

ture in this matter, but we would like to know why there was this resignation, since the matter involves this House.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): That is quite right.

DR. SUSHILA NAYAR: Well, Sir, the Professor felt that he could not give the time needed to the Institute. He was not able to attend the meetings and he submitted his resignation and it was accepted.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That in pursuance of clause (g) of section 4 of the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences Act, 1956 (25 of 1956), this House do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Chairman may direct, one member from among the members of the House to be a member of the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences in the vacancy caused by the resignation of Prof. A. R. Wadia from the membership of the said Institute."

The motion was adopted.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have to inform the Members that the following dates have been fixed for receiving nominations and for holding election, if necessary, to the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences:—

1. Number of Members to be elected . . . One
2. Last date and time for receiving nominations. 21st September, 1964 (up to 3 P.M.)
3. Last date and time for withdrawal of candidature. 22nd September, 1964 (upto 3 P.M.)
4. Date and time of election . . . 23rd September, 1964 (between 3 P.M. and 5 P.M.)
5. Place of election . . . Room No. 63, First Floor, Parliament House, New Delhi.
6. Method of election . . . Proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote.

MOTION RE FOOD SITUATION

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now we go on to the next item—discussion on the food situation.

THE MINISTER OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE (SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM): Sir, I beg to move:

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

I do not propose to make a long speech at this stage, but at the same time I thought I should place before the House the guide lines which I propose to follow in tackling this very difficult and complicated problem. As hon. Members are aware, food is intrinsically connected with agriculture and, therefore, we cannot discuss food without reference to our agricultural programme; and both these are connected with and governed by the general economic situation in the country. But still I suppose we cannot cover the entire ground and it would be useful to confine our discussion to the aspect of food and agriculture, because once we go into a discussion of the general economy, we may lose the trend of the discussion and it is necessary to keep ourselves to a pattern when discussing this very difficult problem.

Sir, I feel that it is necessary for us to evolve an integrated policy with regard to production, distribution and price. Unless we have an integrated approach with regard to these three factors, we may not be able to find a proper solution, because one impinges on the other. Without proper production distribution becomes very difficult, and without a proper price policy production also becomes difficult and distribution also creates difficulties. That is why it is necessary for us to make this integrated approach.

First of all, price is a common factor with regard to distribution and production and I wish to submit respectfully that ultimately production in the agricultural sector depends upon what price policy we propose to pursue. If we think that in the interest of the consumer we should depress agricultural prices, then whatever other steps we may take, I am afraid we will not have increased production which is an absolute necessity not only for the present, not only for the immediate future, but for the interest of the country for times to come. That is why first of all we have to take a policy decision with regard to this price factor. The Government has to declare categorically that for the purpose of increasing production it is necessary to provide to the producer a remunerative and incentive price. And once this remunerative and incentive price is provided for the producer, then the various other steps necessary for the purpose of providing material facilities or the technical know-how to the producer for the purpose of utilising these facilities—material and other facilities—for the purpose of increasing production, these constitute one set of action. Another set of actions is this: Having fixed this producer price, how do we get at the material produced? How do we distribute it to the consumers? This is another set of steps or proposals which we have to consider. Therefore, having fixed the producer price, even for the purpose of distribution it is the policy of the Government to fix what should be a reasonable consumer price with reference to the price which we have to pay to the producer, taking into account the processing charges, the transport charges, the handling charges and various other incidentals involved in it. Therefore, the producer price having been fixed, we will have to fix the wholesale price and also the price at the retailer's level. And these should provide a reasonable margin so that we may be able to administer these prices properly. It is for the purpose of fixing these

prices at these various levels for the producers, the wholesalers and the retailers, that we have appointed a committee consisting of officials and economists for recommending the price pattern to be adopted in the coming season, in the coming *khari* and *rabi* seasons. But this will be in the nature of an *ad hoc* exercise.

SHRI KHANDUBHAI K. DESAI
(Gujarat): Coming season means next year?

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: No, this season. Then the Government are appointing an Agricultural Price Commission. As a matter of fact, this committee, I referred to just now, will also go into the question of the terms of reference with regard to the constitution of the Agricultural Price Commission and on that basis the Agricultural Price Commission is to be constituted for the purpose of making a scientific and technical exercise for fixing the producer's price, the wholesalers price and the retailer's price. We expect this Agricultural Price Commission to get into position before the end of this year, that is to say, before the 1st of January, and it is our expectation that firm recommendations will be available for the Government to take decisions for the 1965 season and onwards. This is one aspect but having fixed the price, how do we administer this? Also, in fixing the price we will have to consider another aspect, whether this price will have to be fixed purely on a regional basis or we should have a national pattern of price. Sir, after having had the experience of working various zones, regions, etc., we have come to the inevitable conclusion that we have to make a national approach even with regard to the fixation of the prices. This does not mean that the price would be uniform everywhere. It will have to take into account surplus areas and the fact that from those surplus areas agricultural produce will have to move to the deficit areas. Therefore, taking that into account, the price for the various

(Shri C Subramaniam) areas will have to be fixed and it is not merely that it is the surplus which will have to be taken into consideration, movement, etc., but we have to take into account the seasonal factor also. Soon after harvest, immediate agricultural production is available and an immediate sale soon after the harvest would not involve storage charges, wastages arising out of storage and various other factors. Therefore, the seasonal factor will also have to be kept in mind. That is why price fixation will take into account space, time and quality. It is on that basis that the price will have to be fixed.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) And the economic condition of the region concerned

SHRI C D PANDE (Uttar Pradesh) That is a big question

SHRI C SUBRAMANIAM The hon Members may make points during the discussion. I am only giving the broad points so that if hon Members would make comments on these I shall try my best to reply to the various points raised during the debate. So I am not going into the details. I am only giving a broad picture of how we are considering to approach this problem. Then, Sir, having fixed this price how to administer it is the most difficult problem because it will have to be found while we may have the technical capacity in our country to approach this problem and draw proper conclusions and making firm recommendations regarding price pattern what is important is how to administer this. Should we leave it to the private trade completely and say that the private trade should function within the disciplines of the price pattern? Sir, our experience of the private sector and particularly our experience during this difficult period is that we will be expecting the impossible if we think that the private trade left alone would function within this discipline. That is why the question, what shall we do

for the purpose of administering this price pattern successfully? What have we got to do for it? It is in this context that we have taken the decision to have a Foodgrains Corporation and the functions of this Foodgrains Corporation first of all would be to see that the producer gets a remunerative and incentive price which has been fixed so that now it would be the responsibility of this Corporation to have an organisation spread out in the area of its operation so that any farmer, any producer who wants to sell at the price fixed by the Government will have a ready organisation to purchase if the private trade does not treat him properly, does not treat him in a just manner and if this price is not available to him from any purchaser in the private trade. That is one aspect. Therefore, this organisation so far as the producer is concerned, to the extent necessary, will give price support, it will guarantee that any producer will get this price which has been fixed as the remunerative and incentive price. In addition to that since this price pattern will have to function in the various parts of the country, the private trade may not be interested in the movement of foodgrains to certain areas because of certain difficulties involved in the movement, or the price pattern may not be attractive to move this supply to certain areas. Therefore, it should be the responsibility of this Corporation to see that it has sufficient stocks to move to these critical areas to meet any scarcity situation. Therefore, it should be in a position to get hold of stocks not only by purchase from the producers but also to requisition stocks from any source for the purpose of moving to these critical areas. Therefore, it is the intention of Government to give powers of requisition to this Corporation to requisition stock from the wholesalers at the already declared prices. After all, in the price pattern, the wholesalers' prices are already fixed and already notified and therefore, nobody can have a grievance.

ance if the stocks are taken from them at the already notified prices. This is another area in which the Corporation will have to function. In addition to the requisitioning powers for the purpose of effectively administering this price policy. Government is of the opinion that, if necessary, monopoly for rail movement should be given to this Corporation. Then alone it would get that strategic control over the movement of foodgrains and it will be able to influence the movement of foodgrains and also see that the price policy is properly maintained.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): Would the Minister give some details about what exactly he means by monopoly of movement?

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: I am not going into details now.

This is another aspect of the Corporation's activities, functions and powers. Then, Sir, ultimately we have got to see how the retail trade should function, whether we should have agencies of the Corporation for the purpose of retail trade or whether we should license the retail trade. These are matters of detail about which hon. Members would have some views to express and I hope to be benefited by the expression of these views by the hon. Members. Therefore, this is how we propose to deal with the question of producers' price and the consumer getting it at a reasonable price. This will remove from this essential area the element of speculation which plays a great part today and in scarcity seasons and in scarcity areas private trade takes full advantage of it.

SHRI NIREN KHOSH (West Bengal): Sir . . .

Shri C. SUBRAMANIAM: The hon. Member may listen.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Afterwards.
670 RS.—4.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: This way the speculators will have no field for operation, taking advantage of scarcity either in respect of seasons or in respect of places. This would be . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH The wholesalers . . .

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: The hon. Member should have some patience. After all, I said earlier that I was only mentioning the points now. If he has got anything to say, he may mention it in his speech and I will try to deal with it in my reply. I do not propose to answer questions at this stage.

This being so, the importance of this Corporation will be easily realised and it is the intention of the Government to make this a modern business organisation taking advantage of all modern developments in business, for the purpose of planning movement, for the purpose of storage and for the purpose of various other matters involved in the discharge of its functions. This will take advantage of technical and scientific developments which have already taken place, having regard to computers and other things, to make things more accurate and orderly.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

This is one aspect. Then there is the other aspect which I have already mentioned, the question of improvement in production within the country. Ultimately, everything depends upon that; our economic development depends upon that; the solution of the food problem depends upon that. That is why Government attach great importance to this price problem to the producer. It is not by following the traditional ways of agriculture that we would be able to make a break-through in agriculture and have increased production. If we look across the world and find out where agricultural development has increased in magnitude to meet the situation then we find that it is only

[Shri C. Subramaniam.]

where a revolution has taken place in the techniques and technology of agriculture that increased production has taken place. Therefore if we want that we should have per acre increased production leading to total increase in production to meet the situation in the country, then it is absolutely necessary to see that our farmers are enabled to take to modern agriculture based on modern science and technology. This would mean breaking away from the past and therefore if we want our farmers to become modern agriculturists treating agriculture not as a way of life but as an industry, then they should be given not only the power to invest in agriculture but also should be provided with the incentives to invest. While there are risks in industry, there are greater risks in agriculture because of natural causes. Therefore he should be in a position to take decisions for the purpose of investments of an increased order. That is why when we expect the agriculturists to take to modern agriculture based on larger investments we should give a price which would take into account the risks involved in these greater investments and also the returns which will have to be ensured to the agriculturists for the purpose of taking to modern agriculture. It is from that point of view that we have to consider this question of remunerative and incentive price. I know particularly certain individuals and parties who are interested only in the consumer. Certain sections of the community—and that too minority sections of the community—always think in terms of depressing the agricultural prices for the benefit of the consumer, particularly the urban consumer. The result of depressing agricultural prices will be that we will continue to be in this backward condition as far as agriculture is concerned. Therefore if we want to get away from this depressed state of agriculture the first requisite is this remunerative and incentive price. This forms the very basis of agricul-

tural development in our country. And it is not merely this financial incentive or remunerative price which will produce all the results. This is only the means in adopting the various techniques and methods which are necessary for increasing production. It is not merely the price; the price is only a means but without that means other things cannot be achieved. Along with this means we will have to provide the essential requirements for increased production, for modern agriculture; that is, in terms of treatment of the soil, quality seeds—even with reference to quality seeds there are varieties; various new strains yield for the same input higher levels of production and that will have to be taken care of—fertiliser, irrigation, improved implements, etc. All these are involved. Initially if the agriculturist does not have the capacity to invest in these things then credit should be made available to him for the purpose of procuring these various material resources for the purpose of increased production. Therefore we will have to evolve a programme for the purpose of seeing—after having provided the remunerative and incentive prices—that the various material inputs and the necessary technical know-how are made available to the agriculturists. It is in this aspect—apart from the material inputs which will have to be made available—that the existing agencies become important. Whether the existing agencies provided by Community Development is adequate enough is a matter for consideration. This is an inescapable conclusion at present that this machinery is not adequate and therefore this machinery should be reorganised, reoriented and re-educated for the purpose of meeting this task of carrying new knowledge to the farmer—the producer. This is very important. In this area also the Government propose to take action but all this depends, as I have already said, on the new knowledge of science and technology. Therefore scientists and

technicians will have to come to the forefront and they will have to get more and more involved if we have to make any worth while progress in agriculture. And it is not merely in the technical field; even in the administrative field, in the various decisions we have got to take, my view is that the scientists and technicians should have greater influence in formulating our policies. We are therefore considering how best to reorganise scientific research work which is going on in the country, how best to reorganise the technical service which is already available in the country and how best to draw new talents into this field of science and agricultural technology. What are the means to be adopted for that purpose, all that is under consideration of the Government.

With regard to this agricultural development I am hoping to prepare a comprehensive White Paper and place it before Parliament and have a detailed discussion so that the Government may have the advantage of the views which may be expressed by members of both the Houses.

Madam, this in short is the picture I want to place before this House for the purpose of discussion. Of course on this you can have hours of discussion or days of discussion but I do not think hon. Members will expect me to dilate on the various other aspects. The only appeal that I would like to make to the House is not to make a political approach as far as the food problem is concerned because in trying to find solutions some of us not only want a solution but we want a solution according to our thinking and therefore any solution which is not in line with our line of thinking we always think is wrong. Food problem in my view is a purely technical problem and therefore it should be objectively viewed, and from that point of view decisions will have to be taken. We can get easily excited over the food

situation because I do agree it is a difficult situation and we are passing through very difficult days but merely getting excited does not give a solution to the problem. So I hope and trust that the discussion in the House will give me this benefit that I will be able to get more light on the situation and enable me to take correct decisions and formulate correct policies with regard to the immediate future and the long-term policies.

Madam, I move the Resolution.

The question was proposed.

SHRI KHANDUBHAI K. DESAI: I would like to know for the purpose of our discussion what he means by 'our thinking'. It would help if he can clarify it a little.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: Government's thinking.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: (West Bengal): In the course of his speech he has not said anything concrete about the idea of State trading. May I know from the Government whether any plan has been drawn up with regard to firstly the amount of marketable surplus that the Government is going to purchase in the next few months when the crop comes in and secondly with regard to the machinery that they are going to set up with a view to . . .

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: I shall give the answer when I make my reply.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are 32 amendments.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam, I move:

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

'and having considered the same, this House notes with

regret the failure of Government to curb hoarding and profiteering in foodgrains and thus prevent man-made food scarcities throughout the country resulting in an unprecedented mass misery'."

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

'and having considered the same, this House notes with particular dismay the failure of Government to take effective steps to hold the price line and to check the sky-rocketing rises in prices of foodgrains and almost all other essential commodities'."

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that Government have, by their acts of commission and omission, enabled the hoarders and speculators to corner foodgrains and other essential commodities and create scarcities and dictate speculative prices'."

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that failure of Government to introduce State trading in foodgrains has beyond measure helped the speculators and hoarders, first, to deny reasonable price to the peasants for their produce, and then boost its prices for the consumer'."

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that reckless and lavish advances by private banks for speculation and profiteering in foodgrains and

other agricultural produce are greatly responsible for the present critical situation'."

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the regulatory measures of the Reserve Bank in regard to bank advances do not at all meet the urgent needs of the situation nor do they put any real curb on hoarding and speculation'."

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the failure of Government to take due note of the slow arrivals of foodgrains in the markets in the early months of the year and take effective steps to ensure normal flow especially through fair price shops has in no small measure emboldened the profiteers to divert stocks of foodgrains into secret channels for earning exorbitant profits during the lean months by creating shortages'."

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that hoarding and profiteering in foodgrains is inseparably connected with the still continuing concentration of ownership of lands in the hands of a small number of landlords and their collusion with wholesalers and profiteers, all of whom are backed by the private banks'."

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that so long as the concentration of land remains there will al-

ways be the danger of black-marketing and hoarding’”

10 “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely

‘and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that it is essential to break the concentration of land and make the tillers the owners thereof in addition to distributing surplus lands to agricultural labourers and poor peasants’”

11 “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:

‘and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that once the land ceilings are effectively enforced and the circumvention of ceiling laws is negated and rendered impossible, large areas of surplus land would be available to Government for distribution among the land-hungry peasants’”

12 “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:

‘and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the failure of Government to impose and effectively enforce even the existing ceiling laws is largely responsible for the present semi-stagnancy in agriculture and the short-fall even in the modest agricultural targets under the Plan.’”

13 “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:

‘and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the failure of Government to provide adequate material incentive to the peasants by giving them land and conferring ownerships on the tenants as well as to harness the vast idle man-power in our rural economy constitutes a major obstacle to self-sufficiency in foodgrains’”

14 “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:

and having considered the same, this House takes serious note of the fact that instead of vigorously pursuing the objective of self-sufficiency, which is doubtless attainable, Government has reconciled itself to almost a kind of permanent reliance on food imports under PL 480’”

15. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:

‘and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that chronic dependence on food imports is proving harmful to the country’s economy as a whole and even to our agriculture’”

16 “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:

and having considered the same, this House disapproves of the emphasis which is put on food imports under PL 480 by Government as a solution to the food problem’”

17 “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:

‘and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that given the correct orientation in policies and implementation thereof such as effective ceilings, distribution of surplus and waste land to agricultural labourers, the present overall deficit in food can be overcome easily and the present heavy reliance on food imports done away with’.”

18 “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:

‘and having considered the same, this House notes with regret the failure of Government to start a number of State farms

on the pattern of the Suratgarh farm'."

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the failure of Government to provide adequate and timely credits to the peasants through the State Bank and properly run co-operatives not only condemns the peasantry to crushing indebtedness but stands in the way of stepping up agricultural production'."

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that Government have not ensured that peasants are in a position to fully utilise the additional irrigation facilities under the Plans, by giving them financial and other assistance'."

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the Community Development Programmes, despite heavy investments, have not played any mentionable part at all in increasing agricultural production, their role being mainly confined to extension of certain amenities in the rural areas'."

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

'and having considered the same, this House notes with regret the failure of Government to remove the growing disparity between the prices of the produce which the peasant brings to the market and the prices of the manufactured commodities which he buys'."

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

'and having considered the same, this House notes with regret the failure of Government to announce a reasonable price for the peasant for foodgrains well in advance of harvesting instead of merely fixing the maximum price'."

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

'and having considered the same, this House notes with regret the failure of Government to carry out a nation-wide de-hoarding drive in the recent months instead of relying on the good sense of the anti-social hoarder by offering so-called grace of two weeks to declare his stocks'."

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

'and having considered the same, this House notes with regret the failure of Government to take effective and timely action against the privately owned rice mills, many of whom have indulged in profiteering and blackmarketing, not to speak of taking them over'."

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the Zonal system needs to be reviewed'."

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the impermissible use of the D.I.R. and other repressive measures against people's movements for food and against high prices aggravates the situation and stands in the way of enlisting people's co-operation'."

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

and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that Government should immediately reorientate its policies and take effective steps in order to—

(a) reduce prices of all essential commodities;

(b) fix remunerative prices for the peasants for their produce and reasonable prices for consumers;

(c) confiscate the stocks of the big hoarders of foodgrains and other essential commodities and distribute such stocks through fair price shops, rations shops, cheap foodgrain shops and other distributive agencies under public control;

(d) open cheap grain shops, particularly in the distressed areas in adequate numbers;

(e) carry out a vigorous de-hoarding drive to unearth concealed stocks and set up a network of intelligence machinery at all levels for keeping track of movement of foodgrains and other essential commodities and for detecting hoarding and speculation;

(f) take over the wholesale trade in foodgrains under a fool-proof and elaborate scheme of State trading;

(g) abolish forward trading and stock exchange operations;

(h) ensure minimum wages to agricultural labourers;

(i) ban all evictions, drastically restrict resumption of land-ownership by landlords, review with a view to annulling all *malu fide* 'voluntary transfer' of lands by the tillers to landlords, and stop other forms of fraudulent practices to frustrate land legislation;

(j) bring under plough cultivable waste-land to the maximum possible extent by making, in particular, such lands available to the agricultural labourers;

(k) effectively enforce and implement land ceilings keeping in view the supreme objective of breaking the prevalent concentration of ownership in land and of finding surplus land for distribution, among the agricultural labourers and poor peasants;

(l) confer the right of ownership on the cultivating peasants and prevent fraud on the laws relating to the abolition of intermediaries;

(m) implement the recommendations for adequate provision of both long-term and short-term credits, especially the latter, through State Banks and Co-operatives at least to the extent of 75 per cent of the annual supply of rural credits;

(n) provide financial assistance and technical advice so that the poorer sections of the peasants can, in full measure, avail of and utilise irrigation facilities;

(o) reduce rents at least in areas where they are particularly high;

(p) give utmost attention to the question of minimum material incentive for the toiling peasants by providing them with land, security of tenure, ownerships etc., in order to create labour enthusiasm and thus step up both per acre yield and over-all production;

(q) provide food subsidies where the situation so demands;

(r) set up as many State farms as possible on the lines of the Suratgarh farm;

(s) set a firm time-limit for attaining self-sufficiency in food and ending the present reliance on food imports under P.L. 480 at

the earliest, as well as introduce and implement all necessary measures to achieve this objective;

(t) work out and introduce measures to attract and enlist people's co-operation in taking the problem of food and other essential commodities on the basis of reorientated and correct policies'."

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that Government should take the following immediate steps for ensuring effective State trading in foodgrains, proper distribution, and for fair prices for peasant-producers and consumers:—

(i) close down with immediate effect all the forward markets, forward trading and speculative price quotations in the ready market in all foodgrains, oilseeds and oils;

(ii) prohibit all papers from quoting these rates in their papers and take strong action against korb trading;

(iii) establish a Foodgrains Corporation within fifteen days;

(iv) draft services of those trade agents who do the actual buying for the wholesalers and give them due remuneration as temporary Government employees with prospects to be absorbed in the Government Foodgrains Corporation, which will require the services of thousands of such purchasing cadres;

(v) fix immediately fair prices to the peasant-producer and announce them for this very season; payment of money to the peasant-sellers to be as quick as that of the wholesalers;

(vi) the Government Foodgrains Corporation should have its centres near the trading mandis but outside their influence and surroundings;

(vii) the octroi duties which are charged on the peasant-produce coming to the mandis to be suspended with immediate effect and the affected towns reimbursed their loss of income from Government subsidy; this should apply only to those who sell to the purchase centres of the Government Foodgrains Corporation;

(viii) requisition the existing godowns of the wholesalers for stocking Government grain;

(ix) from now onwards all bank advances to foodgrains trade to be completely banned; for this season and the next, "clean" advances made by banks should be banned;

(x) establish fair price shops in towns and villages on the basis of one shop for 500 families, for supplying foodgrains and other essential articles to the people; retail traders being utilised for the running of these shops by guaranteeing them reasonable profits;

(xi) the Central and State Governments should undertake the supply of foodgrains and other essential commodities to their employees at subsidised rates through shops run by the respective Government departments; in the same way, Government must compel private employers to run subsidised shops and supply foodgrains and other essential commodities to their employees as was agreed to at the Tripartite Conference;

(xii) People's Food Committees representing progressive parties and mass organisations to be established for the people to come together for the implementation of the above-mentioned measures'."

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY
(Mysore): Madam, I move:

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

'and having considered the same, this House approves of the policy of the Government of India and the steps taken by it in dealing with the food situation'."

SHRI V. M. CHORDIA: (Madhya Pradesh): Madam, I move:

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that with a view to finding a permanent solution of the food problem, the following steps should be taken:—

(1) the prices of foodgrains should be fixed keeping in view the cost of food production by the farmer on marginal land and the market rates of other produce for attracting farmers towards food production;

(2) the rates of electricity used for irrigation purposes should not exceed 6 paise per unit;

(3) the farmer should be relieved of the burden of unproductive loan;

(4) restrictions should be placed on the imposition by the Agricultural Department on farmers of tasks which are not backed by experience.

(5) (i) cow-dung should be preserved for being used as manure and steps taken to prevent cow-dung, being burnt for fuel;

(ii) the farmers should be given aid for installing cow-dung gas plants;

(iii) They should be supplied electricity for domestic use at

cheap rates, where there is electricity;

(6) arrangements should be made for the purchase and sale of foodgrains by Government at prescribed rates;

(7) foodgrains should not be used for manufacturing starch;

(8) special stress should be laid on researches that are conducted on food products;

(9) special efforts should be made for saving the agricultural produce from various diseases;

(10) priority should be given to small irrigation schemes;

(11) fertilisers should be supplied in sufficient quantity;

(12) Government should not waste their time and money on co-operative farming but instead should give all encouragement to farmers'."

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE (Uttar Pradesh): Madam, I move:

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

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

[The amendment also stood in the name of Shri V. M. Chordia, Shri G. K. Kapoor and Shri D. Thengari.]

The question was proposed.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat): Madam, I have listened very patiently to the speech of the Food Minister and not only his appeal here but the appeal he made a few days ago when he called some of us

to meet him, we have in mind. He can rest assured that ours is not an agitational approach in any sense but we would like to understand more clearly what his policy is and what he proposes to do.

SHRI C SUBRAMANIAM I would also like to know what the hon Member would like me to do.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V PATEL I shall explain it certainly.

Now, the question of food is allied to the question of prices. The question of agriculture comes first because it is the source that produces mainly our food, the food that more people in this country have been used to, and then it brings me to the question of prices. How we have been dealing with this question I would like to deal with first. I always remember that the late Prime Minister said that if we failed on the food front, all our plans would be of no avail. Unfortunately in spite of what we have been trying to warn the Government, our warning has not been heeded to. I do not know whether in the altered situation some attention is going to be paid to it. Time and again it has been stressed and recommended by the planners too that only on a sound agricultural basis can a stable economic structure of the country be built. If good intentions and expenditure of colossal sums alone were any criterion to judge the success of agricultural planning we should have achieved spectacular success in this field long ago. During the first two Plans we have spent about Rs. 2,000 crores on schemes of agricultural development. Yet the production of foodgrains, the pivot round which the country's entire price structure revolves, has not been able to make any appreciable headway. In the case of other agricultural crops too the progress has not been significant. Food and clothing are the basic necessities of life and in our country where the people have sub-marginal living standards their weightage in the average family budget is much greater

than in prosperous communities. Almost sixty per cent of the family budget of an average family in India is spent on food and eight per cent on clothing. Any shortfall in the availability of foodgrains, therefore, creates far-reaching repercussions on the price levels.

The Third Plan postulates an increase in agricultural production of 39 per cent during the Plan period, that is, 6 per cent per annum, and of 70 per cent, that is 14 per cent per annum, in industry. Actually in 1961-62, the first year of the Plan, agricultural production increased by only 1.2 per cent over 1960-61, in 1962-63 it declined by 3.3 per cent over the previous year. During the last twelve years agricultural output has been rising at an average annual rate of 3.5 per cent only. Why? Has Government considered these aspects? There are countries that have been continuously stepping up their production by a much higher percentage than 3 per cent. Is our Government inclined to take lessons and learn from them? As a result of the low output the prices of foodgrains have shown a significant rise. As compared to a year ago by the middle of July wheat prices have recorded a rise of 28 per cent, jowar and bazra of as much as 56.5 per cent and 34 per cent respectively, pulses 34.5 per cent and gram 46 per cent. The pressure on price levels has been further aggravated by the slow rate of increase in industrial production, particularly of consumer goods the demand for which has been increasing with the rising income in the hands of the people as a result of the large expenditure on developmental plans. The overall index of industrial production rose by 6.6 per cent in 1961-62 and by 8 per cent in 1962-63. In 1963-64 the increase was 9.4 per cent against the average 14 per cent per annum rise targetted under the Plan. But even within this limited increase in industrial production some imbalances have arisen. During the first two years of the Third Plan, the producer and basic industries have recorded a significantly larger growth

as compared to the general index of industrial production. The consumer industries, however, showed a lower rate of rise. The production of cotton textiles increased by 6.5 per cent and paper by 9.9 per cent. The result is that there is a marked scarcity of consumer goods. For instance, in case of cotton textiles, the per capita availability of mill cloth for domestic consumption declined to a mere 9.6 yards in 1963 as against over 11.0 yards in 1957. I am not taking into account Khadi which is something different and on a different basis. But I am sorry to say that even Khadi prices have been going higher and higher. Khadi production which was oriented to the needs of this country, to the village economy has now become geared more and more to the motor car economy, and persons in charge of Khadi production who should really be people unconnected with politics have started indulging more and more in politics like the present Chairman of the Khadi Board. When is he going to devote his time to Khadi, to production of Khadi, to making Khadi cheaper in this country? It is good that a token export has been made even though it be not a large sum. Does that help Khadi production?

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVAR-GIYA (Madhya Pradesh) He is also a constructive worker.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Perhaps I know him a little longer than you.

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVAR-GIYA I also know him.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Under the Second and the Third Plans, particularly in the case of the Third Plan a great emphasis has been laid on the development of the producer and basic industries with a lower priority accorded to the consumer goods. I am sorry the emphasis was not on agricultural output. That is where I think we have missed. The situation has been further aggravated

by the rising public expenditure especially of a non-productive nature of the Union and State Governments. We are told that a higher expenditure on defence is necessitated by the Chinese aggression, which has increased from Rs. 312.49 crores in 1961-62 to Rs. 854 crores in 1964-65, and that it has somehow to be met as long as the threat to the integrity of our frontiers continues to exist, even though it results in creating a certain amount of pressure on prices. Madam, in the Budget speeches that I made in the last two years I quoted figures of the Public Accounts Committee which pointed out that the increase in taxation was really unnecessary. The under-estimates of income and the over-estimates of expenditure that Government planned but was never able to use showed that the increased taxation was hardly justified. If the figures of the Public Accounts Committee reports are scanned and produced before the House, even for the last three years the position is the same. Therefore, I am justified in saying that the increased taxation is not justified and it unnecessarily leads to rising prices.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN You may continue later. The House stands adjourned till 2.30 P.M.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at half-past two of the clock. The Vice-Chairman (Shri Akbar Ali Khan) in the Chair.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I was pointing out, when we adjourned, that non-Plan expenditure has been taking up a very large part of the amount that Government spends and, therefore, it has an inflationary tendency. It causes prices to rise and naturally that is reflected in the prices of foodgrains also. Between 1962 and 1964 non-Plan expenditure on revenue account

[Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel.]
 increased by Rs. 950 crores of which about Rs. 550 crores is accounted for by defence expenditure. During the same period the Plan expenditure on both revenue and capital account increased by Rs. 900 crores. In 1963-64 alone budgetary spending for both non-development and development purposes increased by about Rs. 800 crores. The inevitable result of all this large expenditure is the increasing volume of money supply in the hands of the people, not necessarily agriculturists. There is so much money in circulation and, therefore, prices tend to go high. In April 1961 the amount of money supply with the public was Rs. 2,878.87 crores, which increased to Rs. 3,833 crores in May, 1964. Between the end of March 1963 and the end of June 1964 money supply with the public increased by about Rs. 480 crores or by about 14 per cent. Thus, while the volume of money supply in the hands of the public, as a result of large expenditure on Plan and non-Plan outlay and defence is rapidly growing, there is no corresponding increase in the production of foodgrains and other essential consumer goods. Thus, the picture that emerges is one of a rising tempo of demand created by the new additional income arising from the huge public expenditure, particularly of a non-productive nature, on the one side, and of a correspondingly much lower rate of increase in agricultural and industrial production on the other. It has been estimated that the total increase in demand in 1963-64, as compared to 1960-61, is at least likely to be of the order of Rs. 400 crores against an increase in the total supply of Rs. 1,500 crores only. With this widening chasm between demand and supply, the rise in price was inevitable. The hiatus between the rising demand and the static supply has been widened further by the rapid rate of increase in population. The current rate of increase is estimated to be of the order of 2.4 per cent per year, which means that an additional eight to ten million mouths have to be fed every year. Just to think that

in this decade the country will have to find food for an additional population of eight to ten crores, just about half the population of the United States or the U.S.S.R., is a terrifying prospect indeed. With the existing pressure of population on land and the limited resources that are available to the country, it is impossible to plan for production of food and other essential consumer goods on a scale which would give the rising population a reasonably fair standard of living. In the circumstances, the country will have to find itself sliding down, with a falling standard in time to come. In addition to the normal rise in population, we have the large influx of refugees. Many persons have already come. The influx has not stopped. We have more and more people coming every day. This is also a severe strain upon us.

The division of the country into different zones and the restrictions on movement of foodgrains between them have also tended to aggravate the scarcity conditions. I am glad that the Government seems to realise that the zonal system is not the remedy and they are going to take steps to remedy it by removing the zones as soon as they think they can cope with the situation. The scarcity conditions and the rising prices have created a psychology which is restricting the flow of foodgrains into the market from the producing centres. The trade has been accused of withholding stocks in the expectation of rising prices. At the same time, it has also been alleged that there has been a certain amount of reluctance on the part of the growers to bring their produce to the market in the expectation of prices which will rise still further in the coming lean months. If, however, Government had sufficient buffer-stocks of imported foodgrains and they were in a position to release adequate stocks through their fair price shops, the position would have eased. But unfortunately it appears that we are working on a ship-to-mouth basis in the matter of food. This is not a very

happy picture. If timely and effective remedial measures are taken, the position can be retrieved, but this will need a completely fresh approach to the problem. Our thinking on future planning has to be so oriented that there is a proper balance between the development of producer and basic industries on the one hand and the development of consumer goods industries on the other, with due emphasis on agriculture. I do not know whether we are sufficiently clear in our minds about agriculture, the method, and how we wish to increase agricultural production. If we wish to go in for mechanical cultivation, as has been done in America, then the land to the tiller policy will not work. It means large holdings. It means large farms. It means tractors. On the other hand, there is a method by which ceilings on holdings and the land to the tiller policy can also be made a success. Small countries have done it. It is no use saying that these are small countries. What a small country has done can be done by bigger countries, provided they would work in smaller units, if necessary. The essential fact about it is that it has been made a success. The land to the tiller policy without using mechanical means of cultivation, using—if you like to call it—primitive, if you like to call it, older methods of agriculture, with the bullock and the buffalo, as we do in India today, is being implemented in Israel and in Taiwan.

After my recent visit to Taiwan, I handed over a book to the Food Minister about agriculture in Taiwan. You will be surprised that this book is banned, because all literature from Taiwan is banned. I do not know why such a condition should exist in a free country . . .

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND CO-OPERATION (SHRI B. S. MURTHY): How did you bring it then?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: By telling Customs that I am not going to obey the law and bringing it openly. It is banned by a notification of the Finance Department. If my friend, who is in the Government does not know, let me enlighten him. I told the Customs: "I am taking it. You can do what you like."

AN. HON. MEMBER: What did he say?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: He did not say anything.

SHRI B. S. MURTHY: Such things are not known to us.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: And this book is one of the books I have been able to bring. Unfortunately I could not bring more. I presented it to the Food Minister in the hope that it will be useful to him.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, on a point of order . . .

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Mr. Vice-Chairman, you will not allow disorder.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): It should be only a point of order.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: On a point of order, the hon. Member, Shri Dahyabhai Patel, has just displayed a contraband article in this House, which he has got into the country, according to his own admission, in violation of the law of the land. That is quite clear. He has said it very clearly. He is a very strong man.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: He did not mean it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You refer to his speech. First of all, you must not have it in the proceedings. It should be expunged. Otherwise, they will say Members of Parliament not only can bring contraband things, frightening and telling the customs, but also display them on the floor of

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta:] the House saying: "I have done it and it remains there." Therefore, I think, in the interests of what they call law and order, it should be expunged. That is number one. Secondly, I request you, Sir, to give direction to the Marshal to seize it and take it in custody.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Mr. Vice-Chairman, as I said, it is a point of total disorder. The notification of the Finance Department is not the law of the land which I am disregarding. Only they are trying to consume my time.

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARANJPYE (Nominated): Sir, the point of order raised by Shri Bhupesh Gupta should have been raised two or three days back when the hon. Shri Dahyabhai Patel had already told the House that he had brought this book in spite of all the regulations.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Now, you see the book. You have to seize it here. Now, it is for you . . .

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN (Kerala): Suppose the book is from the mainland?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I will consider it. This matter will be looked into. I need not give any decision just now

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Suppose, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I bring a revolver here without a licence, show it here, and say, "I have got it, have tried to frighten the Police" and so on. And suppose I do this thing, show it to you, not shoot you. What will you do? Will you not seize the revolver, or will you allow me . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): It is not against . . .

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: It is hypothetical.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is not hypothetical, it is a legal proposition. (Interruptions). Therefore, I think the Government should kindly look into the matter because Taiwan has started smuggling things. That is the trouble.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Mr. Vice-Chairman, will you ask him to sit down?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I will not call Shri Dahyabhai Patel a smuggler. Taiwan has started smuggling things through the agency of our esteemed friend. How can I call him a smuggler? Even if Taiwan . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, what is the law you are referring to? You have not referred to the law which prohibits this.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You kindly look into this. And what about the Marshal?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): After I decide the first point.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But the book will go there.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): First, I will have to look whether it is a contraband book.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Then what happens in between?

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): No, no.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I suggest that in between the book be laid on the Table of the House without prejudice . . .

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I will be very glad to lay it on the Table and also in the Library for the use of Members.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Put it on the Table . . . (Interruptions) I do not want it to be quoted till the question of the custody is decided. You decide whether it should remain in his custody or it should go to the place where all confiscated materials go, to the place where materials which escape the Customs and the smuggled goods which are caught are put, and then you can auction it.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Anything that is brought with the knowledge of the Customs officials and with their approval is not a smuggled article. I have told the Customs officials.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The customs officials have permitted this thing to be brought. They have done it knowing that they are allowing something contraband. I demand an investigation.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Because they have the discretion.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I demand an investigation against the Customs authorities as to why they allowed this. (Interruptions) It is a serious matter. Today I can bring in anything. Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Government is here. The concerned Customs authorities should be questioned whether they were told about this book and whether they knew the law—even a citizen should know the law—especially when they were on the job, and why they allowed this contravention. . . . (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Dahyabhai Patel.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: The Government should enquire into the matter and question the Customs officials who have allowed it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Krishnamachari should come and make a statement.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Ghosh, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has already said that.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: You have not said anything. What can I do?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I said, I will consider it. Mr. Dahyabhai Patel.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Uttar Pradesh): I have to make a submission on this point because you have said that you are taking this matter into consideration. I hope that this book is not a proscribed book. A contraband material, if it was not detected by the Customs authorities . . . If it would have been a proscribed book, then any passage quoted from this book should have been struck.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Gold is not proscribed here. But contraband gold comes.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I am on my legs. I hope that Mr. Gupta will allow me to make my submission. This is not a proscribed book. Under certain Customs regulations the import of books from Taiwan is not permitted, under the Customs law or something like that. But the book is not proscribed. So, any passage quoted from the book or any reference made from the book cannot be prohibited, cannot be checked in this House. If anyone has any objection to be raised that the Customs rules have been violated, a regular suit may be filed by any hon. Member, either by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta or by any other Member. So, I think the proceedings of the House should not be interfered with in this way by raising unnecessary points of order.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN) I have heard your point

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA Before you make up your mind

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN) Is this point of order?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA I have never said that action should be taken on the book on the basis that it is prescribed (Interruptions) It may or may not be prescribed

SHRI ABID ALI (Maharashtra): What are we discussing? We are having the food discussion Mr Dahyabhai Patel is holding the floor Now something else has been forced to creep in Little references can be tolerated, but this debate should not be diverted

SHRI NIREN GHOSH Is it on a point of order?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN) I have heard your point of order I have to make (Interruptions) I have heard you

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA The thing is, I never said it is proscribed

SHRI NIREN GHOSH What will you do?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA Customs violation is a violation Therefore, I say this Many things are not allowed to come into the country under the Customs law under orders from the Ministry of Finance They have nothing to do with whether they are proscribed books or not (Interruptions) Therefore, the book has come to the country in violation And now you have done it with the knowledge of the Customs officials Mr Dahyabhai Patel

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN) All right I have heard you Please sit down. Let Mr Dahyabhai Patel continue (Interruptions)

SHRI DAHYABHAI V PATEL Mr Vice-Chairman, I was pointing out that there are two ways of tackling the food problem, particularly the agricultural production One way is to do it as the Americans have done it—large-scale big farms, tractors, power cultivation and all the operations that are done on the field by means of power That would naturally result in large-scale unemployment but that can be avoided if we have a sufficient number of industries as they have in America Sir, in a country like ours where we have got about 80 per cent of the people living on the soil depending for their livelihood on agriculture, how can we think of switching on to these things speedily? A country like America has only 15 per cent of its population in agriculture and on land and the rest is in industry But the method that has been adopted in Israel or in Taiwan can easily be followed Dr Sun Yat Sen gave the principle to that country We have tried to copy it, we have done it half-heartedly, if I may say so The land was given to the tiller The absentee landlord was dis-housed and he was paid full compensation, not in a half-hearted way as we did We did not give the land to the tiller, we did not give compensation Or we have not finalised as to who is to get possession There the Government saw that compensation was paid over a period of years ten years, but he was paid Government saw to it that no subterfuge was employed to keep the land in the family as has been done in many cases in this country The ceiling is about an acre or one and a half acres But they have made success of agriculture It may be small-scale agriculture The first thing that they did was to fix a ceiling on the land tax that the Government would

take. The land tax is never more than 37 per cent and the agriculturist pays no other tax. Here the poor agriculturist is completely crushed by the different types of taxes that he has to pay, not to mention the illegal dues that the corrupt officials of the Government collect from him at every stage. Agricultural credit is available freely. Fertiliser is available freely. Better seeds are given by the Government. It is a joy to see their fields of rice; some of them we saw. They look as if they are overflowing with rice. How did they do it? The agriculturists are so happy. We saw men and women working fully clothed, the women used silk handkerchiefs round their hair to prevent dust from going in. That shows the condition of the agriculturists there. And the bonds that were given to the landlords whose properties were taken away are all paying dividends four or five or six or seven per cent, not 0.3 per cent as the State-owned industries in this country are doing. That is the basis. But that is where we have gone wrong. We could have made a success of this if we had applied our minds properly to it, if we had not made 'land to the tiller' a vote policy. If we had made a real policy out of the agriculture in this country, the policy would have succeeded. But, unfortunately, the people who were in charge of executing this policy of land-to-the-tiller made it a vote policy, to get the vote of the ignorant masses. They did not tell them what they have to do after taking the land, nor did they educate them how to produce better crop, more crop out of that. That is why we have failed. I hope the new Food Minister who is apparently tackling his job with a certain amount of energy, will apply his mind to this. I hope he will have no objection to taking correct advice, good advice from any quarter available. He should not begin with prejudices, begin with a feeling of a type of untouchability that we will not take even good advice if it comes from certain quarters and that he will take bad advice even abused, if it comes from certain quarters.

I know the Consul of Israel was here. I had seen him also. He met the Food Minister and offered his help. They know the condition of this country because they are helping our neighbour, Nepal. Their food experts, agriculture experts, have passed through this country. They have seen the conditions here. They made small suggestions, rather inexpensive, compared to the problem that faces us. They do not say, "Buy our tractors. Buy our agricultural machinery." They say that they are prepared to share whatever they have got and it can be done by us indigenously. They are prepared to send us people to help us if we want. There is the classical example of Mr. Hillary who went to Sevagram and helped the people there to produce better crop. He did not cost anything to us. He came on his own to help this country. He felt that he should come and see India, the land of Gandhiji. He went to Gandhiji's Ashram, talked to the people. They welcomed him. He stayed there for nearly a year and showed them how agriculture—not mechanised agriculture but simple agriculture—could be made to yield better production. Why can our Government not follow this policy? Can we not look at good things that come from Israel? Simply because it displeases certain supposed friends of ours, therefore, we should not have it from there. Is it good? That is a wrong approach, Sir.

Similar is the case of Taiwan. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta unnecessarily interrupted me. I was trying to point out that a notification was issued by the Finance Department banning import of literature from Taiwan. Why? Because there was a certain criticism of a country which was considered an ally. Therefore, the import of literature from that country was not allowed. But there are other regulations of which Mr. Bhupesh Gupta as a lawyer should be aware. Passengers travelling by air are allowed to carry literature with them. And since the book is not proscribed,

[Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel.]
 there is no limit to what they carry with them or what they cannot carry. It is not specified that you cannot buy a book there. You can take books with you. Under that regulation I brought it. Surely make use of it if it is useful to us. This book is written by a person who was in charge of agriculture, the policy of giving land to the tiller, a person who has made a success of it in Taiwan. Should we look at it or not? Should we learn from their example, or should we still depend on this policy of ship to mouth. P.I. 480? Every time we are in difficulty. I submit, Sir, that is a wrong way of looking at the problem. That will not solve our problem. The problem is how to put agriculture on its feet. Whether it is large-scale or whether it is small-scale, let it not be a half-way house; it is not going to help you. Now we are in a condition where it is neither fish nor fowl nor red herring. If you are following the way of Mr Bhupesh Gupta, make it clear. Say that you are following the policy of the Communists, whether it is sickle or hammer, let them decide between themselves. I do not know who has taken the sickle and who has taken the hammer. But I want our Government to declare about it. They should not be wavering. They should make up their mind clearly and tell the country and the agriculturist that this is what is going to happen.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Dark herring is prescribed by him

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I do not mind people eating herrings if as a matter of policy to supplement food our Government helps people to grow herrings or have fish farms to increase their output of fish. I would not object to it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What did you take there?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Mr. Vice-Chairman, shall I answer him or not? I had a good vegetarian, wholesome food. That should satisfy him and the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): They want to interrupt you to put you out of the track. Please do not take notice of what they say.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I have been here in this House for a sufficiently long time to cope with the interruption of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Shri Dahyabhai Patel has decided to live in Andamans while Chiang has gone to Taiwan.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I have not seen the Andamans. But there are some people opposite who have had something to do with the Andamans.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I was trying to say that this Government should publicise in a detailed manner, and in the local languages, the methods by which the agriculture of this country could be improved, publicised in the regional languages which the people can understand. Let the example of the people who have done this before the eyes of the people so that they understand and they learn. Let us not shut our door to people and friends who are giving us help or who are prepared to help us willingly without any obligation. Just because it is going to displease X, Y or Z should we refuse this help? We are supposed to have a policy of non-alignment. Non-alignment means that we are friendly with everybody, so far as I can understand it, and we are willing to take help, we are willing to learn from everyone. Then why this hesitation to learn from the people who have made it a success in a short period of ten or twelve years? We have been independent for fifteen or sixteen years. What we have not been able to do all these years, these countries have done in twelve years. It should be an eye-opener to us. Shall I say it should be an eye-opener to the country?

The Congress has wasted lakhs and crores of rupees on import of costly

machinery which in many places is lying idle, not properly utilised. If that machinery is to be utilised, then that know-how and that type of agriculture should be followed. After importing costly machinery of lakhs of rupees we have introduced something that is going to undo the land-to-the-tiller legislation. Whether I am for it or I am not for it is not the point today. Today the point is if we have introduced the land-to-the-tiller policy, make it a success by learning from the people who have made a success of agriculture by following that policy and by producing more. If in twelve years Taiwan has been able to raise its production of rice by 300 per cent. why can we not do it? We have been talking of 10 per cent. or 12 per cent. If we could raise it even by half of what they have done our food problem would have been solved long ago. We have been telling year after year that we are short by 10 per cent. or 15 per cent. We have been telling this since independence. And if we are able to make up this 10 per cent. our population catches up by that amount. Why do we not make an extra effort and try to catch up with the population that is coming in the next few years by learning from people who have done it? That is the cause of our failure. I hope the Food Minister will give serious thought to this and will not allow his thoughts to be disturbed or confused by the disturbances, by the vituperations of my friend who sits here.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY:
Sir, . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Approving the food policy or the amendments?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is always a master in irrelevance. I do not heed his interruptions. My friend, the hon. Minister, has shown initiative and, more than that, considerable sense of responsibility and realism in bringing forward that motion for discussion in this House. It shows his deep concern for the problem and also it

shows his anxiety to understand the mood, the feeling of the House and a desire to be benefited by the constructive wisdom of the House.

3 P.M. I feel that he has set a healthy example in taking this initiative. I hope and trust that on future occasions, when such grave problems arise, the Government would themselves take the initiative in bringing forward such motions. The present situation, however difficult and grave, should not be allowed to bring a cloud in our minds and should not be allowed to paralyse our will and should not be allowed to weaken our sinews. Certainly this is not an occasion for intemperate outbursts and expressions of despair. Nobody denies that there is a food problem. Nobody denies that it has come as a rude shock to our development effort. At the same time nobody disputes that it will strain the patience and tolerance of the masses. There are already, I know, cussed Cassandras and petrified Prophets of Doom who have been indulging here and everywhere in evil forebodings and voices of reaction have been heard round the corner. But here on this occasion we have to understand the basic problems, the nature of the problem, the character of the problem, the implications of the problem. Before I do that, may I say that food problem should not be discussed as a political issue? It is no doubt the foremost problem but the din and dust of political controversy should not be imported into this debate. Secondly this is not the occasion to call into question the basic strategies, policies, assumptions and goals which we have already accepted because I find in some quarters this is being done. It is most unfortunate.

Next, the nature of the food problem has to be understood. May I remind the House that while discussing this question, we should not forget that there was a food problem also in the past? For many years the food problem has persisted, has been continuing with us. Then what is the position today? What is the situation now which makes it so very difficult

[Shri M. S. Gurupada Swamy.]

and grave? As Members are aware, if the food is available at reasonable prices, then most of us are apt to believe that there is no problem. But that happened in the past. For instance, in 1955, when the country had only 67 million tons of foodgrains including the imported foodgrains the prices of foodgrains suddenly col-

purchasing capacity of the people does not permit the purchase of food adequately, then we are apt to think the food problem does not exist. With the availability of 67 million tons of foodgrains in 1955, we all thought that there was no food problem but when the purchasing capacity of the people has risen, when the people have more financial capacity to purchase the foodgrains they need, even with the availability of 80 million tons of foodgrains we find that there is a food crisis. How do you explain this position? I do not think in 1955 with the availability of 65 million tons of foodgrains we had been able to satisfy the minimum nutritional requirements of our people. It was not so but still for most of us there was no food problem but with the availability of 80 million tons now, we find that all of a sudden there is a food problem. I am not rationalising the situation. I am not even justifying some of the failures in the various sectors but I am only pointing out that we have to understand the nature of the problem. Is it the contention of hon. Members opposite that the food availability is small? And if it is small according to them, it was smaller in 1955 and if it is the contention of my friends that the present difficulty is because there is a stirring up or shooting up of food prices beyond expectations, then that is a different question? I think the case today is one of increased accelerated food prices and it is a very difficult problem. I know but what are the reasons for this kind of a sudden increase? I know in the last 18 months the increase in the food prices has taken a bad turn. Compared to 1952-53 as the base year, the present rise

is 146 per cent. but during the last 18 months the rise has been rather sudden. That is why the country is faced with a difficult situation.

While discussing this question I would like to express my appreciation of the various measures taken by the Government. The Food Minister has taken many constructive measures, bold and wise. But in the past what was the picture? As I find, for many years we had no integrated and consistent food policy. For instance, when revered Rafi Ahmed Kidwai brought about a policy of regulated decontrol virtually what happened was, there was total decontrol. The mistake committed at that time was, the machinery that was built up during the War time and the immediate post-War time, was immediately disbanded or given up. That was a big mistake made at that time. The apparatus which should have been continued was not continued it was disbanded. Secondly the Government had not made up its mind about what they should do, about certain basic policies like State trading. There was some decision in 1958-59. There was a weak-kneed attempt to bring about limited State trading in foodgrains. The State Government, had no heart in it. The Central Government did not make any serious effort to make it a success. What happened? It was allowed to lapse. It did not succeed. And I think these lessons of the past have been taken into consideration by the present Minister. That is why I say I appreciate his effort in not only bringing forward a new kind of thinking on agriculture and food, and he has also been able to learn many things from the past failures. I feel that the set-up of the State Trading Corporation now is a very important step he has taken, and I hope and trust that this State Trading Corporation will become a very important plank in his food policy. But there are certain extremists who say that the entire wholesale trade and even the retail trade should be completely placed in the State Trading Corporation. I

think we cannot create such a huge machinery required for this purpose. Even if you are prepared to create this machinery, I think it will tremendously add to the cost of food, will increase food prices, will add to the cost of food production. Secondly, it would not be possible for the Government, even if they adopt the policy of State trading fully, completely, to find the stocks; I mean they do not have enough stocks to meet even the minimum requirements of the people. Therefore, the only sane approach, rational approach, to this problem is to have strategic control, strategic regulation, through the medium of State trading, and I think—if I have understood the Minister correctly—this is what is being attempted. And in this connection may I draw his attention to one important aspect? If you look at the country today, the disturbances, dislocations, agitations and demonstrations usually happen in certain vulnerable areas; mostly in the big cities, in the big towns, such dislocations and disturbances arise, and it is these centres that have got to be watched, should be kept under vigilance. May I therefore suggest to the Food Minister that the State Trading Corporation should put all these areas—the big cities and big towns—under full rationing? Though I do not agree that the entire country should be put under control and rationing, I think these vulnerable parts of the country, where all disturbances arise, should be taken care of by the State Trading Corporation. Then the Food Minister has come out with the idea of setting up an Agricultural Price Commission. In the past no attempt was made to evolve a pattern of agricultural prices, no national policy was evolved in this regard. I agree with him and I also agree with many Members who hold the view that, unless there is stabilisation of prices, unless a properly worked-out system of prices is evolved, it will be difficult to control the situation. Therefore I say that the Agricultural Price Commission should immediately evolve a pattern of prices so that it will make an impact on the

country immediately. Sir, I also suggest in this connection that the mere setting up of this committee or commission is not enough. Government has got to set up a wide network of offices manned by competent personnel, both at the Central as well as at the State level to undertake the ever-increasing responsibility of food policy. Otherwise, whatever you do whatever policy decisions you take, it will be difficult to pursue them. So an institutional network is absolutely necessary, and I hope that the Food Minister may be making efforts to create such a complex of offices, such an instrument, through which the policy can be pursued. Sir, the mere institutional framework, the mere creation of offices and officers would not also be enough, and unless this is also accompanied by structural changes in the agricultural economy it would be foolish to talk of solving the difficulties in this regard. So structural changes are absolutely necessary to bring about higher production, to bring social justice and to bring about in its wake a psychological transformation in the country; it is impossible to go forward and have a successful food policy for the nation. Therefore may I suggest that it is absolutely necessary, absolutely imperative that land reform, with all the attendant demands that it would make, should be undertaken by the Government. Sir, the land reform measures enacted already have, unfortunately, been caught in a gale of uncertainty. For the last many years we have been waxing eloquent over land reforms, and I think one of the reasons why the country has got stuck in stagnation is that we have not been able to bring about reform in land tenure and land holdings. Of course various States have passed legislative measures, but I want to know what has happened to these legislations. I think it is time that the Food Minister should look into this question. Without land reforms and without co-operative farming it would be difficult indeed to retrieve the situation. The Food Minister said that there should be an integrated

[Shri M. S. Gurupada Swamy.]
policy for national development in agriculture and I totally agree with him; the policy has got to be integrated in all the sectors; the sectors of production, of distribution and also of price, all these sectors have got to be integrated together, and the most important of this scheme is increased production; without that you will not be able to solve anything at all. No amount of redistributive contrivance, no amount of ingenuity, regulation, or control will help our people. Therefore it is imperative that attention should be paid to land reforms. In this connection I only want that at least those Acts which have been passed by various States should be translated into action. May I ask the Food Minister to talk to his colleagues in the various States to take this matter seriously so that there may be land distribution and there may be justice done to the people? Sir, even this is not enough. I go further and say that Government should take a more positive attitude in regard to food production. May I say in this connection that it is necessary to provide the farmer in the field with the tools and the weapons, the wherewithal, which consists of various things and which will help to bring in more inputs, more investments into agricultural operations? Unless there is a greater increase in input, in investments, it will be difficult to achieve more agricultural production. Mere land reform unaccompanied by a technological revolution has no meaning. Therefore I say that agriculture should be subjected to all the benefits we get out of technology and science; all the technological processes and inventions should be inducted for the purpose of agricultural transformation. We will not be able to create this magic of transformation, this magic of agricultural change, unless we undertake these technological changes, undertake to translate them into practice, to give to the farmer better implements, better seeds, better fertilisers and water and electricity. Unless this is done this miracle cannot be achieved.

Sir, there is one more point and it is a corollary to this. So far and so long we have not been able to educate our people in modern agricultural operations and in other ways. You cannot do it unless demonstrations are arranged, unless research is translated to the field. That can only be done by intensive demonstrations and extension services. May I say that it is necessary that at least a thousand demonstration farms should be there all over the country? There should be a sufficient number of expert officers and adequate staff should be built up to carry forward these results of research by means of demonstrations to the various fields in the country. Unless these three, i.e., research demonstration and extension service, go together and are combined, it will be very difficult to bring about a revolution in our agriculture. In this connection, may I say in passing that we have not been giving to our scientists and technicians the treatment they deserve. I think the scientists and technologists should have a new status. All these years it is the administrator who has been able to push through various schemes and also formulate ideas and policies. I think the Food Minister said it incidentally or mentioned it in his speech that the scientists and technologists should be increasingly associated even with policy-making as well as in implementing the schemes. Unless this is done it will be difficult to bring about that kind of economic change in the agricultural sector.

Sir, some of our friends of the Swatantra Party have been talking loudly about the conflict of sectors. They seem to think that there is a basic conflict between agriculture and industry. They think that top priority or greater priority should be given to agriculture than to industry. May I put a few questions to them? Sir, how do they bring about agricultural transformation? How do they bring about increased production? You can bring about increased production, you can bring about transformation in agriculture only by supplying the

farmers with more fertilizers, with better tools and implements, with irrigation water and so on. How can you get water supply without irrigation projects? That means more steel and cement. How can you supply them with fertilizers without more fertilizer factories? How can you produce better implements and tools unless you have steel? So all these require a vast expanding industrial complex. Without such an industrial complex I do not think agricultural transformation can be brought about in this country. The major mistake we would be making would be if we accept the proposition that agriculture alone should come first and only then industry. If we do that, we would be wrong and the country would go to rack and ruin. I say without an industrial base, without an industrial complex, without such industrial schemes for supplying the proper instruments and tools, it will be very difficult, next to impossible, to bring about agricultural transformation. Agriculture is dependent directly on industry and there is no basic conflict between the two. There may be a little shift here and there, but basically agriculture and industry have to go together. May I point out to you that more attention to agriculture

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): We have had these experiments on the lines suggested by you and we have failed.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: Where is the experiment and where is the failure?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: We are discussing the failure now.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: My hon. friend, Mr. Misra, should remember in what way agriculture has suffered. It has not suffered in terms of investment or in terms of lack of attention. I think the major bottle-neck in agricultural operations has been that we do not have the adequate machinery, the adequate personnel to even invest effectively and execute what has been sanctioned, what has

been allotted to agriculture. That is the bottle-neck and if my hon. friend points that out, I will agree with him. But there is no lack of investment and there is no lack of money for agriculture. If Orissa wants more money for minor irrigation or major irrigation, I think that money will be available. But the difficulty is that you cannot execute the schemes. Your capacity to execute is limited in this respect. Therefore, I say that is the main ill of agriculture.

I only point out that we should not shift our emphasis. The various measures undertaken are good in themselves. We have got to see that these are implemented. Some administrative measures have been taken by Shri Subramaniam and perhaps he will be taking some more measures to change the institutional pattern. I think they are welcome. But by mere change in the institutional set up, by mere change in emphasis he will not be able to bring about transformation. I think you will fail if you go on emphasising agriculture only. Agriculture and light industries are the two limbs of basic major industries. Without basic industries it will be difficult to go forward.

Sir, there is one more thing I have to say and it is a general point. We have got to bear in mind that certain basic economic laws operate. These economic laws operate in India and elsewhere and they do not depend on your decisions and these economic determinants will have a large part to play in the context of our situation and these economic determinants have got to be understood. Sir, my hon. friends may say that Government has failed, that the Government has disappointed the people. May I point out that development and revolutionary changes, rapid economic and social revolution which is so much desired, cannot be brought about without stresses and strains? There cannot be birth without pains, without birth pangs. When a nation is reborn there is bound to be some amount of stresses and strains. How can a nation

[Shri M. S. Gurupada Swamy:]
be reborn without some amount of stresses and strains? How can you achieve rapid development and revolutionary changes without some disturbance, dislocation, disorder and disadvantages?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL:
When did this knowledge dawn on you?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY:
That is Swatantra reaction, I know and it does not require any explanation. Is it contended, Sir, does my hon. friend, Shri Dahyabhai Patel, contend that in a developing context there will be no stresses and strains? Is that his contention? Does he say that a revolution can be achieved without some discomfort? Today the country is as it were climbing up a plateau and there is an amount of exhaustion felt. But just because of this exhaustion, should we give up all strategy and planning and all our development programmes? What is their suggestion? I think we all desire, and our friends of the Swatantra Party also desire rapid progress and they will be reconciled to this position that when we want progress, if we want to have rapid social and economic revolution in this country, we must be prepared to face certain stresses and strains and discomforts. That is the kind of discomfort we are facing today. I know that my friends there would say that agriculture is stagnant, food production for the last three years has been stagnant. There has been more or less constancy maintained in agricultural production but may I point out that these are all eruptions in the wake of development? It always happens that one sector or the other, one segment or the other of the economy will get a set back and we must analyse the causes and set right the set back so that the country could progress. Is it suggested today that we should change in midstream? We are all crossing the stream and is it suggested that we should change in midstream? What is the idea? What is the suggestion of the Swatantra

Party? Therefore, I say that it is necessary to take stock of the situation, analyse the various set backs and try to correct.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

What I say is that there should be a proper formulation of policy which should take us forward. We should also accept that there should be a five per cent. increase in agricultural production. Unless this is accepted *in toto* and we are prepared to work for it, suffer for it, there is no escape from this situation.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh):
What about the prices? How to bring them down?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: I am glad my friend, Mr. Sapru, has raised the question of prices. I think, as every student of economics will understand sometimes rise in prices is a symptom of prosperity, not stagnation. It has got to be understood that in a developing context, with an enormous expenditure on Defence, developments and refugees and when the population rise is beyond expectation and agricultural production is stagnant then in such a context . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Does the hon. Member mean to suggest that this rise in prices is a sign of prosperity?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: I qualified it. In a developing context where there is acceleration and increase in expenditure on Defence, development, refugees and the like and when the population is rising, when the effective demand increases more and more, it will be difficult to checkmate prices and a certain amount of rise in prices is inevitable, unavoidable. You cannot just brush it aside.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: I agree with this analysis but the difficulty is that the common man finds his prices very high and accuses Government and everybody else for this rise in prices. We have got to think of some remedy, some measure which will bring prices within the reach of the common man.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: Madam, we are all a party to the revolution of expectations which we created in the people. We all thought that after Independence all our expectations would be realised and the revolution of expectation is rising from year to year. In this context, how many will be able to meet the situation? Even in 1955, with the availability of 67 million tons of food-grains, the Government and the nation were not able to meet the minimum nutritional requirements of the people but still the prices went down. The whole inhibiting factor in the case of the common man was his purchasing capacity. His purchasing capacity has now increased with the result that there has been a rise in prices to a certain extent.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Does the hon. Member mean to suggest that because the purchasing capacity of the common man has increased there is an increase in his prosperity?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: I do not want any of my friends here to take undue advantage of a miserable situation, undue political advantage of a miserable situation. They should not take cover behind this. May I ask, in turn, what the Communist Party has done except agitating? Do you think that by a mere agitational approach, by merely talking purified nonsense here and there you will be able to achieve your purpose? My friend, Mr. Gupta, . . . (*Interruption.*) When there is an interruption I have to refer to him.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: Madam, my friend is making his maiden speech and he should not . . .

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: I am not making a maiden speech. I am making a pregnant discourse.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is very right because he has been re-born in another party. Politically, he is re-born there. Therefore, it is a maiden speech.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Why interrupt him?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: I am making a critical discourse, particularly for the benefit of the Opposition, particularly for the benefit of my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. He is behaving well with me though he told me that he would interrupt me. Anyway, it is necessary that the rise in prices should be understood in a wider context. I am just answering my friend here. Even if we decide about a price for the commodities, any kind of price—and you can make it even a campaign issue—it will be very difficult to contain it. What you can do is to have stabilisation at a particular point. If the Government can succeed, it is a challenge to their intellect and ability, in stabilising the prices which prevailed three months back, then the Government deserves congratulations, deserves support.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But you are approving now. Your amendment says . . .

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: I am approving the food policy of the Government and also say that if they succeed in bringing about price stabilisation at a point which prevailed three months back, I think the country should be more than satisfied and there should not be any prophets of gloom hovering around here spreading all sorts of doom.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is something like saying, "If Cleopatra's nose had been a little longer . . ."

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: I only say that cussed Cassandras should not be permitted to function in this country. Also, the putrified feudalistic order should not be allowed to function in this country. What else is the Swatantra Party? It is only putrified feudalism. I have not been able to understand their economics and I have not been able to understand what they are saying at all.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: If you had understood it you would be with us.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: No Indian can understand their semi-educated intellectual approach to the problem. I say that their approach is so semi-educated, so crude, immature and irrational that we cannot understand it.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Madras): In your new situation you will not be able to understand anything. You take a little more time.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: I only hope that they will have a sound judgment. Let me tell you that the food prices will remain with us and we have got to face this situation. The point is not mere availability. Even if the production is 100 tons according to the Plan target . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is a 100 million tons.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: Yes, 100 million tons, I am sorry. Even then I may tell you that you will not be able to contain food prices. You cannot reverse the process. You cannot take prices back to the 1955 level. Do you want the 1955 situation to be repeated here? In 1955 there was a crash and there was a slowing down of the price level, a sudden crash in the price level and there was a hue and cry and the talk was for giving price support. Today you do not ask for a price support but you talk of containing prices, stabilisation of prices, a reverse process. That is the talk of reaction. I say you can only stabilise prices at a particular level. I say it is always a higher level; it cannot be a lower level because cost of production in agriculture has gone up. You cannot kill agriculture by low prices and it should not be our endeavour. I say that agriculture should receive enough incentives. The prices should have a basis and it can only be done by Government and nobody else. I am happy that the

Government is taking a very positive attitude to agriculture. In the past there was wavering, uncertainty; there were lapses and the machinery was not created. It is a terrible task for the Minister to undertake this responsibility. Many political heads have met their doom in this Ministry but I hope the same thing will not happen to my hon. friend because he has got an enlightened mind. I am sure his measures are good, positive and dynamic. Within a short time he has been able to create such a tempo and dynamism in the country and people look up to him and they feel that something is being done. I maintain that the situation is not critical. My whole point is that the situation is not critical; the situation is only difficult; the situation is serious but it is not critical.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The situation looks like developing into a crisis.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: Only friends like Mr. Bhupesh Gupta say that it is critical, people who have got a crisis mind.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Shastriji said that the situation looks like developing into a crisis. These are the words of the Prime Minister, not mine.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: What does it mean? It means that the situation is difficult. I maintain that it is not critical. What is required is that we should not allow the situation to go beyond. I do not believe that India has reached the terminus of economic journey. I do not believe that we have reached the point of no return; I do not believe that we have reached the point of despair. That is not the case. I do say that it is a difficult situation but it has got to be tackled by the ingenuity and ability of all concerned.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Do you mean to say that you have reached the point of no return?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: I say we have not reached the point of no return; the country has not reached the point of no return.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You have reached.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: Perhaps my hon. friend has reached the point of no return in his party; that may be the case. Anyway, the country has not reached the point of no return. We have not reached the end of our journey. We have got to go on; it is a very difficult job. We are in the midst of development. It is a very dangerous period. We have passed through the gale of difficulties. In two years the country will have all the freshness of freedom, all the joys of freedom, all the benefits of freedom and Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and his tribe will join the beneficiaries, the tribe of beneficiaries. But now he does not want to become the instrument of transformation. He wants only to be a critic; I want him to become the instrument of transformation so that later on he might adorn the class of beneficiaries. It is bound to happen. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I can understand your pleasure on your new acquisition.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: May I say that I am happy that this debate has given us an opportunity to focus our attention on some of our problems? I have not been able to touch upon all the aspects and I have not been able to cover all the details. Details I have left out; figures I have left out; only arguments I have advanced. I think, Madam, the Food Minister deserves the sympathy, confidence and support of the House.

PROF. M. B. LAL (Uttar Pradesh): Madam, I heard the Union Food Minister's speech very carefully and I must say I heard more carefully the speech of my friend, . . .

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: Erstwhile friend.

PROF. M. B. LAL: . . . Shri Gurupada Swamy, in defence of the food policy advocated by the Food Minister. Like the Food Minister, Shri Gurupada Swamy advised the Opposition to cast off the agitational approach but at the same time he propounded the concept of the inevitability of disorder. I do not know if any member of the Opposition would ever dare to advocate the doctrine of the inevitability of disorder in the process of economic development. I say that a Member who talks of the inevitability of disorder in the process of economic development is hardly entitled to advise the Opposition not to have an agitational approach.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: I did not say that disorder is inevitable. I only said that in the context of development a certain amount of dislocation, a certain amount of discomfort is natural and inevitable.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What is that?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: Not the disorder of his conception. I only said without a certain amount of stress and strain in will be difficult to bring about development. (*Interruptions*).

PROF. M. B. LAL: I would leave it to the House to judge whether I misinterpreted Shri Gurupada Swamy or actually interpreted him correctly.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You get 100 marks for the correct interpretation.

PROF. M. B. LAL: Madam, Shri Gurupada Swamy also maintained that rise in prices is a symptom of prosperity I would like the Food Minister . . .

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Prosperity of the hoarder.

PROF. M. B. LAL: . . . to enlighten the House whether he regards the present inordinate increase in prices as the sign of prosperity or as a sign

[Prof. M. B. Lal.]
of our incompetence to deal with the problem. He advocated the idea of the stability of prices. There is no doubt whatever that in the process of economic development certain forces work which favour a rise in prices. It is also true that a balanced economic development is only possible in conditions of certain stability of prices but the question arises at what level prices should be stabilised. The Food Minister also laid considerable stress on the correlation of prices with production and distribution. He also seems to favour the stability of prices. But he did not point out to us at what level he wishes prices to be stabilised. If the Food Minister, like my old friend, Shri Gurupada Swamy, thinks that food prices can be stabilised at the present level without causing any inconvenience to the people at large I beg to submit that I differ from him. Food prices and prices of other goods are to be stabilised but they cannot be stabilised at the present level. Prices will have to be reduced through the elimination of high profiteering, of course ensuring remunerative prices to the agriculturists. My friend, Shri Gurupada Swamy, talked of the purchasing capacity of the people. I completely agree with him that there should be correlation between prices and the purchasing capacity of the people and I would have been very glad if the Food Minister had cared to integrate the two, if he had indicated that he would so stabilise prices that foodgrains and other essential commodities are available to the common man at prices within their reach.

Madam, the Food Minister fails to be comprehensive in his analysis and solution of the food situation. He does not choose to deal with great many causes that have led to the inordinate increase in prices and deepened the food crisis. I feel convinced that no proper solution can be found unless we are prepared to take into consideration all those causes

that have led to the inordinate increase in prices, that have deepened the food crisis. The Food Minister manages to be indifferent to the sad plight of the consumer. He does not care to inform this House what his Government proposes to do to enable consumers to satisfy their requirements at reasonable prices. Just now he is thinking of what prices are to be fixed for agricultural products that are to be available to us after a few months. He seems to feel that the people can continue to suffer with complacency the hardship of hunger with which are faced today. I must admit that it is not possible for the Opposition to be as complacent in the matter as the Food Minister wishes it to be. It is our duty to agitate against the indifference and complacency of the Government and to bring home to the Government people's hardships through our own sufferings in a peaceful manner.

Madam, the Food Minister, who is also the Minister of Agriculture, and who admits that the food situation cannot be solved without increased production, fails to be very explicit about the steps which his Government proposes to undertake to speed up agricultural production. He fails to deal with great many problems which are standing in the way of our agricultural development. He talks of scientific means of production for increased production. He does not tell us what those scientific means are which he proposes to introduce in agriculture and what structural changes the introduction of scientific means would require. He no doubt talks of remunerative, incentive prices and regards them as necessary for increased production. Almost all in the Opposition stand for providing remunerative, incentive prices to agriculturists. All that we, in the Opposition have to say is that since 1946 the Congress Party is in power in the States as well as in the Centre, but it has, so far, completely ignored the question of providing remunerative, incentive prices to agriculturists.

We know that during the First Five Year Plan period prices of foodgrains went down by more than 30 per cent, prices of raw materials went down by 18 per cent, while the prices of industrial goods increased by 7 per cent. It is now recognised by the Planning Commission that when the prices of agricultural goods were going down so rapidly it was the duty of the Government to sustain agricultural prices and that agriculturists suffered much because of the fall and variations in prices of agricultural products. But in the Second Five Year Plan no suggestion was made to sustain agricultural prices. On the other hand, many important members of the Government thought that during the Second Five Year Plan agricultural prices would and should further go down by 28 per cent. Though this idea was resented by Shri Ajit Prasad Jain, the then Food Minister, it continued to be mooted by a responsible Congress leader occupying a much higher position than Shri A. P. Jain. I wish further to point out that while the provision of remunerative, incentive prices to agriculturists is necessary to induce agriculturists to produce more, the problem of increased production cannot be solved merely through the provision of remunerative, incentive prices. I would, therefore, like the Food Minister to deal with other questions. In January 1964 at its Bhubaneswar session the Congress Party stood for the introduction of crop insurance. This forms part of its resolution on democracy and socialism, but there is no talk of introducing crop insurance in the speech of the Food Minister. The Food Minister fails to indicate to us what priority is to be assigned to agricultural development in the future plans of economic development.

4 P.M.

We are living in a relative world and we would like to know what relative importance is attached to agricultural production by the Government. In the Second Five Year

Plan, agriculture was not regarded as one of the principal objectives of our planned economy. The late Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, hoped that agricultural production could be increased by 40 per cent, mainly through exhortations to the peasants and that agricultural prices could be reduced because of this production by 28 per cent. Shri Ajit Prasad Jain, the then Food Minister, protested against these ideas but no heed was paid to his protest. In the Third Five Year Plan self-sufficiency in food was regarded as essential for the economic development and prosperity of our country. And agricultural development was also regarded as one of the principal objectives of the Third Five Year Plan. But during the Third Plan period—or should I say during these three years of the Third Plan—no special efforts have been made. I have before me a copy of the Third Plan Mid-term Appraisal. I do not find in this Report anything to prove that the Agriculture Ministry or the Community Development Ministry paid any worth-while heed to many suggestions advocated in the Third Five Year Plan Report. While it was said that agricultural development was one of the principal objectives of the Plan, officials continued to behave the way they were behaving during the Second Plan period. I wish to point out that no attention was paid to the implementation of land reforms, to the reclamation of new lands, to the increased production of fertilisers, to the question of co-ordination between the several agencies concerned with agricultural production.

In the Mid-term Appraisal it is recognised that the settlement of agricultural workers on the new lands continued to have a very slow progress. The words 'very slow' are the words of the Planning Commission. The present Food Minister also does not seem to be bothered about this, though it is pointed out in certain reports that 50 per cent of the increase in agricultural production during the

[Prof M. B Lal.]

Plan period was due to the reclamation of new lands. This Mid-term Appraisal also records a considerable shortfall in the production of fertilisers. Again and again it is pointed out to us that the use of chemical fertilisers is necessary to increase production and yet, no attention is paid to see that fertilisers are produced in proper quantities.

Then, there is hardly any worthwhile co-ordination between the various agencies concerned with agricultural production. As a result of the Kamaraj Plan, the Community Development Ministry at the Centre is brought within the overall control of the Food and Agriculture Ministry. But in many States, the Community Development Ministry and the Agriculture Ministry are assigned to different Ministers. In my own State of Uttar Pradesh, the Ministers in charge of Agriculture and in charge of Community Development belong to two warring sections of the Congress Party, one of which is known as the Ministerialist section and the other is known as the dissident section.

About the land reforms, perhaps the less said the better. For about ten years, from April, 1946 to April 1956, the idea of the redistribution of land was pooh-poohed by responsible Ministers of the Congress Governments. Only in the Second Five Year Plan the principle of ceiling on the existing holdings was accepted. But the ceiling laws were passed very leisurely. They are very defective. And whatever laws were passed, they were not implemented properly. As is acknowledged by the Planning Commission in the Third Plan Mid-term Appraisal, "the delay in enacting a comprehensive legislation creates a great deal of uncertainty which is inimical to efforts to increase agricultural production."

Madam whenever we are faced with an economic crisis, some resolution is passed by the ruling party or by the Economic Development Council to the effect that land

reforms be implemented as soon as possible. But they are not implemented. I do not think that even now in spite of these resolutions any special efforts are being made in my own State or in any other States for implementing those reforms.

Madam, tillers are still not the masters of the land which they till. They are, as a matter of fact, being ejected on some pretext, or other, either on the pretext of the right of resumption for personal cultivation or on the pretext of the so-called voluntary surrenders which are in most cases of a mala fide character.

The Planning Commission invited the attention of the State Governments.

श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
प्रोफेसर साहब, मैं एक सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ। सारे हिन्दुस्तान का मुझे मालूम नहीं लेकिन उत्तर प्रदेश का मैं जानता हूँ, मैं स्वयं किसान हूँ आप किसान नहीं हैं इसी-लिये आप थ्योरिटिकल डिस्कशन चला सकते हैं, मैं जानना हूँ कि उत्तर प्रदेश में किसान जो ज़मीन जोतता है उसका वह मालिक है। जो बातें आप उपस्थित करते हैं वह अपवाद-स्वरूप हैं। वही मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ।

PROF M B LAL: I wish to point out to my friend certain extracts from the Third Plan Mid-term Appraisal. It says:

"The right to resume land for personal cultivation for which a provision still obtains in several States, has tended to create uncertainty and to diminish the protection afforded to tenants. . . With regard to surrenders, as stated in the Plan, most voluntary surrenders of tenancies are open to doubt as bona fide transactions and this has been confirmed by such enquiries and investigations as has been undertaken."

It is further stated:

"On the whole both administrative and legislative action taken so far have fallen short of the recommendations in the Plan in several States."

If this is regarded as exception, I have nothing to say. I admit that my knowledge of the state of affairs is not as wide as that of the Planning Commission, and I am relying mostly on the reports of the Planning Commission in this particular matter.

Now, Madam, the price policy which is advocated by the Food Minister today is also rather inadequate. No attempt is made to assure equitable correlation between the agricultural prices and the industrial prices. Unless the prices of industrial goods are brought down through the elimination of high profiteering, it will not be possible for us to ensure to agriculturists remunerative prices for their own agricultural products. Nor has the Finance Minister tried to deal with the impact of monetary and fiscal policies on prices. Madam, perhaps, agreeing with my great friend, Shri Gurupada Swamy, that rising prices are a symbol of prosperity, the Planning Commission for quite a long time remained absolutely complacent to the effect of inflation on prices. If we carefully study the Second Five Year Plan, we will find that in a way the rise in prices which was likely to occur due to deficit financing and inflation was welcomed in that report. But in the first two years of the Second Plan the Government resorted to deficit financing to the order of Rs. 700 crores. This considerably raised prices. This alarmed the Planning Commission. After that the Planning Commission in its reports laid certain stress on curbs on deficit financing, and some attention, no doubt, was paid to this question, but not always. If in two years of the Second Plan the Government resorted to deficit financing of Rs 700 crores, in the three years of the Third Plan also there was the deficit financing of near about Rs. 700 crores. In

the Third Plan Report itself deficit financing of Rs. 550 crores during the entire plan period was advocated. It was hoped also that, because our production would increase by 5 per cent. per year, this increased deficit financing would not entail any increase in prices. But actually while the rate of growth in production went down, the ratio of deficit financing increased, with the result that while production increased by 8 per cent. or so in these years, deficit financing increased by 31 per cent. All economic experts are of the opinion that the inordinate increase in prices is due to considerable deficit financing. I feel the Food Minister should have dealt with that question. Either he should have told us that those economists who hold that opinion are wrong or he should have informed us what steps the Government propose to take to deal with the problem.

Banks have been more liberal in advancing credit in the third year of the Five Year Plan than they were during the first two years of the Third Plan. Our fiscal policies also have contributed to the rise in prices. Indirect taxes continued increasing. This year, while considerable concessions in taxation were given to capitalists no worth-while attention was paid to the question of reduction in indirect taxation. Whenever new indirect taxes were imposed, it was maintained that this was a very small amount which would not hit the consumer, and would be paid by the businessman. But almost invariably the businessman was able to charge more than even what the amount of taxation could entitle him to do.

Madam, as was pointed out by my friend, Shri Gurupada Swamy, prices have considerable correlation with the purchasing capacity of the people. To this question also the Food Minister paid no worth-while attention.

The Food Minister, in one of his statements to the press, is reported to have said that more foodgrains are available this year than they were

[Prof. M. B. Lal.]

available last year and yet today we are faced with a much more serious food situation than we were faced with last year. Perhaps he hinted that this was due to hoarding. He maintained that strong steps would be taken against hoarders if within fifteen days the hoarded foodgrains are not brought to the market. I felt that if any such warning would have been given to me and if I had been a hoarder, not a grain would have been found in my godown after fifteen days.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: You are too honest.

PROF. M. B. LAL: It is not because I am too honest. If I had received a warning, I would not have been caught.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: Clever enough.

PROF. M. B. LAL: I will prove clever enough to shift that hoarded foodgrain somewhere else if I am given fifteen days warning by a Minister. I do not know whether the Government wishes to take any step in that direction or whether the Government has come to the conclusion that there is no hoarding or that no useful purpose will be served by taking any step against hoarders. I feel that the Government will have to consider over this food situation more carefully and would have to reorient not only its price policy but its policy of production, its monetary policy, its fiscal policy as well as the policy of distribution.

Equitable correlations, I maintain, must be established between agricultural and industrial prices. Monetary and fiscal policies must be so revised that they have no adverse impact on prices. Agricultural development should be assigned the highest priority. Agriculture should no more be regarded as a base for capital formation. Industries should be required

to pay special attention to the requirements of the agriculturists, with regard to fertilisers, agricultural implements and other necessities. The tillers of the soil should be granted security of tenure. Comprehensive land reform should be enacted and implemented. Evictions of peasants on the plea of personal cultivation and so-called voluntary surrenders should be stopped. Crop-sharing system should be abolished and rent should be settled on a uniform equitable basis granting exemption from rent to uneconomic holdings. The system of crop insurance should be introduced. Sales tax on foodgrains should be abolished and indirect taxes on essential commodities should be reduced. Special efforts should also be made to ensure proper co-ordination between the different government agencies concerned with agricultural production. Special attention should also be paid to provide adequate credit facilities to agriculturists. Special attention must also be paid to the question of water management, to flood control and to the provision of proper irrigation facilities.

In the end I would say that when an attempt is made by the Government to correlate wholesale prices, retail prices, the Food Minister must remember what he once told to pressmen that not more than 50 to 60 per cent. of the prices paid by the consumers accrue to agriculturists. He must see that the variations in agricultural prices do not exceed by more than 6 per cent. and that the prices of essential commodities must have some definite correlation with the cost of production. High profiteering in at least essential commodities must be stopped as soon as possible.

As far as the suggestion regarding State Food Corporation is concerned, I am not in a position to express my opinion because the Food Minister has not cared to place before the House the entire scheme in detail. I stand for State trading at wholesale level

and I would welcome a step in that direction. I reserve my comment till I see the whole programme.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: May I announce that the House will sit till 5.30 as the list of speakers is very long? Mr. Pande.

श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे : उपसभापति महोदया, विचार तो मेरा यह था कि उत्तर प्रदेश की करोड़ों की जनता के अन्तर्गत को आपके समक्ष रखता लेकिन मैं शास्त्रीय विवाद के उलझन में नहीं पड़ना चाहता हूँ, यह वेदना इतनी तीव्र है कि मैं उसको आपके सामने प्रस्तुत करता हूँ।

हमारा उत्तर प्रदेश शिक्षा, उद्योग, समाज कल्याण, कृषि तथा प्रायः विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में अन्य राज्यों के अनुपात में पीछे जा रहा है। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि इस समय खाद्य स्थिति अत्यन्त संकटापन्न है। मैं इस शास्त्रीय विवाद में नहीं पड़ता हूँ कि कितनी संकटापन्न है और कितनी संकटापन्न होने की सम्भावना है। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि उत्तर प्रदेश में विशेषतः पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश की अत्यन्त दयनीय हालत है और उसके लिए मैं एक निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। मैं उत्तर प्रदेश को चार हिस्सों में बांटता हूँ। पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश, बुन्देलखण्ड, पश्चिमी उत्तर प्रदेश और पर्वतीय क्षेत्र। पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश जो है वह अत्यन्त अभावग्रस्त क्षेत्र है, बुन्देलखण्ड भी अभावग्रस्त क्षेत्र है, पश्चिमी उत्तर प्रदेश अभावग्रस्त क्षेत्र नहीं है और पर्वतीय क्षेत्र अत्यन्त अभावग्रस्त क्षेत्र है। मैं सूचनाएँ दे रहा हूँ और मैं चाहता हूँ कि उस पर हमारे मन्त्री जी विचार करें क्या कारण है कि हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश की स्थिति इतनी अत्यन्त दयनीय हो गई है और खाद्य स्थिति संकटापन्न हो गई है? हमारी जनसंख्या ७ करोड़ ७ लाख है। शहरी जनसंख्या १ करोड़ है। खेतिहर मजदूर १ करोड़ १५ लाख है और ५ एकड़ से ऊपर जो किसान जमीन रखते हैं उनकी संख्या ३ करोड़ ४५ लाख के

हैं और शेष जो है उनकी संख्या १ करोड़ ४७ लाख है। इस प्रकार हमारी आबादी ७ करोड़ ७ लाख के करीब है। पैदावार जो खाद्यान्न की है, उसके ऊपर भी आप विचार करें। मन् १९६०-६१ में १४२.५३ लाख टन उत्तर प्रदेश में अनाज की उपज हुई। मन् १९६३-६४ में ११६.१८ लाख टन उपज हुई। स्थिति इस वक्त यह हो गई है कि ४०.३३ लाख टन कमी का यह प्रदेश हो गया है। एक कारण खाद्य संकट का यह है।

दूसरा कारण यह है कि भारत सरकार ने जो मोटा गल्ला है उसको उत्तर प्रदेश जैसे अभावग्रस्त राज्यों से खरीदा और दूसरे प्रदेशों में उसका निर्यात किया।

तीसरा कारण यह है कि उत्तर प्रदेश से चावल तथा अन्य प्रकार का अनाज नेपाल में जाता है। अब स्थिति यह हो गई है कि जब से तिब्बत के ऊपर चीन का आधिपत्य हो गया है, तब से वह अनाज नेपाल में तिब्बत चला जाता है।

चौथा कारण यह है कि भारत सरकार से यू० पी० सरकार जो गल्ला मांगती है यानी जो उसकी डिमाण्ड है उसका 50 प्रति शत भारत सरकार उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार को देती है।

पांचवां कारण यह है कि भारत सरकार की जो खाद्य वितरण की योजना है वह अवैज्ञानिक है या अवांछनीय है कुछ कड़ा शब्द जरूर है, लेकिन है अवांछनीय। जो राज्य अभावग्रस्त हैं यानी जो कमी की दृष्टि से राज्य आते हैं उनमें और जो राज्य स्वावलम्बी हैं या अपने काम से अधिक अनाज पैदा करते हैं, उन दोनों को जो बाहर से गेहूं आता है, वह भेजा जाता है।

छठा कारण यह है कि जो उत्तर प्रदेश के व्यापारी हैं—मैं केवल उत्तर प्रदेश के सम्बन्ध में निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ—उन्होंने गल्ले को छिपा रखा है और वे चोरबाजारी करते

[श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे]

हैं। राज्य की तरफ से कोई ऐसा प्रभावकारी कदम नहीं उठाया जा रहा है जिससे कि उनका दमन किया जा सके।

सातवां कारण यह जोनल सिस्टम है जिसके कारण पंजाब में तो गल्ला सस्ता है, लेकिन उसी के समीप उत्तर प्रदेश के जो गांव हैं उनमें गल्ला महंगा है। इसी प्रकार बिहार में गल्ला सस्ता है और हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिलों में बिहार के समीप जो बसे हुये इलाके हैं उनमें गल्ला महंगा है।

आठवां कारण यह है कि खरीफ और रबी की पिछली फसले जो हैं वे खराब हुई हैं। इस समय खरीफ की फसल जो है जहां तक मैं जानता हूँ—मैंने अखबारों में कतिपय नेताओं के बयान पढ़े हैं और उनमें मैं विनम्र निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि मैं सहमत नहीं हूँ—उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिलों में खरीफ की जो फसल है उसका भविष्य उज्ज्वल नहीं है बल्कि अंधकारमय है।

नवां कारण यह है कि वाढ़, अनावृष्टि और अतिवृष्टि से खरीफ की फसल को बहुत क्षति पहुंची है।

दसवां कारण यह है कि फसलों में नाना प्रकार की बीमारियां होती हैं। उनकी न कोई वैज्ञानिक खोज की जाती है और न इसका कोई उपाय किया जाता है कि फसलों को रोग से मुक्ति मिले।

ग्यारहवां कारण यह है कि भारत सरकार जो गल्ला उत्तर प्रदेश को भेजती है उसमें यह होता है जितना गल्ला भेजने का भारत सरकार निर्णय करती है, वह ठीक अनुपात में पहुंच नहीं पाता है।

बारहवां कारण यह है कि जो गल्ला और खास कर गेहूं बड़ी बड़ी मिलों को पीसने के लिये दिया जाता है उसमें आश्चर्य की बात

यह है कि वह देहात में पहुंचता नहीं है और केवल शहरों में ही पहुंचता है। इसके अतिरिक्त जो आयात किया हुआ गेहूं उनको दिया जाता है और जिस भाव से उनको बेचने के लिये दिया जाता है, उस भाव पर न बेच करके महंगे दामों पर वे उसको बेचते हैं। गेहूं की स्थिति आज हमारे प्रदेश में यह है कि गेहूं हमारे प्रदेश में ४० ६० मन मिलता है। उत्तर प्रदेश के उस भाग का हाल मैं बता रहा हूँ जहां का मैं रहने वाला हूँ। वहां की दशा का वर्णन नहीं किया जा सकता है। वहां कभी कभी गेहूं ४५ और ५० ६० मन तक मिलता और कभी कभी इस भाव पर भी नहीं मिलता है। दाल जो उत्तर प्रदेश में बहुत पैदा होती है, उस दाल का भाव इस वक्त ५० ६० प्रति मन है।

वितरण पर भी मैं चाहता हूँ कि विचार किया जाय। जो मिलों को बाहर से आया हुआ गेहूं पीसने के लिये दिया जाता है, वह देहाती क्षेत्रों के लिये भी निर्धारित किया जाय। देहात में वह पहुंच नहीं पाता है। इस लिये उसको वहां पहुंचाने का उपाय करना चाहिये। जो कवाल टाउन्स हैं उनमें बरेली और मेरठ भी मिले हुये हैं। उनको भारत सरकार गेहूं देती है वितरण के लिये और शेष गेहूं बच पाता है ४५ हजार टन जो, उत्तर प्रदेश के देहाती क्षेत्रों में बांटा जाता है। यह प्रतिबन्ध लगा हुआ है कि जो पांच एकड़ से ऊपर के किसान हैं उनको गल्ला नहीं दिया जायगा। आज वहां किसानों के पास गल्ला नहीं है। रबी की फसल अच्छी नहीं हुई, खरीफ की फसल अच्छी नहीं हुई, यह पिछले साल की स्थिति है। इस वर्ष भी खरीफ की फसल का भविष्य उज्ज्वल नहीं है बल्कि अंधकारमय है। ऐसी दशा में यह जो ४५ हजार टन गल्ला देहातों में बांटा जाता है, यह क्या उत्तर प्रदेश की विशाल जनसंख्या के लिये पर्याप्त है?

खाद्य संकट के सम्बन्ध में मैं विरोधी दलों से भी कुछ निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। खास कर के श्री मुकुट बिहारी लाल का मैं बहुत आदर करता हूँ। आज नहीं, ४० वर्ष से मैं उनसे परिचित हूँ उनकी योग्यता और उनकी क्षमता से। लेकिन मैं उनसे और श्री भूपेश गुप्त से भी और दूसरे नेताओं से भी यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि क्या इस संकट के समय में, इस मुसीबत के समय में इस खाद्य की स्थिति को राजनैतिक स्वरूप देने से इसका कोई हल निकल सकता है। मैंने इस पर बहुत विचार किया है। अंग्रेजों के जमाने में जब विदेशी शासन था तब इस प्रकार का आन्दोलन करना क्षम्य था। लेकिन इस समय जबकि देश पर संकट है, क्या ऐसे आन्दोलन से और एक विनोदवादा खड़ा करने से कोई मार्ग दर्शन हो सकता है? मैंने बहुत विचार किया है और मुझे इसमें कुछ नजर नहीं आता है। ठंडे दिल से जब मैं इस पर सोचता हूँ तो मैं यह समझता हूँ कि यह जो मार्केट है, बाजार है उसमें इससे अशांति हो जाती है, हलचल पैदा हो जाती है और महंगाई बढ़ जाती है। इसलिये यह आन्दोलन मेरी अपनी बुद्धि में अवाञ्छनीय है, हानिकार है और यह नहीं करना चाहिये।

अब एक बड़ा विवाद का विषय है कि क्या उत्तर प्रदेश में भुखमरी है? मैं यह मानता हूँ कि इसको मैं इस सदन के समक्ष स्पष्ट न कहूँ तो जनता जिसका मैं नेतृत्व करता हूँ और राज्य जिसका मैं प्रतिनिधित्व करता हूँ, उनके प्रति अन्याय होगा। मेरा यह विश्वास है कि जो अभावग्रस्त क्षेत्र हैं, विशेषतया उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिले उनमें भुखमरी की सी स्थिति आ गई है और अगर विशेष ध्यान नहीं दिया गया तो वहाँ भुखमरी हो सकती है इसकी सम्भावना है।

इस सम्बन्ध में मेरे सुझाव क्या हैं, यह मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। पहला सुझाव तो मेरा यह है कि जनसंख्या, उत्पादन

एवं कमी के क्षेत्र का आधार बना कर समूचे देश में गल्ला वितरण किया जाये। यही आधार वैज्ञानिक है और यही आधार निर्धारित किया जाये, केवल जनसंख्या को आधार बना कर के गल्ले का वितरण न किया जाय बल्कि भारत सरकार और राज्य सरकारें जनसंख्या, उत्पादन, कमी का क्षेत्र और फसल की पहले की और आज की स्थिति इन सबका सन्तुलन करके जो निर्णय हो उसी को वैज्ञानिक आधार बना कर के जो अनाज हमारे पास हो उसका वितरण करें।

दूसरा सुझाव यह है कि भारत सरकार के लिये यह बहुत अनुचित है कि किसी भी ऐसे प्रदेश से जो कि गल्ले की दृष्टि से कमी का प्रदेश है उससे किसी प्रकार का कोई गल्ला खरीदे या निर्यात करे। इसलिये मेरा यह सुझाव है कि भारत सरकार उत्तर प्रदेश से किसी प्रकार का गल्ला तब तक निर्यात न करे जब तक कि उत्तर प्रदेश अपने उपयोग से अधिक गल्ला पैदा न करे।

तीसरा सुझाव। नेपाल एक स्वतन्त्र देश है और इसलिये शब्दों का ठीक ठीक प्रयोग होना उचित है। मेरा तीसरा सुझाव यह है कि नेपाल सरकार से व्यापार सम्बन्धी नीति जो है वह निर्धारित की जाये और इसका नियन्त्रण रखा जाये कि हमारा गल्ला किस मात्रा में जाय और क्या स्थिति उसकी हो।

मेरा चौथा सुझाव यह है कि गल्ले का जो थोक व्यापार है इसका राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाय और वितरण को नियन्त्रित किया जाय, ऐसा वितरण किया जाय जिससे कि ठीक ठीक जनता को सामान मिल सके।

मेरा पांचवा सुझाव यह है। यह जोनल सिस्टम जो है इससे मैं समझता हूँ कि भारत की एकता को भी थोड़ा आघात पहुँचता है। मैं समझ नहीं पाता हूँ कि इसका क्या शास्त्रीय उपयोग है। भारत सरकार की सब नीतियों को जोड़ा बहुत समझने की कोशिश करता हूँ

[श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे]

लेकिन यह जोनल सिस्टम जो है उनमें आज तक समझ नहीं पाया है। मेरा निवेदन है कि जोनल सिस्टम के जो संचालक हैं, जो प्रेरक हैं जिन्होंने इसको चलाया है वह कोई पुस्तक दें जिससे यह ज्ञान हो जाय कि यह कौनसी व्यवस्था है जिससे कि देश को फायदा हो रहा है। तो मेरा कहना यह है कि इस जोनल सिस्टम को तुरन्त समाप्त किया जाय लेकिन अगर समाप्त न करे तो मैं उत्तर प्रदेश की तरफ से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ—पश्चिम के लोग उत्तर प्रदेश के इस मुद्दाव से शायद सहमत न हों लेकिन मैं अपना निजी मुद्दाव रखना चाहता हूँ—कि उत्तर प्रदेश बिहार, हिमाचल प्रदेश और पंजाब इनको मिला कर एक जोन बनाया जाय, अगर मेरी बात को कि जोनल सिस्टम समाप्त किया जाय उसको न मानें तब।

अब, गल्ले के भाव के निर्धारित करने की बड़ी चर्चा है। इस पर बड़ा शास्त्रीय विवाद खड़ा हुआ है, गुरुपादस्वामी ने एक विचार व्यक्त किया, प्रोफेसर साहब ने एक विचार व्यक्त किया और हमारे पटेल साहब ने भी एक विचार व्यक्त किया। मैं कोई शास्त्रीय विवाद में इस वक्त पड़ना नहीं चाहता लेकिन यह जरूर कहना चाहता हूँ—मैं किसान हूँ—कि किसान को कोई प्रेरणा नहीं मिल पाती है कि वह क्यों अनाज पैदा करे और किस के लिये पैदा करे। उसको प्रेरणा नहीं मिल पाती है। आप चाहते हैं कि हमको अनाज सस्ता मिले लेकिन साथ ही साथ यह भी आपको सोचना चाहिये कि जितना सस्ता आप अनाज चाहते हैं उतनी ही सस्ती अन्य उपयोग की जो वस्तुएं हैं वे भी किसान को मिलनी चाहिए। इसका मतलब यह होता है कि किसान के अनाज का भाव और जिन चीजों का वह उपयोग करता है उनके भाव इन दोनों में सामंजस्य होना चाहिये, संतुलन होना चाहिये और तभी वह किसान अनाज पैदा करने की तरफ रुचि रख सकता

रख सकता है। वंजानिक बहस तो बहुत सुनता हूँ लेकिन मुझे इस सदन में या बाहर कोई नहीं मिला, भारत सरकार के एक्सपर्ट नाम के जो जन्तु कहे जाते हैं उनको मैं निमंत्रित करता हूँ अपने फार्म के ऊपर, अपने खेत के ऊपर, मेरे साथ व चले और मुझको वह यह बतायें कि क्या भारतवर्ष में ऐसा भी कोई स्थान या क्षेत्र है जहां खेती से कोई सुखमय जीवन व्यतीत कर सकता हो, अपने बच्चों को पढ़ा सकता हो, दवा-दारू कर सकता हो, मकान बन सकता हो और सुअन्न खा सकता हो, मुझको अब तक मेरे जीवन में कोई किसान नहीं मिला जो केवल खेती से अपनी जीविका उपार्जन ठीक-ठीक कर सकता हो। शहर का एक क्लर्क, शहर का एक साधारण कर्मचारी सुखमय जीवन व्यतीत कर सकता है, उसे अन्य प्रकार के साधन मिल सकते हैं लेकिन किसान को नहीं मिल सकते हालांकि सारा समाज किसान पर खड़ा है। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि ऐसा उपाय आप करें कि खेती की तरफ शिक्षित वर्ग का भी रुझान हो, खेती से अधिक उपज हो, खेती से अधिक आमदनी हो। आपने एक विवरण पढ़ा कुछ रियासतों के बारे में, मुमकिन है उसमें उत्तर प्रदेश भी शामिल हो, लेकिन मैं तो उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार के इस कार्य से अत्यन्त प्रसन्न हूँ कि उसने जमीन जोतने वाले किसान को जमीन पर अधिकार दे दिया है। यह तो असम्भव है कि किन्ही विकार तत्वों द्वारा की गई किसी प्रकार की उथल-पुथल या गड़बड़ अपवादस्वरूप न हो लेकिन मैं जानता हूँ कि वहां जिस जमीन को किसान जोतता है उस जमीन का किसान मालिक है, यह हमारे प्रदेश में आधारभूत सत्य स्थापित हो गया है, व्यावहारिक हो गया है।

मैं नहीं जानता कि इसमें बाढ़ का विषय आता है या नहीं लेकिन मैं गंगा और सरयू के संगम पर रहने वाला हूँ और प्रतिवर्ष बाढ़ का शिकार होता हूँ। मैं बाढ़ नियन्त्रण की बड़ी चर्चा सुनता हूँ और कण्ट्रोल बोर्ड

की भी चर्चा सुनता हूँ लेकिन जहाँ तक मैं जानता हूँ इसके किसी प्रकार के किसी कार्य से अभी तक हम लाभान्वित नहीं हो सके हैं। मेरा यह निवेदन है कि हमको यह बताया जाय कि हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश के लिये इस बाढ़ निर-वण बोर्ड ने कौन कौन से लाभकारी कदम उठाये हैं और उनसे हमको क्या लाभ हुआ है।

फसल में अनेक बीमारियाँ होती हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उनकी वैज्ञानिक खोज की जाय और किसानों को मुलभ मूल्य में दवाये दी जाये।

मेरा नया सुझाव यह है कि उत्तर प्रदेश में बीज की भी बड़ी विकट समस्या है। मैं खाद्य मन्त्री का बड़ा आभार मानता हूँ कि इसके लिये पंजाब से उत्तर प्रदेश को गेहूँ प्राप्त हुआ है, उन्होंने बड़ी कृपा करके बीज के लिये वह दिया है यद्यपि वह कम है। उत्तर प्रदेश के लिये २००४ लाख टन बीज चाहिए गेहूँ और अन्य अनाज का, मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारे खाद्य मन्त्री उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार के इस सुझाव को स्वीकार करें और किसी प्रकार से कोई उपाय करके इसका इन्तजाम करें।

उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी अंचल का मैं निवासी हूँ और उसके सम्बन्ध में दो एक शब्द कहना चाहता हूँ। हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी हिस्से जो हैं उनकी जनसंख्या बड़ी है, वहाँ बड़ी घनी आबादी है, जमीन कम है और जीविका का कोई दूसरा साधन नहीं है, न अच्छी सड़कें हैं, न नदियों पर पुल हैं और न और प्रकार से किसी प्रकार के ऐसे उपयोगी कार्य उपलब्ध है जिससे कि जीवन सुचारु रूप से चलाया जा सके। भारत सरकार ने एक पटेल आयोग को भेजा था। मुझे कोई शिकायत नहीं है लेकिन उत्तर प्रदेश की जो सरकार है उसके इस कार्य की मैं प्रशंसा नहीं कर पाता हूँ कि उसने चार जिलों को ही चुना—गाजीपुर जौनपुर, आजमगढ़ और देवरिया। बेरी सारी। गाजीपुर, आजमगढ़ और देवरिया

(Time bell rings.)

अभी तो मामला ही शुरू हुआ है, जरा सा एक मिनट और दे दें।

उपसभापति २० मिनट आपने लिये हैं।

श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे : जरा सा एक मिनट।

तो आजमगढ़, गाजीपुर और देवरिया को लिया लेकिन उसके साथ में बलिया है और उसके अंचल में जो स्टेट है वह बिहार है इसको छोड़ दिया गया है। मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि उत्तर प्रदेश के जो १७-१८ पूर्वी जिले हैं उन सब में ममान रूप से इस पटेल योजना की जो योजना है वह लागू की जाय।

अब आखिरी बात मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ, बतौर उदाहरण मैं आपके द्वार माननीय सदस्यों को सुनना चाहता हूँ, एक जिले का मैं आपको उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ, वह है बलिया जिला। मैं खाद्य मन्त्री जी को और यहाँ जो विज्ञ प्ररूप बैठे हुए हैं अपोजीशन के सदस्य जिनका शायद खेती से रुचि है, उनको निमन्त्रित करता हूँ कि उस जिले की स्थिति का अवलोकन करें। १४ लाख की हमारी आबादी है और ७ लाख एकड़ हमारे पास खेती के लिये भूमि है। ११०० प्रति वर्ग मील में मनुष्य बसा हुआ है। गंगा और घाघरा से डेढ़ सौ वर्ष तक लगातार यह जिला कटता रहा है, कट कर इसकी भूमि बिहार में चली गई है। यही स्थिति है। अब ७ लाख एकड़ जमीन जो हमारे पास है उसमें से कुछ बाढ़ से बह जाती है और कुछ हर साल गंगा और सरयू से कटती रहती है, कुछ वाटरलॉगिंग में है और सदियों से, जब मैं अंग्रेज इस देश का बादशाह हुआ है और जब से कांग्रेस सरकार हुई तब से इस जिले की सर्वदा उपेक्षा हुई और आज भी हो रही है, इसमें मुझे किसी प्रकार का सन्देह नहीं है। मैं बड़े गर्व से कह सकता हूँ कि इसमें मुझे किसी प्रकार का सन्देह नहीं है कि १८५७ में एक इंच हमारी भूमि

[श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे]

पर ब्रिटिश शासन नहीं था और सन् १९४२ में भी हमारी एक इंच जमीन के ऊपर ब्रिटिश शासन नहीं था और समूचे देश में यह एक हमारा ही जिला था जिसके नेता पंडित चीतू पांडे थे। हम सब उनके अनुयायी थे। मैं चाहता हूँ भारत सरकार कोई कदम उठाए जिससे यह बहादुर जिला जो सर्वदा आपके साथ रहा है, जीवित रहा है, दसका उद्योग से, कारोबार से, ट्रांसपोर्ट से समुचित प्रबन्ध हो सके। धन्यवाद।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA Madam Deputy Chairman, it has been suggested that the question of food should be approached from a broad national angle and that what is called the agitational approach should be given up. I do not know what exactly the Government means by the agitational approach but I should like to make it very clear that we view this problem from a broad national angle and that we should like to co-operate with all, including those who support the Congress Party, in facing up to the critical situation in which the country has been unfortunately placed but in order to be able to do so our people require not merely homilies and sermons coming from the Treasury Benches or from the ruling Party but a clear reorientation of the food policy of the Government. The foundation of a national approach must be a correctly orientated food policy. If the policy goes wrong, there cannot be any national approach and there will be indeed conflict and strife because those who do not agree with that unnational, unpatriotic and anti-people approach will be left with no other alternative but to gather their forces together, build up unity in order to oblige the Government to make the necessary changes. Therefore, I say that we need not waste much of our time on these generalities in such matters.

As far as the food situation is concerned, it is undoubtedly very serious and I think in his letter to the Chief Ministers, the Prime Minister wrote that the situation looked like developing into a crisis. He would not have perhaps written this thing but for the precarious food situation which became indeed a national challenge but then the situation has been much the creation of the hoarder-speculator, the big money profiteer and above all of the Government. We say that this trinity is responsible for the creation of the situation in which millions of the people find themselves today. The main aspects of the food situation are naturally production, distribution and prices and they are integrated. I do not wish to deal with all these aspects here but I should like to concentrate on the distribution aspect of it in the speech mainly, because I would like to hit the bull's eye, and the bull's eye, Madam Deputy Chairman, is the next crop. Either we get the next crop or the hoarder gets it and if the hoarder gets it, then the situation will be far more serious than it is today. If we get it, then perhaps we will be bringing it at least partly under control and improve the course of development. Now, as you know, we have had food crises and shortages when he had relatively less production and this wonderful Government has created a situation when the production is relatively higher. This is something which calls for serious attention of the Parliament and the country. I will presently deal with it in order to underline the failures of the Government policies and the factors that have created this situation. In the end I should also like to make some suggestions in order to tackle this problem.

As you know, last year—I would just give the comparative figures—rice production fell by 2.8 million tons, a decline of eight per cent compared to the previous year. The output of wheat and sugarcane also fell by 7.5 million tons. That was the

situation in 1962-63. In 1963-64, there has been some significant improvement in the situation as far as rice is concerned. Even according to the official statement, rice production in the last year has gone up by about 4.6 million tons representing an increase of fourteen per cent. over the previous year. I have given the figures of the previous year also. Rice position is good and I think the position with regard to wheat is not bad. Even according to the official figures there has been a marginal improvement in the overall food production and as far as rice production is concerned, the increase has been of the order of fourteen per cent. Now, when we began this year, the Government had in its stock, the buffer stock or whatever you call it, 1.8 million tons on January 1, 1964. During last year, the calendar year 1963, food imports also came to 4.1 million tons and this year, according to Government figures, we are supposed to have 5.4 million tons available from imports. In 1962, the import was 3.3 million tons. Such was the situation. Therefore, production has increased, import has increased and you had more stocks in your godowns, the Central stocks and so on. Even if you take the Government's internal procurement, that also perhaps registered an increase. In 1963-64, it was about 5.9 lakh tons compared to 4.6 lakh tons in the previous year.

One should have thought that having regard to this thing the food situation in the country would ease and improve, there would be more availability of foodgrains, there would be relaxation in the market and so on but what really happened is exactly the opposite. Despite these increases in the physical element of the food situation, we find that food prices had risen to the all-time peak. I am giving the wholesale price index of food articles in India which rose on August 15—Independence Day I am taking—of this year to 165.1, an all-

time peak. In this period, we find again that the price of foodgrains particularly had risen; this, of course, you know, especially rice and wheat and I need not go into all these figures which are there. I am only pointing out the salient features of the 5 P.M. situation. Now the shortage became very widespread; scarcities became very widespread; that we all know. Why should it have happened? There should be proper explanation for it and that explanation you do not get from the document which has been supplied to us by the hon. Minister.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) in the Chair.]

Here I must point out that Mr. Prafulla Sen, Chief Minister of West Bengal made a statement in West Bengal in which he said that prices of 90 per cent of the daily necessities had gone up and he also added that prices of some of the articles had gone up by 100 per cent. If you take the Government figures you will find that since 1955 the wholesale prices of food articles have gone up by 50 per cent and as you know the retail prices have risen much higher and indeed they bear no relation to the wholesale prices. So this would indicate how the situation has been moving. I was studying the speech of Sardar Swaran Singh who was Food Minister last year. In his speech in December last year he said that the crop was better and the condition was good. But now in the midst of the year we find that the crop is better but the condition is worse.

That is the position now and nothing could be a greater condemnation of the Government's policies and of those responsible for it than this obvious and undeniable fact. And, Mr. Vice-Chairman, one interesting thing happened. When the food crop was good you will find in December-January last year the ruling price of foodgrains was very low at

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

121 or so. From March it started shooting up and it was also stated that the market arrivals were becoming less. And that point I wish to deal with a little. As you know, our marketable surplus is about 15 million tons, made up of three million tons of wheat and 12 million tons of rice approximately. We find that the arrivals in the market became very slow and this has been admitted by the Government itself. But what did the Government do at that time? The Ministry of Food and Agriculture came out with an astounding statement in June in which it said that the slow market arrival of foodgrains was a good sign because that would ensure better supplies in the lean months, that is to say, between July and October. When they noted that the market arrivals were so slow and abnormal they should have immediately inferred that these foodgrains were getting into some stocks, that is to say, that hoarding was taking place on a large scale. That was the time for action but they did not only not take any action but on the contrary they tried to justify the slow market arrivals and promised the nation that we will get more food when we shall have the lean months, that is to say, between July and October and they asked us not to worry. I should like to know if this is not a definite encouragement to the hoarders and profiteers; what else it is, I should like to know from the Government. And exactly in this period last year before the crop came the advances by the private banks mounted despite the Reserve Bank regulation and I have got with me papers prepared by the Ministry of Finance which clearly show that advances against foodgrains in the first two quarters had gone up. Fortnightly the advances against food stocks was Rs. 8 crores in the case of wheat and Rs. 10 crores in the case of rice. It was like that and slow increase was taking place even compared to the previous year.

Therefore all indications were there which the Government could have

taken cognisance of and acted upon but they allowed the things to continue. Now, forward trading also continues; forward trading in foodgrains continues surreptitiously by utilising the cover of such articles in which forward trading is permitted. Even the Forward Trading Commission in Delhi admitted that underhand or illegal forward trading was taking place in regard to food articles which was banned and that was taking place under cover of certain of other permitted articles. You see that is how we reach this situation, when the hoarders have a free run. From the time of the harvest up to date it is the hoarder who has a free run and the better of the national situation as far as food is concerned and the Government policy was one of encouragement to the hoarders. Please understand this. That is why my charge against the Government is that they abetted the hoarders because of their policies. Instead of doing anything they gave grace to the hoarders and told them, 'well, gentlemen hoarders, become angels and declare your stocks within fifteen days and we shall immunize you from all legal action. How much stocks did they get that way? Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri gave them a good grace but how did the hoarders react to it? They reacted naturally by making use of the fifteen days for arranging their stocks in such a manner that you cannot easily get them. Some may have come out. But when the huge marketable surplus has fallen into their hands the question is why the Government did not launch a dehoarding drive at once.

Foodgrains are not invisible commodities. They have to be kept in huge quantities and the local authorities should have known about it. Why was not a dehoarding drive launched? Such a dehoarding drive was the need of the hour but the Government failed to do any such thing and so we are in this situation of a nationwide crisis in foodgrains. We are told that our food imports re-

present only two per cent of our production. In fact our overall deficit will be between four to six per cent of our needs. Then why is the crisis so enduring and so widespread? We must take into account the dimension of this hoarding and profiteering. When the Bengal Famine Enquiry Commission went into the Bengal famine of 1943 it pointed out how a terrible crisis could be created by the hoarder and profiteer even when the shortage of stocks was only of the order of six weeks' stocks. With that they played havoc. Today you have allowed these stocks to fall into their hands and artificial scarcities are created in order to dictate the prices and fleece the consumer. They have earlier fleeced the producer by not giving fair and reasonable price to the peasant producer because you had not declared in advance before the harvest came the reasonable price to be paid to the peasant producer.

In the first round it was the peasant producer who was fleeced because the hoarder took advantage of his pre-eminence in our economic life and denied him a fair price. The producers were in distress and they naturally rushed into the markets with their produce. In the first few weeks after harvest the hoarders cornered all the stocks and after that they struck against the consumer and started charging high prices and secreting stocks. That is how the situation has come to this pass and we must understand it.

Now we have to go into this question a little more in order to settle what steps we must take. I do not wish to dilate upon this aspect any more than what I have done. I have shown how the Government has failed. Now I shall give you just some figures. The total procurement by the Central Government and the State Governments during the last five years between 1960-61 and today came to about 2.8 million tons of rice and wheat which is less by one million tons of what we import from an

average annually from the United States of America. According to them our annual import comes to about 3.5 million tons and in all these five years we could procure from internal sources only 2.8 million tons. The figures are there given by them. Here I shall give the figures for the last three crucial years in order to understand this crisis. Whereas in 1958 we procured internally, the States and the Central Government together, roughly about nine lakh tons, in 1961 the Central Government procured only 3 lakh tons, in 1962-63, 4.6 lakh tons, in 1963-64, 5.9 lakh tons through procurement by the Central Government. In the last three years the total procurement by the Central Government was of the order of 14.86 lakh tons only, compared to the heavy imports. Now, you will find that in these very years our imports have gone up very high. I have got the figures. In the Second Plan period our imports were Rs. 787 crores. In the Third Plan period, in the three years, our food imports are about Rs. 480 crores. Such is the position. Last year it was Rs. 197 crores, the latest figure. As against that, the procurement by Government from the internal market is negligible. Yet, in these three years the marketable surplus was 45 million tons . . .

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Fourteen lakh tons.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, 14 lakh tons, less than two million tons—the Government could get. That clearly explains where the food is going. Whatever you produce, the more you produce, the greater the crisis. The more you produce, the higher is the price. That is the situation into which we have landed. What a wonderful Government . . .

SHRI C. D. PANDE: More money.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: And of course more money in most of the pockets of the hoarders. I am talking about it so that it will not be dis-

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]
puted—on the basis of material supplied to us by the Government.

Now, therefore, proper lessons should be drawn. As you know, when Mr. Patil took over from Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain, speaking in the debate immediately after that, we said what was needed was a critical review of the food policy and orientation and there we stressed the need for State trading in foodgrains. Our suggestions were brushed aside. Even when the Prime Minister said that State trading had come to stay—that is what he said from those Benches—Mr. S. K. Patil went to Bombay and made a statement in which he said State trading was dead and buried. That was published in the "Free Press Journal" and other papers. It was indeed dead and buried. And Mr S. K. Patil said: "I shall give you buffer stocks and with buffer stocks drawn from the United States of America we shall solve the problem, at least meet the situation." But it seems he left very little of buffer stock even. Plenty of bluffs he left in the Ministry. People cannot be fed on bluffs. It is possible to feed the people for a while from American buffer stocks, but even bluffs coming from Mr. S. K. Patil will never feed the people and we are left with a little bit of buffer stock and a bagful of bluffs. That is what has happened. Now, we want a change in the situation. How can you change it?

I would invite the attention of hon. Members to my amendment No. 29 in which we have made, from my Party's point of view, a series of suggestions. I do not go into that. We have carefully discussed this matter and have made the suggestions for hon. Members to consider. Here, I should like to say the first thing is State trading in foodgrains. We do not know how much they are going to buy up till now. That is very important. We must know exactly how much they are going to buy. What percentage of the marketable surplus will fall in Government's hands and will be procured by the Government naturally is very cru-

cial. As far as the machinery is concerned, we should like to have the machinery spread immediately. Now, it may be said that the Government do not have so many people. Well, the trading agents employed by the wholesalers can be utilised as temporary Government employees on payment by the Government, to buy on behalf of the Government. The system of licensing the wholesaler should be given up lock, stock and barrel. That is absolutely impermissible. Buying must be done by the Government. This is one side of it. Much will depend on how you run State trading. State trading should not be a slogan. The nation should be mobilised on the basis of a State Trading Corporation for foodgrains and all people will be forthcoming. I can tell you that. There will not be any such thing as an agitational approach, as you call it all the same derisively. There will be all round co-operation, if a correct policy of State trading is adopted and put into practice here and now. Therefore, we have demanded that within fifteen days not only the Corporation should be formed but also it should announce its policy and mode of operation.

Then, about other things, I wish to remind the House about the distribution mechanism. That is also in the hands of the traders now, retailers and so on. In December we had only 60,000 fair price shops. Now, we have got about 80,000 fair price shops, out of which three States, namely, Maharashtra, Bengal and U. P., account for more than 36,000. That is to say, the other States do not have even this and these States do not have the adequate number. Therefore, what we need to-day is a much larger number of fair price shops in the country, where the foodgrains procured by the Government from internal and external sources could be readily and easily distributed to the consumer, eliminating all other middlemen. That should be done. Here I should like to point out to the Government that if we do such a thing, if the crop is good, probably the situation will improve.

I am not going into the price policy here. Price, of course, is important as far as the peasant-producer is concerned, not our big so-called farmers. Now, the Maharajas call themselves as farmers. I do not mean that. To the tiller of the soil the price should be settled in advance, right now and it is not enough to fix only the maximum price. What is necessary is to fix the price for the producer in advance, before the harvesting season. That is very important. Once the Government does this, we bring not only the grains in our control but also the price movement in our control. Price movements do not take place in an abstract way or outside the control of human agencies or other economic factors. We can ask the Reserve Bank and others to stop all kinds of bank advances clean advances in particular, against foodgrains. Clean advances which are given for speculation also should be stopped.

Now, I think these are very reasonable suggestions which can be easily worked out by the Government and for that you do not need a revolution or any such thing at all. Here and now we can together work it out and go into action on the basis of that in order to tackle the situation. Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is one aspect of the situation. Our distribution machinery must be brought within our control and the crux of the problem at this stage immediately is to get ready here and now to operate in the market and then secure or procure whatever you call it, the maximum quantity possible of the marketable surplus, eliminating the wholesale agents altogether, utilising their 'dalals' or whatever you call them, the trading agents as your agents, because you will not have immediately many people and that should not be made an excuse for not operating on a large scale in order to make State trading a success. As far as the price question is concerned, it is not for the Food Minister alone to settle it. Price is an issue which has to be discussed in the context of the economy as a whole. Monetary and fiscal policies are responsible. In fact,

the price rise has become a built-in feature of capitalist planning. Today, unless basic changes are made in the system, in the principles and methods of planning, price rise will be there. But we can perhaps on the food front restrict it a little, restrict its spreading. That is what he can do. But I would ask the Government to consider this matter.

In this connection, I cannot but call the attention of the Government to the recommendation of the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee where they have suggested a price stabilisation organisation, and that was not even accepted by the Government. Now, I am not suggesting any particular name but the Food Ministry should be interested in at least its own sphere of activity to control the price to the maximum possible extent and as effectively as possible. That is not outside its reach, at least partially.

Now, price is naturally a very very important factor. I need not go into that. Now, with regard to foodgrains imports, since independence—we have calculated—we have imported over 50 million tons of foodgrains, over five crore tons of foodgrains. The value should be of the order of Rs. 2,000 crores according to official figures. Speaking on the All India Radio in June, 1948, the Prime Minister assured the nation that India would achieve self-sufficiency in foodgrains by the end of 1952. We are nowhere near it. We live on P. L. 480.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Do you suggest that we should not import anything from outside?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No, what I am saying is we must set a timelimit.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Not on those terms.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: What about Russia? Russia had purchased wheat from the USA.

AN HON. MEMBER: China has done it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am not saying . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Your friend is on his legs.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is not that we should not import. All that I say is that self-sufficiency should be set as the national objective.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Yes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is what I say, and we must go all-out to achieve it with all our vigour, with all our strength and might. Then, I can tell you, we will never fail. That is what I say. Why should it not be possible to be attained? We have got 47 million acres of cultivable waste land which can be utilised, brought under the plough. I have calculated, if we increase the production yield by one maund per acre, we can solve the problem as far as the PL480 is concerned. Why should it not be possible? Our yield per acre is one of the lowest in the world, 75 per cent of the international average, whereas UAR has got three times more. We have not achieved the target of the Third Five Year Plan either in respect of rice or in respect of wheat.

Therefore, apart from the question of land reforms which is very essential, what we need here is better fertilisers. And we do not even have one million tons of fertilisers, nitrogenous fertilisers, but have much less. Irrigation facilities are not fully utilised. We should make it available to the peasants and so on. We can start State farms also at some places, and then we can tackle this problem, overcome it. It is not impossible of achievement. I do not like a static approach to be made with regard to self-sufficiency in the matter of foodgrains, because PL480 is becoming a dead weight on our economy; it has become a thorough disincentive to agricultural improve-

ment and production. And the Government think that somehow or other they can go to the Americans and get these things and solve the problem. And here you see how the Americans make a propaganda of it. In this pamphlet they have pointed out how they are giving foodgrains which represents the output of an area half the size of the cultivable land in Kerala, and this is what is being done. Now, it is very important. You may not feel ashamed, Mr. Pande. I do feel ashamed. We have got peasants, we have got plans. So many. . . .

SHRI C. D. PANDE: With the best efforts even the USSR in 40 years has not been successful. There are so many things.

AN HON. MEMBER: Russia, America . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Please do not disturb me.

It is the accepted policy of the Government that we attain self-sufficiency in food production. I want this policy to be implemented.

AN HON. MEMBER: Will you please explain? What is the economy of Russia?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is possible of achievement, I tell you how it is possible of achievement. If you reduce the cultivable waste land from 47 millions to the target set under the Third Five Year Plan to 40 millions, you get seven millions there.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Even if the whole of Siberia is brought under cultivation, they could not do it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Therefore, it is not that we cannot do anything about it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, you have got five minutes only. So, you do not get disturbed by these interruptions.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What time have I taken?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): You have taken 35 minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Then another speaker will speak. I do not wish to say more in view of the unnecessary interruptions. But I think we can achieve self-sufficiency in food production. And I was well up with that point when he spoiled it by interruption.

Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would impress upon the House that I have avoided discussing the other aspects of the food problem; not that they are not important, they are very important. We have in mind the upper-most thing. Therefore, our party—and I hope the other parties also—will apply their minds to it. I think that once we launch a correct policy with regard

to State trading in foodgrains and set up a proper machinery and go into the market in order to buy to the maximum possible extent, well, the situation can be brought, partly, and perhaps largely, under control.

These are my suggestions and, as far as the other suggestions are concerned, they are in all the amendments that I have tabled. And this should be considered by the hon. Minister as our considered view, especially suggestion under amendment No. 29 of the party which I represent here.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at twentyeight minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 17th September, 1964.