey to the constitution, they might stimulate agricultural production for a year or so.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh) : The Government is not only apathetic to compost but also opposed to whiskey.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: That is the trouble; they are opposed to all good incentives to production. Organic manure is much better, surer manure than these chemical fertilisers and . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How do you know the effect of whiskey?

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: From common human experience, open to the hon. Member as to anyone else.

And it is inconceivable that within a measurable period of time India can get the amount of chemical fertilisers that it requires.

And then land laws are also other obstacle to food production. The recent land ceiling laws, the proposal to extend co-operative farming, all these have acted as disincentives to production. And lastly, Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is open to question whether prices, whether fixation of prices is the best way for stimulating production. As I pointed out already, this maximum price does not benefit the small producer; the middle man, the trader, may benefit from this maximum price to a mu-

larger extent than the actual producer. So, many countries have tried the method of stimulating production by means of outright subsidies to the farmer rather than by this policy and programme of price fixation, because prices depend on so many factors, on national circumstances as well as international circumstances, whereas subsidies are a direct stimulant to production. But we must give the Food Minister some time for him to discover and for us to discover whether this policy of price fixation through the Food Corporation and the Agricultural Prices Commission, whether this method of organising distribution of food supplies to the most effective extent is possible or not. We must give the Food Minister time, give his policy and programme time for us to discover whether this policy is correct, or some other policy should be substituted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Sri Rama Reddy.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Before he begins may I ask a question of the Food Minister for purposes of our discussion? We have been demanding the release of all those who have been arrested in connection with the food agitation . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Not now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Let him say.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : How can you ask at this stage? You are not speaking.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is part of the discussion. Will he say something?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : You can ask the question when you start your speech.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY (Mysore) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is true that food is our first line of defence, especially now under the great pressing circumstances which we are placed in—national as well as international. Therefore, the food problem should be made as easy as possible, so that the home front might be kept very vigorous and a lot of vitality might be filled into this home front. I wish this subject had not been taken up for discussion just at the present moment, because I am quite sure that our hon. Minister for Food and Agriculture is well aware of this problem, which he has been struggling hard to solve. All the same, Sir, it is worthwhile to note what our production has been, whether our production has been showing a tendency of increasing year after year, or whether it has not shown this tendency. Ever since 1950, when it was only 50 million tonnes of foodgrains that we were producing, it has gradually been stepped up, not that there has not been an increase in production; nobody can say that there has not been increase in production. Certainly there was. Whether that was sufficient for the needs of the country is another matter, but have we been progressing on the agricultural front or not? That is the question. And we have been progressing. Where the production was only 50 million tonnes in the year 1950-51, in 1960-61 the total production of foodgrains has been 82 million tonnes, and in 1964-65 a peak production of 83.4 million tonnes has been achieved. It is unfortunate, Sir, that during the first years of our Third Five Year Plan our progress had not been as satisfactory as it ought to have been. But everybody knows, it is in everybody's knowledge that for things beyond our control such a situation was brought about, not for want of attention to production. Have we ever reduced the expenditure on production? Have we lessened our efforts for production? No; on the other hand, the tempo has been very much increased, worked up to a higher

[Shri N. Sri Rama Reddy.] pitch, because we know food is the most important thing, without which we cannot move an inch. Not only our troops, but the entire 460 or 470 million people have got to be fed and fed well, so that they may constitute a vigorous nation. Add to these the imports that have been making. I do not want to go ijito the causes for any fall in production that might have occurred. They were very natural. But my hon. friend Shri Vajpayee knows that to our production we should add the imports that have been brought into the country—imports of foodgrains from various sources—and these have not been the less these years. In 1962 the imports were 3.6 million tonnes and the same have been stepped up and in the year 1964 it was 6.34 million tonnes and within the seven months of this year also we have imported about 4.3 million tonnes and another two million tonnes are likely to come from various quarters. What is the real test in the case of food? The real test is the nett availability of food per head, the *per capita* availability of food. That is the real test. Now, in 1963 the *per capita* food received was 16.2 ounces. In 1964 it was 14 ounces and in 1965 it is 14.5 ounces. Therefore, you see this country is not underfed. That is a glaring fact. My hon. friend Shri Vajpayee was making accusations against statistics. But I say anybody, who has eyes, can go round the country and see for himself how the people are better fed now. May be that the prices are high. Certainly the prices are high and with regard to that I will come later. But with regard to the availability of food per head in the country, there has been an increase year after year and we have now reached the figure of 14.5 ounces. If you ask whether this 14.5 ounces is enough or not for our country, that is a different matter. It may not have the caloric value that we need, for we may require some 3,000 or 3,500 calories.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA; What was the consumption before the war?

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY; Much less.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA; Muofc less? It was 16.3 ounces.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM; I don't know where from he gets his statistics.

AN HON. MEMBER; What about the population?

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY; Whatever be the population, I would invite the attention of my hon. friend Shri Bhupesh Gupta to this one fact. This is a fact which nobody can deny that if each individual consumes one ounce more per day than what he did before, then the total consumption will increase by 5 million tonnes. This is simple arithmetic and nobody can deny it. If each person in the country consumed one ounce more of food, then the overall consumption of food will increase by 5 million tonnes. Whether these people do eat more than before is a thing that anybody can examine. But I know that they do. I come from the rural areas and I know the people.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA; Wit* Rs. 500 and Rs. 31 per day, we can eat a little more.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY; My hon. friend is an eminent debater and I cannot afford to rub him on the wrong side. All the same . . .

SHRI ARJUN ARORA; Rub him on the wrong side and rub him hard.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY; All the same, in spite of the fact that there has been an increase in production, in spite of the fact that imports of foodgrains have been increasing in recent years, still the market arrivals are not what they ought to be. What has happened to these market arrivals? Why are they not arriving in as big a quantity and in as quick a time as they used to do before? Certainly these are matters that have got to be examined in detail. I am sure our financial

policies, our monetary policies, all these things have failed to induce the surpluses from the various farmers to come to the markets. They have failed. Why is it so? What are the main causes for this failure? That is a matter which requires to be very seriously studied. According to me, I know that what is called co-operative produce loan is mainly responsible for this. I do not have the statistics at present, but I can say that these loans induce the richer and well-to-do people in the villages to obtain, on account of their influence—political and otherwise—the produces from others, to mop up the produce in the form of the small surpluses from the various farmers. For this the co-operative credit is made available to them. So these surpluses get locked up through this co-operative produce loan system. That is one of the main causes. I have seen in almost all villages that the big landlords mop up all the surplus of the entire village by means of the co-operative credit made available to them. I request the hon. Minister to go deeply into this matter. I speak of the impression that I have broadly gathered.

With regard to distribution I will speak later. As regards the marketable surplus, it fell by 5 per cent, in 1962-63 and it has come deplorably low now, having come to 20-3 per cent. In regard to both rice and wheat, it is said that 38 per cent, of the marketable surplus has not been brought to the market. I do not know where it has gone. So I want the hon. Minister to make a special study of the problem and see if this co-operative credit can be cut off, I mean the credit given for the produces purposes, not that for production purposes. What is called produce loan may be cut off.

Now, I come to the question of distribution. From the figures we can see that through the Central stocks the Government has been making efforts to distribute more and more foodgrains. In 1963, the total quantity

of foodgrains distributed was 4,472,000 tonnes.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: No Government of India ever distributed so much.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: Yes, no Central Government had ever distributed so much before.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He is talking like the Chairman of the Mar-wari Relief Association during the Bengal famine days.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: This is distributed not for the sake of the rich people, but it is distributed for the sake of the poor needy people. This distribution is for the poor and needy.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I will give a lot of statistics to the hon. Member.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: During 1964 this was stepped up to 8,251,000 tonnes. And in 1965 already we have reached the figure of 8,274,000 tonnes.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: All previous records have been beaten.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: With regard to distribution also, therefore, the Government is not unmindful about the problem of distribution also. Year after year they have been stepping up the distribution. This can also be seen from the number of fair price shops. In 1952 we had 5,000 such shops and in 1965, we have 1,42,500 fair price shops functioning all over the country. They are all intended to serve poor and suffering people.

With regard to prices, it is true that prices have been rising high. This is a paradox which somebody has got to solve, that in spite of higher production and in spite of so many other things, the prices should be increasing. But let me point out that prices have been increasing in the industrial field also everywhere. Our financial

[Shri N. Sri-Rama Reddy.] policies and our fiscal policies and our monetary policies have had no effect with regard to the prices in respect of other fields. So is the case of agricultural produces. This is a common phenomenon everywhere. Everywhere prices are rising. Therefore rise in prices is not something peculiar to food production alone. It is common. This is a common phenomenon. And it is not on account of the non-availability of foodgrains either. In the last week I was touring in Bihar at the behest of my party sent me there to study the food problem of Bihar. There, in four districts I toured to find out the position. I asked the people how, when rice was being sold at 3 seers a rupee in Calcutta some 40 lakhs of people died, and now when rice was being sold at Rs. 125 a quintal nobody was starving. I asked them for the reason and they answered like this. The agricultural labourer in Bihar says: "I go to work and I get 6 seers Or 7 seers or 8 seers, and sometimes even 9 seers of paddy." So he gets it. I am substantiating what I said generally. I am not much of a scientist, nor I am an economist. I am just an ordinary farmer. But I do know from the broad indications that I have seen, that the statement that food is not available is not true. What is true is that there is some other phenomenon working side by side with all these forces, with all these economic and other forces, which pushes up the prices. And so in keeping with this phenomenon, the food prices are also rising, not on account of any lack

of food in the country. This 3 P.M. is what I have to say with regard to prices. It is true that because of the heavy expenditure in the Third Plan year after year agricultural production has been going up but I would like to point out to the hon. Minister that each individual item in the agricultural production programme has got to be attended to and the contribution of each item has got to be improved with a view to stepping up food production and making this country self-sufficient. This is the

I foremost task of everybody in this country but there are certain priorities which have got to be attended to. The first is the better utilisation of the country's potential. A huge irrigation potential has been created which could easily take in seventy million acres of land but are we trying to utilise this potential that has been created at such an enormous cost to this country? I am sure we are not doing it. In many cases double cropping can be introduced and must be introduced in every acre that can be irrigated. A special commission has got to be appointed for this purpose and a very serious attempt has got to be made in this connection. Having toured Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, I have come to the conclusion that a real ocean lies buried. In my own part of the country a well can only irrigate two, three or four acres of land whereas in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh a tubewell can irrigate three to four hundred acres of land. This is an astonishing thing that I came across there which our farmers could utilise. If the ocean lying buried there in the Indo-Gangetic plain could be made use of, this Indo-Gangetic plain alone could feed the entire country. This could be done if only there is a miracle.

With regard to distribution, I would like to say that there should not be monopoly in this respect. We have to build up the character of the people in this country. There is no question of monopoly procurement and monopoly distribution. We shall fix maximum prices . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Only monopoly for political power.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: . . . at the farmers' level, at the wholesale level, at the retailers' level and everybody, whether it is the Food Corporation or the governmental agencies or the co-operative agency or private agency, shall conform to the pattern of prices fixed.

Having said that, let me say that everybody should work in the inter-

rests of the country. It is wrong to think that only the Government servants can deliver the goods. Perhaps they would not be able to do the job as best as private individuals. Let all these four agencies work in this country and let everyone do his job in the interests of the country to keep the honour of this country very high especially now when have to engage ourselves in a giant fight against this marauder, Pakistan.

श्री एम० अजमल खान (नाम-निर्देशित): मिस्टर वाइस चेयरमैन, मुझे सिर्फ दो बातें कहनी हैं। एक यह है कि हम सिर्फ खेती पर अपने खाने पीने का दायरेमदार रखते हैं। अब यह जमीन कई हजार वर्ष से जूतते जूतते थक गई है, उसको छोड़ दें कि आराम करें मेरी राय में हमारे पास जो समुन्दर है उसके अंदर करोड़ों बरस से मछलियां पल रही हैं, उनको एक्सप्लॉइट कीजिए। मरहूम रफी अहमद किदवाई को मैं ने यह बताया था, वे मेरे गलास फेलो थे। मैंने कहा था कि तुम क्या कर रहे हो? जो मैं कहता हूँ, वह करो। उस वक़्त भी कहता पड़ रहा था। मैं ने उन्हें बताया था कि डीप सी फिशिंग की किश्तियां मंगाओ। मगर जिस काम के लिए मैंने कहा था वे भूल गए। काम यह था कि मछली मार कर रेफ़री-जीरेट न करो। उन्होंने रेफ़रीजीरेशन शुरू किया। नतीजा यह हुआ कि जो मछली एक रुपये की थी वह पांच रुपये की हो गई। मैं कहता था कि भाई, मछली को समुन्दर से निकाल कर आप डीहाइड्रेट कर दीजिए, यानी सुखा दीजिए। मलाबार कोस्ट पर इधर उधर लोग नमक लगे कर सुखाते रहे हैं, आप डीहाइड्रेट कर दीजिए और उसको प्लेवराइज कीजिए; यानी आटा बना दीजिए। वह आटा आप टिन में या पैकेट्स में बंद कर के जिस तरह से आटा होता है, उस सूरत में बेच सकते हैं। अमेरिका में जो आटा बन रहा है, फ़िश पाउडर, वह चार आने सेर बिकता है। अगर आप चार आने सेर फ़िश पाउडर

हिन्दुस्तान में बना लेंगे तो नौचरली गेहूँ के और चावल के दाम बहुत कम हो जायेंगे।

यह तो मैं ने खाने का आपका इंतजाम कर दिया। दूसरी चीज मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमें कपड़े की जरूरत है; क्योंकि इसका खर्चा बढ़ रहा है, और दाम बढ़ रहे हैं, वह महंगा इसलिए हो रहा है कि नंगे न फिरें। अब हुआ यह कि मैं एक दफ़े अपने कमरे में में बैठा हुआ बल्ब का नक्शा देख रहा था। ईजिप्ट पर मेरी नज़र पड़ी और ईजिप्ट का हाल पढ़ने लगा। मालूम यह हुआ कि पांच हजार बरस पहले वहाँ इजराईल के आदमी कंदी थे और ईजिप्ट वाले उन से इंट पथवाते थे और उन से मंदिर बनाते थे। वे रोते थे कि खुदा करे इस मुल्क में पानी न बरसे। इस पर वहाँ के हुक्मरान खुश होते थे, वे कहते थे कि ये तो हमें दुखा दे रहे हैं, अगर पानी बरस गया तो हमारे रुई के खेत बंजर हो जायेंगे। वही हाल हमारा है, सेन्ट्रल इण्डिया में, बम्बई स्टेट में, इधर उधर जब हम ने रुई बोकार रख दी, पानी आया और लगभग पैदावार खत्म हो गई। हमारे यहाँ एक स्टेट बिल्कुल ईजिप्ट की तरह है जहाँ वारिश नहीं होती, मगर हम ने दो कैनल बना लिये हैं, एक बीकानेर कैनल है, और दूसरा राजस्थान कैनल है। उस स्टेट में ज्यादा से ज्यादा चार इंच पानी बरसता है। अगर हम ने उसी तरह से एक्वाडक्स बना लीं जिस तरह से ईजिप्ट वाले खुश होकर बनाते थे जब नार्इल बढ़ता था, तो जितना रेगिस्तान है वह इतना लांग स्टेपल फ़ाटन आपको देगा कि बल्ब भर में कहीं नहीं होगा, ईजिप्ट से धूना होगा। आप पूरी दुनिया को लांग स्टेपल रुई दे सकते हैं।

कपड़े का सवाल हल हो गया। इस तरह से जो आपको रुपये मिले उस से गहना, मशीन वगैरह मंगा लीजिए। आटा आपको समुन्दर से और रुई राजस्थान से मिल जायेगी, बस यही दो बातें मुझे कहनी हैं।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice Chairman, I would like to ask that question that I asked and you said that I should ask when I spoke. What has happened to those who were arrested in connection with the food agitation? We had demanded their release and I should like to know from the hon. Minister whether he has anything to say so that I need not dilate on that.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: I shall say it during my reply.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: All right.

Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, we are discussing the food situation at a critical time in our country and for reasons understandable I am not going into the description of the situation today in this House. They are well known and they need not be related here for obvious reasons but I hope the hon. Minister has carefully studied the reports that have appeared in the newspapers in the country and made an assessment of the human agony and sufferings caused by the situation today.

Now, let me deal with the various aspects of the food situation, about production and distribution. Before I go into that I should like to examine how this present crisis through which we are passing has been brought about. We have now an all time peak in production standing at 88.8 million metric tonnes. At the same time we have also an all time peak in import of foodgrains if we take into account what is going to come during the coming months standing at about 6.3 million tonnes or even more. Therefore we have an all time peak of supply in the country and yet we have got one of the worst food situations. Suffering is also an all time peak and prices too have undoubtedly reached an all time peak at 194 if you take the wholesale price index of food articles into account. How is that possible? This is the situation which we are discussing. Why should

it be that today the crisis is worse than what it was in the last year or the year before when we have an all time peak in production and over-all availability of foodgrains compared not only to the previous year but to any year since independence? I will presently place before you an analytical examination of the entire situation so that we can make proper changes in the food policy of the Government. A national food policy has got to be evolved by all means. Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Third Five Year Plan said:

"With the achievement of the set targets the economy will become self-sufficient in the supply of food-grains. The *per capita* availability will go up from 16 oz. per day in 1960-61 to 17.5 oz. per day in 1965-66."

And the Third Five Year Plan *set* the target of production at 100 million tonnes. Now on the basis of that calculation the Plan came to the conclusion that not only we would be reaching self-sufficiency by the end of the Third Five Year Plan but we would be in a position to increase the *per capita* consumption of foodgrains raising it to 17.5 oz. per day by 1965-66. Therefore, let us see how the situation now is. In this connection I would invite your attention to the foot-note of the Third Five Year Plan in which they set the cereal production—the main two cereals of wheat and rice—at 50 million tonnes by the end of the Plan, that is, by the end of this fiscal year. Therefore, normally if we had produced 100 million tonnes of foodgrains by the end of the next year when the population will have gone up by another ten million or so and if we had produced 50 million tonnes of the two principal cereals, namely, rice and wheat, we should have not only turned the corner but should have a little margin. The Agricultural Prices Commission, otherwise known as the Dantwala Commission has estimated that at the existing rate we may reach self-sufficiency at 95 million tonnes. In fact that was the

estimate at that time of the Planning Commission and the Government that if we produced 95 million tonnes of foodgrains we will have attained self-sufficiency. What is the position now? Mr. Vice-Chairman, we have produced this year 88.8 million tonnes of food-grains in our country and our import comes to—taking into account what is 'expected—6.3 million tonnes. Therefore, we have got a total supply of 96 to 97 million tonnes. Taking the internal production as well as imports we have got a supply which normally should meet the requirements of the people assuming the availability stands even at 16 oz. per head only, that is, the average availability. As far as cereals are concerned we have produced 50.8 million tonnes of cereal and if you add to it another 6.3 million tonnes which we import, we will have 57.1 million tonnes of cereals available to us from internal and external sources which is less than 3 million tonnes targeted in the Third Five Year Plan which calculated that we needed 60 million tonnes of these two cereals by the end of the Plan, that is, by March 1966. Today when we have got nearly 57 million tonnes of cereals from both sources and also more or less the same amount of food-grains that we require for meeting the requirements of the population at an availability of 16 oz. per day we have one of the worst food crises. Why is it so? The crisis is the cumulative result of the Government's pro-hoarder food policy pursued ever since 1954 to which I shall presently come. This is a man-made crisis in many ways. This crisis is mainly due to the fact that in the matter of distribution the Government has failed and, Mr. Vice-Chairman, in this connection I would invite your attention to the Report of the Bengal Famine Enquiry Commission—the Bengal famine of 1943—in which 35 lakhs of people died. The Bengal Famine Enquiry Commission, otherwise known as the Flood Commission, said:

"The Bengal famine broke out with a shortage equivalent to six weeks' requirements."

Therefore a shortage of six weeks' requirements brought about that terrible famine which cost 35 lakhs of human lives. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his 'Discovery of India' which he wrote in the Ahmednagar Fort took note of this fact correctly. He said:

"Every competent observer is agreed that it was a man-made famine which could have been foreseen and avoided. Everyone is agreed that there was amazing indifference incompetence, complacency as shown by the authorities concerned."

Word for word this applies to the present Government and its present, policy.

SHRI C. D. PANDE (Uttar Pradesh): Did you raise your voice then?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Don't disturb me; I did. Don't break my arguments like that.

That is the position. I think the food crisis has been brought about as a result of the pro-hoarder policy of the Government, as a result of the incompetence, as a result of lack of sympathies of the people, as a result of general overall bankruptcy in its economic policy and its agricultural policy. Therefore, very much it is a man-made crisis through which we are passing. Let us now deal with that aspect of the matter as to how this crisis came about. In 1954 India passed from control to decontrol. In 1951 with 122 million people under rationing including 47 million under statutory rationing the Government had a big share in the distribution. Then started the decontrol policy and by 1955 decontrol was complete so much so that it was recorded by the Government and also noted in the Report of the Foodgrains Enquiry Commission that there was no ration shop in the country, no food subsidy and

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] decontrol has taken place. Further, the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee, otherwise known as the Asoka Mehta Committee, in its report, noted that by 1966 the pipelines—I am using that word—more or less the pipelines of hoarding and stocking had come into operation. Therefore, we have a picture from 1954, when you see foodgrains passing into the hands of hoarders and profiteers, who were being at that time and subsequently supported by the Government's policies and by heavy bank advances in the country. I need not go into the figures. Only I would like to make this very important point and it should be noted by the House because it has played an important part in this. Bank advances in April 1959 stood at Rs. 87 crores for food articles. In April 1960 it stood at Rs. 116 crores. In 1961 it stood at Rs. 145 crores. In 1962, over the same period, advances outstanding were Rs. 157 crores and 68 lakhs. In 1963 it was Rs. 136 crores. In 1964 it was Rs. 140 crores. As on April 30, 1965, it stood at Rs. 164 crores, advances for food articles taken together. If you take rice and paddy, pulses, edible oils and so on, including vanas-pati, you will find in this period heavy bank advances being made only by the scheduled banks. I am taking into account only the scheduled banks noted and recorded in the Reserve Bank's reports from time to time. The Government did nothing with a view to stopping that. With the bank money advances to them and with unaccounted money already in the hands of the profiteers and hoarders, with the fact that also land is concentrated in the hands of a small number of landlords, with their staying power and holding power, profiteering and hoarding continued in the country, so that they could create at will artificial scarcities to dictate prices. The Government in the Finance Ministry had no policy to control the bank operations. Speculation with this money was going on even openly in forward trading and other things on the one hand and on the other by direct, outright advances

to profiteers, whereby they could corner the stocks from the peasants and create artificial scarcities in order to make a nonsense of all regulatory measures. At that time on the part of the Central Government and the State Governments certain regulatory measures were called for and the licensing system of wholesalers was introduced. And that again became a term of favouritism and corruption. The licences or certificates were given to the O.M. traders and profiteers and they became now officially licensed traders and profiteers. That is how it went on. That is how step by step the Government allowed the food crisis to develop and these profiteers and hoarders and landlords virtually laid siege on the food trade of the country, which according to the estimates given by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries is of the order of Rs. 2,000 crores and so on. Naturally such a big volume of the trade was seized by them with the help of the banks and unaccounted money and supported by the licences and so on, which the Government extended to them. Therefore, I say the pro-hoarder policy was in operation.

At that time, the question of procurement loomed large before the country and, as you know, the Central Government refused to procure foodgrains even when they were passing into their hands. In the year 1961-62 they procured internally only 4.8 lakh tonnes of foodgrains, in 1962-63 4.6 lakh tonnes of foodgrains, and in 1963-64 5.9 lakh tonnes. You will be surprised to hear that in a period of three years or so, when they imported from abroad about 117 million tonnes of foodgrains, within the country in the corresponding period they did not even procure 11 million tonnes of foodgrains. Therefore, imports became a source of encouragement. Because the Government got some stocks in hand, they neglected internal procurement. They allowed food to pass into the hands of traders and profiteers who can develop their trade and commerce in such a

manner that they held the nation to ransom, as they are doing it today. Therefore, I say the Government is answerable for it. State trading in foodgrains came up for discussion in the Nagpur session of the Congress and even the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee, which submitted its report in the year 1957, recommended that State trading in foodgrains should be resorted to. All these recommendations were brushed aside by this Government and State trading was not taken in hand. Even today when we have got State trading of some kind under the Food Corporation of India, the target fixed is at 3 million tonnes only, when the marketable surplus is 15 to 16 million tonnes. Am I to understand that with a marketable surplus of 15 to 16 million tonnes, if we bought only 3 million tonnes of foodgrains—under the Central Government account 2 million tonnes and the State Governments' account one million tonnes—we could control the market? We cannot possibly do it. (*Time bell rings.*) Sir, I will take a few minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): No, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. It is a fixed time of 15 minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Then, I would not have spoken.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): I have no discretion. It is in the rules. Thirty minutes to the Mover and fifteen minutes for others. You can wind up.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: In a two-hour discussion it happens. Now, it is not a two-hour discussion. In a two-hour discussion such things happen.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Please wind up.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I will take a few minutes. Kindly give me time. Then, I would not have bothered. *<ed>* about it, after all this bothers.

This is the position. I think in that case, Mr. Vice-Chairman, we should have been told, because in a two-hour discussion, twice the time we have taken. The rule has been changed. It is not two hours now. The rule is only for two-hour discussion, in such matters.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Please wind up.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Anyway, now this is the position. Therefore, an artificial crisis has been created because of hoarding and because market arrivals are low. My friend has mentioned it. Now, last year rice production was up by 40 per cent., but market arrivals declined in the same period by 20 to 25 per cent, and so on. The same thing is happening in a larger measure. In the case of wheat market arrivals went down by 35 to 38 per cent. Maize and jowar you take in Maharashtra. It is almost 40 per cent less than last year. What does it indicate? It does indicate that stocks are going into these hoarders' hands and there the hon. Minister made a statement that farmers are holding 40 per cent, of the stocks. He used the word 'farmers'. Well, peasants are not in a position to withhold stocks, because they do not have money to buy their necessities and they do not have the power to withhold. The stocks are being held by the landlords in the villages. With only one per cent, of household there, they own nearly 20 per cent, of the land. Therefore, they hold these things. Similarly, big landlords and those people who have got money, hold it. Therefore, things pass from the hands of the actual peasant to those people who are in a position to build up stocks with bank and other financial advances and resources. Therefore, do not use the word 'farmer'. Call them landlords, big landlords, profiteers and speculators. These are the people. Therefore, having created this thing, we are in a mess now. About one thing I should like to say, *i.e.*, imports. I give you one figure only. We had imported

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] more than 61 million tonnes of food-grains since 1948 up to date. I have got the exact figure. I am giving it in round figures, costing Rs. 2,300 crores, not including the price that we will pay for the current imports. Such is the situation. Freight charges we are paying heavily and still today the Americans would not allow the food to come in Indian ships. They turned down that offer. Now, in such a situation we are placed. Therefore, our country is not self-sufficient at all in foodgrains. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, opening the Ludhiana Institute of Agriculture, said that he hanged down his head in shame.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN *in the Chair.*']

The present Prime Minister, Shri Lai Bahadur Shastri, speaking at the AICC session last August in Delhi expressed a feeling of disgust at this dependence. And Mr. Subramaniam, I am not sure exactly what he said, said in Sydney that India would require another ten to fifteen years to become self-sufficient in foodgrains and here in India he said that by the end of the Fourth Plan we would become self-sufficient. I do not know—between Sydney and Delhi exactly where we stand. Such is the position. The reason is that the per acre production, Madam, in our country is the lowest in the world. Our production is 75 per cent, of the world average as far as rice is concerned; one-third of what the U.A.R. produces as far as wheat is concerned, 72 per cent, of the world average. Indian production and yield per acre, whether it is wheat or whether it is rice—we are far behind the Third Five Year Plan target. Our food production should according to them go up by should according to them go up by nearly 5 per cent, and our increase 2.5 per cent, per annum; in the Second Plan 3.5 per cent.; and the anticipated increase under the Third Plan is 2.6 per cent. Therefore, we are only at 50 per cent. of the target in the matter of food production increase in order to keep abreast

for the population rise of 10 million people per year. Such is the situation. •

Therefore, I say finally in this connection—I could have given many more figures—that the entire PL 430 policy has been used with a view to just somehow or other getting along instead of trying to solve the problem. Yet we find that the land reforms have not been carried out which are being discussed presently in the context of the preparation of the Fourth Five Year Plan. Only 5 or 6 States have got surplus land, and that also would not be sufficient for distribution if you take into account the surplus land required which is about 1 million acres. In Jammu and Kashmir it is 5 lakh acres. In Andhra Pradesh according to the latest report of the Land Reforms Committee we find that only 62,000 acres had been located. Not a single acre has come into their possession. Take the State of Mr. Subramaniam. In his State only 0.2 per cent, of the available cultivated land is expected to come as surplus. Yet we have provided for a compensation of Rs. 641 crores for landlords and so on, and what is actually paid out of that up to now is a little over Rs. 230 crores. Yet we do not have enough land at all. It is this is not handled properly, the production will not go up.

In the matter of fertilizer also, we are behind the target by 5 lakh tonnes or so. The production is not even 5 lakh tonnes* as against the target of 1 million tonnes. The availability of fertilisers in India, I may inform, the House, is 3 pounds per acre as against 227 pounds in Japan. Therefore, • you can see where we stand. Regarding seeds credit everywhere the position is the same. Therefore, if you look at seeds, if you look at manure, if you look at credit facilities where according to the Government only 23 per cent of the credit comes from the co-operative and other agencies and the rest comes from the money lenders, even that 23'

per cent, does not reach the tiller of the soil. So you get this picture of the situation, and that is why we say that a man-made crisis has been created. The first thing for the Government to do is to go in for State trading in foodgrains. The wholesale trade must be taken over. I repeat in all solemnity that the country wants it. Yesterday the Finance Minister said that personally he was in favour of it. Why then the State trading in foodgrains, which had been sabotaged systematically by Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain, Mr. Swaran Singh and above all Mr. Patil, should not be taken over in the State sector by the present Minister in a national emergency of this kind? We want the entire marketable surplus of 16 million tonnes, 12 million tonnes in rice and the rest in wheat, to be taken over as far as the wholesale trade is concerned by the Government, and we are in a position to do so, and it must be done. Having done that, we want that statutory rationing should be introduced in all towns with over 1 lakh population, because it is the responsibility of the Government to feed them. If you do not take over the towns with 1 lakh population, it remains a source of profiteering and blackmarketing, and if we leave 80 million people in the urban areas and 40 million in bigger towns to the wiles of the profiteers and hoarders, we will always allow the blackmarket to flourish. Therefore, I say that that should be done. This is very very important today. Ration shops should be opened. The fair price shops today stand at 150,000 only. That is not at all adequate in the country today. Only the other day it was not even 80,000 or so. Therefore, increase in this respect has also been very negligible. I can give very many examples.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please finish now. You have taken 20 minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am finishing. Therefore, I say that it is very very important that State trading

should be the cornerstone of the national food policy. Production has got to be stepped up but that relates to agriculture, land reforms, and so on. When we are discussing the food situation here, I may tell the Minister that unless you take command of the wholesale trade fully and wholly, which you are capable of doing, you will not be able to prevent the situation of recurring crisis with rising production and rising prices with increased supply. That is why I say that you should take it over. Then it should be nationalised and the monies available should go to the peasants. This is of vital importance. Supplies should be made to the rural areas in larger quantities, to the distressed areas. Rationing should be expanded. A proper price policy as recommended by the Asoka Mehta Committee should be evolved so that the food prices which dominate the rising prices, when the food item constitutes 60 to 70 per cent, of the total expenses shown in a family budget, could be taken care of. Government cannot control the food-prices unless and until it operates in the market as a trader and seller with State trading as the linchpin.

Madam, I do not wish to say anything more. I think the country needs an overall change in the food policy. May I appeal to the Food Minister before I sit down that it is a good thing that he moved a little, but he moved in faltering steps with a bleak mind. Therefore, We find today that when he fixes it at 3 million tonnes, even he does not know whether all the States will do it. As far as the Chief Ministers' Conferences are concerned, in Bangalore and here two conferences had been held. They had not produced any good result, they had not produced any better policies. Therefore, he has to advance in this direction. I should tell him that the entire country will be behind him and the cooperation will be got from the entire country if State trading in food-grains is assumed fully. Madam, I therefore impress this point and I

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] say it again that the crisis is man-made and famine-makers are there, hoarders and profiteers are there. Therefore, the pro-hoarder and pro-profiteer policy of the Government which is responsible for plunging the country into this crisis in the year of a big crop cannot be changed and we cannot overcome this dismal state of affairs unless the Food Minister in consultation with all evolves courageously and boldly an integrated national food policy. That is what I am pressing.

Finally, I would appeal to him to release all those who had been arrested in connection with the food movement and also others. I demand a general amnesty of all political prisoners, detenus and so on in the country today, and that should be accepted by the Government. I specially emphasise in this connection, since we are debating food, the release of all who had been arrested in connection with the food agitation, but I demand the release of all political prisoners, detenus and so on. Thank you, Madam,

SHRIMATI TARA RAMCHANDRA SATHE (Maharashtra): Madam I rise to support the food policy of the Government, and I am glad to learn that all the Chief Ministers from all the States have supported this policy. Our country as a whole consists of different States which have got different aspects and different sorts of foodgrains. The Central Government has to take into consideration the different situations in all the States, and as such it has to see this problem from different points of view because every State has got a different point of view, but the Central Government has to see it as a whole. Many Members of Parliament and also others outside Parliament and many economists also criticise this food policy. The main criticisms are of two types. Some say that there should be strict control and some sort of rationing, while others say

that there should be the policy of *laissez faire*. To my mind, the Government has taken the midway.

Coming to rationing, Madam, we know what are the evils which come out of rationing. We have already experienced those effects. Some of the Members have said that the Government must take into its hands the procurement and distribution and State trading and that everything should be taken over by the Government. They mean that there should not be any trade left for the individual people. When there is control, the control should be of quality, and also of quantity. Every person should get the same quality and the same quantity at the same price and even, in the near future.

I of the count But it is very difficult of implementation because there are so many difficulties in the way—the difficulties of communication, the difficulties of getting trained personnel and also other sorts of things. And especially, the traders who have been doing this business have been doing it for ages. So, it is very difficult for the Government to take the trade into their own hands in order to avoid black marketing and the evils of control. I think cent per cent control is not possible and is not conducive to our economy.

Now, coming to *laissez faire*, we have already had experience. Shri Chordia has given notice of an amendment and he says—

"The food zones should be totally abolished and all restrictions on trade should be withdrawn."

He said so. If the zones are abolished, then the private traders will come in and they will take the produce from one State to the other. He means this sort of *laissez* should be allowed. Examples are quoted. I will give one example. It is said that in Delhi we get wheat at sixty paise per kilo and in Poona for getting one kilo of wheat we have to pay Rs. 1-50. But at the same time we forget that in Poona

there is informal rationing where we get wheat which is imported from abroad and we get it at the fair price shops at 42 paise per kilo. It is quite cheap. But when we discuss all these points we safely forget other things and say that Its. 1:50 is the price of wheat. Government has already opened so many fair price shops. I know they are quite insufficient and we must help the different organisations, political organisations, and the departments of the Government—for example, the Posts and Telegraphs Department, the Railways and all other departments—to open fair price shops, then only this problem of distribution will be solved. Of course, the quantity which is supplied is insufficient. We have to say so and I request that the Government will try and send some more foodgrains to those shops. We get from there very meagre quantities, four kilos or like that, which is very small. Some say that when the late Shri Ran Ahmed Kidwai was the Food Minister he decontrolled all these things and that the trade took its own course and therefore the same policy should be taken into consideration now. But I am afraid the situation at that time was quite different, and the days now are quite different. This is not the time for experimenting.

So far as the abolition of the zones is concerned, I am totally against **this**. Suppose a trader from Delhi purchases wheat in the Delhi market. Naturally, the supply being less, the price in the Delhi market for wheat will go up. And if he takes it to Bombay or Poona, we cannot say emphatically that he should sell it for the same price at which he had paid for it in Delhi plus some freight charges, and 10 or 12 per cent, as profit margin. We are not sure about it. Perhaps he may sell it for Rs. 1:40. But the price in Delhi for that wheat may go up. So, it is very difficult to abolish the zones and I also support the view that these zones should be maintained. At the same time I would

like to suggest to the Government that wherever there is any surplus in a State, the Central Government should take over that surplus from that State Government and they can also take over the surplus from the big farmers; 50 per cent of their surplus they can take as a levy," they can procure it and that can be sent to other places where there is a deficit. But the Government should not ask for the levy from the small farmers, the small peasants, because they hardly live from hand to mouth. I think I can suggest some remedies. The Food Minister gave a reply to that House stating that we have got a deficit in fertilisers. I cannot stand. But I want to suggest him one thing that though we produce fertilisers and we import them; there is one farmer in the District of Akola. And he has sent many letters to the Government; I do not know, whether the hon. Minister knows about it or not. He says that he has got some device, that he has made an experiment in his farm. He says that there is no need for any fertiliser to be imported. I would request the Ministry of Agriculture, even the Food Minister, that he should enquire about this and if the officials themselves go there and discuss this with him, I think he will be able to put up his point of view. Or he can come here, and let us see what method he has got.

Then there is a vicious circle and as Mr. Reddy said, the prices of other commodities like cloth also have gone up along with the prices of foodstuffs. It is true that that vicious circle should be cut somewhere. And when it comes to the farmers, I can suggest that the Government can give to these peasants and farmers some help in kind, not in terms of some money—but in kind; for example, fertilisers, seeds, etc. They can help them by actually digging a well, not giving them money for it which may perhaps be used for other purposes. But they can help them through the P.W.D. works

[Shrimati Tara Ramchandra Sathe.] •dig a well for the purposes of water irrigation— whenever possible not to charge the irrigation cess. They should not charge them anything; they should give this sort of help in •kind. And the implements which they require also should be given. Instead of subsidising the shops of cheap foodgrains, this method can be followed. And then they can take the levy, as I said, of about 50 per cent of the surplus.

Another thing is that the big farmers who have got big lands cultivate cash crops, for example, sugarcane, tobacco, cotton and so many other things. Of course, a farmer or a peasant thinks why he should not also cultivate those cash crops. Therefore, if we are in need of such foodstuffs, those who produce the cash crops must also be asked to give the Government the same levy or some percentage of those foodgrain crops; it should be compulsory on them to produce some foodgrains, and they should be taxed on these cash crops. Industries make more profit and the peasants say that when the industrialists are allowed to make profits, why should we not also do it. So, the Government should go into the cost-structure of every commodity, also. For example, take the Fiat car. When a question was asked in this House about it, it was said that Rs. 6,000 is the charge and including the other things, they make up the cost. I would like the Government to go into these details and see what is the actual cost of all these commodities. If they charge more for the other necessities of life, then the farmers will also feel why they also should not get more. I appeal to the traders that they should help in this emergency and they should see that in every part of the country the foodstuff is taken and thus they should help the Government. The prices are very much rising. In the morning if we go to the shop till oil is sold at Rs. 4 per kilo and in the evening the same oil is sold at Rs. 4-25. The

price rises so much. Nothing is added to the oil but only because of the whim of the shopkeeper the price is increased like that, I appeal to the House that they can have many substitutes. They can open fair price shops.

Lastly I conclude by saying this.

We say सह नावतु । सह नौ भुनक्तु ॥

That is, let us all share together what we have. Then we say: Let us stand shoulder to shoulder for our country. Let us help the Government. We say:

सहवीर्यं करवावहे ॥

Let us have that bravery and all that. As another Member also said, It is very essential at this time that everybody among us should help the Government. Instead of criticising all the while, let us do something constructive. With these words, I conclude.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are twelve more speakers. I do not know how they are all going to be accommodated. I would, therefore, request those who are participating to use some self-restraint. Shri Abdul Ghani.

شری عبدالغنی : میڈم ڈپٹی
چیئرمین — جب پنجہلی جنگ چل
رہی تھی اور ہٹلر انگریزوں پر بمباری
کر رہا تھا اور ہمدی طرح انگریز
تباہ ہو رہا تھا اس وقت چوچل
نے کہا تھا میرے پاس انسو ہیں
مصیبتوں میں میرے پاس خوشی
کا کوئی پیغام نہیں اور یہ کہا تھا کہ
اس وقت چونکہ ہم زندگی اور موت
کی لڑائی لڑ رہے ہیں اس لئے ہم
کو کم سے کم غذا ملے گی اور اسی
پر سارے انگریزوں میں بچے یاد ہے

لوگوں کو ایک مرتبہ بریف ملتی تھی اور ایک انڈا ملتا تھا اور اسی پر ساری قوم نے چرچل کا ساتھ دیا اور جنگ جیت لی آپ جب کہ پاکستان اور ہندوستان کی زندگی اور موت کی لڑائی ہو رہی ہے تو اس وقت چاہے ہمارے سپر امپلیم جی ہوں یا مہرے ساتھی لال بہادر شاستری ہوں وہ ایڈل کریں کہ سارے دیس کو ان کا ساتھ دینا چاہئے۔ چاہے فوج کے معاملے میں سرکار کی پالیسی کٹلی ہی نکسی کہوں نہ ہو دیس شاستری سرکار کا پورا ساتھ دے گا لیکن یہ خوشی کی بات ہے کہ اس وقت فوج کی کمی نہیں ہے۔ جہاں تک اپنی پیدوار کا تعلق ہے وہ بھی ظاہر ہے۔ ہمارے ملک میں کم نہیں ہے۔ مطلب یہ ہے کہ گورنمنٹ کو یہ کوئی پریشانی پیدا نہیں ہونے دینا۔ اور اگر کہیں فوج کی کمی ہو تو وہاں فوج پہنچا دیا جائے گا۔

اتنا کہنے کے بعد میں اپنے فوجی مسٹر صاحب سے دو چار باتیں پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں۔ کہا وجہ ہے کہ جب وہ خود لدھیانہ تھریف لے گئے تھے انہوں نے جا کر کہا کہ پیکہج پروگرام میں لدھیانہ ۲۵ پرسنٹ گلدن زیادہ پیدا کی اور ۱۰۰ پرسنٹ مونگ پھلی زیادہ پیدا کی اور اسی طرح سے ۲۷ پرسنٹ مکی

میں زیادہ پیدا کی۔ تو کیا وجہ ہے کہ ہم اپنے باقی دیس میں اگر اسی طرح سے پیکہج پروگرام شروع کریں تو مہرا خیال ہے کہ نہ صرف ہمیں باہر سے ہی ملگوانا نہ پڑے گا۔۔۔

श्री अजुन अरोड़ा : सब जगह गन्नी साहब नहीं होते हैं। लुधियाने में गन्नी साहब रहे हैं।

شری عبدالغنی : اورزا صاحب کی ہے۔ وہ مسٹر نہیں بلکہ کے میں کروں گا۔ میں تو چاہتا ہوں۔۔۔

श्री अजुन अरोड़ा : जब आप प्राइम मिनिस्टर बनेंगे तो मैं फूड मिनिस्टर बनूंगा।

شری عبدالغنی : مہدم۔ میں یہ عرض کر رہا تھا کہ لدھیانہ میں اگر یہ ترقی ہو سکتی ہے تو اور جگہ بھی ہو سکتی ہے۔ میں ماننا ہوں کہ پیکہج پروگرام کے تحت ترقی ہوئی۔ تو مہرا کہتا ہے کہ پیکہج پروگرام باقی جگہوں میں بھی چلایا جائے کیوں کہ جس طرح سے کئی جگہ وہ چلایا گیا اس سے ایک شاندار کامیابی ہوئی جس کی ہر کوئی تعریف کرتا ہے۔ اگر میں اشتراپتی ہوتا تو میں ان کو انکریج کرتا۔ ایسے افسروں کو جنہوں نے اس کام میں کامیابی حاصل کی۔ جس سے ہم آج لرننگ آتھرس ہوں، رائٹرز ہوں ان کو ہوا انکریج کرتے ہیں اگر میں اشتراپتی ہوتا تو میں ان کو ریپرچر دیتا۔

[شری عبدالغنی]

جنہوں نے اس معاملہ میں اتنی خدمت کی - مہر امنہ صاحب ایسے افسروں کی خدمات ہائی جگہوں پر بھی ہو رہی ہیں اور سہلتر میں رکھیں جو ہمارے دیس کی سمسہا کو حل کر سکتے ہیں - اگر وہ کر سکتے ہیں تو کل جگہ بھی یقیناً کامیابی ہو سکتی ہے - پلصاحبی ہونے کے ناتے اور لدھیانوی ہونے کے ناتے - میں لالچ کرنا کہ ایسا افسر وہیں رہے - لیکن میں سمجھتا ہوں خالی لدھیانوی ہو جانے سے اُٹی - اے - ایس - ہو جانے سے بڑی بڑی جگہ لگا دیلے سے جس کو پتہ نہیں ہوتا ہے کہ سمسہا کیا ہے ایسے لوگوں سے کام لیں چل سکتا - آخر وہاں ہوا کیا - ہوا یہ کہ وقت پر پانی مل سکا - وہی پر بھیج مل سکا وقت پر فرتلائز سیکائی ہو سکا اور یہ سچ ہے مسٹر ہیوینس گھتا نے بڑے زور سے چاہان کا چرچا کیا - کل بھی میں نے عرض کیا اور آج بھی عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ فرتلائز مفید وہیں ہو سکتا ہے جہاں مائلر اریگیشن ہو - اگر بارش نہ ہو تو فرتلائز بھیج کو تباہ کرے گا - اور اگر پانی نہ ملے جو انسان کے بس میں ہے تو بھی بھیج تباہ ہو جاتا ہے - تو یہ سب بات دیکھنے کی ضرورت ہے کہ کہاں فرتلائز دیا جائے کتنا دیا جائے اور کس طرح مائلر اریگیشن کا استعمال کیا جائے -

دوسری بات مہدم قہلی چہر میں - میں آپ کی معرفت منسٹر صاحب سے پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ آج ہم نے انڈیا ان ملکواہا جس کی قیمت پہلے سے تقریباً چار پانچ لاکھ ہے - کہا وجہ ہے کہ رفیع احمد قدوائی صاحب کے زمانہ میں انگریز کے زمانہ سے بھی اترو کر نیچے آیا - چودہ لاکھ تین سے بارہ لاکھ تین پھر دس لاکھ تین - آج ہمیں ۶۷ لاکھ تین اناج منکانے کی ضرورت کہوں پڑی ؟ آخر کہیں نہ کہیں ترقی ہے - جہاں ترقی ہے - اس کو ہٹانا چاہئے - ترقیاں تھیں چار میں - ایک تو ہمارے فلد کے اوپر قابو نہیں ہو پایا - دوسرے واٹر لنگ کے کارن جھسا کہ میں نے پلصاحب صوبہ کی اتنی تعریف کی وہاں دو کروڑ اٹھارہ لاکھ ایکڑ میں سے تھیں لاکھ ایکڑ واٹر لنگ کی نذر ہو گئی - اور ہاسٹہ لاکھ ایکڑ بہت بڑی طرح افریکٹھڈ ہوئی - اگر ہم واٹر لنگ پر قابو پا لیتے تو میں آپ کو یقین دلاتا ہوں پلصاحب اب جتنی خدمت کر رہا ہے اس سے چار گنا زیادہ خدمت کر سکتا ہے - اس لئے یہ دوسری ترقی ہے جو ہمارے راستہ میں آتی ہے - تھسری ترقی وہ ہے اگر سرکار برا نہ مانے تو ہاجپٹی جی نے جو دھیان دلایا تھا - کہ ہماری پالہسی میں ہمارے ایڈمنسٹریشن میں کافی خامیاں ہیں - کافی کمزوریاں ہیں - انہوں نے

بتایا کہ راجستھان میں ۲۲ روپے
من وہیاری نے چٹا خریدنا - ہو سکتا
تھا کہ سرکار کہتی کہ ۲۲ روپے کے
حساب سے باقی جو بھل دار نے لیا -
جو قھولائی کرنے والے نے لیا - جو تول
کرنے والے نے لیا اس کو چور کر جو
بتلا وہ قیمت مقرر کرتی تو ہماری
سمجھ میں آ سکتا تھا - لیکن
وہ ۱۶ روپے کے بھاؤ سے سرکار نے لیا -
میں سمجھتا ہوں اس میں کافی
خرابی ہے اور یہ غلط ہے - انہوں نے
مثال دی کہ ۶۸ پیسہ کلو گہوں کا
بھاؤ تھا اور اتنے میں انہوں نے دہلے سے
انکار کیا تو کھدیا اچھا جس بھاؤ میں
دے سکتے ہو دو لیکن پورچی کات دو -
ان تمام چیزوں کا نتیجہ یہ ہوتا ہے
کہ وہ ساری ملی بلیک میں جاتی
ہے - اس طرح ہمارا دیش تباہ ہوتا
جا رہا ہے اور ہمارے منسٹر چلتا
نہیں کرتے کہ آخر یہ بلیک ملی
چالہس ادب روپے کہاں سے آگیا -
چار ہزار کروڑ روپے جو بلیک ملی
پیدا ہوا وہ کہاں سے آگیا - یہ روپہ
آج جو ہم زندگی اور موت کی لڑائی لڑ
رہے ہیں اس میں اب تک آگے نہیں
آ رہا ہے - کوئی کہے تو اتنا روپہ
ہمارے پاس بلیک کا ہے - ہم دیش کو
دیتے ہیں - دیش بچے گا ہم بچیں
گے اور بلیک ایلٹ وھائٹ بچے گا - لیکن
ابھی آگے کو کوئی تھار نہیں ہوتا -
ہماری سرکار کی ہو باف نرالی ہے -

جو کروڑوں روپہ بلیک مارکیٹ کا
بتلا ہے وہ کہاں گیا - نہ اس پر
انکم ٹیکس آیا - نہ کسٹم قیوتی آئی -
گہوں کے سرکار نے اجازت دے دی ہے
کہ تم پورچی ۶۸ پیسے کی کاتو اور ۷۲
پیسے میں دو - تو یہ سارا بلیک
مارکیٹنگ کا روپہ اور بلیک ملی کا
روپہ سیرامنٹم جی کے راستے میں
بھی آتا ہے اور ہماری جنگ کے راستہ
میں بھی آتا ہے -

4 P.M.

تیسری بات جو میں کہنا چاہتا
ہوں - آپ سیرامنٹم صاحب سے کہ
ان کو مدد نہیں ملتی ہے ایل - آئی -
سی - سے کہیں کہ اس کے پاس آج
بھی بڑے بڑے سادھن ہیں لیکن
وہ کس کے کام آ رہے ہیں - وہ کام
آ رہے ہیں مگر بھر ان لوگوں کے جو
شہر مارکیٹ میں بہت بڑے
یہاں کے کلد ہیں جیسے گولڈا اور
شانٹی ہرشاد اور دوسرے لوگ ہیں
یا ٹی - ٹی - کوشنماچاری کے دوست
ہیں جس وقت سرکار ادھر ادھر سے اعلیٰ
کرتی ہے تو شہر کرتے ہیں اور کچھ
لوگ پرائیویٹ بلیکوں سے جیسے
پنجاب نیشنل بلیک اور دوسرے بلیک
ہیں - طرح طرح کا بہانہ لگا کر
لوگوں روپہ لے لیتے ہیں - وہ لوگ
آج بھی لیتے ہیں اور اس سے شہر
خریدتے ہیں - ان کے شہروں کو
ایل - آئی - سی - خرید لیتی ہے کہیں
کہ وہ ان کے ماتحت ہے - یونٹ

[شری عبدالغلی]

ٹرسٹ جو بنایا گیا ہے وہ انہوں کے خریدنے کے لئے بنایا گیا ہے وہ لوگ ان کا شیئر خرید لیتے ہیں اور اپنا نفع کما لیتے ہیں اور ملکوں کے کام میں یہ روپیہ نہیں آتا ہے - سبرامنیہ صاحب کے کام میں نہیں آتا - اس طرح سے وہ فوڈ پر جو قابو کرنا چاہتے ہیں اس پر قابو نہیں پا سکتے ہیں - وہ روپیہ جو ایل - آئی - سی - کے خود کے کام میں آنا چاہئے - فوڈ منسٹری کے کام آنا چاہئے - ڈینٹس کے کام آنا چاہئے جو کہ اس وقت بہت اہم ہے - وہ نہیں آ رہا ہے اور ہماری سبرامنیہ کی حکومت کا یہ روپیہ برباد ہو رہا ہے اور اسی طرح سے ملک میں ہلک مٹی ملتا ہے -

چوتھی بات جو میں کہنا چاہتا ہوں وہ یہ ہے کہ ان کے راستے میں بہت دقیقے آئی ہیں بددیانتی کے ساتھ بالکل دھوکا بازی ہو رہی ہے - چاہے اسٹیٹ ٹریڈنگ کارپوریشن ہو یا ہمارا چیف کنٹرولر آف اسپورٹ ایلڈ ایکسپورٹ ہو وہ اس طرح کے لائسنس دیتا ہے جو ہوکس ہوتے ہیں اور اس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوتا ہے کہ آٹے دن روز لاکھوں روپیہ کے اسپورٹ لائسنس خریدنے کے لئے بمبئی میں بکتے ہیں - تمام روپیہ ہلک مٹی چلا جاتا ہے اور اس طرح سے نہ انڈسٹریز کو فائدہ ہوتا ہے اور نہ فوڈ کو

ہی فائدہ ہوتا ہے اور جن کے پاس یہ دھن جانا ہے وہ اس کو ہولڈ کر لیتے ہیں -

(Time bell rings.)

آپ نے حکم دے دیا میں فوراً بیٹھ جاؤں گا لیکن میں کچھ کام کی بات کہہ رہا ہوں - میں کوئی ٹیکا تھلی نہیں کر رہا ہوں بلکہ ان کے ہاتھ مضبوط کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ کس طرح سے یہ جو ہماری فوڈ پالیسی ہے اس میں مدد مل سکتی ہے - تو میں یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جو ہلک مٹی کا روپیہ آتا ہے وہ تمام ملک اس طرح سے فائدہ اٹھاتے ہیں جیسا کہ بیوہیں گیتا جی نے کہا کہ اس طرح کا جو ہلک مٹی ہوتا ہے اس سے یہ لوگ غلہ خرید لیتے ہیں اور پھر غلہ چھپا کر بیٹھ جاتے ہیں - کاش ہماری سرکار کو یہ پتہ ہوتا - انہوں کسی کے پاس ایک تولہ ہو تو اس کے سر سے نکال لیتے ہیں - اس کی جیب سے نکال لیتے ہیں لیکن اس کو یہ پتہ نہیں ہوتا کہ لاکھوں من غلہ کس طرح سے یہ لوگ ہورڈ کر رہے ہیں - اس لئے میں کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہمارے گاؤں میں بڑی پلچائٹوں میں اور وہاں پر آفیسر بیٹھے ہوں - تو ان سے کہا جائے کہ جتنا سرپلس غلہ ہے وہ وہاں کے زمینداروں سے لے لیں - اور اس کو خرید کر کے جہاں کسی ہے وہاں اس غلہ کو بھیجنے کا حکم دے

دے۔ اگر وہ اس طرح کی کاروائی کرے گی تو بہت آسانی ہو جائیگی لیکن مشکل کیا ہے؟ مشکل یہ ہے کہ ہماری سرکار جو ہے وہ ایسے ہے جیسے کواہاس کی چال چالے لگا۔ اور اہلی چال کو بھول گیا۔ میں کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ان کا من چھٹا کب تھا۔ ایک طرف تو وہ رشیا کی پیروی کرنا چاہتے ہیں۔ بھوپیش گیتا کی پیروی کرتے ہیں اور سوشلزم لانا چاہتے ہیں اور تمام چیزوں کو اس تھلگ سے چلانا چاہتے ہیں کہ وہ ان کی تقبی میں آجائیں اور دوسری طرف پھر دیکھتے ہیں کہ ہمارا سرمایہ تو اتنا نہیں ہے اور جو سرمایہ ہے اس کا ناجائز فائدہ اٹھایا جا رہا ہے گوئلا اور دوسرے لوگوں کے ذریعہ اور پھر وہ کہتا کر دیوار کی بات کہتے ہیں۔ مقدمہ قیچی چھرمیں۔ میں ان سے کہونگا کہ وہ انہیں دیواروں کو لائنس دیں جو کہ ان کے اختیار کے بلا ایک دائرہ بھی نہیں پہنچ سکتے ہیں۔ ایسے دیواروں سے کہا جائے کہ وہ جتنا خریدتے ہیں اس کی دیوڑ دیں اور جہاں آپ غلہ کو بھجنا چاہیں اس کے لئے حکم دیں۔ مہاراشٹر اور بہار میں غلہ کی بڑی مصیبت ہو رہی ہے اور وہاں پر دیوڑے کے لئے پرائیویٹ ملٹی چاہئے اور اگر ضرورت پڑے تو ہدک

کھونو کا استعمال کیا جانا چاہئے۔ آپ کو قوم سے اہل کرنی چاہئے کہ وہ کم سے کم غلہ پر گزر کرے۔ اگر وہ کم سے کم غلہ پر گذر کرے گی تو اس سے دیہات کی بھی عزت بڑھے گی اور اس سے دیہات کی شان بڑھے گی۔ اس لئے میں عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس تمام چیز کو سلہالے کے لئے اور ایکریکلچر کے ذریعہ کسان فائدہ اٹھا سکیں تو آپ کو اس کام میں ایسے لوگوں کو لگانا چاہئے جو کھیتی باڑی جانتے ہوں۔ جو کسانوں کے دل کو جانتے ہوں۔ جو کسانوں کے دل کو پہچانتے ہوں اگر سیرامتم صاحب اس طرح کی بات کریں گے تو اس کا نقصان نہ ہوگا کہ جب لدھانہ اتلی ترقی کر سکتا ہے تو پتھلا ہلدوستان اس سے کہیں زیادہ ترقی کر سکتا ہے۔ آپ نے جو پہلے وعدہ کیا تھا کہ تیسری ہوجنا کے آخر میں ہم آتم نہ پھر ہو جائیں گے وہ پتھلا آپ نہیں ہو رہے ہیں۔ چوتھی ہوجنا میں ہو سکتے ہیں پھر پتھلا آپ کے آگے۔ سی۔ ایس۔ اور آگے۔ اے۔ ایس۔ کے بڑے بڑے آفسر بٹھے ہیں۔ قلم کے دھلی میں اور آنکھوں میں دیہات جانتے ہیں اور جن کے بارے میں باپو نے کہا تھا کہ ان آنکھوں کے جھل میں موام کو نہیں پھنسا چاہئے یہ تو سرکار کے حکومت کرنے

[شری عبدالغنی]
 کا قہلگ ہے وہ جو کچھ کرنا چاہتی
 ہے اس کا نتیجہ الغا آ جاتا ہے -
 آپ ان کے بجائے ان کا بہروصہ کریں
 جو یہاں آپ کے ساتھی بلے میں
 اور آپ کی طاقت کو بڑھانا چاہتے
 ہیں -

†[श्री अब्दुल सनी : मेडम डिप्टी
 चेयरमैन, जब पिछली जंग चल रही थी और
 हिटलर इंगलैंड पर बमबारी कर रहा था
 और बुरी तरह इंगलैंड तबाह हो रहा था
 उस वक्त चर्चिल ने कहा था, मेरे पास आंसू
 हैं, मुसीबतें हैं, मेरे पास खुशी का कोई पैगाम
 नहीं और यह कहा था कि इस वक्त चूंकि
 हम जिन्दगी और मौत की लड़ाई लड़ रहे
 हैं इसलिए हम को कम से कम शिजा मिलेगी
 और इसी पर सारे इंगलैंड में मुझे याद है
 लोगों को एक मरतबा ब्रेड मिलती थी और
 एक अंडा मिलता था और इसी पर सारी
 कौम ने चर्चिल का साथ दिया और जंग
 जीत ली। आज जब कि पाकिस्तान और
 हिन्दुस्तान की जिन्दगी और मौत की लड़ाई
 हो रही है तो इस वक्त चाहे हमारे सुब्रह्मण्यम्
 जी हों या मेरे साथी लाल बहादुर शास्त्री हों,
 वे अपील करें कि सारे देश को उनका साथ
 देना चाहिए। चाहे फूड के मामले में सरकार
 की पालिसी कितनी ही निकम्मी क्यों न हो,
 देश शास्त्री सरकार का पूरा साथ देगा।
 लेकिन यह खुशी की बात है कि इस वक्त
 फूड की कमी नहीं है। जहां तक अपनी
 पैदावार का ताल्लुक है वह भी जाहिर है।
 हमारे मुल्क में कम नहीं है। मतलब यह है
 कि गवर्नमेंट को यह कोई परेशानी पैदा नहीं
 होने देगा। और अगर कहीं फूड की कमी हो
 तो वहां फूड पहुँचा दिया जायेगा।

इतना कहने के बाद मैं अपने फूड
 मिनिस्टर साहब से दो चार बातें पूछना

†[] Hindi transliteration.

चाहता हूँ। क्या वजह है कि जब वह खुद
 लुधियाना तशरीफ ले गये थे उन्होंने जा कर
 कहा कि पैकेज प्रोग्राम में लुधियाना में
 65 परसेंट गंदुम ज्यादा पैदा की और 105
 परसेंट मूंगफली ज्यादा पैदा की और इसी
 तरह 47 परसेंट मक्की (मेज) ज्यादा
 पैदा की। तो क्या वजह है कि हम अपने
 बाकी देश में अगर इसी तरह से पैकेज प्रोग्राम
 शुरू करें तो मेरा ख्याल है कि न सिर्फ हमें
 बाहर से ही मगवाना न पड़ेगा . . .

श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा : सब जगह सनी
 साहब नहीं होते हैं। लुधियाने में सनी साहब
 रहे हैं।

श्री अब्दुल सनी : अरोड़ा साहब की
 जय—वह मिनिस्टर नहीं बनेंगे मैं करू क्या ?
 मैं तो चाहता हूँ . . .

श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा : जब आप प्राइम
 मिनिस्टर बनेंगे तो मैं फूड मिनिस्टर बनूंगा।

श्री अब्दुल सनी : मेडम, मैं यह अर्ज कर
 रहा था कि लुधियाना में अगर यह तरक्की
 हो सकती है तो और जगह भी हो सकती है।
 मैं मानता हूँ कि पैकेज प्रोग्राम के तहत
 तरक्की हुई, तो मेरा कहना है कि पैकेज प्रोग्राम
 बाकी जगहों में भी चलाया जाये; क्योंकि
 जिस तरह से कई जगह वह चलाया गया
 उससे एक शानदार कामयाबी हुई जिस की
 हर कोई तारीफ करता है। अगर मैं राष्ट्रपति
 होता तो मैं उनको एनकरेज करता, ऐसे
 अफसरों को जिन्होंने इस काम में कामयाबी
 हासिल की। जैसे हम आज लनॅड अर्थर्स
 हों, राइटर्स हों, उनको बड़ा इनकरेज करते
 हैं। अगर मैं राष्ट्रपति होता तो मैं उनको
 वीरचक्र देता, जिन्होंने इस मामले में इतनी
 खिदमत की। सुब्रह्मण्यम् साहब ऐसे अफसरों
 की खिदमत बाकी जगहों पर भी भेजें और
 सेंटर में रखें जो हमारे देश की समस्या को
 हल कर सकते हैं। अगर वे कर सकते हैं

तो कुल जगह भी यकीनन कामयाबी हो सकती है। पंजाबी होने के नाते और लुधियानवी होने के नाते मैं लालच करता कि वैसे अफसर वहीं रहे। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि खाली लुधियानवी हो जाने से, आर्डी० ए० एस० हो जाने से, बड़ी बड़ी जगह लगा देने से जिसको पता नहीं होता है कि समस्या क्या है, ऐसे लोगों से काम नहीं चल सकता। आखिर वहाँ हुआ क्या? हुआ यह कि वक्त पर पानी मिल सका, वक्त पर फरटेलाइजर सप्लाई हो सका और यह सच है मिस्टर भूपेश गुप्ता ने बड़े जोर से जापान का चर्चा किया। कल भी मैं ने अर्ज किया और आज भी अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि फरटेलाइजर मुफ़ीद वहीं हो सकता है जहाँ माइनर इर्रीगेशन हो। अगर बारिश न हो तो फरटेलाइजर बीज को तबाह करेगा। और अगर पानी न मिले जो इंसान के बस में है, तो भी बीज तबाह हो जाता है। तो यह सब बात देखने की जरूरत है कि कहाँ फरटेलाइजर दिया जाये, कितना दिया जाये और किस तरह से माइनर इर्रीगेशन का इस्तेमाल किया जाये।

दूसरी बात, मेडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन, मैं आप की मार्फ़त मिनिस्टर साहब से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आज हम ने इतना अन्न मंगवाया है जिसकी कीमत पहले से तकरीबन चार पांच गुना है। क्या वजह है कि रफी अहमद किदवाई साहब के जमाने में अंग्रेज के जमाने से भी उतर कर नीचे आया। चौदह लाख टन से बारह लाख टन, फिर दस लाख टन। आज हमें 67 लाख टन अनाज मंगाने की जरूरत क्यों पड़ी? आखिर कहीं न कहीं त्रुटि है। जहाँ त्रुटि है उसको हटाना चाहिए। त्रुटियाँ तीन चार हैं। एक तो हमारे फ़्लड के ऊपर काबू नहीं हो पाया, दूसरे वाटर लॉगिंग के कारण जैसा कि मैं ने पंजाब सूबा की इतनी तारीफ़ की वहाँ दो करोड़ अठारह लाख एकड़ में से तीस लाख एकड़ वाटर लॉगिंग की नज़र हो गई। और बासठ लाख

एकड़ बहुत बुरी तरह इफ़ेक्टिव हूई। अगर हम वाटर लॉगिंग पर काबू पा लेते तो मैं आप को यकीन दिलाता हूँ, पंजाब अब जितनी ख़िदमत कर रहा है उससे चार गुना ज्यादा ख़िदमत कर सकता है। इसलिए यह दूसरी त्रुटि है जो हमारे रास्ते में आती है। तीसरी त्रुटि वह है, अगर सरकार बुरा न माने तो वाजपेयी जी ने जो ध्यान दिलाया था, कि हमारी पालिसी में, हमारे एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में काफी ख़ामियाँ हैं, काफी कमज़ोरियाँ हैं। उन्होंने बताया कि राजस्थान में 22 रुपये मन व्यापारी ने चना खरीदा। हो सकता है कि सरकार कहती कि 22 रुपये के हिसाब से बाकी जो बेलदार ने लिया, जो ढुलाई करने वाले ने लिया, जो तोल करने वाले ने लिया उसको जोड़ कर जो बनता वह कीमत मुक़र्रर करती तो हमारी समझ में आ सकता था। लेकिन वह 16 रुपये के भाव से सरकार ने लिया। मैं समझता हूँ, इस में काफी ख़राबी है और यह ग़लत है। उन्होंने मिसाल दी कि 68 पैसे किलो गेहूँ का भाव था और उतने में उन्होंने देने से इन्कार किया तो कह दिया अच्छा जिस भाव में दे सकते हो दो, लेकिन पर्ची काट दो। इन तमाम चीज़ों का नतीजा यह होता है कि वह सारी मनी ब्लैक में जाती है। इस तरह हमारा देश तबाह होता जा रहा है और हमारे मिनिस्टर चिन्ता नहीं करते कि आखिर यह ब्लैक मनी चालीस अरब रुपया कहाँ से आ गया। चार हजार करोड़ रुपया जो ब्लैक मनी पैदा हुआ वह कहाँ से आ गया? यह रुपया आज जो हम जिन्दगी और मौत की लड़ाई लड़ रहे हैं उसमें अब तक आगे नहीं आ रहा है। कोई कहे तो इतना रुपया हमारे पास ब्लैक का है। हम देश को देते हैं। देश बचेगा हम बचेंगे और ब्लैक एण्ड ह्वाइट बचेगा। लेकिन अभी आने को कोई तैयार नहीं होता। हमारी सरकार की हर बात निराली है। जो करोड़ों रुपया ब्लैक मार्केट का बनता है वह कहाँ गया? न उस पर इन्कम टैक्स आया, न

[श्री अब्दुल गनी]

कस्टम ड्यूटी आई। क्योंकि सरकार ने इजाजत दे दी है कि तुम पच्ची 68 पैसे की काटो और 72 पैसे में दो। तो यह सारा ब्लैक मार्किटिंग का रुपया और ब्लैक मनी का रुपया सुब्रह्मण्यम् जी के रास्ते में भी आता है और हमारी जंग के रास्ते में भी आता है।

तीसरी बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, अपने सुब्रह्मण्यम् साहब से कि उनको मदद नहीं मिलती है एल० आई० सी० से, क्योंकि उसके पास आज भी बड़े बड़े साधन हैं लेकिन वह किस के काम आ रहे हैं? वह काम आ रहे हैं मुदती भर उन लोगों के जो शेयर मार्किट में बहुत बड़े यहां के कुंद हैं जैसे गोयनका और शान्ती प्रसाद और दूसरे लोग हैं या टी० टी० कृष्णमाचारी के दोस्त हैं। जिस वक्त सरकार इधर उधर से एलान करती है तो शेयर गिरते हैं और कुछ लोग प्राइवेट बैंकों से, जैसे पंजाब नेशनल बैंक और दूसरे बैंक हैं, तरह तरह का बहाना लगा कर लाखों रुपया ले लेते हैं। वे लोग आज भी लेते हैं और इससे शेयर खरीदते हैं। उनके शेयरों को एल० आई० सी० खरीद लेती है; क्योंकि वह उनके मातहत है। यूनिट ट्रस्ट जो बनाया गया है वह उन्हीं के खरीदने के लिए बनाया गया है वह लोग उनका शेयर खरीद लेते हैं और अपना नफा कमा लेते हैं और बैंकों के काम में यह रुपया नहीं आता है। सुब्रह्मण्यम् साहब के काम में नहीं आता। इस तरह से वह फूड पर जो काबू करना चाहते हैं उस पर काबू नहीं पा सकते हैं। वह रुपया जो एल० आई० सी० के खुद के काम में आना चाहिए, फूड मिनिस्ट्री के काम आना चाहिए, डिफेंस के काम आना चाहिए जो कि इस वक्त बहुत अहम है, वह नहीं आ रहा है। और हमारी सुब्रह्मण्यम् की हुकूमत का यह रुपया बरबाद हो रहा है और इसी तरह से मुल्क में ब्लैक मनी बनता है।

चौथी बात, जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि उनके रास्ते में बहुत दिक्कतें आती हैं, बददयानती के साथ बिल्कुल घोखावाजी हो रही है। चाहे स्टेट ट्रेडिंग कारपोरेशन हो या हमारा चीफ कंट्रोलर आफ इम्पोर्ट एण्ड एक्सपोर्ट हो वह इस तरह के लाइसेंस देता है जो बोगस होते हैं और उसका नतीजा यह होता है कि आगे दिन रोज लाखों रुपये के इम्पोर्ट लाइसेंस खरीदने के लिए बम्बई में बिकते हैं। तमाम रुपया ब्लैक में चला जाता है और इस तरह से न इण्डस्ट्रीज को फायदा होता है और न फूड को ही फायदा होता है और जिन के पास यह धन जाता है वे उसको होल्ड कर लेते हैं।

[Time bell rings]

आप ने हुक्म दे दिया, मैं फौरन बैठ जाऊंगा लेकिन मैं कुछ काम की बात कह रहा हूँ। मैं कोई टीका टिप्पणी नहीं कर रहा हूँ। बल्कि उनके हाथ मजबूत करना चाहता हूँ कि किस तरह से यह जो हमारी फूड पालिसी है उसमें मदद मिल सकती है। तो मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि जो ब्लैक मनी का रुपया आता है वह तमाम बैंक इस तरह से फायदा उठाते हैं जैसा कि भूपेण गुप्ता जी ने कहा कि इस तरह का जो ब्लैक मनी होता है उससे यह लोग गल्ला खरीद लेते हैं और फिर गल्ला छिपा कर बैठ जाते हैं। काश हमारी सरकार को यह पता होता। अफयून किसी के पास एक तोला हो तो उसके सिर से निकाल लेते हैं, उसकी जेब से निकाल लेते हैं लेकिन उसको यह पता नहीं होता कि लाखों मन गल्ला किस तरह से यह लोग होल्ड कर रहे हैं। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे गांव में बड़ी पंचायतें हैं और वहां पर आफिसर बैठे हैं। तो उन से कहा जाये कि जितना सर-प्लस गल्ला है वह वहां के जमींदारों से ले लें। और उसको खरीद करके जहां कमी है वहां उस गल्ले को भेजने का हुक्म दे दें। अगर वह इस तरह की कार्रवाही करेगी तो बहुत आसानी हो जायेगी, लेकिन मुश्किल क्या है?

मुश्किल यह है कि हमारी सरकार जो है वह ऐसे है जैसे कौआ हंस की चाल चलने लगा, और अपनी चाल को भूल गया। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन का मन जीता कब था? एक तरफ तो वह रशिया की पैरवी करना चाहते हैं, भूपेश गुप्ता की पैरवी करते हैं और सोशलिज्म लाना चाहते हैं और तमाम चीजों को इस ढंग से चलाना चाहते हैं कि वह उनकी मुट्ठी में आ जायें और दूसरी तरफ फिर देखते हैं कि हमारा सरमाया तो इतना नहीं है और जो सरमाया है उसका नाजायज फायदा उठाया जा रहा है। गोयनका और दूसरे लोगों के जरिये और फिर वे ध्वरा कर व्यापार की बात कहते हैं। मेडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन, मैं उनसे कहूंगा कि वह उन्हीं व्यापारियों को लाइसेंस दें जो कि उनके अख्तियार के बिना एक दाना भी नहीं बेच सकते हैं। ऐसे व्यापारियों से कहा जाये कि वे जितना खरीदते हैं उसकी रिपोर्ट दें और जहां आप गल्ले को भेजना चाहें उसके लिए हुक्म दें। महाराष्ट्र और बिहार में गल्ले की बड़ी मुसोबत हो रही है और वहां पर रेलवे के लिए प्रायोरेटि मिलनी चाहिए और अगर जरूरत पड़े तो पब्लिक केरियर का इस्तेमाल किया जाना चाहिए। आप को क्रैम से सर्पिल करनी चाहिए कि वह कम से कम गल्ले पर गुजर करे। अगर वह कम से कम गल्ले पर गुजर करेगी तो उससे देश की भी इज्जत बढ़ेगी और उससे देश को शान बचेगी। इसलिए मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इस तमाम चीज को संभालने के लिए और एग्रिकल्चर के जरिये किसान फायदा उठा सकें, तो आप को इस काम में ऐसे लोगों को लगाना चाहिए जो खेती बाड़ी जानते हों, जो किसानों के दिल को जानते हों, जो किसानों के दिल को पहचानते हों। अगर सुब्रह्मण्यम् साहब इस तरह की बात करेंगे तो उसका नतीजा यह होगा कि जब लुधियाना इतनी तरक्की कर सकता है तो यकीनन हिन्दुस्तान इससे कहीं ज्यादा तरक्की कर सकता है। आप ने जो पहले वायदा किया था कि तौसरी

योजना के आखिर में हम आत्मनिर्भर हो जायेंगे वह यकीनन आप नहीं हो रहे हैं। चौथी योजना में हो सकते हैं बशर्ते कि आप आई० सी० एस० और आई० ए० एस० के बड़े बड़े अफसर बैठे हैं कलम के घनी हैं और आंकड़ा ही देना जानते हैं और जिन के बारे में बापू ने कहा था कि उन आंकड़ों के जंगल में भ्रम को नहीं फंसना चाहिए, यह तो सरकार के हुक्मत करने का ढंग है वह जो कुछ करना चाहता है उसका नतीजा उलटा आ जाता है, आप उनके बजाये उनका भरोसा करें जो यहां आप के साथी बने हैं और आपकी ताकत को बढ़ाना चाहते हैं।]

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gujra], you will have just ten minutes.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL, (Delhi): Madam, I am sorry that I am to be penalised for the eloquence of others, but I shall obey and bend myself to your will, as you wish.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am sure you can say just as much as some others can say in twice the time.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: I do not know, Madam, but I would like to say this that, as I was hearing the debate here, and sometimes a discussion outside, I was reminded of a story, which we used to hear as children, and that was that, once upon a time there were nine wise men, who could not see, and they were asked to identify an elephant, and whichever part they touched, they thought that that was the elephant and today, hearing the debate on the food situation here, and the discussion outside, I am all the time reminded of the same fable. Again and again we are told that perhaps the point, which one learned Member is touching, is the entire food problems. But be that as it may, I would only like to say that in today's context, the food situation has ae-

[Shri I. K. Gujral.] quired a new proportion, and I do not agree with my friend, Mr. Sri Rama Reddy, that food should not have been discussed today. I like to plead that food should be discussed today, particularly in our finest hour of history today, I feel that, as our armies are marching ahead, as we are trying to vindicate our honour and we are teaching the aggressor the lesson of his life, it is very necessary for us that we preserve in all its sanctity the home front, and on the home front the essential part is distribution of food. I agree with Mr. Bhupesh Gupta that, more or less, the food available today can meet the needs of this country, and there, it is the rational distribution and equitable distribution that should solve the problem. I do agree with the Minister when some time back he decided that in urban areas food rationing would be introduced, and I think there is no more opportune time than today when food rationing should be introduced in urban areas. This will not only help in distribution; it will also call upon the nation to share the sacrifices equally and equitably.

SHRI N. VENKATESHWARA RAO
(Andhra Pradesh): Are you touching the distribution part of the elephant?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: I am not discussing the distribution part; I am discussing the distribution part of our glory and I am saying that as our brave and valiant armies are marching ahead more and more, we should support them in their bravery by extending to them all help. It is very necessary that we should also support the people on the home front, and food, as I said, must be rationed, and rationing will not only help in that we will get, and everyone in the country will get, particularly people in the urban areas, where the trouble generally arises more intensely, will all get it equitably, but it will

also help in creating some sort of a stock for the rural areas and thereby, blackmarketing and hoarding, by itself, will go down when urban markets will be sealed off, and I would request the Food Minister that, even if there was unavoidable delay in his implementing that recommendation of the Chief Ministers up till now, it must be taken up now and straightway. I do know that in Delhi some time ago there was resistance to the rationing idea. I think that resistance is no more applicable now. Delhi, by and large, depended on the food that came from Punjab. With the trouble in Punjab and the fighting in that part of the country, that resistance also will go. Therefore, it is necessary that the hon. Minister should definitely decide that he will introduce in the urban areas, rationing, and also cordon off these urban areas. This will also solve the problem of the zones, because once the urban areas are cordoned off, the zones will get a new relevance and in that new relevance it will be wise for him to continue the zones. The food requirement of Delhi is to the tune of 26,000 tonnes of wheat per month and some 10,000 tonnes of rice per month. At the moment both the indigenous food from Punjab plus the imported wheat that the hon. Minister is distributing to the wheat mills, almost come to the same quantity and the only thing that will help us is rationing and if rationing is introduced in a planned manner and with vision, then this talk of non-availability of food will cease to exist. While he may decide on rationing, I would also like to recommend to him that rice should be given only to those who are habituated to eating rice, not to those who can and do live on wheat alone, because rice is the most vulnerable part and we should issue it only to those who are basing their diet on rice alone. Therefore, I would repeat my strong plea for introducing rationing, particularly in this hour when we are fighting. Particularly at this hour it is necessary that our food front must be preserved well.

Having said that much about distribution, I, would like to touch briefly on the question of production. I would say that production is having a crisis of inputs. This crisis of inputs has taken many forms. Sometimes we have been misled by better weather, sometimes by better rains and we have thought that we have turned the corner. One such situation we had when the kharif crop looked rosy. We thought it would be rosy, but that rosy picture of the kharif crop vanished when the rabi crop failed due to failure of rains. Because of failure of rains our expectations were not realised. We should realise the realities of the situation and unless we make basic changes in some respects we cannot bring about the desired improvement in the situation. One such thing is about the introduction of quick growing crops, and also second crops. We should also try to increase our fertiliser production. We have been hearing and talking about fertiliser production but we have not yet effected the necessary increased production. Sometimes the negotiations with the contractors fail, sometimes something else happens. The basic problem has remained, namely that the production of nitrogen in this country has been very much shorter than what it should have been. Imports in this respect are limited by our foreign exchange difficulties, and our own production is limited by various factors. One of them seems to me to be lack of vision and proper planning. We have not paid sufficient attention to this matter. We should improve the management of the existing public sector units for fertiliser production and also try to resolve effectively the labour problems in Sindri. The new plants should come up quickly and our nitrogen problem should be solved, for our needs are likely to be doubled by the end of the Third Plan. We were often taught to believe that the farmer should be taught about the use of fertilisers and how it will help him to double his outturn. But now the situation has changed. The farmer wishes to use

more and more of fertiliser because he has realised that this will increase his production. And now he demands fertiliser again and again and we are failing to meet his requirements. We are not able to meet his demands. I do appreciate the hon. Minister's difficulties, but I do hope the hon. Minister will pay due attention to this matter and convince the Government about the need for increased production of fertilisers, because unless our nitrogen production goes up substantially things will never change for the better.

In this connection I would like to draw the attention of the House to the manner in which the Trombay factory has been handled. It is behind schedule. I do not know who is responsible for drawing up that faulty agreement which did not provide for delays in its coming up. He has not been penalised and already we are about eight months behind schedule. I think more effort should be made to make up for this time-lag and it should be caught up. While thinking and talking of nitrogen production we should particularly bear in mind that the demand is going to be doubled by the end of the Third Plan and multiplied four times by the end of the Fifth Plan. So it is very necessary that we take steps to see that we start manufacturing the necessary fertiliser machinery in this country and for that we should now-initiate the fabrication plants in India and also set up our own designs and research organisation for these plants. Fortunately in this sphere of industry, pioneer work need not be done. We have just to copy what other countries have already done. It is, therefore, easier for us to think quickly.

I would only say in a second that tractor production is another part of our crisis of input. We have heard a lot about this for some few years now, that tractor production was being taken on hand, but unfortunately so far we have seen these thing!

[Shri I. K. Gujral.]

have not come up as they should have. I am very glad the hon. Minister with his zeal and vision is trying to start what Mr. Ghani described as package schemes or package programmes. Now, this is something which must be extended because wherever it has been done its results have been satisfactory, be it in the shape of two crops, be it in the shape of reducing the cropping period or in the shape of having hybrid seeds or the multiplying of seeds more quickly. So it is very necessary that this is taken up in hand more vigorously and extended. I do realise that the hon. Minister may argue that this would require 100 pounds of nitrogen per acre. This brings me back to what I said about nitrogen production. Increased production of nitrogen in our country is a "must". To sum up in a second, I would say this. Inputs, particularly fertilisers must be taken on hand immediately and on a long-range basis. Only then there is hope for this country. Before sitting down I may tell the hon. Minister that in Delhi particularly he has not only not received co-operation in respect of rationing but he has also been let down about the land which is lying fallow and which is not being cultivated and also in respect of the aids which have not been utilised in the form of cold-storage poultry developing and so on. I hope he will take up these matters strongly with the Home Ministry and see that Delhi falls in line with the general policy. One can understand in a Federal State, the different States creating some difficulties. But Delhi is directly administered by the Centre and so the operation should be much better. I wish all luck to the Minister in his endeavours to translate all this into action, for in this hour when we are fighting on the borders, our home front should be well preserved by having fair and equitable distribution and by increased production. We should endeavour and produce more so that we may be able to improve the

standard of life of our country.
Thank you.

श्री बिमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया :

उपसमापति महोदया, जो प्रस्ताव विचारार्थ आया है, वह बहुत महत्व का है। हम कभी से यह कल्पना कर रहे हैं और सोच रहे हैं कि हमारा देश खाद्यान्न के मामले में स्वावलम्बी हो, किन्तु सब प्रयत्नों के बावजूद हम उत्पादन के मामले में जोड़ के आधार पर भी नहीं बढ़ पाते और जनसंख्या के मामले में गुणा के आधार पर बढ़ते जा रहे हैं। इस लिये यह समस्या हल होने के बजाय और विषम होती जा रही है। हमारा इतना उत्पादन होने के बावजूद भी जो आंकड़े दिये गये हैं, उसके हिसाब से गत वर्ष के मुकाबले में अधिक आयात करने के बावजूद भी हमारे देश में अनाज की स्थिति ठीक नहीं है और मेरे पूर्व वक्ताओं ने इस पर बहुत अच्छी तरह से प्रकाश डाला है। कुछ अर्थशास्त्री तो यहां तक हमें भय दिखाते हैं कि सन् 1970 तक सारे संसार में विश्वव्यापी अकाल की छाया पड़ेगी। कुछ कुछ लोग ऐसे भी हैं जो यह कहते हैं कि हमें इस संकट से घबड़ाने की आवश्यकता नहीं है क्योंकि अभी जितनी जमीन पर हम उत्पादन कर रहे हैं वह इतनी कम है कि हम काफी कृषि योग्य भूमि को उत्पादन के कार्य में ला सकते हैं, पर वह तब संभव है जब हम उस ओर लक्ष्य करें। बिना उस ओर लक्ष्य किये अगर हम ऐसे ही चलते रहे, तो जो 1970 से अकाल की विषम छाया का इशारा किया जा रहा है, उसकी ओर हम को जाना पड़ेगा। इसलिये अभी से हमको सावधान होने की आवश्यकता है।

अनाज बाहर से आये और हमारे यहां भी उत्पादन बढ़े, फिर भी लोग अनाज की दुकानें लूटने लगे, यह कुछ समझ में नहीं आता है। फिर जहां अच्छा उत्पादन होता है वहां भी भवानी मंडी जैसी जगह पर लोगों ने अनाज की दुकानें लूटीं और फिर सरकार को गोलियां चलानी पड़ीं और सारी व्यवस्था करनी पड़ी। इसका मुख्य कारण यह है कि

हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार की कोई भी निश्चित योजना नहीं है। कभी वे कहते हैं कि हमारी व्यवस्था है भी और नहीं भी, हमारा नियंत्रण है भी, नहीं भी। तो ऐसी जो उसकी दूलमुल नीति है, उस के परिणामस्वरूप हमारे यहां यह सारी अव्यवस्था चल रही है। जब केन्द्रीय सरकार से हम कहते हैं कि यह अव्यवस्था हो रही है, तो हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार कहती है कि यह प्रांतीय सरकारों का काम है और प्रांतीय सरकारों के गड़बड़ की वजह से यह अव्यवस्था है। जब प्रांतीय सरकारों से कहा जाता है कि यह सारा गड़बड़ क्यों है, तो वहां यह कहा जाता है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार की वजह से यह सारा गड़बड़ है। इसका एक उदाहरण भी मेरे पास है। पूर्व में 11 मई को लोक सभा में जब प्रश्न पूछा गया, तो हमारे सुब्रह्मण्यम् साहब ने यह कहा कि मध्य प्रदेश सरकार की अनरियलिस्टिक पालिसी है, मेक्सिमम प्राइस फिक्स कर दी है, इसलिये सारी अव्यवस्था हो रही है। जब वहां की प्रांतीय सरकार से कहा गया कि आपकी अनरियलिस्टिक पालिसी है और उसकी वजह से सब गड़बड़ होता है तो उस पर श्री द्वारिका प्रसाद मिश्र यह कहते हैं कि केन्द्रीय खाद्य मंत्री जी ने जो कहा, वह भ्रमवश कहा और हमारे खाद्य मंत्री जी इसका स्पष्टीकरण कर देंगे। तो यह जो दोनों झगड़ा करते हैं, उसकी वजह से 'बिटवीन टू टूल्स' जनता की हालत खराब है और खराब होती जा रही है। तो ऐसी व्यवस्था हमारी सरकार की गलत नीति के परिणामस्वरूप होती जा रही है। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि हमारी प्रांतीय सरकार की ऐसी स्थिति है कि जब कभी उन के स्वार्थ की बात होती है तो वे बराबर तैयार हो जाते हैं। जब रायपुर में कांग्रेस का अधिवेशन हुआ तो झट से व्यापारियों को सारी छूट दे दी कि जितना उन्होंने चन्दे के रूप में, भेंट के रूप में, अर्पण किया, वह सारा वसूल कर सकें, उनको बाहर एक्सपोर्ट करने की छूट दे दी। जब काम-राज जी आए तो उनको थैली भेंट करनी थी।

तो फिर व्यापारियों को छूट दे दी। इस आधार पर अगर हमारी खाद्य नीति का निर्धारण होता है तो यह हमारे देश को लाभ पहुंचा सकती है, इस में बिल्कुल संशय है और इस पर हमारी सरकार को विचार करना चाहिये। इतनी बहस हुई और उस के बाद मैं तो यही चाहूंगा कि हमारी सरकार सारे देश के लिए एक नीति का निर्धारण कर दे और उस नीति के निर्धारण के लिए एक उच्च-स्तरीय समिति का निर्माण करे जो सारे देश की स्थिति को विचार में लेकर नीति का निर्धारण करे। जैसे कि मैंने अमेंडमेंट भी दिए हैं, सारे देश को एक ईकाई मान कर—बम्बई में क्या होगा, महाराष्ट्र में क्या होगा और मध्य प्रदेश में क्या होगा, यह सारी बातें भूल कर—जितने भी बन्धन लगाए हैं उनको यह सरकार समाप्त कराए।

तीसरे जो फूड कारपोरेशन का निर्माण किया गया, अभी उसकी ताकत इतनी बड़ी नहीं कि हमारी सरकार उसका लाभ उठा सके, हमारे देशवासी उसका लाभ उठा सकें। उसे भी बाजार में काश्तकार से बिल्कुल फार-वर्ड डीलिंग करनी चाहिए कि हम उसका गेहूं इस भाव से खरीदेंगे, उसका ज्वार इस भाव से खरीदेंगे, उसका खाद्यान्न इस भाव से खरीदेंगे। ऐसी फारवर्ड डीलिंग करके पहले से तय कर दें जिस से कृषक भी निश्चित हो सके कि हमारा इतना अनाज अमुक संस्था खरीदने वाली है, हमें इतना रुपया मिलेगा। इसके अभाव में या इस निश्चितता के अभाव में हमारे काश्तकार अन्य प्रकार की चीजों को बोनो को प्रेरित होते हैं और उसकी वजह से ठीक तरह से व्यवस्था नहीं हो सकती।

एक दूसरी शिकायत कीमतों के बढ़ने के बारे में की जाती है। कीमतें बढ़ रही हैं और जो स्थायी वेतनभोगी हैं उनको इस से कठिनाई होती है। स्थायी वेतन भोगियों की संख्या देखी जाए तो कुछ सीमित ही है और ऐसी स्थिति में उन लोगों के लिए फेयर प्राइस शाप्स खोलने

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चोरडिया] की व्यवस्था की जा सकती है। इसके लिए सारे काश्तकारों को कुछ आकर्षण देना होगा। हमारी सरकार कहती है कि हम बिल्कुल मेक्सिमम प्राइस देना चाहते हैं काश्तकार को और अधिक से अधिक मूल्य देना चाहते हैं जिससे वह अनाज बोन के लिए आकर्षित हो। सरकार ने प्राइस फिक्स की और कह दिया कि अपने गोदाम तक लाने का किराया हम काट लेंगे। किसानों ने कहा कि हम अपनी बैलगाड़ियों में ले आयेंगे तो वह नहीं मानी। उस में से बारदाना भी काट लिया जाता है और बताने को सरकार बताती है कि हम 65 रुपये देंगे लेकिन उन के हाथ में 60 रुपये पहुंचते हैं। इसलिए जब तक हम वास्तव में उनको उचित मूल्य नहीं देंगे तब तक वह कुछ कर सकें यह सम्भव नहीं होगा। इसके साथ ही साथ इसका दूसरा पक्ष भी है कि हम जब तक अपने देश में उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ाते, हमारा खाद्य संकट दूर नहीं हो सकता। अब तक के जो सुझाव हैं वह वितरण व्यवस्था की दृष्टि से हैं, लेकिन जब तक इन सारी बातों की जड़ को दूर करने के लिए हमारे देश में खाद्यान्न का उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ता, तब तक कुछ नहीं हो सकता।

सिचाई के मामले में देखें, इस में हम कुछ विशेष प्रगति कर पाए हों ऐसा लगता नहीं। सांइल कन्जरवेशन की दृष्टि से विशेष कुछ कर पाए हों ऐसा लगता नहीं। भू-संरक्षण की दृष्टि से देखा जाय उस में भी हम बहुत पीछे पड़ रहे हैं—कभी तो नए-नए तरह के एक्स-पेरीमेंट करते हैं, कभी कुछ। हमारे क्षेत्र में भू-संरक्षण के लिए जो कार्यवाही की गई उसका एक शिकार मैं भी हूँ कि मेरी जमीन में जितना पैदा होता था वह आज पदा नहीं हो पाता और कारण यह है कि बड़े बड़े अफसर दौरा करके देख जाते हैं—कुछ होता नहीं। “सींचे काहू का, काटे नाऊ का,” वाली कहावत नहीं होनी चाहिए। इस क्षेत्र में जो एक्सपीरिएन्स लोग हैं उनका उपयोग किया जाना चाहिए तो

अच्छा है। जो नई भूमि है, जिसको डेवलप किया जा सकता है, लोगों को कुछ इन्सेन्टिव देकर उन से कहा जाय कि यह नई जमीन जोतो, तुमको इतना लाभ देंगे, तुम इतना अन्न पैदा करोगे। ऐसा जब तक नहीं किया जायगा तब तक अधिक प्रगति नहीं हो सकती। वैसे साधनों की दृष्टि से अच्छा बीज चाहिए, खाद चाहिए—इसके लिए रिसर्च चाहिए। आपका पूरा इन्स्टीट्यूट विशेष काम कर पाया हो मुझे इस में शंका होती है। हमें रिसर्च को ज्यादा महत्व देकर, जैसे हमने शंकर मक्का या अन्य बीजों का उत्पादन करना प्रारम्भ किया है, और आगे बढ़ना चाहिए।

सब से मूल पाइन्ट काश्तकार को आकर्षित करने की दृष्टि से आर्थिक आकर्षण है और जब तक हम उसको यह आकर्षण खाद्यान्न उत्पादन की दृष्टि से नहीं दे सकते, हमारी योजनाएं सफल नहीं हो सकें इस में संशय है और इस दृष्टि से हमारी सरकार को प्रयत्न करना चाहिए। मैं सदन से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि जो संशोधन मैंने प्रस्तुत किए हैं उन्हें स्वीकार करे।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मैडम डिपुटी चैयरमैन, आज जिस परिस्थिति में देश है उस में इस खाद्य समस्या के ऊपर बहस करना बहुत जरूरी हो जाता है क्योंकि जब तक हमारे होम फ्रन्ट को ठीक नहीं करते, हमारा यह जो युद्ध का फ्रन्ट है वह कमजोर रहेगा। तो यह अच्छा हुआ कि हम इस सदन में इसके ऊपर बहस कर रहे हैं और मैं आशा करूंगा कि सरकार भी इसके ऊपर उसी ध्यान से काम करेगी और उसी ध्यान से सब अपना फैसला लेंगे। जो कुछ भी पिछले एक दो महीने के अन्दर अपने देश में हुआ है उस से भी मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार चेत गई होगी और अब ऐसा फैसला करेगी जो सिर्फ इस साल के संकट को दूर करने में ही नहीं बल्कि हमारे देश में जो खाद्य की कमी है उसको हमेशा के लिए दूर करने में कामयाब हो सके।

इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार एक-एक साल में जो अन्न की कमी है उस के बारे में सोचना बन्द करके एक लांग टर्म प्लान के ऊपर कुछ सोच विचार करे क्योंकि जब तक हम एक लांग टर्म प्लान नहीं बनाते हैं, तब तक यह खाद्य समस्या इतनी आसानी से हल होने वाली नहीं है। यह सिर्फ हिन्दुस्तान की समस्या नहीं है। यह समस्या बहुत से देशों में एक गम्भीर समस्या बनी हुई है। जैसा आपने देखा होगा कि रूस जैसे कम्युनिस्ट देश में खाद्य स्थिति के बारे में उन लोगों को बहुत कुछ करना पड़ा। तभी जाकर कोई हल निकाल पाए। इसलिए सरकार को एक छोटे पीसमील सोल्यूशन की बजाय लांग टर्म सोल्यूशन के बारे में सोचना चाहिए। मैं इस मौके पर यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले एक सहीने के अन्दर जितने भी लोगों को आपने खाद्य आन्दोलन में गिरफ्तार किया उनको छोड़ना पड़ेगा—इन सब चीजों को खत्म करना पड़ेगा। साथ ही साथ यह जो समस्या है इसका कुछ हल भी ढूँढ़ना पड़ेगा।

मैं कुछ चीजों की ओर सरकार का ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूँ। बहुत दिनों से यह कहा गया है और अभी भी हम कहते हैं कि इसका एक लांग टर्म साल्यूशन है कि जो पैदा करता है बुनियादी तौर से उसको उस जमीन का हक मिलना चाहिए। जब तक किसान जमीन का मालिक नहीं बनता, तब तक प्रोडक्शन हिन्दुस्तान में बढ़ेगा यह सम्भव नहीं दिखता। साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहूँगा कि जो अलाभकर जोत है उस पर रेवन्यू टैक्स को हटाना पड़ेगा। यह दलील दी जाती है कि इस से रेवन्यू कम हो जायगा और पैसे की कमी होगी, लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहूँगा सरकार से कि कितना पैसा हम रेवन्यू में इन छोटे किसानों से वसूल करते हैं। यह उस खर्च का कोई छोटा सा फ्रैक्शन भी नहीं है जो हम हिन्दुस्तान में करते हैं। इसलिए इसको घटाने से जितना नुकसान होगा उस से फायदा ज्यादा होगा और

उत्पादन भी बढ़ेगा। इसलिए मैं चाहूँगा कि जो अलाभकर जोत है उन पर से लगान खत्म हो।

साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी चाहूँगा कि आज की जो परिस्थिति है उसका भी कुछ इलाज ढूँढ़। आज हमारे देश में खाद्य की तथा कुछ और पदार्थों की कमी है। जब तक इन के डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन की अपनी व्यवस्था को हम ठीक नहीं कर लेते, तब तक यह असम्भव है कि हम उन के दामों को काबू में रख सकें। क्यों कि जब थोड़ी सी कमी होती है तो यह लाजमी है कि उस कमी की वजह से कुछ लोग खाद्य पदार्थों को अपने बस में कर लेते हैं और अपने मन चाहे रूप में उसका दाम बढ़ाते हैं। यह सब को मालूम है कि हर एक गांव में जो बड़े बड़े खेतिहर होते हैं, जो बड़े बड़े किसान होते हैं जिन के पास जमीन ज्यादा होती है, जिनके पास पैसा भी ज्यादा होता है वे जब फसल होती है तो जितना वहां का उत्पादन है उसको हस्तगत कर लेते हैं। गरीब किसान उस वक्त मजबूर है, उसने जो दूसरों से कर्जो लिया है उसको वापस करना है और उसको वापस करने के लिए जो कुछ भी अपना उत्पादन होता है उसको बेच देता है और बहुत कम दाम पर बेच देता है और जो बड़े मालदार लोग हैं वे गोदामों में इन सब खाद्य पदार्थों को रख कर के जब जरूरत पड़ती है तब अपने मनचाहे दामों पर बाजार में बेचते हैं। हमने यह भी देखा है कि सिर्फ बड़े किसान ही नहीं बल्कि शहर के जो बड़े बड़े मालदार हैं वे बड़े किसानों को पैसा दे करके उनके जरिए से खरीदवाते हैं। उनकी एक पार्टनरशिप होती है। शहरों में जो बड़े बड़े मालदार हैं, पैसे वाले हैं जो कि इन खाद्य पदार्थों से लाभ उठाना चाहते हैं वे कुछ पैसा इनको दे देते हैं और पार्टनरशिप बिजनेस में ये लोग हर एक गांव का जो उत्पादन है उसको हस्तगत कर के फिर दाम बढ़ा कर बेचते हैं। इन सब बातों के बारे में सरकार को सोचना पड़ेगा। अगर फूड प्रेंस

[श्री गोडे मुराहरि]

कारपोरेशन अपने काम को ठीक ढंग से एक एजेंसी बन कर काम कर पाता है तो हिन्दुस्तान की जो कमी है उसके शायद एक हिस्से का हल हो सकता है, इससे पूरा हल नहीं हो सकता क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान की खाद्य पदार्थों की जो जरूरत है वह जब तक हम पूरी तरह से लोगों को नहीं दे सकते हैं तब तक यह समस्या हल नहीं होगी, इसलिए सरकार को एक लांग टर्म पालिसी बनाने के लिए सोच विचार करना चाहिए ।

जो प्लान हमने बनाए हैं उनके बारे में अगर हम देखेंगे तो पाएंगे कि जो भी प्लान बना है उसका मूल यह रहा है कि हम बड़े बड़े प्रोजेक्ट्स बनाएंगे लेकिन कोई ध्यान इस पर नहीं दिया गया कि छोटे प्रोजेक्ट्स बना कर, छोटे-छोटे बांध बना कर छोटी-छोटी कनाल बना कर काम करें जो कि ग्राम पंचायतों के जरिए भी किया जा सकता है । उनके बारे में हमने नहीं सोचा । हिन्दुस्तान की समस्याओं को एक या दो इलाके में बड़े बड़े प्रोजेक्ट्स बना कर के हल करने की कोशिश करना मेरी समझ में बिल्कुल नासमझी का काम होगा । जब तक सारे हिन्दुस्तान के बारे में नहीं सोचेंगे, बुनियादी तौर से नहीं सोचेंगे चाहे उसमें वक्त ही लगे, चाहे उसमें ज्यादा फायदा नहीं हो तब तक कुछ नहीं हो सकेगा । अगर पूरे हिन्दुस्तान में छोटी छोटी इरिगेशन की योजना बना कर के करते हैं तो शायद हिन्दुस्तान भर में थोड़ी बहुत उत्पादन में वृद्धि हो सके और उससे हमको नफा मिलेगा और उसके मुकाबिले में बहुत कम नफा बड़े बड़े प्रोजेक्ट्स को बना कर मिलता है, हां शायद इससे कुछ हिस्सों में उत्पादन बढ़ सके । तो इसके बारे में भी सरकार को कहना चाहूंगा कि वह जो भी प्लान आगे बनाए उसमें इसका ध्यान रखें ।

मैं यह भी चाहूंगा कि जो किसानों के पास से खरीदा जाता है चाहे वह फूड ग्रेंस

कारपोरेशन के जरिए से हो या और जरिए से हो तो किसान को अपने उत्पादन का उचित दाम मिले और चाहे सबसिडाइज करके, सरकार से पैसा देकर के या किसी भी तरह से कोई ऐसा दाम निर्धारित करें जिससे कि किसान को अपने उत्पादन का ठीक दाम मिले और बाजार में बिकते वक्त सस्ते दामों पर लोगों को वह मिले । इसको बाजार के ऊपर छोड़ने से काम नहीं होगा । सरकार को योजना बना कर इसे करना होगा, किसान को सबसिडाइज करना होगा और बाहर जो दाम है उसके ऊपर कंट्रोल करना पड़ेगा । इन दोनों चीजों को जब तक नहीं करेंगे तब तक यह समस्या हल होने वाली नहीं है ।

साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी चाहूंगा कि जो वस्तुएं उद्योगपति बनाते हैं, जो वस्तुएं फैक्ट्रीज में बनती हैं उनके दाम में और जो एग्रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्शन है उस के दाम में कुछ न कुछ संतुलन होना चाहिए । जब तक इनके दामों में संतुलन नहीं होगा तब तक किसान हमेशा भारा जाएगा क्योंकि वह बहुत कम दाम में अपना उत्पादन बेचता है और फिर जब बाजार में अपनी आवश्यकता की चीजें खरीदता है तो उसे ज्यादा दाम पर खरीदनी पड़ती है । इसी वजह से यह सारी खाद्य परिस्थिति देश में पैदा होती है क्योंकि जो गरीब किसान है वह अपना उत्पादन करके बेच देता है और जब उसको जरूरत पड़ती है तो फिर वह उसे खरीद नहीं पाता । जो सारी खाद्य परिस्थिति हिन्दुस्तान में उत्पन्न होती है वह इसी वजह से उत्पन्न होती है । तो अगर इसको हल करना है तो फिर जब तक एक लांग टर्म पालिसी बना कर के काम नहीं करते तब तक यह हल नहीं होगी ।

अन्त में मैं यह कहूंगा कि मैंने सुना है कि सरकार ने कोई ऐसा फैसला किया है कि खाद्य आन्दोलनों में जो गिरफ्तार किए गए हैं उन सब को वह छोड़ने वाली है । अगर ऐसा हुआ है तो बहुत अच्छी बात है और इसका हम स्वागत करते हैं और अगर

ऐसा फैसला नहीं है तो मैं चाहूंगा कि जल्दी ऐसा फैसला करके उनको छोड़ देना चाहिए ताकि हिन्दुस्तान में जो परिस्थिति आज पैदा हुई है, जो लड़ाई हमने छोड़ी है उसमें हम सकल हो सकें और सब उसमें हाथ बटा सकें।

श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा : हमने लड़ाई नहीं छोड़ी है, हमारे ऊपर लादी गई है।

**STATEMENT BY MINISTER *RE*
SITUATION IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR
AND RELATED DEVELOPMENTS**

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE PRODUCTION IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (SHRI A. M. THOMAS) Madam Deputy Chairman, I would like to keep the Honourable Members apprised of the developing situation in our efforts to contain and throw out the Pakistani aggression on our territory, since Hon. Defence Minister made the statement on the floor of the House on the 6th September.

Our Army which moved across the Punjab border to deal with the Pakistani forces who had invaded Kashmir and which were trying to open another front in the Punjab, has gained certain positions which it has held despite vigorous counter attacks from the other side. Our Air Force has been giving very good support to our ground troops. Our air action to hit the bases from which Pakistan has been launching air attacks on our territory has been continuing.

In the Chhamb-Jaurian sector our forces have made the enemy retreat and captured substantial number of vehicles besides stores. There are signs of his making a stand again. In other sectors of Jammu and Kashmir our troops have given a very good account of themselves. In the

Haji Pir area, our troops have captured another Pakistani post three miles west of the Pass and repulsed a Pakistani counter attack. Proceeding towards the north, from the Poonch side, our troops have with great gallantry, captured three important hill features in the bulge where not only have they inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy, but they have made a record haul of arms and ammunition and stores. The Pakistanis were well entrenched in these posts and had obviously been using them as bases for supporting and assisting infiltrations into Jammu and Kashmir. In other areas of Jammu and Kashmir also our ground forces have been inflicting losses on the enemy.

The Indian Air Force has achieved remarkable success, not only in the role of support to our ground troops, but also in strikes at the bases from which Pakistan has been mounting attacks on our territory.

Our air strikes in support of the Army were made over the Dera Baba Nanak area. The Air Force also struck at Pakistani ground forces concentrated in Sulemanki Head Works area and poised for an advance into India. The Sargodha and Chaklala air-fields of the Pakistani Air Force have been attacked by our planes as they were being used as bases by the Pakistani Air Force to support the aggression by Pakistani ground troops on our territory. Our Air Force have also intercepted and fought with the Pakistani Air Force in the latter's attempts to bomb air-fields and civilian targets in wide-spread areas, ranging from Jamnagar in the west to Kalai-kunda near Calcutta in the east. The Pakistanis had earlier bombed the civilian areas of Jaurian and Ranbir-singhpura. They have continued this process of bombing over Amritsar, Ferozepore and other civilian areas. No military target has been damaged in these areas, but there have been sizeable civilian casualties and damage to civilian property. Evidence