

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR (Uttar Pradesh): May I know what is the waste-paper-like thing from which the hon. Member is reading?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not know if the hon. Member reads newspapers. If he does, he would know what a cutting looks like. The hon. Prime Minister may have a television picture of the Finance Minister's mind and he may discover very fine and sublime things there.

As far as this is concerned, it is clear. There is not a word against those people who are in forcible occupation of this island nor a word against the United States which is intervening. Sir, I would like a clarification as far as the Bandung Declaration is concerned. The Bandung Declaration does speak of territorial integrity, security and all that. Now, if you assume that these two islands are part of China, then, Sir, they are threatened and, threatened by whom? Threatened and are in occupation by the U.S. All these things are there and, therefore, I say that it cuts across the Bandung Declaration. I should like to read the Bandung Declaration again sitting with the Prime Minister. I would like to have a proper explanation of the Declaration. English words have their meaning and no new meaning should be attached just because Shri Morarji Desai has put him in trouble.

MOTION REGARDING FOOD SITUATION—continued

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SHRI A. P. JAIN: The hon. Member, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: Do not answer this.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: No, Sir, not this.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No more of Ministers on foreign policy. One is bad enough.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: It is on the question of increase of population and pro-

duction. The rapidly increasing population is a problem for our country. It has got to be faced and this rapid increase of population is certainly a factor which has affected . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: Before you proceed farther, I have to say this. We allotted about six hours. I have got about thirty names here. The House will have to sit through the Lunch Hour and sit tomorrow also.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We can also sit up to 6 o'clock.

MR- CHAIRMAN: You may sit till 6 o'clock.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

SHRI A. P. JAIN: I will not go into the details of the agricultural production, during the first two years of the Second Plan, but, I will refer to some other salient features. The increase in agricultural production is achieved by a number of schemes including major and medium irrigation, minor irrigation, fertilisers and manures, improved seeds, land development and improved agricultural practices. It is true that, so far as major and medium irrigation works are concerned, we have developed a huge potential but we have not been able to utilise it. In the years 1956-57 and 1957-58, the targets of utilisation were 4 million acres and the actual utilisation has been 1-7 million acres or, 44-8 per cent, of the target. We feel very unhappy that large amounts of money should have been spent on the construction of dams and reservoirs but the water was not being utilised. This question was very carefully examined by the Irrigation and Power Ministry and the Planning Commission. The Irrigation and Power Ministry which is in administrative charge of the major and medium irrigation schemes, found that the failure to utilise the irrigation potential was due either to the failure to construct main channels or field channels or- the lack of incentive for the cultivators to changeover from dry to wet farming or for

want of training in proper cropping patterns. Action has been taken to provide conditions for the utilisation of this potential and the Planning Commission has agreed to divert some thirty or so crores of rupees during the rest of the Plan period for the fuller utilisation of this irrigation potential. In the Community Development areas, the Community Development Ministry has been made responsible for the construction of the field channels and for propagating cropping patterns. In the non-Community Development areas, the State Governments have been charged with the responsibility for utilising this potential. In fact, I feel very unhappy that this potential should not have been properly utilised. Now, so far as minor irrigation works are concerned, they have done well and, during the first two years, they have fulfilled their targets. Improved seed is another important item in the development of agricultural production. There is a little misunderstanding about the seed farms. The scheme of the seed farms is that in each of the Community Development Block and the Shadow Block, a nucleus seed farm of 25 acres will be set up. This will produce foundation seed. The foundation seed will have to pass through the registered growers in the first year, in the second year and it will be only in the third year that it will be available to the ordinary farmer for use. It takes four years for the seed developed on the foundation farm to reach the farmer. The effect of the seed farms will come into operation only about the end of the Plan, that is 1959-60 and 1960-61. With regard to fertilisers, on more than one occasion I have stated in the House that the farmer is becoming fertiliser-minded. The demands of the country are quite high but unfortunately, on account of the paucity of foreign exchange, we are unable to meet the requirements of the farmer. In the year 1957-53, the total demand was for more than 13 lakh tons but we could satisfy it only to the extent of about ten lakh tons, that is, there was a shortfall of about 3 lakh tons. In

the current year 1958-59, the shortage is going to be even greater. The lands from the States account for more than fifteen lakh tons; I believe it is about 15.5 lakh tons and our total availability up till now is only 8 \ lakh tons. By diverting some resources from other heads, we hope to import another \ lakh tons. Even so, the shortage will be about 35 per cent. Fertilisers have played a very important role in agricultural production all over the world. Our consumption of fertilisers is very small compared to the progressive countries; it is very low compared to Japan; it is very low compared to China and it is very low compared to the United States of America. Now, Sir, this is a limiting factor. Unfortunately, in the beginning of the Plan, we did not fully realise the importance of fertilisers. We should have planned more of factories and we should have been producing more of fertilisers. In any event, during the period of the shortfaH, we should have found more money for the import of fertilisers but, unfortunately, our a exchange position being what it is, I am not sure to what extent we shall be able to meet the requirements of fertilisers and this is going to be a limiting factor in our future agricultural production.

Again, Sir, land development is another important scheme. Its growth has also been held up on account of the failure to import a sufficient number of tractors. That again is due to the paucity of foreign exchange. Our achievements during the first two years of the Plan are only 23 per cent of the targets. Part of this low achievement is explainable. Firstly, as the House will remember, the target for agricultural production originally was fixed at 10 million tons. When the targets for 1956 and 1957 were worked out, they were worked out on the basis of 10 million tons. Subsequently the target was raised to 15.5 million tons, that is, 65 million to 80.5 million tons and in the second year both the targets and achievement have' been higher. The

[Shri A. P. Jain.] Prime Minister the other day made in the Lok Sabha a very significant admission. He said that it was unfortunate that we had not realised the importance of agriculture in our planning; we had not given it a sufficiently important place and we are now learning it to our cost that our past neglect has been responsible for the stresses and strains in the supply of food. The Government must now give a second thought; agriculture has to be given the first place and unless agriculture is given the first place, the implementation of the Plan will be adversely affected. I have no doubt that fertilisers have to play an important role and unless we step up the supply of fertilisers, we shall have to face considerable difficulties in increasing our agricultural production. Our potentialities for increasing agricultural production are immense. Our production is one of the lowest in the world, and there is ample scope for increasing production. For that we do not need the testimony of any foreigner. In our own country the progressive farmers are producing three times and four times as much as the average production and sometimes even more and if a progressive farmer can produce three or four times the average, there is no reason why the national average cannot go up. We have to provide the means; we have to enthrust the farmer to produce more.

Sir, this year we have taken up, a somewhat new scheme of intensive rabi campaign. The object of the scheme is to mobilise the agricultural personnel and the material resources needed for production and to enthrust the farmer to produce more. We have created a pool of the people working in the Agricultural Departments at the Centre and in the States, Professors and senior students of the Agricultural Colleges, extension workers in the Community Development areas and progressive farmers.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan) :
These are your shock brigade?

SHRI A. P. JAIN: Well, I have never used the words 'shock brigade'. These people will be divided into teams and the rabi area in the nine important States will be divided into blocks. The nine States selected are Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Bihar, Bombay, Mysore, Andhra and Delhi. Each of these blocks will be entrusted to a team. The crops taken for intensive production would be wheat, barley, gram and rabi jowar. These teams in many of the places have already visited the areas. They will stay there for ten days or fifteen days. Supplies of improved seeds, fertilisers and of insecticides are being made and the idea is that, while the work will have to be done by the farmer, these teams will act as catalytic agents so that the farmer may be stimulated into better and improved practices and yield may go up. These people are not going to these areas in the spirit of bossing; they are going there as humble workers to assist ...

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh) :
May I know if this is a long-term arrangement or a short-term arrangement?

SHRI A. P. JAIN: This is both. Now, I hope that this pilot experiment which we have started will be repeated from season to season in regard to other crops and as we go on getting more and more experience we shall be able to cover more and more area and more and more crops. It is only by intensive efforts, by concentrating on certain areas and on certain crops at a time, that we can get better production and that is the object of this campaign.

Then, I come to, what may be called, the short-term and the immediate problems. The year 1957-58 has been a very difficult year for us. Agricultural production has gone down by 6.7 lakh tons as compared to the year 1956-57 or by 9.8 per cent. And the intensity of this shortfall has increased as the 9.8 per cent shortage is not evenly distributed over the whole

country. It is concentrated in certain areas, particularly in the north-eastern States—Uttar Pradesh, Bihar Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. The House is aware for the past few years we have been importing fairly substantial quantities of foodgrains. Now, I do not like to import foodgrains from abroad. We have spent large sums of money in importing foodgrains from abroad and an agricultural country like India cannot for any length of time be dependant for its food on imports. Well, I do not say that it will be possible for us immediately to do away with imports; none-the-less there must be an increasing effort on our part to reduce the imports and ultimately to do away with them. That can be done only by increasing agricultural production—producing enough for our requirements and something more. Imports, it appears to me, in the next few years are unavoidable however unpalatable they might be. This year we have imported sufficiently large quantities and we have made arrangements for the import of more.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR (Uttar Pradesh): How much have we imported so far?

SHRI A. P. JAIN: We have imported more than two million tons. In regard to the internal food administration, I wish to state very clearly that it is not the policy of the Government to go in for total control and rationing. On the other hand, as recommended by the Foodgrains Inquiry Committee, our policy is going to be control of the trading activity, supplemented by some regulation of consumption and directioning of production. I shall presently come 1 P.M. to the figures and other details of procurement, but even at this stage I want to make it clear that our policy will be to procure the maximum quantity of foodgrains inside the country and to extend State trading in foodgrains, so that the activities of the speculators and workers may be counteracted. Now, how are we to control the trade? One of the methods of controlling the trade, on which we

are already working and which we propose to strengthen, is the restriction on zonal movements. The zonal system is based on the principle of creating some zones for purposes of procurement, as we did in the case of the Punjab. Punjab was cordoned off for rice and we procured about a lakh tons of rice from there. Well, then again, we may create some self-sufficient zones where surplus and deficit areas would be tagged together. An example of this is the south rice zone, where the surplus State of Andhra is tagged with the highly deficit State of Kerala and the two more or less self-sufficient States of Madras and Mysore. This zone has worked very satisfactorily. The price level this year—in spite of all the stresses and strains and the news of scarcity and high prices that have been reaching from the north to the south—has done well. The prices are more or less comparable with those of last year. Last year, that is, 1957, we had to supply 2,40,000 tons of rice to Kerala. This year we have supplied them with nearly 50,000 tons of rice. The rest of the requirements have been met either from the supply from the Tanjore district of Madras or from the Andhra surplus. And lastly the zonal system also contemplates some deficit zones where adequate supplies will have to be made from the Centre. I want to make it clear to those who have been casting doubts on the zonal system and trying to disturb it, that this matter had been fully considered by the Government and the zones are going to stay. Of course, that does not mean that there is going to be any absolute permanency for the zones, but none-the-less unless there are very strong grounds, these zones are going to remain. They may be modified here or there, but the zonal system is the accepted policy of the Government. The very basis of zones is that a new system of distribution is created, and too often tampering with the zones will be a dangerous thing. The House would be aware that some rumours and pressures were set afloat that the Punjab should be made into one zone with the U.P. Speculators gave

Shri A. P. Jain.] strong support to this move and side by side they were secretly buying large quantities of wheat in the Punjab. My own idea is that the purchases by the U.P. speculators and hoarders are not less than ten lakh maunds. They were expecting that when the zones would be disrupted, the wheat which they bought at Rs. 15, Rs. 16, or Rs. 17 would be sold at Rs. 21, Rs. 22 or Rs. 23 per maund in the U.P. Their attempt has been foiled and we have already seized more than 5 lakh maunds of wheat bought by the speculators. We hope to lay hands on more of it. All this indicates how the speculators and hoarders are trying to take advantage of a difficult food situation.

SHRI B. SHIVA RAO: May I ask what he proposes to do with all these hoarders? How does he deal with them? Will he deal with them as they deal with smugglers of gold and confiscate all the stocks?

SHRI A. P. JAIN: I am coming to that. Another method of controlling the trade is the application of the credit squeeze. Nearly every wholesale trader goes to the bank asking for finance, that is, advances against the foodgrains. For some time we have been following a policy of limiting the credit available against the foodgrains. The Reserve Bank has been issuing directives to the scheduled banks and at present the position is that against wheat advances not exceeding 66-2/3 per cent of the corresponding advances in 1957 will be made. Against rice and paddy the average advance will not exceed 75 per cent of the corresponding advances on the last Friday in the corresponding month in 1957, 1956, 1955. In Andhra and Madhya Pradesh this limit has been reduced to 60 per cent. As regards other foodgrains, the advances will be only 80 per cent of what they were last year. We have also prescribed elaborate rules for the returns of stocks by the traders. I must confess that we have not made the best use of the information which we have collected. In

fact, our State Governments should have been in a position to know where the hoarding is, and to have taken effective action to combat it. We have not systematically drawn results from this information, but we propose to do it. None-the-less this information has been of some use to us. But for this information we would not have been able to lay on more than 5 lakh maunds of wheat in the Punjab.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: May I know, who are actually supposed to combat the hoarders?

SHRI A. P. JAIN: Government is going to fight the hoarders and the society should fight the hoarders, including the hon. Member.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Then, why is the police busy combating the Opposition and people who are fighting for the Opposition?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: Now, Sir, I come to the next important point. Experience in the past has shown that the biggest safety factor are the stocks. Since October last when I sensed that the coming year was going to be a very difficult one, I made every effort to build up the stocks and if we had not built up stocks of more than 15 lakh tons we would have been in a bad way, much worse than what we are. We have been able to maintain the supply line and here I want to assure the House that my present stocks, together with the further arrangements which we have made, will enable me to hold on the supply line till the new crop comes in the month of December.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Some quantity or idea of the stocks.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: I am sorry. My hon. friend is asking a very dangerous question. He would be only helping the trade by asking me to divulge this information.

Now, Sir, I said that we have so far been depending a little too much on imports. But our future policy is going to be to procure more and more internally, to extend the scope of State trading, not in the retail trade, but in the wholesale trade, so that the speculators may not be allowed to have free play. As regards our procurement in the past, our efforts have met with some success. During the last one year the Centre has been able to procure 3.5 lakh tons of rice. The States have procured a little less than 2 lakh tons of rice and 1 lakh tons of coarse foodgrains. That is, inside the country we have been able to procure nearly 6.5 lakh tons. In the first year of our procurement, when we had to build up the 'machinery and to make many other arrangements, this is no' a bad achievement, and I am not ashamed of it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You are ashamed of nothing!

SHRI A. P. JAIN: Of you only. In the matter of prices for procurement, the price must be fair both to the producer and the consumer. Last year we fixed the procurement price after taking into account the recommendations of the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee, the trend of prices in 1952-53 and the trend of prices in the immediately preceding years. There had been some discontent about it. But I do think, Sir, that by and large the prices fixed were too low. At any rate for the coming season Government is considering what prices for procurement are to be fixed.

The hon. Member asked me the question: what are you going to do with the hoarders? Now I come to that.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The Essential Commodities Act.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: The House will remember that we amended the Essential Commodities Act and added a new provision under which Government was authorised to obtain stocks

at the average price prevailing during three months preceding the issue of notification. Some use has been made of this provision. I must confess that sufficient use has not been made of it. We have recently issued a notification under that law in regard to wheat, gram, barley and peas for U.P., Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and the Punjab. For an effective food administration it is necessary that the Government should know whether there is any hoarding, and as soon as there is hoarding we must lay our hands on it. That is what we are going to do, and what we have done to an extent already.

In regard to retail distribution, Government has no intention of handling the retail distribution directly. We propose to continue the fair price shops. Undoubtedly there have been some malpractices in the fair price shops. Those malpractices must be eliminated. In fact, in large parts of the country identity cards have been issued. That is, a person who holds an identity card is entitled to get a certain quantity from a fair price shop. The issue of the card had a salutary effect in suppressing the malpractices. There has also been an increase in the control, checking and supervision of the fair price shops. Besides, we have recommended to the State Governments to set up popular committees for supervising the distribution of stocks from the fair price shops. Wherever these committees have been set up conditions have improved and malpractices come down. The only alternative to these fair price shops could be about 45 or 50 thousand shops run by the Government, through petty officials. That will mean a whole army of 45 or 50 thousand officials. Whether that would be better than fair price shops, I do not know. Personally I shudder at the idea of employing 45 or 50 thousand petty officials who would sit in the shops and sell foodgrains. So, it is going to be the policy of the Government both to improve the working of the fair price shops and to continue these fair price shops.

[Shri A. P. Jain.]

Another aspect to which I would draw the attention of the House is that there is quite a good deal of wasteful consumption. It has to be discouraged. We must learn lessons in austerity, and now we have made a beginning. For the metropolis, the city of Delhi, a Guest Control Order has been issued under which no foodstuffs can be served to more than fifty persons including the host. The only things that are exempted are fruits, nuts, tea, coffee and other beverages. That is, neither any milk products nor any meat products nor any cereal or pulse products can be served in any party where the number exceeds fifty.

DR. R. P. DUBE (Madhya Pradesh): They can invite fifty several times.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: That is a different matter. If the nation is bent upon defying the law, no one can help it. We would like, Sir, the States to follow the example. In fact on one side we find this wasteful and conspicuous consumption, and on the other shortage and high prices. This is something very disturbing, and I do hope that the State Governments will take the cue from the Centre and prescribe equally stringent laws, not only prescribe but enforce them. There is no use making a law unless you enforce it.

In conclusion, Sir, I would very earnestly request the various parties represented in this House that they may treat food above politics. Food is the need of all irrespective of political beliefs or persuasions. At the Centre the Prime Minister invited some leaders of political groups and independent Members and has constituted a Committee which has met several times. We propose to hold frequent meetings of that Committee. We will give them information and we will have their advice. We do not want to treat food as a party problem. I was glad to find that during the sittings

of this Committee the members were all guided by the one and only desire to improve the supply of food, to bring down the prices and to improve the administration. We had the fullest co-operation from them and we do trust that we will have more and more co-operation. Trust will create trust. Another bigger meeting was held by the Prime Minister the other day in which a larger number of people—Members of Parliament—were invited. We want to take the leaders of the various political groups and leading independent Members into fullest confidence and I have no doubt that that is the only way of solving the food problem. We have to create confidence in the country. If we go on quarrelling between ourselves, talking with different voices, it is the anti-social element, the speculator, the hoarder who benefits from it. People also get confused. They feel a sense of frustration. In these difficult times, we should pool our efforts, create confidence in the country and in solving the food problem, nothing can be more helpful than the creation of confidence. The Prime Minister has conveyed the same advice to the State Governments. Some of the State Governments have already made a beginning. In Calcutta, some members of the Opposition who were good enough to accompany me to West Bengal, had a discussion with the Chief Minister of West Bengal—a useful discussion. There have also been certain talks between the Chief Minister of West Bengal and some members of his Opposition. They are going to meet shortly and I hope that the co-operation which has been forthcoming at the Centre will also be forthcoming at the State level.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: I wish there were some discussions in U.P.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: I will not hold the House any more.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is the same thing.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: I have taken enough time.

I will end with the assurance that the Government is in a position to meet the reasonable requirements of the State Governments until the next crop when we hope that the position will further improve. In fact, some of the short crops have already started coming and prices have started showing a downward trend in certain parts of the country. In the Punjab, they have gone down by two rupees and more. In Uttar Pradesh, the price of wheat has gone down in many places by two rupees and in some places less.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: Is it in Saharanpur, Agra or Lucknow that the prices have gone down ?

SHRI A. P. JAIN: In Lucknow, it has gone down. In Saharanpur and Hapur also, it has gone down.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: In Agra too.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: The price of rice in U.P. has gone down even more. The price of coarse grains is also coming down. I know that the prices are high even now, but this is a good turn, a hopeful turn and let us hope that it will continue and prices will go down more.

श्री राम सहाय (मध्य प्रदेश) :
 क्या मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से जान सकता हूँ कि अग्रे बाहर से जा रहे मंगते हैं वह किस भाव खरीदा जाता है और बम्बई पोर्ट में आकर साधारणतः किस भाव पड़ता है ?

SHRI A. P. JAIN: • Certain negotiations are going on and I would not like to say anything more at this stage.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I requested the Food and Agriculture Minister to make available to this House the West Bengal Government's Food Enquiry Committee Report. I was told that the Report was with the State Government and the Chief Minister was also here very recently. The hon. Minister who spoke last week told us

that he would approach the Govern-it. Nothing has been said about it. I would like to know as to what . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He will enquire.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not know if any enquiry has been made and if so, with what results. This Enquiry Committee Report is very important for us.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is all right.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You ask him.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Have you got any information about the Enquiry Committee Report from West Bengal?

SHRI A. P. JAIN: The Chief Minister of West Bengal has replied certain questions in the Assembly there. It was a Committee appointed by him whose Report has not yet been published.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It has been published?

SHRI A. P. JAIN: Not published.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Motion moved:

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

Dr. Ahmad. Before you begin, Dr. Ahmad, I have to inform the House that there are 28 names from the Congress side and 13 names from the Opposition side and they are still increasing.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You mean, from the Opposition, there are only 13?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Equally half. They are three times more than you and even if each Member on the Congress side takes ten minutes, all

[Mr. Deputy Chairman.] the Members will not get their chance. So, I request hon. Members to be within the time allotted to them.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO (Andhra Pradesh): The hon. Minister stated that it is not a party problem. Why do you force a time limit?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Everybody must get a chance. That is what I am telling you.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: There is no question of Congress or . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is what I am telling you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We understand the problem. The only thing is j that we have to say something.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Even j the Minister has to say something.

SHRI Z. A AHMAD (Uttar Pradesh) : Sir, after listening to the speech of my old friend, the present Food Minister of India, I rise to speak with mixed feelings of indignation and frustration. I am indignant because I found that, in his speech, he did not convey to the House that sense of urgency which is needed when we are facing such widespread distress throughout the country. If a Deputy Secretary of the Food Ministry had come to me and given me those facts and figures, well, I would have been very thankful to him. But here is the Food Minister of India coming and giving us those figures, which are there in the books.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Old figures!

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: Many of them are old figures. When he supplies those figures to us; we are thankful to him. But I want him to make a declaration of policy.

It is a fact, Sir, that 12 years after freedom, in my State of Uttar Pradesh which was once the granary of

India, wheat is being sold at one seer and four chattaks per rupee or one seer six chattaks per rupee. It is a scandalous and strange position. In other States—in West Bengal, Bihar and in other areas of the country—a similar food crisis exists. Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain must be a very strong, man to feel so self-confident about the whole thing that he states, "Well, it is not a bad record." I say, it is definitely a bad record, it is a very bad record if after spending millions and millions of rupees in the First Five Year Plan period and in the two or three years of the Second Five Year Plan on agricultural development you say in a somewhat self-satisfied manner that it is not a bad record, my answer is that is a very bad record indeed.

Sir, I also feel frustrated because I do not know what is going to happen to all the nice words and the suggestions that will be put forward here in this House. There are certain formalities to be observed. There was a debate in the Lok Sabha. Well, there has to be a debate on the food question in the Rajya Sabha. We shall talk. Sir, you will listen, the Food Minister will reply and there the matter will end. I do not know if anything is going to be done.

I welcome the move that has been made by the Prime Minister of India in inviting the members of all the parties together to discuss and work out a line of action. I have a faint hope that something will come out of that move. But still, I am not confident because when I come to my State where not hundreds but thousands of people are coming out into the streets clamouring for food—for cheap food— what is given to them is not food but stones; what is given to them is lathis by the police and not food. That is the situation that exists in this country. (*Interruptions.*) All right, all right.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: You do not take the responsibility.

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: I may request him to allow me to speak and that these interruptions may not be there.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: We are perfectly prepared to allow him to speak. All that we object to is looting and we cannot allow them to loot the grain shops

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: There has not been a single case of looting of grain-shops so far. That is a fact.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: At Farrukhabad, Hathras etc.,

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: Sir, that is the position. There is the great problem of State of West Bengal. Similar conditions exist there.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. N. SAPRU: in the Chair)]

Hungry people come into the streets. I do not want to work up the House emotionally, but I feel emotionally worked up myself because I have been to Gorakhpur, I have been to Basti, I have been to Balia. I have been to Deoria. I have seen there thousands of hungry men and women coming, flocking to the towns, asking for cheap food. But there is no food. The merchants say "Give us money and we will give you foodgrains." And money they can't give, and there the matter ends. So that is the position. Therefore, Sir, I feel a little frustrated because I do not know what is going to happen. I do want to place the food question in a different category. I do want to treat this question on a national basis, as a national question. I do want that there should be co-operation among all the parties in the country for solving this question. But I do want at the same time that the Government, not at the Centre alone, but in the States also, as well as in the districts and in the villages, should take certain positive steps in order to bring the people together to solve the problem at that level. I go to the Chief Minister of U.P. and say "Please give a call for cease-fire, please call all those people and let them sit together and decide as to what should be done about this food

problem." But he says "No. It is a question of law and order, and unless this agitation is withdrawn, nothing can be done."

SHRI J. S. BISHT: Why don't you withdraw the agitation?

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: With this approach, Sir, the problem cannot be solved. The Government stands on false prestige.

SHRI J. S. BISHT: Your party stands on false prestige. Why don't you withdraw the agitation?

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: So, that is the position, Sir.

I shall now come to the food prob-, iem. What is- the food problem? Sir, the food problem, stated in very simple terms, is this. In India, even after 12 years of freedom, we are not able to supply our people with adequate quantities of foodgrains at reasonable prices or at prices which are within their reach. That is the food problem. It appears to be a very simple problem, but actually it is a very complicated problem and a very basic problem in the sense that food prices constitute the core of our entire price-structure, and in a capitalist society where there is freedom of enterprise, the price-structure or the price system governs the development of the economy as a whole. Therefore, Sir, this problem becomes the basic problem. I do not want to attempt here any analysis of how the rising food prices have reaccepted on the various aspects of our economic life, but one broad fact has to be recognised that it is due to the failure on the part of the Government to tackle this food problem that so many complications have arisen— problems of foreign exchange, difficulties in the way of economic development, economic and financial problems— which we are finding it very difficult to resolve. All these have as their basis the failure of the Government to solve the food problem. Now who is responsible for this? I am straightway driven to that question. Who is responsible? Well, if I ask the Government as to who is responsible

[Shri Z. A. Ahmad.] for this, the reply will be "everyone I else except the Government, everyone from the Great God to this little Opposition speaking here in this House or in the other". Who is responsible? They will say "Bad seasons and bad crops are responsible. Certain higher forces are responsible. And people produce more children." I want to know as to what has happened in this country during the last ten years. What have we given our people to eat that they are producing more children than they have produced ever before? Then someone will come and say that our people are not so industrious and they do not work hard. That is why there is not enough production. Then someone else will say, as many of our friends in U.P. have been saying, "You people in the Opposition have raised a hue and cry on the question of food, and that is why these prices have gone up." But, Sir, the facts are the other way round. It is exactly because the Opposition has raised a hue and cry on the question of food that the prices are coming down and the merchants are coming together and trying to reduce the prices of foodgrains. According to them, Sir, everyone else is responsible, but not the Government. I most respectfully beg to differ. According to me, Sir, the Government itself is responsible. Of course, God may have played His own part, but we cannot get hold of Him because He is too far away. We can only get hold of our Government here which represents our country which has got the necessary resources to bring about certain changes and put our country on the path of progress and prosperity. Therefore I would like to get hold of my Government and say that it is responsible in the main for this food problem.

Now, Sir, there are two aspects of the food situation to be considered. As has been correctly stated by our hon. Minister of Food and Agriculture, one aspect relates to production and the other aspect relates to distribution or regulation of the resources that are at our disposal. Now, Sir, I will

take up these two aspects separately show where the Government has failed in its responsibility, where the Governmental policies have been wrong policies or "where the Government has failed to work out any policy at all. First I will take the distributive aspect or the regulatory aspect. For this purpose I will have to go back a little to the developments that have taken place during the last five or six years. Now if we follow the developments that have taken place from the year 1950 onwards, we will inevitably come to the conclusion—as I will show here after some time—that the record of Government has been a remarkably poor record. The Government has been groping in the dark. It gets happy like a child whenever there is some improvement in the food situation. When there is more production, the Government develops a sense of complacency. But when production falls, it gets panicky all of a sudden. The Government has been groping in the dark for the last eight years. It has been able to do nothing else. There has been no consistent policy, no study of the basic factors of the situation, no foresight and no planning in the matter of food. It has led a hand-to-mouth existence. And during the last eight years, that has been the dominating aspect of governmental policies. Now let us start with the year 1950-51. The country was in the grip of a crisis in 1950-51 and there was a serious shortage of foodgrains. The prices rose to about 421 per cent, as compared to the previous year, and the production index came down to 90. The money supply was considerable at that time. So there was inflationary pressure in the country. And what was the result? The Government tried to meet the situation in the same old way. They imported 4.7 million tons of foodgrains. They procured a considerable amount of foodgrains at home and they sought to tighten the control system. That is quite true, and that was a correct thing to do. But suddenly in the year 1953-54 recession started and prices began to decline. But the Government did not try to examine as to why

these prices were declining, and whether it was a temporary development or it was a permanent development. Sir, the Government suffers from a lot of wishful thinking. It thinks that all the money that it has invested should lead to increased production. If by accident there is increased production, if there is a bumper crop, if there is a good harvest, then suddenly the Government comes to the conclusion that all that it did has paid and therefore its economy is on a sound basis. Sir, that bumper crop of 1953 was an extraordinary crop. It was not a normal crop. And after that year the whole process was reversed. I will not go into details because that will take some time. But it is a fact that soon after that bumper crop of 1953-54, the Government started taking steps for putting an end to rationing, for putting an end to procurement, for putting an end to fair price shops and for doing away with the Foodgrains Licensing and Procurement Order of 1952. Not only that, Sir, but the Government even allowed certain amount of export of foodgrains. Exports of foodgrains were allowed and Zonal restrictions were done away with. The result was that free market was restored. It is true, and I recognize that at that particular time, because of the inefficient manner in which the Government were running the rationing system, there was a lot of discontent against rationing. So it appeared to be a popular move for which the Government got three cheers. But it was a blind policy. They were not looking ahead. They were not examining the basic factors in the situation and the most basic factor in the situation was that our agriculture is on the margin, that a good monsoon may give us foodgrains whereby the prices may fall, but the next year a little shortage of rainfall may create an acute crisis. So you have to plan out your whole functioning in a manner that you are prepared for emergencies, that you don't wait to receive shocks. You have to plan and prepare for the rainy day. Ultimately what happened was that after 1953/54, everything was relaxed and

free market was restored and so it went on. From 1955 onwards the reverse process was started. There was a bad season and after that bad season, immediately, the speculative elements started taking advantage of the situation. What did the Government do? In 1956 the banks were giving advances at a tremendous pace to the speculators. Huge stocks of grains were hoarded. They were cornered and ultimately what happened? The Government sat there allowing these speculators to go on with their nefarious trade, sat there refusing to impose any restrictions on trade, sat through—I may be excused if I call them—like a 'big bania' getting grain from outside and sending them to the Provinces to be sold in the Fair Price Shops. That was the only activity to which Government confined itself. But the situation was deteriorating and it was deteriorating very rapidly. Ultimately in 1957 you know the tragedy of the Rabi crop. I know in my State the Rabi crop suffered very badly. Therefore from State to State things went on deteriorating and our Government had no policy at all. Now my criticism of the Governmental policy of this whole period is this that in this period the Government has had no well-balanced and coordinated policy and no mechanism whereby stabilisation of prices could be effected. There was general complacency about the food situation. Therefore the excess of production was not mobilised during good years in order to provide for lean years.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: Was there any excessive production in any year?

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: You can operate in the market. You can get stocks in order to provide for lean years. No buffer stocks were built with indigenous stocks. There were no regulatory measures in order to prevent hoarders from operating. I was very glad indeed to hear from the mouth of the hon. Minister for

I Food something about the hoarders.
 \ We were told earlier that there were

[Shri Z. A. Ahmad.] no hoarders in U.P. and there was no hoarding at all in U.P. I used to wonder, if food production has increased so much, if you claim that 20 per cent, or 23 per cent, or 25 per cent, increase has taken place—some increase is there—then why do people suffer? There must be hoarding somewhere. You may not know it because of your inefficiency, and your lower officials may not like to convey it to you because they are either inefficient or corrupt or they have been brought over by the hoarders. You may not know it and I don't accuse you personally, but it is the job of the Government to find out why despite the increase in production, there is such a serious shortage and why the prices are going up. I was told some time ago that there is no hoarding in U.P. But with a little agitation the prices have started falling. That is the clearest proof of hoarding. The grain that was bought at Rs. 14 or 15 a maund was sold at Rs. 25 to 28 a maund. The Government sat contemplating when all this loot was going on without doing anything and when we raised our voices—please don't get indignant when I say this—and said 'Stop this loof', they said 'All right, we are arresting you first'. We met certain representatives of the trade, went to merchants and requested them, pleaded with them and ultimately they had the good sense to come down and they called their own meetings and reduced their prices partly because the public pressure was there and partly because they thought that ultimately the Government would come down on them. So, throughout this period the market was left in the hands of the hoarders. It is indeed, if it is a departure, a very welcome departure that the Food Minister has said that they are going to take firm steps against the hoarders. I wish you do so and I wish you all success in it but I want you to realize that unless you take steps against the tendency to hoard in our country, you will not be able to tackle the food problem and you will be at their mercy.

Therefore my positive suggestions in this respect are that the whole direction of the Government's policy must change. One thing which I want the Food Minister to state here, one question to which he should reply is whether the future policy is going to be that of leaving the trade in the hands of the merchants or that of intervention by the Government more and more in the trade. You stated something just now. I want it to be restated more categorically.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: I can use my language, not the hon. Member's language.

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: That is all right. We are sitting in different Benches and so the languages may differ. I want to know what is the policy. I want a categorical answer on that point. I want the Food Minister to state that we shall intervene more and more, that we shall socialise trade in foodgrains as much as possible and socialisation, by the way, does not mean getting grain from here or abroad and selling it in the cheap grain shops. Socialisation means effective intervention by the State, effective control by the State and effective regulation of the prices by the State. If that is to be the policy I welcome it and I want that firmer measures should be taken in that respect.

Because there is not much time, I -would now deal with the other aspect, that is, of food production. Sometimes I feel absolutely desperate when I look at the figures. All sorts of figures are supplied to us and sometimes those figures are very contradictory. Some agency gives us one set of figures and another gives another set. Let the Food Minister now take upon himself this responsibility of rationalising this work of collection of statistics.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: They are statistricks.

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: Whatever it may be, there should be a speciali-

sed apparatus and some norms have to be laid down and a proper technique has to be evolved. In any case we have to proceed on the basis of these figures because we have no alternative figures. If I had other figures, I could place them before you but I have not. Now there is the question of increase in food production. I admit that there has been some increase in food production, I do not deny it, but how much, I cannot say.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: 28 per cent.

(*Interruption.*)

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: I am a very reasonable man and I am prepared to concede that some increase has taken place. Why should food production not increase? If millions and billions of rupees were given, even to a mad man, to be spent on rivers, canals and fertilizers, some production would go up.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Even mad men will produce more food.

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: I don't know. Anyway there has been an increase in food production but I cannot say with that certainty and self-confidence with which the Food Minister says that there has been an increase of 23 or 25 or 27 per cent. I don't know how you come to these percentages because I know, I roam about in the villages and I know that ultimately it is the Patwari who decides how much increase there is. He writes reports sitting in his office that there has been increase in food production and does not take pains to go to the fields. Very often he acts according to certain orders or instructions from above that 'You have to show something'. My Congress friends may not like it but I remember, I was also in the Congress, that in those good old days the same Patwaris used to do the same things at the direction of the Deputy Collectors, Tahsildars and Naib-Tahsildars.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: The hon. Member is talking of old things, out-moded

things. Now the figures for production per acre are collected and compiled on the basis of random sample surveys under the supervision of the N.S.S.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Is not the hon. Minister aware of certain cases where these figures collected by his surveys have been found to be wrong by some statistical institutes?

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: Sir, I would not like to enter into any controversy. Everyone can speak from his own experience how these sample surveys are going on. I go from place to place and knock about from village to village and I have found no surveys going on. If you will excuse me, I will narrate an incident. In the district of Ghazipur, at Mohammada-bad-Yusufpur, a friend of mine—I will not give out his name, because he will be prosecuted—gets the first prize for the highest crop yield. I asked him, "How do you manage to get it?" And he replied, "It is very easy. The officer comes and he puts grains into a potli, ties it up and puts it there in the field. I advise one of my servants to put in a few more danas into the potli. Therefore the yield is more."

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: The man confided in you? They are men of your confidence.

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: Yes, I meet all kinds of people, everybody meets me, you and everybody else.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: Mostly "Potli-walas."

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: Yes, small "potliwalas" come to me and big "potliwalas" go to the hon. Minister.

I would now like to bring to your notice this table giving the figures of food production. In 1951-52 the total foodgrains production is given at 42.5 million tons. In 1952-53 the total is 58.3 million tons and in 1953-54 the total is 78.7 million tons. There is a miraculous leap in one year of 36.2 million tons.

[Shri Z. A. Ahmad.] crop. There should be some explanation. There is the explanation of better coverage. I want to know how much new coverage there was. This can be given later on in the reply. I only want to know to satisfy myself that these figures are not bogus. We should know how a sudden leap of 10 million tons in a year has taken place.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. N. SAPRU) : I would not like to interrupt the hon. Member, but I would like to inform him that he has already taken half an hour.

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: I am just finishing now. You will excuse me. This is my first speech in this House.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: This is your maiden speech.

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: Yes, and some concessions are allowed to maidens. I will presently finish. And so, about this increase in production, I do not know how much there has been. Of course, there has been some increase in production. But the point I am making is this. These figures indicate the complacency that has characterised the policy of the Government and that very complacency is found in relation to the problem of food production. Take the Second Five Year Plan. Rs. 568 crores is sanctioned in the Second Plan for Agriculture and Community Development. But out of this only Rs. 314 crores are to be spent on 'Agriculture.' And out of this only Rs. 170 crores are to be spent on agriculture as such, the rest will go for fisheries, animal husbandry etc. Out of the Rs. 200 crores allocated for Community Development, only Rs. 55 crores are to be spent on agriculture as such. That means Rs. 170 crores plus Rs. 55 crores or Rs. 225 crores are to be spent on Agriculture, besides the amounts allotted for irrigation etc. This is a very meagre amount. We were suffering under the wrong idea that the agrarian problem has been solved and so we aimed at doubling the industrial production. Now we

find ourselves in a mess, because industrial production cannot go up, industries cannot grow without increase in the purchasing power of the people. This is the complacency which I think affects the whole outlook of Government with regard to food production.

Now, what is the future? SHRI H. P.

SAKSENA: Bleak.

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: Yes. The country will require roughly about 80 million tons by 1961. Roughly some 15 per cent more of food should be produced. There is going to be a deficit and there is no doubt about that. But we cannot determine the magnitude of this deficit, because your policies are not based on firm facts. It is a guess work, as to what this deficit will be. He will say that much and I will say this much. History will decide whose guess work is correct. I personally feel that we will not produce in the next five years the amount of food we are expecting, our wishful thinking apart. Therefore, I want that a determined effort should be made by Government in order to bring about a national drive, in order to rouse the people to an effort to produce more. If that is to be done, the entire approach of the Government to the agrarian problems, the problems of land-relations and so on have got to be changed. That's what I want to emphasise. The agrarian laws, some of them, are good. I do not deny that. In certain areas some concessions have been given to the peasants. I am not one of those who go on denying everything. But these laws are rather halting and the biggest complaint that I have about these laws is that they have not unleashed the forces of production. They have not roused the enthusiasm of the masses of our people for increased production. More shall have to be done if you want to move millions and millions of people in order to produce more food. These agrarian laws have not brought about structural changes in the agrarian economy, the basic changes that are needed. Today still the small cultivator is the

core of our agricultural system. He is poor and he has no money to invest or to take to intensive cultivation. You talk of intensive cultivation. Who will do it? I will give certain facts here. They are not my figures, but they are figures taken from Government reports. Five per cent of the total land-owners who own more than 30 acres each hold more than 30 per cent of the land in our country. That is concentration of the land in the hands of 5 per cent of land-owners of the whole country. They hold 30 per cent of the land. On the other hand 80 per cent of the people who hold less than 15 acres each have in their possession 40 per cent of the total land in the country. These are government figures, as I said. Let us take separate figures for the States. Sir, I will not take more than two minutes.

2 P.M.

In Andhra, peasants cultivating less than five acres number 66 per cent, of the peasants and they hold about 18 per cent, of the land. In Bombay, 51 per cent, own less than five acres and they hold 10 per cent, of the land; in Madhya Pradesh 59 per cent, of the peasants hold 13 per cent, of the land; in Madras 67 per cent, hold 20 per cent, of land. In Hyderabad 32 per cent, hold 4 per cent, of the land.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. N. SAPRU): Why not have co-operative farming?

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: That may be done but that again creates problems.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Ask them.

SHRI NAWAB SINGH CHAUHAN (Uttar Pradesh): What is the average production?

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: I do not have the figures but I think he will be able to give it. I think about 20 to 30 per cent, of the population is more or less landless. In these conditions, you are talking of sending teams of professors

and students to make a drive. What, will they do? The people have not got the resources to undertake intensive cultivation; the people have not got the money. All the money allotted for Development purposes is taken away by people who have influence, who can manoeuvre, who can get recommendations or who can bribe. All this money goes away to people who have influence, who can go to the officers, who have direct access to the Ministers, but the poor peasants of Balia and Gorakhpur, where will they go? They do not know where to go and, in these conditions, Sir, I submit that intensive cultivation is extremely difficult, unless you direct your expenses in a manner that it is the poor man, it is the small cultivator, it is the man who is the actual tiller of the soil who gets the advantage of that. He is not getting that advantage now. If taccavi is asked for, the poor man will not get it because he has not got the resources to pay it back. They will not give it to him because they say, "You cannot repay the taccavi". If a well is to be dug, it is not the poor man who will get it. You talk of better farms, model farms and all the rest. What do the model farms represent in Punjab? In Punjab, the Government spent Rs. 55 lakhs by giving this sum as loan to the big zamindars for the purchase of tractors but, Sir, let us see the amount of land that is cultivated. The area of the land cultivated with the help of these tractors comes to 1.5 per cent, of the total. My point is this: There is enough money; you have got money but you are wasting that money. Crores and crores of rupees are being spent on imports. Direct those crores in a judicious manner for some time to the poorer peasants. Lakhs and lakhs of acres of land are lying everywhere uncultivated. There is land in my State. I should say that there are at least thirty lakhs of acres of land in my State, U.P., which can be brought under the plough easily provided it is given to the peasants, provided money is given to the peasants to cultivate it. but then land will not be given because proprietary rights

[Shri Z. A. Ahmad] are there; the proprietary rights of the individuals, the proprietary rights of the panchayats, the proprietary rights of this or that person who will not allow the distribution of this land to those people. Ask the people to go and occupy the lands. Give them cheap water. In U.P. it is a strange contradiction that more tube-wells have been dug, more canals are there but the total irrigated land has shrunk by seven lakh acres. Nobody will understand as to why the total irrigated area is shrinking. Why? The point is that while you increase the water supply, you increase taxation also and there are peasants, poor peasants who will draw water from the wells rather than go and get it from the canal because they cannot afford to pay the heavy water rates. All these things are there. Therefore, Sir, let there be a different approach to the whole problem of land redistribution; let a ceiling be put on the land: let ejections of peasants which are taking place in various parts of the country be stopped. In Bombay a very good tenancy law has been passed, but what is the result? Fortyfive per cent, of the peasants have been ejected. In Hyderabad about 52 to 53 per cent, have been ejected. The zamindars in many places have been given the right to resume land for self-cultivation and this is the loophole through which they eject the peasants. "Sirdars", in U.P., I know, have got rights, but a very large number of these sirdars have been ousted because the land records prepared by the Patwaris were wrong. Therefore, a proper approach to the problem of land distribution is necessary. Do not run after the big farmers whose conferences are held from time to time here, who always talk about increase in prices of food because they want more profits. Go after the smaller man and make him feel that it is necessary to increase production. The consolidation of holdings is going on in U.P. Each district will take six to seven years to complete the consolidation of hold'ngs. and for six or seven years there will be absolutely no incentive. When I do

I not know whether I will retain that particular piece of land or not, why

I should I resort to intensive cultivation? That will be the attitude. Therefore, Sir, I want that a new approach of radical land legislation should be adopted by the Government. Along with this, you must make the people feel that Mother Earth will yield wealth but that it will yield wealth for the tiller of the soil, not for being looted by the moneylenders, by the Government through taxation and by landlords. Let him have that confidence and he will give his best. Otherwise, he will look to the Government and will be dependent.

I will finish now because I find that you are getting impatient. This is my submission, Sir, I welcome the appeal that my old friend, Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain, has made for cooperation. I can assure him that full cooperation will come from our side. I can assure him that while in the House we may hit against each other and there are certain formalities to be observed . . .

SHRI A. P. JAIN: So, that is only a formality? I am glad to know that.

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: ... we shall always be prepared to sit and talk as man to man, but there should be a process of give and take. It pains my heart when I see that in U.P, where prices have actually soared up, where atta is being sold at 1J seers for a rupee the Chief Minister would not sit with me. He will not consider it within his dignity to come and sit with me and talk to me about the food problem. No, Sir, that approach will not do. If you want really to solve this food problem, let us not meet here alone but let us also go to the districts and to the villages to see that this unity takes place. Let us rouse our people, let us bring them together Let the common man feel that his future is in his own hands, that the land is his, that the product of the land is his, that Mother Earth, India, will give him gold, so that we shall not starve and suffer but shall march far-ward as a prosperous and great people.

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU (Madras): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am glad that the hon. Food Minister had placed the cards very frankly before us. Sir, I do not have much grievance about the manner in which the available food is distributed in the country but my grievance is that the problem of agriculture has not been properly tackled. For that, Sir, I cannot throw the blame on the Minister of Agriculture. As a matter of fact, the blame will have to be thrown on somebody who is responsible for planning all these things in the country. Sir, in the first Five Year Plan, great emphasis was laid on the development of agriculture. Under the first Five Year Plan, in a total plan outlay of Rs. 2,200 crores, Rs. 220 crores, that is nearly 10 per cent, was set apart for agriculture, and at the time when the second Five Year Plan was on the anvil, it was thought that the food problem had been solved in the country. The Planning Commission probably thought that setting apart a small amount of less than 10 per cent will be sufficient to meet the country's demand. Sir, as a result of it, we are now seeing the plight of the agriculturists in the country, the way in which agriculturists are put to great hardships in the matter of raising foodgrains. In the second Five Year Plan when the total plan outlay is about Rs. 4,800 crores we find only a sum of Rs. 340 crores has been set apart for agriculture. It does not work out even to 7 per cent. How is it possible? In a country like ours where the population increase is on an average about five millions a year it will be absolutely impossible to feed the growing millions of the population in our country. The policy that is followed in the matter of agriculture is not to my satisfaction. The hon. Minister frankly said that the demand is 15 lakh tons of fertilisers for the year but the actual availability is only 8½ lakh tons. Last year the demand was 14 lakh tons and the availability was 10 lakh tons. He also said that our people are fertiliser-minded. If people are fertiliser-minded, if we want to grow more food, then more fertilisers must be made available to the

agriculturists. It is only then that it will be possible for the agriculturists to grow more food. I do not know who is responsible for not placing enough funds for the import of fertilisers. It should naturally be the Planning Commission and I wonder why the Planning Commission has not thought of this vital problem and why it had not set apart more funds for the import of fertilisers. Without fertilisers, I must say frankly as a practical agriculturist that we are not going to increase the yield per acre in the country. The yield per acre is going to be diminished further and further and we would be eternally dependent on imports of food and there will be a huge expenditure on importing foodgrains. Sir, just imagine, if only this PL. 480—the agreement that is entered into with America—had not been there, our foreign exchange would have been drained to the extent of nearly Rs. 150 crores every year. It is because of PL. 480 that we are spending only about Rs. 40 crores by way of foreign exchange every year, and if that PL. 480 were not there I am sure our entire foreign exchange resources would have been spent on [the import of food alone, and nothing else, and all our developmental schemes would have been at a standstill.

Again, let us analyse the policy that is followed in the matter of minor irrigation schemes in the various States. The money allotted for this purpose last year amounted to Rs. 16 crores and it was said time and again on the floor of the House and elsewhere that we can increase our food production only by spending more on minor irrigation works, but what is the amount set apart this year? Again the same amount of Rs. 16 crores odd has been set apart. If that be the case, how on earth this Planning Commission—or whoever is responsible for planning agriculture in the country— can increase food production, I cannot understand. These are some of the important things that I would like to mention, and unless proper concentration is made on these two aspects, namely, availability of more fertilisers

[Shri P. S. Rajagopal Naidu] and spending more money on minor irrigation works, we are not going to improve our agriculture at all and we would be eternally dependent on imports of food and thereby there would be a huge drain on our foreign exchange resources. Sir, it is a matter of shame to us that our country—predominantly an agricultural country, where 70 per cent, of the population happen to be agriculturists—should be dependent upon foreign countries for the import of food. Let us compare ourselves with China which probably was more or less in the same position some years back. Now it is said that they have solved their food problem. They have solved their food problem not merely by land legislation or fixing of ceilings and all that, but by using more fertilisers, by intensive cultivation and thereby increasing their yield per acre. It is only that way they have solved their food problem, and unless we follow effectively the example of our neighbouring countries—the manner in which they have grown more food—we are not going to solve our food problem at all.

Sir, I find much emphasis had been laid on statistics. The previous speaker has also said that not much reliance should be placed on statistics. I am also of the same opinion that one should not place much reliance on statistics. For instance—it is subject to correction—after going through this White Paper that has been distributed to us, I find that, in the year 1953-54, when the net production of cereals remained at 50.99 million tons, our import of cereals remained at 0.81 million tons, but in the year 1956-57 when the net production was more or less the same—50.09 million tons—our imports amounted to 3.58 million tons. I would like to know whether this import of 3.58 million tons in 1956-57 has increased the *per capita* calories intake. It is not so. On the other hand, it has gone down by 20; nor does the increase in population within these three years warrant the import of 3.5 million tons of foodgrains into the country. This really shows that the statisticians are really *res-*

ponsible for all these calamities. It is said that reliance is not placed on the village accountants or patwaris in the matter of collecting statistics relating to food production in the country. It is said that random sample surveys are made to assess the yield of foodgrains in the country. Sir, we should not very much rely upon the random sample surveys even. There should be some sort of method by which the production of food in the country could be assessed, and I am sure experience has shown that reliance upon either the patwaris' accounts or on the random sample surveys has thoroughly failed us and the statistics that have come before us have clearly misled the position in the country.

Again, I am not able to reconcile the figures that are given in Appendix I with those given in Appendix III in the White Paper. Taking 1949-50 as the base agriculture year, the index number of production of cereals in 1953-54 is 120.1 and the net availability for that year as per Appendix I is 50.99 million tons. If you see the figures for 1957-58 the index number of production of cereals is 108.3 but the net production remained almost the same, namely, 50.09 million tons. Sir, how could it be? When the index number of production of cereals has gone down from 120.1 to 108.3, I do not understand how the net production remained the same almost. When the index number of production goes down, the net production would also go down and the availability will be less. So I am not able to reconcile the figures that are given in Appendix I with those in Appendix III and my confusion increased when I was trying to reconcile the production figures with the index numbers.

Then there is one important thing, which the members in the Opposition will have to bear in mind, and that is, not to make the food issue a political issue. Unfortunately, Opposition members are trying to make capital out of the temporary situation that has arisen in the country, particularly in U.P., Bihar and other areas, and they are trying to make this a political issue.

Sir, this should not be treated as a political issue; this should be treated as a national issue. I was simply surprised to read in yesterday's papers about the way in which the Opposition wants to tackle the food problem in the country. I would like to read a particular passage from the "Hindustan Times" about what Dr. Lohia has said. If that is the way in which Dr. Lohia wants to tackle the food situation in the country, I am really sorry that the Socialist party of which Dr. Lohia is the leader is pursuing an immoral policy in the country. In my opinion, the agitation should not be political; the Opposition parties should not make a political agitation. I am sure no political party can build up its strength on such an agitation which is absolutely immoral. Food situation certainly, Sir, cannot be exploited to meet party ends. I am referring to Dr. Lohia's *ghera dalo* campaign about which I was surprised to read the other day in the "Hindustan Times". What he says is:

"According to a directive finalized here by Dr. Lohia, the failure of these Governments to feed four crores of persons daily should be followed by a campaign to throw out the Governments by mass demonstrations demanding resignation of the Ministries. Side by side, the Socialists will incite the people to step up the encirclement movement throughout these four adjoining States. They will be asked to besiege tehsil and district headquarters and other Government establishments, including armouries and ammunition depots.

Party workers have been directed to carry on "*ghera dalo*" campaign with comparatively strong men. They have, however, been asked to remain non-violent and offer themselves for arrest on a mass scale.

In rural areas, Government foodgrain godowns, fair price shops and hoarders' stocks would be seized by the villagers. Wherever possible, they would be asked to prepare an inventory of the commodities in cap-

tured godowns and then arrange for their distribution."

This is the way in which Dr. Lohia wants to tackle the food problem and here on the floor of the House, the Opposition Members just say that there will be co-operation on their part and that nothing will be wanting on their part to solve the food problem. There should not be two standards in the matter of the food problem in the country.

Now, Sir, I have to disagree with the opinion of the Minister in regard to the formation of zones in the country for the distribution of food. The main strategy according to the White Paper for distribution of food in the country is to create more or less self-sufficient zones and to segregate heavily deficit areas or other important consuming centres where the Government should release adequate stocks of foodgrains from the Central reserve. Now, Sir, taking the southern zone comprising Madras, Mysore, Kerala and Andhra States, if we apply this principle that is laid down in the White Paper, I am sure that we cannot apply with any force these principles to these four southern States. Now it is accepted by everybody that Madras and Mysore are more or less self-sufficient. Everybody knows in the country that Kerala is highly deficit and the whole country knows that Andhra is surplus in rice production. Now, Sir, if this principle is to be applied, Madras should be a separate zone by itself, because it is self-sufficient more or less. Mysore should be a separate zone by itself because it is self-sufficient more or less. Kerala, being a highly deficit area, should be cordoned off. It should be a separate zone by itself and it should be completely segregated from the rest of the States with regard to food distribution. And Andhra being a surplus State should also be segregated. But I do not know why in this principle . . .

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: What would you do with your surplus stocks

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: I will come to that.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: . . . if some deficit areas are not added?

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: That is why I said the surplus area will be a separate zone and the Government can certainly procure foodgrains by paying enough price at the time of the harvest, keep a buffer stock and take these surplus foodgrains to deficit States like Kerala or any other State. For instance, let me analyse how the zonal system is not working properly. Three lakh tons of rice had been supplied to Kerala, that was procured in Andhra. Now, Kerala and Andhra are in one and the same zone and there should be free movement of foodgrains. But with all that the foodgrains had not moved from Andhra to Kerala.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: May I correct the hon. Member? What I said was that before the formation of the zone large quantities were supplied, but after the creation of the zone, very much smaller quantities, about 20 per cent, had been supplied.

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: I am glad that only very little quantity had been supplied. But I am giving these figures from the statement that was made by the Minister of Agriculture of Madras on the floor of the House three days back. If his figures are wrong, then I am sorry. Again it is said by the hon. Food Minister that there was general agreement between the Centre and all the States with regard to the formation of the zones. But I find that it is exactly the opposite what the Minister for Food and Agriculture of Madras has said. What the Madras Minister said is this. The Minister said that the Madras Government all along maintained that Madras State by itself should be constituted into a zone so that they might not be affected by the fluctuations in the food situation in the adjoining States. But the Government of India were not agreeable to these suggestions. Their view was that in the Southern Zone, Madras and Mysore were fairly self-sufficient while Kerala was highly deficit and Andhra had a food surplus of 5 or 6 lakh tons.

So the view of the Central Government was that the Southern zone as a whole would be almost self-sufficient in good years and free flow of foodgrains need not be interfered with. I just want to give some figures and show how the creation of zones has affected the producers. It would have certainly benefited the consumers to a certain extent, but the creation of food zones has certainly affected the producers. As one interested in the producers I feel that unless better incentives are given to the producers, unless better prices are offered to the producers, there will not be incentive on the part of the producers to grow more food. Now why should the grower in Andhra, Mysore or Madras get a less price for his produce when compared to the price paid in Bihar, Punjab or Uttar Pradesh? Why should there be that discrimination between the producers in one area and in another area? The creation of zones has certainly affected the producers in that certain producers in the southern States get very low prices whereas producers in the northern States get more price?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. N. SAPRU): It affects the consumers also..

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: It has affected the consumers because of the creation of zones. If only these zones had not been created, the rice from surplus States like Andhra would have certainly flowed all over India. The prices would not be at this level but it would have certainly come down. The consumers in the north would have got it at prices cheaper than what exist now and at the same time the producers would have got better prices. So, there would have been a sort of equilibrium between the prices available to the producers and the prices of foodgrains available to the consumers.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: What about the consumers in Andhra?

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: Now, the net result of this creation of the zonal system is, as I have already said, that it has affected the producers

in certain areas, while it has benefited the producers in other areas. One should not see from the angle always of the consumers alone. The problem has to be viewed from the producers' angle also. Unless better incentives are given to the producers, I am sure we will not increase agricultural production in the country.

Then, Sir, I do not want to get into the figures, lest it should take up my time. I just want to inform the House about the price that the producer is getting in the south, when compared to the price that the producer is getting in the north. Take, for instance, the price of second grade rice in Madras for the month of August 1958; it is Rs. 20 per maund; in Calcutta, it is Rs. 2625; and in Bihar Rs. 25-75. Viewed from the angle of the producers, it is the producer who stands to lose at the rate of Rs. 5 to Rs. 6 per maund. Viewed from the angle of the consumer, it is a fact that the consumers in the south are certainly benefited by getting foodgrains at a lower price level. But it should not be forgotten that better prices should be offered to the producers, to create an incentive for the producers to grow more food.

Then take, for instance, the movement of foodgrains within the zone, the southern zone. From Andhra to Madras, the movement was in the year 1954-55, 91,542 tons; in 1955-56, 33,719 tons; in 1956-57, 33,036 tons; and 1957-58, 19,070 tons. Then, from Madras to Kerala—Kerala State seems to take every available surplus from Madras—the movement of rice has been as follows:—

	<i>Tons</i>
1954-55	.. 1,12,600
1955-56	.. 2,28,800
1956-57	.. 2,29,900
1957-58	.. 2,16,000

It almost remains the same. The rice that flows from Madras to Kerala is more or less at the same level, two lakh tons, but the rice that is to flow from Andhra to Madras has gone down considerably.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE (SHRI A. M. THOMAS) : Because there is larger production in Madras.

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: May be that there is larger production, but the consumers in Madras and surrounding areas say that the Nellore rice that used to flow liberally all these days is not flowing, and God alone knows where the Nellore rice is going.

Then, Sir, I had already dealt with the fertiliser position. What the agriculturist needs is more credit and credit at the time when he needs it. No doubt, Sir, by way of issue of taccavi loans the credit problems are solved to a certain extent. But the agriculturist is not getting the loan at the time when he needs it. There is enormous delay in the matter of issue of taccavi loans. Similarly the loans issued by the co-operatives, though they form a very small percentage of the requirements of the agriculturists, are not sufficient at all, and what either the co-operatives need or the Government needs in the matter of issue of the loans is credit-worthiness on the part of the agriculturist. If an agriculturist is having a sufficient worth of property, it is only then he is able to get the loan either from the Government or from the co-operative, but the poor cultivator, a tenant, is not able to get any credit at all. Of course, it is said that the Government is taking steps to secure enough credit for the tenants also. But unfortunately not much headway has been made, and only when enough credit facilities are made available to the tenants who are not having any lands it can be said that better credit has been made available to the agriculturists in the country.

Then, Sir, minor irrigation works. With regard to minor irrigation works, I am sorry to say that the Planning Commission have not allotted enough funds. As I have already said, though there is a hue and cry from every State for allotting more funds for the purpose of minor irrigation works, yet for

[Shri P. S. Rajagopal Naidu] reasons best known to the Planning Commission enough funds have not been made available. I do not know why the Planning Commission should be so niggardly in the matter of allotment of funds for the minor irrigation works. It is said that a very high percentage of increase in food production has to be achieved by spending money on minor irrigation works. I am sure, Sir, that if more funds are made available for this purpose, there will be more increase in production and thereby the agriculturists will be benefited. Sir, I am sure you are looking at me. and I will finish in five minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. N. SAPRU): You have taken nearly half an hour.

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: Only five minutes more, Sir.

Then my friend had been speaking about agrarian reforms. Unfortunately I hold a different view with regard to agrarian reforms. In my view the pattern of agrarian reforms enunciated by the Planning Commission is affecting agricultural production. The result of it is fourfold according to me: a catastrophic fall in land value, drying up of flow of capital in agriculture, a decline in interest in cultivation amongst sections of the intelligentsia who are attached to the land all along, and lastly a fall in the agricultural yield. The harping of the Planning Commission on the fixation of a ceiling on land as the panacea for the problems of the landless is yet another doctrinaire proposal which has no relation to the real problem of increasing agricultural production. That is my personal view, and unless this cry for agrarian reforms is stopped, it will affect food production in the country.

Then, Sir, I shall deal with co-operative farming. I find that the Planning Commission has come out with a scheme of starting about 3,000 co-operative farms in the country. I do not know, probably it is 600 or 3,000. The State Governments are asked to go ahead with the formation of co-opera-

tive farms. As a co-operator I know, Sir, the lack of enthusiasm amongst the co-operators, much more so amongst landless poor or the agriculturist, in organising a co-operative society in the pattern that is required by the Planning Commission. Recently, Sir, in a Soviet journal, it is said that collectivism in Russia had failed. In China also, it is said that co-operative farms are being converted into communes. When that is the state of affairs in countries which had been all along pursuing the policy of collective farming, I wonder why we should make a start of it now in our country, and the earlier the idea of collective co-operative farming is given up the better. But at the same time, Sir, I should say that co-operatives should be encouraged. Co-operatives in the form of giving credit, marketing the supplies—in all these ways the agriculturists may be benefited by organisation of co-operatives. But this collective farming is the one which I am opposed to. I am sure the Government after experimentation soon will give up this proposal, and I am sure the Reserve Bank is also of the same opinion in the matter.

The hon. Minister has dealt with the question of how the water which has been stored up in large dams had not been utilised. It is said that it will take some time for these waters to be utilised because of the delay in the construction of feeder channels. If such heavy dams and huge dams had been constructed in two or three years, it will not take a long time either for the State Governments or for the agriculturists themselves, if there is proper enthusiasm on their part, to construct the feeder channels, so that the waters that are stored up in the huge reservoirs may be taken directly to the land and thereby the food production may be increased.

Sir, only one matter, and I shall conclude with that. There is not that much of enthusiasm amongst the officers who are in charge of Agriculture in the State Governments. I know there are certain villages which for years together not even a single

agricultural demonstrator has visited. I know even when the cattle will be dying of diseases and pests the veterinary doctor will not be visiting. There should be a change of mind on the part of these officers. They should feel that they are one with the villagers. They should go to the villages and live with them. But unfortunately they are urban people and they know that, whether they do the work properly or not, they would be paid by the Government. I do not know what is the method by which we can change the mentality of these officers who are in charge of Agriculture in the State Governments. There should be some method for that, and then only the agriculturists will be benefited. The Government should see that the officers run to the agriculturists, and the agriculturists do not run to the officers for anything and everything, or run away from them.

Then, Sir—I am sorry if I take one or two minutes more—the availability of tractors and boring sets. If the well gets dried up, there may be a boring set available, but authorities may say it is under repair, that, this and all that. By the time the boring set gets repaired there will be rains again and there will be water in the well. So what we need is more agricultural implements, and the implements should be made available at the right time.

In conclusion, I shall read only one paragraph from what the World Bank has said about how to increase food production in the country, and I feel that it rightly applies to our needs and exigencies at the present moment. The following is from the report of the World Bank:

"Proper application of known techniques in conjunction with the possible expansion of irrigation and the cultivated area, could increase India's agricultural output four or five-fold. By the time that has been achieved, new techniques will have been evolved and the way will be open for further progress.

63 RSD—6.

Results of the crop competitions organised for the Grow More Food Campaign show yields about seven times higher than the local average. India's yields are at present among the lowest in the world; with the labour force available they could be among the highest. There is thus a great deal of scope for progress that is technically easy but is retarded by poverty and ignorance. As progress becomes technically more difficult, the rate will be maintained by the increasing power of educational forces that will develop more slowly."

SHRI BISWANATH DASS (Orissa): Just a word of clarification from you. Sir. The Deputy Chairman announced in this House that the allotted time is six hours and he also announced that a number of speakers were there and that he could not allow more than ten to fifteen minutes each. Now, two speakers have taken about 21 hours. Am I to understand that the time is being extended?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. N. SAPRU) : So far as Dr. Ahmad was concerned, his time comes from the time allotted to the Communist Party. They put him forward as their principal speaker and there is going to be a cut in their time.

SHRI BISWANATH DASS: But what I wanted to know is whether there is any extension of time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. N. SAPRU) : There is an extension of time because, actually, we are going to have nine hours instead of six.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE (Bombay): Sir, the hon. Food Minister in his preliminary remarks has mentioned that due to the recent policy adopted and the steps taken by the Government there has been decline in the prices of foodgrains. He has quoted certain instances, of certain places wherein, he says, there has been a decline in prices. I am not sure whether this can be said regarding all the places in the country

[Shri B. D. Khobaragade.]

because, in my own region, that is, Vidarbha which is part of the Bombay State, prices of foodgrains are still soaring very high. There is no reduction in food prices. They are soaring higher and higher. Therefore, the statement by the hon. Food Minister that there has been an all-round decline in food prices is not, in my opinion, a correct one. In the recent past, the prices of foodgrains have been increasing day by day. Poor people who formerly used to spend about 60 to 70 per cent, of their earnings on foodgrains are not able to get one square meal a day. That is the situation in the country, and therefore, there has been an agitation going on, so that the Government can take adequate steps to reduce the prices of foodgrains. There is no doubt that there has been a food crisis in the country. I think this has been admitted by the hon. Minister himself. I think he has pleaded guilty to so many charges. He has admitted that even though the production of foodgrains increased, it was not up to the mark. He has admitted that the irrigation potential that was created was not fully utilised: only 50 or 60 per cent, of the irrigation potential has been so far utilised. He has only just now expressed that the procurement of foodgrains has been very recently started. All these factors taken together point to one conclusion and that conclusion is that there has been a dismal failure of the food policy pursued by the Government. I just want to know who is responsible for this food crisis in the country. Of course I have been reading carefully the White Paper on Food Situation which was issued by the Food Ministry. I think, a month back. I have listened to the speech of the Food Minister also. But I have not been able to understand what are the causes for the present food crisis which could have been averted. My answer to this question is, had the Government taken adequate steps at the right and proper moment, there would not have been any food crisis at all. In this White Paper, I have

tried to find out what are the reasons for this food crisis. I thought I might get some food for thought from the White Paper. But just as we have been experiencing food famine throughout the whole country during the past few days, I have also been experiencing the same sort of thing— the famine of food for thought in that particular White Paper.

Well, Sir, it has been mentioned there that the food crisis is due to two reasons. The first is the incessant demand and the second is that we cannot meet our demand because our agricultural production is depending on the vagaries and caprices of nature. May I know, Sir, whether the Food Minister did not know that there would be an increase in demand? Did not the Food Minister know that due to the many development schemes, plans and programmes, the purchasing power of the people would be increased? Did not the hon. Minister know that there was every year an increase in population, which is the main reason for the increase in demand? Did not the hon. Minister know that last year's kharif crops were absolutely damaged due to droughts in some parts of the country and due to floods in other parts of country? Did he not know that the rabi crop was not satisfactory? May I know, Sir, what steps the hon. Minister took? If we take all these factors into consideration, any person who had foresight would have visualised that due to the vagaries of nature during the rainy season of 1957, the whole agricultural crop could completely be a failure and he would have taken adequate and proper measures. What should he have done? The first thing there should have been compulsory procurement. But I think that was not done. Just now, it has been mentioned that compulsory procurement was started only very recently. The hon. Food Minister has quoted certain figures. I think it is about 3.5 lakhs tons that have been procured by the Central Government and 1.87 lakh tons procured

by the State Governments. The total is 5-37 lakh tons. But the hon. Minister has conveniently omitted to mention what the percentage of the foodgrains procured is. Well, Sir, during the last year, the foodgrains produced in this country amounted to 62 million tons. So, the ratio of foodgrains procured to the production in this country is only one to 100, that is, only one per cent. He mentioned in his speech "that he was not ashamed of this achievement. Well, he has procured only one per cent, of foodgrains and - he says that he is not ashamed of it. I think, considering the failure of crops last year, necessary steps should have been taken for procuring at least 10 per cent, of the total foodgrains during the last season. I think by that way we would have been able to avert the present crisis.

The second thing is this. As there was only very little supply of foodgrains, not adequate to meet the increasing demand, the Government should have opened fair price shops' at the proper time. Of course, it has been mentioned that fair price shops have been opened on a large scale now. Even then, I do not think that the number of these shops would be able to meet the ever increasing demand of the people. But my point is this. Why did not the Government take this step earlier? Had the Government taken this step earlier, it would have been able to check the prices of foodgrains and certain stocks of foodgrains would have been available to the people. The prices of foodgrains would have been lowered down. Any prudent Government would have taken all those steps much earlier. But the hon. Food Minister did not take those steps in the proper time. And the result is that today we "have to face this food crisis. The policy of the Government is not a proper and a good policy. The Government is always complacent and inactive. The Government wakes up only when there is a grave crisis and then also it takes some temporary measures and not any long-term measures. There is no long-term policy

regarding our agricultural production. It must be noted that during the past so many years we have been importing foodgrains. The hon. Minister has stated that it would not be possible to import foodgrains in our country for a sufficiently long time. In the past also we had been hearing that our country would become self-sufficient after such and such period. But the result is that even after 12 years of our independence we have not been able to make our country self-sufficient in the matter of foodgrains. My submission is that in the next few years also, say five or ten years, we will not be able to achieve that self-sufficiency in the matter of foodgrains. And we will have therefore to import certain quantities of foodgrains from abroad, if, of course, we do not want to starve our millions and millions of people. The only alternative will be to import foodgrains. Sir, I would not like to take the time of the House. But we know it that from the year 1950-51 onwards till the year 1957-58 there have been large imports of foodgrains in this country. If we have to learn something from our past experience, it is only this that in future also we will have to import foodgrains from abroad.

Therefore, Sir, there is one thing which the Government can do in this connection. The Government should enter into a long-term agreement with some foreign countries from where we can get a regular supply of foodgrains. That is a most important thing which we can do, because my own opinion is that in the next few years, say, five or ten years, our country will not become self-sufficient and there won't be any increasing production. And, Sir, when the demand is ever increasing, then the only alternative is that we must either import foodgrains or we must starve our own people. And if we do not want to starve our own people, we must import foodgrains for them. Therefore it is better to have a long-term agreement with some of the foreign countries, for example, with Burma or the United States, from where we can

[Shri B. D. Khobaragade.] get our required quantities of foodgrains.

Then, Sir, with regard to our production front in the country itself, there should also be a long-term policy. The first thing that is required is that the agriculturist must feel assured that he would be able to get a fair and adequate return for his labour. What happens now is this. Immediately after the harvest is over, the poor cultivator is robbed. His foodgrains are purchased at miserably low prices by the merchants and later on these merchants earn huge profits. So for that purpose the agriculturist, who is labouring so hard, must be assured a fair return for his hard labour. Well, Sir, such things have happened in the past. In 1954-55, I think the agricultural production was very satisfactory. And, Sir, what was the result? The prices tumbled down to an extremely low level. The Asoka Mehta Committee has stated that the prices were terribly low in 1954-55. It has stated that in June 1955 the all-India price index had fallen by 29 per cent, and the prices declined to a very substantial extent. Some prevailing prices in certain areas have been quoted. It is Rs. 5 per maund of rice at Imphal, Rs. 13 per maund in Kerala. The wheat price in Rewa was Rs. 10 per maund; in Kanpur, it was Rs. 9-8-0 per maund. Such terribly low prices were offered for the foodgrains which were produced through the hard labour of the agriculturists. So the first and foremost thing to be done is this. The agriculturist must be assured a fair return for his labour. What happened as a result of these very low prices then? They affected the production of foodgrains. When the agriculturists were scared that they would not get a fair return for their labour, they diverted their attention to other cash crops, and therefore there was a fall in production.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P.N. SAPRU) : The hon. Member has taken about eighteen minutes or so. Just be brief.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: I will take only about five or six, minutes more, because I want to mention just two or three important points.

I would like to suggest that if we want to raise our production, we must have intensive and extensive cultivation. For intensive cultivation we must equip the agriculturist with better irrigation facilities, good seeds, manures and fertilisers. In this respect also, our experience in the past has not been satisfactory. The Government has not been able to supply fertilisers in adequate quantities to the farmers. The demand for fertilisers is about 15 lakh tons, whereas the Government has been able to provide only 11 lakh tons of fertilisers. It should have been the policy of the Government to provide more and more fertilisers. Instead of constructing so many beautiful buildings and magnificent palaces like the-Ashoka Hotel the Government should have constructed two or three more fertiliser factories like the Sindri fertiliser factory. In that way we would have been able to provide the farmers with more fertilisers and that is very essential ' these days. The irrigation potential that has been created during the First Five Year Plan has also not been fully utilized. It has been mentioned in the Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan that at the end of the First Plan against the target of 8.5 million acres irrigation potential amounting to 6.3 million acres had been created but the actual area irrigated was however only 4 million acres. Such a criminal waste of irrigation potential has been made. What are the reasons? The State Governments did not take adequate steps to get the distribution canals constructed. In the future when we are creating irrigation potential, simultaneously we must take steps to construct the distribution canals as well. It is very essential

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P.N. SAPRU) : There are a large number

of speakers and the hon. Members j should co-operate with me.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: I will not take more than 2 or 3 minutes. About extension of cultivation, lakhs and lakhs of acres of waste lands are lying waste in the whole country. They should be brought under cultivation. If we have to bring that into cultivation, my submission to the Government is that they should give these free of cost to the landless labourers and particularly to the labour who belong to the scheduled castes and Buddhists. It will solve three problems by following this policy. It will solve the food problem, it will solve the problem of landless labourers and it will solve the economic problem of the scheduled castes and Buddhists.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

Therefore all these waste lands should be given free of cost to these scheduled castes and Buddhists. Unless and until we have this intensive cultivation we will not be able to increase the food production. The Minister stated that there has been increase in production but he has not mentioned that there has been decrease in the average yield per acre. I will quote some figures. In India the average yield per acre for rice in 1954-55 was 723 lbs. per acre, in 1955-56 it was 782 lbs. and in 1956-57 it was 798 lbs. per acre. It means if you compare the figures of 1957-58 with those of 1954-55, there is a decrease in the average yield per acre and the same thing is there regarding wheat. In 1954-55 the average yield per acre.

SHRI A. M. THOMAS: Is not 57-58 an abnormal year?

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Maybe but regarding wheat production, there is decrease. In 1954-55 it was 715 lbs. per acre, in 1955-56 it was 640 lbs. and in 1956-57 it was only 617 lbs. If we want to solve the food problem, there are three or four points which should be taken into consideration by the Government. First there should

be fair price shops opened. There should be compulsory procurement, there should be reserve stock or buffer stocks in the possession of the Government which could be released when prices go up so that the price may come down, there should be intensive and extensive cultivation and we should bring into cultivation the waste lands and such waste lands should be given free of cost to the scheduled castes and Buddhists for cultivation.

श्रीमती सीता युधवीर (आंध्र प्रदेश) :

श्रीमान् आज हमारे सामने जो खाद्य समस्या उत्पन्न हुई है वह समस्या इतनी गहरी नहीं है जितनी कि आज हम उसको समझ रहे हैं। अभी मंत्री महोदय ने हमारे सामने जो आंकड़े रखे हैं उनसे हमें महसूस होता है कि खाद्य-उत्पादन में वृद्धि हो रही है। परन्तु फिर भी आज यह समस्या क्यों पैदा हुई है? जहां तक मैं समझती हूं इसके उत्तरदायी हमारे तीन दुश्मन हैं। हम यह महसूस करते हैं कि इस सम्बन्ध में सरकार उन्नति कर रही है और अच्छी तरह से कार्य कर रही है। सरकार के साथ ही साथ कुछ प्रदेश ऐसे हैं—जैसे कि आंध्र प्रदेश, पंजाब, विन्ध्य प्रदेश इत्यादि—जहां के किसान खूब मेहनत कर रहे हैं। कुछ प्रदेशों में ऐसी डेड लैंड्स थीं जहां पर कि पहले पैदावार नहीं होती थी—जैसे कि पंजीगुजरन जैसे स्थान हैं—लेकिन आज वहां पर भी पैदावार हो रही है। अब हमें यह देखना है कि किस वजह से कुछ विभागों में पैदावार की कमी महसूस हो रही है।

हमारा सब से पहला दुश्मन यह है कि हममें मेहनत का अभाव है और हम कृषि के जो आधुनिक साधन हैं उनको उपयोग में नहीं ला रहे हैं। हम अपने यहां ६० फीसदी अनाज पैदा करते हैं और केवल १० फीसदी अनाज बाहर से मंगाते हैं और हमारे यहां फी एकड़ करीब २५ मन गेहूं पैदा होता है। यदि हम मेहनत करके जहां पर १० मन अनाज पैदा होता है वहां पर ११ मन या १२ मन पैदा करें तो हमारे यहां १५ फीसदी, २० या

[श्रीमती सीता युधवीर]

३० फीसदी अनाज की वृद्धि होगी और हम यहाँ से—बाहर से अनाज मंगाने के बजाय—कुछ अनाज बाहर भेज सकते हैं। यह तो एक छोटा सा दुश्मन है। इसका मुकाबला हम कर सकते हैं। यदि हम मेहनत करें और जो कृषि के आधुनिक साधन हैं उनको उपयोग में लायें तो निश्चित रूप से अनाज में वृद्धि हो सकती है। मगर इससे एक बहुत बड़ा दुश्मन हमारा मुनाफा है। हमारे देश का अनाज जिन लोगों के पास जाता है वे लोग स्टॉक जमा करके रख लेते हैं और नकली कमी पैदा कर देते हैं जिसकी वजह से अनाज का भाव बढ़ जाता है। ये लोग एक तरफ तो किसानों और जमींदारों को उसका जो फल देना चाहिये वह नहीं देते हैं और दूसरी तरफ गरीब जनता का भी खून चूसते हैं। तो इनको रोकने के लिये कुछ कानून बनाना चाहिये। कुछ महीने पहले पंजाब में जो गेहूँ १२ ६० मन बिकता था वहीं गेहूँ कुछ ही दिन पहले ५० पी० में २५ से २७ ६० मन तक बिकने लगा। तो इसको रोकने के लिये कानून बनाने को जरूरत है। यहाँ तक कि अगर सरकार आवश्यक समझे तो इस अनाज को खुद ले ले और सरकार की ओर से ही इसको बांटा जाय। यह जो अनाज का प्राइवेट बिजनेस है उसको बन्द कर दिया जाय।

जैसा कि मैंने कहा, तीन दुश्मन हैं, तीसरे दुश्मन के बारे में मुझे कहते हुए बहुत अफसोस होता है क्योंकि उसको चाहिये कि देश की जो कठिन समस्या है उसको मित्र बन कर हल करे। मेरा मतलब उन अपोजीशन पार्टियों से है जो कि देश में खामख्वाह ऐसी कठिनाइयों पैदा करती हैं कि जिनकी वजह से एक फिजूल की कठिनाई पैदा हो करके जनता की मुसीबत और बढ़ जाती है। आज हम देखते हैं कि ५० पी० में अपोजीशन पार्टी के कुछ मੈम्बरों ने सत्याग्रह कर रखा है, जिसे कि मैं सत्याग्रह नहीं कहूँगी बल्कि दुराग्रह कहूँगी। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह नहीं है कि सब अपोजीशन

पार्टी के मेम्बर ऐसा करते हैं परन्तु कुछ मेम्बर जो कि ऐसा करते हैं वे अपने दिल को टटोल कर देखें कि क्या वे सचमुच देश की सेवा करते हैं या देश के साथ दुश्मनी करते हैं।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार) : उनको जेल में खाने को मिल जाता है।

श्रीमती सीता युधवीर : मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि अगर वे अपने रास्ते को साफ रखें और सचमुच देश की सेवा का मार्ग अपनायें और यह समझें कि देश में यह जो स्थिति है उस स्थिति को हमें सुधारना है तो निश्चय रूप से जो समस्या पैदा होती है वह एक क्षण के अन्दर हल हो सकती है। बाहर से हमारे देश में अनाज आता है और यहाँ भी काफी अनाज पैदा होता है और हमारा देश एक कृषि-प्रधान देश भी है तो फिर यह समस्या क्यों पैदा होती है? अगर इसकी गहराई में जायें तो सचमुच यह कोई समस्या नहीं है, मगर मैं समझती हूँ कि हमारे ये जो तीन मुख्य कारण हैं उनको वजह से ही यह समस्या उत्पन्न होती है। तो मेरी अपोजीशन के मेम्बर भाइयों से प्रार्थना है कि वे हमारे साथ मिल कर काम करें जिससे कि हम देश की उन्नति कर सकें और एक फिजूल सा सत्याग्रह करके देश को एक फिजूल कठिनाई में और अधिक उलझन में न डारें।

SHRI AHMAD SAID KHAN (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, food has become very important and not only the attention of Members of Parliament, but of the whole nation is concentrated now on the food question. Be it far from me to minimise the seriousness of the situation, but I respectfully submit that if it is wrong to minimise the seriousness of the situation, it is also wrong to exaggerate it in such a manner that instead, of solving the problem, it becomes a hindrance to its solution. When we exaggerate the position, what happens is people get panicky and out of panic;

they try to hoard more and more, and therefore, the situation deteriorates. I will request all my friends in the country not to make this food situation a play-thing in the political field. Let us get together and shoulder the responsibility and see it through. Sir, we heard an interesting statement made by the Food Minister. According to that statement there has been an increase of 28 per cent in our food production. That is creditable. It is still more creditable when we think that there are certain circumstances under which the Food Department had to work. First of all, it is wellknown that agriculture in India is a gamble in rains, and unfortunately during the last five years we had two bad years. The second factor is that the subject of agriculture is a State subject and we all know that progress in the production of foodgrains is impossible without improvement in the agricultural conditions. In our federal Constitution, the Union Minister can make only suggestions or recommendations. I do not think he can issue directions to the States. Then, as the hon. Minister himself referred in a passing way, there is the subject of irrigation. Without irrigation you cannot improve your agriculture. But the Food Minister has got nothing to do with irrigation. I learnt with sorrow that the facilities that were created by the Five Year Plan for irrigation were not fully utilised. Otherwise perhaps our food production might have gone up still higher. Then comes the Planning Commission which has the purse strings in its hands. In the First Five Year Plan, they gave about Rs. 196 crores and the percentage that they allotted to agriculture was much higher than what they allotted in the Second Plan. In the Second Plan it is true that they gave about Rs. 200 crores. But then in the First Plan they expected an increased production of 7.5 million tons. In the Second Plan, they hoped that the increase would be about 10 million tons. They revised it to 15 million tons. Now, how is it possible? If you put less sugar into the cup how do you expect the drink to be sweeter? Then comes the general fiscal policy of the Govern-

ment of India. In the First Plan we made heavy investments. Our economy could stand and bear it. But in the first year of the Second Plan the tendency towards inflation was apparent. Still by certain taxation policies, we raised the price index. With it went up wages, salaries and other things. How can the Food Minister control all these things? I think whatever has been achieved by the Food Department is creditable and still more so, when we remember the circumstances in which it was achieved.

Coming to the remedies, I would like to submit that it is true that at present the situation generally is better. The position is easy on account of the kharif harvest which is coming now into the market. And I think within another month the millets will be coming and also paddy. Therefore, I think the situation will continue to improve. But I would like to warn the Government that the improvement will continue only up to the end of December, and the months of January, February and March—these three months—will be the most difficult months for the country and for the Government because, whatever there is with the tenant, will all be used by him as seed. There will be very little of foodgrains left with the tenant. It will be a difficult time for the Government as well as for the people. I would respectfully like to warn the Government that it is their duty to utilise these two or three months for making their procurement either from outside or from within the country and be prepared for this difficult situation in January, February and March. I think that they can procure some foodgrains from stockholders. I was under the impression that they do not have very much stock, but the experience in the Punjab has shown that there is a certain amount of stock and a substantial stock, and I see no reason why it should not be bought by the Government. In the same way I think there is a certain amount of grain with some tenants also. The other day I went to my

[Shri Ahmad Said Khan.] village—Chhatari—and within two hours I could arrange for 300 maunds of coarse grains, willingly given by the people to be sold cheaper than the market rate. Therefore, I think if an effort is made, perhaps internally, so we could procure a certain quantity of foodgrains.

In the direction of long-term policy also I would suggest that the Government of India should make some sort of an organisation or create some machinery which may be able to coordinate the work of the Food Departments at the Centre, the Agricultural Department in the States and the Irrigation Department. And this machinery must be built up from the district level. There should be a committee in every district presided over by the District Magistrate with the Agricultural Officer as a member, the Irrigation Engineer as another member, in fact, associating all those who are in any way connected with agriculture and food. They should all be members so that there will be a coordinated policy, a streamlined policy. My second suggestion is this. Whenever we discuss the question of food, I have heard many of our leaders suggesting only two ways. The first is family planning. Sir, how can that solve the food question today?

Family planning, if it succeeds at all, may be able to do some good in fifteen years' time or in ten years' time but, Sir, how is it going to be of help today? As far as I am concerned, I think even in fifteen years' time, it will do no good because, first of all, we must educate our nation. People do not understand it. They are so poor that if they got some surplus money, instead of spending on the paraphernalia of family planning, they will buy some more foodgrains.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: It is a long-term solution.

SHRI AHMAD SAID KHAN: Even as a long-term measure, I am doubtful whether it will succeed. As far as today is concerned, it can be of no help.

There is another thing which is always talked about. It is the general cry of land reform. I would say here that the cry of land reform, instead of helping in increasing production, is causing hindrance to production. What is happening is this. In Uttar Pradesh, the consolidation of holdings is going on. It is a good thing, I agree, but if you were to ask the officers who are dealing with this question for the last two or three years, they will tell you that not an ounce of manure or fertiliser has been put into the land because the tiller is not sure whether the land will remain with him next year. That is one reason. Similarly, what is the effect of our talk about land reform and ceiling on lands? The effect is that the farmers are not putting their capital into the farm because they do not know when the Damocles Sword hanging over them will cut their neck. I think, Sir, these schemes should be kept in abeyance for the time being. It is well known that medicine is for the patient and not for the disease. If four patients are suffering from the same disease, the Doctor gives four different medicines according to the temperament, the need, the strength of the patient. It is no use saying that this is happening in China or that this is happening in Russia, and therefore, it should be good for India also. We are trying to progress by democratic means. We do not believe in regimentation and, if we do not believe in regimentation, then I think we cannot always adopt the same measures which are adopted by the totalitarian Governments.

I would like only to make this appeal. There should be a definite announcement for all the peasant that their security of tenure is guaranteed at least for ten years, that nobody is going to touch their lands for about ten years. After that, the Minister will see that food production will rise.

DR. P. J. THOMAS (Kerala): Mr. Deputy Chairman, our food problem, to my mind, is not so very serious as has been made out both by the Government and by the Opposition. It is

due chiefly to some lack of careful handling of this problem in the last few years perhaps, and also due to certain obsessions. Sir, floods and droughts have been going on in this country always and people have been adjusting their diet to suit such a situation by combining a large part of coarser grains and heavy vegetables with the so-called superior grains, rice and wheat. This is so because the coarser grains, and more than the coarser grains, the heavy vegetables, can be grown in large quantities in a small area. That way, when they found anything going wrong, they would adjust themselves. In my own part of the country, Kerala, I know how they avoid a crisis when there is the failure of the paddy crop. They "take other food like tapioca. Medical men have said that it is possible for the human body to adjust itself to any diet and that it is by no means necessary to eat rice and wheat so exclusively. The latter two especially cause diseases like diabetes, etc.

Thus, Sir, you will find that adjustments have been taking place, but unfortunately, there has been a change in this matter. What happened was that during the last War, the British Government, without a proper understanding of our own local conditions, supported by the local civilians also, started rationing in a full-fledged way and people who had never eaten much rice began getting 10 or 12 lb. of rice. That started a rage for eating rice particularly in the South and also in other parts of the country. There was then also an increase in the purchasing power of the people and naturally they went away from coarser grains to rice and wheat. Children at school found the upper classes eating rice and they also wanted to eat rice. Educated women took to rice and wheat, because it was easier to cook whereas the coarser grains had to be pounded with difficulty. This is what happened. This way, a great change took place in our dietary habits. When this was pointed out to the Government at that time by people like me,— it was pointed out to them that this

was dangerous,—they said, "Oh, well, we are constructing many multi-purpose projects, large river valley projects, etc." Big dams were constructed and much money was spent. Many of these dams have liberated water for irrigation purposes but many of our people are not utilising the water. Of course, something is being done, but the idea that irrigation is a panacea for food production is not quite right. In fact, irrigation causes some evil also. First of all, irrigation depends on water and we have experience in the South that unless there is water by way of rainfall it does not help. In some places, water is ponded and then used for irrigation but even this does not help because of other difficulties. It is an obsession to think that by irrigation we could increase our production.

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: How do you expect to raise crops without irrigation?

DR. P. J. THOMAS: Irrigation is necessary. I am much more interested in minor irrigation, but I was speaking about the over-ambitious plans of starting too many dams because, elsewhere, *e.g.*, in America they have built many huge dams. They have much money and they have built such dams but it is not necessary that we should start with so many dams in our country. We have experience of the tanks in the South and we find that these tanks are much more valuable than all your wonderful irrigation schemes. On account of the irrigation facilities in some places, on account of the water going into the irrigation projects, many tanks get silted up. As a matter of fact, what I said is borne out by the Cauvery area from which Mr. Naidu comes.

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: You are mistaken. I do not come from the Cauvery area.

DR. P. J. THOMAS: Near there, at any rate. I am not against irrigation at all. I am only pointing out that whatever you may do to increase the

[Dr. P. J. Thomas.] so-called superior grains, rice and wheat, to obtain these to the extent that we now require, is very difficult. Of course, the Government of India got one great advantage in that the first years of the present decade were prosperous years. There was plenty of rainfall and the crops were very good and there was increase in food production and that also heartened them. But soon the change happened. There came drought and floods, particularly in the northern areas, Eastern U.P., North Bihar and parts of Bengal, and that has created all this present difficulty. Even that difficulty is not so great, and much of the trouble has been created by the political opposition parties, because probably they thought that this could be a good opportunity for them to decry the party in power. The real point is, even this difficulty can be rectified, for instance by supplying food of a different type to which people are accustomed and also by opening a number of common eating houses. There is the All-India Women's Food Council. Why can't they open small eating houses in all those places where there is some scarcity felt and give the people cheap meals, with more of millets, tubers like potatoes and so on and leafy vegetables of all kinds; we have plenty of them in the country. Nothing was done. Sir, in my opinion this is the first line of attack. By all means increase rice and wheat production, but you cannot do it immediately. So the first line is to open such eating houses and this has always been so. Of course in the British days there used to be famine relief works and people were given foodgrains as wages. Therefore it seems to me that we have to rethink the whole problem and we must give up the obsession of considering wheat and rice as the only source of our food.

Now, I am glad that the Food Ministry has put forward a very comprehensive scheme for increasing food production and I find that a plan for employing five lakhs of workers for

a Rabi production drive is being adumbrated. I welcome that plan very much. I understand that in China such youth brigades—organised bodies of youth—were going about camping and doing work. They have done very good work and I think if only, for instance, we could utilise those large tracts of waste land all over the country, colonise these young people there, make them camp there and work hard—of course we should also give them the necessary equipment and camping facilities—we can achieve greater production. What you have been doing so far is to hand over to people lands which other people were cultivating; of course, I am referring to the land policy. My esteemed friend, the Nawab of Chhat-tari, has already explained how the present land reform is proving injurious to the country. I am not against land reforms but you must have proper land reforms. That is to say, you take away the middle-man and give greater facilities to the people who actually cultivate, the real tillers. It is necessary but that is not what is going on today; the result is that people who are cultivating well are clearing out of the picture and who will cultivate? The idlers? Will they be able to continue production or increase production? As a matter of fact everybody including the Prime Minister and the Foodgrain Policy Committee, have all been talking a lot about the urgency of land reforms for increasing production. I question that very strongly, Sir. Our experience has been quite the contrary.

Then the second line of attack is a strategic food control based on self-sufficient zones as well as taking suitable measures against speculative hoarding of stocks by the trade. Sir, I welcome that and I do hope that they will also think of building up buffer stocks thereby regulating the prices; that is, Government can buy when prices are going down and sell when prices are going up, and this, I believe, has been recommended by successive committees of the Government of India from the Wobhead

Commission for Bengal, the Sir V. T. Krishnamachari Committee and the latest, the Mehta Committee, which has recently reported, but I do not find any mention of that in the Food Minister's speech.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: I said so.

DE. P. J. THOMAS: I do hope it is included. Of course, the Minister did not use the words 'buffer stocks' but I hope he meant that. May I say that these two lines are not adequate? We want also another, a third line of attack, and that is the increased use of, what are called, subsidiary foods, that is, coarse grains, tubers like potatoes, sweet potatoes, tapioca, leafy vegetables and that sort of things and heavy vegetables like papayya, bananas etc. All these must be greatly utilised. So they must be cultivated more and more. After all, we require only small patches of land for them and only very little water is required. Every householder can do that.

In my part of the country this has already been done. A hundred years ago, scarcity of rice started in Travancore and we had been importing rice from Burma before any part of India did this. We had already a crop called tapioca which the Portugese brought from Brazil. And a very thoughtful Maharajah carried out a great propaganda for this tapioca and increased its production all over the State. We all began to grow tapioca and thus the famine was completely banished from our side. And on the coast there, they have got fish also along with tapioca and the people there are thus able to live comfortably without much rice. But even those people have been spoiled by the rationing policy of the Government and they are now taking more and more rice and you have been giving it.

Sir, each one must grow his vegetables in his kitchen garden. A proposal for this was made by me to the Government of India as early as 1948 at a time when difficulties were starting and Mahatma Gandhi himself gave

me good support. He said it was very necessary and that he would prefer Congress workers doing one hour of, kitchen gardening work in their homes rather than plying charka and the matter was taken up with the Congress President, Pattabi Seetharamayya. I do not know what then happened. Unfortunately, Gandhiji died and nothing has been done in this line. But, one thing was done in 1949 in the Resolution of the Government of India where it was mentioned that "cereals formed a larger proportion of the diet of the people of India than they did in most other countries and the Government felt that if the dependence on cereals could be reduced, even by a small percentage, the need for imports from overseas would appreciably be reduced." May I ask the Food Ministry and the Government of India generally what they have done in regard to that? Very little has been done probably because they feared that if they popularised these other coarse grains and unpopular and unsocial type of food, the political consequences might be bad. But I question that, Sir. Are we more interested in the country's prosperity or in more political tinkering? It is a very unfortunate thing and I feel very sorry to say this. Public opinion must assert this; we have got to live on the foodstuffs that we can easily grow here. We cannot just imitate the Americans, we should rather do like the Chinese who eat anything they can get, we have to adjust our own requirements and therefore my proposal to the Ministry is this. Let us draw up a plan to increase the production of these things. Let us popularise them. There is the All-India Women's Food Council. What are they doing? Why can't their services be requisitioned for opening eating shops in all areas where there is some scarcity of food and give the people cheap meals for three or four annas, or even less with very little of rice but consisting of other things like vegetables, tubers, bananas etc.? As a matter of fact that food can be calorifically much more valuable than, what you are giving now.

[Dr. P. J. Thomas.] Lastly, I must say that the concentration of all these in the Central Government is absolutely to be avoided. We must put the burden chiefly on the State Governments—the Municipalities first, the District Boards and so on. Make them grow their food. I find that the Government has already started doing something in that direction. They must find out what the deficit in each area is and make it up. If they grow a large amount of other foodgrains, then the Government of India may give some amount of rice. The whole burden should not be on the Government of India thereby causing a big drain on the foreign exchange as a result of big imports. What if grain comes under P.L. 480? Even then we have to pay in rupees. Sir, it is a very big burden on our purse. Therefore this must stop and the people must become more responsible. In every village, in every corner of the country, the people must be made interested in this and they must have to take the burden. The major burden must be on the State Governments. The Government of India's work must be chiefly laying down the general policy and when there is any real scarcity they may intervene and use their buffer stocks. Therefore a buffer stock must be built up both from local purchasing and also from imports from outside. In this way, we can formulate a very convenient food policy and without much burden upon our treasury, upon our people, we could run our food policy, and thus give satisfaction to our people—not satisfaction of the kind that they are hoping to get later on. After all, when we speak of a Welfare State we do not mean that we would immediately provide welfare at the higher level. We only say that our ultimate objective is that. That means hard work and it is only by putting in hard work we can achieve that. For the time being, therefore, hard work is essential. After all, in every country, democratic countries or countries like Russia or China, even there the workers began by having some rough, hard work, and eating

rough food. Gradually when the production increased, when the national income increased, they were able to have a much higher living standard. In that way, we should also work hard. Otherwise, if you go on promising everything to the people, what you would be getting is disaster. I do hope our Government will avoid such disaster and use wisdom and experience in this matter and have a food policy which is a three-pronged one.

سرदार بدھہ سنگھ (جموں اینڈ
کشمیر): جناب ذہنی چیمبرمین صاحب
قوت کا مسئلہ آجکل ہمارے لئے ایک
بہت بڑا مسئلہ ہے اور اس کی وجہ
سے لوگوں کو بڑی دشواری ہے - منسٹر
صاحب نے اپنی تقریر میں جس حد
تک پروڈکشن بڑھا ہے اور ایگریکلچر
میں ترقی ہوئی ہے اس کا ذکر کو
دیا ہے - میں جموں اور کشمیر ریاست
کا ہوں لیکن اس کے بارے میں ذکر
کرنے سے پہلے میں یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا
ہوں کہ باوجود اس کے کہ اتنا غلہ باہر
بے منیا جا کر کروڑوں روپیہ اس پر
خرچ ہوتا ہے اتنا بڑا عملہ اس کام کے
لئے ہے اور اس کام کو کرنے کی سارے
آدمی کوشش کر رہے ہیں پھر کیا
وجوہات ہیں کہ اس معاملہ میں
استدرا مشکلات درپیش ہیں - مختصر
سی وجوہات یہ ہیں - اول تو اس کے
قدرتی اسباب ہیں - سیلاب آجاتا ہے
فلت آجاتا ہے - زیادہ بارش سے نہریں
توت جاتی ہیں - دریاؤں کے بند توت
جاتے ہیں اور کثرت بارش سے فصل
خراب ہو جاتی ہے - خشک سالی سے

ہوڑوں لاکھوں ایکڑ کی فصل خراب ہو جاتی ہے - زمین کی حیثیت کم ہونے سے، مٹی کی تہہ کے بہہ جانے سے زمین کی کمی کی وجہ سے اور آئے دن ڈالہ باری کے ہونے سے، برقیاری کے ہونے سے فصل خراب ہوتی ہے - تو یہ قدرتی اسباب ہیں جن کے لئے ہم کچھ نہیں کر سکتے سوائے اس کے کہ چھانٹک ممکن ہو سکتا ہے ان کی روک تھام کریں - خشک سالی یا برقیاری سے یا کثرت بارش سے نقصان ہوتا ہے - یہ اسوجہ سے ہے کہ آجکل کے سائینس دانوں کو چھانٹ انسان کی زندگی کو آسان بنانا تھا، ملک میں ترقی لانی تھی، زندگی کو پر سکون بنانا تھا - وہاں وہ موت کا پیغام لے کر آئے ہیں اور انہوں نے وایو مفلد کو ساری آسمانی فضا کو بگاڑ کر رکھ دیا ہے -

اب رہا سوال کسانوں کا - سارے کسان کیوں زیادہ محنت نہیں کر سکتے - اس کے لئے میں کہونگا کہ کہیں کسانوں کی جسمانی کمزوری ہے اور کہیں لاپرواہی ہے - کسان بیچارے تو روٹی کے لئے پریشان ہے، کپڑے و جھونپڑی کے لئے پریشان ہے اس بیچارے کا دل پریشان ہے - کام کو کرنے والے تو کسان ہیں، محنت کھن ہیں اور مزدور ہیں - میں یہ سمجھتا ہوں کہ ساری دنیا اور کائنات کو بنانے والے اور سارے کارخانوں کو چلانے اور ساری دنیا کو زندہ رکھنے والے

محنت کھن کسان اور مزدور ہیں۔ جلدہوں نے کہ ان تمام عمارات کو بنا دیا - تمام کارخانوں کو بنا دیا - یہ ہی غلہ لاتے ہیں، میوہ لاتے ہیں، سجی لاتے ہیں، دودھ لاتے ہیں، کھی لاتے ہیں - لیکن پھر بھی وہ بیچارے بھوکے ہیں - دکھی ہیں - پلنچسالہ پلان ہو یا فوڈ کا مسئلہ ہو چھٹک ان محنت کھن مزدوروں اور کسانوں کی کمر مضبوط نہیں ہوتی - ان کے بازو میں گرم گرم خون نہیں چلتا، ان کو دنوں وقت کھانے کو نہیں ملتا، وہ فکر سے بالکل بری نہیں ہوتے تب تک یہ ناممکن ہے کہ کوئی اس قسم کے معاملات حل ہو جائیں یا فائیو ایر پلان کامیاب ہو جائے - کسان بیچارے قلیل زمین کی بھی تھیک کاشت نہیں کر سکتا کیونکہ اس کے پاس ذرائع نہیں ہیں - اسکا بیل کمزور ہے، چائے چلتے بیٹھ جاتا ہے - اسکو آج پانچسواں چھ سو یا سات سو میں ایک جوڑی بیل مل سکتی ہے مگر خرید نہیں سکتا - میں نہیں جانتا کہ کیا آپ کے پاس کوئی صحیح اعداد و شمار آتے ہیں کہ ان کو کتنا روپیہ دیا گیا یا ان کے پاس کتنے یا کیسے بیل ہیں - اور کہ کتنے ان غریبوں کے پاس بیل نہیں ہیں اور اگر ہیں بھی تو کمزور ہیں جو کہ چل نہیں سکتے ہیں - اس کے علاوہ ان کو پوری کھان مہسر نہیں آتی ہے - بیج پورا مہسر نہیں آتا ہے

[سردار بدھ سنگھ]

اور وقت پر میسر نہیں ہوتا ہے - ان کو کوئی ٹریڈنگ بھی نہیں دی جاتی ہے اور ایسا کوئی ہر علاقہ میں فارم بھی نہیں ہے جہاں کہ ان کو عام طور سے ٹریڈنگ دی جا سکے - اس کے علاوہ جو لوگ کاشت کرنے والے ہیں ان کے پاس جو آلات کھاد ذریعہ ہیں وہ بہت پرانے ہیں - پھر ان کے پاس صحت مند چھوٹی پھوس نہیں ہیں - ان کا گھر ٹوٹا ہوا ہے اور گھاس پھوس کا ہے اور وہ تپکتا ہے - ان کے پاس لکڑی پتھر کے مضبوط گھر نہیں ہیں - اس کے علاوہ جو موجودہ پیداوار کسان کی ہوتی ہے اس سے کسان کا گذر بہت مشکل سے ہوتا ہے - اس سے اس کا اپنا ہی گذر نہیں ہوتا ہے پھر وہ کہاں سے قرضہ ادا کرنے کے لئے روپیہ لائے - مالیت ادا کرنے کے لئے لائے - بیج کی قیمت کی ادائیگی کرنے کے لئے لائے اور دوسرے جو رشوت کھانے والے ہیں ان کا گھر بھرنے کے لئے لائے - اس کے پاس تو کچھ بھی نہیں رہتا ہے - غریب کسان کے پاس سوائے غلہ کے اور کوئی خزانہ تو ہے نہیں - اس کے پاس کوئی بینک میں روپیہ یا اور کسی قسم کا سرمایہ نہیں ہے - اس کے پاس تو صرف پیداوار کا جو غلہ ہے اسی سے وہ تمام ضروریات پوری کرتا ہے - اسی سے اس کو تعادیم حاصل کرنی ہے - شادی و غمی پر خرچ کرنا ہے،

مہمان نوازی بھی کوئی ہے - اپنی صحت کو بھی قائم رکھنا ہے - اس سے بیوی بچوں کے لئے کپڑا بھی لانا ہے اور خوراک بھی لانا ہے - اسی طرح سے جا شہروں میں مزدور پڑے ہوئے ہیں ان کی بری حالت ہے - وہ کس طرح سے مصیبت میں رہتے ہیں - ان کے لئے کوئی انتظام نہیں ہے - ان پڑے پڑے مکانوں کو بنانے والے درختوں کے نیچے اور گھاس کی چھوٹی چھوٹی میں توپ رہے ہیں - موجودہ گرانٹی کی حالت میں ایک لاکھ پتی اور وزیرہ منسٹر پڑے حکام اور محضت کش غریب مزدور سب کو ایک طرح کے نرخ پر غلہ ملتا ہے اور سب ایک ہی منڈی میں جاتے ہیں - لیکن جو مزدور دو روپیہ روز کمانے والا ہے وہ بمشکل تمام دو دن کا راشن لاتا ہے یا ایک وقت کا راشن لاتا ہے لیکن دوسرے دولت مند لوگ ایک دم سے خاصہ اناج خرید لیتے ہیں - مہینے دو مہینے یا چار مہینے کا اسٹاک کو لیتے ہیں -

اب جو غلہ کے بھویاری و اسٹاکسٹس ہیں وہ اس قدر پر رحم واقع ہوئے ہیں کہ لاکھوں روپیہ کما رہے ہیں - چاہے دنیا مہر جائے غرق ہو جائے ان کی بلا ہے - لیکن وہ لاکھوں روپیہ کما کر اپنا گھر بھر رہے ہیں - یہ جو بیچارے کسان ہے اس کے اوپر تو چوکیداروں سے لیکر پڑے پڑے حکام تک ہیں - اس کے اوپر ساہوکار پڑے

مہندار سب ہیں - جس کسان بیچارے کے پاس اپنی زمین نہیں ہے، زمین پر اس کی ملکیت نہیں، تابع مرضی مالک کاشت کرتا ہے وہ کیسے پیداوار بڑھائیکا - جیسا کہ ابھی کہا گیا ہے لاکھوں ایکڑ زمین ایسی ہے جو کہ بیکار پڑی ہے - علاوہ ازیں ان بیچارے ۸۰ فیصدی کسانوں کے پاس مشکل سے ۱۵ فیصدی زمین ہے - بڑے زمینداروں کے پاس ۳۰ فیصدی زمین ہے، جو کہ قابل کاشت ہے مگر ساری وہ کاشت نہیں کر سکتے ہیں - وہ بھنجر ہو جاتی ہے - تو اگر کسان کے پاس اپنی ملکیت کی زمین ہو، اس کو کیا ملے، پھل ملے، اچھا بیج وقت پر ملے، اس کو پوری دوتی ملے، گھر ملے، وہ ضروریات زندگی سے فارغ ہو اور اس کے جسم و دل و دماغ درست ہوں تو وہ لازمی طور پر زیادہ پیداوار کے لئے کام کر سکتا ہے اور کرے گا - اگر یہ نہیں ہے تو پھر چاہے جتنی بارش ہو، چاہے جتنی نہریں چلاویں، چاہے کروزوں روپیہ خرچ کر کے جتنی بھی بھجائی پیدا کریں، سب بیکار ہے کیونکہ جب تک زمین پر ہل نہیں چلایا جائیکا تب تک اس میں غلہ پیدا نہیں ہوگا کیونکہ جو ہل چلانے والے کسان ہیں، وہ تو مر رہے ہیں، توپ رہے ہیں، وہ غریب ہیں، بھوکے ہیں، ننگے ہیں - اس طرح جو عالیشان عمارتیں بنانے والے، پیلس بنانے والے مزدور

ہیں وہ دکھی ہیں - تو اتنا ہونے پر بھی بیچارے کسان اور صنعت کار کام کرتے ہیں - کسان بیچارا بننا میں مبتلا ہے لیکن پھر بھی ہل چلاتا ہے کیونکہ اس کو روپیہ کی فصل ہونا ہے، خریدنے کی فصل ہونا ہے اور پھر اسے سر پر اٹھا کر منڈی میں لیجانا ہے - میں پوچھتا ہوں کہ یہ کس کے لئے لیجانا ہے - شہر والوں کے لئے اور کھاتے پیتے لوگوں کے لئے - تو میں یہ کہتا ہوں کہ ان لوگوں سے پوچھنا چاہئے کہ کیا انکو معلوم ہے کہ غریب لوگوں کی حالت کیا ہے - جب حکومت اتنا روپیہ خرچ کر رہی ہے تو اس کو معلوم ہونا چاہئے نتیجہ کیا ہو رہا ہے - خیر - دیو آید درست آید - آج گورنمنٹ کوہ منسٹر صاحب کو معلوم ہوا ہے - جب بھوک کی آگ چلی، ہانچل ہوئی اور دنیا ہلی تو معلوم ہوا کہ کیا خطرناک حالت ہے - اب کوالریشن بھی ہونے لگا ہے ہر ایک پارٹی اس میں آنے لگی ہے اور کنٹرول بھی ہونے کو ہے غلہ کے اسٹاک پر بھی قبضہ ہوا ہے - لیکن میں پوچھتا ہوں کہ یہ پہلے کیوں نہیں کیا گیا - ان چیزوں کو پرمانیٹ کریں - نرخ پر کنٹرول پرمانیٹ کریں تاکہ ۳۶ کروڑ انسانوں کو غلہ دے سکیں - کسان بیچارا جب منڈی میں جاتا ہے تو بہت سستی قیمت پر مستحوراً غلہ فروخت کر دیتا ہے اور بیوپاری اس کو لے لیتے ہیں - ان کو تو اس کی فکر نہیں ہے کہ وہ بعد میں مرتا ہے یا جیتتا ہے - چاہے وہ مرے یا توپے

(سردار بدھ ساگھہ)

ان کی بلا ہے - وہ تو اس کو ختم ہی کر دیتے ہیں اور گورنمنٹ دیکھتی ہی رہتی ہے - گورنمنٹ کے پاس فوج ہے پولیس ہے، روپیہ ہے، سامغ ہے، عقل ہے - کروڑوں روپوں کا سٹاک کرنے کے ذرائع ہیں لیکن وہ اس وقت تک لپکتے رہتی ہے جب تک لوگ بھوکوں نہیں مرتے، شور نہیں کرتے ہیں - اگر بھوک سے یکدم نہیں مرتے تو کم سے کم آدھی موت تو بھوک کی وجہ سے ضرور ہوتی ہے کیونکہ بھوک کی وجہ سے وہ اتنے بوساڑ ہو جاتے ہیں کہ ان کی موت ہو جاتی ہے - تو یہ مرتیں بھوک سے ہوتی ہیں - خیر - اب میں اس کے علاوہ دو لفظ کشمیر کے متعلق بھی عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں -

کشمیر میں ۲۵ لاکھ سے ۲۸ لاکھ من غلے کی کمی ہر سال ہوتی ہے - وہاں کا جو زمیندار ہے، کسان ہے، وہ دوگنا کھانا ہے - یہاں اگر آدھا سیر کھانا ہے تو وہاں دن میں ایک سیر کھانا ہے - وہاں لوگ بڑی محنت کرتے ہیں - وہاں بے زمین کاشتکار بھی ہیں اور جن کے پاس جو زمین ہے وہ تھوڑی ہے بہت زیادہ زمین پانی بغیر بلنچر پڑی ہوئی ہے - معلوم نہیں کہ آبپاشی کے لئے کب روپیہ ملے گا اور کب آبپاشی ہوگی - کب نہریں تیار ہوں گی - لیکن اس وقت جو وہاں زمین ہے اسکی فصل وہ فائدہ سے سیلاب سے، زلزلہ باری سے اور برفباری سے برباد و غرق ہوئی ہے - میں

منسٹر صاحب کی خدمت میں عرض کرونگا کہ جب وہ کشمیر جائیں تو وہ جھول رولر کو بھی دیکھیں -- ساری ویلی کشمیر کا سو میل کا لمبا ایریا ہے اور سارا پانی دریا کے ذریعہ جھول رولر میں پوتا ہے - وہاں رولر جھول کے بھرنے سے سیلاب آ جاتا ہے اور لاکھوں ایکڑ زمین پانی کے نیچے آ جاتی ہے - کشمیر میں رولو لوک میں پچاس برس پہلے جب پانی بھر جاتا تھا تو ڈرنیلنگ کے ذریعہ پانی باہر نکال دیا جاتا تھا - اس طرح سے کناروں میں جو مٹی رہ جاتی یعنی زمین نکلتی تھی وہ بڑی اچھا ہوتی تھی اور فی ایکڑ زمین میں ۲۰-۲۵ من تک مٹی پیدا ہوتی تھی - مگر جب سے ڈرنیلنگ بند کر دی گئی پانی چاروں طرف پھول جاتا ہے - پانی کا نکاسی نہ ہونے سے پیداوار کے وسطے زمین نہیں رہ جاتی ہے - سرکار باندھ تو بنا رہی ہے مگر برسوں سے وہاں دریا میں جو ریت جم گئی ہے اس کو نکالنے کا کام نہیں ہوا - ریت و مٹی دریا میں پڑتی جا رہی ہے مگر باندھ بنانے میں سرکار کا لاکھوں روپیہ خرچ ہو رہا ہے اس لئے وہاں جھول پانی کے نکاس کا اچھا انتظام نہیں کیا جانا تب تک وہاں کے لوگوں کو ہمیشہ تکلیف ہی اٹھانی پڑے گی -

اس واسطے اگر فوقہ ذیہارٹمنٹ کو یریکیشن ذیہارٹمنٹ کو اور گورنمنٹ

آف انڈیا کو، کشمیر کو بچانا ہے اور ہمیشہ کے لئے خوراک کی کمی کو پورا کرنا ہے تو سب سے پہلے فلڈ کو روکنے کا انتظام کریں تاکہ ویلی کا پانی نکل جائے۔ ساتھ ہی ساتھ خشک زمیوں کے لئے پانی نئی نہروں سے لایا جائے جس سے پانی کی کمی نہ رہے۔ جس سیلاب کے پانی سے فصل غرق ہو جاتی ہے۔ اس پانی کے نکالنے کا سب سے پہلے انتظام کیا جائے اور نہریں نکالنے کا کام شروع کیا جائے اور باندھ بنانے شروع کئے جائیں۔ اس وقت ہم فوڈ منسٹر صاحب اور گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا کے بڑے مشکوک ہیں۔ بچہ بچہ کشمیر کا آپ کا دھلیہاد کرتا ہے، شکرینہ کرتا ہے۔ میں ابھی وہاں سے آیا ہوں میں نے جو وہاں کی حالت دیکھی وہ ساری صبر میں پہلے کہی نہیں دیکھی تھی۔ مجھ سے انہوں نے کہا کہ بدھ سلگہ کشمیر میں ہم مر جائیں گے، ہم کو کھانے کو نہیں ملتا ہے یعنی ہم کو چاول نہیں ملتا ہے۔ میں نے ان کو دھارس دی کہ جتنی تم کو گندم ملتی ہے وہ کھاؤ ہلدوستان کی حکومت کی امداد کی وجہ سے تم بچ تو گئے۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ ہمیں ضرور بچایا ہے ہلدوستان نے۔ ہمیں اس نے برابر خوراک پہنچائی ہے اور اس کے لئے ہم لوگ بڑے احسان مند ہیں۔ لیکن میں اتنا ضرور عرض کرونگا منسٹر صاحب سے کہ وہ ہمارے اوپر مہربانی

کریں چاول میں ہمارا کشمیر چاول کھانے والا ہے، جب سے دنہا بلی ہے تب سے وہ چاول کھاتے ہیں۔

श्री अजित प्रसाद जैन : खुद पैदा कीजिए और लाइये ।

سردار بدھ سلگہ : پیدا تو کرتے ہیں لیکن فلڈس کے آگے کوئی چارہ نہیں ہے۔ پہلے ہمارے لئے فلڈس کو روکنے کے لئے انتظام کیجئے اور پانی کو نکال کر نہریں تو بنائیے۔ وہ چیز ہماری طاقت سے باہر ہے۔ آپ کو معلوم ہوگا کہ کشمیر میں جب سے اس کی تواریخ ہے جتنی بھی وہاں سلطنتیں ہوئیں ان کے وقت میں وہاں کئی بار قحط ہوا۔ سابق بادشاہ ہی کے زمانہ میں بھی ۱۸ دفعہ وہاں قحط ہوا۔ اب آپ خود ہمارے بادشاہ ہیں۔ ساری ہستری میں دیکھ لیجئے اس میں لکھا ہوا ہے کہ برابر ہمارے ملک میں یہاں سے، دہلی سے تھوڑا بہت اناج جایا کرتا تھا۔ مغلوں کے وقت سے جایا کرتا تھا۔ آج بھی دہلی سے آپ کو کشمیر میں رسد پہنچانی پڑیگی۔ اگر آپ اس پر فضا ویلی کو اپنے قبضہ میں رکھنا چاہتے ہیں، اس جلت کی سیر کرنا چاہتے ہیں۔ اس ہمالیہ کی چوٹی پر اپنا کانگریس کا چمڈا پھرانے کہلئے . . . (Time bell rings) اس کو بلند کرنے کے لئے اور ہلدوستان کے تاج کشمیر کو روشن کرنا چاہتے ہیں تو اس کے لئے آپ کو چاہے جتنی

(سردار بدھ سنگھ)

قربانی دینی پڑے دیں - آپ فیاضی سے دیں - جب تک ہمارے فلسفے کو روکنے کا انتظام نہیں ہو جاتا، پانی کے نکاس کا انتظام نہیں ہوتا - ہماری غلہ کی یہ کمی بلی رہے گی - کیونکہ آدمیوں کی پیداواریں و تعداد بھی بڑھ رہی ہے اور خوراک کی کمی بھی بڑھ رہی ہے - اس واسطے میں یہاں پھر عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ برائے خدا جبکہ اتنی بڑی آپ کی طاقت ہے یہ تجارت کی سب ملکیاں اور خوراک کے گودام آپ ہی کے ہاتھ میں رہیں - غلہ داروں، ساہوکاروں، منافع خوروں، اور بلیک مارکیٹنگ کرنے والوں کے ہاتھوں میں عوام کی زندگیاں نہ دیجئے - آپ کے ہاتھ میں ہماری زندگی ہے - میں خاص طور سے جن صاحب کو کہتا ہوں کہ کیا کشمیر اور کیا کوئی اور اسٹیٹ جہاں آپ نے بیان کیا کہ غلہ کی کمی ہے وہاں لاکھوں من کا غلہ لالچی منافع خور لوگ دبا لے رہے ہیں، ان کے دل میں کوئی ہمدردی نہیں ہے، اخلاق نہیں ہے - وہ ملاوٹ کرنے والے، بلیک مارکیٹنگ کرنے والے، جوئے باز، سٹہ باز ہیں اور ایک طرح سے دنیا کے غدار ہیں جو اس قسم کا کام کرتے ہیں - تو ان سے بچائیے، جو ملک کی فضا کو درست کیجئے - جو سرکار غلہ کا انتظام نہیں کر سکتی عوام کو دو وقت کی روٹی نہیں دے سکتی - روٹی اور کھڑے کا انتظام اور چھوڑنے کا

انتظام نہیں کر سکتی اور کم سے کم محنت کھس مزدور اور کسان کو ہمیشہ کے لئے دائم طاقتور نہیں بنا سکتی وہ کہی نہیں قائم رہ سکتی ہے اور کہی قحط دور نہیں ہو سکتا ہے - میں نے ۳۵ برس ہوئے کشمیر میں قحط کے لئے فائدہ پلانے کی تجویز پیش کی تھی (Time bell rings) ایک مدت کے لئے اور معاف کیجئے - میں آپ سے عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہم آپ کے مشکور ہیں، شکرگزار ہیں، جس طرح سے آپ نے قدم اٹھایا ہے اس کے لئے - اسٹیٹوں کو بھی کہہ دیا جائے کہ ہر خیال کے آدمی کو لیکر فوڈ کے مسئلہ کو حل کرنے میں قدم اٹھائیں - ہر تجربہ کار و ہمدرد آدمی کو اس میں لیکر اس کی رائے لیں اور اس معاملہ کو نیشنل طریقہ پر قومی سطح پر چلانا چاہئے تاکہ عام لوگ آباد ہو جائیں -

پنجابی زبان کا ایک شعر ہے :

دہ پیٹ نہ یہاں روٹیاں

سبھے کلاں کھوتیں ۰۰

یعنی جب تک خوراک سے پیٹ نہیں بھرتا - تب تک تمام کام بیکار اور فضول ہیں - تمام کام زندہ، طاقتور انسان کو سکتا ہے اور خوراک کے بغیر کچھ نہیں کر سکتا -

دہ ساریاں کلاں نے ہیٹھ ہلاں ۰۰

کسان اور اس کا ہل دنیا کو زندہ رکھے ہوئے ہے اسی کے بغیر جناب کچھ بھی

[सरदार बुध सिंह]

जोड़ी बैल मिल सकती है। मगर खरीद नहीं सकता। मैं नहीं जानता कि क्या आपके पास कोई सही अदाद व क्षुमार आते हैं कि उनको कितना रुपया दिया गया या उनके पास कितने या कैसे बैल हैं। और कि कितने उन शीवों के पास बैल नहीं हैं और अगर हैं भी तो कमजोर हैं जोकि चल नहीं सकते हैं। इस के अलावा उनको पूरी खाद मुअस्सिर नहीं आती है। बीज पूरा मुअस्सिर नहीं आता है और वक्त पर मुअस्सिर नहीं होता है। उनको कोई ट्रेनिंग भी नहीं दी जाती है और ऐसा कोई हर इलाका में फार्म भी नहीं है जहां कि उनको आमतौर पर ट्रेनिंग दी जा सके। इसके अलावा जो लोग काश्त करने वाले हैं उनके पास जो आलाते कशावर्जों हैं वह बहुत पुराने हैं। फिर उनके पास सेहतमन्द जोंपड़े नहीं हैं, उनका घर टूटा हुआ है और घास फूस का है और वह टपकता है। उनके पास लकड़ी पत्थर के मजबूत घर नहीं हैं। इसके अलावा जो मौजूदा पैदावार किसान की होती है उससे किसान का गुजर बहुत मुश्किल से होता है। इससे उसका अपना ही गुजर नहीं होता है। फिर वह कहां से कर्जा अदा करने के लिये रुपया लाये, मालिया अदा करने के लिये लाये, बीज की कीमत को अदायगी करने के लिये लाये और दूसरे जो रिश्तत खाने वाले हैं उनका घर भरने के लिये लाये। उसके पास तो कुछ भी नहीं रहता है। गरीब किसान के पास सिवाय गल्ला के और कोई खजाना तो है नहीं, उसके पास कोई बैंक में रुपया या और कोई किसी क्रिस्म का सरमाया नहीं है उसके पास तो सिर्फ पैदावार का जो गल्ला है और उसी से वह तमाम जरूरियात पूरी करता है। उसी से उसको तालीम हासिल करनी है, शादी व गमो पर खर्च करना है, मेहमाननवाजी भी करनी है, अपनी सेहत को भी कायम रखना है। इसी से बीबी बच्चों के लिये कपड़ा भी लाना और खुराक भी लाना है। इसी तरह से जो शहरों

में मजदूर पड़े हुए हैं उनकी बुरी हालत है। वह किस तरह से मुसीबत में रहते हैं। उनके लिये कोई इन्तजाम नहीं है। इन बड़े बड़े मकानों को बनाने वाले दरस्तों के नीचे और घास की जोंपड़ियों में तड़प रहे हैं। मौजूदा गिरानी की हालत में एक लाखपति और वजीर, मिनिस्टर, बड़े हुकाम और मेहनतकश गरीब मजदूर सबको एक तरह के निखं पर गल्ला मिलता है और सब एक ही मंडी में जाते हैं लेकिन जो मजदूर दो रुपया रोज कमाने वाला है वह बमुश्किल तमाम दो दिन का राशन लाता है या एक वक्त का राशन लाता है लेकिन दूसरे दौलतमन्द लोग एकदम से खासा अनाज खरीद लेते हैं। महीने दो महीने या चार महीने का स्टॉक कर लेते हैं।

अब जो गल्ला के ब्यापारी या स्टॉकिस्ट्स हैं वह इस कदर बेरहम वाकूया हुए हैं कि लाखों रुपया कमा रहे हैं चाहे दुनिया मर जाये, गर्क हो जाये उनकी बला से। लेकिन वह लाखों रुपया कमाकर अपना घर भर रहे हैं। यह जो बेचारा किसान है उसके ऊपर तो चौकीदारों से ले कर बड़े बड़े हुकाम तक हैं। उसके ऊपर साहूकार, बड़े जमींदार सब हैं। जिस किसान बेचारे के पास अपनी जमीन नहीं है, जमीन पर उसकी मिल्कियत नहीं, ताबिया मर्जो मालिक काश्त करता है वह कैसे पैदावार बढ़ायेगा। जैसा कि अभी कहा गया है लाखों एकड़ जमीन ऐसी है जो कि बेकार पड़ी है। इलावा अर्जों इस बेचारे अस्सी फोसदी किसानों के पास मुश्किल से १५ फोसदी जमीन है, बड़े जमींदारों के पास तीस फोसदी जमीन है जो कि काबिले काश्त है मगर सारी वह काश्त नहीं कर सकते। वह बंजर हो जाती है। तो अगर किसान के पास अपनी मिल्कियत की जमीन हो, उसको खाद मिले, बैल मिले, अच्छा बीज वक्त पर मिले, उसको पूरी रोटी मिले, घर मिले, वह जरूरियाते जिन्दगी से फारिया हो और उसके जिस्म व दिल व दिमाग दुस्त हों तो वह

लाजिमी तौर पर ज्यादा पैदावार के लिये काम कर सकता है और करेगा। अगर यह नहीं है तो फिर चाहे जितनी बारिश हो, चाहे जितनी नहरें चलाये, चाहे करोड़ों रुपया खर्च करके जितनी भी बिजली पैदा करें, सब बेकार है क्योंकि जब तक जमीन पर हल नहीं चलाया जायगा तब तक उसमें गल्ला पैदा नहीं होगा। क्योंकि जो हल चलाने वाले किसान हैं, वह तो मर रहे हैं, तड़प रहे हैं, वह गरीब हैं, भूखे हैं, नंगे हैं। इसी तरह जो आलीशान इमारतें बनाने वाले, पेलिस बनाने वाले मजदूर हैं, वह दुखी हैं। तो इतना होने पर भी बेचारे किसान और मेहनतकश काम करते हैं। किसान बेचारा बुखार में मुबतला है लेकिन फिर भी हल चलाता है क्योंकि उसको रबी की फसल बोना है, खरीफ की फसल काटना है और फिर उसे सर पर उठा कर मंडों में ले जाना है। मैं पूछता हूँ कि यह किसके लिये ले जाना है। शहर वालों के लिये और खाते पीते लोगों के लिये। तो मैं यह कहता हूँ कि इन लोगों से पूछना चाहिये कि क्या उनको मालूम है गरीब लोगों की क्या हालत है जब हकूमत इतना रुपया खर्च कर रही है तो उसको मालूम होना चाहिये कि नतीजा क्या हो रहा है। खैर, ! देर आयद दुरुस्त आयद। आज गवर्नमेंट को, मिनिस्टर साहब को मालूम हुआ है। जब भूख की आग जली, हलचल हुई और दुनिया हिली तो मालूम हुआ कि क्या खतरनाक हालत है। अब कांप्रेशन भी होने लगा है। हरेक पार्टी इसमें आने लगी है और कंट्रोल भी होने को है, गल्ला के स्टॉक पर भी कब्जा हुआ है लेकिन मैं पूछता हूँ कि यह पहले क्यों नहीं किया गया। इन चीजों को परमानेंट करें। निखें पर कंट्रोल परमानेंट करें। ताकि ३६ करोड़ इंसानों को गल्ला दे सकें। किसान बेचारा जब मंडी में जाता है तो बहुत सस्ती कीमत पर मजबूरन गल्ला फरोस्त कर देता है और व्यापारी उसको ले लेते हैं। उनको तो इसकी फिक्र नहीं है कि वह बाद में मरता है या जीता है। चाहे वह मरे या तड़पे उनकी

बला से। वह तो उसको खरम ही कर देते हैं और गवर्नमेंट देखती ही रहती है। गवर्नमेंट के पास फौज है, पुलिस है, रुपया है, दिमाग है, अबल है। करोड़ों रुपये का स्टॉक करने के जराय है। लेकिन वह उस वक्त तक लापता रहती है जब तक कि लोग भूखों नहीं मरते, शोर नहीं करते हैं। अगर भूख से एकदम नहीं मरते तो कम से कम आधी मौत तो भूख की वजह से जरूर होती है क्योंकि भूख की वजह से वह इतने बीमार हो जाते हैं कि उन की मौत हो जाती है। तो यह मौतें भूख से होती हैं। खैर, अब मैं इसके अलावा दो लफ्ज काश्मीर के मुतलिक भी अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ।

काश्मीर में २५ लाख से २८ लाख मन गल्ले की कमी हर साल होती है। वहां का जो जमींदार है, किसान है वह दुगुना खाता है। यहां अगर आधा सेर खाता है तो वहां दिन में एक सेर खाता है। वहां लोग बड़ी मेहनत करते हैं। वहां बे-जमीन काश्तकार भी हैं और जिनके पास जो जमीन है वह थोड़ी है, बहुत ज्यादा जमीन पानी के बगैर बंजर पड़ी हुई है। मालूम नहीं कि आबपाशी के लिये कब रुपया मिलेगा और कब आबपाशी होगी। कब नहरें तैयार होंगी। लेकिन इस वक्त जो वहां जमीन की फसल है वह पलड से, सैलाब से या थालावारी से और बरफवारी से बरबाद व गरक होती है। मैं मिनिस्टर साहब की खिदमत में अर्ज करूंगा कि जब वह काश्मीर जायें तो वह झील वूलर को भी देखें। सारी वैली काश्मीर का १०० मील का लम्बा एरिया है और सारा पानी दरिया के जरिये झील वूलर में पड़ता है। वहां वूलर झील के भरने से मैं सैलाब आ जाता है और लाखों एकड़ जमीन पानी के नीचे आ जाती है। काश्मीर में वूलर सेक में ५० वर्ष पहले जब पानी भर जाता था तो ड्रेनिंग के जरिये पानी बाहर निकास दिया जाता था इस तरह से किनारों में जो मिट्टी रह जाती यानी जमीन निकलती थी वह बड़ी उपजाऊ होती थी। और फ्री एक्चेंड

[सरदार बुध सिंह]

जमीन में ४०-४५ मन तक मकई पैदा होती थी। मगर जबसे ड्रेनिंग बन्द कर दी गई पानी चारों तरफ फैल जाता है। पानी का निकास न होने से पैदावार के वास्ते जमीन नहीं रह जाती है। सरकार बांध तो बना रही है मगर बसों से वहां दरिया में जो रेत जम गई है उसको निकालने का काम नहीं हुआ है। रेत व मिट्टी दरिया में पड़ती जा रही है मगर बांध बनाने में सरकार का लाखों रुपया खर्च हो रहा है इसलिये वहां जब तक पानी के निकास का अन्तजाम नहीं किया जाता तब तक वहां के लोगों को हमेशा तकलीफ ही उठानी पड़ेगी।

इस वास्ते अगर फूड डिपार्टमेंट को, इरिगेशन डिपार्टमेंट को और गवर्नमेंट आफ इन्डिया को, काश्मीर को बचाना है और हमेशा के लिये खुराक की कमी को पूरा करना है तो सब से पहले फलड को रोकने का इन्तजाम करें ताकि वैली का पानी निकल जाय। साथ ही साथ खुस्क जमीनों के लिए पानी नई नहरों से लाया जाय जिस से पानी की कमी न रहे। जिस सैलाब के पानी से फसल गरक हो जाता है उस पानी के निकालने का सब से पहले इन्तजाम किया जाय और नहरें निकालने का काम शुरू किया जाय और बांध बनाने शुरू किये जायें। इस वक्त हम फूड मिनिस्टर साहब और गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया के बड़े मशकूर हैं। बच्चा बच्चा काश्मीर का आपको बन्धुवाद करता, शुक्रिया करता है। मैं अभी वहां से आया हूँ। मैंने जो वहां की हालत देखी वह सारी उम्र में पहले कभी नहीं देखी थी। मुझ से उन्होंने कहा कि बुध सिंह काश्मीर में हम मर जायेंगे, हमको खाने को नहीं मिलता है यानी हमको चावल नहीं मिलता है। मैंने उनको डाढ़स दी जितनी तुमको गंदम मिलती है वह खाओ हिन्दुस्तान की हकूमत की इन्दाद की वजह से तुम बच तो गये। इन्होंने कहा कि हमें जरूर बचाया है हिन्दुस्तान ने। हमें उसने बराबर खुराक

पहुंचाई है और उसके लिये हम लोग बड़े अहसान मंद हैं। लेकिन मैं इतना जरूर अर्ज करूंगा मिनिस्टर साहब से कि वह हमारे ऊपर मेहरबानी करें, चावल दें, हमारा काश्मीर चावल खाने वाला है, जब से दुनिया बनी है तब से वह चावल खाते हैं।

श्री अजित प्रसाद जैन : अब खुद पैदा कीजिए और खाइये।

सरदार बुध सिंह : पैदा तो करते हैं लेकिन फलड्स के आगे कोई चारा नहीं है। पहले हमारे लिए फलड्स को रोकने के लिए इन्तजाम कीजिए और पानी को निकालकर नहरों तो बनाइये। वह चीज हमारी ताकत से बाहर की है। आपको मालूम होगा कि काश्मीर में जब से इसकी तवारीख है जितनी भी वहां सलतनतें हुईं उनके वक्त में वहां कई बार कहत पड़ा। साबक बादशाह के ही जमाने में भी १८ दफा वहां कहत पड़ा। अब आप खुद हमारे बादशाह हैं। सारी हिस्ट्री में देख लीजिए इसमें लिखा हुआ है कि बराबर हमारे मुल्क में यहां से, देहली से थोड़ा बहुत अनाज आया करता था। मुगलों के वक्त से जाया करता था। आज भी देहली से आपको काश्मीर में रसद भेजनी पड़ेगी। अगर आप इस पुरफिजा वैली को अपने कब्जे में रखना चाहते हैं, इस जन्नत की सैर करना चाहते हैं, इस हिमालय की चोटी पर अपना कांप्रेस का झंडा फहराने के लिए (Time bell rings.) इसको बुलन्द करने के लिए और हिन्दुस्तान के ताज, काश्मीर को रोशन करना चाहते हैं तो उसके लिए आपको चाहे जितनी कुरवानी देनी पड़े दें, आप फ्रयाजी से दें। जब तक हमारे फलड्स को रोकने का इन्तजाम नहीं हो जाता, पानी का निकास का इन्तजाम नहीं होता, हमारी गल्ला की यह कमी बनी रहेगी क्योंकि आदमियों की पैदायश व तायदाद भी बढ़ रही है और खुराक की खपत भी बढ़ रही है। इस

वास्ते मैं यहां फिर अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि बराये खुदा जब कि इतनी बड़ी आपकी ताकत है यह तिजारत की सब मंडियां और खुराक के गोदाम आपके ही हाथ में है। गल्लेदारों, साहूकारों, मुनाफ़ाखोरों और ब्लैक मारकिटिंग करने वालों के हाथों में अवाम की जिन्दगियां न दीजिए। आपके हाथ में हमारी जिन्दगी है। मैं खास तौर से जैन साहब को कहता हूँ कि क्या कश्मीर या और कोई स्टेट जहां आपने बयान किया कि गल्ला की कमी है वहां लाखों मन का गल्ला लालची और मुनाफ़ाखोर लोग दबाये हुए हैं। उनके दिल में कोई हमदर्दी नहीं, अखलाक नहीं है। वह मिलावट करने वाले, ब्लैक मारकिटिंग करने वाले, जुए बाज़, सट्टे बाज़ हैं, और एक तरह से दुनिया के भ्रष्टार हैं जो इस क्रिस्म का काम करते हैं तो उन से बचाइये, मुल्क की फ़िजा को दुस्त कीजिए। जो सरकार गल्ला का इन्तजाम नहीं कर सकती, अव्वाम को दो वक्त की रोटी नहीं दे सकती रोटी और कपड़े का इन्तजाम और शौंपड़ी का इन्तजाम नहीं कर सकती और कम से कम मेहनतकश मजदूर और किसान को हमेशा के लिए दायम ताकतवर नहीं बना सकती वह कभी नहीं कायम रह सकती है और कभी क्रहत दूर नहीं हो सकता है। मैंने ३५ वर्ष हुए काश्मीर में क्रहत के लिए फंड बनाने की तजवीज़ पेश की थी।

(Time bell rings.)

एक मिनट के लिए और माफ़ कीजिए। मैं आप से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि हम आपके मशकूर हैं, शुक्रगुजार हैं, जिस तरह से आपने कदम उठाया है उसके लिये स्टेटों को भी कह दिया जाय कि हर स्थाल के आदमी को लेकर फूड के मसले को हल करने में कदम उठावें, हर तजरवेकतर व हमदर्द आदमी को उसमें लेकर उसकी राय लें और इस मामला को नेशनल तरीका पर, कौमी सतह पर चलाना चाहिए ताकि आम लोग आबाद हो जायें।

पंजाबी जवान का एक शेर है :

“पेट न पइयां रोटियां सब्बे गल्लां खोटियां”

यानी जब तक खुराक से पेट नहीं भरता तब तक तमाम काम बेकार और फ़िज़ूल है। तमाम काम जिन्दा ताकतवर इन्सान कर सकता है और वह खुराक के बग़ैर कुछ नहीं कर सकता —

“सारियां कलां ने हेठ हलां”

किसान और उसका हल दुनिया को जिन्दा रखे हुए है उसके बग़ैर जनाब कुछ भी नहीं हो सकता। जो दुनिया का कारखाना है, मशीन है, हवाई जहाज़, समुद्री जहाज़, फ़ौजें वगैरा यह सब किसान और उसके हल के नीचे है। हल वाले को ऊंचा उठा कर तगडा करो, जिन्दा करो, जिससे उसकी आंख में रोशनी आये और गरम गरम खून उसकी रगों में चले। हम आपके फिर मशकूर हैं, शुक्रगुजार हैं और हम उम्मीद करते हैं कि आप हमको गल्ला देंगे, चावल देंगे और रसद ज़रूर हम तक पहुंचायेंगे।

SHRI ANAND CHAND (Himachal Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, being neither an agriculturist nor an economist I find it a little difficult to participate in this debate and to offer any criticism of the various speakers who have gone before me. There is one aspect, Sir, to which I would like to draw the attention of this House which has struck me in these food figures and in this debate, and I have followed very closely the proceedings of the other House also.

Sir, we have been talking here about shortage of foodgrains, the rising prices and the Government suddenly coming with fair price shops, and, as the hon. Minister has said, the gloom disappears and the prices go down. Now, to my mind, is it a question of availability versus prices, I mean, have we enough foodgrains that are available or have we not

[Shri Anand Chand.] enough foodgrains that are available? I would like, Sir, with your permission to say about it here that if we go through the figures of 1938-39 when the Second World War Started, I believe the food produced was to the extent of about 47 million tons. In 1956-57, as the hon. Minister says, it is to the extent of about 67 million tons. Now that gives an increase of something like 20 million tons. What about the currency? The notes in circulation in 1938-39 stood at the figure of Rs. 210 crores, and today I believe they are something like Rs. 1,600 crores—eight times. Now, if the circulation is eight times more in money, I believe it must have some relation—as a layman I can feel it—to the prices that were available to us in 1939 and as they are existing in the markets today. If wheat was selling at Rs. 2/8 a maund in 1939-40, if it is multiplied by this increase in currency circulation, by eight times, it must sell now at something like Rs. 18 to 20 a maund, and I believe that is really what is happening. But is there scarcity? If there were scarcity, what happens? Now the wheat quoted in Uttar Pradesh, as we are hearing in this House, is, let us say, Rs. 25 or Rs. 26 a maund. Fair price shops are opened. The Food Minister here takes the situation in hand, he sends there additional foodgrains, and the prices fall. The middle of September, I submit to the House, is not the time for the Kharif crop to start coming in. The signs of the crop may be good, but that does not mean that suddenly the prices would come down. The prices have come down because he has made available in the market foodgrains, wheat and other foodgrains, at a rate cheaper than what they were selling at that particular time, and we say that the crisis has passed. To my mind the crisis is not over. The crisis is over only so far as the people who have the capacity to pay Rs. 16 to Rs. 20 a maund are concerned. For people whose capacity is not Rs. 16 to Rs. 20 to buy wheat, for them the crisis continues

because their purchasing power is limited, their purchasing power is not there. All this hue and cry, to my mind, starts when the prices are showing an inflationary trend, and as soon as the prices go down by artificial means, supply of food by the godowns, supply of food by the fair price shops, etc., then we say the crisis is over and then we come back to the same thing, that is, increasing production. Increasing production for what? For feeding the people of India. Now, Sir, what is the population of India? The population of India according to the registrar's figures, I think up to the middle of the year, was 39 crores 70 lakhs. Let us say by the end of this year it will be 40 crores. Now, if it is 40 crores and if the production of foodgrains is 68 million tons, at the rate of 13 ounces as calculated—I think there is a slight mistake in that calculation, because I don't think that a child below the age of ten years would eat all the 13 ounces that we provide for adults—if we give to a child about 7 to 8 ounces a day and for each adult 13 ounces a day, according to my calculation it does not come to more than 50 million tons. Supposing we give some allowance for wastage and certain other causes, I believe about 65 to 68 million tons, as the production in India is today, should be sufficient for the needs of the population. Then why this scarcity? There must be something. There is something which does not let this grain be distributed equally. Now, on the question of zones, I for one am in complete agreement with the hon. Minister when he says that the zones are there and they should stay put, because whatever might be the condition of the surplus areas like Andhra, they have to have tagged on to them deficit areas like Kerala. Unless we have a zonal system I do not think that the deficit areas would in any way be able to get whatever food they require. I don't agree with the hon. Member who said that by hitting the producer, by having low prices on account of these zones and so on, we are indirectly strengthening

the consumer. I think the consumer in India today, with all the food shortages that we are experiencing, is much more important than a few rupees going into the hands of the producer, and I think it will be a wrong policy to upset these zones which just started working and are working in an admirable manner. I want to say a few words ^{P.M.} about the price structure. As I submitted, the prices of foodgrains are not dependent in this country on the supply and demand or on the cost of production. They are dependent on inflation and also, to a certain extent, on what I might call the absence of foodgrains coming into the mandis at the proper time. Whether it is hoarding or people are hiding stocks or something is happening is a matter into which, I believe, it is the duty of the Food Ministry to enquire and if they make a Statewise survey of the availability of foodgrains and where the shortage is, I think it would be a creditable thing. I am rather sad that the hon. Minister should say that food and agriculture being a State subject, he is not in full control of it. Other factors come into play. Over the State Governments he has no control. Therefore, the supply position has not improved as he wanted it to improve. May I submit with great humility, what about the Union Territories which are directly administered by him? Has the food situation in the Union Territories for which his Ministry is wholly and solely responsible, there being no State Governments in these Territories, shown any improvement? For example, in the Himachal Pradesh, have we a better and easier food position than we had previously?

I would like to tell this House that in certain parts of Himachal Pradesh—in Chamba—still wheat is being sold at Rs. 45 a maund when we talk of U.P. and so on and say, it is Rs. 25 a maund, it is Rs. 27 a maund and the prices are very high. In certain parts of Chamba District, the price even today is Rs. 45 a

maund and there is no hue and cry there, because our voice is small. We have a small number of people—eleven lakhs of people. I will just give figures in a concise way. Let us say, each takes three maunds of food annually. What does it mean? That means 33 lakh maunds or I would say, something like one hundred thousand tons a year. There are 11,500 square miles of territory with a colossal waste area which can be brought under cultivation. The food shortage is there. Why is it so? If the administration here is alive to the needs of the public so far as food is concerned, why are not surveys being made about the culturable waste? I was looking at these statistics here. I have got here the agricultural situation in India. I was looking at page 397. There is a table which gives us the total area of India and its classification. I was rather surprised to read that in Himachal Pradesh, we have culturable waste which they have put only at one hundred thousand acres. It is unbelievable to me. It is unbelievable that in an area which is over 11,000 square miles, the culturable waste is not even one hundred thousand acres. There is something wrong with these figures. The hon. Minister asserted now that the figures are very reliable. But so far as my background goes, these figures which are very important are compiled by people like the patwaris or mamaldars—whatever you might call them—and that is why there is such a large discrepancy. In these figures, there is a discrepancy so far as the actual area also is concerned. For example, the Surveyor General of India gives the area of Himachal Pradesh as 6,990 thousand acres—that is, something like 69 lakhs. But the patwari's record gives it at not more than 23 lakhs—that is, something like one-third. These figures are not reliable. I do not think that in our State we have any machinery so far as statistics are concerned, which is a very reliable one. The amount of crops grown, the sown area or the amount of crops twice grown, etc. are

[Shri Anand Chand.] all built on conjectures and certain figures are supplied here. We do not base them on the actual conditions that are there and these figures are not very reliable. I would, therefore, submit—I would not tire the House by going over the same ground that has already been covered—four or five points.

The first point is that it is quite right, what the hon. Minister says about cash crops. He has been at pains to say that it is a question of leash crops *versus* foodgrains. Cash crops are also important to the economy of the country. Therefore, he does not want to touch them in any way or to reduce the area which is today under cash crops. I am in general agreement with him except that, so far as sugarcane is concerned, I am not quite clear in my mind. The figures that I have here tell me that whereas the price of sugar in 1946-47 was to the extent of Rs. 21 per maund, today it is over Rs. 36 a maund and the result is today, the grower is getting more. What happens? He switches on from cereals to sugarcane. In U.P., we have miles and miles of unending fields of sugarcane as any one who goes to U.P. can see. It might be quite all right to say that sugar is a commodity which is very important. I do not know whether we are quite surplus in that commodity. All that I remember off hand is that formerly, we imported sugar to a very large extent—I believe, it was from Java or somewhere. But the point is, if there has to be a switch-over from cereals to cash crops, it should only be to those which earn us a certain amount of foreign currency. It must not be haphazard; it must not be in a way in which the cultivator likes that every land will come under them, and so far as wheat and other grams are concerned, they will suffer.

The second point that I want to submit is that I am in complete agreement with my friend on the Opposition Bench here who said that

so far as agrarian laws in this country are concerned, they are being passed and compiled in a haphazard manner with the result that, so far as the tiller of the soil is concerned, he has no advantage whatsoever. It is quite true that the States are passing certain legislation, but up till now, I do not think there is any uniform policy dictated from here by the Centre under which land-holdings in all the States have been brought to some kind of uniformity. Of course, there cannot be uniformity all over the country. There are areas like Rajasthan which are desolate; there are areas like U.P. which are very flourishing, which are in the Gangetic Plain and they have got a very good productive soil and so on. Still, State by State, we must take up this measure and see that a ceiling is fixed and after that, we must see that the land which is available is distributed to the tiller of the soil. Whatever platitudes we might have, I think it is a fact that on the whole, land reforms have not benefited the tiller of the soil or the peasant. He is today as much in the dark about his rights; he is today as much in difficulties about the land in his possession as ever he was. What is the matter? Whatever surplus area is there, whatever culturable waste is there is not reaching the tiller of the soil and the peasant, because, as my friend there said, there are many intermediaries who own these lands—either it is the village panchayat which owns them as shamlat or it is the big zamindar who does not want to part with it under one excuse or another and it is no use saying that this culturable waste reaches the tiller of the soil.

The third point I want to touch is that the land revenue structure in this country also needs a change. I know it is a State subject and I know it is for the States themselves to look after this. But I am quite certain that in India there are millions of holders—I might say, hundreds of thousands, if not millions—who today subsist on or have agricultural holdings which are absolutely uneconomical.

eal and as a result, they cannot pay the land revenue. There is no justification to have the land revenue charged on uneconomical holdings. In my own State of Himachal Pradesh, the incidence on uneconomic holdings is very high—it is as much as Rs. 6 to Rs. 7 per acre, whereas in adjoining Punjab, for a better quality of land, it is Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 an acre. The time has come when a directive, either from the Planning Commission or whoever the top people are here, must go to the States saying that they must revise their land-revenue system. We are still working on the old system inherited from the British. We still have those old settlements and so on. We have to reorientate our policy by trying to build up a land revenue structure which is in keeping with the times.

Fourthly, Sir, what I would say is that so far as production is concerned, you can have concentrated production. You can have fertilisers; you can have irrigation. You can teach the people how to produce more and more. But it is always a question that the smaller the land-owner, the more is his need for finance. There is no finance available to the cultivator.

The man who is the backbone of agriculture, the peasant and the zamindar, has still not got the wherewithal with which to improve his agriculture, with which to buy the bullocks required. The price of everything is rising. It is not only the question of foodgrains. If he wants to buy bullocks, he has to pay for them five times higher than what he used to pay *ten* years ago. Then, his other standards of life are slowly making encroachments. So if we want that our agriculture should improve and there should be intensive cultivation, then some kind of finance has got to be provided to the cultivator. Now about these community projects, Sir, these people are going round and asking the people to do some more work. But I have my own feelings

about these community projects, and I must say that my feelings are not happy feelings. Of course, we are not discussing them now. But what I wish to say is this that increased food production should be there, but at the same time we have to so change or reorientate the whole land revenue structure and the system of land administration in this country that food is produced not only because it is needed, but it is produced because the person in the field has an incentive to produce more and more of it, because he gets better payment for it, because it is better marketed and because through it he can earn a pittance for himself and his family.

SHRI B. SHIVA RAO: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I listened to the speech of the Food Minister this morning with a good deal of care and attention, and I felt that it was a frank speech. He did not make any effort to underrate his problems and his difficulties, and he did not conceal from us his failures in some respects. With much that he said this morning, I am in complete agreement. But there were other things in his speech with which I could not possibly agree. If, Sir, on account of the time at my disposal being limited, I deal more with the points of disagreement than with the points of agreement, I hope my hon. friend will accept my assurance that it is not due to any one-sided approach to the problems with which we are dealing, but rather because I am anxious to place before him my suggestions in regard to the matters on which I do not see eye to eye with him.

Sir, in general, I think the position of the Food Minister, whoever he may be, is not a very enviable one, because frequently he becomes a target for criticism for factors for which he is not responsible at all, or for factors for which he is not primarily responsible. My friend, the Nawab of Chhatari, referred to the fact that the growth of population in this country has been almost phenomenal during the last 10 or 15 years and the Food Minister can do nothing about

[Shri B. Shiva Rao.] it. That, as my hon. friend said, is a matter for the Government as a whole to consider and to strengthen, if possible, the campaign for family planning. The Food Minister is not responsible for floods or drought or unseasonable rainfall or frost or natural calamities of that kind. And therefore in dealing with the problems of the Food Minister we should confine ourselves to factors which are within his control.

Having said this, Sir, I would like to say at once that I was disappointed with the Minister's references to hoarding and the measures that the Government is taking or contemplating against hoarding. He seemed to speak with a certain air of satisfaction in this respect regarding the fall in prices in the U.P., in the Punjab and in some other parts of India. I would like to ask him frankly whether that drop in prices is due to any measures taken by the State Governments or by the Centre, or whether the threat of food riots has had anything to do with it. I am referring to it because I do not think it is a good thing. I think it is a dangerous thing to allow the impression to grow that prices of foodgrains can be brought down only by threats of lawlessness. And it is for that reason that I would ask the Food Minister to consider whether the measures that the Government is thinking of taking against hoarding—and he himself admitted that there is hoarding on a large scale both in U.P. and in the Punjab—could not be strengthened. After all, Sir, hoarding is a crime against humanity, because it means exploitation of the people's hunger. And I am quite sure that all parts of the House will support him to the full in any measures that he may take against hoarders and against hoarding.

The second point with which I would like to deal and on which too I must express my sense of disappointment is that part of his speech

in which he referred to fertilisers. Sir, the trouble with the Ministry of Food, and probably also with the Planning Commission, is that it is fertiliser-conscious. If you go round the verandah on the first floor in Parliament House, you will come across two graphs. One indicates the expansion in food production in the country in the last 10 or 15 years and the other shows the increase in the production of fertilisers, the inference being that the increase in food production is entirely due to greater use of fertilisers. My hon. friend said that the position in regard to fertilisers is unsatisfactory, and we are doing our best, but we shall have to import some fertilisers—I think he said 1J lakh tons—in order to meet the growing requirements of the States. Sir, last week, at question time, when I dared to suggest that perhaps green manures and local manorial resources could come to the aid of the Food Ministry, my hon. friend, the Deputy Minister, who was answering questions for the Food Ministry on that day, turned to me with a chilling response and he said something in a tone as though implying "Did your grandmother tell you this?" Sir, I was disappointed with it, because grandmothers' remedies, in my time at least, were very effective and much cheaper than the costly antibiotics that you get in the market today. The Planning Commission has circulated to the Members of this House, and probably also to the Members of the other House, these three pamphlets written by a former Director of Agriculture, who is now an Adviser to the Programme Administration of the Planning Commission. The titles are attractive—"Self-help in Agriculture", "Potentialities of Green Manuring" and "If Each Field Grows Its Manure". Sir, these pamphlets contain a great deal of hope and promise for this country without having to go abroad for fertilisers or spending large sums of money on erecting fertiliser plants. Sir, I will read one or two brief paragraphs from the pamphlet "If Each Field

Grows Its Manure". It says that in one demonstration farm in the Cauvery delta they were able to raise entirely from green manure the annual output from 1.07 lakhs of pounds in three years to 2-33 lakhs of pounds, and each demonstration farm in Madras State was able, in the course of two or three years, to produce more than its own requirements of green manure. And, Sir, what was the aggregate result? Madras State produced 2 million tons of rice in 1951-52 and it produced 3-1 million tons in 1955-56. Andhra State came next with 35 per cent, and Mysore, I think, was also responsible for a considerable increase in its rice production.

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: The increase in food production in Madras was not due to the use of green manure.

SHIBI B. SHIVA RAO: I wondered to myself, on reading this pamphlet, whether these figures were confined to results obtained only in Madras or in other parts of India. In another pamphlet which deals with the potentialities of green manuring—I will not read the whole paragraph but I will summarise it for the benefit of the House—it is stated that in Punjab there was a 35 per cent, increase over non-manured areas in certain fields. In U. P. green-manuring gave an increase of 20 per cent, and in some cases the yield was raised by 45 per cent. In Bihar there was an increase of 106 per cent, over fields which did not use green manure; and these are the results which have been obtained in several States. I was rather disappointed with the Minister of Food when he spoke this morning that he did not have one word to say about the use of green manure. I make this point very strongly because in spite of all the efforts that have been made by Directors of Agriculture in different States, even today, I believe, the position is that only 10 per cent, of the total cultivated land in this country is using green-manure. !

That is the second point to which I would like to draw the attention of the Food Minister.

With regard to the 'White Paper which has been circulated to us by the Ministry, if the Minister will not misunderstand me, I feel that this White Paper is somewhat insipid and unimaginative and there is very little either of vigour or imagination in it. As I read and I came to paragraph 12, I came across the words 'the main strategy of the Food Department has been', I pricked my ears in hope and I said to myself 'At last the Food Ministry is thinking in terms of general strategy'. I thought of the recommendation made by a great humanist who is also a great scientist, Lord Boyd-Orr, who came out to India in 1949. Lord Boyd-Orr was the Secretary-General, I think, of the Food and Agriculture Organisation and therefore knows a good deal about the problems of agriculture and particularly problems of nutrition in which he has specialised. Lord Boyd-Orr, after going round India, made certain suggestions which I think need to be considered afresh at the present moment. He said that he would like to see the whole problem of food production in India placed on a war footing. That phrase should not be misunderstood, certainly not from Lord Boyd-Orr, because he is a great believer in world peace and the only kind of war that he can think of is a war against poverty and disease and malnutrition. He suggested the appointment of a Food Council with a Food Commissioner at the Centre and Zonal Commissioners in charge of different zones in order to cut through all red-tape. I hope that the All-Parties Food Council which the Food Minister announced this morning as having been created will gradually develop into the kind of the Food Council which was recommended by Lord Boyd-Orr.

There is one other point I would like to suggest for the consideration of the Minister I think a campaign,

[Shri B. Shiva Kao.] If it is to succeed, as he himself pointed out, should have the positive support of the masses of the people, and in this matter I would like him to consider the very close association of the Minister for Information and Broadcasting with the All-Parties Food Council that has been created. I think the radio and the films can play a great part in this matter in order to bring to the notice of the masses the results of scientific research and also the achievements in other parts of the country from the use of improved seeds, from the use of green manures and other things which are well within the reach of the cultivators.

There is one other point which I would like the Minister to consider and that is, whether it is right to suggest a compulsory levy, as has been done, I think, in one of the memoranda circulated by the Planning Commission; a compulsory levy from all cultivators whose lands happen to be near irrigation canals. Compulsion and enthusiasm are incompatible terms. You can never compel a person to be enthusiastic about anything. Therefore the incentives that the Food Minister offers should be positive in character and I would prefer that he should think in terms of giving positive incentives to cultivators who make use of the water in the canals which flow past their fields. The incentives I have in mind are a generous rebate, maybe for one year or even for two years, for cultivators who build their own ancillary canals and channels from irrigation projects in the neighbourhood. There are other incentives I can think of, but the time at my disposal being limited, I propose to send a note to the Food Minister in regard to the suggestions I have to make in that regard.

Finally I would like to ask the Food Minister to tell the House what steps he is taking or going to take to make the statistics that he gets from the different States more accurate than they are at the present moment. I make

this point because I have one or two instances in my mind in which a State Ministry estimated its probable food-production at a considerably lower figure than I think was the estimate of the Planning Commission, and ultimately it happened that the Planning Commission was much nearer the mark than the State Ministry. It may be said 'What is the harm in under-statement?' The harm is this that the State Ministry in making that understatement—which according to a former Finance Minister, Shri Deshmukh, is deliberately done in order to prevent the Centre from requisitioning surplus stocks,—the consequence of the under-statement is, that you create a psychology of scarcity and therefore you encourage hoarding. I would like the Food Minister to tell the House whether he is taking any steps to improve the collection of statistics so that there may be no under-statement of the kind that I have in mind.

SHRI ROHIT M. DAVE (Bombay): Mr. Deputy Chairman, the hon. Food Minister has appealed to all sections-of the House to consider the food problem as a national problem and not to make it a party issue. Some of the Members of the Congress Party, while supporting this particular plea, chose to make certain uncharitable remarks regarding the Opposition Parties who are today engaged specially in U.P. in focussing the attention of the public towards the grave food situation prevailing there. I will not emulate their examples and enter here into a controversy which we can keep out of this debate. I can only assure the hon. Minister of Food on my behalf and on behalf of my party that whatever may be our quarrel, whatever steps we might be compelled to take here or elsewhere in order to combat what we consider to be a wrong policy, no Member of the Praja Socialist Party worth his name, will ever come in the way of any national effort that might be made to deal with the food situation and the food problem.

SHRI J. S. BISHT: Then you call back the agitation.

SHRI ROHIT M. DAVE: That is the spirit in which I would like to deal with the food problem here, and to offer certain suggestions and certain criticisms.

The very first and the most important part that one has to deal with in dealing with the food situation is to correctly assess what has happened in our country during the last three or four months. In the White Paper that was supplied to us and in the speech which the Food Minister made here, an impression is sought to be created that the food situation is serious only in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and in West Bengal. I have before me, Sir, an array of figures; I will not tire the House by reading the whole of them. But I may say, from these figures it becomes quite clear that there is not a single State in India which has escaped a big upward pressure in food prices. Even in Andhra which is a surplus State the prices have gone up, the wholesale prices; the index number which was 98 in February seems to have gone up in August to 105. Even in Madras the wholesale price index number which was 86 or 87 in January and February has gone up to 97.

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: That is due to sympathetic action.

SHRI ROHIT M. DAVE: In Mysore the index number has gone up from 95 or 96 in January and February to 113. I can go on multiplying these instances to show that even in those States in which it is believed that the food situation is fairly easy, the prices are going up, and the Government and I may say, the country is not in a position to hold the prices anywhere in the country. But that fact has to be remembered if we try to find a solution for the problem that we are facing. Secondly, we have to analyse all the various causes which are responsible for this particular state of affairs. We are told in the White Paper that the causes are many, but !

they are mainly three. Firstly, they say the population is increasing at a very rapid rate; secondly, that our people, who all along had been underfed, are now spending more on food articles, a larger percentage of their incomes on them and thirdly, because of the increase in the purchasing power and progressive urbanisation of our people, they are changing over in an increasing measure from coarser grains like *jawar* and *bajra* to superior grains like wheat and rice. These are the three longterm measures which according to the White Paper are responsible for the food situation that we are facing now. Then because of the drought conditions there is difficulty. The White Paper says that in 1957 there were no severe floods; but there was serious failure of the monsoons in Northern India and both the *kharif* and the rabi crops suffered greatly in consequence, and this has created the present crisis. Now, taking the last cause first, I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to the fact that the available cereals and pulses in 1957-58, which is roughly 65-63 million tons, compare quite favourably with those for 1955-56 which had a total available stock of foodstuffs of the order of 65.4 million tons. In spite of the fact that in 1955-56 the available quantity was 65.4 million tons, it was possible for the Government to hold the prices. But in 1957-58 just two years afterwards, with food available to the extent of 65.63 million tons, we find that we are not able to hold the prices. This clearly shows that mere availability of a quantity of food-grains cannot explain the situation as it exists today, nor can the long-term measures which the hon. Minister and the White Paper have mentioned really explain why the prices have risen today. There seem to be other forces working, and unless these other forces are properly analysed and properly studied, it will not be possible for the country to master the food situation.

Attention has already been drawn to the increase in the currency in. cuv

[Shri Rohit M. Dave.] culation and also to the general inflationary pressure that is now in existence in the country. I would submit for the consideration of the Central Government the simple fact that the deficit financing that we are now resorting to in order to deal with our second Five Year problems, that also is exerting a very heavy pressure on the prices. Till now deficit financing was absorbed by the community in terms of fluidity preference, and the money had gone from the pockets of the people into the market. But now the liquidity preference has reached the saturation point and any large-scale deficit financing that might take place now will have a very considerable inflationary pressure on our prices, and if we want to master the food situation, we will have to take that side also into consideration, I realise that we have also to deal with our Plan and our economic development, and looking to the resources available to us, it will not be possible for us to delete deficit financing altogether. Deficit financing will have to be there and it will be exerting an upward pressure. Therefore it is all the more important that we should devise our food policy in such a way that even with deficit financing we are able to hold the food prices, as far as we can.

Another point to which I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister is this. What is the real reason and why did prices rise in some of the areas where the food situation as far as supply is concerned is considered to be fairly easy or comfortable? The real reason has already been mentioned here—hoarding and profiteering by certain classes of people. In devising any food policy therefore, we will have to take this fact also into consideration, that in our country there are people who will resort to profiteering and also to hoarding and thereby take advantage of the food situation that we are facing. This is the reality of the situation, and by merely swearing about profiteering or

racketeering it will not be possible to hold the prices. We will have to take the realities into consideration and deal with them. Because of this upward pressure and because of the fact that whenever there is such an upward pressure on prices there is bound to be profiteering and racketeering, I would like the Union Minister to consider whether the policy with reference to distribution that he has adopted so far will be adequate enough to deal with the situation that this country is bound to face for some years to come. We have been given a large array of the measures which the Central Government and the State Governments have already taken in order to hold the prices. We have been told that credit freezing has been applied. We have been told that zoning has been resorted to. We have been told that powers have been given to the State Governments in order to deal with profiteers and racketeers.

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We have been told that adequate buffer stocks have been kept by the Centre to see that whenever any very difficult situation arises the stock can be rushed there. We have been told that procurement and fair price shops will take care of any abnormal situations that would develop anywhere. May I, Sir, most respectfully submit that all these measures are already there and, in spite of that, even when the availability of food was to the extent of 65·2 million tons, the food situation as we are witnessing today did develop. Is the Food Minister convinced that as far as the distribution is concerned, the measures <hat he has already taken are sufficient to cope up with any food situation? I would suggest that this particular situation demands much greater consideration and a much bolder policy. I would only read from the report of the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee one paragraph. It is on page 86, para 7(5). It is this paragraph which gives us a policy recommendation. Unless that policy recommendation is fully adopted, it will not be possible for us to deal with the distribution

aspect of the food situation at an. ine , paragraph is a very small one and | Teads thus:

"We would like to emphasise here that until there is social con- trol over the wholesale trade we shall not be in a position to bring I about stabilisation of foodgrains prices. Our policy should, therefore, I be that of progressive and planned socialisation of the wholesale trade | in foodgrains".

Dealing with this aspect in the other House, the hon. Food Minister told j She other House.

"Already certain measures have been taken in order to socialise the distribution of food grains."

He further informed the House:

"The marketable surplus in the country today is of the order of 16 to 18 million tons and the Government are today handling between 3 and 3'5 million tons which comes to 15 to 20 per cent, of the marketable surplus which goes in the market."

This 15 to 20 per cent, of what comes 1 to the market comes only to 3 to 3-5 million tons and this has failed to create that stabilising influence. Therefore, it is necessary that a bold- er and larger socialisation of the ! wholesale trade should take place.

I now, Sir, come to the question of the production because, unless production is increased, it will not be possible for us to deal with the food situation adequately at all. I will not go into all the various measures that ! can be suggested with reference to the food production because the time at my disposal is very short. The Government of India had appointed as many as sixteen committees by now in the last ten years to deal with the various food problems. These Committees have already made certain very valuable suggestions with regard to how the food production can be increased. These

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suggestions are before the Governments, are before the Central as well as before the State Governments, and these measures can be looked into. I would only like to emphasise one fact that as long as land reforms are not given top priority by the State Governments in order to deal with agricultural problems, it will not be possible for them to make a serious dent into the difficult situation.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: We are giving top priority for landlords to evict the tenants.

SHRI ROHIT M. DAVE: As long as land reforms are not given top priority, it will not be possible for them to make any serious dent into the agricultural problems. Land reforms have been emphasised over and over again by the Planning Commission, have been emphasised by all political parties including the Congress, have bei;n emphasised by the Planning Minister himself so many times, and yet we are not able to make any progress in a large number of States with regard to land reforms. Land reforms is a problem which will have to be tackled, and unless it is tackled as early as possible, it will not be possible for the country to master the food situation or the agricultural situation at all.

The second point to which I would like to draw attention is with reference to the various measures that are necessary in order to see that the capacity of the agriculturist to increase food production is raised. In this connection, Sir, many suggestions have already been made, suggestions regarding green manure, suggestions regarding self-help on the part of the villagers in order to dig channels, and to encourage the villagers to resort to this type of self-help, etc. Already suggestions have also been made with reference to the credit facilities that should be given in order that it may be possible for the agriculturists to have proper implements, proper seeds, proper water facilities, etc., in order to deal with the production problems.

[Shri Rohit M. Dave.] In spite of all the facilities that might be given to the agriculturists and even in spite of the land reforms which might be tried, I am sure that the agriculturists will not be enthused to increase the production as long as we do not guarantee them an adequate price. Sir, the experience of the Indian agriculturist of the years 1953-54 and 1954-55 is a very sad experience. In those years, food production and agricultural production increased and the result was that prices went down so much that it was not possible for the agriculturist even to earn what he was normally entitled to earn looking to his five or ten years of experience. As long as the agriculturist is not, therefore, assured of an adequate price, it will not be possible for him to put sufficient heart into increasing the production at all. In this connection, Sir, I would make only one suggestion and then I will end. The suggestion is that there should be, before the sowing season, a definite floor price declared by the Government. This is being done in China, I am told with very great result, because the Chinese peasantry know that whatever the production, whatever their effort to increase production, when the production goes to the market, he will be assured of a particular price and, if he is not able to get that price from the market, then the Government gives the guarantee to buy at that price the entire stock that he offers for sale. I would, Sir, in this connection, read from "KURUKSHETRA" August 15, 1958 number, in which one Mr. Douglas Ensminger who happens to be the Representative in India of the Ford Foundation has made a suggestion to the same effect and in a very forceful manner. I will just read to you one paragraph and then I will end:

"GUARANTEED PRICES FOR FOOD CROPS

To set the stage for an intensive effort of helping and encouraging village cultivators to increase food production, the nation must, as a rational policy, establish each year,

at least six months before time for the villager to plant his crops, guarantee sale prices for all the basic food crops. If, in planning to sow certain crops, the cultivator knows that at the time of harvest the Government will guarantee him a minimum sale price, he will then know how much he can invest in improved seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, improved implements, irrigation and soil conservation. He can then calculate his expenses, as a business man must, and know if he farms well he will get higher production with a margin of profit. Assurance of profits from his added effort and his higher investment, will give him the necessary incentive to change from the traditional to improved practices."

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity. I welcome the speech of the hon. Food Minister and congratulate him for frankly admitting and placing before us a clear picture of the food situation obtaining in the country today. But as the time at my disposal is very limited I would like to suggest to him only a few points on which at least I could not fully agree with him.

Sir, the first item that I take up— as he himself has also said—is the long-term project for producing and also for procuring food. One difficulty which the hon. Minister has mentioned is as to the availability of fertilizers. People have become fertilizer-minded and the fertilizer which we produce cannot cope with the demand: we have to import it from outside. Sir, in this connection we must bear in mind that distribution of fertilizers without proper arrangements for irrigation, instead of improving the soil rather spoils it. Eighty per cent of our land is dependent on rain water and as there is drought almost every year and almost in every State, when we plan for distributing this fertilizer, we must give priority to the irrigated land first, where the fertilizer-

could be utilised to the fullest advantage and we can have the fullest value in return. Next we can take up the unirrigated lands. If possible, we can give them some; if not, we should make arrangements for proper irrigation for those unirrigated lands. So my suggestion is in places where artisan wells are possible, we should go in for them. They serve a very good purpose and their number may be increased.

In connection with the production of more food, another important item is the supply of good seeds. Fifty per cent of the seeds which our cultivators use do not germinate. Therefore the Government must have a number of seed multiplying farms throughout the country where good seeds which will germinate properly can be distributed in time, just before the season. Our administrative machinery is also so slow and I am very sorry to say that it is so much inefficient that in proper time neither seed nor fertiliser is supplied to the cultivators. Therefore, we should see to it that, whatever we supply, it must reach the cultivators in time so that they can make full use of those things.

As far as procuring is concerned, the Government should have realised not only today but for some time past that we shall have to build up sufficient stocks and we shall have to make purchases from our own country. I know in 1957 in Calcutta rice was selling at Es. 16 per maund but there was no arrangement with the Government to purchase at that time. This year also in January rice was selling at Rs. 17 per maund and the mill-owners approached the Government because there was some crisis. They approached the Government and asked the Government to purchase that rice but there was no arrangement at that time.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: They never approached me.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE: I am coming to that point also. The other difficulty with the hon. Minister is we discuss here and decide certain things but for their implementation he has to depend on the State Governments, and the State Governments' problems also differ from State to State. He simply pleads his helplessness. Therefore I welcome our Prime Minister's appeal to treat this food problem as a national problem and I also congratulate the members of other political parties who have come forward to co-operate with the Government and to treat this food problem as a national problem. This food problem can only be solved, in my opinion, if there is a national approach. Party approach will never be able to solve this problem. That will only create complication after complication; that will create new situation in different States at different times. Not only this problem—it is neither here nor there—but incidentally I can mention that there are other problems also which in my opinion should be treated as national problems, and an attempt should be made to solve them with the co-operation of the political parties in our country.

Then I come to the short-term programme. There are many old irrigation tanks. I know, all over India. Especially in West Bengal I know there are many. If we can make these old irrigation tanks useful for irrigation purposes, today most of the land which cannot be irrigated from any other source like canals and other things, can be irrigated. Therefore which cannot be irrigated from any other source like canals and other every State.

Our immediate problem is one of distribution. When the hon. Minister mentioned this I felt that he was feeling a little confident because in some of the States they have introduced these identity cards for solving the problem of distribution. But I have doubts in my mind whether the introduction of these identity cards

[Shri Surendra Mohan Ghose.] will really help in solving the problem unless we seek public co-operation in the matter. My idea is that from these fair price shops some quantity of foodgrains go into the open market or the black market, whatever you may call it. In order to check that, if we authorise some of the public men—categories of public men-like M.Ps., M.L.As., Municipal Commissioners, Corporation Members, District Board Members, Professors, Headmasters of schools etc. who can have some authority to go and check the cards or the ration drawn by those fair price shop people from the Government, I think that will go a long way in changing this atmosphere which is prevailing in the country. Today everybody thinks that there is corruption going on and there is no machinery by which we can satisfy ourselves and say 'we are satisfied that nothing is wrong with this distribution machinery'. Therefore my suggestion is that in order to help proper distribution, public cooperation has to be sought and we have to clear the atmosphere, where people can breathe freely and everybody can say, 'yes' we are satisfied that nothing can happen like what was happening before'.

Then I appeal not to all but to some of the Members of the Opposition to rethink about this problem. On the one hand we all accept that this problem is a national problem and we ought to deal with it all together as if all of us have got the same interest in the problem and in its solution.

On the other hand, if we constantly give threats of 'Satyagrah' 5 p.m. for looting the rations from the stockists, that will not help us in finding out a real solution of the problem. Therefore, I am appealing to those Members who are now thinking in terms of offering 'Satyagrah'—for finding a solution of the problem—to re-think and reconsider and give up that approach altogether. Now that a new situation has been created after the Prime Minister's appeal and now that all the different parties have come forward to co-operate, the 'Satyagrah' or other resistance should be given up. That is all. I thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Ghose will sit till six o'clock?

SHRI V. K. DHAGE (Bombay): No, Sir. Till 5 o'clock.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Till 5 o'clock.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Hon. Members want to speak.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What is the sense of the House?

We have to go somewhere else.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right. The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at one minute past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 16th September 1958.