

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

est of farmers from loss due to unavoidable causes".

*The motion was adopted.*

श्री यमुना प्रसाद मंडल : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं बिज्जेयक को पुर स्थापित करता हूँ।

15.47 hrs.

# CONSTITUTION (AMENDMENT) BILL\*

(AMENDMENT OF ARTICLES 124 AND 155)

PROF MADHU DANDAVATE: I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Constitution of India.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Constitution of India".

*The motion was adopted.*

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE I introduce the Bill

15.47½ hrs

# PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT THROUGH PANCHAYAT RAJ BILL—Contd.

BY SHRI KANABAHADUR SINGH

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We take up further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri Kanabhadur Singh on the 28th November, 1974:—

"That the Bill to provide for planning and development through various democratic and official agencies of Panchayat Raj, be taken into consideration".

On the last occasion, Shri Shenoy was on his legs. He may resume his speech.

SHRI P. R. SHENOY (Udipi): I was narrating the incident of the authorities of a State trying to fix the location of a proposed public well in a village where there was no agreement regarding its fixation amongst the villagers. The authorities had never visited the village and they had no knowledge of the village at all. Sitting in the headquarters of the State, they decided that the well should be at the centre of the village. So they brought a map of the village and took some pains to find out the centre of the village and placed a mark there and directed that the well should be dug exactly at that place. An official was deputed to the village. When he went there, he found that this point was on the top of a rocky hill. Therefore, the villagers could not get the well which they wanted very badly. This is the result of planning from State headquarters or from Delhi and not at the district/village level.

The Ministry of Planning has promised that the people would be involved in the Fifth Plan. I do not know how the people have been involved in its formulation. So far no people have been involved in the plan at all. Even MPs have not been involved in the formulation of the plan except to the extent of attending some committee meetings.

In some States, District Planning Committees and District Development Councils have been formed but these are neither democratic, nor do they have any power to implement or monitor the plan. In Karnataka, there are not even District Boards. These were abolished long back. The promised zila parishads have not yet come into existence. Unless we have democratic bodies at district panchayat levels, we cannot really have a

good plan for plenty and development of the rural areas of our country. In the last four Five Year Plans, we have made a lot of investment in machineries and in institutions at the expense of man.

Man has been exploited to build machinery and institutions in the hope that the machinery and institutions would subserve the interest of man in due course. But even now the growth of man is negligible when compared to the growth of machinery and institutions. The growth of machinery and institutions is in geometric progression whereas the growth of common men or the villagers is very slack or in small arithmetic progression. Villagers are migrating to urban areas to find jobs. Every year we find surplus population practically in every village in the country. Educated people from the district go abroad or to bigger towns seeking luxury and security in the form of white collar job. They have lost the spirit of adventure and they have lost faith in self-employment. To make up for the lost spirit of adventure some of them have begun to consume spirit and do nothing.

The main reason for this is that the Government is not throwing enough challenges at the district level to the young men who are educated. If the State Government throws some challenges to these young men I am sure they will remain in their district and try to improve the standard of living of the people of that particular district. Planning at the village level is very faulty, if at all it has reached that level.... (Interruptions) It has reached some villages. For instance in my district of South Canara in Karnataka State there is an elementary school in practically every village. There is no branch of some bank for every three villages of the district. But along with these schools and banks we have in each and every village

without exception a liquor shop of a toddy shop. These shops are meant to exploit the villagers to the maximum extent possible. Though there are elementary schools they do not have enough teachers. The banks collect deposit and the advances made by them are much below the deposits received by them. The employees in these rural branches have no knowledge of the rural life at all as they come generally from the cities and towns. In our district there are about a lakh of small land holders owning between 1 and 5 acres. Some of them are already owners and others are in the process of becoming owners under the Land Reforms Act. No provision has been made by the State to supply seeds, fertilisers, pesticides or credit to these small land holders and no effort has also been made by the State to supplement the income of these people by way of dairy farming, poultry farming etc. No encouragement has been given to Khadi or handloom cloth or sericulture industry or any other village industry. At the central level we are spending hundreds of crores of rupees for this purpose, but this money does not reach the villages.

The result is the villagers spend their spare time in cock fights, side bets and lotteries provided by the State. House sites have been distributed to thousands of landless labourers but there is no money to build houses. Government says, it has no money to build houses on these house sites. The State Bank and the nationalised banks have a lot of money but they say, they have no schemes to build houses in rural areas. LIC has crores of rupees but their schemes to build houses are restricted to cities and towns. This is the situation. We can improve it only by having plans at district level and panchayat level. I am sure Government also agrees with this, but we need not have a statute to do this. This can be done

[Shri P. R. Shenoy]

by an administrative order. Before that, a highpowered committee should be formed to go into the whole question deeply. So, I request the Government to form a high-powered committee to go into the question of having plans at district panchayat levels involving the people in our plans. I request Shri Ranabhadur Singh to withdraw the Bill if the Government agrees to form such a committee.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We have almost exhausted the 2 hours allotted for this Bill and yet there are six Members who have already given their names. Then the Minister has to intervene and the Mover has to reply. I do not know what is the pleasure of the House.

SHRI THA KIRUTTINAN (Sivaganja): It is an important Bill. Some more time should be given.

SHRI JAGANNATH MISHRA (Madhubani): It should be extended at least by half an hour.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Let us be realistic. Half an hour will not do. The other Bills may have to be pushed out. Shri Gomango

SHRI GIRIDHAR GOMANGO (Koraput): Sir, this is not a new Bill. The hon. Member suggests some council at the district level. But there are district boards already functioning in some States. In some other States, there are no district boards. The Mover has rightly moved this Bill to get an opportunity to submit his views on the functioning of panchayat samitis in his State and in other States. Actually the panchayat samiti is the unit for the development of the State. Long back the Father of the Nation said:

"If you spend your next vacation in some far off village in the inter-

rior, you will see the truth of my research. You will find the people cheerless and fear-stricken. You will find houses in ruins. You will look in vain for any sanitary or hygienic conditions. You will find the cattle in a miserable way and yet you will see idleness stalking there."

16.00 hrs.

I would like to know from the hon. Minister how far we have achieved the aims and ambitions of Mahatma Gandhi, what he wanted to be achieved in this country.

My humble submission before the Minister is that as the panchayat samities are the unit for the development of any area, so, you should reform that. Now you will see the panchayat houses in a ruined condition and the village industries are already gone. The developmental administration in the block level has to be improved.

We are coming from the villages, though we are living in the towns. When we compare the towns and villages we find that the difference is that between hell and heaven. It happens because the distance from the village to the town is very much. Not only the distance is much but we do things only in paper; everything is transacted in paper. That delays the implementation. When we plan a scheme in paper, at least a percentage of it should be implemented.

The main reason for under-development or non-development of the panchayat raj areas is lack of finance and planning. The plans which we propose there should be according to the needs of the people and they should satisfy at least the minimum needs of the people. For that we should know what are the basic needs of the people and then try to satisfy them at least before the end of the Fifth Plan.

Now there are a number of Tribal Development blocks. The aim of the TD blocks is intensive development of the area. Now we are proposing integrated development schemes. Whatever may be the scheme, the administrative structure of the block and district level should be improved. There should be a Collector exclusively in charge of development. My proposal to the Government is that since panchayati raj is one development unit, there should be one IAS officer who should be empowered to deal with all developmental matters within his jurisdiction and capacity. Those proposals should not be sent to the State or Central level for approval. That should be decided on the spot.

16.03 hrs.

[SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GOSWAMI in the Chair].

On the other hand, if proposals relating to the development of the blocks are to be decided at the district or State level, and that also by means of files, since the files move very slowly, it will take years, perhaps one Five Year Plan even to start a scheme. Government have proposed single-line administration for the tribal blocks and that should be implemented, because, in a single-line administration there will not be any confusion.

Though our Constitution says that increasing the level of development and administration in the tribal and backward areas is the responsibility of both the Central and State Governments, I am not saying that neither the State nor the Central Government has done anything. In the past we took measures for the development of those areas in a half-hearted manner. It requires sympathetic consideration.

Mahatma Gandhi said it and everybody says it now. But the thing is, if we want to achieve socialism, villageism should be introduced. The

village is the basic unit for our development. The village is the birth and death-place of a person. I am not saying that the towns should not be improved or developed. But the village as the basic unit should be developed and improved. The Government should give priority, while they formulate schemes, and give more emphasis on the village panchayat and the village development.

I am not going to speak more on this. The Bill which has been moved by the hon. Member, Shri Rana Bahadur Singh, for planning and development through Panchayat Raj has been brought before the House at a proper time because, when the discussions for the Annual Plan for 1975-76 start, I hope, the hon. Minister will give more emphasis on planning and development through Panchayat Raj.

Lastly, I would like to request the hon. Minister regarding one thing. The Minister of Agriculture was kind enough to start tribal projects in India. There are six tribal projects. The allocation is the same. But the development unit that they propose and fix differs from State to State. For example, in Madhya Pradesh, the Khunta tribal project covers four blocks whereas in my district of Koraput, the tribal project covers ten blocks. Then, there is the Ganjam project which covers nine blocks. The allocation is the same. I would like to know from the hon. Minister on what basis they have given the money, whether it is area-wise or population-wise. If you go on the basis of population, the population is less in the four-block project and the population is more in the ten-block project. If the hon. Minister kindly consider this question, our project will get more allocation.

I would request the hon. Minister that agriculture should be developed in these tribal blocks and the Master Plan for irrigation for the Panchayat Samiti which was proposed by the State Government should be given priority. If the Minister of

[Shri Giridhar Gomango]

Agriculture will say that irrigation is a State subject and that we have nothing to do from the Centre, then the Centre can do this much that they might earmark some money for irrigation for each and every block. I hope, the hon. Minister will do something in this regard.

SHRI THA KIRUTTINAN (Sivaganja): Mr. Chairman, Sir, first of all, I should congratulate my hon. friend, Shri Rana Bahadur Singh, for bringing before the House this good Bill for discussion.

The Government itself should have brought such a Bill, passed such an Act, so that the villages and the people in the rural areas would have benefited much. But the Government has failed and my hon. friend, Shri Rana Bahadur Singh, has brought this Bill before the House. All sections of the House has supported the spirit of this Bill. Though some Members there may not have supported the Bill, they have supported the spirit of the Bill. So, I would request the Government that at least by this time some action has to be taken to enforce the thinking of our leaders and the nation-builders.

The hon. Member, Shri Shenoy, was saying that a highpowered committee should be appointed to go into all these things. So many committees have been appointed by the Government. They have given their suggestions. Most of the State Governments have appointed highpowered committees. They have given their suggestions and recommendations. But the Government of India which is interested in enforcing uniformity in respect of all other things have not taken any interest to bring uniformity in this legislation so far as Panchayat planning and development is concerned....

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND IRRIGATION (SHRI ANNASAHAB P. SHINDE): I hope you are speaking on behalf of the DMK Government. Have you consulted your Government?

SHRI THA KIRUTTINAN: Our Government, not only the DMK Government but also the previous Congress Governments, have introduced this system in our State. I am saying that you have not taken any decision or any steps to introduce this...

SHRI ANNASAHAB P. SHINDE: I will put just one question. I want to know whether it is the policy of the DMK Government—I would welcome it—that the Centre should legislate in regard to this particular subject-matter.

SHRI THA KIRUTTINAN: I am saying that the Centre is interested in enforcing uniformity in other cases, but they are not interested in bringing uniformity in this case. Most of the States have not conducted elections, have not brought any legislation to introduce this panchayat samiti system. So, I want to bring to the kind notice of the hon. Minister that he should look into this position in most of the States where this system has not been introduced so far.

Secondly, villages are the basic units of the nation, the basic units of the economy of this country. If the villages are not developed we cannot claim that this country as a whole would develop as we, the politicians and the political parties, expect. I come from a very small village and I represent my village as the President of that village. Being the Chairman of the Panchayati Union in my area, I am aware of the difficulties and the miseries and the undeveloped conditions of the villages. I myself tried to do much for the villages. There are villages without roads, without drinking water, without school buildings, without sanitation and other basic needs and facilities. The present system of planning is not suited to touch the villages. The present system of planning does not reflect the

aspirations of the people who are living in the villages. The village panchayats do not have the necessary finance to fulfil their local demands. We talk much about villages and village development. But we must think over the things which we have done so far for the village people.

This Bill which seeks to provide for planning and development through various democratic and official agencies of Panchayat Raj, should be welcomed by all sections of the House. Now, the political and economic powers are centralised. I am coming to this point now. My request is that the political as well as economic powers should be decentralised. That is the object of this Bill. Even the constitution of Panchayats as well as Panchayat Unions and Block development rest with the Government of India. I can cite an example. In my district, Ramanathapuram district, there is one Block called Bogalur, which consists of 64 village panchayats having a vast area. It is unable to develop. It has no finance at all. Our Government as well as the Panchayat Union and the District Development Council have recommended bifurcation of this into two Blocks. It has come to the Government of India, but the Government of India has always been rejecting this. Our request has not been considered favourably so far. The power is still with the Centre and that power has not been utilised properly for all States uniformly. When such is the situation, how can the village panchayats plan further development? So, we demand decentralisation of political and economic powers which only, I think, will help the nation to develop a healthy situation.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wanted a national programme which will have as its objectives:

- (1) involving the village people in the process of breaking the forces of traditionalism and the bondages of poverty.

- (2) An organizational structure which would, in meaningful ways, involve to the village people with the government in building a new nation.

SHRI V. T. Krishnamachari, the then Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission stressed the need of involving the village people directly in both the formulation and implementation of India's future plans.

Mr. Dey who was the architect of Community Development and Panchayat Raj gave the structural meaning and content to the process of involving village people in a national self-help community development programme and projected the role of the Government as a resource in providing technical and financial support.

The abovementioned three personalities and national leaders shared in the conceptualisation of India's community development programme and painted it on the large canvas of India's 5,50,000 villages.

It is claimed that the Panchayats have existed in India for centuries and that we are only recreating the classical image of the panchayats. Panchayat Raj is not something new but is an effort to re-discover what once served to vitalise the entire nation. However, there is a fundamental difference between whatever might have existed in the past and what we are seeking to build up now.

Society remained stationary in the past and it could not think in terms of the elements of growth, technological changes and new inputs. But we can no longer remain static because three elements now exist that did not operate in the past. One is that we are living in a crowded world.

We are living in a shrinking world and we are living in a changing world. We have to achieve these changes in a much shorter time. Time is of crucial importance in the whole process of development.

[Shri Tha Kiruttinan]

Panchayats are described as organs of implementation and above all, as agents of modernisation. Panchayat Raj institutions did not arise from the need to implement the community development programmes. The panchayat raj system was conceived and set up as an instrument of change of transformation.

I think there is a lot that remains to be done with planning at the block and district levels. I think that it is not that our implementation is inadequate. Rather it is our planning that is defective. There is really very little of planning at the grassroots. If that is to be done, I think the Panchayat Unions or the districts would be the obvious unit for the organisation of techno-economic surveys and techno-administrative planning. This has to be done within the broad frame work evolved for the Centre and the States. No district can ever be in a position to produce its requirements of steel, power, cement etc. The necessary financial resources will have to be found at the national and state levels. But to identify the resources, to find out the ways and means, whereby these resources can be fully energised and organised, the techno-administrative and techno-economic possibilities are the things that can and should be done at the district levels.

Circumstances are forcing us to realise the fact that if we are to solve the basic problems of food, we have to think in terms of establishing the most complex agro-industrial relationships. Even if the most rustic problems are to be solved we have to bring to hear upon it sophisticated understanding. There is no getting away from that brutal fact. That is where the process of planning becomes so crucial.

India's urgent need today is to understand the new purposes. To the extent we make panchayat institutions, democratic institutions and planning institutions subservient to

transforming revolutions we shall have served the cause we cherish.

Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, now President of India, when he was Minister for Agriculture said:

"The programmes envisaged in the Fifth Plan for grassroots development could be effectively implemented only if the panchayat raj institutions were fully involved and made to function properly."

Our Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in a message, said as follows:

"Unless the people were associated with the policy, planning and implementation process, nothing could be done to lift the vast majority of the rural populace from the morass of poverty."

Many Members have mentioned about the Father of the Nation, Gandhiji. The concept of panchayat raj initiated in villages did not work as Gandhiji had visualised. The working of the panchayati raj is influenced by decisions from the top and the people who are passionately concerned with the programme are not consulted. The planning for the country's progress should be from below. I am surprised to note that the slogan, 'Planning from below' has been reintroduced after so many years at the Centre by the Planning Minister, Mr. D. P. Dhar. The greatest failure of panchayats has been the assumption of a fragmented approach to the question and their inability to inculcate such a spirit.

The only level at which the people as such can cooperate in raising agricultural production is the village level.

Although the gram sabhas and village panchayats have existed in many parts of the country they are only 'paper bodies'. The objectives of panchayat raj system is democratic decentralisation. But the development programmes have been imposed from the headquarters. Instead of that, if the programmes had been drawn up after consulting the panchayats, and

including them in the planning aspects of their territories perhaps there would have been more enthusiastic participation by the panchayat officials

The panchayat raj system which was expected to bring about changes in the power structure in the village in step with the community development programme also failed in its purpose. The panchayats became the instruments of the stronger sections in the village community for the preservation of their dominant positions rather than organs of village democracy

To modernise the rural society and economy as well as to establish social justice in place of vestiges of feudalism and exploitation one of the essential steps needed is to reorganise and revitalise the panchayat raj system. It is possible that the panchayat raj institutions can be called upon to play new roles in addition to the existing ones. These are implementation of land reforms uplift of weaker sections provision of building sites and housing subsidies to the houseless. The panchayat raj is the new system of rural local Government

The motivations for the creation of this new system have been two. They are

1 The increasing emphasis on the progressive democratisation of various institutions in harmony with the letter and spirit of the constitution

2 To develop rural entities to mobilise the people's understanding and cooperation in regard to the programme of rural community development. That is, in short, democratic decentralisation and community participation are both highly desirable objectives.

So, I request the hon Minister to concede these points and bring about a new Bill which will give true democratic decentralisation of economic and political power which our leaders visualised in this country

**श्री विभूति मिश्र (मोर्ताहारी)**

चेयरमैन साहब इस तरह से तो हमारा बिल नहीं आयेगा। टाइम एक्स्टेंड कर के इस बिल के टाइम का बढ़ा दिया गया है इस तरह से तो हमें यहाँ बिल देने का कोई लाभ नहीं है।

**सभापति महोदय** - पण्डित जी आपका बिल ना वैम भा नहीं आ सकेगा। क्योंकि इस बिल के बाद श्री उलगनम्बी का बिल है।

**श्री विभूति मिश्र** इस बिल के लिये दो घंटा रखा गया था। यदि उनका बिल न लिया जाता तो हमारे दिन व लिय पांच मिनट बच सकता था। प्रारंभ उमम अगन बिल का मंच बन सकता था। चेयरमैन साहब अगर पवित्र जगह पर जाते हैं तो बिल व लिय जा समय तय किया गया है उमम पूरा न करके उमका समय बर्बाद जाय ना दूसरा बिल ना मर जायगा। यही समय श्री पावन्दी रखी जाती था। ऐसा न जाना न पालियत का वाटरलू की लडाईं में नान मिनट दही जा गई और बड़ लडाईं हो गई। यदि प्राप समय को पावन्दी नहीं रखता और इस तरह से टाइम बढ़ा दिया जायगा तो फिर हम यहाँ किसलिये बिल दें।

MR CHAIRMAN I am of the same view but I am in the hands of the House. It is upto the House to decide

**श्री विभूति मिश्र** चेयरमैन साहब इस हाउस में ही उस टाइम को मजूर किया था, अब आप फिर वहाँ उसी तय किये हुए टाइम को नामजूर करने के लिये कहने हैं। अगर यही हालत है तो हम इस हाउस के मेंबर किसलिये रहेंगे। अगर समय की पावन्दी हाउस में नहीं रहेंगी तो यह हाउस किसलिये है?

MR CHAIRMAN What is the pleasure of the House?

AN HON MEMBER The decision to extend the time has already been taken.

**श्री जगन्नाथ मिश्र (मधुबनी) :** सभापति जी, मैं इस बिल की भावना की सराहना करता

[श्री जगन्नाथ मिश्र]

हैं, लेकिन चूंकि इस बिल का ग्राम विकास से सम्बन्ध है, इसलिये मैं इसे पारित नहीं मानता और अपने विचार में अलग से रखता हूँ। ग्राम विकास के लिये पंचायती राज का विशिष्ट स्थान है।

बापू ने कहा था—अगर हमें हिन्दुस्तान के विकास को देखना है तो ग्रामों की ओर जाना होगा और ग्रामों का विकास करना होगा। उन्हीं के विचार की पुष्टि के लिये हमारे उस वक़्त के प्रधान मंत्री पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने पंचायती राज की व्यवस्था की और उससे बहुत आशा बनी कि देश प्रगति करेगा और देश का विकास होगा। लेकिन जैसे कहा जाता है कि एक बच्चा जो जन्म लेता है और जन्म लेने के साथ ही रोगग्रस्त हो जाता है, तब जैसा हाल उसका होना चाहिये ठीक उसी तरह का ही पंचायतराज का हुआ। हमारे इस पंचायती राज का जन्म हुआ, लेकिन जन्म लेने ही वह रोगग्रस्त हो गया, अनेक दिक्कतों इसके साथ आई, इस का संगठन ठीक नहीं हुआ, मंचालन भी चलन हुआ और उसका जो परिणाम हुआ हम आज देख रहे हैं।

श्रीमन, केन्द्रीय सरकार ने 1967 में अपना दायित्व राज्य सरकारों को सौंप दिया और फिर राज्य सरकारों ने पंचायती राज्य के साथ जैसा किश—वह जग जाहिर है। पंचायतों में वज्रों चुनाव नहीं होता है, चुनावों में रंग-बरंगे राजनीतिक खेल खेले जाते हैं, उपयुक्त आदमी नहीं आते हैं, विकास का काम सम्भव नहीं होता है और इस तरह से बापू और पं० नेहरू का सपना साकार नहीं होता है, जो सरकार के लिये एक चुनौती का विषय है। इस सम्बन्ध में यह अप्रसंगिक नहीं होगा, यदि मैं यह कहूँ कि बिपक्ष के लोग भी अपने चुनाव जोड़ना तब मैं इस विषय की चर्चा नहीं करते हैं कि पंचायती राज का सफल कार्यान्वयन कैसे हो। इसलिये मैं उनके साथ भी कुछ जिम्मेदारी सौंपना चाहूँगा।

इतना ही नहीं, अबिल भारत वर्षीय पंचायती राज परिषद के आग्रह पर केन्द्रीय

सरकार ने इस के कार्य संचालन की जांच के लिये एक आयोग की नियुक्ति की जिस ने जांच करने के बाद एक रिपोर्ट दी, लेकिन अब तक उस रिपोर्ट पर कोई कार्यान्वयन नहीं हुआ। पंचायती राज एक डेमोक्रेटिक संस्था न हो कर, उसमें कुछ ऐसी गलतियाँ हुई कि वह कुछ बड़े लोगों की पोकैट की संस्था हो गई। हम यदि केवल दिल्ली, बम्बई, कलकत्ता और मद्रास के विकास पर समय लगाये और यह समझे कि देश का विकास हो रहा है तो यह गलतफहमी है, मिथ्या भावना है। इस तरह से देश का विकास नहीं हो सकता है। अगर देश के विकास में अभिरुचि लेते हैं और चाहते हैं कि वास्तव में विकास हो तो आप को गांवों की ओर जाना होगा और इसके लिये पंचायती राज ही एक सुन्दर माध्यम हो सकता है। इसलिये, श्रीमन, मेरा विचार है कि ज्यादा से ज्यादा एक हज़ार की आबादी पर पंचायती राज का संगठन हो। तीन या चार पंचायती राज पर एक लीगल एडवाइजर हो, जो हर पंचायत को जूडीशियल और एक्जीक्यूटिव मामलों के सम्बन्ध में अपने सुझाव देता रहे, जिसमें कि कार्य मुक्त रूप से चलता रहे। एक चीज जो मैं बिल्कुल आवश्यक समझता हूँ वह यह है कि पंचायती राज में विधायक या समद सदस्यों को पदाधिकारी नहीं होना चाहिये, क्योंकि उन्हें तो बाँझी बहुत काम है, इसलिये वह जाकर व्यर्थ में स्थान पर जा बैठना ठीक नहीं होगा, इसलिये वे हरगिज पदाधिकारी न हों।

मरच, त्रिने लीगल आस्पेक्ट का काम करना होता है, अवश्य पढ़ा लिखा हो और पंचायत से सम्बन्धित जितनी भी समस्याएँ हैं उनके समाधान का दायित्व पंचायत पर हो। लेकिन यह सब कैसे होगा? इसके लिये सरकार के सहयोग की आवश्यकता होती है। पंचायत सक्षम हों, गतिशील हों, कार्यशील हों, उनको अपने दायित्व का ज्ञान हो। पंचायत से सम्बन्धित जितने काम हैं, जैसे शिक्षा का प्रचार, आवागमन की सुविधा, सफाई, दवा का इलाज, पंचायत से सम्बन्धित सभी विषयों का दायित्व पंचाय-

यतें ग्रहण करे और शक्ति भर उन समस्याओं के समाधान और निराकरण की व्यवस्था करे तब पंचायत का कार्य सफलतापूर्वक चल सकेगा और जिस उद्देश्य में पंचायती राज का निर्माण किया गया है, वह यथार्थ मानित होगा।

इसके साथ ही एक गलती यह जानी है कि एक बार पंचायती राज का संगठन हो जाता है, उसके बाद चाहे जो कारण हो लेकिन फिर उसका चूगाब नहीं होता है। समय पर चुनाव होने की तो बात ही क्या चुनाव होता ही नहीं है। यह गलत चीज है इसलिये पंचायत का चुनाव समय पर हुआ करे। इसके साथ ही पंचायत का कार्यकाल तीन वर्ष का होता है अब जिस मसदा या विधान सभा का कार्यकाल 5 वर्ष का होता है। मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि पंचायत का कार्यकाल तीन साल क्या रखा गया है, इसको पांच साल बना दें—मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि इसमें पंचायतों के साथ कोई अग्रगण्य होगा।

अगर पंचायत राज के माध्यम से हम ग्रामीणों का विकास करना चाहते हैं और उसके माध्यम से हम देश का विकास करना चाहते हैं तो बिल्कुल फण्डामेंटल ईशू है अवस्था प्रिय है वह यह है कि विकास का प्लानिंग नीचे प स्तर से यात पंचायत स्तर से होना चाहिये। आज हमारे यहां प्लानिंग ऊंचे तल से होता है इस कारण उसकी रोगवो गांव तक नहीं पहुंच पाती, वह बड़े बड़े शहरों में ही रह जाता है और इसी कारण इतना अर्थ होता है। प्लानिंग पंचायत स्तर से शुरू हो, फिर जिला पंचायत स्तर पर जाय और उसके बाद राज्य पंचायत स्तर पर पहुंचे—इस तरह से पंचायत स्तर से विकास का प्लानिंग हो और उसी के हिमाय से काम हो। तब हमारी जो आकांक्षाएं हैं, जो हम चाहते हैं कि ग्रामों का विकास हो, देश का विकास हो, यह सभी सम्भव हो सकेगा।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस बिल के जो प्रस्तावक हैं, वे इस बिल को वापस ले लें और सरकार इस सम्बन्ध से एक नया बिल लाये जो पूर्ण हो, सुन्दर हो और जिस उद्देश्य को लेकर हम बात करते हैं उसकी पूर्ति कर सके।

श्री धनंजय ह. प्रधान (शहडोल) : सभा पति महोदय, जो विधेयक माननीय सदस्य ने पढ़ा है उसका मैं समर्थन करता हूँ और कहना चाहता हूँ कि ग्राम पंचायत और न्याय पंचायत के स्तर पर ही गांवों के विकास की योजना बन और जिले के विकास की योजना जिला स्तर पर बन। अगर ऐसा किया जायगा तो की आसानी में और जल्दी हो सकेगा तथा नियन्त्रण भी हो सकेगा। इस के अभाव में आज गांवों का विकास बिल्कुल नहीं हो रहा है जिसकी वजह से गांवों के लोग शहरों की ओर भाग रहे हैं। कोई भी गांवों की ओर देखने वाला नहीं है। मैं चाहूंगा कि गांवों की तरफ सरकार भी गांवों की ओर देखे और वहाँ के हरिजन, आदिवासी और भूमिहीनों की क्या समस्याएँ हैं उनका दूर करने का प्रयास करे। गांवों के विकास के लिये स्थानीय लोगों के मुसद्दों पर जिला स्तर पर योजना बनायी जानी चाहिये। इसी तरह से जो जंगलों में रहने वाले आदिवासी हैं, जंगलों का राष्ट्रीयकरण हो जाने के बाद उन लोगों का जंगल में ही काम करने का अवसर दिया जाय तथा तमाम सुविधाएँ शासन द्वारा जिला स्तर पर ग्राम पंचायत स्तर पर प्रदान की जायें। वृषि कार्य का सन्तुष्ट देते हुए आदिवासी हरिजनों को छोटे छोटे क्षेत्र स्थापित करने और उनको चलाने का प्रयास होना चाहिये।

जिला स्तर पर योजना बनानी जानी चाहिये और ग्राम स्तर तथा ब्लॉक स्तर पर संगठन होना चाहिये। चलते फिरते न्यायालय और दवाखाने होने चाहिये जिस से देहातों में रहने वालों को छोटी छोटी सुविधाओं के लिये शहर तथा राज्य स्तर पर न दौड़ना पड़े। जब ग्राम पंचायत और न्याय पंचायत के स्तर पर

### [श्री बनब्राह्म प्रबाल]

विकास सगठन बनेगा तो जो भी कार्य जिल बोर्ड से उनके विकास का दिया जायगा और अगर वह कार्य ठीक ढग स कार्यान्वित नहीं किया जाता है तो उसकी धामानी से जांच हो सकती है कि यह कार्य क्यों नहीं हुआ।

आवागवन की सुविधाये बढ़ाने के कार्य हों, उस की योजना बने और वह कार्य तीन माह, 6 माह में पूरे होने चाहिये। और यदि उस अवधि में पूरे नहीं होने तो उन की जांच होनी चाहिये और जो भी स्थानीय अधिकारी इस के लिये दोषी पाये जाये उन को सजा मिलनी चाहिये। अभी यह होता है कि योजना राज्य स्तर से जाती है और कामज पर ही उस योजना का कार्यान्वयन दिखा दिया जाता है। स्थानीय लोगों को पता ही नहीं कि उन के हित की भी कोई योजना है। नतीजा यह होता है कि योजना बनाने वालों को पता ही नहीं लग पाता कि मोके पर वह कार्य हुआ है कि नहीं। इसीलिये मैं स्थानीय योजना बनाने के पक्ष में हूँ और उस कार्य को पूरा करने की अवधि का समर्थक हूँ।

गांवों में पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था, स्वास्थ्य सेवा और संचार व्यवस्था पर विशेष ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिये। मिर्चाई के लिये छोटी-छोटी नहरें बनायी जानी चाहिये जिनके कार्यान्वयन का निरीक्षण गांव पंचायत और जिला बोर्ड स्तर पर अच्छी तरह से हो सकता है। आदिवासी क्षेत्रों और पिछड़े इलाकों के लिये परिवहन की सुविधा होनी चाहिये जिससे टुकें, लारिय और बसे उन मुदुर इलाकों तक आसानी से आ जा सकें। गांवों में गैस प्लांट की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये।

वैज्ञानिक अनुसंधान में जो गांवों के लोग हैं वह अच्छा काम कर सकते हैं। उदाहरण के लिये मिर्चाई इस्पात कारखाने में एक धमनी खराब हो गई थी जिसको ठीक करने के लिये बाहर के इंजीनियर्स को बुलाया जाता था लेकिन फिर भी वह ठीक नहीं हो पायी थी।

उस धमनी को गांव के एक मिस्त्री ने ठीक कर दिया। इसलिये जो गांव के लोग तकनीकी काम जानते हैं उन्हें ग्राम पंचायत सहयोग दे जिससे वह अपना उद्योग गांव स्तर पर ही चला सके और अपने जीवन स्तर को अच्छा बना सकें।

पिछड़े हुए इलाकों के लंगों में शिक्षा का प्रचार होना चाहिये तथा माध्व ही समाज सेवा की और सरकार का ध्यान जाना चाहिये। क्योंकि प्रत्येक व्यक्ति समाज की एक कड़ी होता है। जिस प्रकार एक कड़ी भी अगर कमजोर रहेगी तो वह जड़ीर कमजोर रहती है, उसी प्रकार समाज का अगर एक व्यक्ति भी सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक रूप से कमजोर रहेगा तो वह समाज कभी उन्नति नहीं कर सकता। और समाज से ही देश बनता है।

मैं सरकार से जानना चाहता हूँ कि पाचवी योजना में कृषि मंत्रालय आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में कृषि की उन्नति के लिये कौन कौन से कार्य करेगा तथा उसके विकास के लिये कितनी धनराशि खर्च करेगा? कृषि मंत्रालय मिर्चाई पर होने वाले खर्च का कितना प्रतिशत आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में मिर्चाई के माधन जुटाने के लिये खर्च करेगा?

आदिवासियों का सहकारी बैंक द्वारा शोषण आज भी जारी है। उन पर नाजायज कर्जें लगा दिया जाता है जिसकी वजह से उन बेचारों की जमान कुर्की में जा रही हैं। इसके अलावा जंगल के कर्मचारी, पटवारी और राजस्व विभाग के कर्मचारी उनका शोषण करते हैं। इस बात को मैं कई बार यहा कह चुका हूँ। पता नहीं शासन क्यों उन और ध्यान नहीं दे रहा है। मेरा सुझाव है कि जिन आदिवासियों ने अपने सहकारी समितियां बनायी हैं उनको अपने विकास के कामों को आगे बढ़ाने में ग्राम पंचायतों को सहयोग देना चाहिये। आज आदिवासी लोगों की स्थिति बड़ी ही दयनीय है। उन बेचारों के पास एक लमोटी रह गई है।

उसको भी सरकार छीनना चाहता है। जो उनकी जमीनें हैं उन पर जंगल वाले, रेवेन्यू वाले और साहूकार लोग दात लगाये बैठे हैं। परिणामतः इसी वजह से गरीब आदिवासियों और हरिजनों का जीवन बहुत ही दुखित हो गया है और उनकी मुनवाई प्रान्त स्तर पर तथा केन्द्र स्तर पर नहीं हो पाती। यदि ग्राम पंचायतों के माध्यम में उनकी उत्थान के काम किये जायेंगे तो वह अपनी कठिनाई का स्वयं समाधान निकाल सकेंगे और उन इलाकों का विकास भी हो सकेगा। आज उनकी जमीनों की कुर्की हो रही है, जमीनें छीनी जा रही हैं। घूमखोर लोग उनकी जमीनें ले लेते हैं। इन समस्याओं का निराकरण गांव पंचायतों के माध्यम में आमानी में हो सकता है और तभी उनका जीवन सुगम हो सकेगा। आज उनका जीवन स्तर समाज के अन्य वर्गों की अपेक्षा काफी गिरा हुआ है। सरकार को उनकी सुरक्षा और देखभाल की जिम्मेदारी लेनी चाहिये तभी उनका जीवन स्तर बढ़ सकता है। मेरी मांग है कि पंचायत राज के माध्यम में गरीब हरिजन और आदिवासी किसानों को विशेष सहायता दे कर उनके उत्थान की योजनाएं जिला तथा पंचायत स्तर पर बनायी जानी चाहियें। अन्यथा अभी जो व्यवस्था है उसमें केन्द्रीय और प्रान्तीय स्तर की जो योजनाएं यहां से बनायी जाती हैं वह शहरो तक ही सीमित हो कर रह जाती हैं और उन योजनाओं का लाभ गरीब आदिवासी और हरिजन लोगों तक नहीं पहुंच पाती है।

श्री हरबारा सिंह (होशियारपुर) : मान्यवर, जो गैर सरकारी विधेयक आया है मैं उस का बहुत स्वागत करता हूँ। यह इस अवकाल में रहे या न रहे, इस पर बहुत ही सकती

है। लेकिन एक बहुत बुनियादी बात है और वह यह कि आया इस गांव को इकाई समझते हैं कि नहीं प्लानिंग कमिशन ने ऐग्रीकल्चरल रूरल इकोनामि के बारे में वही यह नहीं कहा कि पांचवी योजना उस बारे में नीचे में ऊपर को ले जायेंगे नतीजे यह होना है कि बार बार हम अपनी योजना में तत्परता करना पड़ती है। हम ने एक सिफारिश की है प्लानिंग कमिशन का कि आप की प्लानिंग नीचे में ऊपर होनी चाहिये क्योंकि नीचे वाला को ज्यादा पता है, गांव वालों को, देहात वालों को, करबे वालों को ज्यादा पता है कि उन की कौन सी तकलीफें हैं और उनको कैसे दूर किया जा सकता है, और प्रायवेटि किस ढंग से हो सकती है। यह उन को ज्यादा पता है बनिस्पत किमी बड़े से बड़े अफसर के जो यहां एयर कंडिशनसड कमरो में बैठ कर गांवों के मुनास्लिक योजना बनाते हैं। उन को पूछना चाहिये कि आप की क्या तकलीफ है। जो कि अभी तक नहीं पूछा गया है। प्लानिंग की बात है। उससे ज्यादा बड़ कर बात यह है कि आया सफ रिलायेस का आप जो नारा देते हैं और पांच माला प्लाज में इसको लक्ष्य बना कर अपने सामने रखते हैं इसको कैसे अचीव किया जाए इस पर आप ध्यान नहीं देते हैं। इसके लिए नीचे वाला जिम्मे काम बनाता है उसको आप छोड़ देते हैं, उनको आप अपनी किस्मत पर ही छोड़ देते हैं। 1973 में एक्ट बना था। इसको कई स्टेट्स में रायज किया गया है और कई स्टेट्स में नहीं किया गया है, कहीं कहीं पर ना किस ढंग से

[श्री बरबारा सिंह]

किया गया है ताकि वहां लोगो की पृष्ठताछ ही न रहे, और अफसरशाही पहले भी तरह बदस्तूर चलती रहे। उसको लागू करने की आज बहुत जरूरत है। आप यू. टायर सिस्टम करे या टू टायर करें लेकिन ऐसा आप न करें कि कही है और कही नहीं है। कहीं एक ही सिस्टम है और कही दो और कहीं तीन। इस तरह से लोगो की आवाज को दबाया जा रहा है।

मैं जानता हूं कि यह स्टेट सबजेक्ट है। मिनिस्टर के तौर पर भी मैंने इसको किया है और करवाया भी है। मैं जानता हूं कि जो कम्यूनिटी है वह अपनी ताकत को छोड़ने के लिए तैयार नहीं है, सिस्टम ही हमारा ऐसा है कोई अपनी ताकत को छोड़ने के लिए तैयार नहीं है, नीचे वाले को अधिकार देने को तैयार नहीं है। आप कहते हैं कि कंसेशन का अधिकार ले लो। लेकिन जो फंमिलिटीज हैं और जो राइट्स उन के हैं व उनको देने के लिए कोई तैयार नहीं है। मैं चाहता हूं कि कंसेशन, रिसर्पासिविलिटीज वगैरह के माध्यम से उनके जो राइट्स हैं वे भी आप उनको दें। समाजवाद कायम करने के लिए यह बहुत जरूरी है। समाजवाद क्या चीज है? चाहे कोई देहात में रहने वाला हो या कसबे में रहने वाला हो या शहर में रहने वाला हो उसके लिए रोटी, रोजी, कपड़ा, मकान, तालीम कृषि की पेंशन वगैरह चीजों का इंतजाम होना चाहिए। जब तक यह नहीं होता है, समाजवाद नहीं आ सकता है। उसको लाने

के लिए हमारी रीजिज मुकर्रर हैं। उन गठबिज पर हमें धागे बढ़ाना है। हम दूसरी चीजों में यकीन नहीं करते हैं, इमोक्रैटिक सोशलिज्म में यकीन करते हैं। इसको हम छोड़ने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं। उस तरह धागे बढ़ाने की जरूरत है। उसके लिए चायतो के महत्व को किसी भी तरह से कम नहीं किया जा सकता है। लेकिन आज तो एमा मालूम होता है कि पंचायत राज को झटका करके उसका बंडल बना करके एक तरफ फेंक दिया गया है। नाम तो पंचायतो का लिया जाता है लेकिन काम नहीं। कही पर दस साल के बाद इलैक्शन करवाते हैं और कही पांच साल के बाद। कही कही पर वक्त पर करवा दिये जाते हैं। पांच साल, तीन साल जो भी समय आप रखें वक्त पर ढग से पंचायतों के इलैक्शन भी करवाने चाहिये। लोग आते जाऐंगे और लीडरशिप कबूल होती जाएगी। पहले, दूसरे तीसरे, चौथे प्लांज में कम्युनिटी डिवेलपमेंट ब्लाक्स को बहुत महत्व दिया गया था। इस काम को पंडित नेहरू ने शुरू किया था। उसका काफी असर लोगो पर हुआ। लोगो में सैल्फ रिलायेंस की भावना आई। लोगो ने मिल कर गांवों के लिए काम किया, उन कामों में वे शरीक हुए और उस में सरकार ने मदद भी की। लेकिन अब यह चीज खत्म हो गई है। सी डी का जो डंग था वह बदल गया। बदल कर बी डी प्रोजेक्ट को हाकिम लगा दिया गया है। बी डी सी को उसके ऊपर कर दिया गया है। बी डी सी बी डी प्रोजेक्ट को कहेंगे, बी डी प्रोजेक्ट नीचे वालों को कहेंगे कि कैसे करें। कही बी डी सी नीचे वालों को ही कह देंगे। इस तरह से मुक्तलिफ किस्म की इंतजामिया मशीनरी काम कर रही

है मुक्तलिफ सूबो मे। इस तरह से जो चीज चल रही है हमसे छुटकारा पाने का इन्तजाम होना चाहिये। स्टेट के लेबल पर जो मुक्तलिफ किस्म की खराफाने हो रही है, वे न होने पाएँ इसका कुछ इन्तजाम होना चाहिये। ग्राजकल को पंचायत राज माइनम जम्हूरियन है। जम्हूरियत भ्रमली मानो मे कायम हो हम यह चाहते हैं। इसके लिए जो तरीके है वे बिन्कुल उलट चल रहे हैं। मैं मिमाल देना हूँ। इरिगेशन का एक महकमा है जो इरिगेशन फॉर्मिलिटीज महीया करता है उसके लिए पैमे देना है। कोई भी सरकार हो, पंजाब की हों, हरियाणा की हो, उड़ीसा की हो या कोई और हों उनको पैसा दिया जाता है। लेकिन इस काम मे प्रेफ़ेस उसको दी जाती है जिस के बारे मे विभाग बना हुआ है, उसको नहीं दी जाती है जहाँ जरूरत है, वहाँ देगे जहाँ पैसा वेस्ट होगा, वहाँ नहीं देगे जहाँ कास्ट आफ प्रोडक्शन कम आता है, फालतू अनाज पैदा हो सकता है। उनके लिए है जहाँ वेस्ट हो सकता है। क्या क्या चपलेबाजी होती है उस में मैं जाना नहीं चाहता। पैसा नीचे के लेबल पर बिन्लेज के लेबल पर, पंचायत समिति के लेबल पर, जिला बोर्ड के लेबल पर, भी टायर सिस्टम जो है उसको आप दे, उन मे आप काम लें, उनको कहूँ काम करने के लिए। उनमे जो कम्पलक्स है, एहसासे कमतरी है उसको आप दूर करें। पंचायतों कानून के मातहत हैं, सरकार के मातहत नहीं है। सरकार के मातहत करना चाहते हैं तो यह हो नहीं सकता है। यह बुनियादी बात है। इसको आपको मानना चाहिये। इजारेदारी, फिरकादारी वगैरह जो बुराइयाँ हैं इनके खिलाफ अभ्यास मजबूत

कदम उठाएँ, हमको भागे बढ़ाएँ इसके लिए पंचायतों बगरह की मदद ली जानी चाहिये। ग्राज हरिजन नौमिनेट होते है। वे आ नहीं सकते हैं इमनिए यह व्यवस्था की गई है। औरने नौमिनेट होती है। दुनिया भर मे यह नहीं होता है। इंग्लैंड मे भी नहीं होता है। वहाँ कोई और सिस्टम जारी है। हम ने ऐसे अग्रर इम तरफ एडवाम किया है तो उनको अधिकार देने की भी जरूरत है।

आप पापुलेशन को ले। बढ़ती हुई आबादी के लिए पैदावार बढ़ाने की जरूरत है। लेकिन एक तरफ पैदावार घट रही है दूसरी तरफ आबादी बढ़ रही है। इसका मुकाबला कैसे किया जाए। पैदावार एक परसेंट कम होनी जा रही है और आबादी एक परसेंट ज्यादा होती जा रही है। किस तरह से हम इसका मुकाबला कर पायेंगे। इस तरह से तो हमारी फूड सिचुएशन कभी भी दुरुस्त नहीं हो सकेगी। इस बास्ते फॉर्मिली प्लानिंग को हमे कामयाब बनाना होगा। जो नीचे के तबके के लोग हैं जो वलनरेबल सर्वेशन है उनका मयारे जिन्दगी नीचा है और उनकी आबादी ज्यादा है, उनके बच्चे भी ज्यादा होते है और जो ऊपर हैं उनके बच्चे भी कम होते हैं और उनका मयारे जिन्दगी भी ऊँचा है। इस मामले मे भी आप पंचायतों से काम ले। लेकिन ग्राज कल होता क्या है? बी बी ओ ने जाना होता है तो उसके लिए चारपाई, कुर्सी लगाने का ये काम करने हैं और बी बी ओ जा कर क्या करता है, हुकम दे देता है इस तरह से करो, उस तरह से करो। फटिलाइजर और इनपुट्स की तकसीस भी आपने

[श्री वरबारा सिंह]

उसके सुपुर्द की है और वह जा कर पूछने लग जाता है क्यों यह हो गया है और यह क्यों नहीं हुआ और भाड़र दे कर आ जाता है। उसको सर्विस के तौर पर इस्तेमाल किया जाए। पंचायत समितियों और जिला बोर्ड के नाचे उसको आप करे। उसको उनका हाकिम बनाने की कोशिश आप न करें। ऐसा आपने किया तो पंचायत सिस्टम ही खत्म कर दिया जाए तो बेहतर है। डेमोक्रेसी को माकरी नहीं करना चाहिये। डेमोक्रेसी को डेमोक्रेसी रहना चाहिये।

मिनिस्टर जो इंवारज है उनको सब पता है, वह बहुत पुराने है, काम करने वाले है। जो नए आए हैं—वह भी बंटे हुए है। वे जानते हैं कि इस तरह से काम चलने वाला नहीं है। पार्लियामेंट के मੈम्बरों की आप कोई कमेटी बनाएँ जो इन सब चीजों को देखे और अपनी सिफारिशें करे और आप उनको अमल में लाएँ। स्टैंड लेबल पर, उनके रहम पर आप इस चीज को छोड़ न दें। पंचायत राज काफी कोसीदा हो चुका है। इसके आप बचाले। बचाने का एक ही तरीका है कि सही मानों में पंचायत राज देश में हर जगह कायम हो। मुझे मानूम है ऐसी स्टेट गवर्नमेंट आई है जिन्होंने कहा कि पंचायत राज हमारे उमूलो के खिलाफ है, इसको खत्म करो और खत्म किया। हम लोगों ने रिजिस्ट किया, हम लोग उसके खिलाफ लड़े। उसके बाद कायम किया तो ऐसा किया जैसा बिल्कुल मुर्दे में जान डालने की बात हूँती है। ऐसे काम नहीं चलेगा। अगर डेमोक्रेसी में यकीन करते हैं तो लाजिमी तौर पर आपको कोई कमेटी बनानी चाहिये हाउस की बनाएं या कोई और हाई लेबल कमेटी बनाएं जो इसके सभी पहलुओं में जाएँ और एक वक्ता मुकरी में अपनी फाइनल रिपोर्ट दें, दो चार पांच महीने बाद दें और आप उस पर अमल करें। लोगों को पता चलना चाहिये कि नीचे वाला जो है, पंचायत राज जो है, यह सही मानों में चलेगा। नम्बरवारी

आपने खत्म की, जेलदारी सिस्टम खत्म किया, भंगेजों के जितने बोसीदा इरादे थे, सब खत्म किए। इस इरादे को बांसीदा न बनाए। मैं यही आश्विन में आप से अपील करता हूँ कि कमेटी बना करके आप जल्दी फैसला करवाएँ।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Lalji Bhai.

SHRI ANNASAHEB P. SHINDE: How many more speakers are there?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Originally, there were two more speakers—Shri Lalji Bhai and Shri K. Lakkappa. Now two more speakers have been added, namely, Shri Sheonath Singh and Shri Krishnan.

SHRI R. P. ULAGANAMBI (Vellore): Sir, I may be permitted at least to begin my speech so that it can be continued the next day.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There are four more speakers, then the Minister has to intervene and the Mover to speak. We have also the Half an Hour Discussion. I think it will go by default. I do not think it would be possible to take it up.

श्री लालजी भाई (उदयपुर): मन्त्रापनि महोदय, आप ने मुझे समय दिया इसके लिए मैं आप का आभारी हूँ।

श्री रण बहादुर सिंह ने जो विषयक पेश किया है, उस में अनुसूचित जातियों और आदिम जातियों के उत्थान के सम्बन्ध में पंचायतों और जिला परिषदों का सहयोग देने की बात कही गई है। भारत के अधिकांश राज्यों में, और राजस्थान में भी, पंचायतों के चुनाव हुए। आठ साल हो गये हैं, जब कि पद्धति यह है कि तीन साल में पंचायतों के चुनाव हो जाने चाहिए। इस दिनाई और कमजोरी को देखते हुए मैं इस बात पर जोर दूंगा कि सरकार बलवंतराय मेहता कमेटी की सिफारिशों को कार्यान्वित करे। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार उन सिफारिशों को कार्यान्वित करने के लिए क्या कदम उठा

रही है। मैं सरकार से यह जानकारी भी चाहता हूँ कि देश के किन किन राज्यों में पंचायतों के चुनाव नियम के अनुसार तीन साल में हुए हैं।

आज हम देखते हैं कि अनुसूचित जातियों और आदिम जातियों का कोई भी व्यक्ति पंचायतों का सदस्य नहीं है। उन लोगों से चुना जा सकता है। आवश्यकता इन बातों की है कि पंचायतों, पंचायत समितियों और जिला परिषदों में आदिम जातियों के लोगों को रखा जाये। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि स्वतंत्रता के पच्चीस सालों के बाद आज प्रत्येक राज्य में पंचायतों, पंचायत समितियों और जिला परिषदों में आदिम जातियों के कितने सदस्य हैं। उन लोगों के जिम्मेदारी के पदों पर होने से देश की समस्या सुलझ सकती है। लेकिन इस दिशा में कई प्रकार की कठिनाईयाँ हैं और सरकार को उनका निवारण करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये।

सरकार ये आकड़े दे कि पिछले तीन सालों में प्रति वर्ष अनुसूचित जातियों और आदिम जातियों के कितने लोगों का पञ्जीकरण हुआ है और कितने लोगों को नियुक्तियाँ दी गई हैं।

आज ग्रामीण इलाकों में अनुसूचित जातियों और आदिम जातियों के लोगों के मामले में सबसे बड़ी समस्या यह है कि उनको जमीन नहीं मिल पा रही है। वृद्धि अधिकांश राज्य सरकारों पर बड़े बड़े किसानों का दबाव है, इस लिए वे भूमिहीनों को भूमि देने में विफल हो चुकी हैं। आज स्थिति यह है कि अधिकांश राज्यों में आठ दस साल से अतिक्रमण के मुकदमे चल रहे हैं, जब कि कानून यह है कि तीन साल के बाद कब्जे को रेगुलराइज कर के जमीन का पट्टा दे दिया जाना चाहिए। तीन कैटेगरी की जमीन है, मकान बनाने की जमीन, कल-कारखाने

बनाने की जमीन और खेती-बाड़ी करने की जमीन आदिम। जातियों के लोगों का जमीन पर आठ दस साल से कब्जा है, लेकिन पटवारी और तहसीलदार उनको जिनवारी में नहीं लाते हैं। वे पैसा ले कर, और भ्रष्टाचार के आधार पर, जिनवारी में इन्दराज करते हैं। जमीन का पट्टा उनको देने के बजाये उनसे प्रीमियम फीस के रूप में एक बीघे पर मात्र आठ सौ रुपये प्रति-वर्ष लेकर उनका शोषण किया जाता है, और जो लोग यह फीस नहीं दे पाते हैं, उनको जमीन छोड़नी पड़ती है। अधिकांश राज्यों में यह स्थिति है। राजस्थान में अतिक्रमण के मुकदमे चल रहे हैं। मेरे एक अनस्टाई प्रश्न के उत्तर में बताया गया है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार इस बारे में जांच-पड़ताल कर रही है। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार कब तक जमीन के इन मुकदमों का निराकरण कर पायेगी। उन लोगों से प्रीमियम फीस गलत ढंग से वसूल न कर के उन के नाम जमीन कर दी जाये, इस के लिए सरकार क्या कदम उठा रही है?

17.00 hrs.

इस विधेयक में पंचायतों को 20 विषयों, पंचायत समितियों को 31 विषयों और जिला परिषदों को 25 विषयों के सम्बन्ध में अधिकार दिये गये हैं। लेकिन देश में सब कुछ काम इसके विपरीत हो रहा है। इस का कारण क्या है? देश को आजाद हुए आज पच्चीस साल हो गये हैं, लेकिन ग्रामवासी यह नहीं जानते हैं कि पंचायतों, पंचायत समितियों और जिला परिषदों में उनको क्या सहायता मिल सकती है, उनको कौन से ऋण या तकवी आदि मिल सकते हैं, कौन स्कूलों की व्यवस्था करेगा और कौन उन्हें जमीन देगा।

राजस्थान में आठ साल से पंचायतों के चुनाव नहीं हुए हैं। इस बारे में सारे

[श्री लालजी भाई]

हिन्दुस्तान में डिलाई है। इस लिए सरकार पंचायतो के चुनाव कराने की तरफ ध्यान दे।

गाज शहरो में कई प्रकार की समस्याओं का सामना करना पड़ रहा है। आज स्थिति यह है कि तेल नहीं मिलता है, बिजली के खम्भे हैं, लेकिन वॉरेन्ट नहीं है, बिजली के कारखाने हैं, लेकिन उनके पुर्जों आदि उपलब्ध नहीं है, स्कूल है, लेकिन उन के कमरे नहीं हैं, कोयला नहीं है, रेल गाड़ी है, लेकिन इंजिन या कोयला नहीं है। जब शहरो की यह स्थिति है, तो गांवों में इन सुविधाओं को उपलब्ध करने का प्रश्न ही नहीं है। आज शहर वाले इस तरह की समस्याओं में फंसे हैं। आज हमारे देश के नागरिक खाने की चीजों और कपड़ा आदि दैनिक उपयोग की आवश्यक वस्तुओं में बचिन हो रहे हैं। देश में हर एक चीज का अभाव है। इस के अतिरिक्त पानी, तेल और दवाओं आदि सब चीजों में मिलावट हो रही है।

मिलावट की समस्या सामने आएगी आज बिन्डिंग बनती है तो सीमेंट में मिलावट है। पल बनने है तो उसके मॉटीरियल में मिलावट है। जो बिन्डिंग बनती है वह घटिया किस्म के मॉटीरियल में बनाते हैं। वह बिन्डिंग ठूट जाती है, सड़के टूट जाती हैं। उन की कोई मियाद होनी चाहिए लेकिन मियाद तक वह टिक नहीं पाती है इसलिए उनमें मिलावट होती है। ता ये तीनों समस्याएँ हैं—महंगाई तो है, लेकिन महंगाई अभाव और मिलावट इन तीनों को रोकने के लिए मेरा सरकार से यह निवेदन है कि एक तो जो देश में बड़े बड़े कारखाने बिजली टेलीफोन, टेलीविजन आदि के बन रहे हैं, इन कारखानों में अनाप शनाप ख़या खर्च होता है और सरकार को उन की ख़ह देती देती है, तो एक तो सरकार उन पर प्रतिबन्ध

लगाए। एक मुद्दा तो मेरा यह है। दूसरा यह है कि जितना भी विकास कामों के लिए केन्द्र विदेशों में पैसा लाती है अमेरिका आदि देशों से, उम्मा का लेखा जोखा शार्ट में इस प्रकार होता है कि आधा तो केन्द्र सरकार खानी है, आधा जो रहता है उस में 25 प्रतिशत राज्य सरकारें खा जाती हैं और 25 प्रतिशत जो बचता है, चुनाव के समय उस से सब तरह की समस्याएँ हल हो जाती हैं, लोगों के सामने एक इस तरह की चीज आ जाती है और चुनाव जीत लेते हैं। यानी चार साल तो कम बर मुसीबतों का सामना करो और एक साल के लिए समस्या हल हो गई, वह परम्परा सरकार बनाना चाहती है। मैं इन ख़ास समस्याओं की तरफ आप का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि सरकार इस तरह की चीज को सामने न लाए और देश को गुमराह करने की काशिश न करे। इस के बजाये सरकार इन दावानों पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाए। एक तो ऐसी भूमि बनाई जाए जो किसी दल से संबंधित न हो, वह समन्वय भूमि हो और वह भूमि हमारे अफ़्टाचार की जांच करनी रहे। दूसरा सुझाव यह है कि कल कारखानों पर सरकार रोक लगाए। (ब्यवधान)

सभापति श्रीहरीश्वर अब आप समान कीजिए।

श्री लालजी भाई मैं इस विधेयक का समर्थन करता हूँ। लेकिन यह विधेयक ही खाली नाने या पास हो जाने से देश की समस्याएँ नहीं मिट सकती। मेरे इन तीनों मुद्दों पर ध्यान दिया जाए। अफ़्टाचार पर रोक लगाई जाए और कल-कारखानों पर रोक लगाई जाए।

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA (Tumkur):  
Mr. Chairman, at the outset I would like to say that the Bill has provided me an opportunity to focus certain problems which are confronting our State and also our Country. The basic

principle on which the Bill has been framed may not ultimately solve the problem. But the spirit with which the Bill has been introduced is commendable from the point of view of debating interest.

The hon. members who have spoken on this subject have stated and also stressed that village institutions have to be developed and Panchayati Raj has to be established in the real sense of the term and the people of this country should get the real power. The institutions are functioning or maybe, sometimes many institutions are not functioning in various States. That is not an important aspect. But the point is whether, in the real sense, the socio-economic problems have been solved so far as the people living in the rural parts of the country are concerned. That is the most important aspect that we have to stress. Whether you introduce any kind of organisation and whether such organisations are functioning in the country, is not so important. If we trace the history of the functioning of these institutions and the development activities that have been generated in the villages, we are very sorry to say that the socio-economic problems of the rural parts have not been solved so far.

We have recently read reports as also statistics that except for a few States, every other State is confronting with acute poverty and even sometimes the people are living below the poverty level. We are also even hearing reports about starvation deaths. But the point we want to focus is that economic freedom of the people, in the real sense, has unfortunately not been fulfilled. Even the crying need for economic development in the villages and to narrow down the gap between the village and economy and the urban economy has not been properly understood by the planners and no efforts have been made either by the State Governments or the Central Government to see that this gap is completely wiped out or at least narrow-

ed down so as to bring the villagers on par with the urbanites. Most of our economic activity generated in the towns but not in the villages. Even the economy that flows in various forms and various activities has not gone in the real sense to the people of the country and they are not participating in the real sense of democracy. They have been denied every right and the right of equality has been completely denied so far as the rural masses are concerned.

In the force of developmental activities, even the basic necessities of life food, clothing and shelter they do not get, let alone other rights and developmental activities which so many members have mentioned. I want to know whether this Planning Commission that has been created here has got any sense of responsibility to know, to understand and to find solutions for any of the real problems of the rural parts. No planner has ever understood the real functioning of the villages and of the village life and the rural problems which have remained completely neglected. I would like to say that so far as the national problems are concerned, so far as the major problems are concerned, we cannot isolate the villages. Take, for example, the natural resources available in the country. Take water. Hundreds of irrigation projects have been located in the districts but the Planning Commission is not helping the State Government in their execution. And the Ministry is not solving the problem and this is going on for a long time. It is not to-day's problem or yesterday's problem. It is there for years. Unless you fully exploit the natural resources and develop the economic life in the rural parts by completely solving the problem of irrigation at least, the rural economy cannot be built up.

That rural economy has not been built up because we think these are the national problems of national resources of the country and we are still at the mercy of the bureaucracy.

[Shri K. Lakkappa]

whether it is at the central level or at the State level. This is the real situation that is prevailing in the country. Not only that, we have accepted a system which we have to attack and that system is that even the bureaucracy that is functioning is based on the capitalist system. Unless you attack that system, we cannot generate any economic activities in the rural parts and there will not be any developmental activities taking place. Therefore, we have to take the necessary steps to see that social justice is meted out to every citizen of the country.

You know that we have had a number of elections and the people of this country have participated in the elections and the ratio of election participation of the rural masses and the people living in the urban areas. But, unfortunately, the economic control and the economic activity and its generation always centre around big cities.

Big industries are developed and crores of money are put but they are confined to big cities only like Bombay, Bangalore, Madras and so on. They are not set up in the rural parts. Rural-based industries have not been developed. We have no control over big business houses and industrialists. They are not functioning at the mercy of the people, but they are functioning in a way that they get more and more money and this is an attitude which is responsible for not creating enough sense of security in our rural masses. So, what I say is, this sense of security has to be created. That is the social effort for which we fight for. This problem has to be solved. Whether this is solved by discussions, debates or organising meetings and so on is one aspect of the matter, but what I feel is, this problem cannot be solved unless the Ministry comes to its senses, and see that sense of responsibility is

fixed in various matters. There is no politics in this. We should all unitedly tackle this problem. The hon. Members opposite must also give us help. The Jan Sangh, the Swatantra and other parties are having different ideologies and they are directing people in different directions. Therefore what I say is that responsibility should be fixed on political parties. This is not a political or partisan issue. Every party gets its strength from the people. The Minister should constitute a committee of all parties, to see that pragmatic solution is made for this problem. Mr. Shinde is an efficient Minister. I hope that my suggestions will be taken into consideration seriously. Our irrigation problem of Karnataka has not been solved as yet. I am sure a solution will be found out in the near future for this also.

\*SHRI E. R. KRISHNAN (Salem): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am very happy to participate in the discussion on the Planning and Development through Panchayati Raj Bill, which has been moved by my hon. friend Shri Rana Bahadur Singh. I have to pay my compliments to Shri Rana Bahadur Singh for introducing this very important piece of legislation, which emphasises the imperative necessity for formulating and executing Plan Projects through Panchayati Raj institutions, as that alone will ensure the economic development of rural areas in our country. This is a laudable objective and there should be no hesitation on the part of the Government to accept this legislative proposition.

Sir, one can talk about this Bill for any length of time. On account of paucity of time, I will confine myself to a few very important issues.

We have so far invested Rs. 2770 crores in major and minor irrigation projects. On the admission of the

\*The Original speech was delivered in Tamil.

hon. Minister of Agriculture himself, only 15 per cent of the farmers have been the privileged persons to derive benefits from these irrigation projects. The remaining 85 per cent of our agriculturists are still scanning the skies for their cultivation. The former Member of the Planning Commission, Dr. Minhas has stated that in 1972-73 the country suffered a loss of Rs. 140 crores on this investment of Rs. 2770 crores. The reason for that is that the majority of agriculturists in our country has not been able to derive any benefits from these irrigation projects for want of subsidiary canals. When the Irrigation Project is constructed over a river running through more than two or three States, the State Governments are quarrelling among themselves as to who should bear the cost of constructing the subsidiary canals. In these unseemly controversies the small farmers are deprived of the much-needed water for irrigation. Naturally the investment made on these irrigation projects does not yield a single paise return to the Government. Besides this, in spite of the fact that there are many major and minor irrigation projects, the annual loss of crops on account of recurring floods is estimated to be of the order of Rs. 300 crores.

I have referred to these facts to indicate that the prestige irrigation projects have not been planned keeping in mind the economic development of rural areas in our country. If only the agriculturists had been assured of adequate supply of water, there would not have been this kind of food scarcity in our country and the Government would have also not been going to countries like the U.S.A. with begging bowls for food-grains. The agriculturists living in the villages of our country would have made the nation self-sufficient in food long ago.

I would also like to bring to the notice of the House that we have so far invested Rs. 4700 crores in Power

Projects. What is the result of this massive investment? Out of 5 lakhs of villages in our country, only 1.22 lakh villages have got electricity connection. This again shows that the Power Projects with Rs. 4700 crores have not solved the problems of people living in rural areas. Here, I would like to give the instance of Tamil Nadu where the D.M.K. Government during its short tenure of 7 years has achieved magnificent results by planning the projects on the basis of rural needs. Out of 61,396 villages in Tamil Nadu, during a period of 5 years, the D.M.K. Government has ensured that 41,146 villages are electrified. In the Congress Party rule of 20 long years in Tamil Nadu, only 20,250 villages could get electric connection. Bearing in mind the importance of achieving self-sufficiency in foodgrains, the Tamil Nadu Government has energised 6 lakhs of pumpsets. I have referred to this only to show that when the Projects are based on the needs of rural areas, then there is proper utilisation of the money invested in them and also there is adequate return to the Government on its investments.

Sir, after investing Rs. 7470 crores in Power and Irrigation Projects, the plight of 5 lakhs of villages in our country even after 27 years of independence is unenviable. In case a village has been taken as the central point for economic development, the Government would have invested a sum of Rs. 14.94 lakhs so far. This investment of Rs. 15 lakhs in a village would have brought in an economic marvel in our country.

The National Commission on Agriculture has made an important recommendation, after analysing in detail the causes of our rural backwardness.

I quote:

"The Commission recommend the adoption of a whole village ap-

[Shri E. B. Krishnan]

proach to development for harnessing the growth potential of the villages."

How could this recommendation be implemented successfully except through Panchayati Raj institutions? In this effort, the Community Development Projects will also play a very vital role. But, so far as the Plans and Projects of the ruling Congress Party are concerned, they are all only on paper and none of them has yet become a reality especially in reference to the economic development of our villages. On the other hand, in many of the Congress-ruled States, the Community Development Project has been scrapped. An example, in Madhya Pradesh the Block Development Officers have disappeared. In many of the States ruled by the Congress, for many years no elections have been held to the Panchayati Raj institutions. Perhaps the Congress Governments in the States are afraid, after seeing the recent debacle of the Congress Party in the recent Municipal Elections in Maharashtra.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that the Central Government appointed B. G. Mehta Committee to go into the question of Panchayati Raj Institutions. The Committee submitted its report many years ago. I would like to know what action has been taken on the valuable recommendations of the B. G. Mehta Committee's Report.

Sir, Mahatma Gandhi, the father of our Nation led the freedom struggle solely guided by his goal of establishing Gram Raj in India. I regret to say that Mahatma Gandhi's heirs in the Central and the State Governments have not so far endeavoured to establish Gram Raj in our country.

With these words I conclude.

श्री जिवनाथ सिंह (झुंझु) : सभापति महोदय, गांधी जी के स्वप्न को लेकर देश

में पंचायती राज की स्थापना की गई। हमारे स्वर्गीय नेहरू जी ने काफी ईमानदारी से इस को धार में बढाना चाहा और मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि देश में राजस्थान एक ऐसा प्रांत था जो इस काम में अग्रणी रहा और नागोद के स्थान पर स्वर्गीय नेहरू जी ने इस पंचायती राज की मशाल जलाई। देश को जनता को आवाहन दिया गया कि आप अपने भाग्य के निर्माण खुद बनोगे। देश में अलग अलग किस्म के पंचायती राज कायम हुए, लेकिन कहीं उन में विकास का अधिकार दिया गया, कहीं प्रशासनिक अधिकार दिया गया, कहीं दोनों दिये गये। देश में एक प्रकार का मुगलना हुआ—मैं तो यह कहने को तैयार हूँ कि पंचायती राज के नाम पर देहान की जनता के साथ जो धोखा हुआ उनका किसी दूसरे नाम में नहीं हुआ। किम आशा में हम ने इस पंचायत राज को बनाया था। लेकिन आज वह गावा में लड़ाई का माघन बन गया है। जिला पंचायत, गाव समिति को कोई अधिकार नहीं है। अभी तक हम तय नहीं कर पाये हैं कि हमारे यहाँ दो टीयर, तीन टीयर सिस्टम रहेगा या एक टीयर सिस्टम रहेगा। कई दफा कांग्रेस की गई कि पंचायतों को अधिक अधिकार दिये जायें, उन की आर्थिक स्थिति सुधारी जाय। कहा गया कि पंचायतों को लैंड रेवेन्यू कलेक्ट करने का काम दिया जाय, उस में से कुछ हिस्सा उन को दिया जाय। लेकिन अभी तक कुछ नहीं हुआ है। आज यह क्षेत्र काफी नेगलेक्ट हो गया है।

राजस्थान में सब से पहले चुनाव 1965 में हुआ था तीन साल के लिये। लेकिन उस के बाद आज तक कोई चुनाव नहीं हुआ और बारबार उन क टर्न को बढ़ाया जा रहा है। मैं माननीय सदस्य को बधाई देता हूँ कि उन्होंने सदन का ध्यान उस की ओर दिलाया। इस बिन्दु के अन्दर दो तरह के आधिकार हैं पंचायतों और जिला परिषदों की भावना

हमारी योजनाये बने और उन का कार्या-  
 न्वयन हो। स्थानीय योजनाये हो सकती हैं  
 जो स्थानीय इकाई बना सकती है। प्रान्त  
 स्तर पर योजना वह नहीं बना सकते।  
 ग्रामीण लोगों को इन बात का आभास होना  
 चाहिये कि वह अपने भाग्य के खुद निर्माता  
 है। लेकिन केन्द्र सरकार और राज्य सरकार  
 इस के प्रति बहुत उदासीन है। परन्तु केन्द्र  
 के अन्दर पंचायत राज विभाग का मंत्रालय  
 होना था, लेकिन आज कोई नहीं है। तो  
 या तो पंचायत राज को समाप्त कर दीजिये, और  
 अगर इस को जिन्दा रखना है तो उन को  
 अधिकार दीजिये साधन दीजिये ताकि वह  
 अपने गिराम के कार्य कर सके। पंचायत राज  
 को लागूगोही के भोग का साधन न बनाइये  
 क्यों कि वह कर्मचारी अफसरों की तरह काम  
 करने है, जनसेवक की तरह से नहीं। जो  
 कर्मचारी वहाँ जाये उन का गाय का प्रति  
 अटेंचमेंट होना चाहिये तभी वह काम की  
 स्थिति में सुधार कर सकते हैं। हर प्रांत  
 के अन्दर इस की चर्चा है कि पंचायत राज  
 को जिन्दा रखा जाय कि नहीं। मेरा निवेदन  
 है कि यदि पंचायत राज को जिन्दा रखना  
 चाहते हैं तो ठीक से रखे वर्ना इस को खत्म  
 कर दें। अगर विकास के कार्यों का डीमन्टे-  
 लाइज करना चाहते हैं तो ठीक ढंग में कीजिये।  
 और पंचायत राज को लड़ाई का साधन  
 न बनाइये। सरकार चाहे कोई अन्य  
 कमेटी बनाये और जांच करके एक निश्चित  
 निर्णय लेना चाहिये कि पंचायत राज को  
 कायम रखना चाहिये या खत्म  
 करना चाहिये। अगर उस सिस्टम को जीवित  
 रखना चाहते हैं तो उस को उचित अधिकार  
 देने चाहिये ताकि बेहतर की जनता विश्वास  
 करे कि वह स्वयं अपने भाग्य के निर्माता है।

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE  
 MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND  
 IRRIGATION (SHRI ANNASAHAB P.  
 SHINDE):** Sir, I am thankful to Shri  
 Ranabhadur Singh for bringing for-  
 ward this Bill for discussion on the  
 floor of the august House. I was sur-

prised that from all sections of the  
 House there was a sort of general  
 support for the principles behind this  
 Bill.

I know Shri Ranabhadur S. ng  
 personally. He is very fine person

**MR CHAIRMAN** The Half-an-hour  
 Discussion was to be taken up at  
 5.30 P.M. You know, we start the  
 Private Member's Business at 3.25  
 P.M.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE**  
 Even otherwise, I would like to listen  
 to the Minister. After he concludes,  
 we can have the half-an-hour discus-  
 sion.

**MR CHAIRMAN** Therefore, we will  
 take up the half-an-hour discussion at  
 5.15 P.M.

**SHRI R. P. ULAGANAMBI** Sir,  
 before that kindly give me a chance  
 to move my Bill.

**MR CHAIRMAN** I will try

**SHRI ANNASAHAB P. SHINDE:**  
 The hon. Member has a very good  
 knowledge of the problems of rural  
 economy of our country. I have heard  
 him speak on a number of occasions on  
 the problems of agriculture, on the  
 problems of rural development and he  
 is really one of the very good Members  
 of this House, who does take these  
 matters very seriously. But the issues  
 he has raised have two aspects. First  
 of all what is the role in India of  
 Panchayat Raj? How it should really  
 play its role in our economy and  
 particularly in regard to rural develop-  
 ment? As far as the first aspect is  
 concerned, hon. Members have expres-  
 sed their views and I have no differen-  
 ces with them. But, that is a different  
 thing. As far as the Bill which has  
 been brought forward by Mr. Rana-  
 bhadur Singh is concerned, I think, it  
 is a different thing, because, first of  
 all, he has not, naturally, all the means  
 available, all the sources of informa-  
 tion available to him, as an individual  
 Member, which are available to the  
 Government. I cannot blame him.  
 But, naturally, the Bill which has been

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drafted has all limitations, many drawbacks, and therefore, if this august House is to accept the Bill, there will be many many difficulties. Some of them I will touch upon. I am not blaming him, because, any private Member bringing a Bill of this nature is bound to have these limitations. But, Sir....

**SHRI RANABAHADUR SINGH:** I would ask the Minister not to waste his time on trying to meet the arguments as to whether my Bill is the proper one. That was not my intention. My only intention was to focus the attention of the House. So, I would request the hon. Minister to come to the fundamentals and not try to go into the limitations of this Bill.

**SHRI ANNASAHAB P. SHINDE:** Sir, I agree that the main intention of the hon. Member was to focus the attention of the House and of the country on the role of Panchayat Raj in the country. I think, he has succeeded very well. This is clear from the very fact that all sections of the House have broadly supported the principles implied in this Bill. I would also like to say that as far as Government of India is concerned, as far as principles are concerned, we are one with him. It is not that today, I am taking the position. In fact, Government of India has been very clear, all along, as far as the role of Panchayat Raj in this country is concerned. Personally, I feel that many of the ills in this country with which we are confronted today would not have been there, if real, genuine Panchayat Raj had been established in this country. By genuine Panchayat Raj, I mean, Panchayat institutions elected on the basis of adult franchise, not only Panchayat institutions—here, I am not referring to the village Panchayats—but also Panchayat Samitis and even Zila Parishads elected on the basis of adult franchise like Members of Parliament and Members of State Assemblies. This is because, I have seen in this country that wherever there are indirect elections, a lot of manipulations

take place and these institutions are not effective. But, we have effective institutions in some parts of the country. For instance, in the State from where I come, members of the Zila Parishads are directly elected on the basis of adult franchise. Every man and woman who is a voter votes in these elections. Now, they have been accepted the position that even at Panchayat Samitis level, there should be direct election. Therefore, these bodies have lot of weight and they influence the policy decisions of the State Governments. They have become very effective instruments in regard to the development of our rural economy. Therefore, my concept of Panchayat Raj is that there should be elected bodies elected on the basis of adult franchise. This is one. Secondly, these Panchayat bodies should have a very effective say in the planning as well development activities which is not there in the country today. Thirdly, these Panchayat bodies should provide every important safeguard to the weaker sections of the society because there is a complaint in the country that these Panchayat bodies are sometimes dominated by a handful of people who are very powerful in the rural areas. Therefore, there should be a new mechanism as far as Panchayat Raj is concerned, whereby, the interests of the weaker sections of the society are very well protected. That is my concept of panchayat raj. The Government of India also has all along accepted this position. In fact, our constitution-makers themselves had visualised this role of panchayat raj. I would draw attention to art. 40 which says.

"The State shall take steps to organise village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government".

**SHRI ERASMO DE SEQUEIRA** (Marmagao): This is what has not happened.

**SHRI ANNASAHIB P. SHINDE:**  
 That is true. As far as the theoretical position is concerned, I am clarifying what is the Government of India's position in this matter because that is how the hon. member wanted to know from me.

When the Balwantrai Mehta Committee went into this, they suggested that this should apply not only to villages but even to the panchayat samitis and zila parishads. They should be very effective units of self-government.

If we go into the background, we find that the National Development Council which went in 1959 into the report of the Balwantrai Mehta Committee which for the first time clearly enunciated the position of panchayat raj in the country, also accepted this position with this proviso that this country being vast with different socio-economic conditions, with different historical backgrounds, different land tenure systems, a uniform pattern of panchayat raj will not be applicable to India. So when they went into the problem in 1959, they said that while the broad pattern and fundamentals may be uniform, there should not be any rigidity in the pattern. They said:

"In fact, the country is so large and panchayat raj, that is democratic decentralisation, is so complex a subject with far-reaching consequences that there is the fullest scope for trying out various patterns and alternatives. What is most important is genuine transfer of power to the people".

I repeat it—

"What is most important is genuine transfer of power to the people. If this is ensured, the form and pattern must necessarily vary according to conditions prevailing in the different States".

This was accepted. In fact, we have recommended this to the State Gov-

ernments. We have asked them to enact panchayat laws on these lines. Moreover, we also envisage a three-tier structure. Experience indicates that there may be two opinions whether it should be two-tier or three-tier. My own view is that perhaps two-tier would be preferable, because multiplicity of agencies would perhaps add to the troubles. But this is a matter of local judgment. In these matters, some discretion needs to be given to State Governments.

There should be genuine transfer of power and responsibility. Adequate resources should be made available for development programmes. These should be channelled through these bodies and the instrument evolved should be such as will facilitate further devolution and dispersal of power and responsibility in the future. This is the Government of India's approach to this matter. We have repeatedly drawn the attention of various State Governments to this. In fact, these are the matters referred to by hon. members when they spoke.

Therefore, on policy matters we have a very clear view. Personally, I have been very closely associated with the rural economy. I feel that our country is so vast and many of the ills afflicting us whether in Bihar, U.P. or M.P. or any other State are there mainly because we have failed to evolve an institutional structure in the rural areas, a very effective institutional structure which involves the elected representatives of the people. Our States are so big that it is not possible to govern them either from Delhi or the State capitals. Therefore, the constitution of such an institutional structure with effective involvement of the duly elected representatives of the people is a must for this country. That is how the Government of India looks at the problem. Unfortunately, many of the States have not implemented the recommendations and that is really the main difficulty.

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Fortunately or unfortunately, panchayat raj is a state subject. Perhaps some hon. members can raise the plea that now there is emergency and under art. 250(1) the Government of India and Parliament have power to enact legislation in regard to a subject falling within the State List.

Though it is not in the concurrent list, even if it is in the State list, at the time of emergency Parliament has the power but subject to the limitation contemplated in article 251 which says that unless the State Government enact their own legislation on the pattern which six months the laws so enacted by Parliament will become invalid. There are no compelling reasons why the Government of India should enact legislation. I have already pointed out how difficult it is to have a uniform piece of legislation for a country of our size. The hon. Member is not suggesting a very effective instrument of Panchayat raj. But he has suggested that there should be district welfare councils. There seems to be some confusion in regard to this issue because according to provisions of the Bill the panchayat raj and zila parishad should be represented on this body. I do not think that by creating an additional body we are serving any purpose. I am not prepared to blame the hon. Member and he has tried to put it like that with the best of intention. However I do not think that this Bill will serve the purpose which the hon. Member has in mind. Nor is the Bill comprehensive enough. I have already pointed out some very important lacuna in the Bill. The bodies which are supposed to come into existence as a result of this Bill are not based on adult franchise. There are no safeguards for the weaker sections. I would therefore humbly request the hon. Member who is a knowledgeable person, to withdraw the Bill.

I promise him this. He said that there should be a Committee of Members of Parliament to go into this. We accept the spirit of his suggestion. We have already a Consultative Committee on panchayat raj. It is a very representative body and there are also Members of Parliament on it. It is an All India body and the Ministers of panchayati raj are there. The hon. Member has also given me a representation signed by a large number of Members of this House. We would specifically put forward those suggestions before this august body presided over by my senior colleague by Jagjivan Ram Ji for its consideration. The points which have been raised by the various speakers would also be placed before that body and that should go a long way in serving the purpose which the hon. Member has in mind.

The hon. Member from the D.M.K. Party generally extended his support to this Bill. I do not know whether the D.M.K. Members have consulted their Government.

SHRI R. P. ULAGANAMBI: It is a private Members Bill and Members can express the personal opinion.

SHRI ANNASAHAB P. SHINDE: I have no quarrel over that. The D.M.K. is so conscious of the States right and they are pleading for more autonomy. They do not want the Central Government to enact legislation on subjects which are within the State jurisdiction. The D.M.K. Government would oppose this sort of Bill. That is why I say that I did not know whether they really represented the views of the party when they spoke on this Bill.

MR. CHAIRMAN: They are speaking in their private capacity... (Interruptions).

SHRI THA KIRUTTINAN: This is a Bill which concerns Planning and Development; the State should be given the power. Our State Govern-

ment is implementing the Plan with all possible efforts. The problem is one of resources. Where is the money? If you accept State autonomy? we will do everything.

**SHRI ANNASAHAB P. SHINDE:**  
 The D.M.K. Government should constitute very powerful panchayat bodies based on direct election and adult franchise, without any interference from the State capital. This is the principle.

The mover has succeeded in drawing the attention of the country to this matter and we will put it up before the august body which is in charge of this.

**SHRI RANABAHADUR SINGH:**  
 Sir, I am grateful to the Minister for having pointed out the failings of my Bill. I would request him to consider the matter from the point of view of a private member, that too an independent member. He was kind enough to say, I have my limitations. As a matter of fact, I had tabled two Bills. Bill No. 36 did not fare well in the ballot. If that had come before the House, the lacunae you have very kindly pointed out were exactly dealt with in that Bill. There was also the constraint that this is a State subject. I could not have brought it in here unless I took the name of development and planning. That was the backdoor entry I had to make.

I am grateful for the all round support this Bill has drawn from this House. I am sure the matter is now formally placed for the consideration of the House, namely, the people's involvement is the necessity. That has been the accepted policy, as the Minister says. But this accepted policy has had a twist in it. There was always the necessity of having the people involved in development or reconstruction activities. Especially now in regard to the food situation, we want the people to cooperate, but the twist has remained: "You work, we rule". All that I wanted to put for

the consideration of the House by this Bill was, now it should be accepted that this will not work. So, if you want people to work, you shall have to say you work and you rule with us. That is the only difference. This would lead to giving sovereignty to the panchayats. Unless the sovereignty is willingly parted to the panchayats, nothing will work in this country.

**SHRI ANNASAHAB P. SHINDE:**  
 Sovereignty will not be the right word; it should be self-government.

**SHRI RANABAHADUR SINGH:** I used a strong word, so that in the process of dilution, at least something may remain.

I have heard that the Prime Minister has written to the heads of panchayats drawing their attention and cooperation to family planning. This will do no good whatsoever. For the last 25 years, there has been a law that has framed the panchayats and that law has had the most disturbing effect on the panchayats inasmuch as the law has disgraced the commonsense of the people in the villages. As many members have said, for 7 or 10 years if you do not hold elections to a body which should be held in three years, people in the villages are no fools. They know exactly the value of a body in whose election in time the Government has no faith. It is not the fault of the quality of the people in our villages. It is the fault of the panchayati laws. The baby should not be thrown away with the bathwater, saying that no self-governing powers can be given to the panchayats because of their present low quality of administrative skill or morality.

Another point that strengthens this Bill, however weak in its approach, has been that the present tax structure of our country cannot withstand any further financial weight and unless we are able to organise the people on a basis of equality the social

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services level that we are aiming at in the context of our social welfare plan would be frozen in the present context, because, unless the people are willingly involved on the basis of equality, the whole social fabric is going to fall down.

What can be done is very simple. There is no need to grope in the dark. There are just four points that I want to present in this context. As the Minister has kindly promised to bring this matter up before the august body that already exists, I mention these four points specifically for consideration, there.

Well, if this bad law that has undermined the people's will in the countryside is sought to be renewed or revamped. The first thing that is necessary and that should be considered is that there must be a universality of membership at the panchayat level. Shri Ramavtar Shastri has brought out a very good point when he said that the bigger people, the social-statured people, in the villages are exploiting the people. The answer lies in the universality of membership and consensus of working. If the small man had the power of vetoing the law inside a village panchayat there would not be a single voter who will not participate in the proceedings and that would stand well in giving him the leverage that he requires and for which he has been asking for all these 27 years from the people, from our laws, so that he can stand on his own and say he is a free citizen of this country. This consensus is not a chimera. It has already been made out that consensus is not possible in the present context of things. May I respectfully submit that what this House has witnessed today for the last one and a quarter hour, or the earlier day when we were discussing this, shows that there is a consensus reigning in this House, which by itself is quite a change from what happens between

12 noon and 1 O'Clock in the House? So, it depends on the quality of the thing that is sought to be achieved.

The second point that I want to make in this context is land distribution, which is a thing which has held us spell-bound for the last twenty years. How much energy, how much time and how much verbosity has gone into it I cannot say. But if land distribution was left to such constituted panchayats on the basis of universality of membership and consensus, I would say respectfully that this problem that has been hanging fire for the last 20 years would be solved in 20 months, because the present land distribution laws depend on the official machinery, and the official machinery has no way of finding out who is landless.

Thirdly, there must be financial independence of the panchayats, and financial independence cannot be based on the fact that the Government sets apart a certain fraction of the land revenue to the panchayats. It must be made in such a way that every person who is a member of the panchayat must contribute at least 1/30th of his annual income to it.

Lastly, there must be a corporate ownership of land. This is a bogey which could very well raise a hornet's nest because it visualizes corporate ownership that has been tried in other parts of the world. I am not drawing the attention of the House to that. What I mean is that there should be corporate ownership on the basis of trusteeship and land should vest in the panchayat on the basis of trust.

I raise these points only for the sake of putting them up as a matter of discussion. These are not the final word.

I have already found a consensus amongst the Members here that there must be set up a committee. The Hon. Minister has promised to bring this matter to the notice of a committee

that already exists. All that I would request him even now is that the Members of Parliament who might be interested in this as a subject should be at least asked to depose before that committee and to bring about a certain sitting of the committee in which that committee will take specific note of this particular aspect.

In conclusion, I would say that whatever might be contemplated as a stop-gap measure, one thing should be taken into consideration as to whether it can be at least weighed for its viability and that is, whether it would be possible to amend the Constitution and include in the Seventh Schedule another new item under item 97. You say that the formation of panchayats at the village level based on these four points would be included under item 97 in the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution

I would say that the Madhya Pradesh Government has been the first Government in this country which has already framed a law based on these four points and that law is working. So I think, I have a point in requesting the hon Minister to study this matter more deeply. That was all the purpose in bringing forward this Bill before the House and in the hope that he will take the matter up, I would, under his instructions, withdraw the Bill.

MR CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That the leave be granted to withdraw the Bill to provide for planning and development through various democratic and official agencies of Panchayat Raj"

The motion was adopted.

SHRI RANABAHADUR SINGH: I withdraw the Bill.

15.56 hrs.

# CONSTITUTION (AMENDMENT) BILL

(AMENDMENT OF ARTICLE 324)

SHRI R. P. ULGANAMBI (Vellore): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India, be taken into consideration."

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon Member may continue on the next occasion. We now take up the Half-An-Hour Discussion.

15.57 hrs.

# HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION DECLARATION OF ASSETS BY THE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): Mr Chairman, Sir, I am raising a discussion on a very important question which relates to the declaration of assets by the elected representatives.

To put the record straight, I would like to read the Question that was posed to the Home Minister and the reply that was given by the Minister concerned. The Question was:

"(a) whether a number of newspapers carried editorials and articles during July-August last to the effect that for a healthy and progressive political atmosphere, it was necessary that every elected representative should declare publicly the movable and immovable property owned or controlled by him;

(b) whether Government have examined this demand and taken any decision thereon; and

\*Moved with the recommendation of the President.